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II.

HISTORICAL STUDIES
IN
MUGHAL NUMISMATICS.

BY
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CALCUTTA:
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, AND PUBLISHED
BY THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

1923

FOREWORD.

At the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society for 1915, the suggestion was advanced that "So much work has now been done on the coins of the Sultans and Emperors of Delhi that further progress will depend on the efforts of specialists in the co-ordination of information available from known coins, and in historical research. There is still a wide field in the study and elucidation of those passages of the Indian historians which relate to numismatics in general." The Secretary then proposed that a list of histories containing such information should be made, and that the work of collecting passages bearing in any helpful way on the study of coins and their mints should be divided among members of the Society, each member taking one historian. This suggestion was adopted by the meeting and the Secretary was asked to take early steps to carry it into effect. The outcome of the resolution was remarkable. During the ensuing year there appeared in the J.A.S.B. Numismatic Supplement No. XXVII three articles from the pen of Professor S. H. Hodīvālā: 'The Bijāpūr Rupees of 1091 A.H.,' 'The Gulkanda Rupees of Shāhjahān,' 'The Meaning of *Tankī*,' elucidating problems in Mughal Numismatics hitherto unsolved, by references to original sources. At the next Annual Meeting of the Society the President, alluding to "the suggestion made for constructive work by the Society" in the previous year was able to point to "Mr. Hodīvālā's notes" as "specimens of the first fruits." During the next five years appeared a series of further articles all written on the same lines. There were, in N.S. XXVIII, 1917, "The Dirham-i-Shar'ai," "The Weights of Aurangzeb's Dāms," "Some Heavy Rupees of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Alām," "The Mint-name Srīnagar," "Bahādurgarh," "A'ẓamnagar," "The Murādī Tanka," "Fīrūzgarh"; in N.S. XXXI, 1918, "The Mandū Gold Couplet," "The Katak Rupees of Aḥmad Shāh," "Notes and Suggestions about some Unassigned or Doubtful Mughal Mints"; in N.S. XXXIV, 1920, "Abūl Faẓl's Inven-

tory of Akbar's Mints," "Notes and Queries regarding Mughal Mint-Towns"; and in N.S. XXXV, 1921, "Historical Notes on the Honorific Epithets of Mughal Mint-Towns," "The Laqab 'Ṣāḥibqirān-i-Ṣānī.'" The present Memoir containing twenty-four more articles is the culmination of Professor Hodīvālā's labours. The work which he has accomplished is, in the writer's opinion, remarkable in many respects. In the first place, Professor Hodīvālā's wide and extremely accurate knowledge of the Persian historians of India and of the works of European travellers has enabled him to bring together in this series of studies, including those in the present volume, what for all practical purposes is an exhaustive list of all references bearing upon the Mughal coinage, and he has thus been able, for that period at least, to accomplish single-handed a piece of research which the Society in 1915 considered could only be performed by a number of its members working in co-operation. But he has not been content with a mere list. His knowledge of numismatics has led him to carry his investigation a step further; and it would be no exaggeration to say that these studies, in which the information derived from original authorities has been applied to the principal problems connected with the Mughal coinage, have set at rest at least half of the controversies that have engaged numismatists during the past half century. It will suffice to mention here the flood of light that has been thrown upon Akbar's monetary system by such articles as those on "The Meaning of Tankī," "The Murādī Tanka," "Abūl Faẓl's Inventory of Mints" and Nos. III, IV, V, VI, and VII in this Memoir.

Although Professor Hodīvālā's book is concerned in the first instance with coinage, it would be a mistake to suppose that it has an interest only for the numismatist. The historian and the student of economics should find here stores of valuable material, not readily available elsewhere, and not infrequently something more. The study entitled "The Coin Legend Allāhu Akbar" (No. V in this volume) is, for example, an important contribution to the subject of the Emperor Akbar's religion, and there is much matter equally suggestive scattered throughout these chapters. To have read the proof sheets, as

the writer of this foreword, has done, has in itself been a liberal education in the history of the Mughal period. He feels confident that the critical acumen displayed in the patient sifting of evidence as well as the author's erudition and familiarity with the by-ways of Oriental lore will make as strong an appeal to others as they have made to him, and that these "Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics," the harvest of so many years' devoted labour, will win from scholars both in and outside India the wide appreciation they merit.

A word of explanation is needed, in conclusion, on the scheme of transliteration employed in this Memoir. In the main body of the text that adopted by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has been used; but in all quotations the orthography as it stands in the original texts has been preserved. This plan has, as can readily be conceived, added considerably to the labour of proof correction and printing: but every effort has been made to keep errata within the limit of the irreducible minimum.

Lucknow,
August, 1923.

C. J. BROWN.

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ERRATA.

Page 1, l. 28, *for* said to me *read* saw me.
,, 8, l. 5. from foot, *for* اکبر *read* اکثر.
,, 29, l. 34, *for* forb ringing *read* for bringing.
,, 37, l. 6, *for* five *read* three.
,, 42, l. 27, *for jalaluhu read jalāluhu.*
,, 45, l. 2, *for* Asht-sidhi *read* Asht-siddhī'.
,, 51, l. 14, *for* comma *read* full-stop *after* remark.
,, 54, Note l. 5, *for* negative *read* negatived.
,, 59, Note l 3, *for* 11 *read* 101.
,, 62, Note, l. 6, add Text I. 202.
,, 65, l. 36, *for* Chūgul *read* Chugul.
,, 69, l. 21, *for* differing *read* differs.
,, 69, l. 7 from foot, *for* tal'i *read* tāli'.
,, 70, l. 16, *for* tal·i *read* tāli'.
,, 70, l. 18, *for* 207 *read* 237.
,, 74, l. 5, from foot, *for* bad *read* had.
,, 75, l 22, *for* 124 A.H. *read* 1124 A.H.
,, 75, Note l. 3, *for* Ed. *read* E.D.
,, 77, l. 9, *for* or *read* a.
,, 78, l. 20, *for* on *read* an
,, 84, Note l 2, *for* An-ul-haq *read* An al-Haqq.
,, 87, l. 14, *for* statues *read* statutes.
,, 88, l. 27, *for* [Sir] E. D. *read* General.
,, 90, l. 36. *for* tbeir *read* their.
,, 93, l. 29, *delete* ؛
,, 99, l. 14, *for* Qat'i *read* Qāṭ'i.
,, 100, l. 5 from foot, *for* two *read* three.
,, 100, l 4 from foot, *for* pp. 194 and 198 (Text, 325, 326) *read* pp. 194, 196 and 198 (Text, 324, 325).
,, 101, l. 19, *for* نه *read* آنه.
,, 119, Note, l. 10, *for* names *read* name.
,, 137, l. 24, *for* سوی *read* سوای

Page 138, l. 27, *for* have *read* has.
,, 144, l. 16, *for* طاق *read* مطابق
,, 150, the Persian passage is to be read as a continuation of Note 1, p 149.
,, 158, l. 34, *for* sacrieficed *read* sacrificed.
,, 163, Note, in Mullā Chānd's horoscope, the Sun should be shown in the twelfth house, Virgo.
,, 171, l. 10, *for* historiss *read* histories.
,, 173, l. 7, *for* Nurcahān *read* Nurjahān.
,, 177, Note l. 11, *for* scatterred *read* scattered.
,, 177, Note l. 16, *for* Lādak *read* Ladākh
,, 179, l. 3 from foot, for *charans* read *charns*.
,, 180, l. 15, *for* 382 *read* 363.
,, 182, l. 27, *for* گلسهای *read* گلهای.
,, 183, Note, l. 5, *for* 1-11 *read* 1911.
,, 189, l. 37, *for* 00 shāhis *read* 200 shāhis
,, 195, l. 25, *for* shawls *read* carpets.
,, 196, Note l. 2, *for* extrat *read* extract.
,, 199, Note l. 11, *add* p. 16 *after Āthār.*
,, 205, l. 12, *for* tarīkh *read* tārīkh.
,, 208, Note 2, l 1, *for* 167th and 30th *read* 157th and 31st.
,, 209, Note l. 2, *for* 166, 230, 24th and 230th *read* 157, 220, 14th and 220th respectively.
,, 217, Note l. 1, *for* 15th *read* 11th.
,, 217, l. 25, *for* Miftah *read* Miftāh.
,, 219, last line, *read* a fullstop *after* more.
,, 220, l 1, *for* Mongol *read* the Mongol.
,, 220, l. 2, *delete* the *before* southern.

Page 221, l. 41, *for* Taleb *read* Ṭālib.
,, 227, l. 17, *for* I. i. ii. 79 *read* I. ii. 79.
,, 229, l. 21, *for* 1619 A.C. *read* 1618 A.C.
,, 242, Note l. 2, *delete the words* the rupee of.
,, 251, l. 4, *add* 276 *after* Dowson. VII.
,, 252, l. 2, *for* Sebastein *read* Sebastian.
,, 266, l. 4 from foot *delete* [دیباچه].
Page 274, l. 26, *for* 1661 A.C. *read* 1660 A.C.
,, 284, l. 15, *delete* comma *after* Qāsim's.
,, 297, Note l 9, *insert* had passed *after* sunrise.
,, 298, l 14. *for* Kazvīn *read* Qazvīn.
,, 298, l. 16, *for* Vahīd's *read* Vaḥīd's.
,, 302, l. 6, The figure 2 should be placed at Khān, and *before* Aurangzeb's, l. 13. Note.

HISTORICAL STUDIES IN MUGHAL NUMISMATICS.

I. SHĀHRUKHĪS.

The Autobiography of the Emperor Bābur, the 'Memoirs' of Jauhar the *āftābchī* and the *Humāyūn-nāma* of the Princess Gulbadan are all full of references to a silver coin called the *shāhrukhī* The name is undoubtedly derived from that of a son of the great Tīmūr who was so called from that conqueror having received the news of his birth just after he had, in playing chess, checked the king (شاه) with the (رخ) Rook or Castle (D' Herbelot, *Bibliotheque Orientale, s.v.*; Markham, Narrative of Clavijo's Embassy to the Court of Timur, 142, Note; Sir T. Colebrook, *J.R.A.S.*, 1877, p. 395, Note; *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Trans. Elias and Ross, 202, Note)

Sulṭān Shāhrukh was born on 14 Rabʻī II, 779 A.H. and reigned for more than forty years (807-855A.H.) His coinage had an extensive circulation in several Asiatic countries, and is fairly well represented in our Museums and private collections. (Rodgers, Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Part IV, pp 122–3; British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Coins, VII, passim; White King, Sale Catalogue, Pt. III, 2654 2662).

Let me now cite the passages in which this *shāhrukhī* is mentioned by our authorities.

"The revenues of Kābul, whether from the cultivated land or from tolls (tamghā) or from dwellers in the open country, amount to 8 laks of *shāhrukhīs*."

Memoirs of Bābur, Trans A. S. Beveridge, 221 = Leyden and Erskine's Trans. 151. Persian Trans. (Bombay, Lith 1308 A.H.), p. 80, l. 14.

"Some Nīlābīs[1] came and said to me at the ford head (*guzar bāshī*), bringing a horse in mail and 300 *shāhrukhis* as an offering." [925 A.H.]

A. S. Beveridge, Trans. Memoirs of Bābur, 379. Erskine's Trans. 253; E.D. IV, 231; Persian Trans. 141, l. 3.

[1] Nīlāb (blue water) is the old name of the Sind or Indus, (E.D. II 562; VI, 312-3). It is also the name of a town on its left or eastern bank, about fifteen miles below Atak. (*Ibid.*, IV, 31, Note; Thornton, Gazetteer, *s.v.*) The passage shows that shāhrukhis were current *at the time in the Panjāb.*

"The agreement is to give one *shāhrukhī* for each yoke of oxen and seven for headship in a household; there is also service in the army." [925 A.H.][1]

Beveridge, *ibid.*, 379; Erskine, *ibid.*, 254. Persian Trans. 141, l. 14.

"On Wednesday the 22nd of the month [*scil.* Ṣafar, 925 A.H.], the headman and chauderis of Bhīra were summoned, a sum of 400,000 *shāhrukhīs* was agreed on as a price of peace (*Māl-i-amān*) and collectors were appointed."[2]

A. S. Beveridge, *ibid.*, 383; Erskine, *ibid.*, 256; Elliot and Dowson IV, 233; Persian Trans. 143, l. 8.

On Monday the 8th [Jumādā II, 925 A.H.] arrived the wedding-gift for the marriage of Qāsim Beg's youngest son Hamza with Khalīfa's eldest daughter. It was of 1,000 *shāhrukhī*; they offered also a saddled horse."[3] A. S. Beveridge, Trans. Memoirs of Bābur, 400 = Leyden and Erskine's Trans. 268; Persian Trans. 151, l. 10.

On Friday the 29th [*scil.*, Sha'bān, 925 A.H.] "Mīr Khurd was made to kneel as Hindāl's guardian. He made an offering of 1,000 *shāhrukhīs* (circa £50)."[4]

A. S. Beveridge, *ibid.*, 408; Erskine, *ibid.*, 274; Persian Trans. 155, l. 6.

"On Saturday the 18th, I rode out of the Chār-bagh at midnight * * * and near sun rise, reached Tardī Beg *Khāksār's Kārez.* * * * I had taken one hundred *shāhrukhīs* (£5) with me; I gave him these and told him to get wine and other things ready as I had a fancy for a private and unrestrained party." [925 A.H., 1519 A.C.][5]

A. S. Beveridge, Tr. Memoirs, 417 = Leyden and Erskine, 280; Persian Trans. 158, last line.

"On Wednesday [6th Ṣafar 932 A.H.], when we had dismounted at Barīkāb, the younger brethren of Nūr Beg, he him-

---

[1] This is said of the country of the Jūd and Janjūha tribes in the Salt Range—"a hill system in the Jhelum, Shāhpūr and Miānwalī Districts of the Panjāb." (Imp. Gaz. XXI, 412.)

[2] Bhīra is in Shāhpūr District, Panjāb. The old town lay on the right bank of the Jhelum. The modern town lies on the left, and "has a direct export trade to Kābul, the Derajāt and Sukkur." (Imp. Gaz. VIII, 100.) The fact of the ransom having been fixed in shāhrukhīs is noteworthy.

[3] Bābur was at this time ruler of Kābul only and had not yet conquered India. The word used for wedding-gift is جهیز Khalīfa was Khwāja Niẓāmuddīn 'Alī Barlās, Bābur's Vazīr and physician. Abūl Faẓl Akbarnāma, Trans, I, 281; Gulbadan, *Humāyūn Nāma*, Trans. 101, Note.

[4] Erskine notes that the mention of such sums shows the poverty of the country. (*Loc cit.*, 274, Note.)

[5] It is clear from these three passages that the real "pervading currency" of the kingdom of Kābul consisted in 925 A.H. of the widely-dispersed shāhrukhīs.

self remaining in Hindustān brought gold *ashrafīs* and *tankas* to the value of 20,000 *shāhrukhīs*, sent from the Lāhor[1] revenues by Khwāja Husain."

A. S. Beveridge, *ibid*, 446; Erskine, *ibid.*, 290; Persian Trans. 163, l. 10.

"Bhīra was neither overrun nor plundered; we imposed a ransom on its people, taking from them in money and goods to the value of 4 laks of *shāhrukhīs* and having shared this out to the army and auxiliaries returned to Kābul." [925 A.H.][2]

A. S. Beveridge, *ibid*, 479 = Erskine, *ibid.*, 309; Elliot and Dowson, IV, 258; Persian Trans. 177, l. 16.

Bābur's daughter, Gulbadan, also refers to the matter in her Memoirs in the following terms: "Having subdued Bājaur, His Majesty went towards the Bhīra country, and on his arrival made peace without plundering. He took four laks of *shāhrukhīs* and gave to his army, dividing them according to the number of his followers. He then set out for Kābul."

Humāyūn Nāma, Trans A. S. Beveridge, 92, Text, p 10, l. 15.

"After the victory of Pānīpat" valuable gifts (saughāt) were sent for the various relations in Samarkand, Khurāsān, Kāshghar and 'Irāq To holy men belonging to Samarkand and Khurāsān went offerings vowed to God (nuẓūr); so too to Makka and Madīna. We gave one *shāhrukhī* for every soul in the country of Kābul, and the valley side of Varsak, man and woman, bond and free, of age or non-age."

A. S. Beveridge, *ibid.*, 522–3 = Erskine *ibid.*, 335; Persian Trans. 206, l. 11. See also *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Lakhnau Lith. 187, two lines from foot.

"In congratulation on the birth of Humāyūn's son and Kāmrān's marriage, Mullā Tabrīzī and Mīrzā Beg Taghāī were sent with gifts (sāchāq) to each Mīrzā of 10,000 *shāhrukhīs*,[3] a coat I had worn, and a belt with clasps." [21 Jumādā I. 935 A H.].

A. S. Beveridge, *ibid.*, 642; Erskine, *ibid.*, 400; Persian Trans. 232, l. 10.

"Khwāja Kilān Beg was sent back to Kābul after the battle of Pānīpat with presents for the Begams and instructions for their distribution.

'To each begam is to be delivered as follows: One special dancing-girl of the dancing-girls of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm [Lody] with

[1] This does not mean that Shāhrukhīs were current in Lāhor. All that Bābur says is that the money value of the tribute sent from Lāhor in 'ashrafīs' and 'tankas' *was equal to* 20,000 shāhrukhīs.

[2] This is a repetition of what he has said before at p. 383 of Mrs. Beveridge's translation.

[3] The word shāhrukhī is not in Erskine or the Persian translation. but this is probably due to a copyist's error.

one gold plate full of jewels * * * and two small mother-o'-pearl trays full of *ashrafis* and on two other trays *shāhrukhīs* and all sorts of stuffs by nines.' " [1]

A. S. Beveridge, *Hum. Nām.* 95. Text, 12, l. 11

Gulbadan Begam on her first arrival in India [934 A.H.] was given an entertainment by Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn 'Alī Birlās, Bābur's Vazīr—who was ordinarily styled Khalīfa. This was at Naugrām, a village about four miles from Āgra and on the east of the Jamnā. She says that she " accepted from Khalīfa 6,000 *shāhrukhīs* [5,000 in text] and five horses " and Sulṭānam [his wife] gave her 3,000 and three horses. [2]

Hūm. Nām., Trans 102: Text, 18 l 14.

In her description of the Feast of the 'Mystic House' which was held in commemoration of the accession of Humāyūn, Gulbadan writes :—

" On the Feast day of the Mystic House [طوی خانهٔ بالسم] his Majesty [*scil.* Humāyūn] ordered all the Mirzās and Begams to bring gifts [sāchāq] and every one did so He said, 'Divide the gifts into three heaps.' They made three trays of *Ashrafis* and six of *shāhrukhīs*." She then says that one share was distributed among the Mirzās, chiefs and Vazīrs [اهل دولت], another among the theologians and religious men [اهل سعادت], and the third scattered [نثار] among those present at the entertainment." *Op cit.*, 124–5 ; Text, 34, l 7.

" When this joyful news [*scil.* of the birth of Akbar 949 A.H.] was made known, all the chiefs came and offered their congratulations. The king [*scil* Humāyūn] then ordered the author of this Memoir [*scil* Jauhar] to bring him the articles he had given in trust to him ; on which I went and brought two hundred shahrūkhys (silver coin), a silver bracelet and a pod of musk "

Jauhar, *Tezkereh al Vākiāt*, Trans., C Stewart. p. 45.

" It now becomes necessary to relate that Yādgār Nāsir Khusru Mirzā * * * now suffered a severe retribution by having been expelled by Hussyn [*i.e.* Shāh Husain Arghūn, the ruler of Sind], and obliged to pay a *shahrukhy* (silver coin) for each camel and five similar coins for every horse belonging to his followers, after which he was sent in great disgrace across the river." [3]

---

[1] Bābur must have recoined the gold and silver money he found in the treasuries of Āgra and Dehlī before securing such a plentiful supply of *ashrafis* and *shahrukhīs*.

[2] Such large sums again prove that the conquerors must have immediately proceeded to recoin all the gold and silver they could find into money of their own country's type.

[3] It would appear from this that the silver currency of Sind in the time of Humāyūn was also of the *shāhrukhī* type.

Tezkereh al Vākiāt, ibid., 49.

"Early in the morning the king [*scil.* Humāyūn] marched toward Hindustān but before his departure determined that the Prince [*scil.* Kāmrān] should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the Prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act. Sultan Aly, the paymaster, ordered Aly Dust to do it; the other replied, 'you will not pay a Shah Rukhy (3*s* 6*d.*)[1] to any person without the king's direction; therefore, why should I do this deed without a personal order from his Majesty?'"

Tezkereh al Vākiāt, ibid, 105–6.

There is a reference to this monetary denomination in a curious story told of two 'Darvishes by the historian Badāonī.

"It is said that at the time when these two eminent men [*scil.* Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn and Shaikh Abūl Wajd] went to Hindūstān, * * they possessed nothing but an old *postīn* [a sheep skin-coat] between them; Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn said to Shaikh Abūl Wajd, 'I will take this to the bazar of Kābul upon the condition that you won't come and indulge in any pleasantries.' He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure was ready to give five *shāhrukhīs* but Shaikh Zain kept demanding more. At last Shaikh Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said, 'Ah! you cheat! why this door mat itself contains five shāhrukhīs worth of fleas and lice! so the bargain was at an end, and Shaikh Zain was annoyed and said, 'What time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you're going to pay for it! Shaikh Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter." (*Muntakhab*, Tr. Ranking, I, 618; Text, I, 476). As both the heroes of this story are said to have died in 940 A.H., it is clear that Shāhrukhīs constituted the ordinary currency of Kābul in the first part of the tenth century of the Hejira.

A cursory examination of these passages is sufficient to indicate that the denomination is very frequently coupled by Bābur, as well as Jauhar and Gulbadan, with all their monetary statements. The revenues of the kingdom of Kābul the ransom demanded from the people of Bhīra, the *peshkash* (or *nazrāna*) of the Amīrs, the gifts sent by the Emperor himself to his sons, the amounts staked by the players at cards are all stated in terms of the *shāhrukhī*. It was, evidently an important if not the most important unit of value in the currency of the days of Bābur and his son. But there is, in the passages themselves, nothing to indicate the weight or value of the coin to which these authors refer almost all their money values.

[1] The words in round brackets are an unauthorized gloss of the translator's.

Fortunately, it is possible to supplement them by the testimony of Abūl Faẓl, and his statements are fully corroborated by Firishta and Gulbadan and borne out by the coins themselves.

"The territory of Kābul," he writes, "comprises twenty *Tūmāns*. The Emperor Bābur in his Memoirs sets down the revenue at eight[1] lakhs of Shahrukhis, inclusive of *Tamghā* imposts, equivalent to three lakhs and twenty thousand *Akbarshāhī* rupees, the rupee being reckoned at forty dams."

Āīn-i-Akbarī, Trans. Jarrett II, 410.

In his Account of the Sarkār of Qandahār Abūl Faẓl informs us that "the revenue from grapes also is taken by agreement and by paying a special rate. In the latter case experts appraise the average outturn of the Vineyard and exact 4 *bāberies* for each *Kharwār*. Under the reigns of Bāber and Humāyūn, the rate was fixed at 2 *bāberies* and 4 *tangahs*. The *bāberi* is one *miskāl* weight and $2\frac{1}{2}$ are equivalent to the rupee. Besides these three (wheat, barley, grapes), upon nine other articles called *sabzbari*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ *bāberies* are taken for every *jarīb* formerly rated at 5 bāberīs," *viz.* rice (shālī), musk-melons, water-melons, cucumbers, onions, turnips, carrots and lettuce. "On other crops than these two *bāberīs* were formerly taken, the Turkomāns exacting three."

Ibid., II, 396.

The writer speaks here of '2 bāberies and 4 tangahs.'

It is not easy to arrive at the exact significance of these words. They may imply that the *tangah* was a subdivision of the Bāburī and that five or more tangahs were equal to one Bāburī. In this connection, it is worthy of note that 20,000 shāhrukhīs (or Bāburīs) are said by Mirzā Ḥaidar, to have been equal to one lac [tangas] of Hindustan. (*Tārīkh i Rashīdī*, Trans. 469 : see also Erskine, History of Bāber and Humayūn I, Appendix, p. 544.)

Briefly, the words may mean that in the times of Bābur and Humāyūn the rate of assessment per Kharwār was 2 Bāburīs and $\frac{4}{5}$ths or some smaller fraction of which the numerator was 4 and the denominator 6 or more.

But ، in Persian and Arabic means not only 'and,' but also 'or' (Steingass, Dictionary s.v.) دو بابري و چهار تنگهٔ انجا *Āīn*. Text, I. 588, l. 2), "two Bāburīs and four tangas of that district" (or place)" may possibly mean that *two* Bāburīs were equivalent to *four* tangas in Qandahār, in other words that the Tanga was only the half of the Bāburī.

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[1] It is بیست لکی 'twenty laks in the text, but there can be no doubt, that بیست is, as Jarrett points out, a copyist's error for هشت 'eight.'

If 8,00,000 shāhrukhīs were equal to 3,20,000 Akbarshāhī rupees, it is clear that one of the former was equal to $\frac{2}{5}$ of the latter.

It is clear from the first of these extracts that 2½ shāhrukhīs were equivalent to an Akbarshāhī rupee of 40 dāms. It is plainly stated in the second, that 2½ 'bāberīs' also were equivalent to a rupee, and that this 'bāberī' was one 'miskāl' in weight. It is impossible to resist the inference that the 'bāberī' and 'shāhrukhī' were identical, that each contained one miṣqāl [of silver] and was valued at ⅔ of an Akbarī Rupee. In fact, it would seem as if the same coin was called *shāhrukhī* in Kābul and *Bāburī* in Qandahār.

But this is not all. We have seen that after the battle of Pānīpat Bābur sent as a present one *shāhrukhī* for every soul in the country of Kābul. * * * man and woman, bond and free, of age and non-age." This statement occurs in Firishta also, but with a gloss, to the effect that the Shāhrukhī contained 'one miṣqāl of silver.' It is true that this gloss or explanation is absent from Briggs' translation (Reprint. II. 35), but it is to be found in the later and more perfect recension of the text which was afterwards edited by Briggs himself, and of which Newal Kishore's lithograph is a cheap and fairly faithful reproduction.

Firishta writes :—

و برای هر یک از مردم شهر کابل از مرد و زن و از بنده و آزاد و خرد و بزرگ و از فقیر و غنی یک شاهرخی که یک مثقال نقره باشد بسر شماری فرستاده ایشان را هم خوشحال ساخت *

Tārīkh-i-Firishta, Lakhnau Lith. 1281 A.H. Vol. I, p. 206, l. 5.

"And for every one of the people of Kābul city—man and woman, slave and free, young and old, poor and rich, he sent per head one *shāhrukhī* which is equal to one *miṣqāl* of silver. And they also were made glad."

Khāfī Khān also has an exactly similar statement as to the weight of silver in the *shāhrukhī* in his account of the transaction

و برای هر یک از مردم کابل مرد و زن همقوم و بیگانه و بنده و آزاد و فقیر و غنی یک شاه رخی که وزن یک مثقال نقره باشد بسر شمار فرستاد *

Muntakhabu-l-lubāb, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 53, eight lines from foot.

"And he sent for every person in Kābul, man and woman, of his own tribe or a different, slave and free, poor and rich, per head, one *shāhrukhī* weighing one miṣqāl of silver."

This definition of the *shāhrukhī* is reiterated by the author in his paraphrase of another passage of the 'Memoirs,' but it should be said that he is, in both cases, merely reproducing the statement of Firishta.

و چهار صد هزار شاهرخی بوزن یک مثقال برضامندي زمیداران و ارباب صناع و عقار محالات و پرگنات از محصول مال بتصرف آورده بسبب رسیدن خبر های مختلف سمت کابل و آن دیار عنان توجه بآنطرف معطوف ساختند *

Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Bibl. Ind. Text, I. 46, 8 lines from foot.

"And after having levied with the consent of the land-holders, and artisans and farmers of the mahāls and parganas [of Bhīra] four hundred thousand *shāhrukhīs* each of which weighed one miṣqāl of silver, he [Bābur] turned his reins towards Kābul on account of having received disturbing news from that side."

But though the statement does not derive additional weight or value from the fact of its having been reiterated by Khāfī Khān, it would seem to be undoubtedly correct. Bābur's cousin, Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt explicitly informs us that "a current *shāhrukhī* is worth one *mithkāl* of silver." *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*, or History of the Mongols of Central Asia. Trans. Ney Elias and E. Denison Ross—469)

And an interesting fact recorded by Gulbadan in connection with the death of Bābur's mother points to the same conclusion. "Her Highness, the Khānam, His Majesty's [*scil.* Bābur's] mother, had fever six days, and then departed from this fleeting world to the eternal home. They laid her in the New Year's Garden [باغ نو روزي in Text]. His Majesty paid 1,000 *coined miṣqāl* to his kinsmen, the owners of the garden and laid her there."

A. S Beveridge *Humāyūn Nāma*, Trans. 86, Text, pp. 5–6.

The words in the original are یکهزار تنکهٔ مثقالي—'one, thousand Tangas of one Miṣqāl.' These *tanga-i-miṣqālī* or coined pieces of silver weighing one miṣqāl, must have been identical with shāhrukhīs

It is true that there is in the same work a statement which seems to throw doubt on the matter, but the difficulty is apparent and not real, and has arisen. in all probability, from the true meaning of a loosely-worded sentence having been imperfectly understood. In her description of the festive gatherings held in celebration of Humāyūn's conquest of Kābul in 951 A.H. [1545 A.C.], she writes :—

و اکثر بساط نشاط بازي میکردند از آن جمله - دوا ده کس نودند بهرکس بیست ورق بیست و بیست بیست شاهرخي میدادند و کسی که پای میداد همین بیست شاهرخي پای میداد که پنج مثقالي باشد و اگر میبرد هر چند که بازي میکردند زیاده میبردند *

Humāyūn-nāma, Text, 77, l. 2.

This is thus rendered by Mrs. Beveridge.

"Many amusing games, full of fun were played. Among them was this. Twelve players had each twenty cards and twenty *shāhrukhīs*. Whoever lost, lost those twenty *shāhrukhīs*. which would make five *miṣqāls*.[1] Each player gave the winner his twenty *shāhrukhīs*, to add to his own." *Op. cit.*, 178.

The translator adds in a note that "one *shāhrukhī* was about ten pence. Four shāhrukhīs made one *miṣqāl*." This last equation we must take leave to doubt. We are explicitly told by Mirzā Ḥaidar, Abūl Faẓl and Firishta that the shāhrukhī contained one miṣqāl, *i e.* about 72 grains of silver, and this is in perfect accord with the known weights of the silver coins of Sulṭāns Shāhrukh, Abū Sa'īd, Aḥmad, Ḥusain Baiqarā, and also of Bābur and Humāyūn. White King, Sale Catalogue, Part III, Nos. 2657, 2667; Rodgers, Catalogue of Coins on the Indian Museum Pt. IV; Wright, I.M.C. III, 1-6 and 15-20; Lane Poole, B.M C 1-7 and 18-22; Whitehead, P.M C. 1-31 and 40-64.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the twenty coins staked were really quarter-shāhrukhīs, fractional pieces which are *loosely* spoken of by the writer as Shāhrukhīs. who afterwards however, takes care to remove any doubt as to her *real meaning* and the value of the stakes by stating that the twenty shāhrukhīs were equivalent to only *five miṣqālīs* or (*whole*) *shāhrukhīs*.

In fact, it would appear that this *tanga-i-miṣqālī* was popularly abbreviated into *miṣqālī* and that the latter was one of the synonymous or provincial designations of our shāhrukhī. Witness, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī who says that when Humāyūn consented to retreat from Jūn, Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn sent to him as a gift "one lakh of *misgalees* (about 6 annas each), 300 horses, 300 camels and other requisites for marching, and he threw a bridge over the river opposite to Joon." [Rabī' II, 950 A.H.] History of Sind, Trans. Malet. 119.

Elsewhere, the same author informs us that "grain became very dear in the cold season of that year [947 A.H.] about Bukkur, so much so that the people gave up their lives in search for bread; hearing of which the king [*scil.* Humāyūn who was besieging the fortress] gave much money from the treasury to his sepoys. One thin bread (chapatee) cost one *miskal*, *i.e.* 4 Mashas and 3½ Ruttees or about 6 annas." (*Ibid.*, p. 113.)

There can be little doubt that here also the author wrote

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[1] It may be worth noting that this rendering is not exactly correct. The words in the text are پنج مثقالی باشد که which are equivalent to 5 *Miṣqālīs*,' coins so called which contained a miṣqāl of silver, and were identical with the *tangah-i-miṣqālī* or *shāhrukhī*.

or meant to write *miṣqālī*, and that he intended to say that a loaf cost about a shāhrukhī (locally termed miṣqālī) in Humāyūn's camp before Bhakkar.

But it is not Mīr M'aṣūm alone who speaks of a silver coin which was known as the *miṣqālī* in Sind, but which closely resembled the shāhrukhī in weight as well as value The Miṣqālī is explicitly mentioned by the author of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* in a passage in which he records, the standard of fineness or Matt. of several kinds of silver money which were then extensively current or held in general estimation in this country :—

"In former times," he writes, "silver also was assayed by the *banwārī* system ; now it is calculated as follows :—if by refining 100 tolahs of *shāhī* silver which is current in 'Irāq and Khurāsān, and of the *lārī* and *misqālī* which are current in Tūrān, there are lost three tolahs and one *sarkh ;* and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish *narjīl*, and of the *mahmūdī* and *muzaffarī* of Gujrāt and Mālwah, 13 tolahs and 6½ māshas are lost, they become of the imperial standard." (*Op. cit*, Trans. Blochmann, I, 23.)

The upshot of the matter is that the broad thin silver pieces of Bābur and Humāyūn weighing about 72 grs. are *shāhrukhīs*. Thomas boldly gave them the name (Chronicles, 380–1). Later writers, have, however, declined to follow him. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole speaks of them vaguely as 'Transoxine dirhams' or 'dirhams of the Timurid standard' (B.M.C. Introd. lxxv). Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Whitehead also do not venture to give them their *specific* designation and remain content with the indefinite generic term "dirhams of the Central Asian type" (I.M.C. Introd. xv., lv ; P.M.C. xlv, lxxv). The object of this note is to show that these coins had a name of their own, and that that name was *shāhrukhī*. This was their most general or popular appellation, but there were also several synonymous designations, e.g. *Bāburī*, *Miṣqālī*, *Tanga-i-miṣqālī*, etc.

II. THE ILĀHI ERA.

The name of the New Solar Era founded by Akbar is familiar to all students of his coins, and there is scarcely a work on Mughal Numismatology which does not abound in allusions to the Ilāhī Era and the Ilāhī months. The institution of the new method of reckoning is also more or less cursorily referred to in the numerous publications relating to the life and character of the great Emperor, his age and religious opinions. It will therefore be probably news to many that we do not possess an exact or scientifically accurate knowledge of the System.[1] Abūl Faẓl has not been sparing of words on the matter, and the *ipsissima verba* of the Farmān directing the establishment of the *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī* are preserved in the *Akbarnāma*.[2] But Abūl Faẓl is sometimes unduly concise, as at others unprofitably verbose. If we turn for light to his contemporaries Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and Badāonī, their statements are found to be both more succinct and less instructive. All that the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* vouchsafes to say on the subject is that "the Ilāhī year was a true[3] solar year [سال شمسي] beginning with the Nauroz. The first year of this auspicious Era corresponded with Monday, the 27th Rab'ī u-l-Ākhir 963." Elliot and Dowson, V, 247. [Lakhnau Lithograph 242, last line.]

Badāonī is hardly more informing, and all that can be learnt from him will be found below:—

"The era of the Hijrah was now [XXVII R. 990 A.H.][4] abolished, and a new era was introduced of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *viz.* nine hundred and sixty-three. The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the *Niçāb-us-çibyān*.

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[1] Mr. Vincent Smith frankly tells his readers that "we are not informed as to the exact length of each ['Ilāhī] month, so that *accurate conversion into A.D. dates is impossible in most cases.* * * * The chronology in Vol. III of the A[kbar] N[āma] is ordinarily based on the Ilāhī calendar, and in consequence the *exact* A.D. equivalents usually cannot be worked out." Akbar, Appendix C, p. 448

[2] It is also cited in full by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, Bombay Lith. Pt. I, 166–171.

[3] There is nothing corresponding to the important qualifying epithet 'true' in the Lakhnau lithograph, but it would seem from Dowson's translation that his manuscript had the word حقيقي after شمسي

[4] Badāonī's chronology is frequently unreliable. He is often out by a year in his reckoning of the regnal years and both he and the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* go astray, as Dowson has pointed out, at the 22nd

[A vocabulary in rhyme which is a common school-book.] Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the Feasts of the Musalmāns and their glory were trodden down. * * * The new era was called the *Tārīkh i-Ilāhī* "

(Lowe's Trans II, 316; Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 306)

Abūl Faẓl enters into much greater detail, though he is far from being as communicative as we should wish. In the circumstances, everything that he says possesses value, and I have thought it desirable to bring together all the *useful details* that can be gleaned from his pages.

There is first of all, a long chapter on the Ilāhī Era in the Third Book of the *Āīn*. We there read :—

"His Majesty had long desired to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustān in order that perplexity might give place to easiness. He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra (*Flight*) which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of shortsighted, ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion, His Imperial Majesty in his graciousness dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts of *his subjects* did not carry out his design of suppressing it. * * * In 992 of the Novilunar year [هلالی] * * *, the imperial design was accomplished. Amīr Fatḥu'llah Shīrāzī, the representative of ancient Sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom, set himself to the fulfilment of this object, and taking as his base the recent Gurgānī Canon [برزیج جدید گورگانی اساس بر نهاد] began the era with the Accession of His Imperial Majesty. * * * The years and months are *natural Solar without intercalation*[1] [سال و ماه شمسی حقیقی شد و کبیسه از میان بر افتاد] and the Persian names of the months and days have been left unaltered. The days of the months are reckoned from 29 to 32 [شمارهٔ روزهای ماه از بیست و نه تا سی و دو باشد] and the two days

year (E.D. V, 246, Note) Mr. Vincent Smith also admits that the chronology of these two authors is not so trustworthy as that of the *Akbarnāma*. (Akbar, 461.)

[1] "The True or Natural Solar year" [سال شمسی حقیقی] is defined by Abūl Faẓl himself as the time of his [*scil.* the Sun's] quitting one determinate point till his return to it." (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 14, Text, I, 268 five lines from foot). Elsewhere, he gives its length according to Ptolemy Al Battānī (Albategnius) Naṣīruddīn Ṭūsī, etc., and says that according to the Gurgānī Tables, it was 14 minutes, 33 seconds less than the *Artificial* [اصطلاحی] solar year of 365 d., 6 hours. In other words it was 365 d., 5 h., 45 m., 27 s. (*Ibid.*, II, 24.) "The True or Natural Solar month" is the period that the Sun remains in one *sign*." (*Ibid.*, II, 14.)

of the last are called *Rūz o Shab* [و دو روز پسین را بروز و شب نامزد ساختند] The names of the months of each era are tabulated for facility of reference."

In this Table, Abūl Faẓl gives the names of the months beginning from Farwardīn and ending with Isfandārmaz. in three separate columns under three distinct headings, *viz* 'Era of Yazdijird,' the 'Malikī Era' and the 'Ilāhī Era,' with the epithets 'Old Style' [قدیمی], 'Jalālī' and 'Ilāhī' respectively affixed to distinguish the homonymous names from one another and prevent confusion.

Āīn i Akbarī. Jarett's Trans. II, 30–31;

Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 277–8.

The third chapter of the second volume of the *Akbarnāma* also contains an "account of the establishment of the New and Divine Era from the accession of H.M. the Shāhinshāh." Here we are informed that "as the world-lighting New Year [نوروز جهان افروز] followed close upon the Accession, and as the latter is nourished by the quickening glances of the sun, the intervening fraction of time * * * was treated as the decorative border [عنوان] to the days of the New Year [ایام نوروزی] * * *. and the beginning of the great Era took effect from the coming New Year. The principle of the calculations [مدار حساب] rested on the *true solar months and years*, [سال و ماه شمسي حقیقي] and H.M. the Shāhinshāh, out of his fortune and greatness, and under the influence of a Divine inspiration, designated this grand Epoch, as the Tārīkh Ilāhī (Divine Era). Secretaries of a happy pen recorded it in rolls and rescripts [منشیر و دفاتر] The names of the months of the Era were made identical with the famous names of the Persian months, *but were adorned in addition by the title Ilāhī* (Divine), *e.g. Farwardīn, Divine month, Ardībihisht, Divine month* [بلقب الهی مزین گردانیدند چون فروردین ماه الهي و اردی‌بهشت ماه الهی] * * * As in some months there were two days above thirty, they were called respectively *Rūz* and *Shab* (Day and Night). By the blessings of H M's attention, the intercalary days [ایام مسترقه بر افتاد][1]

[1] This is the name given by the Arab astronomers to "the five embolismal or supplementary days added to the twelfth month of the old Persian (or Yazdajardī) year." مسترقه means 'carried off, removable from سرق 'to take away clandestinely, to steal." (Richardson, Persian English Dict. s.v.) They are also called خمسهٔ دزدیده The "stolen five." Alberūnī says that "the reason of their being called *Almasrūḳa*

were abolished, and the *months like the years became Solar.* [ماہ چون سال شمسی شد] * * * The pillar of the founders of this sacred era was the Learned of the Age, the Plato of Cycles, Amīr Fatḥu'llah Shīrāzī, whose title was 'Aẓdu-d-daula. He it was who in a happy hour laid the foundation of this heaven-soaring edifice. Although the foundation took place in 992 (1584), yet as the position of events from the beginning of the sacred accession will be based upon the Divine Era, it appeared proper to enter, the Era among the events of the year of the Accession." *Akbarnāma*, Trans. H. Beveridge, II, 15–17 : Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 9–10. (The Italics are mine)

The sum and substance of it is that the Era was founded in the 29th year of Akbar (992 A.H.), that its initial date was Wednesday, 28 Rab'īu-ṣ-ṣānī, 963 A.H., that the year was a *True Solar year*, which means that *its length was* 365 *d.*, 5 *h.*, 45 *m* , *and* 27 *s.*. that there was no intercalation, that the names of the months and days were the same as those of the Old Persian or Yazdajardī Era, that the months were *true solar months*. of which the lengths varied from 29 days to 32. and that the 31st day was called *Rūz* and the 32nd *Shab*.[1]

But we are left in ignorance of a most important point. We are not informed which months had 29 days, which 30 and which 31 or 32. It is obvious that a knowledge of the precise length of each month is indispensable for what we require—the accurate conversion of Ilāhī dates into the corresponding dates of the Hijra or the Era of Christ.

In this connection, it is obligatory to notice the late Doctor Taylor's article on 'Ilāhī synchronisms of some Hijrī New years' Days." (Num. Sup. XVI, Art. 100.) The calculations embodied therein must have cost the author no small amount of labour.

It is, therefore, with great regret that I feel constrained to say that his industry and zeal have been made nugatory and his results invalidated by an unhappy fundamental error.

We have seen Abūl Faẓl explicitly declaring that the years of the Ilāhī Era were True [حقیقی] *Solar* years, that *there was no intercalation* [کبیسه] , and that the number of days in a month varied from 29 to 32. It is therefore unfortunate that all the calculations of Dr. Taylor and his Table II are founded on the *supposition* that the Ilāhī months resembled

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and *Almustaraka* is that they are not reckoned as part of any one of the months." (Chronology of Ancient Nations, Tr Sachau. 53.) They are the 'five Gāthās' of the Indian Pārsis and the Zoroastrians in Irān.

[1] Abūl Faẓl does not explicitly say which day was called *Rūz* and which *Shab*, but " the account given by Mu'atamid Khān in his Iqbālnāma shows that the 31st day was called Rūz and the 32nd Shab." Beveridge, Akbarnāma, Trans. II, 16, Note 3.

their Yazdajardī namesakes in being of 30 days' uniform length. and that the total was made up to 365 by intercalating five days (or *Gāthās*) at the end of Isfandārmaz. Both these assumptions are absolutely negatived by the words of Abūl Faẓl. The Gāthās had no place whatever in the scheme of the Ilāhī months, and the schedule of Ilāhī days in Table II must be said to have been constructed on an erroneous hypothesis. It follows that all the 'Ilāhī synchronisms' of the initial or New year's Days of Hijrī 964-1070. which Dr. Taylor has so laboriously deduced, and which have been reproduced in the Panjāb Museum Catalogue (Appendix B, p. 435) must, *ipso facto*, be unreliable. And this is not an *a priori* conclusion which may be probable, but is incapable of proof. It is rendered absolutely certain and incontrovertible by a comparison of several of Dr. Taylor's results with similar synchronisms which are explicitly recorded in and can be gathered from the *Akbarnāma* or other contemporary chronicles, and of which the accuracy is not subject to doubt or cavil.

Let us take as our first and illustrative example the year at the very top of the list. Dr. Taylor's Ilāhī date for 1 Muḥarram 964 A H. is 30 Ābān. Now Abūl Faẓl explicitly states that Thursday, 2 Muḥarram 964, corresponded to 23 Ābān. (*Akbarnāma*, Text, II, 37, l. 11 ; Beveridge's Trans. II. 60.) 1 Muḥarram must have therefore, coincided with the 22nd of Ābān and not the 30th. It will conduce to clarity to set out several other of Dr. Taylor's deductions and the categorical statements of the contemporary annalists in parallel columns. It will be seen that the discrepancy amounts, in some cases, to nine and even ten days.

Dr. Taylor.	*Akbarnāma*
1 Muḥarram, 966 A.H. = 7 Ābān.	17 Muḥarram, 966 A.H. = 17 Ābān.
(Num. Sup. XVI, 709.)	(*Akbarnāma*, Text, II, 76, l. 17; Trans. II. 117.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram 966 = 1 Ābān.
1 Muḥarram, 968 H. = 16 Mihr.	10 Muḥarram, 968 H. = 18 Mihr. A.N. Text, II, 116, l. 8 : Tr. II. 178 ∴ 1 Muḥarram, 968 = 9 Mihr.
1 Muḥarram, 969 H. = 5 Mihr.	17 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 968 H. = 16 Mihr. A.N. Text, II, 148, l. 22 ; Tr II, 230. ∴ 1 Muḥarram, 969 A.H. = 29 Shahrīvar.

Dr. Taylor.	*Akbarnāma.*
1 Muḥarram, 972 H = 2 Shahrīvar.	2 Muḥarram, 972 H. = 29 Amardād. A.N. Text, II, 229, l. 16; Trans II, 350. ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 28 Amardād.
1 Muḥarram, 975 H. = 30 Tīr.	11 Muḥarram, 975 H. = 6 Amardād. (A.N. Text II, 298, l. 10; Trans. 437.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 27 or 28 Tīr.
1 Muḥarram, 978 H. = 27 Khūrdād.	3 Muḥarram, 978 H. = 27 Khūrdād. (A.N. Text, II, 353, l. 5; Trans. II, 514. ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 25 Khūrdād.
Muḥarram, 989 H. = 2 Isfandārmaz.	2 Muḥarram, 989 H. = 28 Bahman. (A.N Text, III, 337, l. 24; Trans. III, 495.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 27 Bahman.

All these discrepancies relate to years falling within the Akbarī period. I will now take some instances pertaining to the reign of Jahāngīr, and contrast Dr. Taylor's results with dates which can be gleaned from that Emperor's own Memoirs.

Dr. Taylor.	*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.*
1 Muḥarram, 1020 H. = 1 Gāthā, 5 Ilāhī.	4 Muḥarram, 1020 H. = 29 Isfandārmaz, 5 Julūs (*Tūzuk*, Text, 92, l. 25; Trans I, 191-2) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 26 Isfandārmaz, 5 *Julūs*
1 Muḥarram, 1023 H. = 28 Bahman, 8 Ilāhī.	10 Muḥarram, 1023 H. = 1 Isfandārmaz, 8 Julūs. (*Tūzuk*, Text. 125, l. 28; Trans. I, 256.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 22 Bahman, 8 *Julūs*.
1 Muḥarram, 1026 H. = 26 Dai, 11 Ilāhī.	12 Muḥarram, 1026 H = 1 Bahman, 11 Julūs. (*Tūzuk*. Text, 171, l. 20; Trans. I, 347.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 19 or 20 Dai, 11 *Julūs*.

The following examples are taken from the *Bādishāhnāma* and have reference to the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Dr. Taylor.	*Bādishāhnāma.*
1 Muḥarram, 1052 H. = 17 Farwardīn, 15 Ilāhī.	8 Muḥarram, 1052 H. = 19 Farwardīn, 15 R. (B.N. Text, II, 290, l. 7.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 12 Farwardīn, 15th *Solar* year.
1 Muḥarram, 1053 H. = 7 Farwardīn, 16 Ilāhī.	Last day (سلخ) of Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1052 H. = 1 Farwardīn 16 R. (B.N. II, 332, l. 20); 18 Muḥarram, 1053H. = 19 Farwardīn. (B.N. II, 333, l. 17.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 2 Farwardīn, 16th *Solar* year.
1 Muḥarram, 1055 H. = 20 Isfandārmaz, 17 Ilāhī.	19 Muḥarram, 1055 H. = 28 Isfandārmaz. (B.N. Text, II, 412, l. 15.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 10 Isfandārmaz, 17th *Solar* year
1 Muḥarram, 1056 H. = 10 Isfandārmaz, 18 Ilāhī.	Last day (سلخ) of Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1055 H. = 29 Bahman. (B.N. Text, II, 486, l. 10.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram = 30 Bahman, 18th *Solar* year.
1 Muḥarram, 1057 H. = 29 Bahman, 19 Ilāhī.	24 Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1056 = 12 Bahman. (B.N. Text, II, 626, l. 13.) ∴ 1 Muḥarram, 1057 = 18 Bahman, 19th *Solar* year.

It is hardly necessary to multiply instances, and it is not at all difficult to see where the root of all these errors lies. It is obviously in Dr. Taylor's scheme of the Ilāhī days, and the question is, Is it not possible, Abūl Faẓl's reticence notwithstanding, to discover the exact length of each of the twelve months? Some light is thrown on this obscure point by a mnemonic couplet which is to be found in a neglected corner of Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* (Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 215, l. 7), and is also quoted in the Ghiyaṣu-l-lughāt. The latter writer gives a brief account of Akbar's Era under the word فصل (Lithograph of 1893 A.C., p. 324), and then says :—

و شمار روزهای ماه از بیست و نه تا سي و دو باشد بموجب بیت مشهور :

لا و لا ب لا ولا لا شش مه است لل کط و کط لل شهور کوته است

"The number of days in the months are from 29 to 32 in conformity with the well-known couplet: 31 (ی), 31, (ی), 32 (ب), 31 (ی), 31 (ی) and 31 (ی) [days, there are] in six months; 30, 30 (ی), 29 (ط) and 29 (ط), 30, 30 [days there are in the] short months."

It will be observed that no attempt is made in this distich to categorically state the number of days assigned to each of the twelve months *in the order of their occurrence*. All that the words themselves convey is that six months were longer than others. Five of these longer months had 31 days each, and one 32. Four of the six short months had 30 days each, and two 29 days each. So far there is nothing in the phraseology to warrant the assumption that the numbers expressed by Abjad (31, 31, 32, etc.), are to be consecutively arranged and a correspondence or parallel relation understood between them and the serial order of the Ilāhī months. It is perfectly true that if the expressions are strictly interpreted, they will not bear any such meaning. But a mnemonic verse is not to be literally construed like a sale deed or testament. Its author is often obliged to content himself with saying much less than he means and leave a good deal to be understood by implication and inference. Assuming then that such a correspondence is really implied between the sequence of the *Abjad* vocables and the serial order of the Ilāhī months (and I have ascertained that such *is* the sense in which the distich has been always understood by Musalmān scholars), we should have the following scheme:—

Farwardīn	..	..	31 days
Ardībihisht	..	..	31 ,,
Khūrdād	..	..	32 ,,
Tīr ..	..	..	31 ,,
Amardād	..	..	31 ,,
Shahrīvar	..	..	31 ,,
Mihr ..	..	..	30 ,,
Ābān ..	..	..	30 ,,
Āzar ..	..	..	29 ,,
Dai ..	..	..	29 ,,
Bahman	..	..	30 ,,
Isfandārmaz	..	..	30 ,,

It is clear that the problem would be solved if this scheme could be substantiated. Unfortunately, it is not at all difficult for a student of the Mughal Chronicles to put his finger on several recorded synchronisms which appear, at first sight, to militate against its correctness.

Thus Abūl Faẓl declares that the 32nd day of Amardād Māh-i-Ilāhī (XIV R) corresponded to Tuesday, 29 Ṣafar, 977 (A.N. II, 340, l. 13; Trans. II, 498), which shows that Amar-

dād had 32 days in that year at least, and not 31, as we should suppose from the foregoing schedule. Similarly, we are informed that the news of Hemū's arrival at Dehlī reached Akbar on 8 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 963 = 31 Mihr, Māh-ī-Ilāhī (I R) which would indicate that 31 days and not 30 were allotted to Mihr in that year. (*Ibid.*, Text, II, 26, l. 22; Trans. II. 45) Once more, he informs us that Akbar marched from Ajmer to Goganda on 31 Mihr, Māh-i-Ilāhī (XXI R). (A.N. Text, III, 191, l. 3; Trans III, 369.) The Emperor Jahāngīr also has left it on record that Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan, whom he had sent to Burhānpūr returned on 31 Mihr, Māh-i-Ilāhī (VIII R) corresponding to 8 Ramẓān, 1022 A.H. (*Tūzuk*. Text 123, l. 30; Trans. I. 252). Again, we have the statement that Akbar halted at Ilahābās on the 32nd day (*Shab*) of Tīr, Māh-i-Ilāhī (XIXth year), and that he left it on 1 Amardād, which would point to Tīr and not Khūrdād having had 32 days to its share in that year. (*Akbarnāma*, Text, III, 88, l. 5; Trans. III, 124.) Lastly, it is clear from two passages in the *Tuzuk* that Āẕar had 30 and not 29 days reckoned to it in the eleventh as well as the twelfth year of Jahāngīr's reign. (*Op. cit.*, Text, 170. l. 8, 204, l. 32; Tr. I, 344, 413.)

This would point to our being as far from a satisfactory solution as ever, but that would not seem to be true either; and some, at least, of the statements embodied in the formula would appear, from these identical Chronicles, to be correct According to the schedule, Ardībihisht had 31 days, and this is in perfect accord with the *Akbarnāma*, in which it is expressly stated that the Emperor arrived at Āgra and alighted at the Bangālī Maḥal on 31 Ardībihisht, Māh-i-Ilāhī corresponding to 24 Ẕī-l-qa'da 976, XIV R. (*Op. cit.*, Text, II, 340, l. 5; Trans. II 497.) Again, 31 days are given also to Shahrīvar by the formula, and this item, too, would appear to be correct, for Jahāngīr informs us that Muqarrab Khān took leave to go to Aḥmadābād on 31st Shahrīvar, Māh-i-Ilāhī of the 11th year. (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I, 334; Text, 163, l. 18), and that he himself returned from a hunting excursion on 31st Shahrīvar in the 12th year to Mandū (*Ibid.*, Text, 193, l. 12; Tr. I, 390.) Lastly, the maximum number of days (32), is assigned in the formula to Khūrdād, and this also would seem to be correct for we read in the *Bādishāhnāma* that 7 Jumādā I, 1057 A.H. corresponded to 32 Khūrdād, and that the 8th coincided with the first day of Tīr. (*Op. cit.*, Text, II, 514, four lines from foot.)

These coincidences, however partial are reassuring, and naturally lead one to prosecute the inquiry, for which the requisite materials are by no means wanting. All students of the original authorities, which have been so often cited in the foregoing pages, know that there are buried in Chronicles hundreds of Hijrī-Ilāhī synchronisms, which are all the more useful because the corresponding week-days are also mentioned.

In these circumstances, one is naturally induced to ask if it is not possible to reconstruct the Ilāhī system of chronology inductively on the sure basis of these data,—the Hijrī date, its Ilāhī equivalent and the week-day. To this question, I have set myself to find an answer in the hope of recovering the secret of Shāh Fatḥu'llah's system, and beg permission to lay the results of the investigation before those who take any interest in the subject.

It will be, perhaps, best to give, at the outset, one or two examples in illustration of my method.

Abūl Faẓl informs us that 30 Farwardīn (Vth year) corresponded to Tuesday, 12 Rajab, 967 A.H , and that 9 Ardībihisht of the same year coincided with Friday, 22 Rajab, 967 A.H. Any one who will take the trouble of working out the intervening days must see that the last day of Farwardīn must have been the 31st (A.N. II, Tr. II, 152, Text, II 100–1). Similarly, he states that 17 Ardībihisht = 11 Sha'bān, 968 A.H. was a Sunday, and that 2 Khūrdād = 27 Sha'bān was a Tuesday. (*Ibid.*, Trans. II, 218, Text, II, 140–1.) It is clear that Tuesday would be in serial order only if Ardībihisht had 31 days accounted to it.

Again Jahāngīr has left it on record that 29 Isfandārmaz, 5 *Julūs* corresponded to 4 Muḥarram, 1020 A.H. and that the 6th year of his *Julūs* began on 1 Farwardīn = 6 Muḥarram, Monday. It is therefore obvious that Isfandārmaz could not have had more than 30 days in that year. (*Vide* Tūzuk, Text, 92, l. 25 and 93, l. 5, Trans. I, 191.)

The point is that whenever we can pick out from the Chronicles solar dates pertaining to any two consecutive Ilāhī months along with the week days of both, it is easy to find out by a simple calculation, how many days were actually reckoned to the earlier or antecedent month in that particular Solar year. The corresponding Hijrī dates are not essential, but they are not unuseful and provide a serviceable check or control which gives a greater measure of certainty to our results.

It stands out clearly from the following data that Farwardīn had 31 days:—

30 Farwardīn, 5th R.Y. = 12 Rajab, 967 A.H., Tuesday.
9 Ardībihisht (*ib.*) = 22 Rajab, *ib.* Friday.

A.N. Tr. II, 152.

29 Farwardīn XIII Julūs, Eve of Wednesday.
1 Ardībihisht XIII Julūs, Eve of Saturday.

Tzk. Tr. II, 7–8.

30 Farwardīn XIV Julūs, Friday.
1 Ardībihisht XIV Julūs, Sunday.

Tzk. Tr. II, 84.

23 Farwardīn, XV Julūs, Saturday.
1 Ardībihisht XV Julūs, Monday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 153–4.

But it would appear from the following that only 30 days were sometimes allotted to Farwardīn.

1 Farwardīn XII Julūs, Tuesday.
1 Ardībihisht XII Julūs, Thursday.
Tzk. Trans. I, 370, 375.

All the under-mentioned synchronisms show that Ardībihisht had 31 days :—

17 Ardībihisht = 11 Sha'bān, 968 A.H , Sunday.
2 Khūrdād = 27 Sha'bān, 968 A.H., Tuesday.
A.N. Trans. II, 218.

27 Ardībihisht XIII Julūs, Thursday.
3 Khūrdād XIII Julūs, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 11, 12.

12 Ardībihisht XIV Julūs, Thursday.
2 Khūrdād XIV Julūs, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 88–9.

25 Ardībihisht XV Julūs, Thursday.
Khūrdād XV Julūs, Thursday.
Tzk Tr. II, 155, 159.

The serial dating of these three passages indicates that 32 days were reckoned to Khūrdād.

13 Khūrdād = 23 Shawwāl, 972 A.H., Thursday.
3 Tīr = 14 Ẕī-l-ḥajja (*recte* Ẕī-l-qa'da), Friday.
A.N. Trans. II, 378, 380.

26 Khūrdād XI Julūs, Wednesday.
6 Tīr XI Julūs, Monday.
Tzk. Tr. I, 327.

8 Khūrdād XV Julūs, Thursday.
4 Tīr XV Julūs, Thursday.
Tzk. Trans. II, 159, 162.

But an examination of the following passages yields only 31 days for Khūrdād.

25 Khūrdād XIV Julūs, Saturday.
3 Tīr XIV Julūs, Monday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 93.

31 Khūrdād XIII J., Thursday.
7 Tīr XIII J., Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 15

The fourth month Tīr had sometimes 31 days.
20 Tīr = 21 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 971 A.H., Saturday.
24 Amardād = 26 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 971 A.H., Saturday.
A.N. Trans. II, 341, 346

16 Tīr = 20 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 974 H., Saturday.
6 Amardād = 11 Muḥarram, 975 H., Saturday.
A.N. Tr. II, 437.

29 Tīr XII J., Thursday.
5 Tīr XII J., Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. I, 380, 382.

But occasionally 32 days were accounted to it.

27 Tīr XIV J., Thursday.
9 Amardād XIV J., Thursday.
16 Amardād XIV J., Thursday.
Tzk. Trans. II, 94, 95.

31 Tīr XIII J , Eve of Sunday.
1 Amardād *ib.*, Tuesday.
10 Amardād *ib* , Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 21, 22.

So Amardād also had in some years 31 days.

26 Amardād XII J., Thursday.
2 Shahrīvar *ib.*, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. I, 385, 386.

31 Amardād XIII J., Thursday.
7 Shahrīvar *ib.*, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 24, 25

16 Amardād XIV J., Thursday.
1 Shahrīvar *ib.*, Saturday.
Tzk. Tr II, 95, 97.

But in others the last day was the 32nd.
32 Amardād (R) = 29 Ṣafar, 977 H., Tuesday.
A.N. Text, II, 340, Tr. II, 498.

Rūz, *i.e.* 31 Amardād = 2 Rab'ī II, 980 H., Tuesday.
19 Shahrīvar = 22 Rab'ī II, 980 H., Monday.
A.N. Tr. II, 540.

As a rule there were 31 days in Shahrīvar.
27 Shahrīvar = 18 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 967 A.H., Monday.
4 Mihr = 26 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 967 A.H., Tuesday.
A.N. Trans. II, 174, 177.

29 Shahrīvar XIII J., Friday.
4 Mihr *ib.*, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 34, 36.

30 Shahrīvar XIV J., Sunday.
5 Mihr *ib.*, Saturday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 98, 99.

30 Shahrīvar XV J., Monday.
1 Mihr *ib.*, Wednesday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 172, 173.

But only 30 days would seem to have been allotted to it in the 16th year of the Ilāhī Era of Akbar.

Night of 27 Shahrīvar = 2 Jumādā I, 980, Wednesday.
5 Mihr = 9 Jumādā I. 980, Wednesday.
A N. Trans. II, 542, 544.

The normal quota of Mihr seems to have been 30 days.

26 Mihr = 26 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 965 H., Sunday.
17 Ābān = 17 Muḥarram, 966 H., Sunday.
A.N. Tr. II, 117.

30 Mihr, XIII J., Tuesday.
2 Ābān, XIII J., Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 44.

24 Mihr XIV J., Thursday.
1 Ābān XIV J., Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 100, 101.

But in all the passages cited below, the last day of Mihr is explicitly said to have been the 31st.

31 Mihr = 8 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 963 H.
A.N. Tr. II, 45

Akbar marched from Ajmer on 31 Mihr Ilāhī XXIst year.
A.N. Tr. III, 269.

31 Mihr VIII J. = 8 Ramẓān, 1022 H.
Tūzuk, Tr. I, 252.

Three extracts from the *Tūzuk* indicate that Ābān had 30 days.

29 Ābān XIII J., Wednesday.
1 Āẕar *ib.*, Friday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 49.

30 Ābān XIV J., Friday.
2 Āẕar *ib.*, Sunday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 109.

25 Ābān XV J., Monday
9 Āẕar *ib.*, Monday
Tzk. Tr. II, 182, 183.

But the day-to-day record of the events of the 12th year in Jahāngīr's 'Memoirs' shows that only 29 days were assigned to it in that year.

21 Ābān XII Julūs, Monday.
24 Ābān *ib.*, Thursday.
26 Ābān *ib.*, Saturday.
29 Ābān *ib.*, Tuesday.
1 Āẕar *ib.*, Wednesday.

Tzk. Tr. I, 404–6.

It can be easily seen from the undermentioned entries that 29 days were usually accounted to Āẕar.

11 Āẕar = 4 Rabʿī I, 968 H., Saturday.
9 Dai = 2 Rabʿī II, 968 H., Friday.

A.N. Trans. II, 187.

27 Āẕar XIII J., Wednesday.
2 Dai *ib.*, Sunday.

Tzk. Tr. II, 58.

27 Āẕar XIV J., Thursday.
5 Dai *ib.*, Thursday.
12 Dai *ib.*, Thursday.

Tzk. Tr. II, 112.

But it is equally obvious that in the 12th and 15th, it had one extra day given to it.

26 Āẕar [23 in the Trans. is a misprint] = 4 Ṣafar, 964 H., Monday.
6 Dai = 14 Ṣafar, 964 H., Thursday.

A.N. Text, II, 48, l. 10; Tr II, 75, 76.

30 Āẕar XII J., Thursday.

Tūzuk, Tr. I, 413 (*vide* also *ib.*, I, 344).

26 Āẕar XV J., Thursday.
4 Dai *ib.*, Friday.

Tzk. Tr. II, 187, 190.

Dai appears from the following date-entries to have had only 29 days.

27 Dai = 23 Jumādā I, 971 H., Saturday.
2 Bahman = 28 Jumādā II, 971 H., Wednesday.
A.N. Text, II, 200, l. 23; 201, l. 12; Tr. II, 312, 313.

28 Dai XII Julūs, Thursday.
1 Bahman *ib.*, Saturday.

Tzk. Tr. I, 426, 428.

22 Dai XIII J., Saturday.
1 Bahman *ib.*, Sunday.

Tzk. Tr. II, 67, 69.

The serial dates registered below point to only 29 having been assigned to Bahman in some years.

4 Bahman = 8 Jumādā I, 969 H., Wednesday.
5 Isfandārmaz = 8 Jumādā II, 969 H., Friday.
A.N. Trans. II, 240, 244.

26 Bahman IX Julūs, Sunday.
10 Isfandārmaz *ib.*, Saturday.
Tzk. Tr. I, 275, 276.

24 Bahman XIV Julūs, Thursday.
1 Isfandārmaz *ib.*, Wednesday.
2 *ib.* *ib.*, Thursday.
Tzk Tr. II, 120, 121.

But 30 days are given to it by the formula and this is borne out by the following dates;

27 Bahman XII Julūs, Thursday.
1 Isfandārmaz *ib.*, Monday.
Tzk. Tr. I, 435.

19 Bahman XIII Julūs, Thursday.
3 Isfandārmaz *ib.*, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 73.

Any one who works out the week days given in the following entries will find that Isfandārmaz had 30 days.

27 Isfandārmaz = 7 Ramẓān, 975 H., Sunday.
1 Farwardīn = 11 Ramẓān, 975 H., Thursday.
A.N. Tr. II, 477, 482.

29 Isfandārmaz = 4 Muḥarram, 1020 H., Saturday.
1 Farwardīn = 6 Muḥarram, 1020 H., Monday
Tzk. Tr I, 191, 192.

29 Isfandārmaz XIII Julūs, Tuesday.
1 Farwardīn XIV, *ib.*, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 77, 78.

30 Isfandārmaz XIV Julūs, Thursday.
1 Farwardīn XV Julūs, Friday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 128, 130.

28 Isfandārmaz XV Julūs, Friday.
1 Farwardīn XVI Julūs, Monday.
4 Farwardīn XVI Julūs, Thursday.
Tzk. Tr. II, 198, 199.

In a word, it would appear that, *normally*,

Farwardīn had	..	31 days, but sometimes 30
Ardībihisht	..	31 days.
Khūrdād ..	..	32 days but at times 31
Tīr ..	..	31 ,, ,, ,, ,, 32

Amardād ..	..	31	days	but	at	times 32
Shahrīvar ..	..	31	,,	,,	,,	,, 30
Mihr ..	..	30	,,	,,	,,	,, 31
Ābān ..	..	30	,,	,,	,,	,, 29
Āẕar ..	..	29	,,	,,	,,	,, 30
Dai ..	..	29	,,	,,	,,	,, 30
Bahman ..	..	30	,,	,,	,,	,, 29
Isfandārmaz	..	30	,,			

Briefly, the conclusion to which the evidence points is that the formula is an empirical statement, a convenient rule for ascertaining and remembering the number of days *ordinarily* accounted to each of the twelve Ilāhī months. It contains a great deal of the truth, but not the whole truth. It ignores occasional deviations from the normal limits, to which the recorded dates bear evidence. But we have as yet no reasons for holding that those deviations were frequent or common In these circumstances, the question for the *practical* chronologist is, what are the actual results of the application of the formula ?

For this purpose, I will select for conversion into Ilāhī dates the initial days of the same Hijrī years, 964, 966, etc., that have been the subject of discussion, and compare the results of the application of the formula with those arrived at by Dr. Taylor.

Our first example was 1 Muḥarram, 964 H.

Now 1. i. 2 Ilāhī = 9 Jumādā 1. 964 A H. [E.D. V, 246].

∴ = 1. i. 964 A.H. + 126 days (Table I).

∴ 1. i. 964 A.H. = 1 i. 2 Ilāhī − 126 days.

= 23 Ābān, 1 Ilāhī (Table II).

According to Abūl Faẓl's reckoning (A.N. Tr. II, 60). 1 Muḥarram, 964, must have coincided with 22 Ābān, which is a difference of only one day.

Dr. Taylor gives 30 Ābān, 1 Ilāhī.

Now let me take our second instance.

1 Muḥarram, 966 A.H.

Now 1. i. 4 Ilāhī = 2 Jumādā II, 966 (E.D. V, 246).

∴ by Table I = 1. i. 966 + 149 days.

∴ 1. i. 966 = 1. i. 4 Ilāhī − 149 days.

= 30 Mihr, 3 Ilāhī (Table II).

According to the *Akbarnāma* (Tr. II. 117) it would be = 1 Ābān—again a difference of only one day. Dr. Taylor gives 7 Ābān, 3 Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 968 A.H.

1. i. 6 Ilāhī = 24 Jumādā II, 968 A.H.

∴ = 1 i. 968 A.H. + 171 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 968 A.H. = 1. i. 6 Ilāhī − 171 days.
8 = Mihr, 5 Ilāhī.
The *Akbarnāma* result is 9th Mihr.
Dr. Taylor gives 16 Mihr, 5 Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 969 A.H.
1. i. 7 Ilāhī = 5 Rajab, 969 A.H. (E.D. V, 246).
∴ = 1. i. 969 A.H. + 181 days. (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 969 A.H. = 1. i. 7 Ilāhī − 181 days.
= 29 Shahrīvar, 6 Ilāhī (Table II).
The *Akbarnāma* result is identical.
Dr. Taylor gives 5 Mihr, 6 Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 972 A.H.
Now 1. i. 10 Ilāhī = 8 Sha'bān, 972 A.H. (E.D. V, 246).
∴ = 1. i. 972 A.H. + 214 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 972 A.H. = 1. i 10 Ilāhī − 214 days.
= 27 Amardād, 9 Ilāhī (Table II).
It would have been = 28 Amardād according to the reckoning in the *Akbarnāma* (Tr. II, 350). Dr. Taylor gives 2 Shahrīvar, 9 Ilāhī.

1 Muharram, 975 A.H.
Now, 1. i. 13 Ilāhi = 11 Ramẓān 975, A.H. (E.D. V, 246).
∴ = 1. i. 975 A.H. + 246 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 975 A.H. = 1. i 13 Ilāhī − 246 days.
= 26 Tīr, 12 Ilāhī.
The *Akbarnāma* would give 27th or 28th Tīr (Tr. II. 437).
Dr. Taylor has 30 Tīr, 12 Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 978 A.H.
Now, 1. i. 16 Ilāhī = 14 Shawwāl, 978 A.H. (E.D. V, 246).
∴ = 1. i. 978 A.H. + 279 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i, 978 A.H. = 1. i. 16 Ilāhī − 279 days.
= 25 Khūrdād, 15 Ilāhī.
The *Akbarnāma* would give the same (Tr. II. 514). Dr. Taylor has 27th Khūrdād, 15 Ilāhī.

1. Muḥarram, 989 A.H.
Now 1. i. 26 Ilāhī = 5 Ṣafar, 989 A.H. (E.D. V, 246)
∴ = 1. i. 989 A.H. + 34 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 989 A.H. = 1. i. 26 Ilāhī − 34 days.
= 27 Bahman, 25 Ilāhī.
This is again in perfect accord with the *Akbarnāma* (Tr. 495). Dr. Taylor gives 2 Isfandārmaz, 25 Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 1020 A.H.
Now, 1. i. VI Julūs = 6 Muḥarram, 1020 A.H.
∴ = 1. i. 1020 A.H. + 5 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 1020 A.H. = 1. i. VI Julūs − 5 days.
= 26 Isfandārmaz, V Julūs (Table II).
Jahāngīr's reckoning would yield the same (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 191–2). Dr. Taylor gives 1 Gāthā, V Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 1023 A.H.
Now, 1. i. IX Julūs = 9 Ṣafar, 1023 A.H.
∴ = 1. i. 1023 A.H. + 38 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 1023 A.H. = 1. i. IX Julūs − 38 days.
= 23 Bahman, VIII Julūs (Table II).
The *Tūzuk* date would be 22nd (Trans. I, 256). Dr. Taylor has 28th.

1 Muḥarram, 1026 A.H.
Now, 1. i. XII Julūs = 12 Rabʿī I. 1026 A.H.
∴ = 1. i. 1026 A.H. + 70 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 1026 A.H. = 1. i. XII Julūs − 70 days.
= 20 Dai XI Julūs (Table II).
The date according to the *Tūzuk* would have been either 20th or 19th Dai (Trans. I, 347).
Dr. Taylor gives 26 Dai, 11 Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 1052 A.H.
Now, 1. i. XVIth Solar year = 30 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1052 A.H.
(*Bādishāhnāma*, II, 332).
∴ = 1. i. 1052 A H. + 354 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 1052 A.H. = 1. i. XVIth Solar year − 354 days.
= 12 Farwardīn XVth Solar year.
Cf. *Bādishāhnāma*, II, 290, which would give exactly the same. Dr. Taylor gives 17 Farwardīn, 15 Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 1053 A.H.
Now, 1. i. XVIth Solar year = 30 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1052 A.H. (*supra*).
∴ 1. i. 1053 A.H. = 2 Farwardīn XVIth Solar year.
Cf. *Bādishāhnāma*, II, 333, which has 1 Farwardīn
Dr. Taylor gives 7 Farwardīn, XVI Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 1055 A.H.
Now, 1. i. XVIIIth Solar year = 21 Muḥarram, 1055 A.H.
Bād. Nām. II, 413

∴ = 1. i. 1055 A.H. + 20 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i 1055 A.H. = 1. i. XVIIIth Solar year − 20 days.
= 11 Isfandārmaz, XVIIth Solar year.
Cf. *Bād. Nām.* II, 412, which would give 10th Isfandārmaz. Dr. Taylor has 20th Isfandārmaz, XVII Ilāhī.

1 Muḥarram, 1056 A.H.
Now, 1. i. XIXth Solar year = 3 Ṣafar, 1056 A.H. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 491).
∴ = 1. i. 1056 A.H. + 32 days (Table I).
∴ 1. i. 1056 A.H. = 1. i. XIXth Solar year − 32 days.
= 29 Bahman, XVIIIth Solar year.
Bād. Nām. II, 486 would give 30 Bahman. Dr. Taylor gives 10th Isfandārmaz.

1 Muḥarram, 1057 A.H.
Now, 1. i. XXth Solar year = 14 Ṣafar, 1057 A.H. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 635).
∴ = 1. i. 1057 A.H. + 43 days (Table I)
∴ 1. i. 1057 A.H. = 1. i. XXth Solar year − 43 days.
= 18 Bahman, XIXth Solar year.
Exactly the same equivalent would be yielded by *Bād. Nām.* II, 626.
Dr. Taylor gives 29 Bahman, XIX Ilāhī.

It is now clear that the formula gives substantially accurate results. In seven cases out of sixteen, these results are in complete accord with the synchronisms obtained from the chronicles; in nine there is a difference or error, but it does not exceed one day in any case. Nor is it difficult to trace the cause of the discrepancy. We have seen that the number of days assigned to each month was not *absolutely* fixed. There *was* a general rule determining the *normal* duration of each, but this normal duration varied within certain narrow limits.

These small variations were due, in the first place, to the re-adjustments which were deemed necessary forb ringing the Nauroz into *exact* accord with the day of the sun's entrance into the sign Aries, and for making the year, as far as possible, a *True* Solar year [سال شمسي حقيقي] of 365 days, 5 hours, 45 minutes and 27 seconds. In other words, there was, side by side with the ordinary rule or scheme of the months, a supplementary method of checking and controlling it by more exact astronomical calculations.

Another cause of variation is indicated by the historian Khāfī Khān in the course of some remarks on Aurangzeb's abolition of the Festival of the Nauroz and his subsequent

prohibition of the publication and use of *Taqwīms* or Almanacks in the offices. The passages are somewhat lengthy, but they contain many details which are not found elsewhere and will not bear abridgment. In his account of the orders issued by the Emperor immediately after his Second Coronation, this author says :—

"Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādishāh had ordered that the years and months of the Records [دفتر] and also of his own Julūs should be reckoned from the first of Farwardīn (that is, the entrance of the Great Luminary into the sign of Aries) up to the end of Isfandārmaz, and called them the *Ilāhī months* [مسمّی بماه الهي ساخته بودند]. Inasmuch as this resembled the customs of the Magians and the Fire-worshipping Rulers [of Persia], the Truth-recognising Emperor in his endeavours to observe the Holy Law commanded that the record of his Julūs years and the Feasts thereof should be kept in the Arabian and Lunar years and months. As for the Books of Accounts, he directed that the Arabian month and year should be written before [*or* preferred to] the Solar year. [و حساب دفتر را نیز چنان مقرّر فرمودند که ماه و سال عربي بر سال شمسي مقدم باشد]. And he abolished *in toto* the celebration of the Nauroz festival. Now, every one who is acquainted with the mathematical sciences and Astronomy and is conversant with (*lit.* has crossed or traversed) the different Eras [تواریخ] knows that though the Nauroz and the Magian months are called by the same names Farwardīn, Ardībihisht, etc., up to Isfandārmaz, yet they are [different and] clearly distinguished from them (*scil.* the Ilāhī months). And in the Almanacks [تقاویم] the names of their [*i.e.* the Magian] months are recorded separately according to the initial date of their own year [بقید ابتدای سال] and designated (*lit.* written) as 'Old Persian' [فرس قدیم]. And the Nauroz festival of the first of Farwardīn which is celebrated by the Magians in Kermān and the port of Sūrat has nothing whatever to do with this Nauroz [1] which is called *Nauroz-i-Sulṭānī* also * * And it is this *Nauroz-i-Sulṭānī*

[1] This is true. On account of the Old Yazdajardī year being reckoned at only 365 days and the absence of any provision for intercalating one day in four years as in the Julian system, the New Year's Day, *i.e.* 1st Farwardīn of the Zoroastrians in Kermān and Yazd fell this year (1921 A.C.) on the 11th of August, and the majority of the Parsis in Surat and Bombay celebrated it on the 10th of September. In Khāfī Khān's time, *i.e.* about 1700 A.C. the corresponding dates must have been 22nd September and 21st October (Old style) respectively. Cowasji Patell's Chronology, pp. 28–9 and 171.

which is observed in most of the cities of Persia [عجم] and India, and even by the sovereigns of Turān, Balkh—the Cupola of Islām [قبّهٔ الاسلام] and Bukhārā. The foundation of the four seasons, the summer, winter and rains of Hindustān—the periods of Rab'ī and Kharīf and the ripening of the fruits and cereals peculiar to each season, the Jāgīr assignments as well as the cash allowances of Mansabdārs [تنخواه جاگیر و نقدی منصبداران] can be determined only by the Solar reckoning (*lit.* year and months). It is impossible to ascertain (*lit.* understand) them by the Arabian months. All this notwithstanding, the Orthodox Emperor, anxious to promote the cultivation of piety, did not wish that *Nauroz-i-Sultānī* should be continued, because it bore some resemblance to the Nauroz feast of the Era (*lit.* year and month) of the Magians.

Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Bibl Ind. Text, II, 79-80.

The author returns to the subject in his account of the eleventh year of Aurangzeb's reign.

"In bygone days, especially in the time of Ṣāḥib qirān-i-Ṣānī, poets and astronomers were held in high consideration * * * and astronomers were regarded as necessary members of the Imperial Retinue (*lit.* stirrup) and the Exchequer (*lit.* Dīvān's Record office), and included in the cadre [داخل = *lit.* entered] of servants personally known to the Emperor. Everything, the determination of the four seasons, the exact calculation (*lit* the thread of the account) of the Solar months the determination of the Jāgīr assignments and cash allowances of the troops. [احدی] and the corps of artillery, and the selection of the auspicious moments for doing things, had been all regulated by reference to the astronomers' almanacks (تقاویم) All this was now [*circa* 1079 A.H] abolished. The custom of reciting poetry and listening to it and the selection of the auspicious hour from Almanacks and the filing (*lit.* preserving, keeping) of Almanacks in the Record-office were all forbidden (*lit.* overthrown). The officers of the Secretariat [اهل دفتر] submitted that since the use of the Almanacks from which the clerks used to correctly calculate the Solar months had been forbidden, it was impossible to keep a regular account of the officers' allowances [تنخواه]. The Emperor replied that they might easily preserve the thread of the Solar months [سررشتهٔ ماههای شمسی] by the [Mnemonic] verse.

'31 (lā) 31 (lā) 32, (lab) 31 (lā) 31 (lā) and 31 (lā) [days there are in] six months; 30, 30 (lal), 29 (kaṭ) and 29 (kaṭ) and 30. 30 (lal) [days there are in] the short months.'

From that year [*circa* 1079 A.H.], the clerks in the offices

have been keeping up their accounts by the rule of *Lā wa Lā*, but it is impossible for the results thus arrived at to agree with the hour of the passing of the Sun into another sign as determined by the almanacks, or that there should not be differences as regards the first day of each Solar month. For it is the rule among astronomers that if the passing of the Sun from one sign to another occurs a minute before sunset on any day, that day is reckoned as the first [of the next or coming month]. But if the transit of the Sun into another sign occurs a tenth of a tenth of an hour after sunset, that day is included [داخل] and reckoned as the last day [سابع] of the [current] month. Now this mathematical nicety [*lit.* minute matter of calculation] is difficult to be understood without the astronomical calculations which are recorded in almanacks. (Indeed there are people who are not sure of the [correctness of even] the almanacks of our day.) The author of these pages has ascertained from an examination of the Records of the Dīvāns of the Dekkan and of the *Dāru l-khilāfat* [Shāh Jahānābād] and of other powerful Amīrs that the differences between them [*i.e.* the solar dates of the Clerks' registers] and the calculations of the astronomers have, by the lapse of time, mounted up from two and three days to nine and ten days."

Op. cit., II, 214–215.

Now here it will be well to put clearly and plainly the four points which emerge from this rambling and not very lucid exposition

The *first* is that the *Lā wa Lā* formula was a matter of common knowledge in the days of Aurangzeb, who understood it just in the way that I have done, and regarded it as embodying a rule capable of yielding *substantially accurate* results.

The *second* is that the occasional variations of a day in the lengths of the months which introduce an apparently perplexing element of uncertainty into the system were due to two causes :—

(*A*) The aggregate number of days assigned to the twelve months in the formula amounts altogether to only 365. The True Solar year however, is reckoned in the Tables of Ulugh Beg, which Shāh Fathu'llah followed, at 365 days, 5 hours, 45 minutes and 27 seconds (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Jarrett, Trans. II, 24; Text, I, 274, l. 21). It was therefore necessary to adjust the reckoning so as to make the Nauroz coincide, as nearly as possible with the moment of the Sun's entrance into Aries. One has only to turn over the pages of the *Tūzuk* and the *Bādishhānāma* to notice with what care the authors record the exact hour and minute at which the Sun entered Aries. (Rogers and Beveridge's Trans. I, 85, 165, 191, 235; II, 1, 130, 230 294, etc.

(*B*) The Ilāhī months were True Solar months [*Māh-i-Shamsī ḥaqīqī*] of unequal lengths expressed, in each case in periods of days, hours, minutes and seconds.[1] To obviate the trouble and chances of error involved in the cumulative summation of such fractions, the rule was established that if the actual transit of the sun from one sign to another took place *before* sunset on a particular day the next month should be supposed to have begun on the same day, and the old month to have lost a *whole* day. On the other hand, if the transit occurred a minute *after* sunset, that day was reckoned as the [تلنگ] or last day of the old (or current) month, which gained a whole day, *i.e.* had one apportioned to it over and above its normal or customary share.

The *third* point is that though Aurangzeb forbade the celebration of the Nauroz in 1069 A.H., he did not, at the time, prohibit the parallel entry of the Ilāhī *months* (not *years*), in the *Daftar* or Records. All that he would appear to have done in that year, was to direct, as his father had done long since, that the Hijrī months and years should be written *before* the Ilāhī months. The place of honour was to be given to the Arabian or lunar months and years, but the corresponding solar months and days were still permitted to be registered *after* them, for reasons connected with the Imperial System of Book-keeping and Audit. It was customary to keep Almanacks [تقاویم] in all the offices for ascertaining the exact solar correspondences of the Hijrī or lunar dates. This was the state of things during the first ten years of the reign. In the eleventh (1079–80 A.H.) under the influence of his rising

[1] In fact the method adopted was practically identical with the old Indian system of calculating the solar months which is still in vogue in Bengal and Southern India and familiar to all students of Hindu Chronology Mr Pillai writes : " Whether in the Tāmil country or in Malabār or in Bengal, the measure of the solar months is the same. Like the solar year, each solar month ends at a *fraction of the day*, that is, at the moment when the next *Sankrānti* takes place. For purposes of computation, the *Sankrānti*, as well as the month to which it gives its name, is reckoned from the very moment at which the previous month ends. *But in practice in the Tāmil country, when a Sankrānti takes place after sunset, the next month begins next day ; and when the Sankrānti occurs before sunset, that is the first day of the next month and the old month loses a day.*" (Indian Chronology, p. 8). According to the *Surya Siddhāntā*, the exact length of each of the twelve *solar* months is :—

30·93 ; 31·42 ; 31·64 ; 31·47 ; 31·01 ; 30·44 ; 29·89 ; 29·47 ; 29·31 ; 29·44 ; 29·82 ; 30·35 days. (*Ibid.*), Table II, p. 2.)

But *in practice*, the number of days assigned to the months is as follows :—

30, 31, 31, 31, 31, 30, 29, 29, 29, 29, 29, 30. (*Ibid.*, p. 8.) It will be seen that the Tāmil rule is almost the same as that mentioned by Khāfī Khān and that the months with 31 days each and 29 days each are arranged continuously in both systems. See also Sewell and Dikshit, Indian Calendar, p. 12.

religious zeal, he prohibited the publication of almanacks and their use in the Accounts Department. When the officials urged that under such orders it would be impossible to keep an accurate Register of Military and Civil pay and allowances, Aurangzeb replied that the '*Lā wa Lā*' formula was capable of providing a compendious and efficient substitute for the laborious lucubrations of the astronomers. It would seem, then, that the Ilāhī *months* (not *years*) were not altogether banished from the Musters and Pay-lists or Civil and Military Accounts even in Aurangzeb's reign. At any rate, there are good reasons for believing that the Ilāhī months and days of important events were carefully registered side by side with the Hijrī months and days, for many years after Aurangzeb's accession. This is sufficiently proved so far as the first ten years of that Emperor are concerned, by the fact that there are at least seventy Hijrī-Ilāhī synchronisms, all relating to that decade,[1] in the Official Chronicle of Muḥammad Kāẓim which was written by the express orders of the Emperor and was even submitted repeatedly to him for approval. (Elliot and Dowson, VII, 174; Bibl. Ind. Text, 23.)

This is not all. The parallel entry of the Ilāhī *months* and *days* (not *years*) does not appear to have been altogether discontinued even in the reigns of Aurangzeb's successors. My attention has been arrested by the following additional synchronisms in the pages of Khāfī Khān. Almost all of them have reference to important events which occurred between the 1118th and 1136th years of the Hijra. (1707–1724 A.C.).

Friday, 28th Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1118 A.H. = 13 Isfandārmaz *Māh i-Ilāhī* (Aurangzeb's death).

Khāfī Khān, Text, II, 549, l. 11.

18 Rab'ī I, 1119 A.H. = 29 Khūrdād (Battle of Jājau)

Ibid., II, 590 l. 9.

18 Ẕī-l-ḥajja [1119 A.H.] = 21 Isfandārmaz *Māh-i-Ilāhī* (second anniversary of Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I's Julūs).

Ibid., II, 607, l. 11.

Beginning of Ẕī-l-ḥajja [1121 A.H.] = End of Dai *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Heavy rains for five days.) *Ibid.*, II, 670, l. 5.

Middle of Ẕī-l-qa'da 1123[*recte*, 1124] A.H. = 25 Āẕar *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Jahāndār Shāh leaves Dehlī to encounter Farrukh-siyar.) *Ib.*, II, 700, l. 6.

[1] See pp. 30, 42, 43, 46, 50, 61, 85, 94, 129, 131, 152, 160, 229, 319, 361, 426, 431, 432, 445, 446, 450, 465, 480, 490, 562, 587, 591, 612, 616, 623, 633, 641, 739, 754, 761, 764, 813, 816, 826, 831, 835, 839, 840, 842, 846, 850, 853, 859, 862, 868, 878, 884, 887, 916, 936, 937, 938, 957, 958, 962, 975, 978, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1047, 1060.

Beginning of Rab'ī I, 1123 [*recte*, 1124] A.H. = 2nd decade of Farwardīn *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. Farrukhsiyar coins money in his own name at Patna.) *Ib.*, II, 711, l. 11.

13 Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1124 A.H. = 19 Dai *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Battle between Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsiyar.) *Ib.*, II, 701, l. 16.

13 Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1124 A.H. = 19 Dai *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Battle between Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsiyar.) *Ib.*, II, 721, l. 6.

Saturday, 20 Rajab, 1131 A.H. = 17 Khūrdād *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Accession of Raf'ī u-d-daula.) *Ib.*, II, 831, l. 4.

Saturday, 15 Ẓī-l-qa'da 1131 A.H. = 8 Mihr *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Accession of Muḥammad Shāh.) *Ib.*, II, 840, l. 16.

Wednesday, 9 Rab'ī II, 1131 A.H. = 10 Isfandārmaz *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Accession of Raf'ī-u-d-darajāt.) *Ib.*, II, 816, l. 6.

11 Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1132 A.H. = 20 Mihr *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Accession of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm.) *Ib.*, II, 914, l. 12

5 Jumādā I, 1134 A.H. = 3 Farwardīn *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh is made Vazīr of the Empire.) *Ib.*, II, 939, last line.

Beginning of Jumādā II, 1135 A.H. = Middle of Isfandārmaz *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Niẓāmu-l-Mulk returns to Dehlī.) *Ib.*, II, 947, l. 7.

23 Muḥarram, 1136 A.H. = End of Shahrīvar *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Battle of Shakkar Khera or Fatḥkhelda.) *Ib.*, II, 953, l. 8.

There is no reason for supposing that Khāfī Khān worked out these equivalents himself or that he went to the trouble of collecting all the Taqvīms for these years for transcribing the Ilāhī correspondences. He must have known that there was not the smallest necessity of giving *both* dates and that his account of the transactions of these years would not derive any additional value from that circumstance. The most probable explanation seems to me to be that he took them straigh from the contemporary 'Court Circulars' (*Wāqi'as* or *Akhbā* in which it was the practice to record *de die in diem* the ceedings of the Emperor, and other public events of quence.[1]

[1] Several of these contemporary Akhbārs or news-lette served in the British Museum. Mr. Irvine has mentioned and

The *fourth* point noted by the historian is that the results of the application of the *Lā wa Lā* formula were not quite satisfactory, and that he had found, from a personal inspection of the Official Records, that there was always a difference between the dates worked out by that method and the more exactly calculated dates in the Almanacks of the Astronomers, and that this difference varied from two or three days up to nine and even ten days with the 'lapse of time' (سہو و بیش).

This is, on the face of it, not a little disconcerting. The allegation, *if absolutely correct*, would knock the bottom out of the formula. On the other hand, it is not easily reconcilable with certain facts which we have just ascertained for ourselves. We have found the Rule yielding results that were in close or substantial agreement with the synchronisms *recorded* in *contemporary* chronicles. In seven cases out of sixteen picked out at random, we obtained absolutely identical results. In nine, there was a difference, but that difference amounted to only one day. Such coincidences are ample warrant for maintaining the substantial accuracy of the formula. What then are we to think of this positive statement to the contrary? The historian tells us that he had personally examined the 'Daftars' and compared them with the almanacks. He could be scarcely in error about such a simple matter. The fact is, paradoxical as it may seem, that his assertion is well-grounded —when properly explained and understood—and there are at the same time, no good reasons for distrusting our own calculations also.

Our author asserts that the amount of the error varied directly with 'the lapse of years,' and that, in some cases, it rose to nine or ten days This is startling, but no one who has thoroughly grasped the *principles* of the solar method of computation should have any difficulty in understanding the reas n. The year on which it was founded was the *Sāl-i-Shams i-Haqīqī* of 365 days, 5 hours, 45 minutes and 27 seconds. The total number postulated by the formula was only 365. So long as the Nauroz was regularly observed at Court, this excess was taken into account and the error was officially *corrected* year by year, under the direction of the Court Astronomers by *small readjustments* of the lengths of the months. All the dates which we have seen working out correctly relate to the period during which the Nauroz was uninterruptedly celebrated t Court, the precise moment of the sun's entrance into Aries ertained with great exactness and solicitude and the correcegularly made from one year to another. In other words, e that we have used the formula, and the Table of *Ilāhī*

to the reign of Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, hey are occasionally quoted by Mr. Jadunāth Sarkār also in gs.

days is actually based upon it, but *our* data were the *corrected data* for each year which are recorded in the contemporary annals, so that the formula was applied under such circumstances as precluded the possibility of any large error. The Hijrī equivalents of the initial days of the hundred and five solar years comprised in this period (963–1068 A.H.) have been all meticulously recorded in the chronicles, and with these 'corrected data' to start with and base our calculations upon, we need entertain no serious apprehensions as to the fundamental accuracy of our results.

The case stands differently so far as the subsequent years (1069 A H. *et seq.*) *to which alone Khāfī Khān's remarks apply*, are concerned. For some time after the abolition of the Nauroz celebration the clerks were still able to readjust the reckoning with the aid of the Almanacks. The difficulty began when their publication as well as consultation was forbidden. It was then nobody's business to set right the reckoning. It was probably beyond the knowledge and competence of the Official class, even if there had been a general desire to do so. In these circumstances, the error must have inevitably assumed more and more serious proportions with the 'lapse of time.' Khāfī Khān's criticism therefore, however justifiable so far as the reigns of Aurangzeb and his successors are concerned has no bearing on the earlier period to a part of which alone—be it noted—the 'Ilāhī issues' are really confined.* A knowledge of Hijrī-Ilāhī synchronisms can be required by the numismatist only in connection with the mintages of Akbar, Jahāngīr and, *perhaps*, of Shāh Jahān, and so far as that period is concerned the results arrived at by the application of the formula may be safely said to be sufficiently correct and reliable.

The sum and substance of this disquisition the object of which was to discover the secret, *i.e.* the inherent principles or 'fundamental elements' of the solar method of reckoning established by Akbar may be now stated.

The year of the new system was the 'True Solar Year' of which the length was estimated on the basis of the *Zīch-i-Jadīd* or the Gurgānī Tables of Ulugh Beg at 365 days, 5 hours, 45 minutes and 27 seconds.

The months also were 'True Solar Months' commenci- successively at the moment the sun entered the different si of the Zodiac. They were of unequal lengths, because number of days the sun takes to pass from one sign to ano varies from 29 days and a fraction to 31 days and a frac The minimum length of a month was therefore 29 an maximum 32 days. The normal duration of each mo formulated in the serial order in the '*Lā wa Lā*' cou

This rule or norm was sometimes modified fo r accuracy or convenience.

As the year was theoretically a True Solar Year,

was made for bringing it into exact accord with the Revolution of the sun and making the New Year begin as nearly as possible from the precise moment of the sun's passage into Aries. These corrections necessarily involved slight readjustments in the normal lengths of the months.

The rule was further subject to modification for another reason. The transit of the sun from one sign to another was liable to take place at any moment of the day or night but it would hardly do in practice to make each month begin from some different hour of the *nycthemeron*. A convention was therefore established that when the entry of the sun into the next sign took place *before* sunset on a particular day, the next month began on the same day and the old month lost a day. *Per contra*, if the transit occurred *after* sunset the next month was held to commence on the day following and the old or current month gained one day.

The operation of this rule introduces a certain element of uncertainty in the conversion of Ilāhī dates into their corresponding equivalents of other eras, but this factor of variation is reduced to negligible proportions by the circumstance that for the entire period covered by the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, we have the advantage of having for the bases of our calculations certain extremely useful data, the accuracy of which is beyond all reasonable doubt. These data are the Hijrī correspondences of all Solar New Years' Days from the year of Akbar's accession to that of the deposition of Shāh Jahān (963–1068 A.H.). In these recorded synchronisms, we possess checks or 'controls' of which it would be difficult to over-estimate the value. With these fixed points to start from, in the case of every one of the hundred and odd years with which Numismatists are likely to have any concern, the application of the '*Lā wa Lā*' formula (*i.e.* the scheme of Ilāhī days embodied therein) gives results which are demonstrably accurate for all practical purposes. The discrepancy in no case exceeds one day—a margin of error for which allowance has to be made even in the carefully constructed Chronological Tables of Cunningham, Wustenfeld and others [1]

[1] "In comparing these [*scil.* Wustenfeld's] "Tables," Mr. R. S. Poole es, "with the Cairo Almanacs of A.H. 1243 to 1250 and 1259 to 1263 1265, it appears that in three cases the first day of the year, Muharram, is dated one European day later by the Egyptian ack. In the conversion of dates, *we must therefore expect a degree rtainty* as to the day of the month in both Muslim and European ng." (Coins of the Shahs of Persia, Introd. XVIII. For the tion of the discrepancy see *ibid.*, XVI.

TABLE I—*For Hijrī Years.*

Day of month.	Muḥarram. i	Ṣafar. ii	Rabʿī I. iii	Rabʿī II. iv	Jumādā I. v	Jumādā II. vi	Rajab. vii	Shaʿbān. viii	Ramẓān. ix	Shawwāl. x	Ẕī-l-qaʿda. xi	Ẕī-l-ḥajja. xii	Day of month.
1	..	30	59	89	118	148	177	207	236	266	295	325	1
2	1	31	60	90	119	149	178	208	237	267	296	326	2
3	2	32	61	91	120	150	179	209	238	268	297	327	3
4	3	33	62	92	121	151	180	210	239	269	298	328	4
5	4	34	63	93	122	152	181	211	240	270	299	329	5
6	5	35	64	94	123	153	182	212	241	271	300	330	6
7	6	36	65	95	124	154	183	213	242	272	301	331	7
8	7	37	66	96	125	155	184	214	243	273	302	332	8
9	8	38	67	97	126	156	185	215	244	274	303	333	9
10	9	39	68	98	127	157	186	216	245	275	304	334	10
11	10	40	66	99	128	158	187	217	246	276	305	335	11
12	11	41	70	100	129	159	188	218	247	277	306	336	12
13	12	42	71	101	130	160	189	219	248	278	307	337	13
14	13	43	72	102	131	161	190	220	249	279	308	338	14
15	14	44	73	103	132	162	191	221	250	280	309	339	15
16	15	45	74	104	133	163	192	222	251	281	310	340	16
17	16	46	75	105	134	164	193	223	252	282	311	341	17
18	17	47	76	106	135	165	194	224	253	283	312	342	18
19	18	48	77	107	136	166	195	225	254	284	313	343	19
20	19	49	78	108	137	167	196	226	255	285	314	344	20
21	20	50	79	109	138	168	197	227	256	286	315	345	21
22	21	51	80	110	139	169	198	228	257	287	316	346	22
23	22	52	81	111	140	170	199	289	258	288	317	347	23
24	23	53	82	112	141	171	200	230	259	289	318	348	24
25	24	54	83	113	142	172	201	231	260	290	319	349	25
26	25	55	84	114	143	173	202	232	261	291	320	350	26
27	26	56	85	115	144	174	203	233	262	292	321	351	27
28	27	57	86	116	145	175	204	234	263	293	322	352	28
29	28	58	87	117	146	176	205	235	264	294	323	353	29
30	29	..	88	..	147	..	206	..	265	..	324	354[1]	30

This Table shows the interval (in days) between New Year's Day and each subsequent day of the Hijrī year. For example, 10 Ramẓān comes 245 days after, or 22 Ẕī-l-ḥajja 346 days after, the first day of that same year.

[1] It is only in the Intercalary Year that Ẕī-l-ḥajja (xii) contains 30 days.

TABLE II—*For Ilāhī Years.*

Day of month.	30 Isfandārmuz. xii	30 Bahman. xi	29 Dai. x	29 Āzar. ix	30 Ābān. viii	30 Mihr. vii	31 Shahrīvar. vi	31 Amardād. v	31 Tīr. iv	32 Khūrdād. iii	31 Ardībihisht. ii	31 Farwardīn. i	Day of month.
32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	272	..	..	32
31	..	..	..	..	..	..	179	210	241	273	304	335	31
30	1	31	..	..	119	149	180	211	242	274	305	336	30
29	2	32	61	90	120	150	181	212	243	275	306	337	29
28	3	33	62	91	121	151	182	213	244	276	307	338	28
27	4	34	63	92	122	152	183	214	245	277	308	339	27
26	5	35	64	93	123	153	184	215	246	278	309	340	26
25	6	36	65	94	124	154	185	216	247	279	310	341	25
24	7	37	66	95	125	155	186	217	248	280	311	342	24
23	8	38	67	96	126	156	187	218	249	281	312	343	23
22	9	39	68	97	127	157	188	219	250	282	313	344	22
21	10	40	69	98	128	158	189	220	251	283	314	345	21
20	11	41	70	99	129	159	190	221	252	284	315	346	20
19	12	42	71	100	130	160	191	222	253	285	316	347	19
18	13	43	72	101	131	161	192	223	254	286	317	348	18
17	14	44	73	102	132	162	193	224	255	287	318	349	17
16	15	45	74	103	133	163	194	225	256	288	319	350	16
15	16	46	75	104	134	164	195	226	257	289	320	351	15
14	17	47	76	105	135	165	196	227	258	290	321	352	14
13	18	48	77	106	136	166	197	228	259	291	322	353	13
12	19	49	78	107	137	167	198	229	260	292	323	354	12
11	20	50	79	108	138	168	199	230	261	293	324	355	11
10	21	51	80	109	139	169	200	231	262	294	325	356	10
9	22	52	81	110	140	170	201	232	263	295	326	357	9
8	23	53	82	111	141	171	202	233	264	296	327	358	8
7	24	54	83	112	142	172	203	234	265	297	328	359	7
6	25	55	84	113	143	173	04	235	266	298	329	360	6
5	26	56	85	114	144	174	205	236	267	299	330	361	5
4	27	57	86	115	145	175	206	237	268	300	331	362	4
3	28	58	87	116	146	176	207	238	269	301	332	363	3
2	29	59	88	117	147	177	208	239	270	302	333	364	2
1	30	60	89	118	148	178	209	240	271	303	334	365	1

This Table shows the interval (in days) between New Year's Day and each day of the immediately preceding Ilāhī year. For example, 29 Dai comes 61 days before, or 28 Mihr 150 days before, the first day of the next year.

III. ABUL FAZL'S INVENTORY OF AKBAR'S COINS.

The tenth Chapter of the First Book of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* contains an elaborate description of the "Coins of the Glorious Empire" [دولتِ جاوید]. The substance of the 'inventory' has been extracted by Mr. Lane Poole (B.M.C. Introd. lxxii-lxxiv), who has surveyed it from the view-point of a professed numismatist and delivered the opinion that it 'forms but another instance of the incapacity of the Oriental (or for that matter, most European) historians to describe accurately or systematically the coins which passed under their own eyes" (*loc. cit.*, LXXII). In this description, the place of honour is naturally given to the issues in gold, and more than 30 *principal* types and varieties are enumerated. The section relating to the *Sihansah*, *Rahas*, *Atmah* and other phenomenal gold-pieces is quoted *in extenso* in its proper place, the Note on the so-called 'Gigantic Coins.'

Nineteen gold coins of lower denominations are then listed and the official or popular designation of each is specified. The shape, weight and value of each and, in some cases the inscriptions or legends on one side or both are also transcribed.

It is easy for the scientifically-trained expert of our own day to find fault with this catalogue, and condemn it because it does not come up to our expectations and gratify the almost insatiable craving for preci-e information on all matters relating to antiquity which is one of the characteristic features of the intellectual life of our time Mr. Lane Poole complains that "Abūl Faẓl gives a long list of names without supplying the necessary means of identifying the coins to which they belong. Many of the types he describes do not appear to have been preserved in any collection, whilst many existing coins are not described." The fact of the matter is that Abūl Faẓl does not profess to give anything like an *exhaustive* account of the coinage of the *entire reign*. The description itself is preceded by the following introduction or preamble of which the full significance does not seem to have been realised. "As through the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver have been brought to the greatest degree of purity, in like manner the form of the coins has also been improved. The coins are now an ornament to the treasury, and much liked by the people. I shall give a few particulars [لختی از آن باز گذارد *Lakhti*, lit. = somewhat, some, a little] Blochmann, Tr. I, 27; Text, I, 23. The fact is that here, as in the list of the Imperial Mints,

Abūl Faẓl takes no cognizance of the issues of the earlier or non-Ilāhī type (see my Article in Num. Supp. XXXIV, pp. 165–190). He makes no reference to them, and the supposition that he has done so in one instance, is founded only on a modern editor's gloss or explanation, the soundness of which is not beyond question.

Abūl Faẓl was not, it should be borne in mind, an antiquarian minutely describing for the benefit of an inquisitive posterity the obsolete and rarely met-with money of a by-gone age. He was a contemporary speaking of matters of every day existence with which his readers were almost as familiar as himself. If many of the types he has described are not preserved in any modern collection, it is surely not a fault for which he can be held justly accountable. There is not the smallest reason for believing that he has 'invented' or described any imaginary pieces. The fact complained of merely shows that modern coin-hunters have, after more than a hundred years' pursuit of Akbar's gold, been able to make up only an indifferent bag, and the reasons of this failure are by no means, inexplicable or difficult to divine If at the same time, many existing coins are not described, it is merely because it was no part of the author's intention to notice all.

Let me now transcribe the passage itself from Blochmann's English Translation.

"8 The *Āftābī* is round, weighs 1 tolah, 2 māshahs and $4\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs, in value equal to 12 rupees On one side, '*Allāhu Akbar, jalla jalaluhū*,' and on the other, the date according to the Divine era and the place where it is struck.

9. The *Ilāhī* is round, weighs 12 māshahs, $1\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs, bears the same stamp as the *Āftābī* and has a value of 10 rupees.

10 The *square La'l-i-Jalālī* is of the same weight and value; on one side, '*Allāhu Akbar*,' and on the other '*Jalla Jalāluhu*.'

11. The '*Adlgutkah* is round, weighs 11 māshahs and has a value of nine rupees. On one side, '*Allāhu Akbar*,' and on the other, '*Yā Mu'īnu*.'

12. The *Round Muhur*, in weight and value equal to the '*Adlgutkah* but of a different stamp[1]

13. *Mihrābī* is in weight, value and stamp the same as the *round muhur*.

14. The *Mu'īnī* is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the *La'l-i-jalālī*, and the *round muhur*. It bears the stamp '*Yā Mu'īnu*.'

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[1] To this the following note is attached in Blochmann's translation: 'It has the *Kalimah* (Sayyad Ahmad's Edition of the Āīn).'' I venture to question the accuracy of this gloss. Abūl Faẓl's own words لیکن منقوش دیگر گون will not bear any such meaning.

15 *Chahār gōshah*, in stamp and weight the same as the *Āftābī*.

16 The *Gird* is the half of the Ilāhī, and has the same stamp.

17. The *D'han* is half a *La'l-i-Jalālī*

18. The *Salīmī* is the half of the *'Adlgutkah*.

19. The *Rabī* is a quarter of the *Āftābī*.

20. The *Man* is a quarter of the *Ilāhī* and *Jalālī*.

21. The *Half Salīmī* is a quarter of the *'Adlgutkah*.

22. The *Panj* is the fifth part of the *Ilāhī*.

23. The *Pandau* is the fifth part of *La'l-i-Jalālī* ; on one side is a lily, and on the other a wild rose.

24. The *Sumnī* or *Asht siddh*, is one-eighth of the *Ilāhī* ; on one side, '*Allāhu Akbar*,' and on the other. '*Jalla Jalāluhu*.'

25. The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the *Ilāhī*. It has on both sides a wild rose.

26. The *Zarah* is the thirty-second part of an *Ilāhī*, and has the same stamp as the *Kalā*.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the Imperial Mint [سرا ضرب حضور] is to coin *La'l-i-Jalālīs*, *D'hans* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders." *Op. cit.*. I, 29-30 ; Text, I.

Perhaps the most arresting feature of this catalogue is the care displayed in inventing for each coin a new and discriminating designation. Akbar's passion for innovation has been the subject of universal remark and his fondness for neologisms often transgressed the bounds of reason and common sense. Badāonī informs us that the Emperor got a Brahman named Purukhottam " to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence " (Lowe, II, 265), and we have the word of Abūl Faẓl for the assurance that it was his Majesty who brought the words, *Ibachkī*, *Shāhālū*, *Sabras*, *Halālkhūr*, *Kanchanī*, etc , into vogue. (*Āīn*. Tr. 1, 46, 65, 135, 111, 257.) Elsewhere, he informs us that Akbar " changed the names of several garments and invented new and pleasing terms " for at least a dozen articles of daily wear. (*Ibid.*, I, 90) Several of these " new and pleasing terms " are found on examination, to be only fanciful and far-fetched equivalents of good old Persian words, witness, '*Sarbgātī* (all-covering) for *Jāma* (coat) 'Chitrgupita' for *Burq'u* (veil), 'Sissobhā' (head-ornament) for *Kulah* (cap) and 'Charndharn' (footholder) for *pāi afzār* (shoes). We observe the same peculiarity in some of the names given to the different kinds of gold coins. *Āftābī*, *Ilāhī*, *Mihrābī*, *Mū'īnī*, *Chahārgosha*, *Sālīmī*, *Rabī* (Arab. ربع a fourth) and *Sumnī* (ثمن an eighth) stand in no need of elucidation, but there are others of which it is not at all easy to trace the origin or the

rationale. '*Adlgutkah* is a very puzzling hybrid formation and all that I can suggest as to its etymology is that its first part is the Arabic word عدل which is frequently found impressed on Muhammadan coins to signify "goodness of weight or fineness of metal" (Codrington, 9–10) and after which the '*Adlīs* of Muḥammad Tughlaq were named. (Thomas, 221, I.M.C. II, Introd. 9.) The second half of the compound is perhaps connected with the Sans. *Guṭikā*, 'a pill, any small globe or ball' (Monier Williams, Dictionary *s.v*). The '*Adlgutkah* was a round disc of gold of standard weight and fineness. *D'han* and *Man* ordinarily mean 'Wealth' and 'Mind,' and it is exceedingly difficult to see why the half and quarter *Jalālī* were so called. They seem to be illustrations of the 'quips and cranks' and verbal conceits from which many of Akbar's neologisms undoubtedly derived their inspiration. *D'han* and *Man* are inseparably associated in a famous Indian formula. Among the Vallabhachāryas and several other Hindu religious sects, "the three-fold" Samarpaṇa or consignment of *Tan*, *Man* and *Dhan*, 'body, mind and wealth' to the 'Gurū' or Spiritual teacher is a *sine qua non* of discipleship. (H. H. Wilson, Hindu Religions, Calcutta Reprint, 1899, p. 83; History of the Sect of Mahārājas, 85).[1]

Gold is 'Dhan,'-wealth *par excellence*, so the moiety of the gold-piece was called by that name, and this naturally suggested the selection of its congener. *Man*, as the designation of the quarter-piece.

The name *Asht sidh* given to the immediately succeeding subdivision in the quaternary scale is another example of the fanciful association of monetary denominations with words and phrases with which they have no real relation. All the Hindu writers on the Yoga Shāstra speak of eight supernatural or thau-

[1] This was copied in the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* founded by Akbar with a difference. "During this time," Badāonī writes, "the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor Property, Life, Honour and Religion" (Lowe's Trans. II, 299; Text, II, 291). It is worth while comparing the above statement with the following extract from the account of the *Rudra-Sampradāya* or Vallabhachārya sect in the Bombay Gazetteer. Initiation of a novice in the Vallabhachārya doctrine begins in childhood. The first instruction begins between the second and fifth year * * * A later and more important initiation takes place after the eleventh or twelfth year. After this second initiation, the votary is supposed to consecrate his *tan* (body), *man* (mind), and *dhan* (wordly belongings) to the deity" or his incarnation on Earth, the Gurū (*op. cit*, Vol. IX, pt. I, Gujarat Population, p 536).

It may be permissible to add that this denomination of the half-muhr was not unknown in the time of Shāh Jahān. The author of the *Badishāhnāma* explicitly says in one place that the moiety of the muhr was called *Dhan* and its quarter *Charn* (Text, II, 316). Elsewhere, the same chronicler informs us that a Mullā Tayyib received on one occasion from the Emperor a present of "500 dhans or 250 Ashrafīs" (1058 A.H. XX R), Text, II, 678, last line).

maturgic powers which it is possible to acquire by the assiduous practice of the system. They are called the *Asht-sidhī* and are enumerated in Monier Williams' Dictionary (*s.v. siddhī*) [1] and many other places. They are described by Abūl Faẓl also in his account of the School of Patanjalī (Jarrett, *Āīn.* Tr III, 187) and he even admonishes his readers that "although such powers may seem incredible in the eyes of those affected by the taint of narrow custom, those who acknowledge the wonderful power of God, will find in it no cause of astonishment." (*Ibid.*). Akbar's habit of associating freely with Hindū Jogīs and Sannyāsīs is the frequent theme of Badāonī's gibes and sneers (Lowe, II, 265, 334–5), and he was undoubtedly familiar with their pretensions if not credulous enough to pin his faith to them.

The denomination of the 16th part of the *Ilāhī* is also derived from the Sanscrit, *Kalā* means 'a part of anything, * * * but especially a *sixteenth* part, a digit or one-sixteenth of the Moon's diameter' (Monier Williams, *s.v.*). The last and smallest of the fractional pieces undoubtedly owes its appellation to the Arabic ذرّ 'an atom, particle' (Steingass *s.v.*). The tiny gold coin drawing only 5 5 grains described by Rodgers (*J A.S.B.* 1896, p. 222) obviously answers *in weight* to a 'Zarah.'

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole was most advantageously situated for acquiring a competent knowledge of the Mughal coinage. His familiarity with Arabic and Turkish literature and his acquaintance with the entire monetary system of Muhammadan nations was almost unrivalled. His opinions, therefore, must always command respect and attention. My own appreciation of his labours is best exemplified and borne witness to by the numerous citations from and references to his catalogue in these and other studies. But he does not appear to me to have read Abūl Faẓl or any other Mughal historian critically or even at first hand, and I find it impossible to agree with many of his animadversions on this part of the *Āīn.*

"Abūl Faẓl," he writes, "is obviously wrong in attributing an issue of *La'l-i-Jalālīs* to the 27th year of the reign, for it was not till the 28th year that the *Ilāhī* era and the formula *Jalla Jallāluhu* were introduced," (*loc. cit.*, lxxv). I beg leave to state that this is founded on a double error or misconception. It is not Abūl Faẓl who is wrong either 'obviously' or otherwise. It is Mr. Lane Poole who has misunderstood him. In confidently asserting that it was not till

[1] The great Arab polymath and Indianist, Albīrūnī also gives an account of these *Siddhīs* or "the faculty of doing eight different things by which detachment is realised" in his chapter on the System of Patanjalī (India, Sachau's Trans. I, 69). See also Max Müller, Six systems of Indian Philosophy, Ed. 1903, p. 251.

the 28th year that the *Ilāhī* era was introduced, the critic himself is demonstrably in error. Abūl Faẓl informs us that the *Ilāhī* era was inaugurated *after* the arrival of Shāh Fatḥu'llah Shīrāzī in 992 A.H.—the 29th year. He says so twice in the *Āīn* (Tr. II, 1 and 30) and he reiterates the statement in the *Akbarnāma* (Tr. Beveridge II, 17 and 22), Mr. Lane Poole will have it that he is mistaken and to convict him of error, triumphantly cites "the positive evidence of the rupee No. 177 which bears the regnal year 28." (B.M.C. Introd. lxi, Note.) The truth is that Mr. Lane Poole has misread the date, which is 48 and not 28. The rupee is well known to all coin-collectors, as the mint-name on it which has been variously deciphered as Sitpūr or Sitāpūr, and is most probably neither, is one of the unsolved problems of our science. But this is a side-issue The germinal point lies elsewhere. Mr. Lane Poole contends that there could have been no *La'l-i-Jalālīs* in the 27th year of the reign, because the formula *Jalla Jalāluhu* was, together with the *Ilāhī* era, introduced only in the 28th, This contention has its origin in a misconstruction or an imperfect apprehension of the followlng statement of his author: "The currency underwent several changes. *First*, when (in the 27th year) the reins of the government were in the hands of Rājah Ṭōdarmal, *four* kinds of muhurs were allowed to be current: *A*). There was a *La'l-i-Jalālī*, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 tōlah, $1\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 dāms. Again there existed from the *beginning of this glorious reign*, a Muhur with the imperial stamp of which three degrees passed as current," and was valued at 360, 355 and 350 dāms, according as it had lost in weight less than 3, 6 and 9 *rice grains* respectively) (*Āīn*, Tr. I, 32).

There can be little doubt that Mr. Lane Poole's strictures are due to his having mixed up two very different types of coins and understood the remarks made about one as applicable to the other. The *La'l i-Jalālī* which is described *in this passage*, as having had the *name of his Majesty* impressed on it and weighed 1 tōla and $1\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs was far from being identical with the *La'l-i-Jalālī* of the *Inventory*, which had 'Allāhu Akbar, on one side and '*Jalla Jalāluhu*,' on the other. The two coins were of the same weight, but there was this difference between them that one type was stamped with the *actual name of his Majesty*, *i.e.* the legend *Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar*, etc., and the other with only the 'Divine Faith' Formula. The *La'l-i-Jalālī* which weighed 1 tola, $1\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs and was valued by Todarmal in the 27th year at 400 dāms is exemplified by Nos. 66–70 of the B.M.C. The present weights of all these coins range from 186–188 grs. which is almost exactly equal to 1 tola $1\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs at 181–186 grains to the tola The origin of the confusion probably lies in the assumption that

the *La'l-i-Jalālī* was so-called *because* it displayed the formula *Jalla Jalāluhu*. For this supposition there is no warrant, and it is clear from the words of Abūl Faẓl that this designation had been borne several years before the inauguration of the Ilāhī Era or the introduction of the Formula by the Muhrs issued from the *'ateliers* of Aḥmadābād, Fatḥpūr and Lāhor in 986, 987 and 988 A H. (P.M.C. 122, B M.C. 66–70 and I M.C. 98) and perhaps, by the *Urdū Ẓafar Qarīn* mintages of the year 'Alf' (B M.C. 73-77, P.M.C. 124) also. The real reason for the designation is not far to seek. They bore the *laqab Jalālu-d-dīn* of the Emperor [و ان بگرامی نام رو شناس]

The second count of the indictment is, that of "Akbar's large coins," the five-muhr piece "preserved in the British Museum (No. 23) is not mentioned in Abūl Faẓl's list." This is easily answered. I have shown in the Note on the 'Gigantic Coins' that it *is* mentioned and identified it with "the one-twentieth part" of the lower *S'hansah* mentioned in a passage which has been overlooked or missed by Mr. Lane Poole (*Āīn*. Tr. Blochmann, I, 29, ll. 16–17, Text, 1, 24, two lines from foot). This lower or less heavy *S'hansah* weighed 91 tolas 8 māshas. One-twentieth of this would be $4\frac{7}{12}$ tolas or $847\frac{1}{12}$ grains at 185 grs. to the tola. This is very near the recorded weights, 838 and 841 grs. of the two specimens known

The last count of the charge is that Abūl Faẓl entirely ignores "the singular square issues of Fatḥpūr in 986, etc., and of Urdū Zafar-Karīn of 1000, though these have the peculiarities of a square form, and a heavier weight than the rest." I have already suggested that these coins are *La'l-i-Jalālīs* of the *earlier* or non-Ilāhī type. The 'Kalima' and the Khalīfas' names on the obverse and the full style and titles of the Emperor on the reverse sufficiently indicate that they belong to a period with which Abūl Faẓl does not concern himself in the Inventory.

Some of Mr. Lane Poole's attempts to identify the coins described by Abūl Faẓl with those preserved in the British Museum Collection are, it is to be feared, open to challenge. It is not at all easy to understand why he asserts that B.M.C. No. 165, weighing 187 grs. is an *Āftābī* and characterises No. 164 as a *Rab'ī* or quarter *Āftābī*. The author of the *Āīn* says that the *Aftābī* weighed 1 tola and 2 māshas and $4\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs. (Blochmann, Tr. I, 39.) Even if the tola of Akbar is supposed to have weighed only 180 grs. the *Āftābī* must have scaled 218 grs., *i.e.* 31 grains more than Mr Lane Poole's coin. I venture to suggest that the weight and shape of No. 165 point to its being an *Ilāhī*. The legends also are in complete agreement with Abūl Faẓl's description. No. 164 is not a *Rab'ī*. Its weight (42 grs.) is adverse to the identification. If the

Rab'ī was the quarter of the *Āftābī* of "1 tola, 2 māshas and $4\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs" (*i.e.* about 226 grs.), it must have drawn about 55 grs.

It may be also permissible here to make a few remarks about the "Round Muhr" [مہر گرد] mentioned in this list (No 12). Mr. Lane Poole says it was worth (like the 'Adlgutkah) nine rupees and supposes that it had the *Kalimah* stamped upon it (B.M.C. LXXIII). This is founded on a note appended to Blochmann's translation: "It has the Kalimah (Sayyed Ahmad's edition of the *Aīn*)" I venture to say that the gloss is unauthorized and founded on a misconception of the author's meaning. I submit that the *Muhr-i-Gird* of the Inventory is the 'Round Muhr' of the *Ilāhī* type, of which there are so many specimens in our collections. In weight and value it was identical with the *'Adlgutkah*, but it was "of a different stamp" [منقوش دیگر گون Text, I, 25, l. 13]. It had on the obverse "Allāhu Akbar" *alone* and 'Jalla Jalāluhu' with the regnal date on the Reverse (B.M.C. 163, I.M.C. 109, P.M.C. 158–9) or 'Allāhu Akbar' as well as 'Jalla Jalāluhu' on the obverse and the date only on the Reverse (B.M.C. 164–5, I.M.C. 75.) The Reverse inscription of the 'Adlgutkah معین با was very different, and that is the reason for the separate enumeration of this [مہر گرد] 'Round Muhr.' The 'Kalimah' type of *Muhrs* belong to a style and period of which the author takes no notice and there is no reason to believe him to have gone out of his way to allude to them in this instance. It may be also urged in support of this view that the acceptance of Sayyed Ahmad's conjectural identification leaves no room in the list for the commonest type of Akbar's *Ilāhī* gold coins. In other words, we must, if it is accepted, suppose that Abūl Faẓl has omitted to mention the one type of all others with which we are most familiar and which must, at the time have been the one most frequently found in circulation also. This is a supposition which we have no positive grounds for entertaining and it is but fair to so laborious and painstaking and (as a rule) accurate writer to interpret his words with a certain amount of latitude and refrain from fastening upon them a meaning which involves a gratuitous charge of error or omission.

There is a point in this connection which should not be lost sight of by any one who is inclined to deliver an *ex cathedra* opinion on the merits or demerits of this inventory. It is that the number of *Ilāhī* gold coins extant is absolutely too small for the demands of legitimate induction. Taking the catalogues of the British, Indian and Panjāb Museums and of the magnificent collection of Dr. White King, there are in all

171 gold coins of Akbar of which only 27 are of the *Ilāhī* type. But of these twenty-seven, 18 are explicitly dated in years subsequent to that in which Abūl Faẓl formally completed the *Āīn*, viz. 42 R.Y. Three exhibit no date at all. We have thus only *six* issues falling within the period of which Abūl Faẓl was professedly writing, the period intervening between the 30th and 42nd years of the reign.[1] It will be universally admitted that these six coins can hardly furnish sufficient grounds for convicting Abūl Faẓl of the faults of omission and commission imputed to him.

It is also necessary to draw attention to the note of warning embodied in the concluding paragraph of the description. "As regards gold coins. the custom followed in the Imperial Mint is to coin *La'l-i-Jalālīs*, *D'hans* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders." The words are important and it is unfortunate that their significance has not been realised. The author explicitly informs his readers that the *La'l-i-Jalālī*, and its half and quarter were the only gold coins which were regularly or normally struck. All the other types and varieties enumerated were never stamped without special orders. The historian's own passion for detail has led him to furnish us with "copious and somewhat tedious statistics" (Thomas, Chronicles, 424) about them, but they were in reality nothing but fancy pieces of which a few specimens were occasionally uttered for gratifying the Imperial vanity or love of novelty, and there is nothing to be wondered at in their extreme rarity or total disappearance.

The description of gold coins is followed by a list of the issues in silver which contains only nine items. We read :—

"The rupee [ ] is round and weighs eleven and a half māshas. It was first introduced in the time of Shér Khān.

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[1] The gold coins are B.M.C. Nos. 23–83 and 163–186, I.M.C. 64–190, P.M.C. 118–159 and W.K. 3492–3500. The only *Ilāhī* coins in the B.M.C. are Nos. 163 (32 R.) 164 (42 R) 165 (44 R), 166 (45 R), 167–169 (49 R), 170–174 (50 R), 175 (51 (?) R) and 176 (Undated).

The Indian Museum has but three, Nos. 75 (42 R), 83 (48 R) and 109 (30 ? R).

Mr. Whitehead registers seven, *viz.* Nos. 125 (Dateless), 135 (48 R), 136–138 (49 R), 158 (33 R), and 159 (Dateless).

The three in the White King Cabinet were numbered 3497 (40 R), 3498 (44 R) and 3499 (50 R). There are only six coins with dates ranging from the 30th to the 42nd year. One is (doubtfully), of the 30th year, one of the 32nd, one of the 33rd, one of the 40th and two of the 42nd or last. Three others exhibit no date, and it is impossible to say whether they fall within or without the period. In the recently published Lucknow Museum Catalogue, 29 gold coins of the Great Emperor are registered. Four of them only are of the *Ilāhī* type. One of them is of the 48th year (No. 94), two are of the 50th (Nos. 79–89). The only one falling within the period is a Mintless Muhr of the 33rd year (No. 94 *a*).

It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp on one side *Allāhu Akbar, Jalla Jalālahu*, and on the other, the date. Although the market price is something more or less than forty dāms, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The *Jalālah* is of a square form which was introduced during the present reign. Its value and stamp is the same as No. 1.
3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalālah*.
4. The *Charn* is a quarter *Jalālah*.
5. The *Pandau* is a fifth part of the *Jalālah*.
6. The *Asht* is the eighth part of the *Jalālah*.
7. The *Dasā* is one-tenth of the *Jalālah*.
8. The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalālah*.
9. The *Sūkī* is one-twentieth of the *Jalālah*.

The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] rupee, which are however different in form "

[و این ریزه زرها از روپیه نیز بر سازند دیگر گونگي در پیکر بود]

(*Āīn*, Tr. Blochmann 1, 31 ; Text, I, 26.)

It would appear from this that the designation روپیه was restricted to the ' Round Rupee ' and applied to it alone. The discriminative appellation of the ' Square Rupee,' which is explicitly said by Abūl Faẓl to have been first struck in the 22nd year of the reign (*Akbarnāma*, Tr. III, 321 ; Text, III, 227) was *Jalālah*. A silver issue of Āgra mint (47 R) bears the denomination روپیه on its surface. It is in the collection of the Bodleian Library (P.M.C. xxv) and is unique, but it is reassuring to find that it is *round*. It is not easy to say how far this attempt at desynonymisation was really successful. It is not at all unlikely that the common people cared little for these verbal subtleties and that they never took kindly to the new-fangled distinction. Whether it was round or square, the silver piece of 11½ māshas was known to them as the روپیه even during Akbar's reign. At any rate it is certain that the *Jalālah* is not heard of after the accession of Jahāngīr although square rupees were not infrequently struck in that Emperor's reign. (P.M.C. 964–5, 967–8, 970, 972–3 (Āgra) ; 1090–2, 1101, 1103–4 (Lāhor) In a word, it would seem that the new appellation was consigned to oblivion like many other innovations of the Great Emperor.

Abūl Faẓl says of the روپیه that " it was first introduced in the time of Sher Khān " [در زمان شیر خان پدید آمد]. He could hardly mean that no silver coin resembling the روپیه had been struck by any of the Dehlī Sultāns before Shīr Shāh. All that he intended to say probably was that this *specific designation* came into vogue in Shīr Shāh's reign and super-

seded the word *tanka* which had been indiscriminately applied in earlier times not only to the issues in silver, but to those in gold and copper. The first attempt to put an end to the terminological confusion was now made. The old term *tanka* was restricted to the issues in copper or the billon pieces of Sikandar Lodī, etc., which were approximately equal in value to two of the new copper pieces of about 323 grs. troy. A new word روپیہ, from the Sanskrit *Rupaka* was introduced to designate the new silver piece and for its counterpart in gold another distinctive appellation was found in the familiar Arabic term *Ashrafī* or the equally common Persian word *Muhr*.

The strange name devised for the moiety of the *Jalāla* calls for remark, درب in Arabic and Persian, only means 'a difficult pass through mountains, a street, lane, alley or large gate' (Steingass, *s.v.*) and it is not possible by any ingenuity to establish a connection between the two vocables. I beg to suggest that the name is derived not from the Arabic درب but from the Sanskrit *Dravya* 'wealth, goods, chattels, money.' We have seen that the half of the *La'l-i-Jalālī* muhr had been called *Dhan* which also signifies 'wealth, treasure, riches, money, gold, chattels' (Monier Williams, *s.v.*). It is not difficult to imagine how its prototype in silver came, by a fanciful analogy, to have the synonymous appellation *Dravya* and how this was first softened into 'Drabya' and then '*Drab*' and '*Darb*.' The immediately following designation is certainly derived from the Sanskrit *Charṇa*, a foot, a single line of a verse, the *fourth part* of a stanza.' (Monier Williams, Dictionary *s.v.*) It is in fact identical with the vernacular *pāi* in its double sense of 'foot' 'and a quarter.' The last name '*Sūkī*'[1] is inexplicable except on the supposition of its being *Biswakī* (from *Biswah*, the twentieth part) with the initial consonant elided. Here again the concluding sentence of the paragraph deserves attention. Abūl Faẓl says that the round rupee or Rupiya had differently shaped but otherwise similar subdivisions. He does not state that they had specific names of their own, and we may perhaps infer from his silence that it had not been thought worth while to devise any. This would imply that the half-rupee was called 'Darb' whether it was square or round, and that the other subordinate pieces had identical names regardless of their form.

It may be as well to add that specimens of all but two of

[1] This curious denomination occurs only once again, to my knowledge, in the historical literature, viz. in the *Āin*, Bk. I, Ch. 3, where the author says that the charge for boring a pearl of the 5th class was 'one sūkī,' *i.e.* only 2 dāms. (Blochmann's Tr. 1, 16.)

these fractional types are extant in our collections. The exceptions are the *Pandau* and the *Sūkī*

A description of copper coins follows :—

"The Dām weighs 5 tānks, *i.e.* 1 tolah, 8 māshahs and 7 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called *Paisah* and also *Bahlōlī* ; now it is known under this name (dām). On one side the place is given where it was struck and on the other the date. For the purpose of calculation, the dām is divided into twenty-five parts, each of which is called a *jétal*. This imaginary division is only used by accountants

2. The *Adhelah* is half of a *dām*.

3. The *Paulah* is a quarter *dām*.

4. The *Damrī* is one-eighth of a *dām* (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I, 31).

The metrological equation embodied in the leading sentence has been fully discussed in another article. The second sentence leaves much to be desired in the matter of definite expression. The statement implying the identity of the 'Paisah,' 'Bahlolī' and 'Dām' is exceedingly loose and unsatisfactory. Abūl Faẓl's vagueness may not be inexcusable. He was speaking of matters and employing terms of which the exact connotations were perfectly familiar to his readers, but it is, all the same not a little tantalising to ourselves. It leaves unanswered and coolly ignores several questions on which we might have justly expected him to shed the light of his great knowledge. As the points which he leaves undetermined have been clearly set out and discussed by Thomas (Chronicles, 360–3) and as I have nothing to add to his explanations and comments, I must conclude with the observation that the denominations 'dām,' and 'damrī' are actually inscribed on some very rare issues, but the terms 'Adhelah' and 'Paulah' receive no recognition from the coins.

IV. "GIGANTIC COINS."

The massive medals in gold and silver which it was the pride of the Mughal Emperors to stamp with their titles and store in their treasure-houses have been, for centuries, the theme of envy and admiration. The earliest mention of these 'phenomenal' pieces in European literature occurs in the Voyages of Captain William Hawkins, who was profoundly impressed by the wealth and magnificence of the Court of Jahāngīr. Writing about 1611. he informs his readers that the Emperor's "Treasure is as followeth :—

The first is his severall Coine of gold.

In primis, of Seraffins [Ashrafīs] Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckes. Of another sort of coyne, of a thousand Rupias a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sort of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of gold of Twenty Tolas a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of five Tolas, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.

Of Silver as followeth :—

In primis, of Rupias Ecbery, thirteen Cror (every Cror is an hundred Leckes and every Lecke an thousand [*sic*] Rupias) or one thousand three hundred Leckes. Of another sort of Coine of Selim Sha this king, of an hundred Tolas a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twenty Tolas a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten Tolas a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces Of five Tolas a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces."

Hawkins' Voyages, Ed. C. R. Markham, pp. 421–2.

It will be noticed that in this description the name of Akbar is associated only with the 100, 50 and 20—muhr pieces in gold and that the 100, 20, 10 and 5-tola medals in *silver* are expressly ascribed to and said to have borne the name of "Selim Sha. this king."

In the *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* of John de Laët (pub. 1631) there is an elaborately-drawn-up inventory of the treasure said to have been found at Akbar's death in the fortress of Āgra. We are concerned at present only with the first item which is as under :—

"I. Gold coins. The king had arranged for striking some of these weighing 100 tolas each or 1,150 māshas; some also weighing 50 and 25 [tolas]; all of which when reckoned according to the true weight of māshas weighed 69,70,000, māshas, and at the rate 14 Rupees to a māsha were worth

altogether 9,75,80,000¾ Rupees". *Cp. cit.*, second Issue, p. 138, Trans by V. A. Smith in *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 237.

There is a very similar account of the 'cash reserve accumulated by Akbar" in the 'Itinerary' of Sebastian Manrique, a Spanish friar" who served for thirteen years as a missionary in India and other parts of Asia," and whose book was published at Rome in 1649. He gives an almost identical list of the Āgra treasure and says that he obtained it through an officer named "Mirza Camerane [Kāmrān] who was in charge of the *Nacassar*[1] of Rājmahāl." He has the very same total figures and the paragaph about the 100, 50 and 25 tola pieces is also found in his pages. Mr. Vincent Smith declares that the Dutch author's copy of the official inventory of Akbar's hoards supplies "one of the numerous facts of importance neglected by historians and biographers" and he has enlarged on its merits in a special article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* He lays particular stress also on the fact that Manrique's list agrees substantially with De Laët's, although it is "clearly quite independent of the latter." The only difference he has noticed is that Manrique "omits the fraction ¾ [of a rupee] at the end of the total of the cash and occasionally describes the items with slightly greater fulness." (*Loc. cit.*, 236.) He is sure that, both of them were *directly* transcribed from official records and are peculiarly deserving of credit

It is therefore strange that he should have overlooked the fact of these five or six lines being vitiated by at least four errors so gross as to throw serious doubts on the authenticity and credibility of the entire statement.

In the first place, both these authors assert that the weight of one variety of these pieces was 100 tolas or 1,150 māshas and that the total weight of the 'gigantic coins' of the three varieties enumerated (100, 50, and 25 tolas) was 69,70,000 *māshas.* And we are likewise informed with an ostentatious display of mathemetical precision that the aggregate value of these 69,70,000 *māshas* of gold was just "9,75,80,000¾ Rupees" at "the rate of 14 rupees to a MĀSHA"! Now this "rate of 14 rupees for a *māsha*" of gold is a palpable absurdity. It is

[1] It is not easy to say what Persian word is thus transmogrified by the Friar or rather by his copyist or printer. Mr. Vincent Smith confesses his bafflement and suggests that 'Nacassar' is perhaps derived from *Naqsha*, 'register.' This is hardly the correct signification of that word, and the derivation is, besides, conclusively negative by Manrique's statement that the *Nacassars* were 'the *buildings* [*las casas* in the original] for the deposit of the rentals and annual revenues of the realm' (*loc. cit.*, 235–6), I venture, with great diffidence, to say that what the author meant to write was Cassanars [khazānas], and that the compositor has made all this puzzlement by transposing the syllables. Mirzā Kāmrān, in this view, was the officer-in-charge of 'Ḥuẓūr Treasury' at Rājmahal.

clear that both these 'authorities' are confusing the 'Tola' with the 'Māsha,' its twelfth part, and the pretentiously accurate calculation founded on this absurdly exaggerated valuation must be pronounced untrustworthy.

Secondly, we are told, with the same parade of exact statement, that each of the heaviest pieces weighed 100 tolas or 1,150 māshas. This equation is open to doubt and cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. One hundred tolas full weight would be equal to 1,200 māshas not 1,150. We know that Muhrs of three different weights, *viz.* 14 māshas, $4\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs, 12 māshas, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs, and 11 māshas were introduced by Akbar and specimens of the two last varieties are to be found in fairly large numbers in our public and private cabinets. But a gold coin of $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas does not appear to have been ever struck by Akbar. It was the Mughal *rupee* which weighed $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas and our authors would seem to have naïvely imagined that the Akbarī muhr weighed $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas because the rupee had that weight.

Again, we know that there were two types of the *S'hansa* or one-hundred-muhr piece. The heavier turned the scale at 101 tolas, 9 māshas and 7 ratīs, *i.e.* about 1,222 māshas. The lighter drew 91 tolas and 8 māshas, *i.e.* only 1,100 māshas. Abūl Faẓl (*Āīn*, Trans. Blochmann, I, 27–8) explicitly says so and his testimony invalidates all the computations based on the supposition that a piece containing 1,150 māshas or 95 tolas and 10 māshas had been stamped.

Lastly, if this "official and trustworthy" inventory was copied *directly* from registers or documents *of the time of Akbar*, it is difficult to understand why the price of *a tola*[1] of gold should have been reckoned at the high figure of 14 rupees. There might be good reasons for believing that the ratio of gold to silver was 14 to 1 in the time of Shāh Jahān, but it is exceedingly doubtful if a tola of the more precious metal was worth much more than 10 rupees in the last years of Akbar. Abūl Faẓl informs us that the eleven-māsha muhr was worth only nine rupees, and the gold piece weighing twelve māshas (or a tola) *and* $1\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs had the value of 10 rupees. (*Āīn*, Trans. Blochmann. I, 30). Indeed, Thomas was, after examining all the available evidence, confidently of opinion that the relative value of the two metals was only 9·4 to 1 in the reign of Akbar (Chronicles, 424–5).

These errors, oversights and ignorant glosses are not negligible. Many of them are vital and go to the very root of

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[1] The word actually used by both writers is of course *Māsha*, but we may fairly suppose that what was really intended was the *tola*, and I am giving them 'the benefit of this doubt' and arguing that even then there is a serious blunder which proves that the statement has been garbled by the copyists in the light of their own half-knowledge.

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the matter and it is impossible to explain them away. I do not wish to say that the inventory is altogether faked or spurious, but it seems to me, after taking the most indulgent view of the matter, difficult to escape the conclusioin that the contemporary Registers or documents from which the details are said to have been drawn have been so grossly misunder stood and their true meaning so seriously misrepresented by the ill-informed exegesis of the paraphrasts that neither the Latin version of De Laët nor the Spanish rendering of Manrique can be relied upon.

But although the value of this inventory as a historical document is thus considerably discounted, it is not altogether without interest or instruction for the numismatist. It confirms the statements of Hawkins about these 'gigantic' pieces and the fact that there is no reference in it to similar medals having been stamped on silver by Akbar is also significant.

We read in the Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo :—

"This king Achobar had ordered the Coynage of a certaine sort of Money of 25. 50. and a hundred Toles, which amounted to two thousand twelve and a halfe. four thousand twenty five, and eight thousand and fifty crowns the piece, which was coined accordingly, to the sum of six Millions, nine hundred and seventy thousand Massas [Māshas] which make ninety seven Millions, five hundred[1] and eighty Ropias, or forty-eight Millions, seven hundred and ninety thousand crowns."

Op. cit., Translation of John Davies. Second Edition, London, 1669, p. 37.

Mr. Vincent Smith has, in another special paper on the subject, conclusively shown that this passage and all that follows concerning Akbar's treasure is not to be found either in the two German editions of Mandelslo's Travels which appeared in 1646–7 and 1656 or in the Dutch version of 1651. It was inserted for the first time in 1659 by his French translator, De Wicquefort, who copied it either from De Laët or Manrique and "conveyed" it to his own pages. (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 248 and 234). The above statement, therefore, has no independent value and must stand or fall with the source from which it is drawn.

There is a characteristically blundering reference to these

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[1] The word 'thousand' has been here left out by the printer. De Laët and Manrique agree in having 9,75,80,000. Mandelslo takes the crown as equivalent to two rupees, and his figures for the rupee value of the 25, 50 and 100 tola pieces are arrived by multiplying the number of the tola first by $11\frac{1}{2}$ and then by 14. Thus he reckons the 25 tola gold-piece at $2,012\frac{1}{2}$ crowns or 4,025 rupees $(25 \times 11\frac{1}{2} \times 14) = (\frac{25}{1} \times \frac{23}{2} \times \frac{14}{1}) = 4,205$ rupees! In other words, the tola of gold is rated at 161 rupees! This huge exaggeration is, on the face of it absurd, and it is safer to reject the entire statement than to accept it.

'Gigantic Coins' in the Indian Section of J. B. Tavernier's Travels. This writer gives 'a figure' or illustration, and says that it "shews what sorts of pieces the Kings cause to be thrown among the people when they came to the throne. They represent the Arms or Signets of the Kings whom I have nam'd. The biggest, in the middle, was Cha-jehan's, the tenth king. These pieces are most of them Silver; there being very few of Gold. And as for Aureng-zeb, he never coin'd any particular pieces to throw away at his coronation." *Op. cit.*, English Trans. of *J.P.* 1678, Pt. II, page 107. The passage is in Ball's Translation also (I, 324) but the figure of the 'piece' which is four inches in diameter is not reproduced.

This figure, however, bears no resemblance to any known coin. It is really nothing but a representation of the Seal of Shāh Jahān! The name of the Emperor is in a central or inner circle and those of his ancestors up to Tīmūr are inscribed in nine circles round about. There is a rough and not very faithful drawing of the similar seal of Jahāngīr in Purchas. His Pilgrimes (Ed. 1625–6, I, 591), and William Terry, Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, has reproduced it more inaccurately still, in his 'Voyage to East India' with the following explanation:—

"And after that I have caused his Imperial signet or great seal, to be laid down before my readers' eyes; wherein nine rounds, or circles, are the names and titles of Tamerlane, and his lineal successors, in Persian words. * * * This seal (as it is here made in Persian words) the great Mogul, either in a large, or lesser figure, causeth to be put into all *Firmaunes*, or Letters Patents, the present King's Title put in the middle and larger circle that is surrounded with the rest." (*Op. cit.*, 347–8, see also The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, Ed Foster, 564 ff).

An illustration of the closely-resembling signet with which Aurangzeb used "to attest all the farmans and the grants that he accorded" will be found in Manucci's 'Storia' (Trans. II, 388–9; see also III. 231).

A similar seal of Farrukhsiyar with the names of his twelve ancestors is reproduced from an extant Farmān by Mr. Irvine in his valuable Monograph on the 'Later Mughals' (*J.A.S B.* 1904, p. 358). A description of that of Shāh 'Alam II, with fourteen outer circles is given by Blochmann, (*Proc. A.S.B.* 1870, p. 8), and there is a beautiful reproduction also in the Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society, Vol. V, Pl. I.

Abūl Faẓl informs us that in the beginning of Akbar's reign, Maulānā Maqṣūd "cut in a circular form * * * the name of his Majesty and those of his lineal ancestors up to Tīmūrlang' (*Aīn*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 52) and this style of signet would seem to have been employed in the Imperial Chancellerie up to the time of Shāh 'Ālam II. No coins corresponding

in any way to Tavernier's description or exhibiting on either face the names of the Emperor and all his ancestors up to Tīmūr have been discovered, and it may be confidently said that the jeweller is confounding, in his usually inaccurate and slipshod manner, things which had not the smallest connection with each other.

It was not the 'gigantic medals' but the tiny *Niṣārs* which were "thrown among the people," when the kings "came to the throne," and neither *Niṣārs* nor medals had the arms or signet of the king engraved upon them. Nor is it true to say that "Aurengzeb never coined any particular pieces to throw away at his coronation," for *Niṣārs* struck by him are actually in existence.

The Venetian Manucci appears to have been much more correctly informed about this matter than the French jeweller. "Shah Jahan," he writes, "had in his palace two treasure-houses, one for gold another for silver. These receptacles were two square cisterns seventy feet long and thirty feet high * * * In the treasury for gold, there were current coins worth each seven *patacas*. There were other coins, *which were not current*, of the value of seven hundred, of three thousand five hundred, and of seven thousand *patacas*.[1] These were very beautiful and the king gave them as presents to his ladies. When I was attending as Physician of one of these, she made me a present of one of these coins."[2] Irvine, Storia, I, 206.

Coming down to later writers, we have an elaborate description of a 200-muhr-piece of Shāh Jahān, dated 1064–28, in Richardson's Persian Arabic English Dictionary (pub. 1777) *s.v.* كَكّ. A very similar piece of the same regnal year and Hijra date, with slight variations in the arrangement of the legends was described and figured by Mr. J. Gibbs in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1883, pp. 3–4). Two years later, an excellent photograph of a hundred-muhr piece of Aurangzeb (1083–XV R) was published by the same persevering

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[1] The *pataca* or *patacoon* (Arab. *Abūṭāqa*, 'father of the window, see Yule, Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.*) was one of the numerous designations of the Spanish dollar. It is frequently mentioned by Manucci and is always reckoned by him as equal to 2 rupees. (Storia II, 45, Note; IV, 144, Note). The current coin 'worth seven patacas' was, therefore, the ordinary gold muhr of 14 rupees. The other pieces valued at 700, 3,500, and 7,000 patacas were the portentous medals weighing as much as 100, 500 and 1,000 muhrs The most noteworthy point in this extract is that these pieces are expressly said to have been 'not current' and to have been used only as gifts or presents.

[2] Here at least, Manucci is not romancing. We know that Shāh Jahān gave Ḥakīm Dāūd a muhr of 500 tolas and a rupee of the same weight as a reward for treating his favourite daughter Jahānārā after her accident and effecting her recovery. *Bādishāhnāma.* II, 399, l. 3.

coin-hunter. (*Loc. cit.*, 1885, p. 52). A silver medal of the same Emperor (X R) weighing 200 tolas (5 1545 English pounds) existing in the Cabinet at Dresden was first described by Kehr in 1725. (Thomas, Chronicles, 423 Note). Considerably smaller exemplars are also extant. A five-muhr gold-piece of Akbar, dated 971 A H. (Wt. 838 grains) and a slightly heavier medal (Wt. 843 grains) struck by Jahāngīr in the 14th year of his *Julūs* (1028 A.H.) are in the British Museum. A beautiful gold-piece (Wt. 841 grains) struck at Āgra in 982 A.H. was seen thirty years ago in the uncatalogued and indifferently-cared-for collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. (Codrington, *B.B.R.A.S. Journal*, 1891, pp. 31–2).[1]

The Shāhs of Persia also would appear to have occasionally issued heavy pieces in silver. The British Museum possesses one of Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafavī, dated 1121 A.H., weighing 4.918 grains, and another dated 1118 A.H. weighing 843 grains (R. S. Poole, Catalogue of the Coins of the Shāhs of Persia, Nos. 96, 97; Marsden, Numismata Orientalia, p. 466, No. DLVI, Prinsep., *J.A S.B.*, 1838, p. 415). According to Hazlitt, examples of such *pièces de plaisir*, which were "probably not intended for common currency" are not "unfrequent in the European Series" The old Greeks had silver decadrachms and dodecadrachms. A twenty-stater piece in gold of Eukratides, King of Baktria, dated 185 B.C. and weighing 2,593·5 grains was found about fifty years since in the Panjāb, sold to a Paris firm for £800 and transferred by them under the special authority of the Emperor, Napoleon III, to the then *Bibliothèque Imperiale* (now *Nationale*). W. C. Hazlitt, The Coin Collector, pp. 40, 264; Thomas, Chronicles, 421—2 Note, Prinsep, Indian Antiquities, II. 185.

The distinguished author of the 'Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli' has, with a confidence scarcely justified in the

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[1] Dr. Codrington in his Notes on the Contents of this Cabinet opines that the coin is "the 25th part of a Sihansah" This statement is easily proved to be incorrect. The heavier S'hansah weighed 11 tolas, 9 māshas and 7 surkhs or ratīs. (*Āīn*, Tr. Blochmann I, p. 27) or 18,328$\frac{7}{8}$ grains at 180 grains to the Tola. $\frac{1}{25}$ths of this would be only 733 grs. and a fraction. If the tola is taken at the higher figure of 185 grs. this larger *S'hansa* would have been equal to only 18,833$\frac{1}{8}$ grs. and $\frac{1}{25}$th of this would give only 753 grs. and a fraction. The actual weight of the coin is 841 grs. and it is obvious that the discrepancy would be much more glaring with the smaller S'hansa of 91 tolas and 8 māshas. The fact of the matter is that the coin represents the *twentieth* part of this second or smaller S'hansa. The weight of the latter in grains would, reckoning the tola as equal to 185 grs. have been 16,958$\frac{1}{8}$ grs. and the $\frac{1}{20}$th of this would be 847$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{0}$ grs. which is very near the present weights of the two specimens known, 838 grs. and 841 grs. One thing more may be noted. It will not do to suppose that Akbar's tola contained only 180 grs., for $\frac{1}{20}$th of 91 tolas, 8 māshas, at that rate, would be only $\frac{16500}{20}$=825 grs. *i.e.* 13 grains in defect of the lighter specimen. The question is an interesting one and has been more fully discussed in another article.

circumstances, delivered the opinion that the ponderous pieces struck by Akbar and his successors were all intended to be used as coins.

"There was an idea abroad at one time," he writes, "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, and the continuity of their issue by succeeding kings, seems to indicate that they were consistently designed to serve for the purposes of larger payments, such as our civilized age recognises in one hundred pound notes, etc. Moreover, there was clearly a temptation to the production of such single pieces when the State or the Sovereign himself, as will presently be shown, could realise the seigniorage of 5½ per cent, or from £5 10*s* to £27 10*s* by each application of the royal dies." (*Op. cit.*, 422–3.)

General Cunningham had the sagacity to perceive that the position of Thomas was untenable, but this did not deter him from advancing a precarious hypothesis of his own. "I take both pieces," he wrote to Mr. Gibbs, "to be *Nazzarāna medals*. The noble who had to present 200 gold mohurs to Shah Jahan made a single piece for his offering" (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1883, p. 4).

What then are we to conclude? Were they really coins, substitutes for "our hundred pound notes, etc.," as the 'Prince of Indian numismatologists' contends with some show of reasoning, or 'Nazzarāna medals' only, as the most gifted and versatile of Indian archaeologists asserts without argument?

It is undoubtedly true that heavy ingots or masses of gold and silver, "bearing the stamp of the assayer and banker in evidence of their purity" were at one time extensively current in the trade of Central Asia and China. Mention may be made of the *Bālish* of gold as well as silver which weighed about 500 Miṣqāls and which is frequently referred to in the *Tārīkh i-Jahān Kushāi*, the *Tārīkh i-Wassāf*, the *Jāmi'u-t-Tawārīkh* of Rashīdu-d-dīn Faẓlu-l-lah, and the *Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt. If we take the Miṣqāl, with Mr. R. S. Poole (Coins of the Shāhs of Persia, Introd. lxi) at 71·18 grains, this Bālish would weigh 74·1 ounces Troy. It still survives in the Chinese *Yuan-pao* (Eastern Turki, *Yambū*), and is the 'Boat-money' or 'Shoe-money' of which seven specimens are figured and described in Tavernier's Travels. "The Pieces of Gold mark'd Fig. 1, and 2," he writes, "are by the Hollanders called *Goltschut*, that is to say, a Boat of Gold, because they are in the form of a Boat. Other Nations call them Loaves of Gold; and there are but two different sizes of them. The Gold is of such a goodness, that an Ounce in France would not be worth less than 42 Franks. The great pieces come to twelve hundred Gelders of Holland Money and thirteen hundred and fifty Livres of our Money. The other

Piece, which weighs but half as much, is in value according to its proportion." (*op. cit.*, Eng. Trans of *J.P. London*, 1678, Part II, 8.) An extraordinarily large example in silver of this Chinese Shoe-money, weighing 89½ ounces Troy, and representing 50 taels or £8 8*s* 0*d*. was exhibited before the Numismatic Society of London. (Athenaeum, Jan. 25, 1902, p. 120, quoted in Yule's Hobson Jobson, Ed. Crooke, 830.) See also Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, 115–117 n, 481 n; *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Trans. Ross and Ney Elias, 256 n, Raverty. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Trans II, 962 n, and 1110 n.

The historians of Tīmūr inform us that after the sack of Damascus in A H. 803, that conqueror ordered all the silver and gold which his followers had acquired as booty to be coined into *pieces* of 100, 50 and 10 Miṣqāls bearing his own name. We are further told that the amount of bullion melted down was so prodigious that the profit of the Camp-Mint (حاصل دارالضرب اردوی اعلی) amounted to no less than six hundred thousand *Dīnār-i-Kabakī*. (*Ẓafarnāma* of Sharfu-d-dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Bibl. Ind Text II, 336 l. 3)

Bābur tells us that at a great feast and Darbār held at Āgra on Saturday, 6th Rabī II, 935 A.H., he gave their congée to the ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, the envoy of Kūchūm Khān Uzbeg, and two honoured descendants of Khwāja Aḥrār, and presented each of them with 'a silver stone's weight of gold and a gold stone's weight of silver.' He explains 'that the gold stone (tāsh) was 500 miṣqāls, that is to say, one Kābul Sīr, and the silver stone 250 Miṣqāls, that is to say, half a Kābul Sīr.' Mrs. Beveridge, in a note, acutely remarks that "the weight made of silver and the weight made of gold were of the same size, and that the differing specific gravity of the two metals, that of silver being *cir.* 10 and that of gold *cir* 20—gave their equivalents the proportion Bābur states." She adds that she has "not found mention of the *tāsh* as a recognized Turki weight; perhaps the word *tāsh* stands for an ingot of unworked metal of standard size." (Memoirs of Bābur, 632 and Note. See also Leyden and Erskine's Translation, 395.) I venture, though with great diffidence, to suggest that the thing meant is the بالش of the *Tarīkh-i-Jahān Kushāi* and other Mongo chronicles. Perhaps, تاش is an error of transcription, the two words being written very much alike in the Semitic character. However that may be, the passage is of great interest, and not without bearing on our subject.

It exemplifies the custom of giving money-presents to ambassadors for "expenses" (خرچي) and seems to indicate that it was the Central Asian practice or Court etiquette to make the gift not in the form of 'beggarly deniers' but in the shape

of a heavy ingot of gold or silver or both. When Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān gave away to the Wakīls of 'Ādil Khān and the envoy of Subḥān Qulī, the Ruler of Balkh, muhrs of 500 and 200 tolas, they were merely following in Bābur's footsteps. The only difference was that the crude ingot was now replaced by a beautiful disc or medal representing the high-water-mark of the calligrapher and engraver's art.

Then we have in the *Humāyūn Nāma* of Bābur's daughter, Gulbadan Begam, an exceedingly curious account of a good-humoured joke played by the genial Emperor upon one of his old servants, from which it would appear that the 'phenomenal' pieces described by Richardson and Gibbs had their 'numismatic precedents' even in the treasuries of the Lodī Sulṭāns. Writing of Khwāja Kilān's anxiety to return to Kābul after the victory of Pānīpat, she says :—

"Khwāja Kilān Beg asked leave several times to go to Kābul. He said : 'my constitution is not fitted for the climate of Hindustān.' * * * His Majesty was not at all willing for him to go, but at last gave permission because he saw him so very urgent. * * *

The Emperor [*Scil.* Bābur] sent by Khwāja Kilān a large *ashrafī*, which weighed three Imperial *Sīr*, that is, fifteen *Sīr* of Hind for * * * [1] 'Asas

[بوزن سه سیر بادشاهي که پانزده سیر هند باشد]

He said to the Khwāja: 'If 'Asas asks you, 'What has the Emperor sent for me ?' say, 'One *ashrafī*,' as there really was only one 'Asas was amazed, and fretted about it for three days. His Majesty had ordered that a hole should be bored in the *ashrafī*, and that 'Asas should be blind-folded and the *ashrafī* hung round his neck. He was quite helpless with surprise at its weight, and delighted and very, very happy. He took it in both hands, and wondered over it and said, 'No one shall get my *ashrafī*.'"

Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn Nāma*, Trans, A. S. Beveridge, 94–6 : Text, p. 12, l. 8.

It is not easy to equate the expression, 'three Sīr imperial (*bādshāhī*) or fifteen *Sīr* of Hind.' The variety of Indian Sīrs is truly bewildering, and we have to rely more or less upon conjecture in fixing the meaning of such statements. But, as the Princess wrote down her Reminiscences about 995 A.H.,

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[1] There is a word here in the original which Mrs. Beveridge has left untranslated. It is جوف, and literally means 'uncle' (and hence probably the omission), but is in colloquial Persian also frequently employed for any 'aged relative,' 'intimate friend' or 'old family servant.' The hero of the story appears to have belonged to the last class, and to have been free of the harem. Firishta says, 'Asas was Bābur's jester.

we may fairly suppose her Imperial or Bādshāhī Sīr to be the Sīr of Akbar. This was, according to Abūl Faẓl, equal to 30 Dāms of *approximately* 320 grains each,[1] *i.e.* about 9,600 grains in all. (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Trans. I, 38, 134.)

By Gulbadan's 'Sīr of Hind' we are probably to understand the Sīr which was current at Dehli in Bābur's days. This, he himself assures us, was equal to 14 tolas (*Memoirs*. Tr. Beveridge, 517; Leyden-Erskine, 332).

Taking the tola at 185 grs, this Sīr would be = 14 × 185 = 2,590. Now if 15 Sīrs of Dehli = 3 Akbarī Sīrs

$$2{,}590 \times 15 = 38{,}850 \text{ grs.}$$
$$\text{but } 9{,}600 \times 3 = 28{,}800 \text{ grs only.}$$

It is clear that these results are not reconcilable with each other and we must seek for some other explanation. It is just possible that we have here another example of the unfortunately too common confusion in Persian writing between پانزده (fifteen) and یازده (eleven). Now

$$2{,}590 \times 11 = 28{,}470 \text{ grs.}$$
$$9{,}600 \times 3 = 28{,}800 \text{ grs.}$$

This gives a sufficiently close approximation, and it is not improbable that یازده is the true reading. We have to remember that only a single Manuscript of the Text is known, which is not deserving of commendation either for general correctness or orthographic rectitude.

But the equation of the two kinds of Sīrs mentioned is a matter of secondary importance. The real point is that there was in the treasury of Ibrāhīm Lodī an 'Ashrafī' or gold piece of even larger or more 'gigantic' dimensions than the 100 tola muhrs enumerated with such gusto by Hawkins and Manrique and Mandelslo.

My next quotation is from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* of Abūl Faẓl. In a chapter entitled the "Coins of This Glorious Empire," there is an elaborate description of a number of heavy pieces in gold, rising in weight from about two tolas to more than a hundred and one. The passage is a lengthy one, but the details given are so interesting that it would be undesirable to abridge it. It is all the more valuable because of the extreme improbability of a specimen of the Ilāhī type of *S'hansah*, *Rahas* or *Ātma* being discovered. But if one of these pieces ever comes to light, it will be not a little helpful to the lucky finder in the decipherment of the inscriptions. Abūl Faẓl writes:—

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[1] The theoretical or issue weight is generally supposed to have been 323·5 grains troy but it must be borne in mind that the coins actually used would be the pieces in everyday circulation which had lost several grains by wear.

"The S'hansah is a round coin weighing 101 tōlahs, 9 māshas and 7 surkhs, in value equal to 100 *la'li jalālī*-muhurs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, *alsultānu ala'zamu alkhāqānu almu'azzamu khallada allāhu mulkahu wa Sultānahu Zarbu dāri-l-khilāfati Āgrah*,—'The great Sultan, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! struck at the capital Āgrah.' On the field of the reverse is the *beautiful formula*, and the following verse of the Qorān: *Allāhu Yarzaqu man yashāu bighairi hisābin*—'God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure,' and round about are the names of the first four Califs.

This is what was first cut by Maulānā Maqçūd, the engraver; after which Mullā 'Alī Ahmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side, *Afzalu dīnārin yanfuquhu alrajulu, dīnārin yanfuquhu 'ala açhābihi fi sabīlillāh*,—'The best coin which a man expends is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God.' And on the other side he wrote:—

Alsultān al'āli alkhalīfatu almuta'āli
Khallada allāhu ta'āla mulkahu wa
Sultānahu (sic)*wa abbada'adlahu wa ihsānahu*—

'The sublime Sultan, the exalted Calif, may God the Almighty perpetuate the kingdom and his reign' and give eternity to his justice and bounty!'

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two Rubā'īs of the Court-poet and philosopher Shaikh Fiazī were engraved by him:—

Khūrshīd kih haft bahr azū gauhar yāft
Sang é siyāh az partav i ān jauhar yāft
Kān az nazar é tarbīyat é ú zar yāft
Wān zar sharaf az sikkah i Shāh Akbar yāft.

'It is the Sun from which the seven Oceans get their pearls,
The black rocks get their jewels from his lustre.
The mines get their gold from his fostering glance,
And their gold is ennobled by Akbar's stamp';

and, *allāhu Akbar, jalla jalāluhu*, 'God is great, may His Glory shine forth!' in the middle.

And on the other side:—

In sikkah kih pīrāyah i ummed buwad
Bā naqsh i dawām u nām i jāwid buwad
Sīmā i sa'ādatash hamīn bas kih badahr
Yak zarrah nazar kardah i khurshēd buwad.

'This coin which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp, and an immortal name.
As a sign of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient

That once for all ages the Sun has cast a glimpse upon it,
and the date, according to the *Divine era*, in the middle.

2. There is another gold coin of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tolahs and 8 māshahs, in value equal to 100 *round* muhrs at 11 māshahs each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The Rahas is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square. On one side it has the same impression as the *S'hansah*, and on the other the following Rubā'ī by Faizī :—

In naqd i rawān i ganj i Shāhinshāhī
Ba kaukab i iqbāl kunad hamrāhī.
Khurshéd biparwarash az ānrū kih badahr
Yābad sharaf az sikkah i Akbar shāhi

'This current coin of the imperial Treasure
Accompanies the star of good fortune.
O Sun, foster it because for all ages
It is ennobled by Akbar's stamp.

4. The *Ātmah* is the fourth part of the *S'hansah* round and square Some have the same inscriptions as the *S'hansah*; and some have on one side by the following Rubā'ī by Faizī :—

In sikkah kih dast i bakht rā zéwār bād
Pīrāyah i nuh sipihr u haft akhtār bād
Zarrīn naqdést kār azū chūn zar bād
Dar dahr rawān ba nām i Shāh Akbar bād.

'This coin—may it adorn the hand of the fortunate,
And may it be an ornament of the nine heavens and the seven stars!
Is a gold coin—may golden be its work!
Let it be current for all ages to the glory of Shāh Akbar!'

5. The *Binsat* of the same two forms as the *ātmah*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, in value equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-twenty-fifth, of the *S'hansah*.

6. The Chūgul [or Jugul] of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the *S'hansah*, in value equal to two muhrs.

7. The round *La'l i Jalālī*, in weight and value equal to two round muhurs, having on one side *Allāhu Akbar*, and on the other *Yā Mu'īnu*—O helper."[1] Blochmann, *Āīn*, Trans. I, 27–29.

[1] The text is undoubtedly corrupt and Manuscripts do not agree. The 'chugul' is described very differently in some MSS. which interpolate a muhr called 'chahārgoshah,' weighing 3 tolas, 5½ surkhs and worth 30 rupees. Instead of the round *La'l-i-Jalālī*, some MSS. only read 'Gird,' *i.e.* round, taking the words *La'l-i-Jalālī* to the preceding. (Blochmann's Note.)

There are in this carefully drawn word-picture several features to which attention may be usefully invited. In the first place, it will be noticed that fanciful names were given to all the largest pieces and all these designations were derived from Sanskrit or the Indian vernaculars. The denomination *S'hansah*, for instance, is to be traced to the Sanskrit *Sahasra*, thousand.[1] The rationale of the name is to be found in the fact that it was equal to 100 *L'al Jalālī* muhrs, each of which was valued at 10 rupees. The *S'hansah* was so called because it was worth *one thousand* rupees.

The word *Binsat* is evidently coined from the Sans *Vinshatī*. 'twenty.' It was the fifth part of the S'hansah of 101 tolas, and so weighed about *twenty* tolas. So. *Chugul* or *Jugul* is from the Sanscrit *Yuga*, a yoke, a pair, couple, brace (Monier-William's Dictionary *s.v.*). It was the fiftieth part of the *S'hansah* and was so named because it was a *double* 'La'l-i-Jalālī.'

Rahas and *Ātmah* resemble in sound Sanskrit words meaning 'secret, essence,' and 'soul or spirit.' I must confess my inability to account for the neologisms. They are founded on some more than usually far-fetched conceit, the elucidation of which must be left to a more competent or lucky investigator. It may be also observed that the legends engraved by Maulānā Maqṣūd on the earlier issues are practically identical with the superscriptions of the five-muhr pieces dated 971 and 982 A.H. which are preserved in the British Museum, and the Cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. (B.M.C., No 23 and *B.B.R·A.S. Journal*, 1891, pp. 31–32). The chief differences are (1) that Abūl Faẓl gives خاقان المعظم whereas the epithet is سکرم on both the examples extant; (2) The Qurānic text (Sūra II. 208) also which is said by the author of the *Āīn* to have been cut on the reverse cannot be traced on our specimens, though it is to be found on some of the mintages of Humāyūn. (B.M.C., Nos. 19–20). Thirdly, the epithet, 'Dāru·l-Khilāfat' which is prefixed to the name of the mint town in Abūl Faẓl's transcript is not discernible on the Coins. Lastly, it may be noted that the word تعالی has been left out by the historian in the benedictory formula although it can be easily read on both the existing specimens.

It will be also seen that the earlier issues had prose legends in the Central Asian style. With the inauguration of the

[1] So the name of the silver coin of Kashmīr, *Sāsnū* is derived from Kashmīrī *Sās*, Sans. *Sahasra*, thousand, because it was reckoned as equivalent to 1,000 *dinnāras*, Āīn, Tr. Jarrett II, 354. Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India, 30 ff; A. Stein, Monetary System of Ancient Kaśmīr, Num. Chron. 1899, p. 131. Jahāngīr calls the coin *Sanhasī*, Tūzuk, Tr. II, 138–9.

Ilāhī type, all the high-sounding titles were 'removed" [محو, erased, expunged] and metrical legends substituted for them. Now the Ilāhī era was really established only in the twenty-ninth year of the reign (992 A.H.),[1] and we are expressly told by Badāonī that a special verse-motto was composed by Sharīf Sarmadī for the first mintages of the new town of Ilahābād which was founded, according to that writer, in the 29th year (Lowe, Trans. II, 345-6, Text II, 335).[2]

In his remarks on this part of the *Āīn*, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole complains that "many existing coins are not described" by the author" and among other things, states that the "five-mohr piece preserved in the British Museum" (No. 23) is "not mentioned in Abul Fazl's list." (B.M.C. Introd lxxv.) I must beg leave to point out that, whatever other instances of omission may be justly cited against Abūl Faẓl, this is not one of them. The five-muhr coin *is* mentioned clearly enough in the following passage which Mr. Lane Poole has overlooked.

"There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, in value equal to one eighth, one-tenth, *one twentieth*, one-twenty fifth of the *S'hansah*." *Āīn*, Trans. Blochmann, I, 29; *Bibl. Ind.* Text, I. 26.

Now the smaller or lighter type of S'hansah weighed 91 tolas and 8 māshas or about 16,958⅓ grs. at 185 grs. to the tola The twentieth part of this would be $16958\frac{1}{3} \times \frac{1}{20} = \frac{50875}{3} \times \frac{1}{20} = 847\frac{11}{12}$ grs. The weight of the British Museum specimen is 838 grs., that of the example in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bombay 841 grs. (*B.B.R.A.S. Journal*, 1891, p. 31).

Lastly, it would appear that the biggest pieces issued in the reign of Akbar did not exceed 102 tolas. Jahāngīr would seem to have been first fired by the ambition of 'going one better' than his great father and to have struck medals weighing as much as 500 and even 1.000 muhrs or (roughly) tolas

It may be also noticed that there is no reference in Abūl Faẓl's description or inventory to the stamping in silver of any counterparts of the *S'hansah* and its subdivisions. This is corroborated by Hawkins who says of all the large pieces in silver, that they were of "Selim Sha this king." The two other European writers, De Laët and Manrique also absolutely ignore the issues in silver and the silence of all three

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[1] The Era was based on the calculations of Shāh Fatḥulla Shīrāzī, an astronomer and mathematician of whom Abūl Faẓl says that "if the old books of science had disappeared, he could have laid a new foundation (of knowledge) and would not have wished for what had gone." Akbarnāma (Tr. III, 593). Fatḥulla had been invited to India by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr and entered Akbar's service only after that ruler's death. His first interview is recorded to have taken place on 25 Farwardīn 28 R.—(21 Rabī'ī I, 991 A.H.) Akbarnāma, Tr. III, 593; see also Blochman, *Āīn*, Trans. I, 33 Note.

[2] Abūl Faẓl gives the exact date of the foundation of the fortress as 2 Āẕar, 28 R. which would correspond to some day in Ẕī l-qa'da, 991 A.H.

about Akbarī gold medals weighing more than 100 tolas is also not unworthy of attention. It shows again that Abūl Faẓl was justified in speaking of the *S'hansah* type as the heaviest known in his day and putting it at the head of his list.

The historian Khāfī Khān also has a passage on the subject of Akbar's treasure and his mintages :—

و بعد وفات او که عرض خزانه گرفتند ده کرور روپیه را اشرفي یازده ماشه و سیزده ماشه و چهارده ماشه سوای اشرفیهای کلان که از صد توله تا پانصد توله هزار اشرفي در خزانه موجود بود و دو صد و هفتاد و دو من طلای غیر مسکوک و سه صد و هفتاد من نقره و یک من جواهر خاصه که قیمت آن سه کرور روپیه تجاوز نموده بود بر آمد *

Bibl. Ind. Text I, 243, l. 9.

"And when after his death an inventory (*lit.* muster, report) was taken of his treasure, there were found ten crores of rupees worth of Ashrafīs of 11, 13 and 14 māshas, besides the large Ashrafīs weighing from 100 to 500 tolas of which there were a thousand in the hoard. There were also 272 maunds of uncoined gold, 370 maunds of silver and one maund of choice or select precious stones [the crown jewels—جواهر خاصه], the value of which was reckoned at more than three crores of rupees.[1]

Khāfī Khān is a "slovenly" and careless writer (Blochmann's Art. on 'Koch Bihar and Āsām' *J.A.S.B.* 1872, p. 99), and his account of Akbar's reign is a compilation of no particular value. But there are in it a few statements which possess considerable interest and which are not to be found anywhere else. This reference to the contents of Akbar's treasury is one of them and it has the usual defects of his qualities. There is no doubt of Khāfī Khān's being right in saying that Akbar's ordinary Muhr weighed 11 māshas (not 11½ as implied or

[1] Mr. Vincent Smith would appear to have overlooked 'the inventory of Akbar's treasure' which is to be found in the History of Firishta who wrote and died several years before either De Laët or Mandelslo. It is thus given in the translation of Briggs.

"Of allayees, a golden coin [*i.e.* Ilāhī gold muhrs], a sum equal to ten crores of rupees, besides one crore's worth of allayees which he set aside for his private treasury. Ten maunds, full weight (800 lb.) of uncoined gold

Seventy maunds (5,600 lb.) of uncoined silver, sixty maunds (4,800 lb.) of uncoined copper; besides one crore coined into tunkas."

Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, Calcutta Reprint, 1909, II, 281.

Some of the items are differently given in the Lakhnau edition of the original and are obviously huge exaggerations. Khāfī Khān's statement seems to have been reproduced from some other recension of Firishta's work.

supposed by De Laët and Manrique). But the other two varieties introduced by the Emperor, the Ilāhī and the *Aftābī* scaled only 12 māshas and 1¾ ratīs and 14 māshas and 4¾ ratīs. Khāfī Khān's description of their weights is therefore loose or only roughly correct.

It is also very doubtful if gold coins or medals weighing considerably more than 100 tolas were ever struck in Akbar's reign The statements of Abūl Faẓl, Hawkins, De Laët and Manrique all imply the contrary and their silence militates forcibly against the supposition. It is true that portentous medals of 200, 300, 500 and even 1,000 tolas were stamped by Jahāngīr and his successors. This fact would appear to have led Khāfī Khān to assume that Akbar had gone to the same lengths and that they were in this, as in other things following his example. With all these defects, the passage deserves the notice of the numismatist as well as the historian. Of the former, for the references to the current Ashrafīs of three different denominations and the so-called gigantic coins; of the latter, for giving an account of Akbar's treasure of which the exact source is not known, but which is undoubtedly indigenous and altogether independent of and differing considerably from that occurring with slight modifications in European authors.

So far we have learnt nothing definite as to the object of striking these 'phenomenal coins,' or the uses to which they were to be put. It becomes necessary therefore to explore the Mughal chronicles of the post-Akbarī period and set out at length all the passages which have any bearing on the subject, with a view to provide the material requisite for forming an independent opinion on the point at issue. It will be seen that many of the excerpts which follow are both instructive and illuminating, and that neither the arbitrary conjecture of Cunningham nor the pragmatic assertion of Thomas receives any support from the indigenous chronicles.

The Emperor Jahāngīr writes in his diary of the 1st year; "At a propitious hour I ordered that they should coin gold and silver of different weights. To each coin, I gave a separate name, *viz.* to the *muhr* of 100 tola, that of *Nūr-Shāhī*; to that of 50 *tola*, that of *Nūr-Sulṭānī*; to that of 20 *tola*, *Nūr-daulat*; to that of 10 *tola*, *Nūr-karam*; to that of 5 *tola*, *Nūr-mihr*; and to that of 1 *tola*. *Nūr-jahānī*. The half of this I called *nūrānī*, and the quarter, *rawājī*. With regard to the silver coins (*sikkas*), I gave to the coin of 100 tola the name of *Kaukab-i-ṭali'i* (star of horoscope); to that of 50 tola, the name of *Kaukab-i-iqbāl* (star of fortune), to that of 20 tola, the name of *Kaukab-i-murād* (star of desire); to that of 10 tola, the name of *Kaukab-i-bakht* (star of good luck); to that of 5 tola, the name of *Kaukab-i-sa'ad* (star of auspiciousness); to that of 1 tola, the name of *jahāngīrī*. * * * I ordered that on the gold muhr of 100, 50, 20 and 10 tola the following

verse by 'Āṣaf Khān should be impressed—namely, on the obverse was this couplet:—

'Fate's pen wrote on the coin in letters of light,
The Shāh Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr';

and between the lines of the verse the Creed (*kalima*) was impressed. On the reverse was this couplet, in which the date of coinage was signified:—[1]

'Through this coin is the world brightened as by the Sun,'
And the date thereof is 'Sun of Dominion' (*Āftāb-i-mamlakat*).

Between the lines of the verse, the mint, [سنه] the Hijra year, and the regnal year were impressed."

Rogers and Beveridge *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, Trans. I, 11. Text ed. Sayyad Ahmad Khān, p. 5, l. 8.

"I gave one gold muhr of 1,000 tolas, which is called the 'star of destiny' (*kaukab-i-ṭal'i*), to Yādgār 'Alī, the ambassador of the ruler of Irān." [19 Farwardīn, VIII R.Y.).[2]

Tūzuk, Trans. I, 207; Text, 116, l 1

"On the 8th of the said month [Shahrīvar. X R.Y.), I bestowed one *Nūr-jahānī* muhr, which is equal to 6,400 rupees,[3] on Muṣṭafā Beg, the ambassador of the ruler of Irān."

Tūzuk, Trans. 1, 298; Text. 146, l. 26.

"I gave Sayyad Kabīr, who had been sent by 'Ādil Khān* one *Nūr-jahāni* Muhr which weighed 500 *tūlcha*."[4]

Ibid., I, 300; Text, 147, l. 29.

"To each of the Wakīls of 'Ādil Khān two *Kuakab-i-ṭāl'ī*

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[1] The Persian lines are as follows:—

نقش زد شاه نورالدین جهانگیر خط نور بر زد کلک قدیر

and

شد چو خور این سکه نوراني جهان آفتاب مملکت تاریخ آن

(*Tūzuk*, Text 5, ll. 18 and 21.)

[2] This passage occurs also in the *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī* of Mu'atamad Khān (*Bibl. Ind.* Text 69, l. 12). He does not give any name to the muhr, but says that it weighed 1,000 tolas or 2,500 misqāls.

[3] It is not easy to see how this figure is arrived at. If the *Nūr-jahānī* muhr weighed 500 tulchas or tolas, as is stated in the immediately following extract, a tola of gold must have been worth 12 Rs. 12 annas and 8⅛ pies. Jahāngīr himself seems to say in one place, that the ordinary ashrafī or *Pādishāhī muhr* of eleven māshas was equal to ten rupees (*Tūzuk*, Tr. II, 139). Hawkins (1611) says the same—A tola or twelve māshas of gold would at this rate, have fetched only about 11 rupees. If the figures are correctly given, the price of gold or the rupee value of the muhr must have risen considerably in the second quinquennium of Jahāngīr's reign. The matter may be left at that as it has been fully discussed in another article.

* The kings of Bījāpūr, Aḥmadnagar and Gulkanda are never given the title of *Shāh* by the Mughal historians. They are respectively styled 'Ādil Khān, Niẓāmu-l-mulk and Quṭbu-l-mulk only. In the very first of the extracts from the *Tūzuk*, we were informed that the one-tola muhr was given this name, and now it is said that it weighed 500 tulchas!

(horoscope star) muhrs the weight of each of which was 500 ordinary muhrs were given." [2 Āẕar, XII R Y.][1]

Ibid., I, 405; Text. 201, l. 15.

"Giving Muhammad Shafī leave to proceed to Multān, I presented him with a horse, and a *Nūr-shāhī* muhr, and sent by him a special turban (*chīra*) to Khān Jahān, my son (*farzand*)."[2] [4 Bahman, XV R.Y.]

Ibid., II, 193; Text 324, l. 4.

"I presented Zambīl Beg, the ambassador [of Shāh 'Abbās of Persia] with a *Nūr jahānī* muhr of the weight of 100 tolas."[3] 28, Isfandārmaz, XV R.Y.]

Ibid., II, 198: Text 326, l. 15.

"On this day [19 Farwardīn XVI R.Y.] I gave Zambīl Beg, a muhr equal to 200 tolas in weight."[4]

Ibid., II, 201; Text, 328, l. 10.

"A present of a jewelled dagger, a muhr of 100 tolas, and 20,000 darbs was made to Udā Rām"[5] [6 Āẕar XII R.Y.].

Ibid., I, 408; Text, 202, l 19.

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[1] Jahāngīr informed us in the very first of these extracts from his Memoirs, that *Kaukab i-ṭāl'i* was the name given by him to the 100 tola *silver*-piece. He then told us that he gave a *gold*-muhr of 1,000 tolas called *Kaukab-i-ṭāl'i* to the Persian ambassador. And now the name is given to the 500 muhr-piece! Mr Beveridge attempts to get out of the difficulty by suggesting in a note (Errata and Addenda, p. 453) that "these muhrs were probably of silver and were called Muhrs because they were medals rather than coins." Apart from the fact that the word 'muhr' was in the parlance of the period, specifically applied only to a gold coin, there are other strong objections to this explanation. The author of the *Bādishāh-nāma* bestows the same name on the ashrafī of 400 tolas (I. ii 89-90), while the compiler of the *Tārīkh-i-Muẕaffarī* asserts that *Kaukab-i ṭāl'i* was the designation of the muhr of 1,000 tolas. These discrepancies are puzzling. The authorities are certainly at variance as to the weight of the *Kaukab-i ṭāl'i*, but there would appear to be an absolute consensus as to its having been of gold and not of silver. The true explanation is suggested in a note at the foot of this page.

[2] The sentence seems to be loosely worded. The horse, the muhr and the *chīra* all seem to have been presents sent to the Imperial favourite, Khān Jahān Lodī. Muḥammad Shafī was in all probability, only the court messenger who carried the presents.

[3] In the Diary of the tenth year, we read that the *Nūr-jahānī* muhr was worth 6,400 rupees. In the immediately following citation, it was said to weigh 500 tulchas or tolas, and now we are told that its weight was only 100 tolas! It is clear that great confusion existed in the mind of the Emperor as to the arbitrary and fanciful names he had given to these pieces and that he was himself liable to mix up one with the other. There would be nothing surprising in subsequent historical writers having done the same, and it is also likely that the nomenclature itself was frequently altered in conformity with their own whims and caprices by the succeeding emperors.

[4] Mr. Beveridge notes that this is perhaps 'the muhr now in Germany.' This is an error. He is evidently referring to the 200 tola medal at Dresden, but that is in *silver* and bears the name of Aurangzeb, not of Jahāngīr (Thomas, Chronicles, 423 Note). The two-hundred tola muhr described by Richardson is of the 28th year of Shāh Jahān. There is a cast of it in the British Museum, but the original has disappeared.

[5] This man had been in the service of the Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmad-

"On this auspicious day [the 43rd Lunar anniversary of Shāh Jahān's birth, 8 Rabʿī II, 1041 A.H.], Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg[1] the Persian ambassador" received along with other presents, "four great *ashrafīs*, one weighing 400 tolas, another 300 tolas, a third weighing 200 tolas, and a fourth weighing 100 tolas and four rupees also of the same weight and given permission to depart." *Bādishāh Nāma*, *Bibl. Ind.* Text. I. i. 443, l 3

"On the 22nd [Ẓī-l-qaʿda, 1044 A.H. VIII R.Y.], the ambassador from Tūrān received, along with other presents, an ashrafī called *Kaukab-i-ṭālʿi* weighing 400 tolās, and a rupee of the same weight. Khwāja Yāqūt who had accompanied him and was in charge of the present of horses, camels and furs which had been sent by the king of Tūrān was given an *ashrafī* and a rupee each of which weighed 100 tolas."

Ibid, I, ii, 89–90.

"On the 10th of Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1044 VIII R.Y., Naẓar Beg, Qūshbegī [chief huntsman] of the ruler of Turān received a muhr weighing thirty tolas."

Ibid, I, ii. 101, l. 7.

"On the 14th [Ṣafar, 1048 A.H. XI R.Y.], Yādgār Beg Elchī of Irān received as a present a muhr of 400 tolas and a rupee of the same weight."

Ibid, II, 101, l 4.

"Qāzī ʿUmar Qūshbegi [chief huntsman, master of the hounds] of Naẓar Muḥammad Khān [Ruler of Balkh] received on the day of leave-taking, along with other presents, one muhr weighing 30 tolas." [1 Shawwāl, 1048 A.H. XII R].

Ibid., II, 134–5.

"On 30 Shaʿabān, 1050 [XIV R.Y.], Arslān Āqā, ambassador from Rūm [Constantinople], received along with other presents one muhr of 100 tolas and one rupee of the same weight."[2]

Bād. Nām. II, 218, l. 12.

"On the festival held to celebrate Jahān Ārā Begam's

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nagar and deserting it, had joined the Mughal general Shāhnawāz Khān. "By the persuasions of ʿĀdil Khān and the deceit of ʿAmbar, he left the right road," and "gave up loyalty and service" (*Tūzuk*, Trans I, 398-9). But when Ādam Khān was "deceitfully imprisoned and put to death by Malik ʿAmbar he, with Bābū Rāy Kāyath, went over a second time to the Mughals and came to court. According to a Marāthī Bakhar (quoted in Forrest, Selections, Marāthā Series. I, p. 9) he was a Brāhman by caste and Desai of Māhur.

[1] There is a long story about this man in Tavernier's Persian Travels (Eng. Trans. 1678, pp. 42-4). He is also mentioned in the Indian Section (Tr. Ball II, 7). Sir Thomas Herbert gives him a very bad character. Travels, Ed. 1665, pp. 221, 223, 225.

[2] This is also in Khāfī Khān, I. 581, l. l. He says the ambassador received 15,000 rupees besides in cash Von Hammer has given the Turkish historian Naima's account of this embassy in an article contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (Vol.

recovery [5 Shawwāl, 1054 A.H. XVIII R.Y], Ḥakīm Muḥammad Dāūd who had treated her was given one muhr of 500 tolas and one rupee of the same weight.[1]

Bād. Nām. II, 399, l. 3.

"On the Nauroz feast of the XIX year [3 Ṣafar, 1055 A.H. Naẓar Shawāīb [Elchī or envoy of Naẓar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh *q.v. Bād. Nām.* II, 479, l. 8 and *ib.*, 491, l. 18] was given two muhrs one of 200 tolas and another of 100 tolas."

Bād. Nām. II, 492, l. 7.

"On the 4th of Rajab 1071 A.H [IV R.Y.], Ibrāhīm Beg the envoy of Subḥan Qūlī Khān [Ruler of Tūrān or Balkh] was given an enamelled or jewelled staff an ashrafī weighing 200 tolas and a rupee of the same weight"

'Ālamgīrnāma, 608, l. 15

"On 3 Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1071. IV R.Y, Būdāq Beg. the Persian ambassador, received a present of three large ashrafīs the aggregate weight of which was 700 tolas and three rupees weighing in all 500 tolas."[2]

'Ālam. Nām. 627, l. 1.

"On the festival of Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam's marriage to the daughter of Rāja Rūpsingh Rāthor. [13 Rab'ī II, 1072, A.H IV R.Y.]. Khwāja Aḥmad the Bukhārā envoy who was present by the Emperor's invitation was given one *ashrafī* weighing 300 tolas, another weighing 200 tolas and two rupees of like weight."

'Ālam. Nām. 644, l. 8.

"On the 4th of Muḥarram, 1078 A.H X R.Y., Khūshī Beg, the ambassador from Balkh received along with other presents one ashrafī of the weight of 100 muhrs [اشرفي صد مهری] and a rupee weighing 200 tolas."

'Ālam. Nām. 1051, l 7.

"On the fourteenth anniversary of Aurangzeb's accession جشن جلوس], *i.e* 1 Ramẓān, 1081 A.H., Shaikh 'Usmān envoy (وکیل) of the Sharīf of Makka received along with other presents one ashrafī weighing as much as 100 [ordinary] muhrs and a rupee weighing as much as 100 [ordinary] rupees."

II, 1830). This is very different from the Mughal version, as it is there asserted that Arslān was "dismissed without credentials or presents from Shāh Jahān" to the Sulṭān, and that "a bottle of attar of roses, two carpets, and two felts were the only presents entrusted to him by the Indian Wazīr, on his own part, to the Sublime Porte (*loc. cit.*, pp. 467-8).

[1] The fact is mentioned by Khāfī Khān also. (Text, I, 606, five lines from foot.) The passage in which Manucci claims to have received from one of the Imperial ladies a like present for similar services has been already cited.

[2] This is in Khāfī Khān also (*Bibl. Ind.* Text, II, 127, l. 10). He says the present was made on the 'Idu d-ḍuha, *i.e.* the 10th, not the 3rd, of Zī-l-ḥajja, which seems more correct.

Maāṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīri, 108, l. 8

"On 7 Rabʿi II, 1092 A.H. XXIV R. Y., Khān Mīrzā, envoy of the ruler of Ūrganj [Khīva] received at his audience of leave, along with other presents, a muhr of the weight of 50 muhrs and, a rupee weighing as much as 100 ordinary rupees." [مهر پنجاه مهری و روپیه صد روپیگی]

Maāṣ. ʿĀlam. 207, l. 2.

"One muhr of the weight of 1,000 muhrs was sent as a present to Shahābu-d-din Khān Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang[1] for the valuable services he had rendered by convoying grain to the army of Prince Muḥammad Aʿẓam who was besieging Bījāpūr and routing Ped Nāik the Baidur chief of Saggar who had attacked him on the way" [Ẓī-l-qʿada, 1096 A.H. XXIX R.Y.]

Maāṣ. ʿĀlam., 266, l. 4.

"Quṭbu-d-dīn, the Bukhārā envoy received, along with other presents, one muhr of the weight of 200 muhrs and one rupee of the weight of 200 rupees on the day on which he had his first audience [روز ملازمت] of the Emperor.' [1109 A.H. XLII R.Y.]

Ibid., 397, l. 9.

"Mīr Abūl Baqā, Dārogha of the Jānimāz Khāna[2] received a present [انعام] of a muhr weighing 50 muhrs and the sum of 500 rupees for reading a letter written in cipher by Prince Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam." [1114 A.H XLVI R.Y.]

Maāṣ. ʿĀlam, 460, l. 6.

"Khwāja Zāhid, envoy of the ruler of Balkh, had been given on the day on which he had his first audience of the Emperor [روز ملازمت] one ashrafī of the weight of 100 muhrs [اشرفی صد مهری] and a rupee weighing as much as 100 [ordinary] rupees." [1115 A.H. XLVIII R.Y.]

Maāṣ. ʿĀlam 483, l. 5.

"Mukhtār Khān, father-in-law of Bedār Bakht, was *Ṣūbadār* of Āgra. He had nine *krors* of rupees, besides *ashrafīs* and *presentation money* (*rupīya-i-gharīb nawāz*), amounting to as much as five hundred tolas in weight; and he bad uncoined gold and silver in the shape of vessels. Bākī Khān, the commander of the fortress, who had the treasure in his charge, designed to surrender the treasure and the keys of the fortress to whichever of the heirs of the kingdom should present himself" [1119 A.H.].

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[1] The recipient was the father of the great Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āsaf Jāh, the founder of the ruling house of Ḥaidarābād (Dekkan).

[2] Jānimāz, place of prayer—prayer-carpet. The "Jānimāzkhāna' was the Imperial oratory, or room in which the Emperor offered up in private his daily prayers.

Khāfī Khān, in Elliot and Dowson, VII, 389. For the original see *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, Text, II. 568, 5 lines from foot. "Bākī Khān gave up the keys of the fortress [of Āgra to Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I] with the treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards. According to one account, there were nine *krors* of rupees, in rupees and *ashrafīs* besides vessels of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the twenty-four krors of rupees amassed by Shāh Jahān, after what had been expended by Aurangzeb during his reign principally in his wars in the Dakhin. According to another account including the presentation money [سکه غریب نوازی in text] which consisted of ashrafīs and rupees of 100 to 300[1] tolas' weight, *specially coined for presents* [مخصوص انعام] and the ashrafīs of twelve māshas and thirteen māshas of the reign of Akbar, the whole amounted to thirteen krors. (The Italics are mine.)

Ibid, Elliot and Dowson, VII, 393-4; *Bibl. Ind.* Text, II, 578, l. 5.

"One ashrafī weighing 200 tolas and two rupees weighing four hundred tolas [in all] were presented to Mīr Murtazā Khafāf—the ambassador of Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafavī of Persia in the first year of the reign of Farrukh-Siyar." 124 A.H.

Khāfī Khān, Text, II, 737, l. 6.

"The envoy of the Sharīf of Makka who had brought as a present the یاقوت کعبه and other rarities was given a Khil'at, two thousand rupees and an ashrafī called *kaukab-i-iqbāl-i* of the weight of 1,000 tolas" in the 11th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh

Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī (Manuscript), p. 135, l. 10 from foot.

Here we have no less than thirty passages covering the entire period from the coronation of Jahāngīr to the XIth year of the reign of the puppet-Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh. It is a fact worthy of consideration that there is not in this lengthy catena of extracts from the Chronicles a word which countenances either the 'large-payments' theory of Thomas or the 'Nazarāna' conjecture of Cunningham. Instead of being, as Cunningham imagined, offerings made by a subject to his sovereign they clearly appear to have been ostentatious gifts bestowed by the Mughal Emperors upon ambassadors, envoys and visitors from foreign parts. It may be fairly supposed that this was done with a view to spread the fame of their wealth and magnificence in their original home, Central Asia

[1] 'Three hundred' here is a misprint. The word in the original is پانصد, 500, and this is undoubtedly what Khāfī Khān himself wrote, and is said in the extract immediately preceding. (Ed. VII, 389.)

The phrase *Sikka-i-Gharīb nawāz* applied as a generic term to these pieces, is significant.

It had always been the practice to bestow not only presents of arms and armour, horses and jewels but of coined money or cash on diplomatic agents and distinguished visitors from foreign parts. Clavijo informs us that at a reception in the court of Tīmūr, they "put hats on their [*scil.* the ambassadors'] heads, and gave them a bag containing one thousand five hundred bits of silver being money which they call Tangaes, each piece worth two silver rials." (Embassy, Tr. Markham. 165.) We have seen that Bābur's parting-gift to the envoys of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and Kūchūm Khān Uzbeg, etc., was a silver-stone's weight of gold (250 Miṣqāls) and a gold-stone's weight (500 Miṣqāls) of silver." Akbar was innovating in all matters and at all times. He was endowed in no small measure with the aesthetic sense, and he had a passionate desire to have all things about him arrayed in beautiful shapes and forms. It perhaps occurred to him that when a great and powerful sovereign wished to reciprocate the diplomatic courtesies of neighbouring princes, it would be a great improvement to substitute for the ugly and ponderous ingot of 250 or 500 Miṣqāls a beautiful medal—a work of art bearing the impress of the poetical genius of Faiẓī or the artistic talent of Maulānā Maqṣūd or Mullā Aḥmad, the most renowned calligraphers and engravers of the age

These medals also served another purpose. They were 'stores of value.' The revenue of the Mughal empire was in its more prosperous days, in excess of the expenditure and the balance was hoarded in all the different forms of wealth which carry the greatest value in the smallest bulk, precious stones, gold and silver plate, specie and bullion. Such hoarding is now looked upon as foolish and uneconomical but it should not be forgotten that the lending of money at interest is denounced and strictly prohibited in the Qur'ān. There were no banks and no facilities for the investment of superfluous wealth in great industrial concerns. If the state required large sums for an emergency there was no agency capable of finding them. The Mughal Emperors had therefore like their European contemporaries, to keep large cash reserves for military and other exigencies. The deliberate accumulation of enormous war-chests by Germany and other great European powers before the War shows that even under modern conditions, the advantages of having such gold-reserves are not inconsiderable.

I have said that so far as this lengthy chain of citations is concerned, it is not possible to find a word which can be adduced in support of the Naẓrāna medal theory. It is therefore all the more incumbent upon me to give prominence to a solitary passage in which the note of dissent appears to be struck.

It occurs in the *Takmila-i-Akbarnāma* (supplement or continuation of Abūl Faẓl's 'Akbarnāma') which is generally

ascribed to a writer of the name of 'Ināyat Khān It forms part of his account of the submission or surrender of the Prince Salīm after his rebellion. We read :—

"On Thursday 4th Āẓar māh i Ilāhī, R.Y. 49, he [*scil.* Salīm] adorned his forehead with the prostration of loyalty and placed his head on the feet of his earthly (*lit.* figurative) divinity and true Qibla [*i.e.* his father]. The loving Emperor graciously drew that nursling of fortune into the embrace of affection. The prince offered as a present [نذر گذرانید] or diamond valued at one lac of rupees, 209 one hundred tola muhrs, 200 fifty tola muhrs, 4 twenty-five tola muhrs, and 3 twenty tola muhrs. He also presented 200 elephants."

Bibl. Ind., Edit. III. 832, eight lines from foot.

This passage undoubtedly demands attention, but after taking all the surrounding circumstances into consideration, it seems to me that an isolated statement of this sort, emanating from a writer of whom nothing whatever is known except the name, cannot invalidate the unanimous testimony of historians of acknowledged authority.

The circumstances under which this present came to be made have also to be carefully considered. It is well known to all those who have given close attention to the subject that our sources of information for the history of the last four years of Akbar's reign are exceedingly meagre and inadequate. Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad deserts us at the end of the 38th year, Badāonī at that of the 40th, Abūl Faẓl's invaluable work does not go beyond the 46th and the *Akbarnāma* of Faiẓī Sirhindī which has not been published stops short at the same point of time.

All the indigenous authors who belonged to the immediately succeeding generation, appear from prudent considerations to have glozed or altogether slurred over the undutiful conduct of the son who, by a fortunate concourse of events at last triumphed and established his right to the throne. If they say any thing about the matter, the details are confused and inadequate for a true understanding of the situation. Not one of them, for instance, allows a word to escape about Salīm having had the insolence to strike money in his own name and having thus touched the high-water-mark of treason and rebellion. On the other hand, all the contemporary or contemporaneous European writers aver that he did so. Sir Thomas Herbert in a disquisition on the history of the Mughal dynasty which is really a translation or paraphrase of the corresponding portion of De Laët's '*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*' writes :—

"Ecbar * * * returns him [*Scil.* Salīm] a sharp answer, such as incensed the Prince who * * * forthwith dislodged, and in good order marched speedily to *Elabasse,*

where he commands all sorts of coin, Gold, Silver and Brass to be stamped with his own Name and Motto." (Travels, Ed. 1665, p. 74.)

Now although a meticulous study of the historical exercitations of the European travellers of the 17th century has left upon my own mind an impression that they are of very small value for a critical knowledge of the subject, it is not impossible that they may, for once be right, and that Salīm may have arrogated to himself the sovereign right of stamping money. In that case, he was probably unable to resist the temptation of striking some of these 'showy' pieces, if only to give a further proof of his truculence and determination to go to all lengths.

If so, we can easily understand why the Emperor insisted on all such pieces being surrendered and made the surrender one of the conditions precedent to the grant of pardon. That condition would be best fulfilled and the prince's face also saved by his presenting the medals as 'Nazar' along with 200 of his most formidable elephants.

But this is only on hypothetical explanation and it rests on the *assumption* that the passage is genuine. But this assumption itself is by no means free from challenge.

I have said that little or nothing is known of the author of the work in which the passage is found. Dowson says that it is "almost unknown in England, for it is not to be found in the Libraries of the British Museum, the East India Office or the Royal Asiatic Society." (E.D. VI, 103.) Sir Henry Elliot did not possess a copy, but "a translation of the whole work is given at the end of the MS translation of the *Akbarnāma* [of Abūl Fazl] belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society," (*ibid.*) which was made by Lieut. Chalmers. Now the corresponding passage in Chalmers' version has been cited by Count Von Noer (The Emperor Akbar, Tr. A. S. Beveridge, II, 415) where we read that " on the 4th of Āzar, Salīm arrived at the presence and presented a *diamond worth a lakh of rupīs and* 200 *muhrs as an offering and* 400 *elephants as a tribute.*" Mr. Vincent Smith also who had access to Chalmers' translation has an identical statement (*l.c.*, p. 318). Now there is not a word here about the hundred-tola, fifty-tola, twenty-five-tola or twenty-tola muhrs having constituted part of the *Nazar*, though we have the diamond " valued at one lac of rupees " and also elephants (albeit the number is not the same). It is clear then that the passage must have been very differently worded in Chalmers' manuscript of the work and the authenticity of the statement in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Text is thus laid open to grave suspicion

The upshot of the matter is that this supposed negative instance is not of any compelling force and cannot invalidate the conclusion, founded on the evidence of the cloud of

contemporary witnesses who declare that these medals were merely presentation pieces which were given as a special mark of Imperial favour to ambassadors, etc.

It is of course possible to argue that the Emperors might have, for all that, received the medals in the first instance as nazars and afterwards bestowed them as presents to diplomatic agents and other visitors from foreign parts. I have therefore thought it necessary to note all the passages in my authorities in which the nazars of Princes and *Amirs* are mentioned, but it would be hardly worth while to cite them *in extenso* or even give references to them all. It will suffice here to say that there is not a word in any of these notices which indicates that nobles who had to present 100 or 200 muhrs as nazar made the offering in the form of a single piece or muhr of that weight. This is not an argument from mere silence which is of no import. In the circumstances, the silence is both extraordinary and significant.

A similar mode of reasoning—negative in character, but, for that matter, not devoid of force—will go far to shake, if not entirely explode the unexamined conjecture of "our master" Thomas I have, in the course of these researches, carefully studied all the records of European Travel in the 17th and 18th centuries.—Diaries, Journals, Voyages, Letters, etc.—which I could procure for love or money in this country. I have also read from cover to cover the entire body of the correspondence of the English East India Company from 1603 to 1659, for the publication of which we are indebted to the indefatigable zeal and industry of Mr. William Foster and his coadjutors. I can assure my readers that in neither of these voluminous sources of information which must fill at least 20,000 pages in print, have I found a single direct statement or allusion showing that gold and silver pieces of great size passed from hand to hand in the Indian bazars and served as substitutes of our ten-pound or hundred-pound notes. Several hundreds, if not thousands, of sales and purchases in which large sums were involved are recorded in detail by these writers, among whom are to be reckoned, physicians, clergymen, jewellers, merchants, factors and adventurers of all sorts. But I have not discovered any of them saying at any time that coins of higher value than the ordinary rupee and gold muhr were ever employed in any exchange transaction or in the course of commercial dealing. Briefly, there is not a word to indicate that any of these persons had ever seen or handled a five muhr, ten-muhr or thousand-rupee piece, or even heard that any metallic coins served the same purpose as our currency or Bank of England notes and that a heavy debt had been paid off by a Hindu or Muhammadan merchant by the transfer to the creditor of one or two of these prodigious discs of *stamped* metal.

Thomas's last argument turns out on examination to be equally feeble and untenable. It is founded on the supposition that the heavy seigniorage of about 5½ per cent must have led to the abundant if not profuse utterance of these ponderous pieces, and that their extensive circulation in the Indian bazars must have been the inevitable result of the Emperors' inability to resist the temptation to make a large profit by the operation. This *a priori reasoning* is unfortunately knocked on the head by the 'inside knowledge' of Abūl Faẓl who explicitly declares that the only gold coins ordinarily struck were the *La'l-i-Jalālī* Muhr, its half (*Dhan*) and quarter (*Man*) and that the other varieties enumerated were 'never stamped without special orders.' In other words, their possession would appear to have been an imperial privilege or prerogative and they never circulated in bazars at all, because no private individual could get them coined at the mint.

The sum and substance of the matter is that these phenomenal issues were neither metallic substitutes or counterparts of our Bank or Currency notes of high denominations, nor 'Naẓrāna medals.' They were merely massive ingots of artistically stamped bullion which were hoarded as stores of value and were occasionally given away to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons as complimentary gifts or *souvenirs* of the Imperial favour and munificence.

V. THE COIN-LEGEND 'ALLĀHU AKBAR.'

The deliberate choice of the punning motto 'Allāhu Akbar,' and the peculiar manner in which the words of the legend are arranged on some half dozen silver coins of the Great Emperor have led Rodgers and other numismatists of repute positively to assert or indirectly to suggest that Akbar laid claim to Divinity. The establishment of a New Religion, the public assumption of the title *Khalīfat Allah*, and the institution of a mode of salutation bearing some resemblance to the *Sijda* which in the eyes of Muslims it is blasphemy for a mortal to arrogate, has, no doubt, lent colour to the charge and exerted some influence on its formulation.[1]

It is not perhaps generally known that the ambiguous signification of the phrase itself is not a modern discovery. Badāonī has left it on record that it was once the subject of some heated discussion in the Emperor's own presence.

"In these days [983 A.H. XXI R.Y.] his Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allāh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial Seal and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Ḥājī Ibrāhīm objected, and said that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning, and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qurān *Lazikrullahi Akbaru*, because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased [ازو نه پسندیدند] and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity, he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme."

Muntakhabu-t-Tawarīkh, Trans. Lowe, II, 213; Text, II, 210. See also Elliot and Dowson, V, 523.[2]

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[1] It may not be generally known, but it is true that Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, the orthodox Aurangzeb and other emperors all regarded themselves as 'Khalīfs of Allah' and are so styled by the historians. Iqbālnāma, 2, 303; 'Amal; Salih, 12, l. 8; 'Ālamgīrnāma, 11, ll. 8, 20. The honorific epithets of their Capitals *Dāru-l-khilāfat* and *Mustaqirru-l-khilāfat* are founded on this pretension, and yet no one has accused any of them of laying claim to Divinity.'

It may be also pointed out that the *Kurnish* or peculiar mode of salutation instituted by Akbar in imitation of the Court-etiquette of the Sassanian Emperors differed in many respects from the Islamic *Sijda*. though Badaonī and some other Musalman writers use the terms interchangeably and represent them as identical. See the description of *Kurnish* and *Sijda* in Herklot's Kanoon-e Eslam—pp ci and cv.

[2] Dowson's version of the latter and more important part of the

This indignant repudiation of the charge is deserving of notice, and the correctness of Badāonī's report of the dialogue is proved by the occurrence of a very similar statement in the *Akbarnāma* of his successful rival and *bête noire*, Abūl Faẓl.

"One set of those base ones," he writes, "charged that Unique of God's servants, who is the glory of his race, with claiming the Godhead * * * When the fact of the foolish talk of the wicked came to H.M's hearing, he, from his wide capacity and contemplation of the wonders of Creation, did not believe it and said 'Good God, how could it enter into the narrow thoughts of the ignorant that recent Creatures belonging to a dependent existence should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity? * * * How could such a notion come into my mind? Why does such an evil thought bewilder the superficial and the worshippers of externals?'" (*Op. cit.*, Trans. H. Beveridge, III, 397–8; Bibl Ind. Text, III, 271–2.) There is such a striking resemblance between the expressions put by the cantankerous champion of Islamic intolerance and the magniloquent protagonist of Free thought into the mouth of Akbar, that it is impossible to entertain any doubt as to their having been really uttered by that personage. It is, of course, possible to say that these professions of humility and confessions of man's weakness were insincere and hypocritical devices for deceiving the ignorant and disguising from the commonalty the real intent of a deep laid plot or project. It is hardly necessary to point out that such charges of hypocrisy and suppositions of subtle intent are incapable of proof and are, at the most, matters of individual opinion. With such suppositions, the unbiassed student of the original authorities has no concern, and he is under no obligation to enter into a categorical refutation of them.

Now, an examination of these original or primary sources —indigenous and foreign—of the history of the Akbarī period shows that there is nothing in them which can be adduced as evidence in support of Rodgers' contention. On the contrary there is not a little which militates with some force against it.

It is common knowledge that Akbar gradually came to

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passage is perhaps better and deserves citation. "His Majesty was not pleased with this and said it was self-evident that no creature, in the depths of his importance, could advance any claim to Divinity. He had only looked upon the word as being apposite, and there could be no sense in straining it to such an extent."

The corresponding words in the original are:—

ازو نه پسندیدند فرمودند که این خود معین است که از بنده با کمال عجز دعوي خدايي چه طور درست مي آيد و مقصود ما مناسبت لفظی است این مدعا را بآن جانب بودن چه معني داشت *

Badāonī Text, II, 210, l. 12.

reject most of the peculiar doctrines and ceremonies of Islām and attempted to found a new sect or religion. But he never had a word to say against its Monotheism and his new creed was called the *Tauḥid-i-Ilāhī Akbarshāhī* "Akbar Shāh's Doctrine (or Creed) of the Unity of the Divine (or Supreme Being, اللہ)". Gibbon has somewhere said that the Muhammadan doxology is "compounded of an Eternal Truth and a necessary fiction." The 'Eternal Truth,' Akbar seems to have held fast and firmly throughout his life, and it was also retained in the new formula of his own Eclectic Faith. That Faith may be best described as a sort of Rationalistic Deism of which the distinguishing feature was a denial of the Revelation or infallibility of any of the creeds then existing.

Akbar had never received a systematic education,[1] though he had from early youth associated with or been thrown into the company of men of learning and culture. He consequently appears to have passed through many phases of religious belief, but there is nothing to show that his faith in the existence of a Supreme Being was ever shaken. He was a convinced Theist, or rather, Theism was to him an axiom which stood in no need of proof. He would have scornfully rejected, if not vindictively persecuted the Atheism and even the Agnosticism of our day, simply because he would have been unable to understand the logical basis of either.

Akbar was illiterate or practically so and he has left no writings or Defence of his religious opinions behind him. But fragments of his 'Table-talk' have been preserved in the encyclopaedic work of Abūl Fazl and occupy about twenty pages in Jarrett's translation (*Āīn*, Tr. III, 380–400). No one can read these 'Happy sayings of his Majesty' without having it forcibly borne in upon him that the subjects which were constantly in the Great Emperor's thoughts were the Being and Attributes of God. Man's relation to Him and the account he himself would have to give Him of his trusteeship. I beg permission to cite a few of the sayings as the arrogation of Divinity in his own person by their author is to me unthinkable.

"There exists a bond between the Creator and the Creature which is not expressible in language." Jarrett, *Āīn*, Trans. III, 380.

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[1] Jahāngir says of his father that he was ناخواندہ (Tūzuk Text, 14, l. 12, Trans. I, 33) of which the dictionary meaning is "Not knowing how to read or write, uneducated, illiterate" (Steingass, *s.v.*). The Jesuit Monserrate also assures us that he could neither read nor write. (Hosten in *J.A.S.B.* 1912, p. 194) and Jerome Xavier repeats the statement in a long letter addressed to the General of his Order from Lāhor in 1598, (Maclagan in *J.A.S.B.* 1896, p. 77).

"Each person according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to know the Unknowable is vain." *Ibid.*, 381.

"There is no need to discuss the point that a vacuum in nature is impossible, God is Omnipresent" *Ibid.*, 381.

"Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, * * * yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds." *Ibid.*, 386.

"On the day when the Almighty wills that my life should cease, I also would not further prolong it." *Ibid.*, 387.

"My constant prayer to the Supreme Giver is that when my thoughts and actions no longer please Him, he may take my life, in order that I may not every moment add to his displeasure." *Ibid.*, 387.

There is every reason to believe that these sayings are genuine expressions of the Emperor's opinions which were recorded by the *Wāq'a navīs* or keepers of the Court Register, and it is impossible not to give due weight to them or to overlook the fact of their receiving strong corroboration not only from his son Jahāngīr, but from his habitual detractor, 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badāonī.

In the word-picture of his father which Jahāngīr has drawn in his *Tūzuk* and which, in Mr. Beveridge's opinion, is "a bigger plum than anything in Bābar's Memoirs," he says: "Notwithstanding his kingship and his treasures and his buried wealth, * * * his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, but considered himself the lowest of created beings, and *never* for one moment forgot God." (*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. Trans. Rogers and Beveridge, I, 37; Sayyad Aḥmad Khān's Edition, p. 16, l. 18.)

"His Majesty," Badāonī imforms us, "spent whole nights in praising God * * * His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation * * * with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn." [983 A.H. XX. R.] (Lowe's Trans. II, 203. Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 200, l 14. See also Blochmann, *Āīn*, Trans. I, 170.)

How can one conceive of such a man saying انّ الحقّ like Manṣūr?[1] It should be here observed that Badāonī

[1] Manṣūr-i-Ḥallāj (the carder) was a Ṣūfī who was sentenced to death by the Khalīf Al-Muqtadir because he used to proclaim *An-ul-Haq, i.e.* I am the Truth, or in other words, 'I am God'" in A.H 306 (919 A.C.) of 309 (922 A.C.). Beale, Biographical Dictionary, Ed. Keene, p. 243.

Mr. Vincent Smith says that "Akbar was by nature a mystic, who

himself does not anywhere state that Akbar laid pretensions to Divinity. The gravamen of his accusations, the point he continually harps upon is that the Emperor attempted to establish a new Faith contrary to, and on the ruins of Islām, that he pretended to be the *prophet of a New Age*, and that some unprincipled courtiers spoke of him as the *Ṣāḥib-i-Zamān*, *i.e.* the Mahdī. Badāonī's animadversions on Akbar's Religious Opinions are, as may be seen from Blochmann's Note on the subject, (*Āīn*, Trans. I, 167–209), scattered over more than two hundred pages, and are full of digressions and discursive remarks of all sorts, but the sum and substance of the new or heterodox opinions on account of which he fulminates against Akbar is contained in the following extracts :—

" But he [Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd] was soon left behind by Bir Bar—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abūl Faẓl, and Ḥakīm Abul-Fatḥ, who successfully turned the Emperor from the Islām, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophets and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company."

(Lowe's Trans. II. 214; Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, I, 175.)

" Soon after, the observance of the five prayers, and the fasts and the belief in everything connected with the prophet, were put down as vain superstitions, and man's reason was acknowledged as the only basis of religion."

(Lowe, 215; Blochmann, 175–6.)

" And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious ideas and vain doubts, coming out of ambush, decked the false in the garb of the true, and wrong in the dress of right, and cast the Emperor, who was possessed of an excellent disposition, and was an earnest searcher after truth, but very ignorant and a mere tyro, and used to the company of infidels and base persons, into perplexity, till doubt was heaped upon doubt, and he lost all definite aim, and the straight wall of the clear Law, and of firm Religion was broken down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islām was left in him : and everything was turned topsy-turvy."

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sought earnestly like his Sufī friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality, and now and again believed or fancied that he had succeeded." (Akbar, 160). This is a mere opinion, and the assertion made in the last part of the sentence is without warrant. Akbar's own opinion of these Sufistic absurdities is expressed in his saying about Manṣūr. " One moral may be drawn," he declared, " from the instances of the ruler of Egypt (Pharaoh) and Ḥusayn Manṣūr (Ḥallāj), namely, that presumptuous regard of oneself [خود بینی] and regard of God [خدا نگری] are essentially distinguished " [از هم جدا ساخت] Jarrett, III, 394; Text, II, 240, l. 15).

Briefly, Akbar was of opinion that Manṣūr was a self-conceited fool and nothing more.

(Lowe, 262–3; Blochmann, 178.)

"Thus a faith of a materialistic character became painted on the mirror of his mind and * * * this conviction took form that there are wise men to be found and ready to hand in all religions, and men of asceticism, and recipients of revelation and workers of miracles among all nations, and that Truth is an inhabitant of every place; and that consequently how could it be right to consider it as confined to one religion or creed, and that, one which had only recently made its appearance and had not as yet endured a thousand years!"

(Lowe, 263–4; Blochmann, 179.)

"And the Resurrection and the Judgment, and other details and traditions of which the Prophet was the repository he [Akbar] laid all aside."

(Lowe, 264; Blochmann, 180.)

"His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem."

(Lowe 281; Blochmann, 188.)

"In this year, low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidence that His Majesty was the Çāḥib-i-Zamān who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islām and the Hindus."

(Lowe, 295; Blochmann, 190.)

"All this made the Emperor the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else" [*i.e.* of God. Footnote] (Lowe, 295: Blochmann, 190.)

This is a difficult but important passage, and as Badāonī has been made by his translator to insinuate or indirectly suggest that Akbar did lay claim to something higher than Prophetship, I give below his own words which, in my humble opinion, have been paraphrased loosely and not at all correctly understood. What he says is

واین همه باعث دعوي نبوت شد امّانه بلفظ نبوت بلکه بعبارت آخر*

(Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 278, l. 15.).

I submit that the following would be a more literal and also more faithful rendering of the sentence:—

"All this was the cause of laying claim to the dignity of Prophetship [نبوت], though the word [لفظ] Prophetship [نبوت] was not used; but that was the purport [عبارت style, context, construction] in the end [آخر]."

I understand the writer to mean not that Akbar claimed to be God, but that he wished to be regarded as a Prophet, without at the same time calling or styling himself Prophet or *Nabī*. According to Muhammadan writers, *Nabī* is "one who has received direct inspiration (*wahy*) by means of an angel, or by the inspiration of the heart (*ilhām*) or has seen the things of God in a dream. *Vide Kitābut-i-Ta'arīfāt.*" "(Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, *s.v.*)

I understand Badāonī's expressions to signify that though Akbar did not for fear of wounding Musalmān susceptibilities or some other reason, openly assume the title *Nabī*, and did not also use the word *Nubuwwat* in connection with his 'New Dispensation,' he *practically* did so, by arrogating to himself the right to "annul the statues and ordinances of Islām and establish his own cherished pernicious belief in their stead" (Lowe, 310; Blochmann, 191).

Briefly what Badāonī says is that though the Emperor did not permit the words [لفظ] *Nabī* or *Nubuwwat* to be used in connection with himself or his 'mission,' it was only an attempt to camouflage his pretensions, which were, to all intents and purposes, such as a Prophet or *Nabī* alone is properly entitled to put forward.[1]

This is all that he asserts and he does not, even in his most violent and vitriolic passages, forget himself so far as to make the more serious imputation against the Emperor. His complaint is not that Akbar claimed to be God, but that he pretended to be a Prophet (*Nabī*). He pours out the vials of his wrath on Abūl Faẓl and others, not because they or any one else called Akbar *Allah*, but because their seductions and flatteries ended in his styling himself *Khalīfat Allah* (God's Khalīf or Vicegerent). His grievance is not that Akbar desired to be adored like the *Creator* or demanded divine honours from his subjects, but that he himself worshipped *created* things like

[1] It is fairly well known that Akbar's foster-brother, 'Azīz Koka, entitled Khān-i-A'ẓam was violently opposed to the religious innovations and incurred the Emperor's resentment in consequence. (Badāonī, Trans. Lowe, II, 400.) Khāfī Khān gives extracts from a letter addressed to him by Akbar on the subject and his acrimonious and disrespectful reply in which he had accused his friend and master of "claiming to be a prophet" [مدعی نبوت نمودی منهم] and asked him what scriptures [کلام الله] had been revealed to him, what miracles he had performed, and "what former ruler had ever pretended to prophetship." [کدام بادشاه دعوی نبوت نمودی] (Text, I, 202, ll. 7–12). It will be noticed that there is not a word in this satirical admonition about the other allegation; which is, I repeat, absolutely unknown, to and has never, to my knowledge, been made by any Musalmān author of repute against Akbar.

the Sun and Fire, that he repeated daily the one thousand and one Sanskrit names of the sun and went through the mummery of holding his ears and turning himself quickly round about while doing so. (Lowe, II, 332: Blochmann, I, 200.)

If we turn from the zealous Sunnī to the European missionaries who have so much to say about Akbar and whose testimony is, within certain limits, of considerable value, we do not find any of them accusing Akbar of what Mussalmān writers call the 'Sin of Pharoah.' A few quotations will perhaps suffice. The Jesuit Bartoli, for instance, whose account of the formal promulgation of Akbar's new religion is 'highly commended' by Mr. Vincent Smith writes that after his return from Kābul and defeat of his rebellious brother, Muhammad Hakīm, the Emperor "began to bring openly into operation the plan which he had long secretly cherished in his mind That was to make himself the founder and head of a new religion, compounded out of various elements taken partly from the Korān of Muhammad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmans, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose, from the Gospel of Christ." (Quoted in Smith, Akbar, 211.)

Jerome Xavier writing from Lahore on 20th August, 1595 A.C. says:—

"He [The Emperor] has utterly cast out Muhammad * * * and leans towards the superstition of the Heathen, worshipping God and the Sun He proclaims himself to be a prophet and declares that he does miracles." Quoted by [Sir] E. D. Maclagan, Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar, *J.A S.B.*, 1896, p. 67; see also Smith, 262. Pinheiro, writing a week later, says :—

"The Emperor has entirely overturned * * * the Muhammadan heresy and does not recognise it as a true faith * * * The Emperor is the founder of a new sect and wishes to obtain the name of a *prophet*. He has already some followers, but only by bribing * * He worships God and the Sun. He is a Heathen" *Ibid.*, p. 70; Smith, *loc. cit*, 262.

Lastly, we come across in a Report made by the Provincial of the Jesuits on 20th December, 1607, the following statement:—

"When the Emperor was in his last agonies the Muhammadans bade him think on Muhammad whereon he gave no sign save *that he repeated often the name of God.*" (Maclagan, *loc. cit.*, 107.)

Another well-informed contemporary witness delivers himself thus:—

"Ecbar-shae himselfe continued a Mahometan, yet hee began to make a breach into the law; considering that Mahomett was but a man, a king as he was, and therefore

reverenced, he thought hee might prove as good a *Prophett* himself." Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, Ed. W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, Edit. p. 313.

This is the sum and substance of what I have been able to glean from the contemporary authorities on the subject. Their positive assertions and direct statements deserve the most serious consideration. Their silence or negative evidence is also significant and must have its due weight. There appears to be a consensus that Akbar did pretend to be the founder of a new religion or prophet, but at the same time we do not hear a word about his having arrogated to himself the title of God or Allāh.[1] There may be two opinions as to the trustworthiness of this or that part of the evidence, and it may or may not be thought sufficient for absolute acquittal, but it would be impossible for any unprejudiced judge to deny that the indictment was not at all substantiated and that there was no positive evidence to support it.

It is possible that these historical considerations will not appeal strongly to Numismatists, and they will probably be still inclined to think that the abnormal arrangement of the word اکبر on the coins under discussion could not have been adopted without an object and that it must have concealed some insidious design or project. It may be therefore pertinent to remark that the number of such coins is not at all considerable. They are all fractional pieces of small value and it is a question if it would not be more proper to regard them as 'freak pieces' which were promptly suppressed than as

[1] Musalmān monarchs are habitually called 'Shadows of God,' and honorary titles like ظلّ الله, ظلّ الله فی العالم, ظلّ حق are found inscribed on their coins. (Codrington, Manual, p. 64) Akbar never said that he was Allah but only his Agent or Deputy (خلیفه الله) and the same person cannot be both agent and master any more than the shadow can style itself the substance. Akbar claimed that he was not only Emperor but also 'Supreme Head of the Church' and this is the position taken up in the famous Manifesto which he got the Ulemā to sign in 987 A.H. "we are agreed that the rank of *Sulṭān-i-'Ādil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God, than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further, we declare that * * * Akbar Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī * * * is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty * * be inclined to adopt * * * any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation. Further, we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qorān, but also of real benefit to the community. (Blochmann, *Āin*, Tr I, 186-7, Lowe, Badāonī, Tr. II, 279.) Surely this is very different from advancing claims to Divinity.

standard issues which remained in circulation anywhere for an appreciably long period. The arbitrary, fanciful and sometimes senseless arrangement of the words composing the legends is so very common in Mughal coins that it would be exceedingly hazardous to build anything upon it.[1] At any rate, there can be no justification for basing on such frail foundations an accusation of blasphemy and stupidity against such a ruler as Akbar.

The deservedly high authority and position of Mr. Lane Poole in the Numismatic world demands a discussion of the opinion he holds in regard to this subject. After pointing out the equivoque involved in the phrase he delivers himself of this guarded pronouncement: "The suggestion has been made, that the Emperor played upon the double meaning. If *he did so*, the levity was wholly out of keeping with his character and conduct in all other respects." (B.M.C. Introd. lxviii.) I am afraid that it would not be easy to get many learned and unbiassed Muslims to see eye to eye with the Trinity College Professor of Arabic in this matter. There is frequently in questions of good taste or bad, an irreconcilable divergence betweeen the European angle of vision and the Oriental. Any pun or play upon words in connection with sacred or scriptural matters or 'holy things' is to the devout European a damning proof of 'levity' and irreverence. He is bidden never to 'take the name of the Lord in vain' The pious Muslim has it always in his mouth, and takes merit to himself for repeating it at all times and seasons. Invocations, ejaculations, exclamations and imprecations in which the name of 'Allāh' occurs are constantly on his lips. *Inshāllah*, *Bārakallah*, *Barakatallah Bismillah*, *Mashāllah*, *Istaghafar-allah*, *Aḥsanallah*, *Subḥānallah*, *Alḥamdu-lillah* are common instances. In his eyes, they are useful reminders to sinful mortals ever prone to forget Him—of His Goodness and Omnipresence and Power and Glory. The name of the Supreme Being or one of its hundred and one synonyms, is thus displayed by them everywhere, on the doors of tbeir houses, the walls of their mosques, the façades of their mausoleums the intaglios of their rings, and the headings of their books and letters. No ingenuity is spared to devise novel or unconven-

[1] Nothing perhaps is so calculated to pervert the judgment as a favourite theory. Rodgers was not content with asserting that Akbar pretended to be God. He was almost sure that the feeble minded and uxorious toper Jahāngīr was guilty of the same folly, Commenting on the second couplet on the 'Portrait coin' struck at Ajmer in the 9th year of the Julūs, he writes: "There is, I suspect, more than one sees on the surface here; *a sly attempt to make himself equal with God*, seeing the letters of the name of the King and of God were of the same numerical value"! Such theories need no refutation. They are founded on an unfortunate preconception and stand self-condemned.

tional forms of expression and bring in the name or attributes of the Creator of the universe therein. The more ingenious, (that is, in many cases the more far fetched and obscure) the conceit, quibble or paronomasia, the better. 'Allusive invocations' connecting the personal designation of an individual with one or other of the oft-repeated forms of the 'Holy Name' are, therefore, exceedingly common on their seals, their finger-rings and their monetary issues. Mr. R. S. Poole has pointed out that they are a marked characteristic of the later Persian coinage. Karīm Khān Zand, publicly affected the invocation يا كريم merely because كريم is one of the appellations of the Deity (*q.v* Codrington, Manual, p. 41). The سجع or seal of this ruler bore the motto يا من هو بمن رجاه كريم and one of his gold coins has "above the reverse inscription هو [He], and in the midst of the obverse inscription, dividing the distich, كريم." The coins of Muḥammad Shāh bear the inscription شاه‌شه انبيا محمد [Sovereign of the Prophets, Muḥammad] "which may be regarded as an allusive motto," and the phrase هو الناصر [He is the Helper] occurs on the medals struck by *Nāṣiru-d-dīn* Shāh in our own days, to celebrate the thirtieth year of his reign and the centenary of the Qājār dynasty. (Coins of the Shāhs of Persia, Introd. lxxxix-c). No Persian would see any 'levity' much less blasphemy in this although the phrase itself refers to the True 'Helper' ناصر of all creatures. He would at once see that the choice of the phrase and the prominence given to it was due to its assonance [مناسبت لفظي] with the name of the Shāh. He would be totally unable to understand why the assonance should not be a fit subject for the exercise of his wit or verbal ingenuity and even regard the invocation itself as a 'happy thought.' [1]

The multiplication of instances seems to me to be scarcely necessary, and this article might fitly conclude here. But the question has been the subject of so much loose thinking and random conjecture, that it might be as well to clear the air by presenting the results of a critical study of the primary authorities.

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[1] "Another instance of the *veneration of Muhammadāns for pious sentences*, and of *the familiar use of them in* every day life is seen in the mottos engraved on these seals and signets. Sometimes we find a quotation from the Korān in which the name of the owner occurs, *e.g.* سلام على ابراهيم, 'Peace be upon *Ibrahim*,' which was engraved on the official seal of Ibrahim Pasha, father of H.H. the Khedive." E. T. Rogers, 'Arabic Amulets and Mottos' in *J.R.A.S.*, 1879, p. 126.

The expression 'Allāhu Akbar' was not devised or invented by Akbar or any of his courtiers or flatterers. As a religious exclamation, it had been in general vogue throughout the Islamic world for hundreds of years before Akbar was born. It was one of the commonest battle-cries in the first centuries of Muhammadan conquest and the verbal form *takbīr* points emphatically to its habitual and exceedingly frequent repetition.

The ordering of the words of the legends on Mughal coins is often so arbitrary, fantastic and even senseless that nothing can be built on the preposterous precedence given to the word 'Akbar' on six or seven specimens of the subsidiary issues on silver.

The selection of punning mottos for coins, sealings, etc., is a very common Muhammadan practice and the devoutest Moslem not only sees no 'levity' or irreverence in a *jeu de mot* or paronomasia on a Qur'ānic text or phrase, but regards it as a proof of wit and ingenuity

Akbar undoubtedly attempted to found a new sect or religion and did claim to be the Supreme Head of the Islamic Faith in India, but he never pretended to be or called himself even *Nabī* or 'Prophet' in the Musalmān sense of the word. The title of *Khalīf* had been assumed by many rulers in Islām before him and continued to be borne by his successors without protest.

There is no warrant in the original authorities for supposing that Akbar "laid claim to Divinity" any more than other rulers in regard to whom sentiments like those embodied in the Shakespearian 'There's such divinity doth hedge a King' are the merest commonplaces of the world's literature.

VI. DARBS AND CHARNS.

The fanciful designation invented by Akbar for a silver coin which was the half of the Jalāla or *square* rupee of the Ilāhī type was *Darb* (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Trans. I, 31; Text, 1, 26, l. 16.) The origin of the name is exceedingly obscure. The word itself occurs in no other passage of the *Āīn* or anywhere in the *Akbarnāma*, or the contemporary chronicles of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and Badāonī But the denomination frequently arrests attention in the monetary statements of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, and the author takes care on several occasions to inform his Persian readers that it was the local or Indian name of the moiety of the Rupee. The earliest mention is in the Emperor's diary of the second year of his reign The passage derives added interest from its connection with the custom of 'Niṣār.' Jahāngīr tells us that on coming to the throne, he gave the specific name *Niṣārī* (scattering or showering-money) to the quarter-rupee. The majority of the coins exhibiting the denomination on their faces turn the scale at 44 grains. Coins of higher as well as lower weights exhibit this specific name, but they are extremely rare. This entry shows that *Darbs* or half-rupees also were used as 'largesse money' and thrown about to be scrambled for by the crowd. "On Friday the 7th" [Jumādā I. 1016 A.H. 2 R.Y.], we read, 'when a watch of day had passed, leaving the city [Kābul] auspiciously and with pleasure, a halt was made at the *julgāh* (meadow) of the Safīd-Sang. From the Shahr-ārā [Garden, "which was the encamping place for the royal standards"], as far as the *julgāh* I scattered *darb* and *charan*, that is, half and quarter rupees [with both hands]." باهر دو دست را از قسم زر درب و چرن که نصف و ربع روپیه بوده باشد بر فقرا و مساکین پاشیدم.

Op. cit., Rogers and Beveridge's Trans. I, 121; Persian Text, Ed. Sayyad Aḥmad Khān, Alīgarh, 1864, p. 57, four lines from foot.

A strict interpretation of Abūl Faẓl's words would necessitate the restriction of the denomination to those half-rupees only which are square in shape and are of the Ilāhī type. But the designation appears to have been applied even in Akbar's reign to the *round* half-rupee also. The unique half-rupee in the White King cabinet which had the denomination inscribed on it was round (Catalogue, Part III, No. 3551; Num. Chron. 1896, Pl. XI, No. 8). It should be borne in mind, however, that the date is 47 R. and that Abūl Faẓl completed the *Āīn* in the 42nd year.

The Emperor Jahāngīr and the author of the *Bādishāh-nāma* also apply the term to the half-rupee *in general.*

It has been thought that the same coin-denomination is inscribed on some *whole* rupees of 48 and 49 R. which have been attributed to Sītpūr, Sītāpūr and even Peshāwar (B.M.C. 177; P.M.C. 352–4), but the decipherment is, in my humble opinion, not at all convincing, and the *entire legend* on the obverse appears to me to stand in need of an *absolutely new* and revised reading. The regnal or Hijrī dates are occasionally wrong or inconsistent on Mughal coins and other small errors also sometimes occur, but no mint master could have been so careless or ignorant as to go on deliberately announcing to the public for two years together that a whole rupee was a half.

I will now collect and bring together under one view several scattered notices from which it would appear that Jahāngīr introduced or had a strong partiality for the practice of reckoning or referring the money-value of the presents made by him to ambassadors and other visitors from foreign parts to *Darbs* or half-rupees. Akbar's gifts of this sort are, frequently, recorded in terms of *tankas* Thus Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad informs us that Sayyad Beg, the ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp had seven laks of *tankas* given to him. (Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Text, 257 = E.D. V. 276) Badāonī tells us that on one occasion he himself was given a present of 10,000 tankas (Text, II, 402, Lowe's Trans. II, 416). Other examples will be found in my article on the Murādī Tanka (Num. Sup. XXVIII, 181). Jahāngīr's presents were often announced in terms of *darbs*. Witness the following excerpts:—

"On the 21st [Farwardīn XII R. = 9th April, 1617] I gave leave to Muḥammad Riẓā, ambassador of the ruler of Irān,[1]

[1] Muḥammad Riẓā Beg was at the Imperial Court about the same time as Sir Thomas Roe, and Roe has a good deal to say about him. See 'Embassy,' Ed. W. Foster, 295–7, 300, 302, 310, Roe says that on one occasion, Jahāngīr "gave him for expence 20000 *rupias* for which hee made innumerable *Teselims* and *Sizedaes* [sijdas]". *Ibid.*, 303. Elsewhere, Roe in speaking of the ambassador's departure says that he was "not sicke as he pretended, but receiving no content from the king in his businesse, he suddenly took leave; and having given thirty fair horses at his departure, the king gave in recompence *three thousand Rupias* which he took in great scorne." (*Ibid.*, II, 400.) The statement occurs in an entry dated 30th April 1617, the day on which Āghā Nūr brought to Roe "the excuses of the Persian Ambassadour in taking his leave of me." It is true that Roe puts the figure at "three thousand Rupias," Jahāngīr at 'thirty thousand Rupees' and "sixty thousand darbs" It looks as if سی is a misreading or miswriting for سہ and شصت for شش. The Emperor and king James I's envoy are undoubtedly speaking of one and the same transaction and there are no good grounds to accuse Jahāngīr of having wilfully exaggerated and decupled the value of his present. The converse supposition that 'three' has been

and bestowed on him 60000 *darabs*, equal to 30000 rupees, with a dress of honour." [' شصت هزار درب كه سى هزار روپيه بوده باشد].

Ibid Trans. I, 374; Text, 185, l. 9.

" A present of 100000 of *darbs* was given the Wakīls of ,Ādil Khān ' [13, Bahman, XII, R.Y.].

Ibid., Trans. I, 433; Text, 214, three lines from foot.

" Thirty thousand *darbs* were given to the Wakīl of Quṭbu-l-Mulk who had brought the tribute." [11 Isfandārmaz XII, R.Y.].

Ibid., Trans. I, 439; Text, 218, l. 9.

" On Thursday, the 4th of the Divine month [Mihr XIII, R.Y.] Sayyad Kabīr and Bakhtar Khān, the Wakīls of 'Ādil Khān, who had brought his offering to the exalted court, obtained leave to return * * * and a present of 6000 *darbs* was given to each of them for expenses " [خرچى].

Ibid., Trans. II, 36; Text, 244, l. 3.

" Mīr Sharīf, the Vakīl of Quṭbu-l-Mulk, who was at court took leave, * * * 24000 *darb*, a jewelled dagger, a horse and a dress of honour were also given to the aforesaid Mīr Sharīf." [2 Khūrdād XIV R.].

Ibid, Trans. II, 90; Text, 271, five lines from foot.

" On the 24th [Tīr Ilāhī, XIV R.Y.] I gave 1000 *darbs* as a present [در وجه انعام] to Sayyad Ḥasan, the ambassador " [of Shāh 'Abbās of Persia].

" I distinguished him [Muḥammad Zāhid, the ambassador of 'Izzat Khān, ruler of Urganj or Khiva who had brought some presents] with the eye of kindness, and on the spur of the moment [عجاله الوقت] gave the ambassador 10000 *darbs* (Rs. 5000) as a present." [17 Amardād XV R.Y.].

Ibid., Trans. II, 165; Text, 310, l. 1.

" On Mubārak-shamba (Thursday) the 27th [Ardībihisht, XIII R.Y.]. I presented Ḥakīm Masīḥu-z-zamān with 20000 darbs (8 anna pieces) and to Ḥakīm Ruḥu-llah 100 Muhrs and Rs. 1000."[1] *Ibid.*, Trans. II, 11; Text, 230, four lines from foot.

" I gave Kunwar Karan[2] 10,000 *darab* " [9 Ardībihisht, X R.Y.]

Ibid., Trans. I, 287; Text, 141, l. 20.

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wrongly read for ' thirty ' is put out of court by Roe's remark about the ambassador having taken the present ' in great scorne.'

[1] The passage is translated in Elliot and Dowson, VI, 357. The words for ' 8 anna pieces ' are not in the Persian text.

[2] He was the eldest son and the heir apparent of ' Rānā Amrā,' *i.e.* Rana Amar Singh of Udaypūr. There is a good deal about him in Tod's Rajasthān, Calcutta Reprint, 1899, pp. 376–386. It will be seen that the word is here written ' *darab*,' and that in the immediately preceding

"On Sunday, the 1st Bahman [XIII R.Y.] a reward of 1000 *darb* (Rs. 500)[1] was given to Ḥāfiẓ Nād 'Alī the reciter."

Ibid., Trans. II, 69; Text, 260, three lines from foot.

"On the same day [15 Tīr, XII R.Y.] Yādgār Qurchī[2] was presented with 14000 *darbs*, and I promoted him to the mansab of 500 personal and 300 horse."

Ibid, Trans. I, 379–80; Text, 188, l. 5.

"Hunarmand, the European[3] who had made the jewelled throne, I presented with 3000 *darb*, a horse and an elephant." [19 Farwardīn, XIV R.Y.]

Ibid., Trans. II, 82–3; Text, 267, l. 27.

"As the anniversary of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ had arrived, I gave his sons 1000 *darbs* (Rs. 500)[4] for its expense." [Shahrīvar XIII R.Y.]

Ibid., Trans. II, 26; Text, 239, l. 4.

"In this year [15th R.Y.] 85000 *bīghas* of land 3325 *Kharwārs* (of rice), 4 villages, 2 ploughs (of land) and a garden, Rs. 2327, 1 Muhr 6200 *darbs* (half-rupees), 7880 quarter-rupees (*Charan*), 1512 tolas of gold and silver and 10000 dams *from the treasury*[5] were given in my presence as alms [تصدق] to faqīrs and necessitous people." [ارباب استحقاق]

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extract we have *darb*. Mr. Whitehead (P.M.C. lxxxvi) and others also give *darab*. But the latter would appear to be wrong: as Abūl Fazl in his vocalization of the word explicitly states that the '*re*' is ساکن or quiescent. (*Āīn*, Text, 1, 26, l. 16.)

[1] The words in brackets have been added by the translator.

[2] "The Qur is a collection of flags, arms and other insignia which follow the king wherever he goes" Blochmann, *Āīn*, Trans. I, 50 note. Bernier's description of the 'Kours' (Travels, Ed. V. A. Smith, p 266) will be found in the chapter on the so-called 'Portrait-Coins.' The Qurchī was the officer in charge of the Qur. See also Irvine, Army of the Indian Mughals, p. 31.

[3] This was the Frenchman Austin de Bordeaux. Four letters of this adventurer have been recently published in the Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society, in the first of which dated 20th 1620, he informs Messieurs les Aubris that Jahāngīr had made him a captain of 200 horse and "given him two elephants and two horses, a house valued at eight thousand livres and his likeness in gold to put on my hat." In the fourth, he says he had constructed "a royal throne for the king on which he sits once a year for nine days (which they call New days), when the Sun enters the Sign of the Ram, when their year commences." (Vol. IV, 1915, pp. 7 and 13.) His real name was Augustin Hiriart, but he has signed the first letter as "*Augustin Houaremand, qui est un nom que le Roy m'a donné en Persian veut dire inventeur des arts,*" *i.e.* "Augustin Houaremand (a Persian name which the king has given me, and which means 'inventor of arts.'" (*Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.)

[4] The words in round brackets are not in the original.

[5] The words in the original are از خزانهٔ وزن "from the treasury of the weighment" The gold, silver, etc., against which the Emperor was weighed on the birthday anniversaries were set apart and given away as alms [تصدق] to the 'deserving poor' (*q.v. Āīn*, Tr. I, 269).

Ibid., Trans. II, 198; Text, 326, l. 17.

"Eighty thousand *darbs* were given to Zambīl Beg,[1] ambassador of the ruler of Persia." [1 Farwardīn XVII X.Y.]

Ibid., Trans. II, 230; Text, 343, l. 11.

"Ten thousand *darabs* (5000 rupees) were given to the relations of Mirzā Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain Kāshgharī,[2] who at this time had come and had the honour of kissing the threshold." [Tīr Ilāhī X R.Y.]

Ibid., Trans. I, 296; Text, 145, seven lines from foot.

"On this day [16 Amardād, XIV R.Y.] Bahlīm Khān one of the chief servants of 'Ādil Khān came and waited on me. As he had chosen my service out of sincerity I bestowed on him unstinted favours, and presented him with a dress of honour, a sword, and 10000 darbs, with the Mansab of 1000 personal and 500 horse."

Ibid., Trans. II, 97; Text, 275, l. 23.

"On this date [Thursday 1st or 2nd Jumādā I, 1027, XIII R.Y.] Mīr Jumla came from Persia and had the good fortune to pay his respects. * * * As he had come with devotion and sincerity, I conferred favours and kindness on him, and presented him with 20000 *darbs* (Rs. 10000)[3] for his expenses [خرچی] and a dress of honour."

Ibid., Trans. II, 3–4; Text, 224, ten lines from foot.

"At this time [Amardād, XVII R.Y.] Mīr Ẓahīru-d-dīn, the grandson of Mīr Mīrān son of the famous Shāh N'imatu-llah came from Persia and waited on me and received as a present a dress of honour and 8000 darbs."

Ibid., Trans. II, 236; Text, 346, l. 27.

"Summoning Jagat Singh [son of Rāja Bāsū of Mau and Pathan] in all haste to court, I honoured him with the title of Rāja and the Mansab of 1000 personal and 500 horse, and bestowed 20000 *darbs* on him out of the public treasury for his *expenses*." [خرچ دادہ] XIII R.Y.

Ibid., Trans. II, 75; Text, 264, l. 6.

"To Allah-dād, the Afghān, who accepting my service, had separated himself from the evil-minded Aḥdād and come to

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[1] This name is very variously written in the manuscripts.

[2] The words in round brackets are the translator's gloss. Mirzā Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain was the great-great-grandson of the renowned Khwāja Naṣīru-d-dīn 'Ubaidu-llah Aḥrār. He was a Commander of Five thousand and was married to Akbar's sister, Bakhshī Bānū in the 5th year of that Emperor's reign. See his life in Blochmann *Āīn*, Trans. I, 322–3.

[3] The value in rupees is not of the author's giving. Mr. Beveridge correctly points out that this Mīr Jumla should not be confused with the renowned diamond merchant, minister and conqueror, of whom Bernier and Tavernier speak so frequently. But his conjecture that they stood to each other in the relation of father to son is unwarranted.

court, I gave 20000 *darabs* (10000 rupees).[1] [21 Farwardīn, XI R Y.]

Ibid., Trans. I, 321 ; Text, 157, l. 19.

"A present of a jewelled dagger, a muhr of 100 tolas and 20000 *darbs* was made to Udā Rām.[2] [6 Āẕar, XII, R.Y.]

Ibid., Trans. I, 408 ; Text, 202, l. 19.

"On this date [8th Khūrdād XI R.Y.] I bestowed 20000 *darabs* (10000 rupees)[3] on Allah-dād Khān the Afghān."

Ibid., Trans. I, 325 ; Text, 159, l. 27.

"On the 20th, Mīr Mīrān came and waited on me. * * * He had become a Qalandar and a dervish, and came to me at Aj̱mer in a way that no body on the road could recognize him.[4] I soothed all the troubles of his mind and the miseries of his inward and outward condition, and gave him a mansab of 1000 personal and 400 horse, and presented him with 30000 *darabs* in cash" [ ]

[Āẕar Māh X R.Y.]

Ibid., Trans. I, 304-6; Text. 150, l. 2ff.

"On the 13th [Ardībihisht XVII R.Y.] by the advice of the physicians, and especially of Ḥakīm Mūminā I was lightened by being bled from my left leg. A present of a dress of honour was made to Muqarrab Khān and one of 1000 *darbs* to Ḥakīm Mūminā."

Ibid., Trans. II, 232 ; Text, 344, l. 14.

"On Friday 10th [Shahrīvar XVII R.Y.] by the advice of Ḥakīm Mūminā I was relieved by bleeding from the arm. Muqarrab Khān, who has great skill in this art, always used to bleed me, and possibly never failed before, but now failed twice. Afterwards, Qāsim, his nephew, bled me. I gave him a dress of honour and Rs. 2000 and gave 1000 darbs to Ḥakīm Mūminā"

Ibid., Trans. II, 237 ; Text, 347, l. 13.

It will be seen that the word occurs about twenty-two times in the *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*. I cannot call to mind any instance of its use in the *Iqbālnama* of the Emperor's Private Secretary, Mu'atamad Khān, and it is found only once in the

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[1] The words in round brackets have been added by the translator. Allah-dād was the grandson of the Pīr Raushanāī or Jalāla Tārikī as the Musalmān historians call the leader of the turbulent 'Raushanyas'—in fighting against whom Birbal met his death. Elphinstone, Ed. Cowell, 517 ff.

[2] This man was a Dakanī Sardār or Amīr of the Niẕāmshāhī rulers of Aḥmadnagar. He was a Brahman, and was at one time in the confidence of Malik Ambar, but afterwards deserted him and went over to the Mughals. Jahāngīr promoted him to the rank of 3,000 personal and 1,500 horse. *Tūzuk*, Trans. I, 398. Bahlīm Khān another deserter, subsequently received 10,000 *darbs*. *Ibid.* II. 96).

[3] The explanation in parenthesis is not of the Emperor's giving.

[4] Qalandars shave off not only the head and beard, but also the eyebrows. See *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, Trans. Bayley, 229.

voluminous *Bādishāh-nāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd. In his account of the celebrations in honour of the Princess Jahānārā's recovery from her accident, he says that precious stones and gold and silver coins of the aggregate value of seventy-thousand rupees were waved round her head (نثار) and given away in charity. Among these were "10000 rupees worth of *durust*, *i.e.* whole rupees, and half-rupees (*Nīma*) which are called *Darb*, and quarter rupees which are styled [گزارش دهند] *Niṣār* and imitations [تماثیل] in silver of various kinds of fruits."

Text, II, 396, l. 20 [A.H. 1054].[1]

The designation would afterwards appear to have gone out of use and I have not come across it in any of the later chroniclers. It is now perfectly obsolete and is not noticed in the *Burhān-i-Qat'i*, *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*, *Bahār-i-Ajam*, *Farhang-i-Rashīdī* or any other Persian lexicon compiled after the middle of the 17th century.

It is clear from these notices that Jahāngīr had a fancy for expressing his money-gifts to ambassadors, visitors from foreign parts, physicians and artists in terms of *Darbs*. It is not easy to give any reason for the preference shown to this peculiar denomination and we cannot understand why he chose to bestow upon Muḥammad Riẓā the Persian ambassador 60,000 *darbs* instead of 30,000 rupees. It is not at all likely that the payment was really made in darbs or that 60000 darbs were told out to him. It is not at all improbable that the gift was merely ordered to be recorded in terms of darbs. It was probably nothing more than a matter of form, a *façon de parler* of which the object was to magnify the Imperial donor's wealth

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[1] I have come across in my reading only one other reference to this curious denomination. It is not in the Persian histories of the House of Tīmūr, but in the 'Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān' whose author is responsible for the following translation of a passage from the indigenous chronicle of the Rāhtors of Jodhpūr. "The Raja ['Soor' or Sūraj Singh who came to the throne in 1651 V.S. or 1595 A.C.] took the *pān* against the king Muzaffar, with the title of Viceroy of Guzerat. The armies met at Dhundoca where a terrible conflict ensued. The Rahtores lost many valiant men, but the Shah was defeated, and lost all the insignia of his greatness. He sent the spoil of *seventeen thousand* towns to the king [Akbar], but kept a *crore* of *dribs* for himself, which he sent to Jodhpur, and therewith he enlarged the town and fort." (Calcutta Reprint, 1899, p. 865 ; *Ibid.*, Ed. Crooke. II. 969).

The statement is not unhistorical, but labours under the usual defects of these family annals—inaccuracy, exaggeration and absurd laudation of the achievements of their hero. Sūraj Singh was appointed the deputy of Prince Murād, Viceroy of Gujarāt in 1003 A.H. [1594–5 A.C.]. He did good service in suppressing the rebellion, not of Muẓaffar III, but of Bahādur, his real or supposed son in 1005 A.H. Bahādur, however, was only a glorified freebooter or outlaw, and the "*seventeen thousand* towns" and the *crore* of *dribs* can be accepted only with a heavy discount. See *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī*, Bom. Lith. Pt. I, 191–2.

and munificence. The fact that many of the recipients were diplomatic agents or refugees from Persia and Central Asia lends some colour to this view and may have had something to do with the innovation. The Persian silver coin of highest denomination was at this time, the *'Abbāsī*, the intrinsic contents of which were worth, according to Olearius and other European travellers, about 15 or 16 pence, about the same as the Mughal half-rupee. (Voyages and Travels of the Holstein Ambassadors, Eng. Trans. 1669, p. 223; Herbert, Travels, Ed. 1665, p. 329; Fryer, New Account, Ed. 1698, pp. 55, 407). It had been introduced by the reigning Shāh, 'Abbās I. The idea at the back of Jahāngīr's mind would appear to be that the visitors from Persia or of Persian birth would more vividly realise and appreciate more correctly the value of his gifts if they were made in terms of a coin which was in purchasing power closely assimilated to the highest denomination in the silver currency of their own country.

After the death of Jahāngīr, this new-fangled designation of the half-rupee would appear to have fallen into desuetude, if it did not become altogether obsolete. It occurs, as I have said, only once again in the historical literature, viz. in the *Bādishāh-nāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd. (Text, II, 396.) This notice, however, indicates that the term was remembered so late at least as 1054 A.H. (1645 A.C.) but we possess no evidence of its survival thereafter.

This article may fitly conclude with a few words about the denomination 'Charn.'[1] Abūl Faẓl informs us that it was the name given by Akbar to the fourth part of the Jalāla or square rupee. It occurs four times in the *Tūzuk*, and is invariably employed for the quarter rupee. "At the time of mounting, my son of prosperous fortune Shāh Jahān," the Emperor writes in his Journal of the 13th year, "had brought 20000 *Charan*, or Rs. 5000, for the Niṣār (scattering) and I scattered them as I hastened to the palace" [Aḥmadābād]. Rogers and Beveridge's Trans. II, 9; Text, 229, l. 24. In the Diary of the 15th year we read that he scattered 10,000 *charns*. in the course of the procession, when he visited the garden of Qāsim Khān near Āgra. (*Ibid.*, II, 187; Text, 320, l. 23.) Two other notices of similar import arrest attention at pp. 194 and 198 (Text, 325, 326) of the same volume. The author of the *Bādishāh-nāma* however, uses it for the *quarter-muhr*, and the name given by him to the quarter-rupee is *Niṣār*. (Text, II, 396, ll. 13-20.) I have noticed the word

[1] This word is often transliterated 'Charan' (*e.g.* Rogers and Beveridge, *Tūzuk*, Tr. II, 9, 194, 198) but Thomas (Chronicles, 421) and Blochmann (*Āīn*, Tr. I, 31) write, *Charn*, and Abūl Faẓl's own vocalization (*Āīn*, Text, I, 26, l. 17) shows that the latter is correct, as the *rā* is quiescent (ساکن).

only once again in the later chronicles. This is in the *Maaṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* in which there is a long story of a forced march made by Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam and his son Bīdār Bakht from 'Bangāla' to the Emperor's camp at Udaypūr during the campaign against the Rānā. (1090 A.H. XXIII R.) The purport of the story is that Bīdār Bakht became thirsty and the princes halted at a village-well for a cup of water from a peasant, who was rewarded with a couple of ashrafīs. This naturally aroused the cupidity of the rustic, who attempted to waylay the princes and was at once laid low by an arrow from A'ẓam's quiver. When the few followers who were at all able to keep pace with him came up, the Prince told them that the incident had brought home to him the advisability of "having in his pocket a few *charn*, and *two-annas* and *four-annas* of gold and silver, and black tangahs and shells (cowries) also." As the passage is loosely worded and the meaning is far from clear, I give below the original :—

پادشاهزاده از آن باز فرمودند که در جیب چند چرن و دو آنه و چهار نهٔ طلا و نقره و تنکهای سیاه و خرمهره نیز میداشته باشند

(Bibl. Ind. Text, 185, l. 4.)[1]

Here the word '*Charn*' would seem at first sight to be used for the 'quarter-rupee,' but we read immediately afterwards of "two-anna and four-anna pieces of *gold and silver*." But whatever the real meaning of the words may be, the excerpt is remarkable for containing the only reference to the word 'Anna' which I know of in the Persian Chronicles. As such it is not unworthy of a place in this article.

Briefly, the application of both these terms, *Charn* and *Niṣārī*, seems to have been so uncertain and indiscriminate that it is not easy to use them with unquestionable accuracy or restrict them to coins made of a particular metal or possessing a particular weight. The 'Charn' was originally the designation of the "quarter of the 'Jalāla'" or Akbar's *square* rupee and came to be employed not only for the fourth part of the *round* rupee, but the gold muhr. *Niṣārī* was the peculiar appellation bestowed by Jahāngīr on his quarter-rupee, but the word *Niṣār* is inscribed not only on silver pieces of all shapes and sizes, varying in weight from 88 grs. to 14, but on several mintages in *gold*. In fact, it would seem that the

[1] Elsewhere also this writer speaks of چرن طلا و نقره "*Charns* of *gold* and silver" which would seem to show that the word was loosely employed in Aurangzeb's reign for the fourth part of the muhr as well as of the rupee. (*Maaṣ-'Ālam*, Text, 333, three lines from foot.) The author of the *Bādishāh-nāma* also in one place says quite explicitly that half-muhrs were called *Dhans* and quarter-muhrs *Charns*. (Text, II, 396). The passage itself will be found in the article on *Niṣārs*.

denomination 'Niṣār' was stamped on a coin regardless of its weight, size, constituent metal or value, and all that it signified was that it had been issued for the purposes of the *Niṣār*, scattering or distribution as largess.

I have shown that 'charn' was in use up to the end of the 17th century, but the following extract from an indigenous record would appear to indicate that its place was taken soon after by *Pāolī*. We are informed that the personal property of Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang was confiscated at his death in 1122 A.H. and that it consisted of "1½ lakhs of rupees in bills on bankers, 133000 gold muhrs, 25000 Hun (gold), and *Nīm pāolī* (gold), 17000 gold *pāolī*, 400 *adheli* (half) and 8000 whole silver *pāolī*, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants." (Irvine, Later Mughals, J.A.S.B. 1898, p. 163.) It will be observed that not only *pāolīs* of silver but of gold are here mentioned, and that the ⅛th part of the Muhr is called *Nīm-pāolī*. Now we know that *Pāula* was the name given to the quarter-dām by Akbar (*Āīn*. Tr. I. 31). It would seem then that by a transition of meaning similar to that just exemplified in regard to the 'Charn,' *pāolī* had already become the popular designation of not only the fourth part of the rupee, but of the muhr, in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I.

VII. TANKIS.

The one, two and four-*tānkī* pieces which issued from the mints of Aḥmadābād, Āgra, Kābul and Lāhor during the last five years of Akbar's reign are not the least curious and interesting of that Emperor's mintages. The striking of coins *explicitly bearing that denomination* was discontinued by his son and they are never heard of again in the Mughal monetary system. Nor is it easy to account for or prove the necessity of introducing them. Their origin is probably to be looked for in the Emperor's perpetual hankering after innovation.

Rodgers who was the first to publish this type of Mughal money, was so profoundly impressed by the absence of any reason for their existence that he declared they were not coins at all, but only standard weights bearing the Imperial stamp. "It would seem, too," he writes, "that *Weights were minted in Akbar's time* under the auspices of the mint authorities, though jewellers then, as now, kept sets of agate weights. I have seen such minted copper weights from the Lāhōr, Āgra and Kābul mints, which in my previous papers on the copper coins of Akbar, I thought were coins, inasmuch as they have the name of the mint, the year and the month on them, exactly as the coins have. In Āgra, they were called *tānké*, spelt تانكي and were issued, as far as I know, only as four-*tānké* and two-tānké pieces. In Kābul and Lāhōr, they were called *Tanké*, spelt تنكى of which I have seen one one-tanké and one four-*tanké* piece. From Kābul I have a one-tanké and a two-tānké piece, and I now give a four-tanké piece." (Indian Antiquary, 1890, p. 220.)

This theory has not found favour with modern numismatists. Mr. Lane Poole notices it only to reject it, while Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Whitehead ignore it altogether without advancing a more satisfactory or convincing explanation of their own. Mr. Whitehead merely says that "the meaning of the word Tanke (tānkī) is obscure. Apparently it was a weight which had little or no connexion with the *tanka*." (P.M.C. Introd. xxvi.) It was pointed out by the present writer in a note published in Num. Sup. XXVII, that the *Ṭānk* was a weight in very common use in Akbar's days, and that it was equivalent to *about* 63 grs. troy. He did not think it then necessary to do more than cite the following equation occurring in Abūl Faẓl's *Āīn*.

"The *dām* weighs 5 *tānks*, i.e. a tolah, 8 māshas and 7 surkhs. It is the fortieth part of the rupee." (*Op. cit.*, Trans. Blochmann, I. 31; Bibl. Ind. Text, I.) It is clear that if the

Dām was = $20\frac{7}{8}$ or $\frac{167}{8}$ *Māshas*, the *Ṭānk*, its fifth part, must have been $\frac{167}{8} \times \frac{1}{5} = \frac{1067}{40} = 4\ \frac{27}{40}$ māshas or 62 $\frac{5}{8}$ grains at 15 grains to the *māsha* and 180 to the *tola*.[1] If the tola of Akbar is supposed, with Prinsep and others, to have been equal to about 186 grs., the weight of the Ṭānk would be 64 $\frac{57}{80}$ grs A lower valuation, viz. 184 grs. would yield a figure practically identical, viz. 64 $\frac{1}{60}$ grs. Now there are in the Mughal Chronicles and elsewhere several passages in which the *Ṭānk* is clearly mentioned, and it may not, in view of the obscurity in which the origin of the Ṭānkī is involved, be unprofitable to bring them together and present them with such illustrative material as is available.

My first quotation is from the 'Memoirs' of the Emperor Bābur.

"The people of Hind," he writes, "have also well arranged measures :—

8 *ratīs* = 1 *māsha*; 4 *māsha* = 1 *tānk* = 32 *ratīs*; 5 māsha = 1 miṣqāl = 40 ratīs; 12 māsha = 1 tūla = 96 ratīs; 14 tūla = 1 seer. * * * Pearls and jewels they weigh by the tānk." *Op. cit.*, Trans. A. S. Beveridge, 517–8, = Leyden and Erskine, 332.

Briefly, it is here categorically asserted that the *ṭānk* was equal to 32 Ratīs and the Miṣqāl to 40. We are therefore puzzled by the following extract from Abūl Faẓl who informs us that the ṭānk was equal to only 24 ratīs. In a chapter on 'Weights and Measures' he says :—

"*Jeweller's* Weights [وزن جوهري]. These are based on the *Tānk* and the Surkh [*i.e.* Ratī]. A Tānk is equal to 24 Surkh and the ordinary miṣkal is two Surkh more. * * * The standard weights kept ready for use are the following: the *biswah* [*i.e.* $\frac{1}{20}$ th part of a Surkh], the rice grain [$\frac{1}{10}$th of a Surkh], $\frac{1}{4}$th and $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Surkh; 2 Surkh, 3 Surkh, 6 *Surkh* (*which is* $\frac{1}{4}$ *of a tānk*), $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2, 5, 10, 20 and 50 tānk. Any other gradations may be compounded of these weights, and for the imperial service, weights of Cat's eye [*recte* agate][2] up

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[1] These contributions were, for reasons it is not worth while going into, published without the proofs having been corrected by the Editor or the writer. They are consequently disfigured by some typographical errors which I take this opportunity of rectifying.

In line	29, p. 135	read 1091 A.H.	for 1041 A.H.
,, ,,	26, p. 139	read Aḥmadābād	for Allahābād.
,, ,,	36, p. 139	read Beames	for Beams.
,, ,	47. p. 139	read $1\frac{2}{5}$ Surkhs	for $1\frac{2}{3}$ Surkhs.
,, ,,	47, p. 139	read $2\frac{2}{3}$ grs.	for $3\frac{1}{3}$ grs.
,, ,,	3, p. 140	read $1\frac{2}{5}$ Surkhs	for $1\frac{2}{3}$ Surkhs.
,, ,,	3, p. 140	read $62\frac{5}{8}$ grs.	for $63\frac{1}{3}$ grs.

[2] The word used in the original is یاغوري which really signifies 'an agate, carnelian or chalcedony.' *Āīn*, Text, II, 60, ll. 12–16. See also

to 140 tānks have been made of such brilliancy that they cannot be distinguished from gems." He then gives a table of *Banker's Weights* [وزن صيرفي] as under :—

"These are based on the *Tolchah*, the *Māshah*, and the *Surkh*.

Formerly 6 now $7\frac{1}{2}$ rice-grains = 1 *Surkh*

8 *Surkh* = 1 *Māshah*

12 *Māshah* = 1 *Tolchah*."

As for other Trade-weights, we are told that "formerly in Hindustān, the *Ser* weighed 18 and in some places 14 dām. In the beginning of His Majesty's reign, it was current at 28 and is now fixed at 30, *each dām being* 5 *Tānk*." (*Āīn*, Tr. Jarrett, III. 125.)

The gist of it is that, according to Abūl Faẓl, the *Ṭānk* was not equal, as Bābur asserts, to 32 Ratīs or Surkhs, but only to 24, and that according to him, the 'ordinary Miṣkal' [مثقال مشهور] weighed only 26 Ratīs and not 40. He also asserts that the *Ṭānk* was equal to the fifth part of the *Dām*. What are we to make of such widely divergent statements and which of them is correct? The explanation is that Bābur's weights are *Goldsmith's* weights, Bābur's *Ratī* is the *Goldsmith's* Ratī while Abūl Faẓl's Ratī is the *Jeweller's* Ratī. The latter was much heavier than the ordinary or Goldsmith's Ratī, which Thomas and Maskelyne have respectively estimated at 1·75, and 1·86 grains.

Some light is thrown on the matter by the author of the *Bādishāh-nāma* who informs us in his description of a *Sarpech* or aigrette belonging to Shāh Jahān that there were five large rubies [لعل] in it and he says of the stone in the centre that "its weight was 12 *Ṭānk*, every *ṭānk* being equal to 24 *Jeweller's* Ratīs and three Ratīs less than the *Miṣqāl*, for the *Miṣqāl* is equal to 27 *Ratīs*."

هر تانكي بيست و چهار رتي جوهري از مثقال سه رتي كمتر چه مثقال بيست و هفت رتي است *

Text. II. 391.

It will be seen that this author makes the Ṭānk equal to only 24 *Ratīs*, but the *Ratīs* are *Jeweller's Ratīs*. There is a statement on this subject in the Travels of the English physician Fryer which makes the matter clearer still. In a chapter entitled, 'A Corollary of Weights, Coins and Precious

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Blochmann, Tr. I, 35 and 615 note. There is an informing article on the subject in Yule and Burnell, Hobson Jobson, Ed. Crooke, p. 43. Agate weights are still used by jewellers in India.

Stones,' he gives in parallel columns the following tables which clearly show that weights having the same names had really different values in the two trades :—

"*Goldsmith's* Weights.	*Jewel* Weights.
1 Sear is 35 Tolaes.	3 Ruttees is 1 Val.
1 Pice is 1 Tola $\frac{3}{4}$.	1 Tank is 24 Rutt.
1 Tola is 12 Mass,	1 Rupee Oranshaw [Aurang-Shāhī] 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rutt.
1 Tola is 32 Valls.	1 Miscall is 1 Tank 4 Ruttees.
1 Tola is 2 Gudjanas.	8 Ruttees is 7 Carracks.
1 Tola is 96 Ruttees.	1 Carrack, 4 grains.
1 Tola is $2\frac{3}{4}$ Tanks.	20 Vassael, 1 Rutt.
2 Tolas and 19 Valls; or 83 Valls make 1 Ounce Troy.	3 Tanks, 1 Tola.
	1 Manjere, 1 Rutt, $11\frac{1}{2}$ Vas-[sael]."

(A New Account of East India and Persia, Ed. 1698, p. 206. This work was begun in 1672 and finished in 1681. The author was at Sūrat in 1675 A.C.)

The points which emerge from Fryer's Tables are the following :—

The Tola was = 32 Valls, and 83 Valls made an Ounce Troy = 480 grs. The Tola was, therefore, $= {}^{480}/_{1} \times {}^{32}/_{83} = {}^{15360}/_{83} =$ 185·06 grs.

96 Goldsmith's Ratīs = 1 Tola, so this Goldsmith's *Ratī* was (leaving out the decimals) the 96th part of 185 grs., *i.e.* *about* 1·927 grs. troy.

The Goldsmith's Ṭānk was $\frac{4}{11}$ of a Tola, *i.e* ${}^{4}/_{11} \times {}^{185}/_{1} =$ 67·27 grs.

It is not said how many Goldsmith's Ratīs made a Ṭānk, but it follows from the above statements that the number was $34\frac{10}{11}$ $({}^{740}/_{11} \times {}^{96}/_{185})$.

So far as to the Goldsmith's weights. In the other table it is explicitly affirmed that

1 Ṭānk was equal to only 24 Jeweller's Ratīs,

1 Ratī was the $\frac{2}{129}$th part of a Rupee of Aurangzeb, *i.e.* ${}^{2}/_{129} \times 178$ or *about* 2·75 grs.[1]

3 Ṭānks made a Tola which would, granting that the two Tolas were identical, make the Jeweller's Ṭānk $= {}^{185}/_{3} = 61\frac{2}{3}$ grs.

Lastly, it is said that the Miṣqāl was = 28 Jeweller's Ratīs. Abūl Faẓl gives 26 as the equivalent, and the number in the *Bādishāh-nāma* is 27, but these conflicting statements have nothing to do with the matter in hand and may be, for the

[1] It should be remembered that this is the theoretical or issue weight of the Mughal Rupee. In practice, coins in actual circulation would be used which had lost two or three grains. Ball's first estimate of the value of the Jewellers' or Pearl Ratī was 2·77 grs. Troy (Tavernier's Travels in India, I, 417), but he afterwards corrected it to 2·66 grs. (*Ibid.*, II, Preface xii.)

present left out of the discussion. In a valuable paper on the 'Rare Copper Coins of Akbar,' Rodgers confessed his inability to account for the actual weights of the Tānkī-pieces which are extant or to reconcile them with the statement of either Bābur or Abūl Faẓl. As the difficulties by which he was so strongly impressed appear to have been felt by other numismatists also and as his exposition of them is full and clear, I beg permission to cite it *in extenso*.

"*The weights of the tānke pieces are a puzzle.* Those given in my previous papers—two one-*tānké* pieces, weighed 59 and 58·8 grains respectively, though much worn; but the two-*tānké* pieces I have seen vary from 119·5 to 108 grs.: while the three four-*tānké* pieces described in the present paper vary from 237 to 244·5 grains. This should make the one-*tānké* piece about 61, or perhaps 62 grains. *Now the Āīn-i-Akbarī gives the weight of a jeweller's tānk as* 24 *ratīs*, and on actual weighment I find that 24 *ratīs* = 42 grs. and in this I am supported by Thomas, who says 1 *ratī* = 1·75 grs. Therefore a one-*tānké* piece should weigh 42 grs. but it does weigh 58·8 to 62 grs. Again in Bābar's *Table of Indian* Weights given by Thomas the *Tāng* is said to weigh 32 *ratīs*, equal to 56 grains, but even this weight is less than that of worn copper *tānké* pieces 300 years old. Next, General Cunningham estimates the *ratī* at 1·8229 grs. and Mr. Maskelyne at 1·85. This goes nearer to what we want, if a *Tānké*-piece of 59 grs. = 32 *ratīs*, because then 1 *ratī* = 1·844 grs. But this is my lowest weight, whereas the four-*tānké* piece weighs 244·5, though it is worn, making one *tānk* = at least 61·1 grs. and 1 *ratī* = 1·91 grs. All this makes me think the *Āīn-i-Akbarī is wrong in saying that the tānk was of* 24 *ratīs*, and that it was really of 32 ratīs. It also makes me think that the *ratī* was *heavier then than now.*" (The Italics are *not* mine.) Indian Antiquary, 1890, p. 220. This is hardly helpful, much less satisfactory, and Mr. Lane Poole is justified in saying that this endeavour to reconcile the "weight of the *tānkī* (say 62 grs. when unworn) with the 'jeweller's *tānk*' which is stated in the *Āīn* to be of 24 ratīs (42 grs.)" is unsuccessful (B.M.C. Introd. xciii).

It will be seen that neither Rodgers nor his critic has perceived the whole truth or grasped the real explanation of this apparent confusion. It is evident from the facts I have adduced that the weight of the *jeweller's tānk* was not 42 grs. at all. We have seen that, according to Abūl Faẓl, the *Ṭānk* was $\frac{1}{5}$th of a Dām or about 64 grs.

According to Fryer's Tables, it was about the same or a little more. It is also plain that there is no ground for charging Abūl Faẓl with error in stating that the [Jeweller's] *Ṭānk* was of 24 *Ratīs*, for the equation is found in the *Bādishāh-nāma* as well as in Fryer's Travels. It was the *Goldsmith's* Ṭānk which was reckoned at 32 *Ratīs*. Lastly, it is obvious that

there were two kinds of Ratīs, the Goldsmith's and the Jeweller's. The first weighed about 1·92 grs. It was the second that was heavier and equivalent to about 2·7 grs. This is made still more clear by the fact that Fryer expressly states that the Tola was equal to 96 Goldsmith's Ratīs, but the number of *Jeweller's* Ratīs in the Tola must have been only 72, as 24 Jeweller's Ratīs made a Ṭānk and 3 Jeweller's Ṭānks made a Tola.

When these points are borne in mind, there is really no discrepancy between the statements of Bābur and Abūl Faẓl. The weights of the Tānkī pieces explain themselves and are just what they might have been expected to be.

The fact is that the Ṭānk was an *ancient* Indian weight universally employed in the pearl and jewel trade and not altogether disused or obsolete in other commercial transactions. Bābur informs us that in India they weigh pearls and jewels by the *ṭānk*. Abūl Faẓl bears his testimony to the same custom, for the weights of all the finest Crown jewels are recorded by him in Ṭānks and his chapter on the 'Treasury for Precious Stones' concludes with the following inventory of the most valuable stones in Akbar's possession. "Rubies weighing 11 tānks, 20 surkhs, and diamonds of $5\frac{1}{4}$ tānks 4 surkhs, each of one lakh of rupees; emeralds weighing $17\frac{3}{4}$ tānks, 3 surkhs, 52000 rupees; yāqūts of 4 tānks $7\frac{3}{4}$ surkhs, and pearls of 5 tānks, each 50000 rupees (Blochmann, Tr. I, 16.)

No reader of Jahāngīr's 'Memoirs' could fail to have been struck by the pride and satisfaction with which he enlarges on the rarity, value and beauty of the presents and offerings made to him on the Nauroz, the anniversaries of his birth and other court festivals. These often took the shape of pearls and precious stones and when they were extraordinarily large or remarkable for purity and brilliancy, their weights and the prices paid are minutely registered in the Imperial diary. These notices are interesting for several reasons and are cited below *seriatim*.

"Murtaẓā Khan from Gujarāt sent by way of offering a ring made of a single ruby of good colour, substance, and water, the stone, the socket and the ring being all of one piece. They weighed $1\frac{1}{2}$ tānks and one surkh, which is equal to one misqāl and 15 surkh * * * A single ruby weighing six surkhs, or two tānks and 15 surkhs, and of which the value was Rs. 25000 was also sent." (Tūzuk, Tr. I, 132–3; Text, 63, ll. 11–17.)

This passage is evidently corrupt. 'A ruby weighing six surkhs' could not, as Mr. Beveridge has pointed out, weigh also 2 tānks and 15 surkhs." He suggests that we should, with the India Office Manuscript, read 'shash *barja*' instead of 'shash *surkh*' and that the meaning is probably 'six-sided

or having six segments or facets.' This is not the place to discuss the merits of the emendation. What concerns us is the first equation 1½ tānks and one surkh = 1 miṣqāl and 15 surkhs. Now if the tānk is taken as equivalent to 24 Jeweller's surkh and the miṣqāl at 27, the first of these two expressions would yield 37 surkhs and the second 42 and the equation cannot be established. It is obvious that it will not do to reckon the miṣqāl with Abūl Faẓl at 26 or with Fryer at 28 surkhs either. It seems to me that there is only one way of proving the identity of the statements and that is by postulating that Jahāngīr made the miṣqāl equal to 26 surkhs and that *fifteen* [پانزده] is a miswriting for *eleven* [یازده] The constant clerical confusion between these two words is well known to all students of Persian Manuscripts (24 + 12 + 1 = 37 ; 26 + 11 = 37).

"On the 22nd [Jumādā-l-awwal, 1017 A.H., *i.e.* III R.Y.] Āṣaf Khān made me an offering of a ruby of the weight of seven *tānk*, which Abūl Qāsim, his brother, had bought in the port of Cambay, for 75000 Rupees."

(*Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 148 ; Text, 70, ll. 21–2.)

A ruby of eight *tānk* belonging to the Rānā of Udayapūr was presented by the Prince Sulṭān Khurram to the Emperor. [Xth year, 1024 A.H.]

Tūzuk, Tr. I, 285 ; Text, 140, l. 8.)

One of the nine diamonds presented by Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ Jang, the governor of Bihār weighed 14½ tānks and was of the value of 1,00,000 rupees [XII R.Y.]. The stones are said to have been obtained from the mine of Khokhra, *i.e.* Palāmau, or from the treasuries of the "Zamindars of that place."

(*Tūzuk*, Trans. I, 379 ; Text, 188, l. 4.)

"Of these [the presents made by Mahābat Khān], one ruby weighed 11 miskāls ; an European brought it last year to sell at Ajmer, and priced it at 200000 rupees, but the jewellers valued it at 80000 rupees. Consequently the bargain did not come off, and it was returned to him and it was taken away. When he came to Burhānpūr, Mahābat Khān bought it from him for 100000 rupees." (XII R., 1617–8 A.C.)[1]

(*Tūzuk*, Trans. I, 394 ; Text, 195, ll. 12–15.)

"Among all these [the offerings made by the prince Shāh Jahān] there was a fine ruby they had bought for my son at the port of Goa for 200000 rupees ; its weight was 19½ tānks

[1] This is the ruby spoken of in the Journal of Sir Thomas Roe. "[Ajmer]. May 29 [1616 A.C.]. The Portugalles went before the king with a present, and a Ballas Ruby to sell, that weighed, as was reported, 13 *tole*, 2 *tole* and a half being an ounce. They demanded 5 *leckes* of *rupies*, but the king offered but one." (Embassy, Ed. Foster, I, 183.) The weight here given is a huge and incredible exaggeration. Thirteen tolas would be more than five ounces or eight hundred carats !

or 17 miskals, 5½ surkhs.[1] * * * Another was a Sapphire [نیلم] among the offerings of 'Ādil Khān, it weighed 6 tanks and 7 surkhs, and was valued at 100000 rupees. * * * Another was the Chamkora diamond * *; its weight was 1 tank and six surkhs * * *. Again there were two pearls, one of the weight of 64 surkhs or 2 miskals and 11 surkhs and it was valued at 25000 rupees. The other weighed 16 surkhs and was of exceeding roundness and fineness. It was valued at 12000 rupees. Another was a diamond from the offerings of Quṭbu-l-mulk, in weight 1 tank, and valued at 30000 rupees."

Tūzuk, Tr. I, 399–400; Text, 198, ll. 2–16.

This passage is important from the metrologist's point of view. We have here not one but two identities, *viz.* "19½ tānks or 17 miskāls 5½ surkhs" and "64 surkhs or 2 miskāls and 11 surkhs." But it is first necessary to point out that there is an error in the translation. Mr. Rogers has '19½ tanks' but Sir Sayyad Aḥmad's text from which his English version was made gives only 19. We find '19 tānks' [نوزدہ تنکے] in the *Iqbālnāma* also, where the passage is reproduced in almost identical terms. (Bibl. Ind. Text, 105, l. 13) by the author who was the Secretary of the Emperor. We may then take it that the correct reading is 19 ṭānks not 19½. Now 19 ṭanks would be = 456 surkhs at 24 surkhs to the ṭānk and 17 miṣqāls 5½ surkhs would yield exactly the same number of surkhs (456) if the miṣqāl is valued at 26½ surkhs For 17 miṣqāls 5½ surkhs = (17 × 26½) + 5½ = 442 + 8½ + 5½ = 456 surkhs.

So far as to the first equation. The second is "64 surkhs = 2 miskāls and 11 surkhs." It is obvious that this again yields the same equivalent for the miṣqāl, *viz.* 26½. Thus (64 = 26½ × 2 = 53 + 11.)

The result is that *in this passage* Jahāngīr has reckoned the ṭānk as equal to 24 [Jeweller's] surkhs and the miṣqāl to 26½ (instead of 26).

But as the object of this note is to determine as accurately as the data available will permit, the true weight of the ṭānk and its relation to other components of the Indian Scale of Weights, it may be useful to invite attention to another piece of evidence. The weight of the so-called 'Chamkora' [Jhamkora ?] diamond is given in this particular recension of the '*Tūzuk*' as 1 ṭānk and 6 surkhs. Now Francis Gladwin published in 1788 A.C. a 'History of Jahangir' which was mainly

[1] Tavernier was shown this stone and thus describes it: "Also a *balass* ruby cut in *Cabuchon* of fine colour and clean pierced at the apex and weighing seventeen (17) *melscals*, six *melscals* make one *Once* (French)." Travels, Ed. Ball, I, 399.

The author of the *Iqbālnāma* also mentions it and says "its weight was seventeen Miṣqāls which, according to the reckoning of the people of Hind, are equal to nineteen ṭānks." Bibl. Ind. Text, 105, l. 12.

a collection of extracts from the *Tūzuk*, the *Iqbālnāma* and the *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīrī* of Kāmgār Ḥusainī (Elliot and Dowson, VI, 252, 277, and 439). In this book, the weight of the diamond is given as 30 Ratīs (p. 40), and this works out again at exactly 24 *Ratīs* per *tānk* (Jeweller's).

"On this day [9 Āẕar, XII R.], I made a present to my son Shāh Jahān of a ruby of one colour, weighing 9 tānks and 5 surkh of the value of 125000 rupees with two pearls."

Tūzuk, Tr. I, 409 ; Text, 202, four lines from foot.

"Among the presents made by Shāh Jahān on New Year's day XIV, R.Y. was a Quṭbī (?) ruby in weight 3 *Tānks* and very delicate, valued at Rs. 40000." There were also "six pearls one of them, 1 *tānk* and 8 *surkhs* in weight."

Tūzuk, Tr. II, 78 ; Text, 265, ll. 10–11.

[This passage is found in the *Iqbālnāma* also, Bibl. Ind. Text, 126, ll. 6–8.]

Āṣaf Khān also presented on the same day "a ruby weighing 12½ *tānks* which had been bought for 125000 Rs."

Tūzuk, Tr. II, 81 ; Text, 266, ll. 32–3.

"My brother [Shāh 'Abbās of Persia] also sent me a ruby weighing 12 tānks ; which had belonged to the jewel-chamber of M[irzā] Ulugh Beg, the successor of M[irzā] Shāhrukh." [30 Bahman XV, R.Y.]. *Tūzuk*, Tr. II, 195 ; Text, 325 l. 1.

This is found in the *Iqbālnāma*, but the weight of the stone is given as 12 *Miṣqāls* (p. 178, ll. 1–2). Among the 'Great Mogul's Jewels' of which Tavernier has left a circumstantial account, was "a Cabuchon ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs twelve *Melscals*." Travels, Trans. Ball, I, 399. It would seem that Jahāngīr has made a mistake and that the true weight was 12 *Miṣqāls*.

These extracts and references leave no room for doubt as to the universal use of the *tānk* for weighing pearls, diamonds, rubies and precious stones. But there are reasons for holding that this ancient Hindu weight was not unknown or altogether disused in the purchase and sale of less costly commodities of more general utility.

Thus Abūl Faẓl informs us in his curious dissertation on the 'matchlocks' of the Imperial arsenal that for "long guns the weight of a ball does not exceed twenty-five *tānks*, and for smaller ones fifteen." (*Āīn*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 114.)

And his description of the Hindū clepsydra (Ghaṛyāl) or water-clock, begins as follows : "In order to ascertain and indicate the time, a vessel of copper or other metal is made of a hundred *tānks* weight." (*Ibid*, Tr. Jarrett, III, 16). Again Jahāngīr—whose genuine love of fruits and flowers is one of the redeeming features of an otherwise frivolous and contemptible character states that "the Shāhālū (Cherry) of Kashmīr is not inferior to that of Kābul" and records that the

weight of an extraordinarily large one was "one *tānk*, five surkhs." (*Tūzuk*, Tr. II, 159; Text, 307. l. 7.)

The marrow of the matter is that the Ṭānk was a weight universally employed in the pearl and jewel trade, and not altogether disused in other transactions. It was, like all other Indian weights, characterised by local variations and subject also to alteration by Governmental interference, but speaking generally, it was equivalent to *about* 64 grs. I say, *about*, advisedly, because the conditions of the problem preclude the possibility of determining precisely the exact equivalent in Troy grains of the Ṭānk or the Tola or the Ratī or any other unit of the Hindu ponderary system. That system is purely empirical and not at all amenable to standardisation. It is based practically on the *Ratī*, and no two seeds used for the purpose are or can be of exactly the same weight. A difference therefore of $\frac{1}{10}$th of a grain in the *estimated* or hypothetical value of the Ratī would eventually soar up to as much as 3 grains in that of the Ṭānk. Rodgers' theory that the Tānkī was not a coin but a weight "minted in Akbar's time under the auspices of the mint authorities," is of course untenable. There can be little doubt that it was, like the dām, intended to serve both as a coin and a weight. Abūl Faẓl expressly informs us that in the first part of Akbar's reign the "Ser weighed twenty-eight *dāms*," and that at the time when he wrote, it had been "fixed at thirty *dāms*." (*Āīn*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 134, see also *ibid.*, 229 note.)

Now there is no doubt, as Edward Thomas says, that "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 * * * But when these crude sections of metal * * * 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 recognised 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." (Chronicles, 163–4.) Instructive exemplifications of the prevalence of the custom may be found even in our own times, but were much more common when Prinsep wrote. The *Ankosee* or Poona Rupee, he writes, "appears from Kelly's Tables to have been extensively adopted as an unit in the estimation of value and weight, probably wherever the Mahratta ascendancy prevailed." (Useful Tables, p. 26.) Elsewhere, he informs us that the "pysa was in some cases adopted as the unit for determining the larger weights of the bazars, as the Gorukhpoory pysa, of which 530 were held equal to a pusseree (five seers) at Ghazee-

poor, and generally throughout the Benares province 2881 'Chulun' [paisa] of Futtehgurh in like manner were assumed as the weight of a maund in that district." (*Ibid.*, 34.)

As regards the object of introducing the new denomination, I can only reiterate the suggestion made in the article in N.S XXVII. The Tānkī appears to me to have been "issued to provide a fractional currency of which the basis was the *fifth* part of the *Dām* or rather the *tenth* part of the Tanka of about 640 grs. Of the *Dām* and the *tanka* there were already in existence the halves, the quarters and the eighth parts. The idea appears to have occurred to some one of adopting the decimal system of division The traditional weight of the *Tānk* happened to be about the tenth part of the heavy Akbarī Tanka and so pieces were issued which might serve equally well as the fifth part of the Dām or the tenth of the Tanka, the two-fifths of the Dām or the one-fifth of the Tanka and the four-fifths of the Dām or two-fifths of the Tanka." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 140.)

In other words, these Tānkī pieces were struck with a view to provide for the copper currency as complete a series of fractional pieces as existed for the rupee (both square and round). Abūl Faẓl informs us and the contents of our Cabinets bear witness to the truth of his statements, that the Emperor had taken care to provide distinct denominational coins, representing the half, quarter, fifth, eight, tenth, sixteenth and twentieth part of the *Jalāla*, as well as the *Rupiyya*. Of the *Dām* however, we hear that there were only the *Adhelah* (half) *Paulah* (quarter) and *Damrī* or eighth part. (*Āīn*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 31.) Its subdivision, in fact, had been much less elaborate and it had proceeded on the lines of the "ancient Indian quaternary scale" of fours and eights only. Abūl Faẓl wrote in the 42nd year of the Emperor's reign. The big Tanka of about 640 grs. is said to have been introduced in the 40th or 44th, and the Tānkī is first traced only in the 46th. It would seem that some time after the big Tanka had become current, the idea of completing the scheme of its subdivision and placing it on the same footing with that of the Rupee suggested itself The result was the interpolation of the decimal scale and the striking of the one two and four *tānkī* pieces which might be presumed to have been not altogether unuseful in the ordinary purchases of the commonalty. This is shown by the fact that coins answering in weight to the double and quadruple tānkī continued to be struck *after* the death of Akbar. Copper pieces exhibiting the specific denomination دو تانكي and چو تانكي were struck at Aḥmadābād in the latter half of the 50th year Ilāhī after the old Emperor's decease by his son under the latter's preaccession name of Shāh Salīm (Rodgers, Mogul Copper Coins, Nos. 3 and 4 in *J.A.S.B.*,

1895, p. 17-). The metrology of the various Jahāngīrī issues indiscriminately called عدل, رواني, راجح, فلوس, etc., is obscure and the weights of some of the coins do not fit in with any system of dividing the Dām or Tanka, quaternary, quinary or duodecimal. But it may be said with some confidence that Nos. 12 and 18 (Pl. XII and XIII) of Rodgers' list have the weights of the old four-tānkī (245 and 220 grs.), although one of them is called a رواني and the other an عدل. Similarly, the weight of No. 17 (129 grs.) reminds us at once of the دو تانكي. The same observations apply to P.M.C. Nos. 1208 and 1207 which turn the scale in their present condition at 222 and 129 grs. respectively. The fact that four out of these five coins issued from the mints of Qandahār and Kābul perhaps indicates that pieces bearing some correspondence to the Tānkī or its multiples had been current in former times in Afghānistān and were, for that reason, the favourite "money of the common people" there.

VIII. MAḤMŪDĪS.

The identification of the 'Mamoudies,' which are so frequently mentioned in the Journals of Finch and Roe, Herbert and Mandelslo, Thevenot, Fryer, Tavernier and other European travellers is an extremely difficult, if not hopelessly tangled and insoluble problem. They are said to have constituted the favourite medium of exchange in "Surat, Broitchia, Brodra and Cambaya" throughout the first half of the seventeenth century and even later. The books of the English East India Company's Factory at Surat and Broach were kept in Maḥmūdīs, and the prices of all the drugs and other articles of commerce obtainable at Sūrat are given by Tavernier (who last visited it in 1666 A.C.) in terms of the *Mamoudi* (Travels, Tr 1678, II, 127, 131; Ball, II, 7–8; 19–21.)

Now we know that coins bearing the same denomination were extensively current at this time in Persia also. We have also to consider the claims of the silver issues of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begada of Gujarāt and his descendants, the Korīs of Nawānagar or Jāmnagar, etc., which were then and down even to comparatively recent times called Jāmīs or Maḥmūdīs (Ranchhodji Amarji, *Tārīkh-i-Sorath*, Eng. Tr. 246, 81, 91, 145, 156, 301), and lastly, the puzzling monetary issues to which Mr. Lane-Poole has given the distinctive but non-committal designation of 'Coins of Gujarāt fabric.'

In Num. Sup. VI, art. 45, the late Dr G. P. Taylor attempted to prove by "a method of exhaustion' that the 'Mamoodies' of Finch and the other European sojourners in this country were no other than these last—the strange silverlings exhibiting dates ranging from 989 to 1027 A.H. but uniformly displaying the name of Akbar on the reverse. This verdict was challenged in a closely-reasoned paper by Mr. A. Master (Num. Sup. XXIV, art. 141). The sheet anchor of his argument was an extract from the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* showing that the Jām of Nawānagar was compelled by Shāh Jahān's Ṣūbadār of Gujarāt—A'ẓam Khān—to close down the mint in which he had been coining maḥmūdīs, and to undertake to pay a *peshkash* of three laks of maḥmūdīs in 1050 A.H. (1640 A.C.)[1] Mr. Master contended that it was "the Nawānagar Korī and its congeners" of Kachh and Kāṭhiāwār which had "the real right to the name." He opined that it was therefore impossible

[1] The statement is really borrowed by the author of the *Mirāt* from the contemporary *Bādishāhnāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd and occurs also in the first volume of Khāfī Khān's history. (Bibl. Ind. Text, I. 582, three lines from foot.)

to accept the exclusive claim of 'the Coins of Gujarāt fabric' to that designation. He agreed with Dr. Taylor in holding that the Persian Maḥmūdī was altogether out of the question. As for the coins of Gujarāt fabric, the most that he would concede was that he did "not *entirely* reject the possibility" of their having "been classed with the Maḥmūdīs" (*Loc. cit.*, p. 470). Regarding the third possible rival, he declared that he did not "wish to make out any case for any coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, except for that of which the Korī was a copy, the silverling of Muẓaffar III." (*Ibid*, p. 466)

I have no intention of entering the lists on either side in the controversy. Where the data are absolutely inadequate, *a priori* reasoning must be necessarily infructuous. My object is first to invite attention to a piece of contemporary evidence which has been overlooked by both disputants as well as all other writers on this difficult question. I beg permission then to point out that figures or drawings of the 'Sūrat Mamoudis' are given in the English edition of Tavernier's Travels published by J. P[hillips] in 1678, as well as in the French Original, La Haye, 1718.

In Part II (facing p. 2) there is a chapter with the caption "Figures of the Pieces of Gold, Silver and Copper and of the Sort of Shells and Almonds that pass for Money over all Asia," and no less than eight plates of drawings of coins, etc Figs. 1 to 9 of the plate illustrating the 'Money current under the Dominions of the Great Mogul' represent some gold and silver coins of Aurangzeb, Shāh Jahān, and Jahāngīr. Nos. 9, 10 and 11 are feeble and unsuccessful attempts to delineate a 'Four Pecha,' *i.e.* double dām or Tanka, a 'Two pecha' or Dām and a Pecha or half-Dām. Fig. 12 stands for 'The Shells,' *i.e.*, Cowries. No. 13 depicts "a Silver-Mamoudi which is the Money of Guzerat" and No. 14 "Half a Mamoudi" A glance at the inscriptions of Fig. 13 is sufficient to show that the obverse reads محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه and that the reverse is a bungled eye-copy (by a person ignorant of Persian) of الواثق بالله المنّان ابو الفتح ناصر الدنيا و الدين. In a word, the legends on this drawing of the "Mamoudi of Guzerat" in 'Tavernier's Travels' are absolutely identical with those on the silver coin of Maḥmūd III shown as No. 65 in Pl. V. of Dr. Taylor's Article on the 'Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.' (Journal, B.B.R.A.S. 1903, p. 335.) The scrawls on Fig. 14 are not so easy to make out, but it is clearly a coin of the last of the *fainéants* of the House—Muẓaffar III (cf. *ibid*, Pl. VI, No. 76).

This would *seem* to show that the Mamoudis mentioned so frequently by Tavernier at least, were the silver coins of the Gujarāt Sulṭāns, and that the name was not restricted, as

Mr. Master was inclined to think, to the silverling of Muẓaffar III of which the Nawānagar Korī was a copy, but was applied to the issues of his putative father Maḥmūd III also. Whether the term was transferred generically to the similar issues of Maḥmūd I and Muẓaffar II. Tavernier's descriptions or engravings do not enable us to say. Etymological considerations would *seem* to indicate that the name was derived from the great Maḥmūd Begada, and that it afterwards came to be applied to the similar silver mintages of his successors. It is just possible that it was ultimately used loosely for all silver-pieces which bore a general resemblance to them in external appearance, and theoretical contents or intrinsic value.[1]

Leaving the point aside for the present, I must bring to notice another fact which has come to light in the course of these inquiries and which seems to me to be not without an important bearing on the subject. This is a statement to the effect that the Sūrat Maḥmūdīs were coined at Mulher in Baglāna. It first arrested my attention in the Journal of William Finch who was at Sūrat about 1609. It occurs also in the *Imperio Magni Mogolis* of De Laët, which was published in 1631, and the same assertion is made in unmistakable terms in a letter adressed in 1636 A.C. by the President of the Sūrat Factory to the Governor of the English East India Company. I will first cite what Finch says:—

"This Towne [Badur] is the last of note in Pectopshaws Land, who is a small king or Rajaw, a Gentile, keeping on the top of inaccessible Mountaines, which beginne at Curka, and extend many courses [*i.e. kosses*] He holdeth two faire Cities, Salere and the other Muliere, where the Mamudees are coyned, each having two mightie Castles, which have way to them, but for two men abrest, or for an Elephant at most to get up; having also in the way eightie small fastnesses dispersed on the mountaines to guard the way" (Purchas, His Pilgrimes. Ed. MacLehose, IV, p. 30.)

There is a very similar statement in De Laët's book, but it is not worth much as the Dutchman can be proved to have taken it, like much other matter, from the Journal of the English factor.

It is otherwise with the following extract from the correspondence of President Francis Breton. "I find not," he writes in a letter dated 29th April, 1636, "any moneyes paid in other species then the same they were borrowed, without allowance of Vatteau [batta, agio or discount, from Guj. *Vaṭāv*] which in tyme of famine and scarcity in this place was growne

[1] How many issues of 'Native State' mints greatly varying in size, shape, weight, legends, and intrinsic contents of metal were indiscriminately called *Rupees* in the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century?

to excessive rates, not less than 13½ M[aḥmudis] per 100 rup[ees]. The reason is that M[aḥmudis] are none of the Kings Coyne, but coyned by the Rajah of Mallore [Mulher] a place distant from hence 70 course or myles, and are onely currant in these adjacent countries not further than Bodera [Baroda]; so that, according to mens occasions for rup[ees] to send for Agra, Amadavad, or any other parts, the *Vatteau* doth rise and fall. But that which raised it to the prementioned rate in tyme of f[amine] was the Benjares [Banjārās] or carriers. which brought corne and provisions [in] abundance from other parts, which they sould here for mamood[ies and] changed them for rup[ees] at any rate The merchants also of Suratt sent what money they could get to Brampore [Burhānpūr] to pro cure graine; so that scarcely a rupe[e] could bee found Since that time the Vatteau has daily declined and is now only one mamoodie per 100 rupees" Foster, English Factories in India, 1634–36, pp. 224–5.

This is not however the only reference to the mintage of the 'Surat Mamoody' in Baglāna in this valuable repertory of documents relating to the early history of the English in India. The Burhānpūr factors, Nicholas Bangham and John Leachland also bear witness to it though not so explicitly. On the 24th of January 1622 they sent to the President of Sūrat a farmān which they had procured from this "Pertab Shaw for your more quiatt transporte of your rialls to Moulear, if your occasion shall cause neede thereof, with many faire and large promises of good usage there, promising at any tyme, if you would advise him when you would send, hee would meete your rialls and conduct them safely in and out of his territories. This wee thought of for your better supply for mamoodies in Suratt, which if it may stand in steed, wee shall thinke our tyme and a smale present given him well bestowed; or if not, so much tyme and labour lost, hee seeminge very willing hereunto." Foster, *ibid*, 1622-1623, p. 25.

The points which emerge from these extracts are that the Sūrat 'Mamoodies' were actually coined at Mulher in Baglāna in 1609, 1622 and even 1636 A.C., that (2) they were "not the King's Coyne" that is, they were not strictly Imperial money—they did not bear the name of the Emperor Shāh Jahān—who was ruling at the time when Breton wrote, that (3) the name of the Rāja of Baglāna in 1609 and 1622 was Partāb or Pratāp Shāh, that (4) the East India Company's factors at Sūrat were sometimes, compelled to send their 'rialls'—or Spanish dollars—to Mulher to be melted down and recoined into Maḥmudīs and that (5) as the road lay through a difficult and dangerous country infested by banditti, 'Pertab Shaw' had in 1622 promised to give them all the necessary facilities and to conduct them [the rialls] safely in and out of his territories, in the hope no doubt of making a considerable

profit from the seigniorage.[1] The Company did business on an extensive scale and required every year several laks of Mahmūdīs to pay for the goods bought at Sūrat for exportation to Europe, and these Mahmūdīs were obtained by the sale or recoinage into rupees at the Sūrat mint of the silver bullion or specie (which last consisted mostly of rials or Spanish dollars) brought by the ships from England

Now who was this Pratāpshāh and how did he come or why was he permitted, to coin Mahmūdīs at Mulher and what were the peculiar reasons for the Mahmūdīs continuing to be the favourite, if not the only currency in Sūrat, Broach and Baroda for more than eighty years after the Mughal conquest of the Province ?

It is not possible to answer all these questions fully or satisfactorily. I must, at present, content myself with placing before my readers some pertinent facts which it has been possible to glean from the Chronicles, in the hope that they may prove helpful to a more lucky or more gifted inquirer in discovering the solution of the problem.

Well then. Abūl Fazl writes thus in the *Akbarnāma* in the annals of the 17th year [980 A.H. 1572–3 A.C.] in which Akbar himself visited and annexed Gujarāt.

"One of the things which happened after the conquest of Sūrat, was the coming to Court of Baharjī [*Variant*, Baharjio or Baharjiv], the ruler of Baglāna, who was an influential landholder in that part of the country. * * * Let it not be concealed that Baglāna is a country, one hundred kos long and thirty kos broad. It has 2000 horse and 16000 infantry. Its revenue is 6½ kror of dāms. Whoever is the ruler, is called Baharji. There are two forts—Salhir and Mulhir on the summits of hills. It has also two large cities—Antāpūr and Chintāpūr. It lies between Gujrāt and the Deccan; and it submits to whatever of the two is the stronger. At this time when Gujrāt came into the possession of the imperial servants. the ruler being awed by the majesty and might of the Shāhinshāh, did good service and brightened his countenance by performing the prostration" (*Op. cit.*, Tr. Beveridge,

[1] Partāb Shāh was, it is clear, reigning in 1622 A.C. but I cannot say how long he continued to do so. A grant, however, dated 1635 A.C. shows that "Bāglān was afterwards ruled by one Bhairamshah, * * (Bombay Government Selections XXVI, New Series, p, 110). The grant is dated Budhwar [Wednesday] Paush Shuddha 8th Shake 1557, 1635 A.D. In it Bhairam Shah confers on a Brāhman named Mor Joshi, as much land belonging to Kasba Kañasi of the Baglān Prānt as can be cultivated with one plough, and a well situated therein." (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI, Nāsik, p. 403 and Note.) I venture to suggest that the true reading of the names is Bhairav Shāh. He must have succeeded Partāb whose father Nārāyan Shāh is known to have been ruling in 1596 A.C. Partāb himself was on the throne in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, *circa* 1600 A.C. (Akbarnāma, Text, III. 770).

III, 41, 43; Text, III, 29, 30.) There is a statement of very similar import in the *Āīn* in which the only new item of information is that the Rāja was of the Rāthoḍ clan. (Jarrett's Trans. II, 251; Text, 492, four lines from foot.)

Again, in his Chronicle of the 45th year (1008 A.H. 1600 A.C.), Abūl Faẓl records that "Rāja Partāb, the Zamīndār of Baglāna was exalted by performing prostration at the heavenly threshold [Akbar was then encamped at Burhānpūr] He obtained the wishes of his heart by imperial favour and was raised to the rank of a commander of three thousand, given the banner and the drum [نقاره و علم] and given permission to depart to his home."

(Akbarnāma, Text, III, 770, two lines from foot.)

Next, we find Jahāngīr saying in the Journal of the 12th year of his own reign (1026–7 A.H. 1617–8 A.C.), that on "Friday the 24th [*recte*, 21st, of Mihr] Rāja Bharjiv, Zamīndār of Baglāna, came and waited on me. His name is Partāp: every Rāja there has been of that place they call Bharjīv * * * The province of Baglāna lies between Gujarāt, Khāndesh and the Deccan. * * * The aforesaid Rāja does not drop the thread of caution and prudence in dealing with the rulers of Gujarāt, the Deccan and Khāndesh He has never gone himself to see any of them, and if any of them has wished to stretch out his hand to possess his kingdom, he has remained undisturbed through the support of the others. After the provinces of Gujarāt, the Deccan and Khāndesh came into the possession of the late king (Akbar), Bharjīv came to Burhānpūr and had the honour of kissing his feet, and after being enrolled among his servants was raised to the mansab of 3000 At this time, when Shāh Jahān went to Burhānpūr, he brought eleven elephants as an offering. He came to court in attendance on my son and * * * was dignified with royal favours. (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 396; Text, 196.)

A few pages further, the Imperial diarist writes: "Having raised Raja Bharjīv, Zamīndār of Baglāna, to the mansab of 4000, I gave him leave to go to his native country, and an order was given that when he arrived there, he should send to Court his eldest son, who was his successor, that he might do duty in my presence." (*Ibid.*, I, 411; Text, 203, l. 28). For two other references to the Rāja, which are not important, *vide* Trans. I, 221, II, 114.

The ruler of Baglāna is mentioned by his dynastic or family name of Bharjī several times in the *Bādishāhnāma* also. He attended at court and made the *Kurnish* to Shāh Jahān in the fifth year of that Emperor's reign, 1041 A.H. 1631 A.C.) and again in the ninth (1045 A.H. 1636 A.C.—Text, I, i. 419, I, ii. 139).

He appears to have incurred the Imperial resentment for some reason and was brought to court with all his elephants

by Biram Beg, Mīr Bakhshī who had been sent to chastise him some time afterwards in the same year (IXth). *Ibid.*, I, ii. 186. In the 10th (1046 A.H., 1637 A.C.), Prince Aurangzeb the viceroy of the Dekkan received orders to conquer and annex his territory. (I, ii. 280.) The principality was therefore invaded by Mālojī Dakanī and Muḥammad Ṭāhir, and the Rāja, after standing a prolonged siege in Mulher, surrendered on 1st Ṣafar 1048 A.H. (14th June, 1638 A.C.) and was enrolled among the imperial mansabdars as a commander of 3,000 horse and given the neighbouring district of Sulṭānpūr as Jāgīr (XIth year—Text, II, 105–109)[1] The Rāja died soon afterwards and his son named Biramjī [or Paramjī] who is said to have become a convert to Islām was given in the 12th year the title of Daulatmand [Khān], and the brevet rank of 1,500 horse at the recommendation of Prince Aurangzeb on 7 Ẓī-l-qa'da, 1048 A.H. (12th March, 1639), Text II, 141–2. See also II, 723) Daulatmand is thrice mentioned in the *'Ālamgīrnāma* also. He continued to adhere to Aurangzeb and fought on his side in the battles of Dharmātpūr and Samūgarh in the War of the Succession, and was also employed against Bījāpūr in the 9th year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, 1076–1077 A.H., 1666 A.C. (*Op. cit.*, 63, 93, 989.)

This is what can be gathered about Pratāp Shāh in whose capital Mulher, Maḥmūdīs are expressly said by Finch as well as Breton to have been coined. It is not without bearing on the subject, but the following statements are more interesting and more germane to the matter immediately under consideration. Khāfī Khān, who had lived for some time in the district and paints a glowing picture of its fruitfulness and beauty, informs us that Baglāna had been in the possession of the ancestors of Bharjī, its Zamīndār, for fourteen hundred years Its revenue [محصول] amounted then to fifteen lacs of rupees[2] and they [the Rājas of Baglāna] had in former times coined their own money و در زمان سابق صاحب سکه بوده اند (Bibl Ind. Text. I. 561 seven lines from foot)

The author of the *Bādishāhnāma* writes:—

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[1] This was probably the Rāja who is called Bhairam [*recte* Bhairav] Shāh in the land grant of Shake 1557, 1635 A.C. cited in Note 3. He was, so to say, Bhairav Shāh the Second; and when the author of the Bādishāhnāma calls him Bahirjī he is attempting to reproduce his personal name which happened to be identical with the title or appellation by which Abūl Faẓl and Jahāngīr expressly say that the rulers of Baglāna were popularly known. (*Akbarnāma*, Trans. III. 43; *Tūzuk*, Trans. I. 396.)

[2] This is really copied from the 'Akbarnāma' of Abūl Faẓl who says (Trans. III. 43; Text, III, 30) that the revenue of the district was 6½ krors of dāms. The exact equivalent of this at the rate of 40 dāms to the Akbarī rupee would be 16,25,000 rupees.

"The land-revenue [جمع] of the province of Baglāna in the days of Bharjī's ancestors appears from the statements of the wardens [مرزبان] of the district to have been twenty *laks of the tankas of that country of which each is equal to nine current tankas* But at this time, when it came into the possession of the Servants of the Everlasting Kingdom, the income [حاصل] had gone down to half [the former amount] and the revenue [جمع] was fixed at one kror, sixty laks of dāms or four laks of rupees for all the twelve months of the year" As the passage is important, I beg permission to quote the original words below :—

جمع ولایت بگلانه در زمان آبای بهرجی آنچه از گفتار مرزبانان آن سر زمین بوضوح پیوسته بیست لک تنکه معمول آن ملک که نکه نه تنکهٔ رایج باشد بوده و درینولا که بتصرف بندگان این دولت ابد مدت در آمد چون حاصلش بنصف رسید جمع آن یک کرور و شصت لک دام که مطابق دوازده ماه چهار لک روپیه میشود مقرر گردید * Text, II, 108–109.

It is clear then that the Baglāna rulers had a mint of their own and that the principal item of currency was a coin which was equal in value to nine of the *tankas* current in Shāh Jahān's day. It is perhaps necessary to point out that this Shāh Jahānī *tanka* must have been a coin of the type of I.M.C. No. 1110 which weighs 610 grs. It is the *Tack* of Sir Thomas Herbert who was at Sūrat in 1627-8 and who says that "twenty Tack make one Roopee." (Travels, Ed. 1665, p. 67.) It is in fact the double dām. The coin struck by the Baglāna Rājas was equal in value to $\frac{9}{20}$ths of a Rupee which is practically identical with that of the Sūrat Maḥmūdī, of which about 240 went to one hundred Imperial rupees, *i.e.* which was $\frac{5}{12}$ths of a rupee. Reduced to a common denominator the two coins represent the $\frac{77}{660}$th and $\frac{275}{660}$th parts of the Mughal rupee respectively.

It may be also noted that the revenue of the district was, after the conquest, fixed by Shāh Jahān at four laks of rupees or one kror and sixty laks of dāms. It is also stated that this amount was about half of what had been raised in former times. It must have therefore been about eight laks of rupees. But it is said that it was "twenty laks of the Tankas of that country." But if twenty laks of those tankas were equal to eight laks of rupees, one such tanka must have been valued at $\frac{2}{5}$ths of a rupee which is again almost the same as the Sūrat Maḥmūdī. Indeed, this was the ratio of the Maḥmūdī to the rupee in the books of the East India Company, in which the Maḥmūdī was reckoned at 12*d* and the Rupee

at 30*d* of English money. (Fryer, New Account, Ed. 1698, p 205.) Now if the Rājas of Baglāna had a mint at Mulher and if their silver coins were worth, as the author of the *Bādishāhnāma* avers, about $\frac{29}{30}$ths of a rupee, and known as Maḥmūdīs in Surat, one is naturally tempted to ask if these provincial mintages are not represented by the 'Coins of Gujarāt fabric' There are however some difficulties in establishing the identity of the two We are told that the Maḥmūdīs were struck at Mulher so late as 1636 A.C. (1045 A.H.) and we know from Tavernier and Fryer that they were current in Sūrat down at least to 1675 A C. But the latest date on the 'Coins of Gujarāt fabric' is 1027 A.H. (1617 A.C.). It is true that the discovery of issues of later dates is not beyond the bounds of probability. It is also not at all unlikely that the date 1027 A.H. may, like the name of the Emperor whose titles are emblazoned on the reverse, have continued to be mechanically impressed on the subsequent mintages irrespective of the lapse of time. In this connection, it may be permissible to note, for what it is worth, the coincidence, most probably fortuitous, that Rāja Pratāp of Baglāna's last visit to the court of Jahāngīr was paid and that he was given his *congee* and directed to send his son to court towards the beginning of that very year 1027 A.H. (*Tūzuk*, Tr 1, 411.)

Again, if the Rāja of Baglāna was, as Khāfī Khān as well as the English factors of the East India Company, declare, permitted to coin money [صاحب سکه], in whose name did he do so? Did he do it in his own or that of his then undoubted suzerain, the Mughal Emperor? Or lastly, did these mintages display like the korīs of the Jām of Nawānagar the style and titles of Muẓaffar III or those of the latter's real or putative father, Maḥmūd III? To these questions, it is unfortunately impossible to give any answers in the total absence of the necessary evidence. Sir Thomas Herbert, it is true, states that "the Mammoody and Roopee are good silver, round, thick and (after the Saracenic sort who allow no Images) stamped with Arabick letters, importing the King and Mahomet" (Travels, p. 46), and this may be construed to imply that the Maḥmūdī known to him had the Kalima stamped on it and may be used as an argument in favour of identifying it with the 'Coins of Gujarāt fabric,' but it would be neither logical nor safe to interpret strictly and lay so much stress upon a casual and probably unguarded expression of a careless and ill-informed writer like Herbert. It would be equally hazardous to found anything on Breton's remark that the Maḥmūdīs were 'none of the King's Coyne.' It may merely signify that they were struck, not in the Imperial Mint at Sūrat, but in the Baglāna Raja's mint of Mulher. But it may also have been meant to

convey that these coins did not display the name of the reigning Emperor, Shāh Jahān, but that of some other ruler If that name is *supposed* to have been Akbar's, it would be an argument for contending that the designation Maḥmūdī *was* applied to the coins of Gujarāt fabric *also*. But there is also no direct evidence militating against the supposition that the coins struck by the Rāja of Baglāna bore on their surfaces the style and titles of one or other of his former suzerains, the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt. We have seen both Abūl Faẓl and Jahāngīr stating that the geographical situation of their territory compelled these petty chiefs to play off their powerful neighbours, the kings of Gujarāt and the Deccan, against one another and to seek the support of the other whenever one of them was inclined to "stretch out his hand to possess the kingdom" We know from the *Mirāt i Sikandarī* that when Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt passed through Mulher with a view to invade the Deccan in A.H. 936, "Bahar Jīū Rājah of Baglānah also presented himself and did homage [*lit.* was admitted to the honour of kissing the carpet شرف بساط بوسی دریافت] * * * and Bahar Jīū, in order to establish a connection with the Sultān [دولت سعادت], by the guidance of his good fortune, gave in marriage to the Sultān one of his sisters. * * * On the following day, in accordance with the wish of the Sultān, he gave another sister to Muhammad Khān Asīrī [Bahādur Shāh's nephew, who was the ruler of Khāndesh] When these matters were despatched Sultān Bahādur pursued his march and leaving the country of the Rājah of Baglīna, he entered the territories of the Dakhin On this occasion, he conferred on Baharjīū the title of Bahar Khān, and sent him thence with a detachment, to the fort of Chewal [Chaul of the Imp. Gaz X. 184] to plunder the country around (*Op. cit.*, Bayley's Trans. 344–5: Text, Bombay Lithograph, 1831 A C., p. 241, l 3")[1]

[1] A poetical history of the Hindu Rājas of Baglāna has been recently published in the Gaekwad's Sanskrit Series. It is entitled 'Rashtrandha Vamsha Mahākāvya' and was composed in Shaka 1518 or 1596 A C. by a southern poet named Rudrakavī. It would appear from this work that the then ruling chief was named Nārāyan Shāh, the son of *Bhairab* Shah, the son of Mahādeva, the great grandson of Nānadeva. This last is said to have restored the power and dignity of the family—the members of which pretended to be descended from Rāshtrāndha, the adopted son of a Rāja of Qanauj, after the eclipse it had suffered in the reign of 'Alau-d-dīn Khiljī.

There can be little doubt that *Bahirjī* or *Bharjīu* is a Persianised form of the name of *Bhairab Shāh* who is credited by the poet with having "conquered the Musalman rulers of Mandu and Devagīrī, and having inflicted a defeat on Humāyūn Shah the second Mogul Emperor." (Indian Antiquary, Vol. L, 1921, p. 180). As we know Bahirjī to have been a vassal of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, we may fairly suppose this to be merely the poetic or panegyrical way of saying that he had borne some part in that vainglorious Sulṭān's invasions of Malwā and the Deccan and the war with Humāyūn.

In the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* also, the author of which has transcribed a detailed return of the revenues of the kingdom of Gujarāt in the reign of the last Muẓaffar in 979 A.H. (1571 A.C.) from the books of Mūlchand the hereditary Record-keeper [سر رشتهدار] of the province, the Rāja of Baglāna is mentioned among the vassals or jāgirdārs of the State. "Bharji Zamīndār of Baglānah" we read in the list of *jāgīrs*, "held the forts of Mūlér and Sālér and maintained a service of three thousand horse با سه هزار سوار نوکري مي کرد" Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p 14; Text, Bomb. Lith. 1306 A.H., Part I, p. 24, l. 6. In the circumstances, it is just possible that the Rāja of Baglāna may, like the Jām, have taken advantage of the feeble and disorganised condition of the Gujarāt Salṭanat after the death of Bahādur Shāh, to open a mint in his own territory and have struck for his own profit, money bearing, as a mere matter of form, the name of the third Maḥmūd or the last Muẓaffar. Briefly, the arguments on either side are so inconclusive and evenly balanced that it is not easy to say anything positive as to the matter.

However that may have been, it is nearly certain that 'Maḥmūdī' was, from very early times, the generic, as well as popular designation of the silver coins of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt. In a 'History of Gujarāt' written about 1595 A.C. by Abū Turāb Walī, there are three references to this denomination which throw some light on the point. In the first place, he tells us that when the Emperor Humāyūn distributed, after the storming of Champāner the treasures found there, among his soldiers and Amīrs, he gave to the father and uncle of the writer, "one hundred and eighty thousand Maḥmūdīs which would be equivalent to seventy-five thousand rupees."

از جمله قریب یک لک و هشتاد هزار محمودي که عبارتست از هفتاد و پنجهزار روپیه بوالد و عم فقیر عنایت فرمودند *

(Bibl. Indica Text, Ed. E. D. Ross, p. 27, l. 9.) If strictly interpreted this would mean that certain coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat were called 'Maḥmūdīs' even in Bahādur Shāh's time and we must, in that case, conclude that they were so named after Maḥmūd I. We know that Maḥmūd II was only a child of six and reigned for less than two months and no coins of his are known (Bayley, *loc. cit*, 327 Note; Taylor, B.B.R.A.S. Journal, 1903, p 306). We are further informed that 1,80,000 of these Maḥmūdīs were equivalent to 75,000 rupees. As the author was a courtier of Akbar's and died in 1003 A.H. (*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, Bom Lith. 1831, Part II, 41, l. 10) or 1005 A.H. (*Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, III, 285), we may safely suppose him to mean Akbarī rupees. It must then be clear to the meanest intelligence that the ratio of this Maḥmūdī to the Rupee was as 75 to 180,

or 5 to 12, which is practically identical with the value assigned to the Sūrat Maḥmūdī in the books of the East India Company.

Let us now look at the matter in another way. The Akbarī rupee contained about 178 grs of silver of a very high standard. If this Gujarāt Maḥmūdī had been of equally good metal, it should have weighed about 74 grs. ($\frac{178}{1} \times \frac{5}{12} = \frac{890}{12} = 74\frac{1}{6}$). Now no silver coins of Maḥmūd I of that weight are known, though we have several turning the scale at 33, 44, 57, 66, 88, and 176 grs. Those ranging from 88 to 80 grs. are however the commonest Dr. Taylor had no less than thirty-one in his collection, and I have myself at least a score. Now Abūl Faẓl tells us in a passage which has been cited elsewhere, that the Gujarāt Maḥmūdīs and Muẓaffarīs were not remarkable for purity and were about 13 per cent below the Akbarī standard (*Āīn*, Tr I, 23). But

$$100 : 88 : : 87 \text{ or } \frac{1}{100} \times \frac{88}{1} \times \frac{87}{1} = \frac{7656}{100} = 76\ 56 \text{ grs}$$

It follows that the pure contents of the Gujarāt Coin must have been about 76 grs which is very near the first result. (74·2 grs)

Maḥmūdīs are mentioned by this author in two other passages, which though less instructive, leave little room for doubt that the monetary denomination referred to in them is the coin of that name struck by the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt. For instance, we are told that during his second visit to Aḥmadābād in 981 A.H, Akbar personally investigated the charge of extorting 12,000 Maḥmūdīs from Miyān Sayyadjīu Bukẖārī which Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka had preferred against Shaikẖ Muẓaffar the Ṣadr (Lord Almoner) of the Province. (Abū Turāb, *loc. cit*, 88, l. 16.) As this event occurred in the year 981 A.H. the coins in question must have been the issues of the independent rulers of the province.

Lastly we are informed that Aʿtabāru-l-mulk [a Gujarāt noble] had sent 10,000 Maḥmūdīs to Nannū [*i.e.* the deposed Sulṭān Muẓaffar III, who was then in hiding at Khorī or Kherdī in Kāttyāwār] and Sher Khān Faulādi for expenses. (*Ibid.*, 103, l. 2.)

From these notices it is also clear that the silver mintages of the descendants of Aḥmad Shāh remained in circulation even after the conquest of the province and were called Maḥmūdīs

As the primary object of these studies is to extract and bring together under one view all references in the chronicles to matters of numismatic interest, it is necessary, if only for the sake of completeness, to set out some other monetary statements in which this coin-denomination obtrudes itself.

The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* writes in his account of the 29th year of Akbar's reign [A.H 992, A.C. 1584].

"After his second defeat, Muzaffar Gujarātī retreated * * * to the country of Sūrath [*i.e.* Kattyāwār] and rested

at the town of Gondal, twelve *kos* from the fort of Junāgarh. * * * He gave a lac of Mahmūdis and a jewelled dagger to Amīn Khān Ghorī ruler of Sūrath, and so won his support He gave a similar sum to Jām Marsāl [*recte*, Satarsāl] rāja of Jhālāwār, who was at the head of a body of troops and clansmen" Elliot and Dowson, V, 437–8. Lakhnau Lith. 360.

The facts are mentioned also by Badāonī (Lowe's Tr II, 370; Text, II, 358), Abūl Faẓl (Akbarnāma, Tr. III, 681; Text, III, 453) and the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*. (Faẓl Luṭfullah's Trans 321; Text, 446, l 11), the last of whom adds that Amīn Khān took the money but did not give him any assistance.

I must now set out another passage in which the Emperor Jahāngīr speaks of the type of coin, denominated 'Mammoody of Surat,' by the European travellers. In his account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion (1623 A.C.) we are informed that one of that Prince's adherents, to whom the Diarist gives the opprobrious name of L'anatu-llah ['Malediction-of-Allah-upon-him'] hastened from Baroda to Broach. "The sons of Himmat Khān were in the fort there. Although they did not admit him, yet they sent him 5,000 *Mahmūdīs* by way of maintenance. For three days he remained outside the fort of Broach * * * and on the fourth went to Sūrat by sea * * * As Sūrat was in Bi-daulat's [*i.e.* Shāh Jahān's] jāgīr, he took nearly 4 lakhs of *Mahmūdīs* from his officials there, and took possession of whatever he could by oppression and injustice" (*Tūzuk*, Trans. II, 267.)

But in the following excerpt from the *Bādishāhnāma*, the term is applied to a very different sort of coin by the author who wrote about 1650 A.C. That coin is the *korī* of the Jām of Nawānagar and the passage is the real source of the statement from the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* which Mr. Master has advanced in support of his thesis and to which he seems to me to have attached greater significance than it deserves. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī writes:—

"And as during the Ṣubadārī of A'aẓam Khān, the Zemīndār called the Jām had not observed those canons of obedience which Zemīndārs are bound to, the aforesaid Khān marched to chastise him. And when he arrived within seven koss of Nawānagar * * * the Jām took to the road of submission and having acknowledged his past offences left Nawānagar for seeking an interview with the Ṣubadār * * * A'aẓam Khān sent him word that until he promised to pay a fixed tribute and closed the mint at Nawānagar which was the centre of his territory and in which he was coining Maḥmūdīs, he would not be pardoned. The aforesaid Zemīndār finding submission unavoidable, consented to give 100 Kachhī horses, to pay three laks of Maḥmūdīs as tribute and to shut up [بر انداختن lit. overthrow] his mint." (*Op. cit.*, II, 231–232.)

The opening lines of the passage cited by Mr. Master from the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* have been merely copied by the later author from the work of this contemporary chronicler. The fact of the matter is that the extract from the *Mirāt* really consists of three parts of varying degrees of clarity and historical value. The first three sentences, from 'As the Jām' up to 'Mint', are, as I have said, not the author's own, but borrowed from 'Abdul Ḥamīd. But the statements made therein are, for that very reason, entitled to the highest credit. They undoubtedly prove that the Nawānagar Korī was called 'Maḥmūdī' in 1050 A.H But it does not therefore follow that it was the original or archetypal Maḥmūdī, and there is nothing in the statement to warrant Mr. Master's conclusion as to its exclusive or real right to the name. The large amount of the tribute certainly shows that it was extensively current in or round about Jāmnagar and Jūnāgadh, but this can hardly be adduced as evidence of its having being the "standard currency" in Sūrat and Broach.

The seven sentences which follow, from 'It is quite' up to 'Rupee', are an interpolation for which the author of the *Mirāt* is himself responsible. A glance at the original shows that it is very loosely and obscurely worded. We are told that the operations of the Jām's mint were suspended only for a time, that the coining of Maḥmūdīs was resumed at some unspecified date, that coins bearing the name of Sulṭān Muẓaffar were struck by the Jām, and that the new or later type [سکۂ جدید] of the Nawānagar Korī was called *Jāmī* because it bore "the name of the Jām on one side in Hindi" The mention of this hybrid type of Muẓaffar's money reminds him of the real or "original" Maḥmūdī and he informs us that this *Gujarāt Māḥmūdī* was also called Changīzī in the Ẓilla of Baroda, in former times "In that Ẓilla", he continues, the currency, trade transactions and valuation of tribute * * * *are* in that coin." It is permissible to question the literal accuracy of this statement without further proof Are we to believe that the prevalent metallic currency of Baroda, so late as 1756 A.C. was the Nawānagar Korī or even the Gujarāt Salṭanat-Maḥmūdī? "Old currency *is* apt," I admit, "to linger long" in the backwaters" of a province, but there are no grounds for supposing Baroda to have been at this time a backwater of Gujarāt. At any rate, it is extremely hazardous to accept without extraneous corroboration from independent sources—and none is, to my knowledge, at least, forthcoming —a statement of this extraordinary character. As for the other supposition, implying that the Nawānagar Korī was the standard currency of Baroda in the latter half of the 18th century, it seems to me unthinkable, and hardly deserving of serious discussion in the absence of something more positive than a casual statement of this character.

It should be remembered that the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* has never been carefully edited and the lithographed text as well as all the manuscripts I have seen are full of palpable errors and demonstrably corrupt. It may be permissible therefore to suggest that what the author really wrote or meant to write was that this *Changīzī*, *i.e.* Muẓaffar III's coin—(*not* the Nawānagar Korī) *had been*, at some former time, though not in his own, "current in trade transactions, valuations of tribute, etc." In other words, است is probably an error for بود and the verb should be in the past, not present tense. The statement about the employment of this Maḥmūdī-Changīzī as a "coin of *account*" in Aḥmadābād in the author's day is not so unlikely to be true. There is nothing intrinsically improbable about it The last two sentences are matters of common knowledge and invite no comment. We then come to the third and concluding portion of the paragraph. After interjecting these somewhat irrelevant remarks about his own times, the author suddenly harks back to those of Shāh Jahān I and informs his readers that a mint had been established at Junāgadh for the melting of Maḥmūdīs, but as the object was, for a reason which is very obscurely expressed, not fulfilled, Mīr Ṣābir, the Dīwān of the Ṣūba had the mint of Junāgadh suspended by special Imperial Farmān. As the authority for this item of information is not stated, it is impossible to trace it to its source. It is certainly not taken from the *Bādishāhnāma*. But there are fairly good *Numismatic* grounds for challenging its accuracy. Now, Mīr Ṣābir was, according to the author himself, appointed Dīwān of the Ṣūba in 1048 A.H. (Bombay Lith. I, 223, l. 4) and remained in office up to 1st Rabʻī I, 1053 A.H. (*Ibid.*, 230, ll 4–6.) The earliest known coins of the Junāgadh Mint are of 1049–13 (H. N. Wright, I M. Catalogue, III, Introd. liv) and issues of 1050–14 (*Ibid.*, No. 955) 1051-14 (White King Catalogue, Part III, No. 3810). 1052, 1054, 1057, 1059, 1060, 1062, A.H. are also known. There would thus appear to be very good reasons for declining to accept unreservedly this part of the author's statement. Briefly, it seems to me that this *Mirāt* passage carries us much less further towards the solution of the question at issue than has been supposed and leaves us practically just where we were.

This is all that I can say at present about the matter and it is of course exceedingly unsatisfactory. But I must, before leaving the subject, beg permission to record the impression that the problem will be solved only when a coin or coins of the Gujarāt-fabric type with the Hindī legend at the bottom clearly decipherable is found. I may say that such a coin *was* brought to me by a local dealer several years ago and that, to the best of my recollection, the words in Devanāgarī were 'Shrī Fardi or Bhardi Rāi'. I cannot say if this was intended to be a transliteration of the titular

designation—Bharjī—of the Hindū rulers of Baglāna. Unfortunately, I was not then able to realise the full value of my find, and it must be left to some more lucky or competent connoisseur to secure the prize which I allowed to slip out of my hands.

IX. MINT REGULATIONS.

The Mughal mintages in gold as well as silver were all hammered and not milled, and they also contained, as I have shown in detail elsewhere, a much smaller proportion of alloy than either the English sovereign or the British Indian rupee. But they were, for these very reasons, much sooner worn and more liable to clipping or 'sweating.' "Unprincipled men," Abūl Faẓl complains, "cause a great deal of mischief by rubbing down the coin, or by employing similar methods; and in consequence of the damage done to the nation at large, His Majesty continually consults experienced men * * * and issues new regulations in order to prevent such detrimental practices." (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 32.) The historian then proceeds to give at great length the conflicting orders which had been passed by Akbar's finance ministers, in the 27th, 29th, 31st, 34th, and 36th years of the reign. I do not propose to swell out my pages with these out-of-date and tedious minutiæ, especially as they can be read by any one fond of such studies in Blochmann's excellent version. It will suffice to cite the most salient features of the ordinance promulgated by Shāh Fatḥ-ulla Shīrāzī (otherwise styled 'Aẓdu-d-daula) in the 29th year Ilāhī. We are informed that on the 18th of Mihr of that year "a royal order was issued that on the *muhrs*, as far as *three* grains, and on the rupees as far as six grains [these are not Troy grains but rice-grains of which 8 or 10 went to a surkh or ratī] short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight. If muhrs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, * * * The value of a *muhr* that was one surkh deficient, was put down as 355 dāms and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one surkh of coined gold at the low rate of four dāms and a fraction. * * * 'Aẓadu-d-daulah also * * * * fixed the value of the round rupee, when of full weight or not less than one surkh, at forty dāms; * * and deducted for a deficiency of two surkhs [not two dāms as Todar Mal had done, but] only one dām and a fraction (*Āīn*, Tr. 1, 33–4). See also Badāonī, Tr. II. 393; *Akbarnāma*, Trans. III. 564–5.

There is in the same work another long chapter with the heading, "The Profit of the dealers in gold and silver." It occupies nearly two pages and it would be waste of time and space to reproduce its tiresome details in this article. Its "leading results," besides, have been already extracted and presented in tabular form by Edward Thomas, in the *Chronicles* (pp. 426–7.) The gist of this lengthy disquisition is that the Mughal system was a system of "free coinage" in all the

metals. Any individual was at liberty to bring gold, silver, or copper to the mint, where it was brought up to the Imperial standard of purity and converted into coin on the owner defraying the actual cost of coinage and paying to the State a small royalty or seigniorage. This seigniorage will be found, by any one who analyses the figures, to have been about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent all round on the value of the metal.

It may be permissible to add that there is in this chapter a casual mention of the Dehlī Tanka which was worth two dāms or the twentieth part of the Akbarī rupee. As the passage itself has been cited and discussed in my article on the 'Murādī Tanka' in Num. Supp. XXVIII (pp. 89–90), it is hardly necessary to do more than refer to the matter in this paper.

The late Mr. W. Irvine published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898 some mint-rules of the time of Farrukhsīyar (d. 1126 A.H.) which he had found in a small work of only nineteen folios called *Hidāyatu-l-qavāid*. Unfortunately, there is nothing particularly interesting or informative in them. (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 149–52.)

Some useful details relative to the working of the numerous Central India mints towards the beginning of the nineteenth century will be found in Sir John Malcolm's 'Central India.' (Reprint, 1880, Vol. II, 65–70.)

X. THE HEAVY COINS OF JAHĀNGĪR.

The mintages of the first six years of the reign of Jahāngīr present several distinctive features which have arrested the attention of coin-collectors. The extraordinary method of dating adopted on the Salīmī issues has been satisfactorily elucidated by Dr. Taylor, but the metrology of the 'Heavy' Muhrs and Rupees which turn the scale at about 202 or 210 grains and 212 or 221 grains has, to my knowledge, never been clearly expounded by those who have discussed the subject.

There are two references to these abnormal issues in the Emperor's own 'Memoirs,' but their real meaning has been obscured by the errors of copyists. They are, when properly construed and commented on, most illuminating, and will be found quoted below in the original Persian as well as in their English garb.

After mentioning the Twelve Institutes or Rules of Conduct (دستور العمل)[1] which he promulgated immediately after his accession for the guidance of his officers, he says :—

و بساعت سعید فرمودم که سکه بر زر زدند و از طلا و نقره بوزنهای مختلف زر را مسکوک نموده و هر یک را جداگانه نامی نهادم . . .. و مهر یک توله را نور جهاني و نصف آنرا نوراني و ربع آنرا رواجی نام کردم و آنچه از جنس نقره سکه شد ... . یک توله را جهانگیري و نصفش را سلطاني و ربع آنرا نثاری و دهم حصه را خیر قبول نامزد گردانیدم ... . و سکهٔ نور جهاني که بعوضِ مهرِ معمول است و در وزن ده دوازده بر آن این بیت امیر الامرا قرار گرفت * * بیت *

روی زر را ساخت نوراني برنگِ مهر و ماه
شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابنِ اکبر بادشاه

[1] "The *Dastūru-l-'Amal* is a body of instructions and tables for the use of native revenue officers under the Mahomedan Government." (Jarrett, *Āīn*, Trans. II, 89 n. See also Elliot, Supplemental Glossary, Ed. Beames, II, 156). The '*Government Gazette*' issued every month in the feudatory State of Junāgadh is still called *Dastūru-l-'Amal*. According to Steingass, *Dastūr* means 'original of a book, record, formula, or any writing of authority to which people have recourse.' (Persian-English Dict. *s.v.*)

چنانچه بر هر روی یک مصراع نقش گشت و قید ضرب مقام و سنه هجري و سنه جلوس شد سکهٔ جهانگیري نیز که در وزن ده دوازده زیاده است در برابر روپیه اعتبار شده بدستور نور جهاني مقرر گشت و وزن تواله مطابق دو نیم مثقال معمول ایران و توران است

Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, ed. Sayyad Aḥmad Khān, Alīgarh 1864, p 5, l. 8.

This is thus rendered by Mr. A Rogers :—

"At a propitious hour I ordered that they should coin gold and silver of different weights. To each coin I gave a separate name; * * * to the Muhr of 1 tola, that of *Nūr-jahānī*. The half of this I called *Nurānī*, and the quarter, *rawājī*. With regard to the silver coins (*sikkas*) I gave to the coin of * * * 1 tola, the name of *jahāngīrī*, the half *jahāngīrī* I called *Sultānī*; the quarter, *Nisārī* (showering-money); the dime *Khair-i qabūl* (the acceptable).[1] * * * On the *Nur-jahānī*, which is in the place of the ordinary gold *Muhr* and exceeds it in weight by 20 per cent (as 12 to 10) is impressed this couplet of the Amīru-l-umarā [Sharīf Khān]:

Shāh Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr ibn Akbar Pādshāh.

Made gold's face bright with the sheen of sun and moon.

Accordingly, a hemistich was impressed on each face, and also the mint, and the Hijra and regnal year. The *jahāngīrī sikka*, also, which is greater in weight by 20 per cent, was reckoned as equal to a rupee, its weight being fixed in the same manner as that of the *Nūr-jahānī* (each was a *tola* in weight, but one was in gold and the other was in silver). The weight of a tola is 2½ miṣqāls of Persia and Turan."

Op. cit., Trans. Rogers and Beveridge, I, 11–12.

The sum and substance of this is that, on coming to the throne, Jahāngīr gave new names to the gold and silver coins of the realm and that he issued orders for the striking of a Muhr called *Nūr-jahānī* which was twenty per cent heavier than the ordinary Muhr [مهر معمول] and also of a silver coin called the *Sikka-i Jahāngīrī* (not *Rupīya-i-Jahāngīrī*) which was greater in weight by 20 per cent than the Akbarī Rupee. When Mr. Rogers makes his author say that the heavier coin "was reckoned equal to a rupee," we must take leave to doubt the accuracy of his rendering. If the standard of silver in both was the same—and the Emperor does not say anything to the contrary—it is impossible to understand how coins of such different weights could have been 'reckoned equal', that is, have had the same exchange-value. Jahāngīr was not a

[1] Mr. Whitehead's rendering, 'May these alms be accepted (by God') P.M.C. Introd. xxv, is much better.

ruler endowed with extraordinary ability or knowledge, but he must have known that two pieces *of equally good silver* could not, by any legislative sanction, be made to possess parity of value, if one of them was one-fifth heavier than the other. He could scarcely have meant to say any such thing, and on turning to the original, we find that the translator has misunderstood his author. All that the Emperor really says is that "the *Sikka-i-jahāngīrī* (the new silver piece) became current or acquired vogue [اعتبار شده] in place of [برابر] the Rupee" [روپیه]. All that he means is that the new *sikka* bore the same relation to the old rupee and supplanted it as the *Nūrjahānī* Muhr bore to the old or Ordinary Muhr of which it was the substitute [که بعوض مهر معمول است]. The fact of the matter was, and there is abundant proof of it forthcoming from contemporary documents of unimpeachable authority, that these *Jahāngīrī Sikkas* were not "reckoned equal" to the old rupees but that five of the heavier rupees were generally worth six of the Akbarī rupees. This is just the ratio we should expect and is in exact accordance with the difference in weight.

The Emperor then quotes the *ipsissima verba* of the metrical legend composed especially for these new issues by his friend and Vazīr, the Amīru l-umarā. It will be noticed that this is identical with the couplet found on some of the 'heavy' muhrs and rupees in our public and private collections. (B.M.C. 290, 292 4, 402, I.M.C. 588, 589, 697, 698, 699; P.M.C. 911, 914–916; Lucknow M.C. 1196, 1305, 1482, 1547 etc.)

The second reference is in the Diary of the sixth year of the reign and is thus worded in (Sir) Sayyad Ahmad's edition.

هنگام جلوس بر وزنها و گزها پارهٔ افزوده بودم چنانچه سه رتی بر وزن مهر و روپیه اضافه شده بود درین ایام بعرض رسید که در داد و ستدها رفاهیت خلق در آنست که مهر و روپیه بوزن سابق باشد چون در جمیع امور رفاهیت و آسایش خلق مدنظور است حکم کردم که از تاریخ حال که یازدهم اردی‌بهشت سنه ۶ جلوس باشد در دار الضربهای ممالک محروسه مهر و روپیه را بدستور سابق مسکوک و مضروب میساخته باشند *

Text, 96, l. 1.

Mr. Rogers' rendering is as follows :—

"At the time of my accession, I had increased weights and measures (lit. *gaz*), viz. to the extent of three ratīs (small weights equal to eight barley-corns) in the weight of muhrs and rupees. At this time, it was represented to me that in mercantile transactions it would be for the convenience of the

people that muhrs and rupees should be of the same weight as previously. As in all affairs the contentment and ease of the people are to be looked to, I gave an order that from the present day, that is, the 11th Urdībihisht in the 6th year of my reign, they should strike muhrs and rupees of the former weight in all the mints of my dominions." *Ibid.*, Trans. I, 197.

There is something palpably wrong in the first sentence of this extract. We have just found the writer declaring that in the first year of his reign he had made the new muhrs and rupees 20 per cent heavier than the ordinary coins of that name. And now he is made to assert that the increase per unit amounted to only three ratīs (سہ رتی). The two statements are obviously irreconcilable. The maximum or theoretical weight of the ordinary muhr was, Abūl Faẓl tells us, 11 māshas = 88 ratīs; the issue weight of the rupee was $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas or 92 ratīs; 20 per cent of 88 ratīs = 17·6 ratīs; 20 p.c. of 92 ratīs = 18-4 ratīs.

It is now more than twenty-five years since C. J. Rodgers called attention to the difficulty in an article in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, in which he cited this "exceedingly valuable passage." At the same time, he candidly said that he did not know what to make of it. "Three ratīs," he wrote, "is an ordinary variation in rupees from wear and tear, as can be seen from a casual glance at any Coin Catalogue, and such a small amount would inconvenience no body. The word for 3 in Persian is سہ. I propose to change it to سی or 30. I find that 30 rati seeds gathered by me on the field of Kūrūkshetra weigh 44 grains, and 44 is the difference between 176 and 220. I find, however, that 30 rati seeds gathered by me at Nūrpūr in the Kāngra District weigh 54 grains, so that we must know what kind of ratīs were in use in Āgra, where probably Jahāngīr held his court. Suppose we alter the word *rati* to *māsha*, then three *māsha* are equal to 24 ratis. Now, 24 Nūrpūr ratis draw exactly 44 grains. * * * I think the word should be *māsha*, and not *ratī*. Ratīs are never used for weighing things that are a māsha in weight, only for weighing fractional parts of the māsha. Both methods of correcting the text agree with the weights of rupees in our collections. * * * The difference in the weights of the mohurs is not the same as the difference in the rupees, 210–168 = 42 grains. It is, however, near enough. Some of the early mohurs were only 202 grains. As those in the Lahore Museum are as fresh as if they had come from the mint yesterday, we may say that that was their original weight. Afterwards they rose to 210 grains." *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, p. 91.

It may be truly said that Rodgers has stated the problem with considerable clarity of expression, though he failed to solve it. Why was the difference in the weights of the muhrs not the same as the difference in the rupees? Why did the early muhrs and rupees weigh only 202 and 212 grs. respectively and the later coins 212 and 220 grs.? Is it not possible to find a clue to these successive augmentations?

These questions, it is the object of this paper to answer.

The textual difficulty has been solved by Mr. H. Beveridge in the light of the excellent India Office MSS. of the *Tūzuk*. The numismatic problem did not appeal to him and he has not cared to attack it. He writes in a Note:—

"The I.O. MSS. have a different reading here. They say nothing about *three ratīs*. What they say is, 'At this time, I had made some increase in the amounts of weights and measures. For instance, I added one-fourth (*Siwā'ī*) to the weight of the muhrs and rupees. The *sih ratī* of text is a mistake for *siwā'ī*.'"

Rogers and Beveridge, Trans. 1, 450 (Errata and Addenda).

There can be little doubt that this is the true reading, and that سوائی was the word that the Imperial recorder of his own innovation wrote. The increment referred to had not been سه ونی or سی ونی or سه ماشه but سو ئی[1] *i.e.* an addition of 25 per cent had been made *some time before the date of writing* (*i.e.* VI R.Y.) in the weight of the muhr and rupee.

Thus understood, there is an apparent difficulty in the passage which demands notice. Jahāngīr tells us in the first of our quotations that the increase was of only 20 per cent, and now we are informed that it was not 20 but 25 per cent. The discrepancy is, obvious, but the two statements, are, for all that, not irreconcilable. The explanation is that the Farmān, for raising the weight by 20 per cent only, was promulgated immediately after the accession, and it is this increase that is recorded in our first quotation. Sometime afterwards, a further addition of 5 per cent was sanctioned and it is this subsequent or later augmentation of 25 (20 + 5) per cent which is alluded to in the second extract. The imperial autobiographer has, with characteristic indifference to precision of statement,[2] omitted to record *when* this second increment was first

[1] Mr. Beveridge does not seem to have been aware of Hawkins' statement on the subject, which is hereafter cited. It is absolutely conclusive on the point, and must extinguish the last sparks of doubt in reference to the proposed emendation.

[2] Mr. Beveridge complains in his Notes to the English Translation of the *Tūzuk* that Jahāngīr is often obscure (I, 54, 55, 60, 126, 241, 275, 353, 387, 403, 442; II, 108, 116, 122, 178, 241) or inaccurate (I, 9, 19, 77, 232, 280, 307, 324, 418; II, 58, 185, 228). He stands charged also

introduced. He refers to it now, only in a casual way, while mentioning the reasons which led him to withdraw the new issues of both types, and revert to the standard established by his father.

In a word, the two passages do not speak of one and the same type of 'Heavy Coins,' but of two distinct and easily distinguishable types. The first passage relates to the muhrs weighing between 200 and 202 grains, and the rupees which turn the scale at 210–212 grains. They are the coins which were one-fifth heavier than the similar issues of Akbar The ordinary muhr of Akbar was *about* 170 grains; $\frac{1}{5}$ of 170 = 34, and 170 + 34 = 204 grs The ordinary rupee of Akbar weighed *approximately*, 178 grs.[1]; $\frac{1}{5}$ of 178 = $35\frac{3}{8}$ and 178 + $35\frac{3}{8}$ = $213\frac{3}{8}$ grs.

The gold-pieces of Jahāngīr which draw 210 and 211 grs. and the silver coins which mount up to 220 and even 221 grains are the issues referred to in the *second* extract. They are the coins which were one-fourth (*Sawā'ī*) heavier; 170 + (170 ÷ $\frac{1}{4}$) = 170 + $42\frac{1}{2}$ = $212\frac{1}{2}$ grs ; 178 + (178 ÷ $\frac{1}{4}$) = 178 + $44\frac{1}{2}$ = $222\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Briefly, there is nothing arbitrary or lawless about the metrology of these pieces The variations are methodical and systematic and the weights of all the four kinds of coins become perfectly intelligible in the light of this explanation. That explanation may be safely relied upon as it is founded on the statements of the Emperor himself The true meaning of these statements have, it is true, been for various reasons obscured, but the veil has now fallen. The two types of coins can be now unmistakably differentiated They belong to two distinct periods and represent two different augmentations of 20 and 25 p.c. respectively.

There is in the Journal of William Hawkins, a passage which shows that he was cognizant of the distinction and had formed very clear notions of the differences between the two types The Captain landed at Surat on 24th August, 1608

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with the suppression of facts (I, 155, 174, 192; II, 108). The translator further points out that there are frequent errors even in the serial reckoning of the Week-days (I, 139, 340, 403; II, 47, 53, 60, 192) and that the Imperial arithmetician often commits mistakes in the addition and multiplication of numbers. (I, 96, 408).

[1] Mr. Lane Poole (B.M.C. Introd. lxxvi); Mr. Brown (L.M.C. I. 40) and some other writers have postulated for the common Akbari Muhr a theoretical or issue weight of 170 grs. and for the Rupee one of 180 grs. But there is a difficulty in accepting the latter view. Abūl Faẓl says that the mint standard of the Muhr was 11 māshas and that of the Rupee $11\frac{1}{2}$. If then the Muhr is supposed to have weighed 170 grs. and the Rupee 180, the half-māsha would have to be taken at 10 grs. the whole māsha at 20 and the tola at 240 grs —an absolutely inadmissible proposition.

A.C., and left soon after for Āgra, where the Emperor then was in residence. He stayed there up to November, 1611 (Ramẓān, 1020 A.H.), when he turned his face homewards, got on board Sir H. Middleton's ship in January, 1612, and died on the passage from the Cape.

He appears to have procured from a source which he does not specify, an account of the Treasure of Jahāngīr. After mentioning at some length, the different kinds of phenomenal pieces in both metals of which this treasure principally consisted, he says :—

"Of a certaine money that is called Savoy[1] which is a Tola ¼. Of these there are two leckes Of Sagaries, whereof five make six toles, there is one lecke. More should have been coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded." The Hawkins' Voyages, ed. C. R. Markham, 1878 (Hakluyt Society), pp. 421–2.

There cannot be any difficulty in identifying the silver money called "Savoy which is a tola ¼" with the *Sawā'ī* rupees alluded to in the second of the two passages from the *Tūzuk*. Hawkins was in Āgra during almost the whole period in which they would seem to have been issued, and he left the capital about six months after they ceased to be struck [Ardībihisht VI R.Y = April-May, 1611 A.C.]. It may be also said with confidence that the 'Sagaries whereof five make sixe toles' are the Jahāngīrī Sikka of the first extract,[2] which were only 20 per cent or one-fifth heavier than the Akbarī rupees. He says that 'More should have been coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded,' which is perfectly correct, for they were superseded about the fourth year of the reign - as will presently appear—by the still heavier coins of the *Sawā'ī* scale of weight.

But there are several other references to both these types of Rupees in the contemporary European travellers and the

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[1] *Sawā'ī*, *lit.* 'one and a quarter', from Sa=with and pā=one-fourth (Belsare, Gujarati-English Dictionary, *s.v.*) The word occurs frequently in the Correspondence edited by Mr. William Foster in the analogous sense of 'a discount, abatement or allowance of 25 per cent made in the weight or price of goods, English Factories in India 1618–1621, pp. 194, 204, 253. The spelling in all these passages is almost the same as that of Hawkins, 'Savoye.'

[2] Hawkins got on board Sir Henry Middleton's ship in January, 1612 and sailed to Bantam. He died on the passage from the Cape. His Journal was made up from his papers and published after his death in England. The Oriental words and names were sadly blundered by the English printers of the 17th century, and some of the worst of these errors are unfortunately retained and passed over without correction in the Hakluyt Society's edition. Thus we find 'Vybeek' for 'Uzbek' (p. 419), 'Vinera' for 'Umra' (p. 419), 'Trasses' for 'farrashes' (p 420) 'Attabase' for 'Allabas' (p. 427), 'Arauna' for 'Rana' (p. 427). There is therefore nothing to be surprised at in the transformation of *Jangeries* into *Sagaries*.

correspondence of the English East India Company. The earliest is of the year 1615.

Thomas Mitford writes from Ajmer to his masters in London, 25 March, 1615, as follows:—

"Of valuations of moneys there be divers sorts, but those most in use, *viz.* Roupies Jangers of 100 pisas which goeth four for five ordinary roupies called Cassanes, and we value them at 2s. 4d. per piece.

Cecaus [Sikkas] of Amdavars [Aḥmadābād] which goeth for 86 pisas, *challenes* [chalanī] of Agra which goeth for 83 pisas, and divers other sorts, but by reason that Jangers and Cassanes [khazāna] are most used, we do keep our valuation, as is above said, they being net, having the Dusturye [1] taken out of them which is a custom of this country."

Letters Received by the English East India Company, ed. W. Foster, III, 87.

It is clear that Mitford's 'Jangers' [Jahāngīrīs] which went 'four for five ordinary roupies' and were worth '100 pisas' [2] [half-dāms] were the 'Savoy' of Hawkins—the rupees of the second or heavier type. The ordinary rupees he calls Khazānas—because they were generally two or three years or more old and were brought out on emergencies from the Treasury. The sikkas or new rupees of the *current* year of the Aḥmadābād mint were worth three pice or half-dāms more than the *chalanīs* of Āgra—the ordinary coins which were up to the average in weight and standard. If they were debased, clipped, sweated or otherwise doctored, an agio, *dastūrī* or *batta* (Guj. Vaṭāv) had to be paid.

My next quotation is from Sir Thomas Roe's Journal. "November 25 [1616]. Hither came Master Gowther from the carauan despatched from Agra, of whom I received that the Plauge [3] was violent, and that the last bills were made up

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[1] "Dusturye—that commission or percentage on the money passing in any cash transaction which * * * sticks to the fingers of the agent o payment." (Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson *s.v.*). Here, however, it seems to be used for the customary *agio* or *Batta* [Vaṭāv] or discount on coins not current or of short weight. (See *ibid. s.v.* Batta). One of the many meanings of *Dastūr* is 'Custom' and *Dastūrī* is any "customary fee, tax or percentage" (Steingass, *s.v.*) or perquisite claimable by established usage.

[2] The word is here used for the half-dām. European writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sometimes employ it for the whole dām, at others for its moiety. When William Peyton says (Purchas I. 530, or Foster, Letters Received, III, 301), that the pice was "a Copper Coyne" which weighed "twelve Drammes" [avoirdupois], he means the full dām. But when Fryer declares that the [English East India] "Company's accounts are kept in Book-rate Pice, viz. 32 to the Mam[oodee] and 80 Pice to the Rupee" (New Account, Ed. Crooke. II. 126), he has in his mind the half-dām.

[3] Jahāngīr tells us that this plague broke out in the tenth year of his reign (March 1615–6 A.C.) in the Panjāb and spread to Sahrind and

to be payd at 45 days' sight, so that they were enforced, for dispatch, to give so many *Jangiers* for their own money."

Embassy, Ed. W. Foster, II, 352.

Once more he writes on 18 December, 1617: "He [Fettiplace] urdgeth keeping credit so pressively, and it is of such consequence to us, that I have sould the great Pearle for 12000 *rupees*, without abatement to bee payd 10000 *Jangeries* in Agra; which mony I have made up." *Ibid*, II, 456.

Now if 10,000 Jangeries [Jahāngīrīs] were equal to 12,000 common or "Khazāna rupees, *i.e.* the *ordinary* currency at Aḥmadābād," as Mr. Foster puts it (*ibid.*, Note), it is clear that five Jahāngīrīs were equal to *six* common rupees. Elsewhere, Roe estimates this Jahāngīrī rupee at 2*s.* 7*d.* (Original Correspondence No. 610, *apud* Foster, *ibid*, II, 352, Note), while the ordinary rupee is calculated at 2*s.* 2*d* of English money. (*Ibid.*, I, 239.) This gives a ratio of 31 : 26 which is practically identical with that of 6 to 5.

There is another allusion also to these rupees in Roe's unpublished Accounts, from which it appears that on a certain occasion when the Mogul (*i.e.* Jahāngīr) presented him with a 'cupp of Gold of mingled wyne,' he was obliged to give "to the King's wayters of the Guzellchan" [1] [Ghusal khāna] 36 Jahāngīrī rupees. (*Ibid.*, I, 256 and II, 335, Note.)

Robert Hughes writes from Āgra to the East India Company on 18th December 1617, that he had paid "$11\frac{3}{4}$ Jahanger ruppes per camel to carry nine maunds [of indigo] to Surat [from Āgra], and to arrive there in fifty days."

Foster, Letters Received, VI, 238.

William "Biddulph, in a letter to the Company, dated February 15th, 1618, values the Jahangir rupee at 2*s.* 6*d.*" Foster, Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, II, 352, Note

More than six years afterwards (26 October, 1624), the Lāhor factors write thus to the President and Council of Surat

"On the 17th inst. sent a Setonbaratt [2] to Agra for rupies

Dehlī. (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 330.) In the twelfth year, it had taken firm hold of the Country (I, 442) and was at its height in Āgra in the 13th 1618-9 A.C.) II, 6, 65.

[1] *Lit.* Bath-room. "It is in this place," writes Bernier, "that the king seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports and deliberates on important affairs of State." Travels, Ed. Constable and Vincent Smith, (1914), p. 265. Shāh Jahān ordered the name to be disused and called it *Diwān-i-Khās*. The reason of the earlier appellation was that Akbar had a bath room in this part of the Āgra palace. Roe (Embassy, I, 196, 202), Mundy (Travels, II, 201), Mandelslo (Voyages, p. 49) and others frequently refer to it.

[2] The learned editor of the Correspondence, Mr. Foster, leaves this word unexplained. It appears at first sight to have something to do with *Barāt*, assignment, draft, cheque (Steingass, Persian-English

Jehangeeries 9475. This includes 3000 rupes Casana [Khazāna] belonging to Mr. Morris Abbot for three emeralds of his sold to Asaf Khan."

English Factories in India, 1624–1629, Ed. W. Foster, p. 33.

A little more than two years later (6 November, 1626), Robert Tottle at Sirhind, writing to John Bangham at Lāhor explains that in writing for bills for 10,000 or 12,000 rupees he meant 10,000 'rupes Jangers which is small twelve thousand.'

English Factories, *ibid.*, 149.

If "10000 rupes Jangers" were equal in exchange-value to "small twelve thousand," in 1626 A.C., it is obvious that the heavy rupees continued to remain in circulation up to almost the very end of the Emperor's reign.

Lastly, there is in the 'Voyage to East India,' first published in 1655, of Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain, an account of Indian coins, in which there is a reference to these heavy rupees. He writes :—

"They call their pieces of silver Roopees, of which there are some of divers values, the meanest worth two shillings and three pence, and the best two shillings and nine pence sterling. By these they account their estates and payments."

Op. cit., Ed. 1777, p. 119.

Elsewhere, he tells us that he gave "a roopee, in our money two shillings and nine-pence" as *solatium* or hush-money to a servant who had been maltreated by a hot-brained Englishman of their company. *Ibid*, 167.

Now if the 'meanest' or ordinary rupee was worth 2*s.* 3*d.*, its ratio to the one which he values at 2*s.* 9*d.* was that of 27 : 33, *i.e.* 9 : 11 or 99 : 121, which is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of 100 to 120. Terry's best rupees, therefore, must have been no other than the 'Jangeries' or 'Jangiers'[1] mentioned by Roe and others, of which five went as far as six ordinary ones.

Dictionary, *s.v.*). But it is more probably an early Anglo-Indian corruption of *Sotā bardār, Sontā bardār*—"an attendant who carries a silver bludgeon about two or three feet long in his hand and runs before the palkee." (Glossary in Gladwin's Revenue Accounts, 1796, p. 126)

The word is not in Hobson-Jobson, but it occurs twice in Mrs. Meer Hussun Ali's 'Observations on the Mussulmans of India' (Ed. Crooke, 1917), pp. 47, 250, and is explained by the Editor as "a bearer of the silver stick or mace," p. 47, Note.

[1] There is a statement of similar import in De Laët's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* which was published in 1631. "'Argentea autem per Rupias, quae communiter valent duos solidos et novem denarios Angl. interdum etiam tantum duos,' that is to say, the rupee was ordinarily worth 2*s.* 9*d.* but sometimes only 2*s.*" A few lines further down, De Laët values * * * the rupee at 2*s.* 3*d.*" (V. A. Smith, 'the Treasure of Akbar,' J.R.A.S. 1915, p. 238). Here, as in Terry, the author or his informant appears, in speaking of the 2*s.* 9*d.* rupee to have had in mind the heavy Jahāngīrī Rupee.

It might be as well to formulate the net result of these concurrent and mutually corroborative statements in the following propositions:—

(i) There were two distinct varieties of these issues and each of them had its own scale of weights.

(ii) In the first or earlier variety, the pieces in both metals were only one-fifth heavier than the ordinary muhr and rupee of Akbar. The maximum weight of the new muhr was about 204 grains, that of the new Jahāngīrī *Sikka*, about 214 grains.

(iii) In the second or later variety, the issues in both metals were one-fourth heavier than the ordinary muhr and rupee of Akbar. The theoretical issue weight of this muhr was 212½ grains, that of the corresponding silver coin 222½ grs. or thereabouts.

(iv) The standard of fineness was retained at the old level, and was exactly the same in all. The coins, therefore, exchanged in the proportion of their metallic contents.

(v) The ordinary rupees were called Khazāna, Chalanī, and by other names. *Both* types of the new silver coins were popularly known as *Jahāngīrīs* in spite of the difference in weight and value, and the designation is indiscriminately applied to both, by the European writers. The *Jangeries* of Roe and Tottle were the coins of the earlier and less heavy type; the 'Jangers' of Mitford belonged to the second or more heavy type. These last, however, were, by those who cared for precision of nomenclature, distinguished, by the appellation *Savoye* [*Sawā'ī*] from the others, to which the epithet *Jahāngīrī* was then restricted.

(vi) Though the mints were forbidden to strike either of these Heavy types in the sixth year, they continued to be employed in commercial transactions up to the very end of the reign.

There is still one question which remains unanswered. It is, 'When, or at what point of time in the reign were the orders for issuing the second or *sawā'ī* type of coins issued'? The words used by Jahāngīr himself in this connection ['at this time,' در ایام] are exceedingly vague and may be interpreted as one pleases. The European evidence also throws no light on the matter. We have, therefore, to fall back upon the coins preserved in our Museums. In the circumstances, it is fortunate that they speak with no uncertain voice. A glance at the British Museum Catalogue is sufficient to indicate that this took place in the beginning of the fourth year of the reign, which commenced on the 14th of Zī-l-ḥajja 1017. Only one *Sawā'ī* coin of an earlier date is known—P.M.C., 1093. It weighs 221 grains, and displays the figures 1017-3. If the reading is correct and there is no mistake (۳ and ۴ *are* liable

to be mistaken on coins), the point of bifurcation would have to be placed somewhere in the latter part of the third year.

Jahāngīr informs us that the order for stopping the further issue of *Sawā'is* was promulgated on 11 Ardībihisht VI. R. but a Lāhor *Sawā'i* of Tīr is known (P.M.C. 1104). It may be also added that the mints of Tatta, Qandahār and Kashmīr continued to strike Heavy Rupees of the first or early type up to the 5th (1019 A.H.), 7th and even 8th years (1021 A.H.) respectively (P.M.C. 1004–6, 1035–6 and 1074–7; L.M.C. 1548–9.)

In this connection, it is necessary to advert to another point which is not unlikely to arrest the attention of and perhaps perplex the reader. The Emperor says that the new muhr to which he gave the name of *Nūr Jahānī* was of one *tola* and he adds by way of gloss that the tola was 2½ *current Misqāls* of Irān and Turān (Text, 5, l. 27). وزن تولهٔ ط ق دونیم مثقال معمول ایران و توران.

Now we know that this first or earlier variety of the Heavy Muhr weighed between 200–2 grains, and it is common knowledge that the tola of Akbar was, at the most, only about 186 grs. But the Emperor also informs us that the tola was equal to 2½ current (معمول) Misqāls of Irān (Persia) and Turān. The question then is what was the weight of this Misqāl? A full discussion of the matter would be a task of extreme complexity and would take me beyond the scope of this inquiry. It will suffice to say that it is ordinarily reckoned at about 72 grs. Fryer gives '96 miscolles' as equal to the pound avoirdupois of 7,000 grs. (A New Account of East India and Persia, Ed. 1698, p. 406.) This would make the Misqāl equal to grs. 72$\frac{11}{12}$. Jonas Hanway reckons 80. 9116 Misqāls to the pound troy of 5,760 grs. (Travels, Ed. 1753. II, 21). This gives a value of 71·18 grs. for the Misqāl and this is accepted by Mr. R. S. Poole (Coins of the Shāhs of Persia, Introd., p. lxi) who adopts for practical purposes, the standard of 72 grs. But like almost all old units of measure and weight, the Misqāl has fluctuated considerably from time to time and place to place. The jeweller Tavernier whose business it was to make himself thoroughly conversant with the current coins and jewellers' and goldsmiths' weights of the countries in which he traded tells us that six [Persian] *melscals* make one Once (French). Travels, Ed. Ball, I, 399.

Now a French ounce was 482·312 grs. Troy; the Misqāl would then be equal to 80 385 grs. Troy. (*Ibid.*, I, 418) But if the Misqāl was 80 grs., 2½ Misqāls or one Tola would be = 200 grs. and this is strangely enough, the actual weight of the first or earlier type of the heavy muhr.

But it is not impossible that Tavernier was labouring

under some misapprehension and one cannot help suspecting that the Emperor is speaking loosely without making any conscious attempt at exactness. This would be by no means inconsistent with his own character, or that of his Journal. I have already pointed out in a note that this latter, though substantially correct and reliable, and abounding in minute and interesting details, is full also of conflicting and contradictory statements, arithmetical lapses and errors of omission and commission in reference to all sorts of matters.

But a third explanation also is just conceivable. There is reliable contemporary evidence, both European and indigenous, for believing, as I have shown in another note, that this Emperor raised the weight of the seer which had been 30 *dāms* in the time of his father (*Āīn*, Tr. I, 38, 134) to 36 *dāms*, an augmentation of exactly 20 p c. (*Tūzuk*, Trans. II 108). We also know that he introduced a Jahāngīrī *gaz* or yard which was about ten fingers longer than the Ilāhī *gaz*.

The tola was a fraction of the seer, and it is not inconceivable, that a *Jahāngīrī* tola was introduced side by side with the Jahāngīrī seer and gaz. If its weight was in the neighbourhood of 220 grs. and if the miṣqāl is supposed, *pace* Tavernier, to have been as much as 80 grains, we should have a very close approximation to the actual weight of the existing specimens of the Muhr of the first issue.[1] But these are conjectures and hypotheses of secondary importance. The main thing is the clue to the weights of the pieces and that we have now in our hands.

Before concluding this dissertation on the metrology of these abnormal issues, it may be proper to inquire if the uttering of rupees and muhrs of the normal or Akbarī weight was expressly countermanded or silently discontinued during the six years in which their heavier counterparts or substitutes had vogue. The Emperor himself says nothing explicitly on the matter, and we are left to answer the question solely on the basis of the Numismatic evidence. This seems to indicate that the striking of silver and gold pieces of the old type was extremely rare, if not altogether suspended during the first six years of the reign.

Leaving out of account the exceptional *Salīmī* coins which have no bearing on the point, the only specimens known can be counted on one's fingers. A muhr struck at Āgra in 1018–5 and weighing only 165 grs. was published by Mr. Delmerick in J A S.B., 1876, p 292. An Akbarnagar rupee of 1017–Tir is registered in the P.M.C. (No. 951) which draws only 176 grs.,

[1] The Akbarī tola was about 186 grs. Now $\frac{3}{30}$ or $\frac{9}{5}$ of 186 = $\frac{1116}{5}$ = 223 $\frac{1}{5}$. But the Muhr was $\frac{11}{12}$ths of the tola and $\frac{11}{12}$ of 223 $\frac{1}{5}$ = $\frac{1073}{5}$ = 204 $\frac{3}{5}$ grs.—which is very near the actual weight of the earlier or less heavy type.

and Mr. Nelson Wright has catalogued two others (I.M.C 644–5) which issued from the same distant atelier in 1019 A.H. (5 R.) and turn the scale at 178 grs. A rupee of the old weight 175 grs. appears to have emanated from Elichpūr also in 1016 A.H. Now taking the catalogues of the three largest collections of Mughal Coins in the world, we find (excluding the *Salīmī* series), about 125 specimens altogether of the first five years and five months of Jahāngīr's reign, of which all but the four just described conform to the new standards of weight.[1] These exceptions cannot be altogether ignored, but their number is so small that they may be safely regarded as sporadic or irregular issues testifying to the carelessness or forgetfulness of the provincial mint-masters or the inefficient supervision of the mints in outlying portions of the Empire.[2]

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[1] There is not one in Mr. Lane Poole's Catalogue of the British Museum (1892), nor was there any in the superb collection of Dr. White King which contained altogether more than ninety gold and silver coins of this Emperor

[2] In the recently published Lucknow Museum Catalogue however, about eighteen others are registered. See Nos. 1182; 1274-7; 1342-52, 1478-9. The Mints are Āgra, Aḥmadnagar, Elichpūr, Barār, Burhānpūr and Jālnapūr.

XI. "PORTRAIT MUHRS" OF JAHĀNGĪR.

It is now nearly a hundred years since the so-called 'Portrait-muhrs' or 'Bacchanalian Coins' of the Emperor Jahāngīr were first described and figured by Marsden in the *Numismata Orientalia*.

The four specimens which the father of Indian Numismatology had the good luck to secure are now in the British Museum, which had acquired up to 1892, no less than half a dozen others. The extreme rarity of these pieces may be judged from the fact that the Indian Museum can boast of but one example (a duplicate of B.M.C. 315), and only one other is registered in Mr. Whitehead's Catalogue of the splendid collection in the capital of the Panjāb. (P.M.C. 889).[1]

These exceedingly curious and interesting issues have been frequently described or alluded to, but it is permissible to say that much of what has been written about them by *savants* and sciolists is alike erroneous or beside the purpose. This is probably due to the fact that the only references to them that are found in the Historical literature have hitherto remained unnoticed though they are most illuminating. Two of them occur in the untranslated portion of Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhab-u-l-Lubāb*, and they are further elucidated by an explicit statement in the *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*.

The first of these authors writes :—

درین سال فرمودند که شبیه بادشاه را بر پارچهٔ طلا بوزن یک تولهٔ مسکوک ساخته طرف دیگر صورت شیری که مرکوب آفتاب باشد نمایان نموده بامرای مقرب و فدویان خاص دهند که باعزاز بر سر دستار یا روی سینه بجای حرز جان نگاه می داشته باشند *

Bibl. Ind., Text, I, 272, l. 1.

"In this year [*scil.* the sixth of the reign,] he [*scil.* the Emperor] gave orders that a piece of gold weighing one tola, stamped on one side with the image (شبیه) of the Pādishāh, and displaying on the other, the figure (صورت) of a lion surmounted (*lit.* ridden) by a sun should be given to the favourite (*lit.* kept near, esteemed, honoured) Amīrs or most devoted

[1] The specimen in the Lāhor Collection is a duplicate of B.M.C 319. A duplicate of B.M.C. 315 is in the Cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Codrington, *J B.B.R.A.S.* 1891, p. 32. The Lucknow Museum possesses nearly seven hundred coins of this Emperor —but any example of the Portrait-muhr is conspicuous by its absence.

servants, and that they were to wear it (*lit.* keep it or guard it) respectfully on the sash of the turban or on the breast-front as a life-preserving amulet."[1] [حرزجان].

The historian once more refers to the matter in his chronicle of the 21st year of the reign (1035–6 A.H.) and says:—

سابق مقرر بود که پادشاه صورت خود را بر پارچهٔ طلای مدوّر بوزن یک تولهٔ مسکوک ساخته طرف دیگر شبیهٔ شیری که بر آن آفتاب سوار باشد سکّه زده با امرای مقرب خاص می بخشیدند که بر چیرهٔ دسته باعث افتخار خود و زیب دستار می داشتند و بعضی در گردن انداخته بر روی سینه حرز جان نگاه میداشتند درین سال حکم فرمودند که شبیه را کلان تر از پنج توله طلا ساخته بامرای مخصوص مقرب می داده باشند *

Ibid., I, 386, five lines from foot.

"The rule or practice had been formerly established of presenting to the specially-favoured Amīrs a round piece of gold weighing one tola, stamped [on one side] with the image (صورت) of the Pādishāh and impressed on the other with the figure (شبیه) of a lion on which the sun was mounted, so that they might bind it on their turbans, and it would [both] exalt their dignity and add to the beauty of their head-dress. Others (*lit.* some) threw it round their necks and wore it as a life-preserving amulet on the breast-front. In this year [*sc.* XXI R.Y.], [the Emperor] gave orders that the portrait-piece (شبیه) should be made larger and [of the weight] of five tolas of gold, and that it should be given to the specially-favoured Amīrs."

It will be seen that we have in these extracts as correct a description of what may be briefly designated the 'Sun-lion variety' of the so-called Portrait-Coins as could be expected from a writer who was not a numismatic specialist. The approximate weight of the pieces,[2] the metal on which they

[1] It is a curious coincidence that this phrase حرز جان means exactly the same as 'Phylactery.' Dr. Ginsburg defines Phylacteries as "small square boxes made either of parchment or black seal-skin in which are enclosed slips of parchment or vellum with Exod. xiii. 2–10; 11–17; Deut. vi. 4–9; 13–22 written on them, and which are worn on the head and the left arm by every Jew on week-day mornings during the time of prayer" (Kitto's Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature, III. 537). The Greek *Phulakterion* is derived from the verb. *phulassein*, to guard. حرز according to Steingass's Dictionary, means 'guarding, preserving.'

[2] The medals really weigh only about 168 grs. When Khafī Khān says that they weighed a tola he is speaking loosely or inaccurately,

are stamped, their shape and even the year in which this particular type appears (so far as present knowledge extends) to have been first issued are all correctly indicated. The word-picture of the emblem on the Reverse is also commendably true and distinct. But it is more germane to the matter to observe that our informant does not leave us in any doubt as to the purpose for which they were struck, or the uses to which they were to be put. They were, he declares, jewels or souvenirs presented by the Emperor to his most faithful or confidential followers and were suspended from the neck or pinned to the head-dress just as medals or other decorations are worn in our own days. In a word, they were not coins at all and were never intended to serve as currency. They were, in their origin, only medals or badges of distinction, insignia of an exalted Order of Nobility or Merit, or proofs of the wearer belonging to the inner circle at Court.

This conclusion is fully borne out by a passage in the 'Memoirs of Jahāngīr' of which the significance does not appear to have been fully grasped.

"I promoted," says the Emperor, in his Diary of the First year, "Shaikh Aḥmad Lāhorī who from my princehood had filled the relationship of service and discipleship (خدمتگاری و مریدی) and the position of a house-born one (*Khānahzāda*) to the office of Mīr-i-'Adl (Chief-Justice). Disciples [مریدان] and sincere followers [اخلاص ارباب] were presented on his introduction and to each it was necessary to give the 'token and the likeness' (*Shast u Shabih*). They were given on his recommendation. At the time of initiation [ارادت], some words of advice were given to the disciple [مرید]: he must not confuse or darken his years with sectarian quarrels, but must follow the rule of Universal Peace [صلح کل] with regard to religions; he must not kill any living creature with his own hand, and must not flay anything. The only exceptions are in the battle and the chase. * * * Honour the Luminaries (the Sun, Moon, etc.), which are manifesters of God's light, according to the degree of each, and recognise the power and existence of Almighty God at all times and seasons." *Op. cit.*, Trans. I. 60–1.[1]

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but many European writers also roughly describe the weight of the Mughal rupee as a tola. "A tole," writes Hawkins, "is a rupee challany of silver." Purchas, His Pilgrimes, I. 217. Thévenot also says of the "Silver Roupie" that it is as big as an Abassy of Persia, but much thicker; it weighs a Tole." Travels into the Levant, Eng. Trans. of 1687, Pt. III, p. 18

[1] As the passage is important, I give below the original text of its first and most material half. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Text, p. 28, l. 16.

There can be no doubt that the Shaikh Aḥmad Lāhorī of the above extract is the Ṣūfī Aḥmad of whom Badāonī tells in mordantly ironical phrase, a scandalous story which is not worth repeating. We read: "During this month [*Scil.* Muharram, 1004, XL R Y.] Çadr Jahān, * * * joined the Divine Faith, as also his two foolish sons; and having taken the *Shast* of the New Religion, he went into the snare like a fish, and so got his Commandership of One Thousand. * * * Among others that joined was a Shaikhzādah, one Gosālah Khān by name * * and Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād and Çūfī Aḥmad, musician of the Masnad-i Çād of Dihlī, who claimed to belong to the progeny of His Holiness Ghaus-us Saqalain.[1] * * * They all conformed to the four degrees of the Faith, and received appointments as Commanders of from One Hundred to Five Hundred. * * * Aḥmad the 'little Çūfī' is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor of Shaikh Aḥmad Bikrī of Egypt."

Lowe's Translation, II. 418–9. *Bibl. Ind.* Text, II. 404.

It would seem as if Shaikh Aḥmad occupied in the opening year of Jahāngīr's reign, the position which had at one time belonged to Abūl Faẓl. He was a sort of Deputy Grand Master or Hierophant who introduced 'Seekers' and Disciples, and prepared them for initiation into the Divine Faith, of which the forms and outward appearances were, for some time at least, kept up by Jahāngīr.[2] The fact of the matter is that

شیخ احمد لاهوري را که از زمان شاهزادگي نسبت خدمتگاري و خانه زادي و مریدي داشت به مناصب میر عدلي سرفراز گردانیدم مریدان و ارباب اخلاص بوسیلهٔ او از نظر میگذرند و شست و شبیه بهر کس باید داد بعرض رسانیده میدهاند *

[1] In his translation of this passage in the *Āīn* (Trans. I. 209) Blochmann understands the reference to be to "the famous Muḥammad Ghaus" who was a friend of Humāyūn and is buried at Bayāna (Beale, Biographical Dictionary Ed. Keene 265). This is an error. The person really meant is the Ghaus-i-A'ẓam, Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Gīlānī or Jīlānī whose grave is at Baghdād. He was the founder of the Qādirī order of Dervishes. He is so styled because he is the Ghaus of 'Men and Jinns' (الثقلين) as Muḥammad is رسول الثقلين 'Prophet of men and Jinns.'

[2] Sir Thomas Roe writes of Jahāngīr:—

"He is content with all religions, only he loves none that changeth. But falling upon his father's conceipt, hath dared to enter farther in, and to professe himself for the mayne of his religion to be a greater Prophett than Mahomett; and *hath formed to himselfe a New law, mingled of all, which many have accepted with* such superstition that they will not eate till they have saluted him in the morning." (The Italics are mine). Embassy, Ed Foster, 314.

Bernier informs us that many "affirm that Jehan- Guyre died as he had lived, destitute of all religion, and that he nourished to the last a

the *Shast u Shabīh*—'the token and the likeness'—which, Jahāngīr says, were given to "disciples and sincere followers" on Shaikh Aḥmad's recommendation were nothing more than imitations or replicae of the outward signs and symbols of the new Theistical Sect which Akbar had founded. We have seen this *Shast* mentioned by Badāonī in connection with the initiation of Ṣadr i Jahān, etc , and the custom is even more clearly and fully described by the same authority in another passage. He informs us that during the Festival of the Nauroz of the 30th year in Rabī' I. 992 [*recte*, 993 A.H.], several persons at court were converted. "And they sacrificed their wealth, and life, and reputation, and religion to their friendship [اخلاص] for the Emperor. And so many holy souls rushed upon this trial, that they cannot be numbered. And sets of twelve persons, by turns, and in exactly the same way, became disciples, and conformed to the same creed and religion. And instead of the tree-of-discipleship he gave them a likeness [*Shabīhī*]; they looked on it as the standard of loyal friendship, and the advance-guard of righteousness and happiness, and they put it wrapped up in a jewelled case on the top of their turbans. And *Allāh Akbar* was used by them in the prefaces of their writings." Lowe, Trans. II. 349; see also Blochmann, *Aīn*, I. 203.

و بجای شجرهٔ شیخی دادند آنرا علامت اخلاص و مقدمهٔ رشد و دولت
میدانستند و در غلافی مرصع بجواهر پیچیده بالای دستار میگذاشتند *

Bibl. Ind. Text, II. 338.

But the intimate connection or rather the *direct descent* of the *Shast u Shabīh* of Jahāngīr from the identically designated 'Symbols of Faith' given by Akbar to *his* own *Murīds* or disciples does not rest on the authority of the unsympathetic and somewhat cross-grained compiler of the *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh* alone.

It is incontrovertibly established by two passages which occur in the writings of his *bête noir* and *quondam* fellow-student, Abūl Faẓl himself. There is in the 77th chapter of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, a description of the process of Initiation into the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* which throws further light on the matter.

"When a novice bears on his forehead," writes that historian, "the signs of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily inquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday when the world-illuminating Sun is in its highest splendour * * * At the above-mentioned time of

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scheme which he had formed, after the example of his father *Ekbar*, of declaring himself a prophet, and the founder of a new religion." (The Italics are mine). Travels, Ed. Constable and Smith, 1914, p. 288.

everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. * * * His Majesty, * * raises up the suppliant, replaces the turban on his head, * * then gives the novice the *Shast* on which is engraved the 'Great Name' and his Majesty's symbolical Motto [طلسم اقدس] *Allāhu Akbar.*" Blochmann, *Āīn*, Trans. I. 165; *Bibl. Ind* Text, I 160, l. 7.

The bestowal of this *Shast* on the acolyte is also mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* under the events of the 26th year. We there read that a man of the name of Fath Dost had "frequently represented to the writer [*Scil.* Abūl Faẓl] that he wished to become a disciple of His Majesty, and asked him to represent the matter, that his wish might be fulfilled. * * * He [*Scil.* Akbar] said, 'Although a felicitous day (*rūzbihī*) does not shine on his forehead, yet I'll grant his request. * * * He administered the *Shast* according to holy rites [1] * * * He gave him weighty counsels. As he was not pure of soul and his heart did not accord with his tongue, he, in the course of two days, ceased to exist."

Beveridge, *Akb. Nām.*, Trans. III. 520; Text, III. 354.

What then was this *Shast*? Blochmann says in a note that, in the dictionaries "*Shast* means aim, secondly, anything round, either a ring or thread, as the Brahminical thread. Here a ring seems to be meant. Or it may be the likeness of the Emperor, which according to Badāonī the members wore on their turbans." There can be little doubt that the word is used by Abūl Faẓl in the last of these different senses. The transition of meaning also is fairly clear. As the Brahminical thread was the outward symbol of Hinduism, so the likeness or portrait of the Emperor was the badge or emblem of the Ilāhī or Divine Faith.

This consensus of Badāonī and Abūl Faẓl entitles us to say that in presenting these Medallions or Portraits to his most devoted adherents, Jahāngīr was not doing anything new. He was merely imitating the example of his father. Akbar, with his irrepressible and occasionally irrational and childish longing for innovation, had introduced the practice of delivering to his so-called *Murīds*, a likeness of himself instead of the *Shajara* or Tree-of-discipleship which was in almost universal vogue among the various spiritualistic or mystical sects in Islām. No medal displaying Akbar's own name has been yet

[1] The words in the original are قدسي شست كرامت فرمودند *lit.* "bestowed the Shast according to his holy wont or practice." Abūl Faẓl frequently uses the word قدسي as equivalent to *Akbarī*. Everything that the Emperor did, everything intimately connected with his person was holy, قدسي

discovered, but it is permissible to conjecture that the unique specimen issued in the first year of Jahāngīr, which is in the cabinet of Mr. H. Nelson Wright, is a replica or reproduction of an Akbarī *Shast* with the obviously necessary alteration in the date. The obverse has a full-face bust of the 'Great Emperor,' and his طلسم أقدس ("symbolical motto"), *Allāhu Akbar*, together with the date ۱۰۱۴ جلوس ۱ سنه. On the reverse, we notice a radiated sun occupying the field in a four-fold border of alternate dots and lines. (Proc. Numismatic Society of India, 1916, p. 2.) It may be fairly surmised that this most precious find is one of the very Medals or *Shabīhs* which, Jahāngīr says, he presented to his followers on the recommendation of Shaikh Aḥmad Lāhorī. The promotion of that individual to the office of Mīr-i-'Adl (which is alluded to at the head of the paragraph) is recorded under the events of 19th Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1014 A.H., about six months only after the death of Akbar. The retention of his father's image on these medals which were probably struck for presentation on the very first *Nauroz* of the new reign [11th Ẕī-l-qa'da 1014 A.H.] might have been due to want of time, but perhaps also to a desire to attract the sympathy or enlist the support of his father's Amīrs and other influential members of the *Ilāhī* Faith. It is not unlikely that some time elapsed before Jahāngīr's own bust was substituted. The *addition* of the Lion Couchant on the reverse (the sun had been there already) came, perchance, still later. Khāfī Khān's expressions would seem to imply (though he does not exactly say so) that the lion-emblem was added in the sixth year of the reign, and the suggestion might be offered that therein lay the novelty or innovation.

This is what can be gathered on the subject from Oriental sources. I must now cite the testimony of two European contemporaries to whom these medals were presented by the Emperor. My first witness, Sir Thomas Roe, writes thus in his Journal :—

"Aug. 17 [1616]. I went to visit the King, who as soone as I came in, called to his woemen and reached out a picture of himselfe set in gould hanging at a wire gould chaine, with one pendant foule pearle, which hee delivered to Asaph Chan, warning him not to demand any reverence of mee other than such as I would willingly give. * * * So Asaph Chan came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand; but hee made signe to putt of my hatt, and then put it about my neck leading me right before the King. * * * Hee [*scil.* Āṣaf Khān] made signe to mee to give the king thancks. which I did after my owne Custome. * * * You may now judg the Kings, liberallitye. This guift was not woorth in all 30 li, yet it was five tymes as good as any hee gives in that kynd, and held for an espiciall favour, for that all the great men that weare the

kings Image (which none may doe but to whom it is given) receive noe other then a medall of gould as bigg as sixpence, with a little chayne of 4 inches to fasten it on their heads, which at their owne chardg some sett with stones or garnish with pendant pearles." The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, ed. W. Foster (Hakluyt Society), I, 244–5.

It may be said without fear of challenge that in this most interesting excerpt we have an eyewitness's description of the so-called Portrait-coins. The "medall as bigg as sixpence" with the King's image upon it, which Āsaf Khān signed to him to "putt about his neck," was undoubtedly the *Shabīh* of the *Tūzuk*, and the "little chayne of 4 inches to fasten it on their heads" was unquestionably the *Shast*. This last word means, as we have seen, 'a thread, *e.g.* the Brahminical thread,' and also 'a ring or anything round' and in this mention of the chain we have a clue to the reconciliation of the conflicting senses in which the word is used. Akbar would seem to have applied it to *both* the Medal (the round thing) and the chain (the thread). Jahāngīr 'desynonymised' the term, ordered the chain only to be called *Shast*, and employed a distinct word *Shabīh* for the Medal.

But Roe was not the only foreigner whom we know to have been so favoured. Very recently, documentary evidence has come to light which shows that Augustin Hiriart of Bordeaux—the Austin de Bordeaux of Tavernier's 'Travels' (Ed. Ball, I, 108) and Sleeman's 'Rambles and Recollections' (Ed. V. A. Smith, 1915, pp. 319, 516) was another recipient of a very similar medal or decoration. Four letters of this most versatile French adventurer have been preserved in the *Bibliothéque Publique* at Charpentras, Vaucluse (France), and were lately published in the Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society from copies taken on the spot by Mr. P. S. Allen. In the first and earliest of these, written from Lāhor on the 20th of July, 1619, Augustin who calls himself *Houaremand*,[1] "a Persian name which this king has given me, and which means 'inventor of arts,'" says :—

"I have been in this country eight years. All the Frenchmen I had brought with me died in the first year, and thereafter I took service with this king, the Great Mogul * * *

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[1] The correct word is *Hunarmand*. Jahāngīr informs us in his diary of the 14th year that Nūr Jahān's father, "the *Madārus-Salṭana*, presented to him a throne of gold and silver, much ornamented and decorated, the supports of which were tigers," and which had been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand (skilful) who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller, and in all sorts of skill (*hunarmandi*)." *Tūzuk*, Tr. II, 80. And on the page after the next, he writes: "Hunarmand, the European who had made the jewelled throne, I presented with 3,000 *darb*, a horse and an elephant." *Ib.*, II, 82

It is impossible to realize the magnificent character of this king. * * * He has given me two elephants and two horses, a house valued at eight thousand livres and *his likeness in gold to put on my hat, which is a mark of honour corresponding to the Order of the Holy Spirit in France.*" (*Loc. cit.*, Vol. IV, 1915, p. 7. The Italics are mine).

Nothing could be more clear or explicit than this testimony.

We have so far considered the subject only in its general aspects. But these issues are so rare, and interesting from so many points of view that it is worth while to dwell upon them in some detail. The medals are not all exactly alike. At least four types can be distinguished, and one type is represented in four varieties. There is, first of all, the type with bust in profile on the Obverse and the Sun-lion Emblem on the Reverse. In one variety, something like a book is held in the hand. In another, there is a fruit in the left hand, and 'the right hand rests on the left fore-arm' In a third, there is a cup of wine in the right hand, and the supposed book is in the left There are differences also in the Reverse, inasmuch as the Lion's face is, in one variety, turned to the left instead of to the right as in the other three. All these issues belong to the sixth year and have an identical legend in prose. In the seventh year, we find on the Obverse, a portrait of the Emperor, nimbate and seated cross-legged on throne, with a goblet in the right hand. The Reverse has neither Sun nor Lion, and is filled by a legend in eight-foil. In a third type (VIIIR), the aureoled 'bacchanalian figure' is in the centre of the Obverse; the Reverse shows the Sun-lion in field and each hemistich of a metrical legend occupies the exergues. The fourth and last type was stamped at Ajmer in the ninth year The Obverse is almost entirely covered by a portrait of the Emperor posed as usual with halo round head and wine-bowl held near the lips, and there is just room enough for each hemistich of a Persian couplet on the right and left of the picture. The Reverse exhibits a small radiated sun in a central square made up of dots. The name of the mint (Ajmer) and the Hijrī date (1023) are recorded on the left of the square, the regnal year (IX) and the invocation یا معین appear on its right. The rest of the surface is occupied by a second couplet. Historically, this type is perhaps the most interesting of all, and its curious inscriptions demand and deserve extended notice.

Let us first of all consider the Obverse. It has been said by a high authority that " in the sixth year of his reign (1020), he [*scil.* Jahāngīr] ventured upon the daring innovation of engraving his own portrait on some of his gold *coins*." (B.M.C. Introd. lxxx). It is submitted that this statement can not

be accepted without material qualifications and reservations. I have already shown that Jahāngīr was, in this instance, merely following in the footsteps of his father, and the responsibility for 'the daring innovation' if it really was one, must rest on the shoulders of Akbar. But it is not at all certain that Akbar was doing anything absolutely new. Apart from the fact that these pieces were not *coins* at all, the practice of engraving images on coins cannot be said to have been unknown in the Muslim world. The Mintages of the 'Ayūbite Khalīfs, the Saljūqides of Rūm, the Atābegs of Mosul, the Urtukides of Amīd (Dīarbikr) and Marīdīn frequently display crowned figures sitting on horseback or cross-legged on thrones, (White King, Sale Catalogue, Pt. III, Nos. 2252, 2479, 2480 2531–2539, 2549–2553, and 2561. See also Encyclopaedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition; Art. Numismatics, pl. IV, fig. 11, Atābegs).

But there is a parallel from nearer home, and much more to the purpose. At least one Muslim predecessor of Akbar on the throne of Hindustān itself appears to have struck a coin or medal with an equestrian portrait of himself on the Obverse This was the 'Pathān' Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn Iltutmish. Several specimens in two types of this rare issue are known.[1] See Gibbs, Numismatic Chronicle, Pl. XI, 2; White King, Sale Catalogue, Pt. III, No. 2999; Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pt. II, 350, 353; Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, 78–9; Hoernle, *J.A.S. Bengal*, 1881, pp. 55–5, pl. I, figs. 1-2; H. N. Wright, I.M.C. II, No. 32.

It has been also suggested that the "aureole or nimbus round the head" was probably derived "from Christian paintings." I venture to say that this statement is of doubtful validity, if not demonstrably erroneous. The writer of the article on 'aureole' in the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica' says that the "*Nimbus* in Christian art appeared first in the 5th century, but practically the same device was known still earlier * * * in non-Christian art. Thus * * * it is found with the gods on some of the coins of the Indian kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva, 58 B.C. to A.D. 41 (Gardner's Cat. of Coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, Brit. Mus. 1886, plates 26–29). And its use has been traced through the Egyptians to the Greeks and Romans, representations of Trajan (arch of Constantine) and Antoninus Pius

[1] The following remarks of "the Prince of Indian Numismatologists" on this "most remarkable curiosity of the entire Pathān series" will bear quotation: "The authoritative portrait of Altamsh, on horseback, is highly interesting, giving, as it does, so many curious details of costume and equipment. * * * The general design follows one of the exceptional models of the coinages of Ghor and Herāt, where the horse is seen at full charge, and the rider with up-raised mace, the *special* weapon of the great Mahmūd." Chronicles, 78 note.

(reverse of a medal) being found with it. * * * The probability is that all later associations with the symbol refer back to an early astrological origin (cf. Mithras), the person so glorified being identified with the Sun and represented in the Sun's image; so the aureole is the *Hvareno* of Mazdaism. From this early astrological use, the form of glory or 'nimbus' has been adapted or inherited under new beliefs." (*Op. cit.*, 11th Edit., II, 924)

The fact of the matter is that the nimbus is a familiar feature in Persian as well as Indian art. It is found in a famous sculpture round the head of a figure which has been supposed by some to represent the Prophet Zoroaster, and by others the Fravashī of Ahuramazda or the genius of Mithraism[1] (Ker Porter, Travels in Georgia, Persia, etc., II, 191, pl. 66; Malcolm, History of Persia, Ed. 1815, I, 259; A. V. W. Jackson, Zoroaster, 289–291; Curzon, Persia, I, 563). Mr. Vincent Smith writes that "one of the best-preserved paintings at Dandān Uiliq is on a panel (D vii. 5) * * * which represents two sacred or princely personages mounted (Fig. 214). The nimbus behind the head of each rider indicates either his high rank or his sacred character. The artists of the Mughal court in India were accustomed to give this emblem of sanctity to the emperors and even to the members of their families, and *in Khotan during the eighth century, the same practice seems to have prevailed.*" History of Fine Art in India, 308. See also *ibid.*, 309 (Picture of a Persian Bodhisattva), 312 (Picture of a Chinese Princess) both of which display a nimbus.

The nimbus is found in the Hindu paintings at Ajantā also (Griffith, pl. 42a in Smith; *ibid.*, figs. 205, 206, pp. 286, 289.)

Jahāngīr considered himself a great connoisseur in architecture and painting (*Tūzuk*. Trans. II. 20). He had several Hindu as well as Persian painters in his service. He tells us of an artist of the name of Bishandās that he "was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses." (*Ibid.*, II. 116.) Two of his most skilful engravers also would appear from their names—Pūran and Kalyān—to have been Hindus. (*Ibid.*, II. 98.) Two Persian painters also are specially commended in the 'Memoirs'. One of them, Abūl Ḥasan, was honoured with the title of *Nādiru-z-zamān* ('Wonder of the times') and another named Ustād Mansūr received the designation of *Nādiru l-'Aṣr* ('Wonder of the Age') *Loc cit.*, II. 20. The secular persistence of tradition in Oriental art is a matter of common know-

[1] The last theory is that of Edward Thomas who argues (Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins (Ed. 1868, p. 27) that the figure with the rays and staff represents the God Ormazd, and he bases his identification upon an acknowledged representation of Ormazd in a Naksh-i-Rustam bas-relief. As for the rays, he adds in a note that a similar form is given to Ormazd's head-gear in a coin of Hormazd II. Rawlinson (Seventh Oriental Monarchy, 64) takes the same view.

ledge and it is difficult to believe that none of these Hindu and Persian masters should have known anything of the nimbus, or have been indebted for their acquaintance with such a common accessory of pictorial art to the inferior specimens of Christian iconography which the Jesuits made fashionable at the Mughal Court.

Lastly, it has been alleged that "the book is intended for the Koran," and that "its combination with a wine-cup must have been regarded by orthodox Moslems as an outrage." (B.M.C. Introd. lxxx). To prove a negative is proverbially beyond the powers of logic. All that it is possible to say in such a case is that the probabilities are very strongly against the supposition. Jahāngīr was a free liver, drank wine, and had a strong partiality for boar's flesh, but he was not such a flamboyant freethinker as to make public mockery of the 'Holy Book.' He was lax and indifferent, and had perhaps never seriously thought of religion, but he appears to have conformed outwardly to Muslim usages. He does not appear to have neglected the customary prayers (نماز) and speaks of them in his Diary as if their repetition was an *habitual* act. "After performing my evening prayer and counting my rosary," he writes, "we returned to our fixed residence." (*Tūzuk* Trans. I, 384; Text, 190, l. 7.) "After performing the midday devotions, I embarked in a boat and hastened to meet him [*scil.* the Sanyāsī Jadrūp]."[1] (*Ibid*, II. 52, Text, 252, six lines from foot.) He believed it to be his duty to recite the Fātiḥa on the graves of saints and other pious Muslims, and he tells us that he did so at the shrines of Shāh 'Ālam, Shaikh Wajīhu-d-din, Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭū and Shaikh Salīm Chishtī (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I. 421, 425, 428, and II. 70). He went to the 'Idgāh on the first Ramẓān 'Id after his accession, and "performed the dues of thanksgiving and praise" [بنماز عید قیام نمودند]; *ibid.*, Trans. I. 45; Text, 21-l. 8). On the *'Īd-i-Qurbān* of the 5th Julūs year, he "sacrificed three sheep with his own hand" (*ibid.*, I. 189), and he refers more than once to the observance of the customary rite of the festival. (*Ibid.*, I. 344, 411.) He delighted in celebrat-

[1] The testimony of two European eye-witnesses on this question is not without weight and is cited below:—

"Hee (*scil.* Jahāngīr) turneth over his Beades, and saith so many words, to wit, three thousand and two hundred, and then presenteth himself to the people to receive their Salames or good morrow" Purchas, His Pilgrimage, Ed. 1625, p. 523.

Edward Terry, heartily commends the Indian Musalmāns for this that whatsoever "diversions and impediments they have, arising either from pleasure or profit, the Mahometans pray five times a day. *The Mogul doth so, who sits upon the throne*, the shepherd doth so, that waits on his flock in the field." (The Italics are mine.) Voyage to East India, Ed. 1777, p. 255.

ing the *Shab-ī-Barāt*'[1] with extraordinarily fine illuminations and fireworks. (*Ibid.*, I; 298, 385; II. 94.)

Thirsty toper as he was, he had scruples about drinking wine on the eve of Friday, the Muḥammadan Sabbath. "A year before I became king, I had determined," he himself informs us, "that I would drink no wine on Friday eve, and I hope, at the throne of God, that He will keep me firm in this resolve as long as I live" (*Ibid.*, I. 20.) He directed the 'Ulamā and the learned men of Islām to collect those of the distinctive appellations of God which were easy to remember, in order that "I may make them into my rosary (*ward*)." *Ibid.*, I. 21. He requested the sons of Mīyān Wajīhu-d-dīn of Aḥmadābād to send him "some of the names of God which had been tested," so that if the grace of God were with him, he "would continually repeat them." (*Ibid.*, I. 129.) His respect for the 'Book,' his reverence for its very words, if not belief in its 'literal inspiration' is unmistakably shown in the following extract from his diary. "I ordered Sayyid Muḥammad, grandson [*recte*, descendant] of Shāh 'Ālam to ask for whatever he desired without concealment, and I *took an oath on the Qoran to that effect.* He said that as I had sworn on the Qoran he would ask for a Qoran that he might always have it by him, and that the merit of reading it might accrue to his Majesty. Accordingly, I gave the Mīr a Qoran in Yāqūt's handwriting. * * * I told him to translate the Qoran into plain language without ornament, and that without occupying himself with explanations or fine language, he should translate the Qoran in simple language (lughāt-ī-rīkhta) word by word into Persian, and should not add a single letter to its exact purport." [یک حرف بر معنی تحت اللفظ نیفزاید] (*Ibid.*, II. 34, 35: Text, 242, three lines from foot.)

In this connection, it may be as well to refer to a misconception which is of long standing and which is still prevalent even among well-informed European writers It has its origin in an assertion made by Sir Thomas Roe in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is to the effect that Jahāngīr had never been circumcised. Mr. William Foster, his editor, thinks that Roe's authority was that exceedingly eccentric 'Odcombian leg-stretcher, Tom Coryat. (Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 313 and note). But whether it is to be traced to Coryat[2] or any one else, it is absolutely

[1] The *Shab-i-Barāt* is the 15th day of Sh'abān. "It is," says Hughes, "'the Guy Fawkes Day' of India, being the night for display of fireworks. The Shab-i-Barat is said to be referred to in the XLIVth Surah of the Qurāān, Verse 2, as 'the night on which all things are disposed in wisdom'". Dictionary of Islam *s.v.*

[2] In a letter of Coryat's printed by Purchas, we do find the following statement: "It is said that he [*scil.* Jahāngīr] is uncircumcised, where-

unhistorical, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Irvine should have countenanced a fictitious statement. (*Tūzuk.* Trans. I, 450; *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 948).

The truth is that Jahāngīr, and his brothers Murād and Dānīāl went through the ceremony on the same day, *viz.* 25 Jumādā II, 981 A.H. (22 October, 1573 A.C.) The fact is recorded by all the three contemporary historians, Abūl Faẓl, Niẓāmuddīn and Badāonī. (Akbarnāma, Trans. III. 102–3; Text, III. 74; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī.* Text, 311: E D.V. 370. Badāonī, Text, II. 170; Lowe's Trans. II. 173). As Dowson's rendering is confessedly abridged and not quite faithful to the original, I must quote Mr. Beveridge's version of the two most important sentences in Abūl Faẓl's account 'One of the occurrences [of the XVIIIth year] was the festival for the circumcision of the glorious princes. * * * * On the day of Āẓar 9, Ābān Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 25 Jumāda-al-ākhir [22 October, 1573] those three holy dispositioned ones [*scil.* Salīm, Murād and Dāniāl] underwent the rite of circumcision." (*loc. cit.*, III 102–3.) And Badāonī writes. "On the 25th of this month [*scil.* Jumādā II] the rite of circumcision was performed on their imperial highnesses the Emperor's sons" (*loc. cit.*, II. 173).

But then, *supposing* the thing held in the hand *is* a book, but not the Qur'ān, what could it be? I venture to suggest that it must be a copy of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ, or some similar collection of Anacreontic Verse. 'Wine, women and song' have always gone together. That joyous triplicity is famous in the Literature of all nations, and that of Persia is full of allusions to the group; witness Omar :—

تنگـــي مىٔ لعل خواهم و دیواني سدّ رمقـــی باید و نصف نانی

و انگه من و تو نشسته در ویراني خوشتر بود از مملکت سلطاني

This is thus literally translated by Heron-Allen :
'I desire a little ruby wine and *A book of verses*,
Just enough to keep me alive and half a loaf is needful,
And then, that I and thou, should sit in a desolate place,
Is better than the kingdom of a Sultan.'

Fitzgerald's paraphrase takes, as usual, great liberties with the text, but is too beautiful to be left out.

'*A Book of verses* underneath the Bough,
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow.'

---

in he differeth from all the Mahometan Princes that ever were in the world." Pilgrimes, MacLehose's Reprint IV, 474.

The Rubā-'ī-yāt of 'Omar Khayyām, ed. E. Heron-Allen, pp. 26, 35 and 267; Fitzgerald's Works, ed. W. Aldis Wright, III. 351; Whinfield, No. 452.

And Ḥāfiẓ sings in the same strain,

دریں زمانه رفیقی که خالی از خلل است

صراحي مي ناب و سفینهٔ غـــزل است

Jarrett's Edition, No. 47; Bombay Lithograph of 1267 A.H. No. 69; Lakhnau Lithograph, No. 46.

"In these days [*scil.* of insincerity and treachery] the friend without guile (*lit.* discord, defect) is the beaker of pure wine and a *Book* (*lit boat*) *of Ghazals.*"

Once more, the sweetest and most popular of Persian lyrical writers proclaims:—

دو یار زیرک و از بادهٔ کهن دو مـــی

فـراغتـی و کتـابی و گـوشـهٔ چمـنی

من این مقـام بدنیـــا و آخـــرت ندهم

اگر چه در پیم افتـــد خلق انجمنـــی

Jarrett, No. 524; Lakhnau Lith. No. 547.

'Two friends * * good of understanding and of old wine a quantity—two 'Mans,' a little leisure and a book—and a sward-corner. For this, and the next world I give not this state, though (of carpers) momently fall upon me—a Crowd."

'The Dīvān-i-Ḥāfiẓ,' Trans. H. Wilberforce Clarke, II. 856.

No Persian wine-party was ever supposed to be complete without the presence of musicians, dancers and poets. Ghazals or Odes were recited, songs were sung and verses extemporised in emulation. In the description of an entertainment given to him at Herāt by his cousin, Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā, Bābur writes: "Amongst the musicians present at this party were Ḥafiẓ Ḥājī, Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd the flautist and * * Ghulām-bacha the Jews'-harpist. Ḥafiẓ Ḥājī sang well as Herī people sing, quietly, delicately and in tune. * * Yūsuf-i-'Ali danced." (*Memoirs*, Tr., A. S. Beveridge, 303–4 = Leyden and Erskine's Trans. 20–4.) Elsewhere, he tells us how he himself was led to compose verses or airs under the genial influence of drink and good company. (A. S. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, 401, 411, 422 and 448 = Erskine, *ibid.*, 268, 276, 282, 291.)

His literary and artistic tastes appear to have been partially transmitted to his descendant, and Jahāngīr not only fancied himself a connoisseur in painting and architecture, but had a weakness for composing 'poetry.' He frequently

quotes the verses, which "threw their brilliance on his mind," in characteristically self-sufficient ignorance of their utter worthlessness and banality. (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I. 158–9, 203, 228, 304, 338; II. 37, 115.) His Autobiography is full of references to the wine parties given by him on Thursdays—the day of the week which he considered most auspicious to himself (*ibid.*, I. 386)—and during the Nauroz festival or on other occasions of rejoicing to the members of his inner circle. (*Ibid.*, I. 105. 109, 121, 168, 237, 319, 342, 371, 385, 388, 404, 406, 431, 432, 435, 444; II 1, 39, 42, 49, 50, 54, 69, 100.)

I have shown that these medals were as a rule, presented as "an espiciall favour" to the leading Amīrs and the most trusted followers. We may be sure that most of them were solicitous to receive invitations to these parties of pleasure and proud to possess these souvenirs of their boon companionship and 'hobnobbing' with their Sovereign. In these circumstances, what is more natural, or in more perfect keeping with the environment, than to suppose that the thing which looks like a book is a *Dīvān* or *Safīna-i-Ghazal*, a complete collection of some Anacreontic poet, or an Anthology of Bacchanalian Verse.

It remains to say something of the Reverse. "The presence of the Sun," writes Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, "has been explained as a reference to the fact that Jahāngīr was born on a Sunday; but it is more probable that the Sun's image appears in virtue of the tendency to solar worship which undoubtedly found encouragement under Akbar and was never positively repudiated by his successor. It is possible that the zodiacal sign Leo may be connected with the month rather than the day of the Emperor's birth which was surrounded by mysterious omens and spiritual agencies if we are to believe the historians" (B.M.C. Introd lxxx-i.)

Now there is not the slightest doubt that Jahāngīr was born, not on a Sunday, but a *Wednesday*. He himself tells us so. "In A.H. 977, on Wednesday, 17th Rab'ī-u-l-awwal, when seven gharī of the aforesaid day had passed, when Libra (*Mīzān*) had risen to the 24th degree, God Almighty brought me into existence from the hiding place of nothingness." (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I. 2; Text, 1, l. 10.) Abūl Faẓl, Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and Badāonī—all contemporary historians—are practically unanimous in giving the identical date and day of the week. *Akb. Nām.* Trans. II. 503; Text, II. 344, l. 6; *Ṭab. Akb.* Lakhnau Lith. 288; E.D.V. 334; *Munt-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text, II. 120; Lowe, II. 124.

The other two theories are not so easily disposed of, though they are found on examination, to be almost equally untenable. The author of the *Akbarnāma* has not only recorded the exact hour and minute of Jahāngīr's birth, but given two divergent horoscopes cast by a Musalmān astrologer (Mullā Chānd)

and a Hindū master of the Art (Jotak Rāi).[1] The sign of the ascendant Libra—is the same in both figures, though the degrees must have differed. They disagree also as to the position of the Sun. According to the Mullā, that luminary was in the twelfth house—Virgo. The Hindū sage made him out to be *in Leo*. Now, the situation of *Sol* in *Leo* is, according to all masters of genethliacal science, an exceedingly happy sign. The Sun is the King or Emperor of the planets and has the Kings of the Earth under his special protection. Leo is the Sun's own house. He rules that sign and it is called his 'Throne' (Alan Leo. Practical Astrology, 90, 38), or his 'Joy,' that is, the "house where he is most strong and powerful." (William Ramesey, 'Astrologia Restaurata,' Ed. 1654, Lib. II. 75.)

At first sight, it would seem that we have here the true explanation of the Emblem, but there are good reasons for holding that the coincidence (if there is one), is purely accidental, and that the symbol has no real connection with the position of the Sun in Jahāngīr's Nativity.

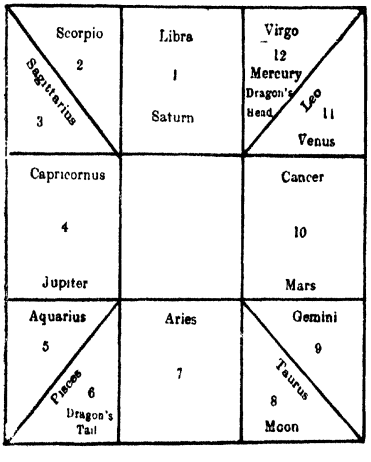
In the first place, we have the following remarkable statement in the "Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timūr in 1403–1406." The visitor was taken to see one of the Royal Palaces in Kesh—Timūr's birthplace—and in the course of the description says:—

"The court led to the body of the building, by a very

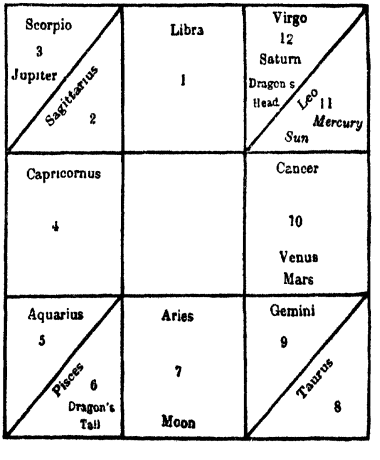
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[1] As Mr. Beveridge has left out the horoscopes in his translation, I give English versions of the 'figure of the heavens' as cast by Mullā Chānd and the Hindu master of the "starry science" below:—

Mullā Chānd.



The Hindū Astrologer.



broad and lofty doorway, ornamented with gold and blue patterns on glazed tiles, richly and beautifully worked. On the top of this doorway, there was the figure of a lion and a Sun, which are the arms of the Lords of Samarcand; and though they say that Timour Beg ordered these palaces to be built, I believe that the former Lord of Samarcand gave the order, because the Sun and Lion which are here represented, are the arms of the Lords of Samarcand; and those which Timour Beg bears are three circles like O's, drawn in this manner, ° ° °, and this is to signify that he is lord of the three parts of the world. He ordered this device to be stamped on the coins,[1] and on everything he had; and for this reason, I think that some other Lord must have commenced this palace, before the time of Timour Beg. The Lord [*scil.* Tīmūr] has these three O's on his seals, and he has ordered that those who are tributary to him shall have it stamped on the coins of their countries." *Op. cit.*, Trans. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society), p. 124.

This would imply that 'the Lion and the Sun' had been adopted as his 'Coat of Arms' by Tīmūr, and it would seem as if the device was figured on the 'Imperial Ensign' of his Indian descendants also. This 'royal standard of the great Mogul' is depicted in the work of William Terry—Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain—and described as a "Couchant Lion shadowing part of the body of the Sun" (A voyage to East India, ed. 1777, p. 347.) Mr. William Foster, Roe's learned Editor, thinks that Terry adapted it from William Baffin's Map (1619) where a similar drawing is given as the *Insignia Potentissimi Monarchi Magni Mogoli* This is probably correct, but it is impossible to assent to the statement that the "device was not adopted by any of his [*scil.* Jahāngīr's] successors." (Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 563–4; see also Illustration facing p. 322.)

The English East India Company's factor, Peter Mundy witnessed the "Great Mogoll's comminge from Brampore [Burhānpūr] where hee lay warringe against Decan, unto his garden called Darree ca baag [Bāgh i Dahra],[2] and soe to Agra" on the 1st of June 1632. In his description of the cavalcade, he writes: "Then thousands of horsemen going breadthwise; then came about 19 or 20 great Elephants of State with coverings and furniture; * * * some of them

[1] Coins with this symbol ° ° ° are actually known. Rodgers has described a silver coin of Tīmūr dated 781 A.H. and bearing the monogram in his Supplement to the Lahore Museum Catalogue, No. 215. *Vide* also White King Sale Catalogue, Pt. III, No. 2645.

[2] This garden is said to have been founded or laid out by the orders of Bābur and so called on account of a garden-house built there by him for a favourite daughter named Zohra. (Archaeological Survey Reports, IV, 107.) Authentic history, however, does not know of the Emperor's having ever had a daughter of that name.

carryeinge a flagg with the Kinges Armes, which is a Tygar couching [Lion couchant] with the Sunne riseinge over his backe."

Travels of Peter Mundy, ed. Sir R. C. Temple (Hakluyt Society), II. 193.

This was in the reign of Shāh Jahān. Some such banner would appear to have been seen by Bernier as well as Manucci at the Court of Aurangzeb. "There is," the former author writes, "this peculiar ceremony in the evening assembly [when the Emperor sat in the Ghusal-khāna] that all the Mansebdars who are on guard pass before the king to salute him with much form. Before them are borne with great ceremony that which they call the Kours, to wit, many figures of silver, beautifully made, and mounted on large silver sticks; two of them represent large fish; two others a horrible, and fantastic animal called Eiedeha [Aẓdaha, a dragon]; others are *the figures of two lions*; others of two hands, and others of scales; and several morr which I cannot here enumerate, to which the Indians attach a certain mystic meaning." Travels in the Mogul Empire, Trans. A. Constable, Ed. V. A. Smith (1914), p. 266.

Manucci writes as follows of the order of the king's [*scil.* Aurangzeb's] march: "At the head came the son of the deceased Shekh Mīr with eight thousand cavaliers. In the right wing was Assenalican [Ḥasan 'Alī Khān] * * * who commanded eight thousand horsemen, the left wing consisting of eight thousand horsemen was commanded by Muhammad Amīn Khān. * * * Immediately in front of the king went nine elephants with showy flags; behind these were other four *bearing green* standards with a Sun depicted on them." (Storia, II. 69.)[1] We may be sure that we have here incomplete descriptions of Jahāngīr's Sun-lion banner. Bernier has left out the Sun, Manucci the lion.

Now, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb are not likely to have retained the emblem on the Imperial Standard if it had had a specific connection with the position of the Sun in Jahāngīr's horoscope. The more probable view would be that it was the coat of arms of the family, and that it was at least as old as the days of Tīmūr. But it is possible to go much further back still, and Clavijo had a dim perception of the truth when he surmised that it had really belonged to "some former Lords of Samarcand." As a matter of fact, the device occurs "on

[1] It would seem to have been displayed on the Imperial banner down to comparatively recent times. A plate in the *Mémoires sur l' Indoustan* of J. B. J. Gentil who was in India about 1753 A.C. shows four of the emblems embroidered on the '*Alam* (flag, standard): (i) a Panja or open hand; (ii) a man's face with rays; (iii) a lion (*sher*) and (iv), a fish. Quoted in Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, 34

the Coins of the Seljuqian Rulers of Persia and Iconium; it appears on coins of the Mongol Ilkhāns, Ghāzān, Oljāitū and Abū Sa'īd and it is also found on some of those of Muḥammad Uzbek Khān of Kipchāk. (Travels of Marco Polo, Trans. H. Yule, ed. Cordier, I. 352, and the authorities quoted there.) It seems to have been first adopted on the half-dirhams of Ghīaṣu-d-dīn bin Kaikhusrū (Kaikhusrū II), and specimens dated 640 A.H. [1242–3 A.C.] were in the Marsden Collection, *Numismata Orientalia*. No 98) and Dr. White King's Cabinet. (Sale Catalogue, pt. III. 2484–7; Encyclopædia Britannica. Eleventh Edit.; Art. Numismatics, XIX. 904, pl. IV. fig. 9.

This emblem is displayed only on the Medals issued in the 6th and 8th years of Jahāngīr's reign. In the 9th, a different design was adopted, the Lion was altogether dispensed with, and the Sun enclosed in a central square of very small dimensions. This was evidently done to make room for a double couplet which is remarkable for its style and expression and of which the following is a paraphrase:—

'On face of gold did Fate delineate
Jahāngīr the Emperor's portrait.
The letters of Jahāngīr and *Allāhu Akbar*
Were from Eternity equal in Number.'

Like most men of his race and times, Jahāngīr was a fatalist. He had, in some way, convinced himself that he had been very wisely chosen as the predestined ruler of Hindustān on the very First day of Creation. He tells us himself that his birth had been foretold by Shaikh Salīm, and that the holy man had given him his own name (*Tūzuk*. Trans. I. 2.) His accession to the Imperial throne had been predicted by saints and sages. "I had heard," he informs us, "in the days when I was a prince from Indian sages [هندو دانایان], that after the expiration of the reign and life of King Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar, one named Nūru-d-dīn would be the administrator of the affairs of the State. Therefore I gave myself the name and appellation of Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr Pādishāh." (*Ibid.*, I. 3.)

Once more he writes: "Shaikh Husain Jāmī * * * had written to me from Lahore six months before my accession that he had seen in a dream that saints and pious men had delivered over the affairs of the kingdom to that Chosen One of the Court of Allāh [Jahāngīr] and that, rejoicing in this news, he should await the event. (*Ibid.*, I. 30–1; see also p. 70.)

These prognostications of the will of Heaven produced all the greater effect on him, because there was a time when the chances of his succession seemed, humanly speaking, by no means assured. He had given repeated offence by his

conduct to his father. He had two brothers of almost his own age, who were by no means devoid of ambition. He had another possible and more dangerous rival in a son of his own, who was the darling of Akbar. He knew that Abūl Faẓl, the guide, philosopher and friend of the Emperor was his deadly enemy. Somehow, all these difficulties vanished. His brothers died one after another of dipsomania. He succeeded in getting his mortal foe waylaid and murdered by the Bundela Chief of Orcha. The plots and schemes of Mān Singh and the Khān-i-A'ẓam for ousting him in favour of Khusrū encountered opposition from unexpected quarters and proved a dismal failure. The subsequent collapse of Khusrū's rebellion served only to confirm him in this belief in his own predestined greatness.

His exultation finds vent in the following outburst: "They [*scil.* the shortsighted followers of Khusrū] over-looked the truth that acts of sovereignty and world-rule are not things to be arranged by the worthless endeavours of defective intellects. The just Creator bestows them on him whom he considers fit for this glorious and exalted duty, and on such a person doth He fit the robe of honour." (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I 51.)

Of course that head was no other than his own. A few words may be permitted, by way of comment, on the phraseology of the first half of the legend inscribed on this Ajmer medal. To say of Destiny or Fate (قضا) that it had 'painted with its own hand' the portrait of the Emperor on the Medal is a very bold figure of speech. But such expressions are not uncommon in Persian literature and there are in the *Tūzuk* itself three very similar metaphors which no Persian rhetorician would find fault with. For instance, in describing 'an exceedingly fine black line' round the eyes of a Zebra sent to him by the Governor of Orissa, he says:—

* گوئي نقاشي تقدير بقلم بدايع نگار كارنامهٔ در صحيفهٔ روزگار گذاشته

Text. 327, three lines from foot.

"One might say the Painter of Fate, with a strange [*recte*, wonder-working] brush, had left it on the page of the world." (Trans. II. 201.) Again, in his enthusiastic word-picture of the marks on a walrus or Narhwal tooth, he writes:—

* اين خال و خط است كه مشاطهٔ تقدير پيرايهٔ جمال او نموده

Text. 275, l. 12.

"Those moles and patches were what the Tirewoman of Destiny had given as an adornment of its beauty." Trans. II. 96.

And again in speaking of a dagger-hilt made out of the same tooth, he uses a similar expression:—

و بعضی گلها چنان مینمایند که گوئي نقاش صنع بکلک بدایع نگار از خط سیاه بر دور آن تحریر کرده *

Text. 276, five lines from foot.

"And some of the flowers looked as if a skilful painter (*recte*, Painter of Creation) had depicted them in black lines round it with a wonder-working pencil." Trans. II. 99.

The second couplet is a curious illustration of the Oriental belief in the occult properties of Numbers and their mysterious correspondences with sounds and letters. Disposed as he was to believe in his own exalted destiny, Jahāngīr was strongly impressed by the fact that the numerical value of the letters constituting the *laqab* or title he had assumed at accession was exactly equal to that of his father's طلسم اقدس—or 'symbolical motto'—اکبر الله. The discovery of this singular equation is solemnly recorded by himself in the following passage of his 'Journal.'

"I had established a custom," he says in his record of the occurrences of the Eighth year," that deserving people [ارباب استحقاق] and Dervishes should be brought before me every night, so that I might bestow on them, after personal inquiry into their condition, land or gold [زر نقد] or clothes.[1] Amongst these was a man who represented to me that the name Jahāngīr according to the science of *Abjad* (the numerical value of letters) corresponded to the Great Name [اسم اعظم], Allāhu Akbar. Considering this a good omen [تفاؤل و شگون خوب], I gave him who discovered (this coincidence), land, a horse, cash [زر نقد] and clothing." (Trans. I. 253; Text, 124, l. 5.)[2]

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[1] For a curious and graphic account (which is too long to quote) of Jahāngīr's superstitious reverence for devotees and beggars of all sorts, see Roe, Embassy, ed. Foster, 366–7 and note. Tom Coryat writes to the same purpose. "You shall understand a custome of this king, who sleeping in his Gusle Can [Ghusal-khāna], often when he awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, cals for certaine poore and olde men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches, passing the time and at their departure clothes them, and gives them bountifull Almes, often whatsoever they demand, telling the money into their hands." Purchas, His Pilgrimes, MacLehose's Reprint, IV. 491.

[2] I have discussed elsewhere Rodgers' favourite notion that Akbar's real object in inscribing the phrase 'Allāhu Akbar' on his coins was to lay claim to divinity. His remarks on this Ajmer medal show that nothing deflects the judgment even of a well-balanced mind more than a preconceived theory. "There is, I suspect," he writes, "more than one sees on the surface here,—*a sly attempt to make himself equal with God*, seeing the letters of the name of the king and of God were of the same numerical value." (*J.A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 25.)

This entry belongs to the transactions of the month (Ābān), on the 26th day of which he entered Ajmer. The date on the Medals shows that they were struck soon afterwards in that town, for presentation to his friends and boon-companions on the occasion of some court festival.

But there is one other feature of the fourth or Ajmer type of these pieces, to which a few words of illustration are due. This is the invocation يا معين The words themselves signify 'O Helper,' and معين is one of the Ninety-nine names of Allāh to which devout Muslims attribute the power of working wonders and which they believe it an act of merit to constantly repeat. But Mu'īnu-d-dīn was also the name of the renowned Khwāja of Ajmer to whose tomb Akbar used to go annually on pilgrimage during the first half of his reign. At least one gold coin of that Emperor has been discovered on which the identical words arrest attention. (Delmerick, *J.A.S.B.*, 1876, p. 292; see also *Āīn*, Trans. Blochmann, I. 30.) The words are doubtless amphibological, and susceptible of interpretation either way according to individual fancy. But in the present instance, a peculiar meaning or historical significance attaches to them which it would be ignorance to overlook. They are, in fact, intimately connected with an incident in the life of the Emperor which is recorded at length in his biography, but to which the attention of numismatists does not appear to have been drawn.

"On the 8th of this month of Amardād [*Ninth* year, when Jahāngīr's camp was at Ajmer], I found a change in my health, and by degrees was seized with fever and headache. * * * As the fever did not change, and for three nights I took my usual wine, it brought on greater weakness. In the time of disquietude, and when the weakness prevailed over me, I went to the mausoleum of the revered Khwāja * * * and agreed to give alms and charity. God Almighty * * bestowed on me the robe of health and by degrees I recovered. * * * During my illness, it had occurred to me that when I completely recovered, inasmuch as inwardly I was an ear bored, slave of the Khwāja (Mu'īnu-d-dīn) and was indebted to him for my existence, I should openly make holes in my ears and be enrolled among his ear-bored slaves. On Thursday, 12th Shahrīvar, corresponding to the month of Rajab [1023 A.H.], I made holes in my ears and drew into each a shining pearl. When the servants of the palace and my loyal friends saw this, both those who were in the presence and some who were in the distant borders diligently and eagerly made holes in their ears * * * until by degrees the infection caught the Aḥadīs and others. At the end of Thursday, the 22nd of the said month, corresponding with the 10th Sh'abān, the meeting for my solar weighing was arranged in my private audience

hall, and the usual observances were carried out." (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I. 266–8; Text, 130, l. 21.)

It may be fairly conjectured that these Ajmer medals were struck *after* this event and presented as souvenirs of his recovery to the "loyal friends" who had bored their own ears on the day of the solar weighment, *i.e.* the solar anniversary of the Emperor's 46th birthday.

With this passage before us, we are naturally led to inquire if the ears are bored in the medallion, and if the shining pearls are discernible.

The question is perhaps too nice to admit of being confidently answered, though it is certain that the pearl rings in the ears are a peculiar feature of many contemporary portraits of the Emperor. They are clearly seen in the picture which he himself presented to Sir Thomas Roe, and which is engraved in Mr. Foster's Edition of Roe's Embassy (1. 114.) They are distinctly visible also in the miniature in the British Museum of which the frontispiece to Rogers and Beveridge's Translation of the *Tūzuk* is a reproduction.

XII. THE ZODIACAL COINS.

The enthusiastic collector of Mughal Coins who has entertained hopes of learning something new from the indigenous chronicles of the House of Tīmūr about the Zodiacal Coins of Jahāngīr or his consort will, I am afraid, be sorely disappointed. These curious mintages would appear to have been zealously sought after and become more or less rare even in Tavernier's day (Travels, English Trans. of John Philips, Ed 1678, Part ii, p. 11), but there is, with a single exception, no reference whatever to them in the historiss. That exception is, strangely enough, the mention made of them by the Emperor himself in his Autobiography. The passage has been cited by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole (B M.C. Introd. lxxxii) from Dowson's version (E.D. VI, 357), but it will bear quoting again. This is how it is rendered by Mr. Alexander Rogers :—

"Previously to this," Jahāngīr records in his diary on 23rd Farwardīn of the Thirteenth regnal year [15th Rabī' II, 1027 A H.], "the rule of coinage was that on one face of the metal, they stamped my name, and on the reverse the name of the place, and the month and year of the reign. At this time it entered my mind that in place of the month they should substitute the figure of the constellation which belonged to that month; for instance, in the month of Farwardīn, the figure of a ram, and in Urdībihisht the figure of a bull. Similarly, in each month that a coin was struck, the figure of the constellation was to be on one face, as if the Sun was emerging from it. This usage is my own, and has never been practised until now." (Rogers and Beveridge, Memoirs of Jahāngīr, II, 6–7).

This notice will perhaps be called bald and disappointing, but any one who will take the trouble of comparing it with Tavernier's long-winded rigmarole about "Money that represents the figures of the Twelve signs" (*loc. cit.*, Part II, pp. 10–11) must admit that if it is brief, it is also straight-forward and correct so far as it goes. There is no nonsense in it, as in Tavernier's yarn, about Nūr Jahān dancing one day before Jahāngīr when he had "drank briskly" and "began to be very merry," of obtaining from him the boon of "reigning as sovereign" for a day "and ordering at once the coinage of of two millions of "Roupies of gold and silver bearing her own name" in the "space of twenty-four hours." The whole story is more like a folk-tale than an historical explanation, and it is hardly worth while to make more than this passing reference to it.

Before leaving the subject, I may say that there is, in the

correspondence of the English East India Company, an explicit notice of all coins bearing the name of the Empress having been ordered to be withdrawn from circulation by Shāh Jahān soon after his accession. "All rup [ees] of Noor Jehann Beagams stampe," write the Factors at Āgra to the President and Council of Surat on 17th February 1628, "are called in and not to be uttered." (Foster, English Factories in India. 1624–1629. p. 241.) Tavernier has something to say about this matter also, but he mixes it up with the *Zodiacal* series. "When Sultan Kourom," he informs us, "came to the Crown after the death of his Father, he forbade all persons to use those Roupies upon pain of death, and commanded all that had any of them, either in Gold or Silver, to carry them to the Mint, * * to the end that they might be melted down. For which reason they are at present very rare, particularly those in Gold; among the rest two or three of them are so hard to be found, that an hundred crowns has been given for one of them * * * The Queen during her Reign of twenty-four hours, had that respect for the King, that on the back-side of the pieces whereon the twelve Signs were engraven, she caused the name of *Gehan-guir*, to be stamped with her own, and the name of the place where they were Coined, all in *Arabick* Letters." (Tavernier, *loc. cit.*, p. 11)

XIII. JAHĀNGĪR'S CAMBAY TANKAS.

The reign of Jahāngīr marks an epoch in the history of Mughal Numismatics and was distinguished by several notable events. Of these, the issue of the Zodiacal series was undoubtedly the most remarkable and it has, in the popular imagination, almost entirely eclipsed the others. But great interest must also attach to the so-called Portrait or Bacchanalian Muhrs, the mintages exhibiting the name of Nūr cahān and the abnormally heavy Ashrafīs and Rupees. All these rare issues have been sought for by collectors of Mughal coins, and their exertions may be said to have been fairly well-rewarded. But there is still one type of which no specimen has been discovered, although certainly known to have been uttered, *viz.* the Gold and Silver Tankas.

The Zodiacal Coinage was introduced in the first month (Farwardīn) of the 13th Regnal year. (Rabʿī I–Rabʿī II, 1027 A.H., March–April, 1618 A.C.). Some three months before this, Jahāngīr had paid a visit to Cambay and his camp was pitched "on the shore of the salt sea" on Friday the 8th of Dai (XII R.). *Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 415. He had a desire to look at the sea and witness the ebb and flow of the Ocean, and after a halt of ten days the royal standards started for Ahmadābād on Tuesday, the 19th, *i.e.* about 30th December, 1617 A.C. [Mr. Rogers has '1618' but the year is demonstrably wrong.] *Ibid.*, I, 419. Here, the idea seized him of giving a proof of his inventive genius by ordering the issue of a new type of gold and silver coins called Tankas. We read :—

دریںولا حکم شد که تذکه طلا و نقره ده بست وزن مهر و روپیه معمول سکه کنند سکهٔ تذکهٔ طلا یکطرف لفظ (جهانگیر شاهي سنه ۱۰۲۷) و جانب دیگر (ضرب کهنبایت سنه ۱۲ جلوس) مقرر شد و سکهٔ تذکهٔ نقره یکرو درمیان تذکه لفظ (جهانگیر شاهي سنه ۱۰۲۷) و بر دور این مصرع *

بزر این سکه زن شاه جهانگیر ظفر پر تو

و بر روی دیگر درمیانِ تذکه (ضرب کهنبایت سنه ۱۲ جلوس) و بر دور مصرع دویم *

پس از فتح دکن آمد چو در گجرات از ماندو

در هیچ احدی (*Sic*) تذکه غیر از من سکه نشده و تذکه طلا و نقره اختراع صفست ناصش تذکه جهانگیري فرمودم *

Sayyad Aḥmad Khān's Edition, 207, l. 5. This passage is one of those translated in Elliot and Dowson's volumes, and his rendering is quoted below.

"It was also ordered in these days, that *tankas* of gold and silver, ten and twenty times heavier than the current gold *mohur* and rupee, should be struck The legend on the face of the golden *tanka* was 'Jahāngīr Shāh A.H. 1027,' and on the reverse, 'Struck at Khambāit, the 12th year of H.M.'s reign.' For the silver *tanka*, on one side, 'Jahāngīr Shāh, A.H. 1027,' with a verse round it, the meaning of which is, 'This coin was struck by Jahāngīr Shāh, the ray of Victory.' On the other side was impressed, 'Struck at Khambāit, the 12th year of H.M. reign,' with this verse round it, 'After the conquest of the Dakhin, he came from Mandū of Gujarāt.' In no reign before this had *tankas* been coined except of copper. The *tankas* of gold and silver were inventions of my own, and I called them *Jahāngīrī tankas*."

Op. cit., VI, 354–5.

Now there can be no doubt that the translator has by misunderstanding one important word in the very first line of this description, distorted its real meaning and made the Emperor say what he never intended. Jahāngīr tells us that these tankas of gold and silver were دہ بست وزن مہر و روپیہ معمول *i.e.* they were to the ordinary muhr and rupee as ten (دہ) is to twenty (بست).' In other words, they were only *double* the weight of the ordinary muhr and rupee, not 'ten or twenty times heavier' as Dowson's rendering would imply.

This is the sense in which this idiomatic expression has been understood by Mr. Rogers also, but he appears to have followed, in places, a slightly different text, as will clearly appear from his rendering which is subjoined for comparison.

"At this time an order was given that tankas of gold and silver should be coined twice the weight of ordinary muhrs and rupees. The legend on the gold coin was on one side the words, 'Jahāngīr-shāhī 1027' [1618], and on the reverse 'Struck in Cambay in the 12th year of the reign.' The legend for silver coins was on one side, 'Sikka Jahāngīr-shāhī 1027'; round it, this hemistich, 'King Jahāngīr of the conquering ray struck this'; and on the reverse, 'Coined at Cambay in the 12th year of the reign,' with this second hemistich round it—

'When after the conquest of the Deccan he came to Gujarāt from Māndū.'

In no reign except mine have tankas been coined except of *copper;* the gold and silver tankas are my invention. I ordered it to be called the Jahāngīrī *Coinage.*" *Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 417–8. [Mr. Rogers has read مس (copper) where the printed text has من (mine) and سکّہ instead of تنکہ].

These Tankas then may, without the least hazard of controversion, be considered to have been double muhrs and double rupees. We have it on the authority of Jahāngīr himself that muhrs and rupees of 100, 50, 20, 10 and 5 tolas had been struck by his orders in the very first year of his reign and the new names given by him to those issues are also recorded. (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I,10 ; Text, 5, l. 7) But neither rupees nor muhrs drawing only two tolas are mentioned in this list, and the idea of striking pieces of that weight seems to have now occurred to him.

It should be remembered that no single coin larger or heavier than the rupee of 11½ māshas finds place in Abūl Faẓl's inventory of Akbar's silver coins, or is represented in our Museums and private collections. Anything like a double muhr of the Great Emperor is equally unknown to coin-collectors, and it is doubtful if the square muhr called *Chugul*, in an evidently corrupt passage of the *Āīn*, was equal in value to only two *La'l-i-Jalālīs*. It seems to me that Jahāngīr desires to emphasise these facts when he avers that in no reign save his had tankas been coined except of copper, and plumes himself on gold and silver tankas being "his own invention." Dowson remarks in a footnote that "the statement is certainly not true as regards silver tankas; and it seems to have puzzled the copyists, for in several MSS. the word من (I) is written instead of مس (copper) making the whole passage unintelligible. But perhaps nonsense was preferred to error." (*Op. cit.*, VI, 355, Note.)

I venture to say that Dowson himself has altogether failed to grasp the real meaning of the author whose supposed ignorance he censures When Jahāngīr says that in no reign before his own, had tankas been coined except of copper, he has in mind the heavy copper pieces issued by his father during the last ten years of the reign. These coins weighed about 640 grs. Each piece was in weight and value equal to two dāms, and invariably exhibited the denominational epithet *Tanka* on the obverse.

It was of these double-dāms to which his father had given that specific appellation and which were his father's 'invention' that the Imperial diarist was really thinking when he wrote that in no reign except his own had tankas been struck except of copper. Each of the new coins which he himself now uttered was in weight and value equal to two rupees or to two muhrs, and was, for that reason, or rather, by parity of nomenclature, called 'tanka of silver' or 'tanka of gold.' The silver and gold coins weighing about 170 grs. of the so-called Pathān Emperors to which Dowson refers, have nothing whatever to do with the matter. Jahāngīr was not thinking of them. He was not a student of, much less, an expert in Indo-

Musalmān Numismatics, and probably never knew or cared to know what name they had borne in their day. He had in his mind's eye his own father's *tankas* only Their intentional weight had been double that of the *dām*, or unit of the copper Currency, and they had been designated *Tankas* of copper. He had now determined to strike pieces, the theoretical weight of which would be exactly double that of the rupee and the muhr—the units of the currency in silver and gold. They were, by analogy, to be distinguished as Tankas, and they would, *in this peculiar application* of the term, be the first gold and silver tankas that had ever been struck.

XIV. NIṢĀRS.

The word 'Niṣār' is derived from the triliteral root 'naṣar,' to spread, to scatter. نثار (Niṣār) says Steingass, signifies "spreading, scattering; نثار (Nuṣār) and نثارة (Nuṣārat),[1] what is scattered, crumbs from the table; a small coin at weddings." (Arabic-English Dictionary, s.v.) The word is very commonly employed in the Mughal chronicles for coins, precious stones (and sometimes other articles also) waved round the head of the Emperor or other great personage and thrown among the crowd to scramble for at coronations, weddings, birthday anniversaries, royal entries and progresses through the great cities or other festive celebrations. The scattering or pouring of coins, the different kinds of cereals, sugar, milk, curds, etc. on the head of a newly-installed king or bride and bridegroom and the distribution of the same as largesse, appears to be one of those Pan-Asiatic customs of which traces are found in the most unexpected places and of which the origin is lost in remote antiquity (Cf. N. N. Law, 'Ancient Hindu Coronations and Allied Ceremonials, in Indian Antiquary, June 1919, p. 84 et seq).[2]

[1] Mr. Lane Poole notes that "all Shāh Jahān's Niṣārs save one * * * have an initial letter ا over the ن. The same sign (or its points) appears on Jahāndār's Niṣar, but not on those of Aurangzeb or 'Ālamgīr II This abbreviation has not hitherto been noticed, and its meaning is enigmatical" (B.M.C. Introd lxxxvi). Can it be the sign of the feminine, the noun being of that gender in Arabic?

[2] It would appear from the Travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang who was in India about 630 A C. that the Niṣār of gold and silver among the crowd on certain religious festivals was an ancient Hindū custom "The King, Shīlāditya" (*i.e.* The great Harsha of Kanauj, *r.* 606–648 A.C), he writes, "as he went, scatterred on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers, in honour of the three precious objects of worship." (Buddhist Records of the Western World, Tr. Beal. I, 219) An earlier visitor from the same country, Fa hian, speaks of the fabrication of "gold and silver lotus flowers" by the King of the Kiesha Country (Kāshgar or Lādak (*Ib.*, II, 299 Note) in his own day (*Circa* 400 A.C.) and for the same purpose. (*Ibid.*, I, Introd. xxviii.)

A '*Niṣār*' of pearls is one of the minor incidents in the description of the installation of Chandrapidā as Crown Prince in the 'Kādambarī' of Bāṇa, King Harsha's court-poet. "Then, at the roar of the drum, followed by an outcry of 'All hail'! from all sides," we read, "Chandrapidā came down from the throne. * * * He left the hall of assembly, followed by a thousand chiefs, * * strewing on all sides the large pearls that fell from the strings of their necklaces, * * like rice sportively thrown as a good omen for their setting off to conquer the world." Trans. C. M. Ridding, 85–86.

The 'Niṣār' of silver and gold and gems on the head of a newly-crowned King or Conqueror is frequently described in Firdūsī's *Shāh-nāma* (Warner's Trans II, 12 (Kaiqubād): II, 411 (Kaikhusrū); V, 310 (Dārāb), and is referred to in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Bombay Lithograph 1831 A C. p. 164, l. 16 Fāẓil Lutfullah's Trans. 105) in connection with Sulṭān Muẓaffar II's conquest of Mālwā.

The 'Niṣār' of Dīnārs at the wedding of Farangīz is explicitly mentioned by Firdūsī (Warner, II, 275) and the custom is referred to in Jāmī's highly-coloured account of the marriage of Zūlaikhā (Lith. Text, Chap. xxvi).

The African traveller Ibn Baṭūṭa informs us that he saw "dirhems and dīnārs scattered among the people" at the marriage of the son and heir of the King of Sumatra. (Lee's Trans. 1829, p. 223.)

The kindness of kings on their coronation days is proverbial even in the matter-of-fact and never-too-lavish West. In the 'gorgeous East' the easiest way to win the good graces of the populace seems to have been the showering on their heads of 'barbaric' silver and gold Firdūsī speaks of Kaikhusrū having "decked all the world with Dīnārs" in his progress through Āẓarbāiǰān (Warner, III, 20). The Musalmān historians of the 'Pathān' period have left it on record that 'Alāu-d-dīn Khiljī and Muḥammad 'Adalī employed military engines and catapults (منجانیق) for the purpose of showering "golden stars" and arrow-heads on the heads of the rabble of Dehlī. (*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 158: Badāonī, Text, I, 418; Ranking, Trans. I, 537; Firishta, Tr. Briggs, II, 144.)

We learn from Ibn Baṭuṭa that Muḥammad Tughlaq poured upon the head of a famous theologian and traditionist with his own hand a vessel full of gold and gave away the vessel as well as the gold to him as largesse. (Lee's Trans. 41; *vide* also the extract in ED. III. 620.)

The custom was not unknown to the Mongols of Central Asia and we have at least two explicit notices of it in the account of Clavijo's Embassy to the Court of Tīmūr. In his description of an entertainment at Court, the Spaniard writes: "After they [*scil.* the ambassadors] had eaten, one of the Meerzas of the Lord [*scil.* Tīmūr] came with a silver basin full of their silver coins, called Tagaes [recte, *Tankas* or *Tangas*]. and they scattered them over the ambassadors, and over the rest of the company, and when they had done this, they put what was left into the skirts of their clothes." (Clavijo's Embasssy, Trans. Markham, Hakluyt Society's Publ. p. 139). And again, he says that at the close of another festive celebration, "they scattered pieces of money and small chaplets of thin gold amongst the people, and when the eating was over, the company returned to their lodgments." (*Ibid*, 146.)

It would appear that among the Chaghtāīs, it was the practice to employ on such occasions not only silver coins and 'thin chaplets of gold', but miniature imitations in gold and silver, of fruits and flowers. These *recherché* specimens of the jeweller's art were showered at births and weddings, etc., on the heads and persons of the parties in whose honour the festival was held and distributed afterwards as largesse or presents. It is recorded in Bābur's diary of A.H. 900 [1494-5 A.C.] that his uncle Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mirzā sent an envoy to him with a gift of "gold and silver almonds and pistachios" from "the wedding he had made with splendid festivity for his eldest son" (*Memoirs*, Tr. A. S. Beveridge, 43 = Erskine, 27). The Emperor's daughter, the Princess Gulbadan tells us that Humāyūn's mother Māham had "gold and silver almonds, walnuts and filberts[1]" specially made for use as *Niṣār* at the expected birth of a son and heir to Humāyūn, when she learnt that two of the latter's wives were in the family way. (*Humāyūn Nāma*, Trans A S. Beveridge. 112; Text, 27, l. 14) The scattering [Niṣār] of trayfulls of 'Ashrafīs' and 'Shāhrukhīs' on the occasion of her brother Hindāl's wedding is also noticed by this charming authoress (Trans. 125; Text, 34, four lines from foot). Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad specially notes the *Niṣār* of coins at Akbar's coronation. (Lakhnau Lith. 243.)

Badāonī speaks of نثار, ایثار in connection with the marriage of Bairam Khān to Salīma Sulṭān Begam (Text, II, 20; Lowe, Tr. 13), of the 'Niṣār' of pearls on Akbar's head by Mun'im Khān Khān-i Khānān when the Emperor alighted in the latter's camp before Patna (Text, II, 179; Lowe, Tr. II, 182), and of the scattering of "dishfulls of gold and jewels to the people" by Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān at a feast held in honour of the latter's appointment as Tutor to the Prince Salīm, (Text, II. 270; Lowe, 278) He also states that when the heir-apparent was married to the daughter of Rāja Bhagwāndās, the Emperor "ordered gold to be scattered over the litter [پالکی] of the Princess all the way from the Rāja's house to the palace" (Text, 341; Lowe. 352) and this last fact is also mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* of Abūl Faẓl, Text, III, 451, l. 14: Tr. III. 678)

Coming down to the reign of Jahāngīr, we find that ruler recording with great minuteness and self-complaisance the exact number of rupees worth of *Darbs, Charans* and other fractional coins [زر ریزگی] which he scattered among the crowd when entering, passing through or leaving the great

[1] I take پسته as a noun meaning 'filberts' (see Steingass' Dict. s.v.) and not as a participle signifying 'packed' as Mrs. Beveridge has done.

towns in his dominions. "On Thursday the 17th [Ṣafar 1016 A.H.]," he writes, "from the Mastān bridge as far as the Shahr-ārā garden [in the city of Kābul] which was the encamping place of the royal standards, scattering rupees, half-rupees and quarter-rupees [روپیه و نصف و ربع آن] to faqirs and indigent persons on both sides of the road, I entered the aforesaid garden." (*Tūzuk*, Text, 51, ll. 4–6; Tr. I, 105). And again, we read: "At an auspicious hour [5 Farwardīn III R.]. I returned towards Āgra, and scattering with two hands 5,000 rupees in small coins [حوالی پنجهزار روپیه از رهگی از دو دست پاشیده] entered the august palace which was inside the fort." (*Ibid.*, Text, 66, l. 16; Tr. I, 139.)

There are several other notices of the same sort, to which it will suffice to give only references They will be found at Vol. I, pp 249, 359, 382, 415, 417, 426, 428 432, and Vol. II, pp. 9, 31, 84, 187, 194 of Messrs. Rogers and Beveridge's Translation. They are merely illustrations of the more or less profuse distribution of largesse on the part of the Emperor during official visits or imperial progresses. The following four passages are more interesting and give us some insight into the origin, rationale or idea underlying the custom.

"In his [*scil.* the Prince Khurram or Shāh Jahān's] honour [after his return from the victorious campaign in the Dekkan], I myself came down from the Jharokha and poured over his head a small tray of jewels and a tray of gold (coins). [خوانچه از جواهر و خوانچه زر بر سر او نثار کردم]

Having called Sarnāk the elephant to me I saw without doubt that what had been heard in its praise and of its beauty was real. * * * As it appeared acceptable to me, I myself mounted (*i.e.* drove it) and took it into my private palace, and scattered a quantity of gold coins on its head" [20 Mihr XII, R.; پاره از زر بر سر او نثار کردم (*Tūzuk*, Text, 195, six lines from foot] Tr. I, 395–6.)

Elsewhere, we hear of a similar ceremony having been gone through in honour of the Empress Nūr Jahān That talented and versatile lady had on one occasion killed four tigers in a single day with only six shots, from her seat in a howdah. Jahāngīr was charmed and informs us that "as a reward for this good shooting," he "gave her a pair of bracelets (*pahunchi*) of diamonds worth 1,00,000 rupees and *scattered 1,000 ashrafīs* over her" [هزار اشرفي نثار نمودة]

(Text, 186, l 5, Tr. I, 375.)

The two extracts which follow illustrate another form of Niṣār—that connected with the weighment of the Emperor's person on the solar or lunar anniversaries of his birth.

"After the conclusion of the weighment [A.H. 1030, XVI

R.], trays of gold and silver were poured out by way of *Nisār* (coin-scattering) into the hope-skirts of the ministers of amusement (*ahl-i-nishāt*) and of the poor. [بر باب استحقاق Text, 325, l. 17; Tr. II, 215.

Again we read: "On the same day [21st Shahrīvar XIII, R.], the feast of my solar weighment took place and according to solar reckoning, the fiftieth year of the age of this suppliant at the throne of God commenced auspiciously According to my usual rule, I weighed myself against gold and other valuables. I *scattered pearls and golden roses* (گل زرین) and looking at night at the show of lamps passed my time in the private apartments of the royal abode in enjoyment." (Text, 241, l. 22; Tr. II, 31.)

These passages seem to show that the *Nisār* was a form of sacrifice, an offering to Nemesis, a means of deprecating the anger or envy of the gods at sudden or unprecedented good fortune, a charm for averting the evil eye or a thank-offering.

It will be observed that in the fourth or last of these excerpts there is a reference to the *Nisār* of "golden roses," *i.e.* imitations in gold of natural flowers Jahāngīr records the fact in his account of the Jashn or festival celebrated on his fiftieth birthday on 21st Shahrīvar, XIII R. corresponding, as he himself says, to 22 Ramzān 1027 A.H. (2 September, 1618 A.C.) Now, Sir Thomas Roe was present at an exactly similar function in the year immediately preceding and there is a very graphic description of it in his Journal. "September 1 [1617] was the King's birth-day, and the solemnities of his weighing, to which I went * * * After he was weighed, he ascended his throne, and had basons of nuts, almonds, fruits, spices of all sorts made in thinne silver, which he cast about, and his greate men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies; whiche seeing I did not, hee reached one Bason almost full and poured into my Cloke. His Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke that they had left me none if I had not put the remayner up. I heard he threw *gold* [nuts, almonds, etc.] till I came in, but found it silver so thinne, that all I had at first, being thousands of severall pieces had not weighed Sixtie Rupias. I saved about Twentie Rupias weight, yet a good dishfull, which I keepe to show the ostentation: for by my proportion he could not that day have cast away above one hundred pound sterling." (Embassy, Ed Foster, II, 411–3.)

An earlier entry on September 2, 1616 A.C. is much more lengthy, but a couple of sentences will bear citation: "This day was the Birth of the King, and solemnised as a great feast wherein the King is weighed against some jewelles, gould, silver, stuff off goulde [and ?] silver, silke, butter, rice, frute

and many other things, of every sort a little, which is given to the Bramini * * * * Then hee threw about to those that stood below, two Chargers of new rupyes and among us two chargers of *hollow almondes* of *gould and* silver mingled; but I would not scramble as did his great men; for I saw his sonne tooke up none. (*Ibid.*, I. 257.)

The Niṣār of imitation *fruits* in the precious metals was, as I have already pointed out, an ancient Mongol custom, and the English ambassador's account confirms the statements occurring in the Journals of Bābur and the Princess Gulbadan on the subject. But it would appear from the foregoing extract from the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* that similar representations in miniature of *flowers* also were fabricated and this is supported by a curious passage in the *Bādishāhnāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd. In his description of the eight-days' festivities and rejoicings with which Shāh Jahān celebrated the recovery of his favourite daughter the Begam Jahānārā from the effects of an accident, in 1054 A.H. (1645 A.C.), this author writes:—

"In these [eight] days, riches (زر) were scattered (نثار) over her eight times every day and the total amounted to 70000 rupees, *viz.* 30000 rupees worth of jewels and vessels inlaid with precious stones; one thousand whole muhrs and 1000 muhrs' weight of half-muhrs called *Dhan* and of quarter-muhrs called *Charn* of the [combined] value of twenty-eight thousand rupees; two thousand rupees worth of *golden flowers* (گلهای طلا) were made for *Niṣār*: ten thousand 'rupees' worth of whole rupees, and half-rupees which are called *Darb*, and quarter-rupees which are styled *Niṣār*, together with *imitations in silver* [سیمین تمانیل] *of various kinds of fruits.*" [1]
Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 396, ll. 13–20.

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[1] William Terry and other European writers confirm this: Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain writes: "When the Mogul is thus weighed, he casts about among the standers by, thin pieces of silver, and some of gold, made like flowers of that country, and some of them are made like cloves, and some like nutmegs, but very thin and hollow" (A Voyage to East-India, Ed. 1777, p. 377).

Sebastian Manrique who was at Shāh Jahān's Court about 1641 A.C. has a fuller description. "This valuation and commutation and weighing ceremony over, the Emperor returns to his throne; and being seated on it, the dusky Eunuchs present him large dishes and vessels of gold, full of artificial and imitation fruits made of silver, such as almonds, nuts, hazelnuts and many other sorts and kinds of fruits, all of them so very lightly made that I believe that a thousand of these silver fruits would not weigh twenty-five or thirty Spanish pesos, and I found it out, because, being given on that occasion a large plate of them by Mirzā Aboulhossen, they just weighed eleven rupees which would be five pesos and a half of our money. The Padcha distributed these fruits among the Princes and Magnates, and afterwards he sent and distributed to those

This is not all There is in the late Mr. Irvine's valuable monograph on the 'Later Mughals' a casual reference which shows that silver roses were scattered at the coronation of Farrukh-siyar. Mirzā Muḥammad, the author of a *Tazkara* sometimes called '*Ibratnāma* and Khushḥāl Chand, the compiler of the *Nādiru z-zamānī* witnessed the triumphal entry of the emperor into Dehlī and the latter says that "into the skirt of this humble one, too, fell a silver rose, weighing seven māshas." (Journal, A S B. 1898, p. 151, Note.)

It will be noticed that in all except one of these passages, the word 'Nisār' is used for the act of scattering, or showering or the things scattered or showered, coins gems, imitation fruits and flowers in the precious metals, etc And this was undoubtedly the usual meaning of the term The Emperor Jahāngīr, however, gave the word a specific signification and *Nisārī* was the new name which he invented for the quarter-rupee (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 11) very soon after his accession It is true that this neologism does not appear to have had general vogue. The Emperor himself never uses it again in that sense in his Memoirs, and always gives to the quarter-rupee its Akbarī name of *Charn*.[1] It would appear from the passage just cited from the *Bādishāhnāma* that the new name had not

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of inferior rank some vessels filled with *rupees recently coined*, ten thousand or twelve thousand at the maximum, which would amount to no more than 6000 pesos or reals of eight" The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique, Trans. by [Sir] E. D. Maclagan in Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society, Vol. I, 1411, pp. 96-7.

The French merchant Thevenot also tells us in his account of the 'Festival of the Kings' Birth-day' that "the King distributes, first a great quantity Artificial Frūit and other Knacks of Gold and Silver, which are brought to him in Golden Basins; but the Knacks are so light, that the profusion (which he makes in casting them promiscuously amongst the Princes, and other Great men of his court, who crowd one another to have their share), lessens not the Treasure of his Exchequer; for I was assured that all these trifles would not cost one hundred thousand Crowns." (Travels, Eng. Trans. of 1687, Part III, p. 47) It may be noted that Akbar had small gold coins struck weighing as much as the fifth, sixteenth and thirty-second parts of the gold Muhr, which displayed on one or both sides "the figure of a wild rose" (*Āīn*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 30.)

[1] "On Friday, the 7th of the aforesaid month" [Ardibihisht], we read in the diary of the XIIIth year * * , "I entered the city of Aḥmadābād * * * At the time of mounting my son of prosperous fortune, Shāh Jahān had brought 20000 *Charans* or Rs. 5000 for the Nisār (Scattering), بیست هزار چرن که پنجهزار روپیه باشد and I scattered them as I went to the palace.

Tūzuk, Tr II, 9; Text, 229, l. 22.

And again he informs us: "At the request of Qāsim K[hān], I went to his garden in the neighbourhood of the city [Āgra] and in the course of the procession scattered [نثار کردم] 10000 *Charns* [XV R.—Muharram 1030 A.H.]. *Ibid.*, II, 187; Text, 320, l. 22. See also *ibid.*, Tr. II, 194, 198, for two other references to the word.

altogether passed into oblivion, but the quarter-rupee is not referred to as 'Nisārī' by any other writer known to me.

But this notwithstanding, the Emperor's statement has, among modern numismatists, produced an impression that the true Nisār weighed and ought to weigh as much only as the fourth part of the rupee, *i.e* about 45 grains and any specimens deviating from this norm have been regarded as irregularities or freaks or described in Coin Catalogues as half-nisārs and quarter-nisārs.

All things considered, (this Emperor's capricious and transient alterations in weights, measures, and style of coins his fondness for change and unstable character), it is a question whether we are justified in laying so much stress on a terminological novelty, the popularity or currency of which there are no grounds for assuming The better opinion would appear to be that all gold or silver pieces which bore a general resemblance in size, weight and fabric to the current coins of the realm but which were specially struck on a particular occasion for being scattered or scrambled for by the people in the streets or by the courtiers and other persons having the entry to the Imperial levees, darbārs and entertainments were, for that reason, called Nisārs The actual weight did not matter. We know from the *Tūzuk* as well as the *Bādishāhnāma* that it was usual to scatter not only *Charms* or quarter rupees, but *Darbs* (half rupees) and even whole rupees. In this view, there is nothing irregular or extraordinary about the weight of the exceedingly rare Nisārs weighing 86 and 88 grs which are in the Dehlī and British Museums. (Proc. A.S.B. 1883, p. 112; B M.C. No 669.) For the same reason, all the dainty little pieces of which the weights "do not correspond with any fraction of the rupee expressed by the usual powers of two" (P.M.C. Introd. xxv) are true *Nisārs*, and when they display the denomination on the obverse, are *rightly* so-called. The truth of the matter, perhaps, is that it was neither intended nor thought necessary to maintain any constancy in weights or any fixed relation whatever to the amount of silver (or gold) in the rupee (or the muhr). The object was merely to turn out as many small pieces as would meet the requirements of the occasion and serve to make a goodly show.

The size, thickness and weight were dependent, not on any determinate subordinate relation to the gold or silver unit, but on the amount of money which the imperial or other donor was willing to give away as largesse in connection with the particular function or ceremony and the fractional subdivision was regulated accordingly.

All the passages cited in this article naturally refer to royal marriages and birthday-anniversaries or Imperial processions and progresses. But the custom itself is almost universal

in the East and may be witnessed even in our own days at weddings in respectable Musalmān families (Proc. A.S.B. 1883 p. 13). We learn from Fryer's Chapter on the 'Solemnities Sports and Pastimes" of the Moguls, that on the Ramẓān 'Id, the anniversary of "the Great Mogul's Advancement to the Throne" and other festivals, "the Governor goes in Procession, and bestows his Largesse in his passage to the Chief Place of Devotion, liberally scattering Rupees as Kings do Medals at their Coronations, waited on by all the Gallants of the Town." (A New Account etc., Ed. 1698, p. 107) The traveller speaks only of rupees but we may be sure that pieces of smaller denominations were much more frequently used and that some at least, of the *Nisārs* in our public and private collections were struck by the special orders of the provincial authorities on such occasions. We possess *Nisārs* struck in the name of Shāh Jahān at Akbarnagar (P.M.C. Introd. xliii, Bleazby), and Pl. XXI No 16, (Cabinet de France) and Patna (*ib.*, Introd. lxii). Aurangzeb's *Nisārs* of Itāwa (*ib.*, xxviii, H. N. Wright), Chināpattan (B.M.C. 715) and Jahāngīrnagar (Num. Sup. XXVII, No. 13) are also known. Now it may be said with confidence that none of these towns was ever visited by either of the Emperors mentioned *during the period of his reign*. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that these interesting pieces were struck in the provincial mints for doing duty as *Nisārs* at the local celebration of an Imperial festival or of some remarkable event in the history of the town or province.

It may be as well to add that a close study of the Mughal chronicles enables us to connect some of the dated *Nisārs* minted at Ajmer, Aḥmadābād, Aḥmadnagar, Āgra, Burhānpūr, Bījāpūr, Shāhjahānābād, Kābul, Kashmīr and Lāhor with the visits or residence in those places of the Emperors whose names they bear. But the *Nisar* ceremony itself was so common, an event of such frequent occurrence, that it is impossible to go much further or associate any of them with a particular incident in the history of the Empire or the Imperial family.

XV. THE TŪMĀN.

No student of the contemporary chronicles of Bābur and his descendants could have failed to notice that there are numerous allusions in them to the Tūmān of 'Irāq or Khurāsān. It might be thought that passages relating to a *Persian money of account* were hardly worth studying, and that they could not possibly throw any light on the obscure problems of Mughal numismatics. But the notion is soon discovered to be groundless. It becomes clear that several of these references are exceedingly useful for elucidating the vexed and difficult question of the value of Akbar's 'Tanka' It is also found that they serve to illustrate a fact which no student of old currencies should forget—the progressive deterioration in the value of monetary denominations Indeed, it will be seen that in reference to the gradual depreciation of the Tūmān, they furnish evidence which is more circumstantial and complete than the statements which are to be found in the writings of European visitors to Persia.

The primary signification, in Mongol, of the word 'tūmān' is 'a myriad' or 'ten thousand,' and it is frequently employed in the Mongol histories in the secondary sense of 'brigade' or 'division of cavalry amounting in theory or as a matter of fact, to that number.' (Yule's Marco Polo. Ed. Cordier, I, 261 and Note; Friar Odoric in Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, I, 117, 152; Ibn Baṭūṭa in *ibid.*, II, 506.) It then appears to have been used for a sum of money amounting to 10 000 dīnārs,[1] each dīnār being equivalent to six dirhams. (Shihābu-d-dīn Dimishqī, *Masāliku-l-Abṣār*, quoted in Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, Ed. Crooke, 929.) This last meaning is given, with a not unimportant variation in the Persian-Arabic-English Dictionary of John Richardson (Edition of 1806), who defines it as "a sum of money equal to 10000 Arabic *silver drachms*, which are about one third less than those of the Greeks; also a sum of money equal to fifteen dollars and a half." This explanation is reproduced *verbatim* in the Persian-English Dictionary of Steingass It will be observed that we have *dirhams* here instead of 'dīnārs.'

The Emperor Bābur informs us in his 'Memoirs' that Sulṭān Mas'ūd Mirzā showed "excessive favour to his father-in-law, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-lāh Barlās,' and 'made the Shaikh's

[1] In this second sense, the *Tūmān* would seem to be the Mongol equivalent of the Arabic *Badra*, which means 'a square piece of cloth or leather filled with coin and tied up as a purse; bag; a weight of 10,000 dirhams or 7,000 dīnārs.' (Steingass, s.v.).

allowance 1,000 *tumāns of fulūs*.'[1] A. S. Beveridge's Trans. 93 = Leyden and Erskine's Trans. 61. Persian Trans. Bombay Lithograph, 1308 A.H., p 37, l. 12.

Here the word would seem to be used in the primary sense of 'ten thousand,' and one thousand '*tumāns* of *fulūs*' would be equal to ten million *fulūs*—the *fulūs* being, probably, some monetary unit or money of account of *exceedingly* low value.

Elsewhere he tells us that he made an incursion into Khurāsān in 912 A.H. [1506-7 A.C.], and "laid an impost on the Turks and clans of those parts [Bādghīs], in two or three months taking perhaps 300 *tumāns* of *Kipkī*."[2] (*Op. cit.*, 296 = Leyden and Erskine, 201; Persian Trans. 117, l. 19.)

Mrs. Beveridge confesses her inability to explain the phrase and merely says that "the nearest approach to *Kipkī* she has found in Dictionaries, is Kupakī, which comes close to the Russian Copeck.[3]" (*Ibid.*, Note.) Nothing is so deceptive as phonetic resemblances and it would be exceedingly hazardous to postulate any etymological affinity between Copeck and the *Tumān-i-kipkī* of Bābur, or the *Dīnār-i-kapakī* or *kabakī*, which is so frequently mentioned in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Sharfu-d-dīn (I, 434, 497, 504, 645, 662, 754, 776) and other histories of Tīmūr and his descendants; *Rauẓatu-s-Ṣafā*, (Bombay Lithograph, II, Sect. VI); *Habību-s-siyar* (Bombay Lith., III. iii, 73, ll. 11, 17). What this *Dīnār-i-kapakī* was really worth, none of these authors has anywhere cared to explain, but I have found, in the *Maṭla'u-s-Sa'daīn* of 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, a passage which throws some light on the matter. In his description of the city of Vijayanagar, this author writes:—

"On the left of the palace there is the mint, where they stamp three different kinds of gold coins mixed with alloy.

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[1] The rendering in the earlier Translation of Leyden and Erskine is "a thousand tumans in money," but Mrs. Beveridge's version appears to be both more literal, and more accurate.

[2] The *Tūmān-i-Kabakī* is mentioned once in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Sharfu-d-dīn He says that when the city of Shīrāz capitulated to Tīmūr, the ransom was fixed at one thousand *Tūmān-i-Kabakī* (Bibl. Ind. Ed. I, 437, l. 13).

[3] The learned authors of 'Hobson Jobson' were inclined to take this view and to "suspect that this name [*Scil.* Copeck] preserved that of the *dīnār kopekī*. * * Kopek is in Turkī, 'dog,' and Charmoy explains the term as equivalent to *Abu-Kalb*, 'Father of a dog', formerly applied in Egypt to Dutch Crowns (*Löwenthaler*) bearing a lion. * * * Another etymology of *Kopek* * * * is from Russ. Kopié, Kopyé, a pike, many old Russian coins representing the Prince on horseback with a spear." The latter etymology is the one given in the New English Dictionary, but the *Dīnār-i-Kapakī* could have scarcely originated from the 'Copeck' as the latter denomination is first "mentioned only in the reign of Vassili III, about middle of the 15th century, and became regularly established in the coinage" only about 1536 A.C. (Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.*, Ed. Crooke, p. 253). Tīmūr died in 1408 A.C.

One is called *Varāha*, and weighs about one *miskāl* equal to two Kopaki *dināṛs*. The second kind is called *partāb*, and is equal to half of the first" Elliot and Dowson, IV, 109.

There are some difficulties about the identification of these coins. The Envoy of Sultan Shāhrukh makes the *Partāb* (the Pardao of the Portuguese) half of the *Varāha* Hūn, or what we call Pagoda. But Varthema (1504–5 A C.) identifies the *partāb*, *i.e.*, *pardao* with the pagoda itself. "The question arises whether the *Varāha* of Abdurrazzak was the double pagoda * * * and his *partāb* therefore the same as Varthema's, *i e.* the pagoda itself; or whether his *Varāha* was the pagoda and his *partāb* a half pagoda. The weight which he assigns to the *Varāha*, about one *Mithkāl*, a weight which may be taken at 73 grs., does not well suit either one or the other. I find the mean weight of 27 different issues of the single *hun* or pagoda, given in Prinsep's Tables to be 43 grs, the maximum being 45 grs. And the fact that both the Envoy's *Varāha* and the Italian traveller's *pardao* contain 20 fanams is a strong argument for their identity." Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, Ed Crooke, 673–4.

Now the weight of the *miṣqāl* was, as I have elsewhere shown, by no means uniform and differed considerably at different times and in different places. It was generally said to be $\frac{1}{6}$ of an ounce (Troy), and Ball estimates Tavernier's *miṣqāl* at 83·8 grs. troy (Tavernier's Travels in India, I, 418). This would be very close to the weight of two single pagodas of the average weight of 43 grs. each and considerably reinforce the argument for the identity of 'Abdu-r-razzāq's *Varāha* with the 'Double pagoda, of which there are some examples in the South Indian Coinage." But if 'Abdu-r-razzāq's *Varāha* was the double pagoda, and if this *varāha* was also "equal to two *Kopakī dīnārs*," the *dīnār-i-Kapakī* (or *Kabakī* or *Kipakī* or *Kupakī*) of Tīmūr's historians must have been a gold coin having almost the same weight as the single hun or pagoda of Southern India, the Venetian ducat and the Egyptian sequin—about 43 grs. Whether the *Tumān-i-kipkī* of Bābur was the same or not, it is impossible to say.

Leaving this complicated if not insoluble question which is scarcely within the scope of this enquiry to other scholars, I may note that the Tūmān of Persia is twice mentioned by Jauhar in his narrative of Humāyūn's sojourn in that country.

"Some time after this nefarious transaction, Shāh Tahmāsp ordered a hunting party, and ordered Cazy Jehan to attend his Majesty. In the course of three days a great number of animals were surrounded and many of them killed; but it so happened that several deer made their escape at the part of the circle where we were; for each of which the Persian demanded a *fine* of a horse and one *Tumān*." *Tezkereh Al Vākiāt*, Tr. C. Stewart, 1832, p. 66.

Elsewhere, he tells a long story of "an unfortunate difference" between Humāyūn and Qarāja Khān, which originated in the latter having one day "urged the king to confer ten *Tumāns* (the trifling sum of ten pounds) on a certain officer." *Ibid.*, 88.

It is perhaps necessary to say that the words in brackets are the translator's unauthorized gloss, and that Jauhar himself tells us nothing as to the value of the Persian *tūmān*. Abūl Faẓl is, as usual, more informing. He has transcribed in the first volume of the *Akbarnāma*, the long Farmān or Rescript addressed by Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the Governor of Khurāsān giving minute directions as to the ceremonial to be observed in the matter of Humāyūn's reception and entertainment.

In this contemporary document, the phrase 'Tabrīzī tumāns' arrests attention three times (*op. cit.*, Trans. H. Beveridge, I, 424, 425, 428), and in one place it is explicitly stated that "three Tabrīzī *tumāns* are equal to 600 Shāhī." (*Ibid.*, I, 428.) Mr. Beveridge, in a footnote warns his readers that "the figures in the text are doubtful" and questions the accuracy of the equation. I shall presently show that it is, so far as it goes, perfectly reliable and that there are no grounds for doubting the correctness of the Bibliotheca Indica reading of the passage. The tūmān has been always reckoned as equivalent to 200 shāhīs in Persia and there is a consensus on the point among the European travellers in that country which absolutely clinches the question.

Olearius says that 'when they [*i.e.* the Persians] are to account by great sums, they account by Tumāns, each whereof is worth fifty *Abas's*" and that the "*Schahī* was worth the fourth part of an Abas." (Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein. Tr. John Davies, 1669, p. 223). Sir Thomas Herbert informs us that the 'Abbassee' was worth sixteen pence, the shahee four pence, and that 3,57 000 Tomāns in Persian money were equal to about 11 90 000 pounds sterling. (Travels, 3rd Impression, 1665, p 329.) In other words, the 'Tomān' was equal to £3 6*s* 8*d* or 800 pence, or 00 shāhīs at 4 pence to the shāhī. Fryer also says that "Fifty Abassees make a Thomand £3 6*s* 8*d*" (*i.e.* 800 pence), that a "Shahee is Four pence or equal to our Groat," that an "Abassee makes two Mamoodies," and that "a Mamoody is two shahees." (A New Account of East India and Persia, Ed 1698, p. 407.) This also makes the tūmān equal to 200 shāhīs. Identical statements may be found in Tavernier (Ed. Ball., I, 24), Thevenot, (Travels into the Levant, Ed. 1687, Part II, p. 89), and Lockyer (Account of the Trade in India, 1711, p. 229).

But though the equation enunciated in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's farmān is unexceptionable and though the Tūmān is even now,

as it was then, equivalent to 200 *shāhīs*, this does not give us any distinct idea as to the value of the denomination in Indian or European money. This information also is given by Abūl Faẓl in a passage which I will now proceed to quote. He records in his chronicle of the seventh year of Akbar's reign (969-970 A.H., 1562-3 A.C.) that Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent his own cousin, Saiyid Beg, with letters conveying condolences for the death of Humāyūn and congratulations on Akbar's accession. "When the ambassador came near the capital, His Majesty ordered that several distinguished officers should go out to welcome him and should conduct him to a suitable residence He also sent fourteen lacs of *dāms* which are equal to seven hundred Persian tomāns together with other things for his maintenance." (*Akbarnāma*, Trans. Beveridge, II, 262; Bibl Ind. Text, II, 170, l. 13.)

Now, if 14 lacs of dāms were equal to 700 tomāns, it is clear that one tomān was equal to 2,000 dāms, or 50 Akbarī rupees, at the rate of 40 dāms to the rupee, in 969-970 A.H. (1562-3 A.C.).

I must now state that there is an account of Saiyid Beg's embassy in the histories of Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāonī also. In Dowson's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* we read: "When Saiyid Beg approached Āgra, many Khāns and great men were sent forth to meet him, and to bring him into the city with suitable honours. The sum of seven lacs of *tankas* was appropriated to him." (Elliot and Dowson, Hist. of India, V. 276. Lakhnau Lithograph, 1292 A.H., p 257, l. 13) Badāonī also says that the "Emperor presented him with a sum of seven lacs of *tankahs*." (Lowe's Trans II, 49; Bibl Ind. Text, II, 52, l. 12.)

I need scarcely point out that the last three passages are of peculiar interest for their bearing on the meaning of the word '*tanka*.' Abūl Faẓl says that Saiyid Beg was given 14 lacs of *dāms*. Niẓāmu d-dīn and Badāonī declare that he was given 7 lacs of *tankas*. It is clear the last two writers are *on this occasion*, using the word 'tanka' *although it has no qualifying epithet*, for a coin or money of account equal to *two dāms*

Leaving the question of the *tanka* aside, for the present, it is clear that *in the seventh year of Akbar's reign* (969-970 A.H.), the Persian tūmān was reckoned by Abūl Faẓl as equivalent to about 50 Akbarī rupees. When he wrote the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, in or about the 42nd year (1005-1006 A.H.), it would appear to have undergone some depreciation, for we come across the following brief, but precise statement in his account of the Sarkār of Qandahār

"Eighteen dīnārs make a *tumān*, and each *tumān* is equivalent to 800 *dāms*. The *tumān* of Khurāsān is equal in value to 30 rupees and the *tumān* of Irāq to 40." (*Āīn*, Trans. Jarrett, II, 393-4. Bibl. Ind. Text, I. 586, l. 17.

Two things stand out clearly from the foregoing :—

I. The value of the *tūmān* was not at all fixed, and varied according to locality. The *tūmān* of Qandahār was reckoned at 800 dāms, that is, only 20 Rupees Akbarī ; the *tumān* of Khurāsān was rated at 30, and the *tūmān* of 'Irāq had the still higher value of 40.

The 'tumān of 'Irāq' is also estimated at 40 Rupees in three monetary statements occurring in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, one of which is found also in the *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh* of Badāonī. (Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 352, ll 15–17 ; Lowe's Trans. II, 363.) As these passages have been transcribed and fully discussed in my Note on the *Murādī Tanka* (Num. Sup. XXVIII, pp. 83–7), it will suffice here to give only their purport and references to the page and volume in which they will be found. From one of them we learn that Akbar ordered the debts of two of his faithful dependants to be paid out of the public treasury, though they amounted to one lac of Akbarshāhī rupees equal to two thousand five hundred *tūmāns* of 'Irāq (Elliot and Dowson, V, 370–1). We are informed in the second, that some presents sent to 'Abdulla Khān Uzbeg were of the value of "nearly a lac and a half of rupees, equal to three thousand seven hundred *tumāns* of 'Irāq." (*Ibid.*, V, 455.) Lastly, Niẓāmu-d-dīn tells us (followed by Badāonī), that Akbar gave to Naẓar Bey and his sons as a present "four lacs of *murādī tankas*, which are equivalent to five hundred *tumāns* of 'Irāq" (*Ibid.*, V, 453 ; Lakhnau Lithograph, p. 370, ll. 3–5 ; Badāonī. Bibl Ind Text, II, 352, Lowe II, 363.)

II. This brings me to the *second* point. It is evident that the value of the tūmān had, for some reason, gone down within the preceding thirty-five years. The '*Tumān* of 'Irāq' was now (1597–8 A C.) rated by Abūl Faẓl at 40 rupees, and that of Khurāsān at only 30, though he himself had formerly reckoned the Persian *Tūmān* at 50.

Stewart has, in his translation of Jauhar's 'Memoirs,' given a lengthy extract from the *Tārīkhi 'Ālam Arāi e-'Abbāsī* which was completed in 1616 A C. by Iskandar Munshī. The writer says that Asbeg [Uzbeg] Beg who was sent as ambassador by the Grand Signior to Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia about 969 A.H brought along with 40 Syrian and Arabian horses "the sum of 5,00,000 *Falory ashrafies*, equal in the currency of Persia, to 50,000 royal *Irāky tōmans*." (*Op. cit.*, Appendix, 125.)

Now there can be little doubt that the 'Falory ashrafie' is to be traced to 'Florin.' Mr. Stanley Lane Poole writes : "After the conquest of Constantinople, Mohammad II, for the first time issued in 883 [A.H.] the gold coin called *altun*, or more generally by numismatists *Sequin*. Previously foreign gold coins, especially the Venetian ducat, had sufficed for the

Turkish currency * * * . The *altun*, [illegible] *un*, was known by various other names, accordi[illegible] predominant foreign commercial influence: under V[illegible]n influence it was called *flúry* (florin); under Persian, *Shāhy*; and after the conquest of Egypt, the name *Ashrafy*, or *Sherīfy* which had been given to the improved coinage of El-Ashraf Barsabay, was transferred to the issues of the Constantinopolitan mint. * * * Hitherto [*scil* 1123 A.H.], the *altuns* had weighed about 53 grs., sometimes rather more, and often a few grains less." (Weights and Denominations of Turkish Coins, Numismatic Chronicle, 1882, pp 167–8.) Now 53 grains is nearly one-third of 165 grs., the *ordinary* weight of the Muhr of Akbar and Jahāngīr. We know that this *'Adlgutka* muhr of 11 māshas was worth about 9 Rs. when Abūl Faẓl wrote his *Āīn*, about the 42nd year of Akbar's reign (*Āīn* Trans Blochmann, I, 30) and that in the first part of Jahāngīr's reign, it was valued at about *ten* rupees (Hawkins Voyages, Ed Markham, 421) The Turkish 'falory' must have therefore been equivalent to *about* 3 or $3\frac{1}{3}$ rupees. But as 5,00,000 'Falory ashrafies' are said to have been equal to about 50 000 Irāky tomāns' in the time of the writer (about 1616 A.C.), the Irāky tomān' must have fallen in value at the time to 30 or $33\frac{1}{3}$ rupees.

Or to take another gauge, Mr. Lane Poole informs us that the Altun, or Flūry was identical with the coin more generally known as *Sequin*. Now, Richard Steele in his 'Memorandum on the Moneys, Weights and Measures of Persia' says that the Cheken [Sequin] of Venetia was worth "20 Shahyes" in 1615 A.C. (Letters Received by the East India Company, Ed Foster, III, 176.) Now, the Shāhī is generally estimated as equal to about 4*d* of English money, so the Sequin or 'Cheken' would be worth 6*s* 8*d* and if the Tūmān was equal to 10 Falorys or Sequins its value would be £3 6*s* 8*d* or *about* 30 Rs. at 2*s* 3*d* to the rupee.

This is what can be gleaned from the 'Memoirs' of Bābur, Jauhar and the historians of Akbar. The twenty extracts which follow are from the 'Autobiography' of Jahāngīr and the contemporary Annals of the reigns of Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzeb.

(*i*) "It [*scil.* the fort of Āgra] had four gates and two sally-ports and its cost was 35 lakhs of rupees[1], equal to 1,15,000

[1] The original figure "35 lakhs of rupees" is taken from the "*Haft Iqlīm*" of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī who says in his account of Āgra that the building of the fort cost "Seven krors of *tankas* which are equivalent to thirty-five laks of rupees." هفت کرور تنکه که سی و پنج لک روپیه باشد (Manuscript).

The statement occurs in the 'Third 'Iqlīm' or Section of the work which was completed in 1002 A.H. The author was a great traveller and

tomān of current Persian coinage [رائج ایران] and to 1,05,00,000 *khānī* according to the Tūrān reckoning."

Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī, Trans. Rogers and Beveridge, I, 3; Sayyad Aḥmad Khān's Text, p 2, l. 9.

(*ii*) On each of the gates [*scil.* of the fortress of Rohtās in the Salt Range, Panjāb], they have carved on a stone the cost of erecting the fort; 16 krors, 10 lakhs of dāms and more [و کسری] were expended, equal in Hindustan reckoning to 40,25,000 rupees, and according to the currency [داد و ستد] of Irān to 1,20,000 tūman, and in the currency of Tūrān to 1 *arb*, 21 lakhs and 75,000 khānī, that are now current." [1]

Tūzuk, Trans. 1, 96; Text, 46, two lines from foot.

Jahāngīr gives the amount in *dāms* as "16 kror, 10 lakhs and something more," and adds that this is what he found "carved on a stone" on "each of the gates." "The following note which Dowson has appended to his abridged translation of the '*Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*' is, therefore, perplexing and calculated to raise serious doubts about his accuracy "The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* (MS. p. 236) says 'New Rhotās' cost eight krors, five lacs, five thousand and two and a half *dāms*, which means Bahlolīs. All which is written over the gate of the fort." (Elliot and Dowson, IV, 419 note.) It will be seen that the sum is just half of that mentioned by the Emperor The two statements are at first sight, absolutely discrepant. At the same time, the identification of the 'dām' with

visited this country in the reign of Akbar. He was a first cousin of Mirzā Ghiyās Beg, father of the Empress Nūr Jahān and had evidently good sources of information. The passage itself has been copied into his own work by the author of the Maāsiru-l-umarā and the equation is discussed in my article on the Murādī Tanka (*loc. cit.*, 91–2). The English traveller Herbert says the castle cost *twenty*-five laks of rupees, but the statement itself (which is cited below as a curiosity) is full of palpable errors.

"This done, Ecbar returns, crowned with victory, and as the product of peace, begins the Castle in Agra, * * Twelve years scarce finisht it, though twelve hundred Labourers were at some time employed about it; there he expended fifty thousand crow of Tacks [Tankas]; a crow is a hundred leck, each leck a hundred thousand; thirty, sometime twenty Tack [Tanka] make one Roopee; a Roopee is two Shillings three pence, so that accounting but twenty Tack to a Roopee the total he disbursed amounts to two millions and five hundred thousand Roopees." (Travels, Ed. 1665, pp. 66–7.)

'Fifty thousand crow of Tacks' is an error or absurd exaggeration. Fifty crores of Tankas would at the rate of 20 Tankas to the rupee, be equivalent to *twenty-five* millions of rupees and not to *two* millions and five hundred thousand only.

[1] Mr. Beveridge says in a Note that the "figures seem wrong" and that "the correct sum in rupees is 34 lakhs 25,000." This is due to a miscalculation on his own part. The correct amount in rupees is 40,25,000 as given by Jahāngīr. But the Emperor has confused *arb* with *kror*, in his summation of the Khānīs and is also wrong as to the number of the lakhs. The correct number of Khānīs is 1 *kror*, 20 laks, 75,000, at the rate of 3 khānīs to the Rupee.

the 'Bahlolī' indicates that this may be due to some confusion No copper coin of Bahlol Lodī with a weight corresponding to that of the dām is known. What the writer really meant or intended was the similar issue in mixed metal—the denomination which acquired in the reign of his son the specific name of 'Sikandarī Tanka', and was equal to the twentieth part of the Akbarī Rupee i.e., just two dāms. Eight krors, five laks, five thousand and two and a half *Sikandarī tankas* would exactly equal the "16 krors, 10 lakhs of dams and more [کسری]" given by the Emperor.

(*iii*) Jahāngīr says that on the first anniversary of Akbar's death, he gave away large sums and ordered them to be divided amongst the necessitous and the faqīrs. The total came to 1,00,000 rupees, equal to 300 'Irāq tūmāns, and 3,00,000 of the currency of the people of Māwaraun-nahr [*i e.* Transoxiana or Tūrān. [II R.Y.][1]

Tūzuk, Trans. 1. 128; Text, 61, l. 7.

(*iv*) "On the whole, they told me the cost of this lofty edifice [*scil.* Akbar's tomb at Sikandra] was 15,00,000 rupees, equivalent to 50,000 current tūmāns of Persia and 45,00,000 Khānīs, according to the currency of Tūrān.[2]

Tūzuk, Trans. I, 152; Text, 73, l 1.

(*v*) "I gave him [Yādgār 'Alī Sulṭān, ambassador of Shāh 'Abbās] a superb robe of honour and 30,000 rupees, which were equivalent 1,000 Persian tūmāns" [VI R.Y.]

Tūzuk, Trs. I, 193; Text, 93, three lines from foot.

(*vi*) "Nearly 3,00,000 rupees or 2,000 Persian Tūmāns were expended on this" [*scil.* repairs to the palaces of the Khiljī rulers of Mālwā in Mandū].[3] [XI R.Y.]

Tūzuk, Trans. I, 364; Text, 180, l. 2.

(*vii*) "Altogether my son's offerings [*scil.* Prince Khurram or Shāh Jahān's] came to 22,60,000 rupees or 75,000 tūmāns of the currency of Irān, or 67,80,000 current Tūrān khānīs." [XII R.Y.]

Tūzuk, Trs. I. 401; Text. 198, seventh line from foot.

(*viii*) "On Thursday the 7th [Dai, XII R.Y.], marching 6½ Koss [*scil.* from Naryād.], I halted in the parganah of Pitlād. In the country of Gujarāt there is no larger parganah than this; it has a revenue of 7,00,000 rupees, equal to 23,000 current tūmāns of Irāq."

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[1] This is a misprint. It should be *3,000* 'Irāq Tūmāns, and so it is in the original.

[2] Sir Thomas Herbert writes: "At *Tzekander*, or *Secandra*, * * * is the *Mausoleum* or Burial-place of the great *Moguls*, the foundation of which was begun by *Ecbar*, the superstructure continued by *Jangheer* his Son, and is yet scarce finished, albeit they have already consumed 14 *millions* of Roopees in that Wonder of *India*." Travels, Ed. 1665, p. 67. The European traveller has almost decupled the real amount.

[3] *Sic* in the English translation, but the printed Persian text has not دو هزار but ده هزار which is, without doubt, the correct reading.

Tūzuk, Trs. I, 415; Text, 205, six lines from foot.

(*ix*) "It [*scil.* the *kapūr talāo*, *i.e.* Camphor Tank] is a square of 36 yards [درعه] by 36, with a depth of 4½ yards [درعه]. By the order of that revered one [*scil.* Akbar], the officials of the public treasury had filled it with *fulūs* (copper coins) and rupees. It came to 34 krors, and 48 lakhs, and 46,000 dāms, and 16,79,400 rupees or a total of 1,03,00,000 (one kror and three lakhs), according to the Hindustānī reckoning and 3,43,000 *tūmān* according to Persian. For a long time the thirsty-lipped ones of the desert of desire were satisfied from that fountain of benignity."[1] (*Tūzuk*, Trs. II, 68–9; Text, 260, l. 26.)

(*x*) "Altogether there had been expended on these buildings [*scil.* the palace at Lāhor] the sum of Rs. 7,00,000 or 23,000 current tūmāns of Persia." [XV.R.Y.]

Tūzuk, Trans. II. 183; Text, 318, l. 19.

(*xi*) During the famine of 1040 A.H. the Emperor [*scil.* Shāh Jahān] allowed remissions of land-revenue amounting to about [قریب] 70,00,000 rupees—equal to more than 2,30,000 tūmāns of 'Irāq and 2,80,00,000 khānīs of Mawarā-an-nahr—in the khālṣa Maḥāls [*i.e.* Crown lands] of which the customary revenue was eighty krors of dāms or one-eleventh of the aggregate [land ?] revenue of the Empire.[2]

Bādishāh-nāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, i. 364, l. 4.

(*xii*) Shawls were woven in the Imperial kārkhānas of Kashmīr and Lāhor which were so exceedingly fine that the cost per gaz was a hundred rupees or more than three *tūmāns* of 'Irāq.

Bād. Nām. Text, I, i. 448.

(*xiii*) The expenses incurred in connection with the *Jashn* or Feast on the occasion of Dārā Shikoh's marriage to Nādira Bānū—the daughter of Prince Parvīz—were thirty-two laks of rupees which would be *nearly* [قریب] equivalent to one hundred thousand tūmāns of 'Irāq or one kror and thirty laks of the khānīs of Mawarā-an-nahr. [VI R.Y. 1042, A.H.].

Bād. Nām. Text, I, i. 460.

(*xiv*) The entire territory belonging to the Niẓāmu-l-mulk [i.e. the kings or rulers of Aḥmadnagar] of which the Jama'a [land-revenue ?] amounted to two krors and twenty-five laks of rupees or six hundred and twenty-five thousand tūmāns of Irāq was annexed to the Imperial dominions [ممالک محروسه][3]

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[1] There is a small error here. The correct sum in Rupees is 1,03,00,500 rupees.

[2] Jahāngīr always reckons three Khānīs to the Rupee. This author assigns to it a lower value and makes it ¼ of a Rupee.

[3] There must be some error in the calculation of the figures. The Tūmān could not have all of a sudden risen to 36 rupees. (2,25,00,000 + 6,25,000 = 36).

Bād. Nām. ibid., I, i. 485, l. 4.

(*xv*) Quṭbu-l-mulk the ruler of Gulkanda sent in token of allegiance a *peshkash* [tribute] of the value of fifty laks of rupees, which would be *nearly* [قریب] equivalent to one hundred and sixty thousand *tūmāns*. [VI R.Y.]

Bād. Nām ibid., I, i 485, l. 6.

(*xvi*) The aggregate amount of the peshkash [i.e tribute] received from the rulers of the Dekkan, the chiefs of Gondwāna and the buried treasures of Jhajjār [Singh Bundela] during this year [IX R.Y. 1045-6 A.H.] was *about* [نزدیک] two krors of rupees which would be equivalent to *about* [قریب] six hundred and seventy thousand *tūmāns* of 'Irāq and eight kror khānīs of the currency of Māwarā-an-nahr.

Bād Nām ibid, I, ii. 181, l. 1

(*xvii*) The aggregate value of the offerings presented by the Prince Shāh Jahān to the Emperor Jahāngīr after his first campaign in the Dekkan was 22,60,000 rupees equivalent to 75,000 *tūmāns* current in Irān [رایج ایران] and *about* [قریب] a hundred laks of the *khānīs* current in Māwarā-an-nahr [1]

Bād. Nām. I, ii. 189, l. 4.

(*xviii*) The total Revenue [حاصل کل] of the kings of Persia is seven [2] laks of *tūmāns* which are equal to two krors and forty laks of rupees.

Bād. Nām. II, 63, l. 12.

(*xix*) The annual proceeds of the taxes on corn and other food-stuffs and drinks [باج غله و دیگر اجناس ماکوله و مشروبه] remitted by the Emperor [*scil.* Aurangzeb] in the Khalsa Mahāls alone had been 25,00,000 rupees or 75,000 Tūmāns current in Irān. [II, R.Y., 1070 A.H.]

'*Ālamgīrnāma*, Bibl. Ind. Text, 438, l. 12.

(*xx*) The presents sent by Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafavī for the Emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1124 A.H. were more costly than those sent by any of his predecessors and the ambassador presented on his own account twelve or thirteen horses and other things

[1] This is copied from the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. Trs. I, 401. *Vide supra*, Extrat vii), but the figures for the khānīs are deliberately altered. Jahāngīr has only 67,80,000 Khānīs.

[2] This is a copyist's error. هفت and هشت are constantly confused in Persian writing: There can be little doubt that the true reading is هشت (eight). Khāfī Khān who has reproduced the figures has "*eight* laks and twelve thousand Tūmāns of Irāq or about two krors and fifty laks of rupees." (I, 403, l. 3.) As he expressly cites the Bādishāhnāma as his authority, we may be sure that his copy had هشت Khāfī Khān says that the income from the tithe on corn [عشور جنس غله] was 25 laks of rupees in the 2nd year of Aurangzeb's reign, but he does not give its equivalent in Tūmāns. (Text, II, 98, l. 11.)

of the value of five hundred tūmāns or twelve thousand rupees.

Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, Bib. Ind. Text, II, 737, l. 2.

It will be seen that ten out of the twenty passages cited are from the 'Memoirs' of Jahāngīr. In four of them (Nos. iii–vi), the Tūmān is reckoned as exactly equivalent to 30 rupees. In the other six, a somewhat higher multiple seems to have been adopted, but it is difficult to say whether this is due to errors in calculation, mistakes of transcription, the use of only round numbers or some temporary rise or fluctuation in the rupee-value of the Tūmān. The last seems to be the least probable. The Tūmān was a mere money of account, an imaginary denomination with a fixed theoretical value or book-rate, but no substantial or metallic basis, and there is nothing to show that it was subject to temporary variations according to the balance of trade or the supply and demand of the precious metals.

It becomes consequently necessary to fall back upon one or other of the three first explanations. In Ext i, 1,15,000 Tūmāns are stated as equivalent to 35 laks of rupees, though the sum yielded by multiplying the number of Tūmāns by 30 is only 34 laks, 50 thousand. So in Ext. ix, the equivalent of 3,43,000 Tūmāns is said to be 10,30,000 Rs. The exact figure is 1,02,90,000 Rs. So in the seventh quotation, the correct sum in rupees should, at the former rate, be 22,50,000 and not 22,60,000, and in the eighth and tenth excerpts 6,90,000, instead of 70,00,000. All these are most probably accounted for by the author's indifference to mathematical exactitude, and his desire to be content with round numbers. But this excuse will scarcely serve in the case of our second citation, where 1,20,000 *Tūmāns* are said to be equivalent to 40,25,000 Rs. The discrepancy here is too glaring and is due either to a blunder in calculation or transcription, and we should suppose that the imperial author wrote or meant to write 1,30,000 Tūmāns.

Eight of the remaining excerpts are from the *Bādishāh-nāma*. Its author's valuation is also thirty rupees, but he deliberately and repeatedly allows it to be known that the figures he gives are only approximately correct. In one place (No 14), he seems to reckon it at thirty-six rupees (6,25,000 Tūmāns × 3 = 22,25,00,000 Rs.), but this is probably due to an error in multiplication.

In the solitary reference to this denomination in the *'Ālamgīrnāma*, the rate of conversion adopted seems to be 33⅓ Rupees to the Tūmān. The statement occurs in the chronicle of the year 1070 Hijrī (1659–60 A.C.) and the work itself was completed in the 32nd year of Aurangzeb's reign (E.D. VII, 174). Then, we find Khāfī Khān recording the fact that some horses presented to Farrukhsiyar in 1124 A.H. were valued at

500 Tūmāns or 12,000 Rupees. This means that the Tūmān had, at some time during the intervening half century, fallen to 24 rupees.

XVI. THE JULŪS YEARS OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

A Solar Era commencing from the Nauroz (day of the Sun's entrance into Aries) of the year of his accession (963 A.H.) was founded by Akbar in A.H. 992 (XXIX R.Y.). The new *Sana* or Epoch was called 'Ilāhī', and not Akbarī, from a desire to give credit to Allah for this as well as other reforms of the period, and to advance God's glory rather than his own.[1] The establishment of the new system of reckoning is proved by the fact that from the thirtieth year of his reign to its end in the fiftieth, the dates on the coins are expressed in solar years and months to the "almost total exclusion" of the lunar computation. The Hijrī dates reappeared on the accession of Jahāngīr, but the rival method was not discarded. "Whilst reverting to the lunar reckoning for the * * * ordinary date of his coins, he still employed," says Mr Lane Poole, "the solar year and Persian months in stating the year of his reign on the coinage, though without any pretence of establishing a new Epoch, but simply as our own Acts of Parliament are dated by the Queen's regnal years. * * * Besides retaining Akbar's solar reckoning for regnal years, Jahāngīr preserved the special term Ilāhī in connexion with the regnal year, using it in the same manner as *julūs*,—a term which he also occasionally employed. Thus he inscribed his coins with ضرب اگره ٦ سنه ٥ شهر الهي, and also with سنه ٦ جلوس. The custom of recording the *julūs* or regnal year was preserved by all succeeding Emperors and pretenders; but the solar years and Persian months were banished from the coinage and the

[1] Several ancient as well as modern Eras were called by their founders after their own names; others are named after rulers whose accession or death they were intended to commemorate. In a disquisition on the subject in which Abūl Faẓl has freely laid under contribution the *Aṯhāru-l-Bāqiya* ('Chronology of Ancient Nations') of the Arab polyhistor Alberūnī—the following instances are mentioned: the Era of Bukht Naṣr, (Nabonaṣar, *i.e.* Nebuchadnezzar), the Era of Philip, the Era of Augustus, the Era of Antoninus [Pius], the Era of Daklātiānūs (Diocletian), the Era of Yazdajard, and the Malikī Era, *i.e.* of Jalālu-d-dīn Malik Shāh Seljūqī. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Text, I., 274-7; Jarrett. II. 22-29. See also Sachau's Translation of the *Āṯhār*.

Akbar from a feeling of humility, real or professed or perhaps from a mere desire to do something new, would not allow the Era established by himself to be called after his own name. He would have it called Ilāhī. The new *Gaz* or Yard measure introduced by Sikandar Lodī had been called *Sikandarī* (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 61) Akbar devised another and promulgated a decree for its universal use, but its official designation was *Ilāhī*, not Akbarī.

exchequer by Aurangzeb. * * It should be observed that discrepancies between the Hijrah year and the regnal year are not infrequent. Sometimes this is due to the employment of an old die; sometimes it is caused by the carelessness of the mint-masters. The use of the solar reckoning for the regnal years and the lunar for the Hijrah date during Jahāngīr's and Shāh Jahān's reigns, when the two were constantly shifting their relative positions, may reasonably have caused some confusion." (B.M.C. Introd lxiii–iv).[1]

It will be noticed that Mr. Lane Poole speaks of the 'use of the solar reckoning for the regnal years' not only of Jahāngīr but also of Shāh Jahān, and similar pronouncements have been made with equal confidence by other Numismatists of repute. So far as Jahāngīr is concerned, the explicit statements on the subject in his own '*Tūzuk*' and the '*Iqbālnāma*' of his secretary, Mu'atamad Khān, leave no room for doubt that the regnal dates on his coins *are* calculated on a solar basis. But the matter stands on an altogether different footing with respect to Shāh Jahān. A superficial examination of the monetary issues of that Emperor is sufficient to show that the "discrepancies between the regnal years and Hijrah dates" to which allusion is made by Mr. Lane Poole, are not only too numerous but too *systematic* or *methodical* to be ascribed to the "carelessness of mint-masters" or the occasional "employment of an old die."

I have had, in the course of these studies, occasion to investigate the subject in the light of certain statements occurring in the Mughal chronicles Some of these statements are lengthy, and the demonstration of their correctness will involve some labour and tedious calculations, but the full presentation of the evidence—historical and numismatic—is indispensable for an adequate discussion of the question, the accepted views

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[1] I have cited the passage from Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's Introduction as it is the fullest, clearest and most authoritative exposition known to me of the accepted views on this subject. As this paper is written for the purpose of demonstrating that that view is radically erroneous, I may be permitted for clearness to state categorically in juxtaposition with it, the points in which I differ from him.

In the first place, then, I deny that Jahāngīr "*preserved* the special term Ilāhī *in connexion with the* regnal year." I submit that it was used by him only "in connexion with" *the names of the months* and that the qualifying epithet which Jahāngīr used for the سال or year was not *Ilāhī* but *Julūs* At the same time, I admit that Jahāngīr's Julūs (*not* Ilāhī) years were reckoned on a solar basis.

I deny that the solar reckoning of the Julūs years was *first* abolished by *Aurangzeb*. My submission is that the Julūs years on the coins of Shāh Jahān are not in terms of Solar Years but Lunar and that the word 'Ilāhī' which figures on the so-called *Kalima-Ilāhī* coins qualifies only the *name* of the month, and not the word سال, with which it has nothing whatever to do.

in regard to which appear to be founded on a hasty assumption.

I will first call into the witness-box the court-chronicler 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī whose '*Bādishāhnāma*' is the most detailed and authoritative account of the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. In his account of the commands issued by the Emperor immediately after his accession we read :—

از آنجا که همگی همت پادشاهانه و عزیمت ملکانه خدیو هفت کشور خداوند بحر و بر مصروف رواج دین حق آئین محمدی و رونق طریقهٔ انیقهٔ احمدی است *** و با علو منزلت و جاه وفزونی مکنت و دستگاه از خزاین بی پایان و عساکر بیکران و کثرت اسباب تنعم و تن آسانی و فرط مواد مستلذات جسمانی . لحظهٔ از رعایت اوامر و نواهی ملت غراء مصطفوی بغفلت نگرایند . و لحمهٔ از حمایت احکام شریعت بیضای نبوی فراموشی نگزیدند بر خاطر صواب ناظر پرتو افگند که سی و دو سال شمسی و شش روز و هشت ساعت نجومی و ثالثی سی و سه سال هلالی است و پیداست که مدت تربیع سی وسه سال دین مبین را سی و دو سال نگاشتن خردمند سعادت ور دین پژوه نیز برد بنا بران مفتح سوانح و مبداء وقایع جلوس مقدس قرار داده مدار حفظ اوقات احکام و ضبط حوادث ایام بر سنین و شهور قمری که مبنای تاریخ هجری است نهادند *** و اگر چه اورنگ جهانستانی هشتم ماه جمادی الثانیه بجلوس والا بلند پایگی یافته بود اما چون ابتداء سال از سر اعاز ماه اولی از پیش گاه دانش فرمان شد که مبداء سال فرخنده جلوس غرهٔ جمادی الثانیه اعتبار کنند و بدین مضمون صداشیر قضا تانیر بصوبجات ممالک محروسه صادر شد *

Bādishāhnāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, i. 128, l. 3.

"As the Imperial energies and the princely labours of this Lord of Seven Climes, the Ruler of Land and Sea [*scil* Shāh Jahān] are directed towards (*lit.* spent) giving currency to the Righteous Faith of Muḥammad and imparting lustre to the Pure Creed of Aḥmad * * * and as, notwithstanding, the eminence of his rank and dignity, the profusion of wealth and grandeur resulting from inexhaustible treasures and innumerable troops, the plentifulness of the means of luxury and indulgence, and the abundance of the resources of corporeal pleasures, His Majesty does not, for a moment neglect the execution of the injunctions and prohibitions of the Glorious Religion of Muḥammad the Muṣṭafa, it flashed upon the right-thinking mind [of the Emperor], that thirty-two solar years, six days and eight and one-third astronomical hours are equivalent to thirty-three lunar years. It is evident, then, that no wise and

religious individual would willingly record that the True Faith [*scil.* Islām] had existed (*lit.* been current) for 32 years only when it had in reality subsisted for 33. Consequently the August Accession [*Julūs-i-muqaddas*] was ordered to be established as the starting-point (*lit.* opener, key) of events and the initial date (*lit.* point of commencement) of the occurrences [of the reign], and the registration of imperial regulations in the order of time and the record of the incidents of the period *was directed to be based on the lunar years and months on which the Era of the Hijra is founded.* * * * * * And although the throne of world-conquest had the honour of being mounted [in reality] on the 8th of Jumādā the Second, yet, as it is preferable to commence a year from the very beginning of a month, instructions were issued from the Court of wisdom for making the auspicious year of the Accession begin from the 1st of Jumādā the Second. And unalterable (irresistible or inexorable) commands to that effect were issued to the Ṣūbas of the Guarded Empire."

The author of the ʿ *Ālamgīrnāma* also, after describing the *Tarīkh-Ilāhī* established by Akbar, and saying that Jahāngīr continued to reckon in *Solar* [*Shamsī*] *years* (not *Ilāhī* years) and months, but made a fresh beginning from his own accession (*Julūs-i-Jahāngīrī*) declares that Shāh Jahān did away with the system of reckoning the years of the *julūs* by *Solar* years.

و در نوبت سریر آرائی حضرت جنت مکانی نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه طاب مثواه جلوس جهانگیري مبداي تاریخ گشته بر همان نهج اغاز سنین از فروردین نشاط ائین رتبت اعتبار یافت و بهمان دستور ضبط وقائع برسنین و شهور شمسی قرار گرفت و بعد از انکه سریر خلافت بجلوس اشرف اعلی حضرت صاحب قران ثاني ولا پایه گردید آن حضرت تاریخ الهی و جهانگیري را که مبتنی بر سال و ماه شمسی بود اعتبار نکرده بقاي ضبط حوادث و مدار حفظ اوقات بروفق معمول اهل اسلام بر سنین و شهور قمري که مبنای تاریخ هجري ست نهادند و غرهٔ جمادي الاخره که در هشتم آن بر سریر سلطنت جلوس فرموده بودند مبدای تاریخ قرار دادند *

ʿ *Ālamgīrnāma*, Bibl. Ind. Text, 387, seven lines from foot.

"And when it fell to the lot (*lit.* was the turn) of Ḥaẓrat Jinnatmakānī (*i.e.* he whose residence is in Paradise) Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādishāh—may his resting-place be sweet—to adorn the throne, the *Julūs-i-Jahāngīrī* (*i.e.* the year of Jahāngīr's accession) became the foundation (*i.e.* the initial date) of the *Tārīkh* (*i.e.* the chronological system), and it was the practice to commence the year in the same way [as in the reign of Akbar] from the delightful [month of] Farwardīn and

to record events as before (*lit.* in the same manner) in *solar* years and months." [سنین و شهور شمسی]

"After the throne of the Khilāfat was exalted by the glorious accession,[1] of the A'la Hazrat, the second Ṣāḥib Qirān, His Majesty [*scil.* Shāh Jahān] discarded the *Ilāhī* and *Jahāngīrī* Eras or Epochs [تاریخ الهی وجهانگیری] which were based on Solar years and months, and laid the foundation of the registration of events and the recording of occurrences in conformity with the practice of the people of Islām on lunar years and months. The 1st day of the second Jumādā, on the 8th of which he [*scil.* Shāh Jahān] had actually ascended the throne of the Sultanate, was fixed as the initial date of the Reign."

And Khāfī Khān puts the matter thus:—

و اول دیوان بعضی بدعتهای را مشروع مثل سجود نمودن در مقابل عنایات و در وقت آب نوش جان فرمودن و بجای تاریخ ماه عربی و سال هجری ماه و سال شمسی الهی بقید سنه جلوس اکبری نوشتن ممنوع نموده عوض سجده زمین بوس چهار تسلیم مقرر فرمودند و تاریخ ماه عربی و سال هجری را از سال و ماه جلوس مقدم داشته ماه الهی را با سال مطابق آن قرار دادند *

Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 397, ll. 3-9.

"On the very first day of holding Court, he [*scil.* Shāh Jahān] abolished various innovations which were contrary to the Religious Law [شرع], as for example, the performance of the *Sijda* as an acknowledgment of favours received [from the Emperor], or when water was drunk by him.[2] The recording (*lit.* writing) of the Solar—Ilāhī month and year in conformity with the Epoch (سنه) of Akbar's accession [جلوس اکبری] instead of the Arabian month and Hijrī year was also forbidden

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[1] The phrase used in the original is جلوس اشرف which is a characteristic feature of the coins of A'ẓam Shāh. All the other synonymous expressions appearing on the coins - جلوس مقدس - جلوس میمنت مانوس جلوس مبارک (P.M.C. Introd. xxxii) occur frequently in all the historians of the period. I have also noticed - جلوس همایون - جلوس اقدس جلوس سعادت مانوس - جلوس خجستگی مانوس and جلوس معلّی.

[2] This was an ancient Persian custom and in vogue under the Achæmenid dynasty. The quarrel between Alexander the Great and Callisthenes which ultimately led to the latter's being rightly or wrongly accused and hanged for conspiracy originated in the latter's 'churlish' refusal to prostrate himself at a drinking-party. Arrian, Anabasis, Tr. Chinnock, Bk. IV, Ch. XII, (Bohn), pp. 209-210.

[ممنوع]. Four bows [چهار تسليم][1] were substituted før the *Sijda* or *Zamīnbos* and the date [تاريخ] according to the Arabian month and Hijrī year was directed to be [قرار دادند] put in front of [مقدم داشتند, written before, or given precedence to ?] the year and month of the Julūs, the Ilāhī month being entered along with the year corresponding [مطابق] to it."

¶t is not always easy to unravel the meaning of such ornate writers as the authors of the *Bādishāhnāma* and the *'Ālamgīrnāma*, but it stands out clearly even from the inflated periods of 'Abdul Ḥamīd and his imitator, that Shāh Jahān abolished immediately after his enthronement, the practice of counting the regnal or *Julūs* years in terms of the solar year, and issued orders for the restoration of the lunar reckon ing which was inseparably associated with the rites and practice of Islām. The solar computation was, in the opinion of the orthodox Emperor, a بدعت or unauthorized and pernicious innovation, a defiance not only of the Law of the Prophet, but a sin against God.[2] It amounted to this that a Musalmān Sovereign who had, by Divine Grace, been permitted to rule for thirty-three years represented himself in his public Acts and Records as having reigned for only thirty-two It was, to all intents and purposes, an attempt artificially and unlawfully to disparage the bounties of Providence and, as such, a clear and damning proof of ingratitude. One of his earliest regulations, consequently, enjoined the instant purgation of this error and directed that the length of his own reign should be measured by lunar or Arabian years and months, so as to render unto

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[1] The author of the *Qānoon-e-Islām* defines "*Taslīm* as touching the ground with the fingers and then making *salam*, sometimes repeated thrice. * * * *Qudum bosee* قدم بوسي or *Zumeen boŧee* زمين بوسي which consists in kissing the foot or touching it with the hand, or touching the edge of the carpet on which the person sits, and either kissing the latter or making a *salam*. Done only to parents and great people. * * * *Sijdah* سجده or Prostration. A position in prayer consisting in stooping forwards while in the sitting (the Mohammedan kneeling) posture, and touching the ground with the forehead; the eyes at the same time directed to the tip of the nose". Herklots, *op. cit.*, pp. cv. and ci.

[2] Shāh Jahān's orthodoxy is the constant theme of the praise of 'Abdul Ḥamīd. Elsewhere, he informs us that "as soon as his Majesty, ascended the throne, he directed his imperial energies to the renovation of the institutions of the religion of the Muṣṭafa [Muḥammad] which had gone to ruin and directed his royal zeal to the strengthening of the foundations of the Law of the Prophet which had begun to decay." (*Bādishāhnāma*, Text, I, ¦10, l. 16). Other writers, do the same. "Historians," writes Blochmann, "make much of the time of his birth (end of the Millennium), and his first acts on his accession justified people to look upon him as the *Mujaddid-i-dīn-i-mubīn*, the Restorer of Islam." (Proc. A.S.B., 1869, p. 219.)

Allah undiminished meed of praise for His Mercies and to avoid ungratefully detracting anything from them.

The historian Khāfī Khān whose account of the first ten years of the reign is professedly derived, not so much from the *Bādishāhnāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd as from the contemporary '*Shāh Jahānnāma*' of Amīnāi Munshī (see *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, Text. I. 248, 165, 346). makes an identical statement in simpler language. At the same time, he adds a detail of no small interest in regard to the rule or formula officially prescribed for registering the date. He not only says that the reckoning in solar years was prohibited and the Julūs years directed to be calculated in terms of the lunar year, but that the Hijrī *tarīkh* was ordered to be written before the year of the Julūs and the Ilāhī *month* to be entered along with the year corresponding to it only at the end.

Briefly, the historical evidence amounts to this that Shāh Jahān ordered the official record of events and the years of his own reign to be kept in Lunar years, that he prohibited the registration of, as well as the reckoning by, Solar *years* and that he insisted on the Ilāhī month being entered, in those cases in which it was necessary or permissible to do so, *at the very end*, the place of honour being given to the Hijrī *tārīkh*. If these statements are correct, it follows, as a matter of course, that the *Julūs* dates on *all* the monetary issues of the Emperor are expressed in terms of lunar and not solar years.

So far as these three authors are concerned, there is an absolute consensus. But chroniclers and annalists are not infallible and it is possible that they may be in error, or have misconstrued and imperfectly reported the purport of the Imperial *Farmān*.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to test their statements by the coins—and to ascertain, from those veracious records whether the regnal dates inscribed upon them are Solar, as present day numismatists think, or Lunar, as the contemporary historians unanimously declare.

For the purposes of this inquiry, the extant mintages of Shāh Jahān may be divided into six classes :—

(i) Those on which no dates were originally inscribed or are now decipherable;
(ii) Those which show only the Hijrī date;
(iii) Those which display the Regnal or Julūs year only;
(iv) Those exhibiting the Hijrī year and Ilāhī month;
(v) Those on which the Hijrī and the Regnal or Julūs years are both stated;
(vi) Those on which the Hijrī year, the Julūs date and the Ilāhī month are all recorded.

It is evident that the first four of these classes are incapable of shedding any light on the matter at issue. It is the coins

of the fifth and sixth groups only which furnish us with the data necessary for answering the question, 'Are the Regnal years to be understood as Solar or Lunar'?

To make it easy for every one to follow the discussion, and form his own opinion on a somewhat abstruse point of comparative chronology, I have prepared two Tables of Synchronisms. In the first, the Hijrī days and months corresponding to the Nauroz (New Year's Days) of thirty-two Solar years of Shāh Jahān's reign will be found. In the second, the Solar days and months equivalent to the thirty-two Lunar anniversaries of Shāh Jahān's Accession are shown

Let me explain the use of the First Table. Opening at random the British Museum Catalogue, we find that No. 560 has the dates 1057-21. Now, the Table shows that the نوروز or New Year's day of the 21st Solar year of Shāh Jahān's reign corresponded to 25 Ṣafar 1058 A.H. (20th March, 1648) But if the 21st Solar year commenced more than fifty days *after* the expiry of the 1057th year of the Hijra, it is clear that the two dates are discrepant. On the same page, No. 563 shows the figures 1061-25, but according to the Table, the 25th Nauroz really coincided with 9 Rab'ī II of the *following year*, 1062 A.H. (20th March, 1652 A.C.).

No. 565 exhibits the conjoint date 1062-26 though it is apparent from the Table that the 26th year by the solar reckoning began only on 20 Rab'ī II, 1063 A.H. (20-3-1653 A C.) The parallel dates on Nos. 566 and 567 are, for similar reasons, irreconcilable, if the Julūs years are supposed to be Solar.

Let us now take some instances from Mr. H. Nelson Wright's Indian Museum Catalogue. No. 884 exhibits the double date 1055-19, though the contemporary author of the *Bādishāhnāma* has left it on record that the Nauroz of the 19th year was celebrated only on 3rd Ṣafar 1056 A.H. (20 March, 1646 A.C.). No. 1095 is of 1056-20, though we have, in the same work, authority for the equation, Nauroz of 20th year = 14 Ṣafar 1057 A.H. (21 March, 1647 A.C.). On No. 1097 we read 1058-22, though the contemporary historian Muḥammad Wāriṣ explicitly states that the 22nd Solar year of Shāh Jahān's reign did not begin before 6 Rab'ī I, 1059 A.H. (20 March, 1649 A.C.) and did not end before 16 Rab'ī I, 1060 A.H. (19 March, 1650 A.C.).

If we turn to the Catalogue of the Panjāb Museum, there is no lack of discrepancies there also. No. 1221 is said to have been struck in the 17th year of the *Julūs*, and the Hijrī year is given as 1053, though the 17th Solar year really began only on 10 Muḥarram, 1054 A.H. (19 March, 1644 A.C.)—ten days after the 1053rd year of the Flight had come to an end. The Hijrī year 1054 is inscribed on No. 1436, and the Regnal year is stated to have been the 18th, though it is certain that the 18th Solar year had not commenced when 1054 Hijrī came

to an end, and the Nauroz of the 18th year was synchronous only with 21 Muḥarram 1055 A.H. (19 March, 1645 A.C.). The contemporary chronicler distinctly says so, and it is easy for any one to verify the statement by independent calculation.[1] The same observations apply to No. 1351 on which the Regnal year is 31, but the Hijrī date is 1067, though the 31st solar year began only on 14 Jumādā II, 1068 A.H. (19 March, 1658 A.C.). It will be seen that in none of these cases do the figures for the Regnal or *Julūs* year work out correctly with the parallel Hijrī dates if the former are *assumed* to be Solar. But they will be found to tally perfectly, one with the other, if the *Julūs* years are reckoned as lunar. Thus to go back to the first of the instances mentioned, the 21st Lunar year of Shāh Jahān's reign began (according to the *official* calculation) on 1st Jumādā II, 1057 A.H., and ended on 30th Jumāda I, 1058 A.H. The figures appearing on the coin (1057–21) are, therefore, *both* correct (*vide* Table II). Similarly the 25th Lunar year lasted from 1 Jumādā II, 1061 up to 30 Jumādā I, 1062 A.H. (Table II). The dates on the coin 1061–25 are therefore perfectly regular. The same observations apply to all the other cases.

It will be noticed that all these discrepancies occur only in reference to the mintages of the 17th or some subsequent year of the Emperor's reign, and that not a single instance of an earlier date is included in this lengthy catalogue of (supposed) errors. This is easily intelligible, and just what we should expect. The explanation is that the Lunar years being shorter than the Solar, progress more quickly. On account of the constant acceleration of about eleven days *per annum*, the lunar reckoning must, inevitably catch up, and ultimately even outrun the Solar computation. It is clear from Table I, that the latter event occurred in the 17th year. The *16th* Solar anniversary of the Reign had coincided with 30 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1053 A.H. (9 March, 1644 A.C.), but the *17th* Nauroz corresponded to 10 Muḥarram, 1054 A.H. (19 March, 1644 A.C.). This is why no 'discrepancies' arrest attention on any of the issues of the first 16 years. The trouble or divergence starts in the 17th *Julūs*, the Solar reckoning then *markedly* drops behind, and continues to be in arrears up to the end. The result is that the Hijrī and Regnal dates on several dozens of

[1] An intelligent use of the parallel Hijrī-Christian dates extracted by Mr. Lane Poole from Wüstenfeld's Tables will enable any one to do so. The Nauroz always answers to the 18th, 19th or 20th March of the Julian Calendar. The first Nauroz of Shāh Jahān's reign, i.e. 1 Farwardīn Solar year I corresponded to 12 Rajab 1037 A.H. (Bādishāhnāma, I, i. 186, last line) or 18th March, 1628 A.C. (New style). The Hijrī dates of the 2nd, 3rd and subsequent Naurozes can be easily found by looking in Wüstenfeld's Tables for the Musalmān equivalent of March 18th or 19th or 20th in the Hijrī year 1038, 1039 and so on.

coins of the 17th and subsequent years do not 'fit in' at all, unless we accept the explicit statements of the contemporaneous annalists as to the *Julūs* reckoning having been re-established by Shāh Jahān on the *Lunar* basis.[1]

We have next to consider the sixth class of coins on which the Hijrī date, the Regnal year and the Persian month are all mentioned. On this type, the word 'Ilāhī' occurs as part of the 'date-formula,' and it has been, not unnaturally, supposed that it qualifies the word ماه *as well as* the name of the month.

The issue of this class of coins would seem to have been countermanded or discontinued everywhere, except at Tatta, towards the end of the seventh year. On the muhrs and rupees of Tatta, however, the Regnal year and the Ilāhī month continue to be displayed on the obverse, and the Hijrī date on the reverse, up to the very end of the reign.

It is scarcely necessary to recall the fact that the great majority of these coins are, by reason of their dates being confined to the first seven years of the reign, precluded from being of any use or having a voice in the matter. They are, so to say, absolutely neutral for the purposes of the inquiry. The solar years had not yet lagged *distinctly* behind, and there is, therefore, no marked discord between the two elements. In other words they will be found to work out correctly on *either* supposition, *i.e.* whether the solar reckoning is adopted for the Regnal years or the Lunar. It is different with the issues of the Tatta mint, and they furnish several crucial instances which are fatal to the solar hypothesis.

For instances, we find that the 'date-expression' on B.M.C. 663 is '1058–22– Shahrīvar Ilāhī.' A glance at Table I must suffice to show that the year could not possibly be the 22nd Solar year which began, according to the contemporary chronicler Wāriṣ, on 6 Rabī, 1059 A.H. (20 March, 1649 A.C.), and ended on 16 Rabī I, 1060 A.H. (19 March, 1650 A.C.). But the 22nd *Lunar* year lasted from 1 Jumādā II (=3 Tīr), 1058 up to 30 Jumādā I (=22 Khurdād), 1059 A.H. (23 June, 1648 to 11 June, 1649 A.C.). It follows that this Rupee must have been struck in the 22nd *Lunar* year at some time in Sha'bān-Ramzān 1058 A.H.[2]

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[1] It might be perhaps as well to state clearly once for all that the Hijrī dates and regnal years on all the coins mentioned below do not tally if the latter are supposed to have been solar:—

B.M.C Nos. 559, 560, 563, 565–8, 572–4, 663, 669, 671, 673, 676–681, 683–4.

I.M.C. Nos. 843, 845–7, 850–1, 854–5, 863, 867, 884, 926, 942, 981–3, 1010–11, 1038, 1057–8, 1060–1, 1065, 1069, 1077, 1079, 1083, 1095, 1097, 1099.

P.M.C. Nos. 1221, 1237, 1249, 1251–2, 1340, 1344, 1351, 1353, 1367–8, 1401–2, 1406–7, 1409, 1413, 1436, 1438, 1441, 1451, 1456.

[2] 1st Shahrīvar would be the 167th day of the Ilāhī year, 30th Shahrīvar the 187th. As the Ilāhī year began on 6th Rabī I, *i.e.* the 65th

Again, P.M.C. 1311 is said to have been issued in Amardād Ilāhī of the 29th year of the reign and the 1065th of the Hijra. Now the 29th Solar year began really on or about 23 Jumādā I, 1066—the year following. The two figures cannot therefore be made to tally on the Solar theory. But they will be found to be in perfect accord on the adverse supposition. The 29th Lunar year commenced on 1 Jumādā II (=22 Farwardīn), 1065 and terminated on 30 Jumādā I (=10 Farwardīn), 1066 A.H. (*vide* Table II). It is easy to see that the coin was issued in the 29th *Lunar* year, during Ramẓān-Shawwāl 1065 A.H.

The same remarks apply to P.M.C. 1312 which can be similarly proved to have been minted during Ṣafar-Rabʿī I, 1068 A.H —the 31st Lunar year. (1067–68 A.H.). Lastly, the only way of making all the three items on No. 863 I.M.C. *viz.* 'Kh 1066–30—Khūrdād Ilāhī' harmonize with one another is to suppose that the muhr was stamped at some time in Rajab-Shaʿbān 1066, the 30th lunar year of Shāh Jahān having begun on 1 Jumādā II (=Farwardīn), 1066 A H.

But is it not possible to contend that the Regnal dates on the 'Kalima-Ilāhī' coins of the first seven years may be solar, even if those on the subsequent or later mintages are adjudged to be lunar? A little reflection will show that this loop-hole, however promising at first sight, will hardly fulfil expectations In the first place, we have the Tatta coins of the same type and we have seen that the Julūs years on these issues in which the *serial dating* is carried on without interruption up to the very end of the reign are demonstrably lunar. It goes without saying that all these Tatta coins are connected together and bound up with one another, and it would be scarcely reasonable to interpret the date-formula on the first seven years' coins in one way, and assign to the similar expressions on subsequent issues of the same type, a meaning not merely different, but altogether adverse and flatly contradictory.

There is another consideration also which should not be lost sight of. When a ruler is said to have deliberately adopted a certain method of dating, it is to be supposed in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that it was adhered to throughout the entire course of his reign, in all matters and all departments, in the Mint, the Record Office and the Exchequer. If his coins are dated, we expect that the dating will be serially consistent, methodically continuous or regularly consecutive. In other words, it is postulated that the isolated dates on *all* his monetary issues will be bound together by the cement of one and the same chronological theory. Each coin

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day of the Hijrī year, we must add 64 to the number of Ilāhī days. 166+64=230; 186+64=250; 24th Shaʿbān is the 230th and 15th Ramẓān the 250th day of the Hijrī calendar.

is a member of an articulate whole and has its appointed place ir the series which cannot be disturbed without breaking up the entire concatenation. In this view, the *Kalima-Ilāhī* issues, from the Akbarābād piece of the 1st year to the Tatta rupee of the 32nd, constitute an integral group of the Shāh Jahānī species, and the Tatta forms are not abnormal or monstrous outgrowths, but perfectly regular 'marginal types,' or 'survivals under a favourable environment' It follows that the dating of this particular group—from the earliest coin to the latest—must be in complete accord with that of all the other coin-types of the same Emperor. The only chronological theory which can bind all these types into an intelligible and harmonious whole, the only one which can give unity and coherence to the apparently unconnected and widely-scattered statements as to the time of issue is this lunar hypothesis. In it is to be found the only method of interpreting *consistently* all the chronological elements figuring on the coins—the Regnal year, the Hijrī date and the Ilāhī month. All other suppositions bristle with insuperable difficulties or gratuitously postulate in the mintmasters ignorance and carelessness so gross as to be almost inconceivable.

But if the Regnal year or جلوس سنهٔ is not Solar, why is the word *Ilāhī* so often found on the Coins of this type? The question is perfectly legitimate, and a few remarks, therefore, in reference to the *correct* interpretation of the words and figures constituting their 'date-formula' will not be out of place. The words and figures are often arranged, on the coins, without regard to sense, grammar or idiom, as the whim or fancy of the engraver dictated or in consonance with his notions of calligraphic elegance. The word الهی is often put above or before the word ماه, but sometimes comes after it In some cases, it follows the word سنه, but in others, precedes it. In several instances, it is altogether dropped and the number of the سنه or year only is mentioned. In others, there is no sign of the word سنه at all (I.M.C. 886). Usually, the name of the month only is recorded without the preposition بهٔ, but we have sometimes *in the same line* the anomalous collocation بماه فروردین (P.M.C. 1230, 1269) and بماه تیر (*ibid* 1238), instead of بماه فروردین or بماه تیر.

In these circumstances, it is futile to expect from the coins themselves, any real light as to the natural order of the words or their meaning. We have necessarily to bring to bear upon the solution of the problem such external evidence as is available. In the light of this evidence, it would appear that the words of the formula on the obverse, when given in its entirety, should be arranged in some such form as the following:—

الهی [Name] ماه or بماه [number] سنه [place] ضرب, and the adjective الهی should be understood to qualify the word ماه or the name of the month *only*, and not the word سنه.

This naturally leads to another question, and that is, what is the real object of affixing the termination الهی to the name of the month, and what is its exact significance. It is common knowledge that the epithet occupies a prominent place in the 'date-formula' of the mintages of Akbar and Jahāngīr. This knowledge connected with the fact that the Solar Era founded by Akbar was called *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī* has, not unnaturally, induced the hasty assumption that the adjective applies to the whole collocation—to the word سنه as well as to the word ماه wherever it occurs, and that its occurrence signifies that the years are solar years of the type introduced by Akbar. The assumption would seem to be founded on a misconception, and the suffix appear to have nothing to do with the *year*. This matter, like some others connected with Akbar's New Era, has been hitherto imperfectly understood, and here, as elsewhere, we are indebted for the correct explanation to a meticulous perusal of the pages of Abūl Faẓl. In his account of the new system of reckoning, which, with all its shortcomings, is the most luminous and informative we possess, he writes:—

و اسامیء ماهای این تاریخ را همان اسامیء شهور مشهور فارسی معتبر داشتند و بلقب الهی مزین گردانیدند چون فروردین ماه الهی و اردی بهشت ماه الهی *

Akbarnāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 9, l. 22.

This is rendered thus by Mr. Beveridge:—

"The names of the months of the Era were made identical with the famous names of the Persian months, but were adorned in addition by the title [لقب] Ilāhī (Divine), *e.g.* 'Farwardīn, Divine Month,' 'Ardībihisht, Divine month.'"

(*Op. cit*, Trans. II, 15–16.)

One of Abūl Faẓl's defects as a writer is that he is often unduly concise just where he should be full. He is one of those 'allusive' authors who take it for granted that their readers are much more intelligent and well-informed than they can possibly be. A passage like this is, therefore, liable to be passed over and its real significance missed even by the careful reader.[1] That significance is brought home to him only when

[1] Mr. W. H. Moreland who has recently devoted considerable time and attention to a study of the *Āīn* writes: "The 'Aīn-i-Akbarī' has a complex structure and requires to be read as a whole It gives a vast quantity of information, but its point of view is different from ours, and *is not always grasped at first sight.* Abul Fazl usually *indicates his*

he turns to the chapter on the same subject in the *Āīn-i Akbarī*, in the latter part of which the "names of the months of the different eras are tabulated for facility of reference." Here, we find the series of names beginning with Farwardīn and ending with Isfandārmaz entered in three separate columns, and under no less than three different Eras,- the Yazdajardī, the Malikī (or Jalālī) and the Ilāhī. In the column assigned to the Era of Yazdajard, the name of each month has the epithet 'Old style' [قدیم in the original] appended to it. In that set apart for the Malikī, the appellative 'Jalālī' is affixed. In the last column devoted to the Ilāhī, we read 'Farwardīn *Māh-i-Ilāhī*,' and are directed to substitute the last epithet for the 'Jalālī' and 'Qadīmī' of the two foregoing columns.[1]

The sum and substance of this is that the names Farwardīn. Ardībihisht, etc., were common to no less than three different Eras, each of them having an initial date of its own and based on principles or elements peculiar to itself.[2] The existence of a dozen months having the same names in three conflicting and irreconcilable systems of chronology was certain to create puzzlement and confusion unless care was taken to indicate explicitly the particular system to which the month under reference belonged. Briefly, a clear distinction between

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meaning, but *the indications have to be sought for laboriously* * * * * *. Students of the work will probably agree that dictionaries are nearly useless for determining *the precise shades of meaning of the words used in it*. We have to gather them from a study of the passages in which the words occur, and the *Āīn* will not be completely mastered until some one compiles a concordance to its language." (The Italics are mine.) Wages and Prices under Akbar, J.R.A.S. 1917, pp. 815-7.

[1] This will be clearly seen from the following account of the *Tārīkh-i-Jalālī* which is given by Maḥmūd Shāh Khuljī in his commentary on the *Zīj-i-Ilkhānī* of Nasīr-u-d-dīn Ṭūsī and cited by Hyde (*Veterum Persarum Religio*, p. 209):—

"The philosophers in the time of Sultān Jalal-ud-Din Malikshah * * * determined the era called after Sultān Jalal-ud-Dīn, *wherein the names of the months corresponded with the names of the Persian months*; *but they described the latter as 'Old Style' and named the new months 'Jalālian.'* And they reckoned the beginning of the year of this era, namely the first of *the Jalālian month Farwardin*, to be the day on the forenoon of which the sun reached the point of the Vernal equinox. * * This was Friday, corresponding with 9th Ramazan, 471 A.H., and with 15th March of the Alexandrian year 1390, and with 19th Farwardin (*Old Style*) of the year 448 of the era of Yazdajird." Quoted by Whinfield, Quatrains of Omar Khayyām, 348-9. (The Italics are mine.) See also Cowasji Patell's Chronology.

[2] The Yazdajardī year was of 365 days. The months were of 30 days each and five days were intercalated at the end of Isfandārmaz.

The Malikī or Jalālī year was of 365 days *and a quarter*. Each month consisted of 30 days but 6 days instead of 5 were intercalated every fourth year.

The Ilāhī year was the True Solar year—*Sāl-i-Shamsī Haqīqī* and its length was 365d. 5h. 45m. 27s. "The days of the month were reckoned from 29 to 32" (*Āīn*, Tr I, 30). It would seem that two months had only 29 days · four had 30. five 31 and one 32 days allotted to them.

the homonymous months of the three co-existing systems became a matter of absolute necessity.

This will be best illustrated by the following excerpts from the Mughal Chronicles in which the precise dates of certain events are carefully recorded by their authors in terms of the different Eras.

Thus Abūl Faẓl informs us that Akbar was born when "8h. 20m. had passed from the beginning of the night of 8th *Ābān Māh-i-Jalālī*, year 464 [اول شب هشتم آبان ماه جلالی سال چهار صد شصت و چهارم] (۴۶۴), corresponding to 19th *Isfandārmaz Māh i-Qadīmī* [Old], 911th year [نوزدهم اسفندار مزماه قدیمی سال ۹۱۱ نهصد و یازدیم], to the night of Sunday, 5th Rajab, 949 th year Hilālī [Lunar] and to 6th Kārtik, of the 1599th year of the Hindus and to 16th *Tishrīnu-l-awwal-i-Rūmī* of the 1854th year"

Akbarnāma, Text, I, 18, l. 14, Trans. I. 54.

The same author states that the coronation of Akbar took place "about noon on Friday which was, according to visibility, the 2nd, but by mean calculation [امر اوسط], the 3rd of Rab'īu-ṣ-ṣānī of the 963rd Lunar [قمری] year, 10th *Isfandārmaz Māh-i-Jalālī* of the 477th year [دهم اسفندارمز ماه جلالی سال چهارصد (۴۷۷) و هفتاد و هفتم] 15th *Tīr Māh-i Qadīmī Yazdajardī*, 925th year [پانزدهم تیر ماه قدیمی یزدجردی سال (۹۲۵) نهصد و بیست و پنجم] 14th Shābāt *Māh-i-Rumī* of the 1867th year." [چهاردم شاباط ماه رومی سال (۱۸۶۷) ایکهزار وهشتصد و شصت و هفتم]

Ibid., Text, II, 3, l. 21, Trans. II, 5.

So the same author records that the Prince Salīm was born "seven gharīs after sunrise on the 18th day (Rashn) of *Shahrīvar Māh-i-Ilāhī* of this auspicious year, corresponding to the 1st of Āb Māh, 1880th year Rūmī and 11 *Bahman Māh*, 983rd year *Qadīmī Yazdajirdī*, and the 24th day (Dīn) of *Shahrīvar Māh* of the 491st year *Jalālī* and the 977th year Hilālī."

Ibid., Text, II, 344, l. 6, Trans. II, 503.[1]

Similarly, the date[1] of Shāh Jahān's enthronement is thus formulated by the official chronicler.

هشتم شهر جمادی الثانی سال هزار وسی و هفت هجری مطابق بیست و پنجم بهمن ماه الهی و غرهٔ اسفندار مزماه جلالی سده پانصد و چهل و نه

[1] I have given my own versions of these passages and made them as literally accurate as possible. Mr. Beveridge's renderings are somewhat free and he was confessedly unable to grasp the true meaning of the phrase امراوسط (*Akbarnāma*, Tr. II, 3 and 542 note).

ملکشاهی و بیست و هفتم تیر ماه قدیمی سنه نهصد ونود و هفت یزدجردي
و چارم شباط ماه رومی سنه هزار و نهصد و سی و نه اسکندري *

Bādishāhnāma, Text, I, i, 87, l 2.

"8th Jumādā II, 1037 Hijrī corresponding to 25 *Bahman Māh-i-Ilahī*, 1st *Isfandārmaz, Māh-i-Jalālī* of the 549th Malikshāhī year, and 27th *Tīr Māh-i-Qadīmī* of the 997th Yazdajardī year and 4 *Shabāṭ Māh i-Rūmī* of the 1939th Alexandrian year [Era of Seleukus]."

Lastly, the date of Aurangzeb's second coronation is thus expressed in the *'Ālamgīrnāma*.

"Sunday the 24th of the blessed month of Ramzān of the 1069th year of the Hijra, corresponding to 25 *Khurdād Māh-i-Ilāhī* and 27 *Khurdād Māh-i-Jalālī* of the 581st Malikshāhī year and 6 *Āzar Māh-i-Qadīmī* of the 1028th Yazdajardī year and 5 *Ḥazīrān Māh-i-Rūmī* of the 1970th Alexandrian year."

Op. cit, Text, 361, two lines from foot.

The points which emerge from this lengthy discussion may be now summed up.

Akbar founded a New Solar Era, dating from the Nauroz of the first year of his reign, in 992 A.H., and thereafter the Hijrī or lunar reckoning was practically banished from the coinage and official records. This Era he called the *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī*, and the epithet Ilāhī was appended to the names of the months to obviate the otherwise inevitable confusion between them and the homonymous months of the Yazdajardī and Jalālī systems or Eras. This *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī* or Ilāhī Era continued to be employed up to the year of Akbar's death. It died with him and its terminal year was the 50th. It then ceased altogether to exist *as an Era* or Epoch. It was, so to say, played out, and went out of the field.

Jahāngīr adopted his father's system only in part. He did permit the years of his own reign to be reckoned from Nauroz to Nauroz and the Regnal dates on his coins *are* expressed in terms of the *True* or Natural *solar year* [سال شمسی حقیقی]. But *he never employed his father's Era as an Era*, and he did not *continue to reckon in terms of the Ilāhī Epoch*. He would not allow it to run on, and *it is, therefore, incorrect to say that he "'used' or 'employed' the Ilāhī Era."* He cut it off in its prime, when only fifty years of its life had run. If he had not done so, we should have had 51 Ilāhī, 52 Ilāhī and so on, upon his coins, instead of سنه ۱, سنه ۲ etc., with or without the word جلوس. To put it differently, he broke off the chain, 'retired' the Ilāhī Series and began another *de novo* from the first year of his own reign. He did not pretend to have established a New *Tarīkh* or Era himself. He never says of any event recorded in his 'Memoirs' that it occurred in such

and such a سنهٔ جهانگیری; but, at the same time, neither he nor the contemporary author of the *Iqbālnāma*, nor any other chronicler known to me speaks of any event of Jahāngīr's reign as having taken place in such and such a سنهٔ الهی (year *Ilāhī*.) The expression universally employed is سنهٔ جلوس with or without some complimentary epithet like

جهانگیری - اقدس - اشرف - شاهنشاهی - مبارک - معلی - مقدس -

or همایون میمنت مانوس.

The belief that Jahāngīr "used the Ilāhī Era" is founded on the erroneous supposition that the word 'Ilāhī' which occurs in the date formula of his coins, governs the word سنهٔ as well as the word جلوس. The true qualitative of سنهٔ is جلوس in all cases—in those cases in which it is clearly expressed, as well as those in which it is dropped. Mr. Lane Poole is perfectly correct in stating that "Jahāngīr *abolished* the Ilāhī era," (B M C. Introd. lxiii), but he goes very wide of the mark in declaring that 'Jahāngīr *preserved the special term Ilāhī* in connexion with the regnal *year*' (*ibid.*). The 'special term' applies in all cases, to the name of the month *only* on Jahāngīr's coins.

When Shāh Jahān came to the throne, the reckoning by *Jahāngīr's* Julūs years came, *ipso facto*, to an end, and it was not allowed to go beyond the 22nd year, just as the serial dating in the Ilāhī Era had not been permitted to run on after the fiftieth. The second series was 'retired' on the death of Jahāngīr just as its predecessor had been 'withdrawn' after the decease of Akbar. But Shāh Jahān did not stop there. He thought himself bound to take one step further in the direction of Orthodoxy. He would not permit the years of his reign to be reckoned in *solar* years at all, and ordered them to be recorded in terms of the lunar computation. At first he allowed the names of the solar *months* to appear on the coinage with the usual affix *Ilāhī*, but even this concession was withdrawn in the seventh year, and all the mints of the Empire, except one, forbidden to issue the type Here Shāh Jahān was content to halt. The solar months would appear to have been still registered and the accounts kept in Ilāhī *months* for economy and convenience of audit in the Revenue Department.[1] This Emperor also continued throughout his long reign, to celebrate the Nauroz with the customary pomp and magnificence.

Aurangzeb took the next and last step. He abolished the

[1] The Mughal Emperor's reasons for keeping up the accounts in Solar months may be understood from what Mr. Irvine says of the Rules connected with Pay and Allowances "of officers and troops in the Imperial Service." Army of the Indian Mughals, Ch. II, p. 12ff.

Nauroz celebrations and did what he could to remove the last vestiges of Akbar's anti-Moslem innovation, notwithstanding the protests of his officials (Khāfī Khān, II, 79 = E.D., VII, 241–2)

In a word, it was Shāh Jahān and not Aurangzeb who was the first to direct that the years of his reign should be counted in lunar years. The historical evidence on the subject is clear and explicit, and similar testimony is borne by the coins, the Julūs dates on which do not admit of a consistent interpretation on any other theory.

TABLE I.

Hijri equivalents of the thirty-two Naurozes (New Year's days according to the Ilāhī reckoning) of Shāh Jahān's reign

Actual date of Accession.	25 Bahman (1037 A.H.)	8 Jumādā, II, 1037 A.H.,	Bādishāhnāma, I. i. 87.	14 Feb., 1628 N.S
I Nauroz	1 Farwardīn, 1037	12 Rajab, 1037	,, I. i. 186–7	18 Mar. 1628
II ,,	,,	24 Rajab, 1038	,, I. i. 256	18 Mar. 1629
III ,,	,,	[1] 6 Sha'bān, 1039	,, I. i. 297	21 Mar. 1630
IV ,,	,,	17 Sha'bān, 1040	,, I. i. 364	21 Mar 1631
V ,,	,,	28 Sha'bān, 1041	,, I. i. 418	20 Mar. 1632
VI ,,	,,	9 Ramẓān, 1042	,, I i. 473	20 Mar. 1633
VII ,,	,,	21 Ramẓān, 1043	,, I. ii. 8	21 Mar. 1634
VIII ,,	,,	1 Shawwāl, 1044	,, I. ii. 77	20 Mar. 1635
IX ,,	,,	12 Shawwāl, 1045	,, I. ii. 141	20 Mar. 1636
X ,,	,,	22 Shawwāl, 1046	,, I. ii. 245	19 Mar. 1637
XI ,,	,,	4 Ẕī-l qa'da, 1047	,, II. 90	20 Mar. 1638
XII ,,	,,	15 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1048	,, II. 142	20 Mar. 1639
XIII ,,	,,	26 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1049	,, II. 183	19 Mar. 1640
XIV ,,	,,	9 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1050	,, II. 226	22 Mar. 1641
XV ,,	,,	19 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1051	,, II. 284	21 Mar. 1642
XVI ,,	,,	30 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1052	,, II. 332	21 Mar. 1643
XVII ,,	,,	10 Muḥarram, 1054	,, II 361	19 Mar 1644
XVIII ,,	,,	21 Muḥarram, 1055	,, II. 413	19 Mar. 1645
XIX ,,	,,	3 Ṣafar, 1056	,, II. 491	21 Mar. 1646

[1] The Bibl. Ind. Text gives 8th Sha'ban, but this is an error, an example of the common confusion between ثمانی and ثلثم.

XX	Nauroz	1 Farwardīn, 1037	14 Ṣafar, 1057	B. N. II.	635	21 Mar.	1647
XXI	,,	,,	25 Ṣafar, 1058	Wāriṣ M.S., p. 48		21 Mar.	1648
XXII	,,	,,	6 Rabʻī, I, 1059	,,	., p. 119	20 Mar.	1649
XXIII	,,	,,	17 Rabʻī, I, 1060	,,	,, p. 218	20 Mar.	1650
XXIV	,,	,,	28 Rabʻī, I, 1061	,,	,,	21 Mar.	1651
XXV	,,	,,	9 Rabʻī, II, 1062	,,	., p. 267	20 Mar.	1652
XXVI	,,	,,	20 Rabʻī, II, 1063			20 Mar.	1653
XXVII	,,	,,	1 Jumādā, I, 1064			20 Mar.	1654
XXVIII	,,	,,	12 Jumādā, I, 1065			20 Mar.	1655
XXIX	,,	,,	23 Jumādā, I, 1066			19 Mar.	1656
XXX	,,	,,	3 Jumādā, II, 1067			19 Mar.	1657
XXXI	,,	,,	14 Jumādā, II, 1068			19 Mar.	1658
XXXII	,,	,,	24 Jumādā, II, 1069			19 Mar.	1659

Table II.

Ilāhī equivalents of the initial days of the thirty-three years of Shāh Jahān's reign.

Actual date of Accession.	8 Jumadā II, 1037 A.H.	25 Bahman (1037 A.H.)	Bād. Nām	I i. 87	14 Feb., 1628 A.C.	
Official date of Accession.	1 Jumādā II (1037 A.H.)	18 Bahman (1037 A.H.)	*Ibid.*		7 Feb., 1628 (New style)	
II Lunar year	1 Jumādā, II, 1038	8 Bahman.	,,	I i. 252	26 Jan.,	1629
III ,, ,,	1 ,, 1039	26 Dai	,,	I. i. 292	16 Jan.	1630
IV ,, ,,	1 ,, 1040	15 Dai[1]	,,	I. i. 337	5 Jan.	1631
V ,, ,,	1 ,, 1041	4 Dāi	,,	I. i. 408	25 Dec.	1631
VI ,, ,,	1 ,, 1042	23 Āẕar	,,	I. i. 448	14 Dec.	1632
VII ,, ,,	1 ,, 1043	12 Āẕar	,,	I. i. 545	3 Dec.	1633
VIII ,, ,,	1 ,, 1044	2 Āẕar	,,	I. ii. 62	22 Nov.	1634
IX ,, ,,	1 ,, 1045	20 Ābān	,,	I. ii. 120	12 Nov.	1635
X ,, ,,	1 ,, 1046	9 Ābān	,,	I ii. 222	31 Oct.	1636
XI ,, ,,	1 ,, 1047	28 Mihr	B. N. II.	3	21 Oct.	1637
XII ,, ,,	1 ,, 1048	17 Mihr	,, II.	114	10 Oct.	1638
XIII ,, ,,	1 ,, 1049	6 Mihr	,, II.	161	29 Sept.	1639
XIV ,, ,,	1 ,, 1050	28 Shahrīvar	,, II.	207	18 Sept,	1640
XV ,, ,,	1 ,, 1051	17 Shahrīvar	,, II.	243	7 Sept.	1641
XVI ,, ,,	1 ,, 1052	5 Shahrīvar	,, II.	307	27 Aug.	1642
XVII ,, ,,	1 ,, 1053	25 Amardād	,, II.	340	17 Aug.	1643
XVIII ,, ,,	1 ,, 1054	14 Amardād	,, II.	385	5 Aug.	1644
XIX ,, ,,	1 ,, 1055	3 Amardād	,, II.	430	25 July	1645
XX ,, ,,	1 ,, 1056	24 Tīr	,, II.	544	15 July	1646

[1] The Bibliotheca Indica Text gives 15th, but this is an error due to the common confusion between پانزدهم and یازدهم

XXI	Lunar year	1	Jumādā, II, 1057	13	Tīr	Wāriṣ MS.	92	4 July	1647
XXII	,, ,,	1	,, 1058	3	Tīr	,,	,, 163	23 June	1648
XXIII	,, ,,	1	,, 1059	23	Khūrdād	,,	,, 224	12 June	1649
XXIV	,, ,,	1	,, 1060	12	Khūrdād			4 June	1650
XXV	,, ,,	1	,, 1061	2	Khūrdād			22 May	1651
XXVI	,, ,,	1	,, 1062	23	Ardībihisht			10 May	1652
XXVII	,, ,,	1	,, 1063	12	Ardībihisht			29 Apr.	1653
XXVIII	,, ,,	1	,, 1064	2	Ardībihisht			19 Apr.	1654
XXIX	,, ,,	1	,, 1065	22	Farwardīn			8 Apr.	1655
XXX	,, ,,	1	,, 1066	11	Farwardīn			27 Mar.	1656
XXXI	,, ,,	1	,, 1067	1	Farwardīn			17 Mar.	1657
XXXII	,, ,,	1	,, 1068	22	Isfandārmaz			6 Mar.	1658
XXXIII	,, ,,	1	,, 1069	11	Isfandārmaz			24 Feb.	1659[1]

[1] The Julian equivalents of the Hijrī dates are taken from Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's Summary of Wüstenfeld's Tables.

XVII. THE TITLE BAHĀDUR.

The titular adjunct 'Bahādur' figures on the coins of at least four Emperors of the House of Tīmūr. It is to be found on every one of Aurangzeb's rupees of the non-couplet or Muḥīu-d-dīn type and the muhrs uttered by the mint of Akbarnagar (I.M.C. No. 1121) and the somewhat doubtful and unassigned mint of Malikanagar (P.M.C. No. 1507). By his son it was incorporated in or assimilated to his regnant designation or throne-name It also makes its appearance on a rare Lāhor issue of Muḥammad Shāh of which only three specimens are known (P.M.C. No. 2554). Lastly, it is almost invariably present on the mintages in both metals of Aḥmad Shāh, the only known exceptions being the rare couplet-rupees of Imtyāzgarh and Kashmīr In fact, the epithet is such an arresting feature of that Emperor's coinages that European numismatists have sometimes used language implying that 'Bahādur' was his specific designation or differential appellative and that its occurrence on any Mughal rupee or muhr was sufficient to restrict its assignment to Aḥmad. It will be seen that this short and easy method of identification is likely to prove a delusion and a snare and that at least two of Aḥmad Shāh's predecessors had borne the title.

In view of this misleading implication, it may not be unnecessary to draw pointed attention to a statement of somewhat similar import which occurs in the *Miftaḥu-t-Tawārīkh* of the usually accurate Beale. It is unfortunately impossible to trace it to its source, but it is demonstrably unhistorical. He avers that "when the Emperor's full style and titles [القاب] were fixed, those who possessed a critical knowledge of court-etiquette [قاعدہ شناسان خورد بین] respectfully urged that 'Bahādur' was a *laqab* intended for only Amīrs and nobles, that none of the descendants of Amīr Tīmūr the Ṣāḥib Qirān had ever given himself this title, and that they had always left it to their servants. But this was not approved or accepted [منظور] by the Emperor" (*op. cit*, Kāhnpūr Lith., 327, l. 17).

The fact of the matter is that 'Bahādur' was originally an old and highly-prized Mongol title borne only by renowned heroes and princes, and at least one great ruler of the house of Chingīz, Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān, the son of Uljāitū ((716–736 A.H.) is known to have publicly assumed and been proud of it. "Bahādur," writes Sir Henry Yule, "is one of the terms which the hosts of Chingiz Khān brought with them from the Mongol Steppes. In the Mongol genealogies, we find Yesugāi Bahādur, the father of Chingiz, and many more

Subutai Bahādur, one of the great soldiers of Mongol host, twice led it to the conquest of the Southern Russia, twice to that of Northern China. * * * Benfey has suggested that the word originated in Skt *Bhaqadhara* (happiness-possessing) But the late lamented Prof. A. Schiefner * * * was strongly of opinion that the word was rather a corruption * * * of the Zend *Bagha-puthra* 'Son of God' and thus but another form of the famous term *Faghfūr*, by which the old Persians rendered the Chinese *Tien-tsz* ('Son of Heaven') applying it to the Emperor of China." (Hobson Jobson, p. 49.) Mons. Clement Huart informs us that "the word is met with as early as 927 of our era in the name of the Bulgarian Chief Albogotur which is explained as *Alp bagatūr* 'the brave hero'" by Marquart. (Houtsma, Encylopaedia of Islam, *s.v.*).

Tīmūr declares that he "ordained that 'every Ameer who should reduce a kingdom, or defeat an army should be exalted by three things: by a title of honour, by the *Tugh*, and by the *Nakkāra*, and should be dignified by the title *Bahaudur*.'"

(*Institutes*, Eng. Trans. by Joseph White. Ed. 1783, p. 283.)

The high esteem in which it continued to be held by the nations among whom it had been introduced by the Mongols and Tatars is shown by the fact that Shāh Isma'īl the founder of the Ṣafavī dynasty did not disdain publicly to assume it. This is proved by his coins on which his names and titles are emblazoned thus :—

السلطان العادل الكامل الهادى الوالى ابوالمظفر شاه اسمعيل بهادر خان الصفوى .

(R. S. Poole, Coins of the Shāhs of Persia. Nos. 1–18.)

The mintages of his son Ṭahmāsp display the same honorific (*ibid.*, Nos. 20, 24*a*, 25, 26, 27), and coins of Bābur have been discovered with the Shi'a formula and the names of the twelve Imāms, on which his name is given as "Sulṭān Bābur *Bahādur*." (*Ibid*, Introd. xvii–xix.) [1]

This is not all. In the 'Letter of Victory' [فتح نامه] which was drafted by Bābur's secretary, Shaikh Zain in his best, *i.e.* most turgid and inflated style, after the battle with Rāna Sanga of Chitor, the name of Prince Humāyūn occurs twice and on both occasions, has this honorary affix "In the right wing," we read, "was the exalted son, honourable and fortunate, the befriended of Destiny, the star of the sign of Sovereignty and Success, sun of the sphere of the Khalifate, lauded of slave and free, Muhammad Humāyūn *Bahādur*"

[1] So when Bābur took Samarqand by a surprise attack in 906 A.H. (1500–1 A.C.), one of the poets of the day commemorated the triumph by the chronogram *Fāṯḥ-i-Bābur Bahādur*. Memoirs, Tr. A. S. Beveridge, 135=Erskine's Tr. 89.

(Memoirs of Babur, Tr. Beveridge, 566. See also *ibid.*, 569 or Erskine's Trans. 363, 364. The Letter is also reproduced in the *Bādishāhnāma*. Bibl. Ind. Text, I. i p.p. 54, l. 4 and 56, l. 7.)

It is the tendency of all swelling epithets to degenerate and it would appear that this particular honorific did not escape this fate among the people with whom it had originated. This deterioration proceeded so far that it became (like the English King, Prince, Duke, Earl, Lord, Baron, etc.) a mere personal name or surname and in the narrative of the *Akbarnāma* it is frequently found in connection with Mughals who had accompanied Bābur or his descendants to Hindustān.

I have not seen it anywhere explicitly stated that Akbar or Jahāngīr ever followed the example of their ancestor Tīmūr in *expressly* conferring the distinction as a reward for gallantry or exceptionally meritorious service in the field The earliest instances crop up only in the reign of Shāh Jahān and the title was then very sparingly bestowed. Indeed, I have not noted more than ten cases in the four hundred pages which Khāfī Khān devotes to his long reign of thirty years, *viz.* 'Abdulla Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang (I 426), Khān-i-Daurān Bahādur (I. 520, 569), Sayyad Khān Jahān Bahādur (I. 583, 750), Sayyad Asālat Khān Bahādur (I. 583) Sa'īd Khān Bahādūr (I. 569), Shāyasta Khān Khān Jahān Bahādur (I. 758). Rustam Khān Bahādur (I. 759), Qulich Khān Bahādur (I. 759), Shāh Shujā' Bahādur, and Muḥammad Aurangzeb Bahādur. Leaving out of acccount the last two names, it may be observed that all the other eight recipients were among the most renowned military leaders of the Empire, great marshals and men of war who had been the heroes of a hundred fights. Coming now to the other two persons mentioned, it is found in juxtaposition with the name of the prince Shujā' even in the chronicle of the very first year of the reign (*Bādishāhnāma*, I. i. 97) though the reason of its bestowal is nowhere mentioned. It is otherwise in the case of Aurangzeb upon whom it was conferred under circumstances of considerable interest, which can justly claim the attention of every student of his coins. The circumstances are described at great length in the *Bādishāhnāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lahorī.

They are also the subject of an elaborate 'Qasīda' or effusion of the muse of Shāh Jahān's laureate, Taleb Kalīm. The chronicler's account as well as the poetical panegyric have been recently translated by Maulavī Nūr Bakhsh in the Journal of the Panjab Historical Society (Vol. II, 1912, An Historical Elephant Fight, pp. 50–74), and Mr. Jadunath Sarkar has two pages about the incident in his History. It will suffice for our purpose to give the marrow of the matter in the words of the latter.

"One incident of his boyhood made his fame ring through-

out India and showed what stuff he was made of. It was his encounter with a fighting elephant on 28th May, 1633 [29 Ẕī-l-qa'da 1042 A.H]. That morning Shah Jahan, * * * set two huge elephants, Sudhakar and Surat Sundar * * to fight. * * The Emperor hastened to see the fight, his eldest three sons riding a few paces before him. Aurangzib, intent on seeing the fight edged his way very close to the elephants. The brutes after a while let go their grip and each stepped back a little Sudhakar's spirit was fully roused. Losing sight of his opponent he turned to vent his wrath on the prince standing by. Trumpeting fiercely, the moving mountain charged Aurangzib. The prince then only fourteen years old, calmly stood his ground, kept his horse from turning back, and flung his spear at the elephant's head. All was now confusion and alarm * * *. The animal came on and felled Aurangzeb's horse with a sweep, of his long tusk. But the prince jumped up from the ground, drew his sword, and faced the raging beast. The unequal combat would have soon ended fatally for the heroic boy, but succour was at hand. * * * The danger thus passed away * * * Shah Jahan clasped Aurangzib to his bosom, praised his courage, gave him the title of *Bahadur* or 'hero,' and covered him with presents. (History of Aurangzib, I. 9-11.)

The prince was not unjustly proud of the epithet which is, after this event, almost invariably associated with his name in the contemporary Chronicles of the reign of his father. (*Bādishāhnāma*, I. i. 538, ii. 52, 65, 82, II. 11, 91, 104, etc.) and took care to retain it as part of his *ilqāb* on coming to the throne. A reference to the article on the 'Imperial Style and Titles' will show that it is scrupulously included by all the contemporary annalists in their statements of the formula adopted for the 'khuṭba and the sikka.' The fact that it is stamped on all his mintages of the non-couplet type proves that he did not think it beneath the dignity of an Emperor to bear. He subsequently bestowed it upon his eldest son Muhammad Mu'aẓẓam who was first given the title of Shāh 'Ālam. Afterwards, he was raised a step higher and styled 'Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh' in the thirty-third year of the reign, and this was wisely retained by him as his throne-name. Indeed, it would have been difficult to invent anything more comprehensive and high-sounding.

But the Dekkan wars of Aurangzeb were responsible, as Khāfi Khān complains (Text, I, p. 255) for the multiplication and consequent degradation of all titles and honours. The histories of Aurangzeb show that it was bestowed on at least eighteen persons in the reign of that Emperor. Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam conferred it on a dozen others during has brief reign and there were at least six recipients in the seven years of Farrukhsiyar's tutelage under the Sayyads. We may safely presume that it was distributed with even greater liberality

and less discrimination during the feeble sway of the insouciant Muḥammad Shāh, as I have noted nine instances in Khāfi Khān's account of the first four years of his regime. We may also take it that it came to be held in no great esteem in consequence and it is conceivable that some of the advisers of his son may have attempted to dissuade the latter from publicly assuming it in his Imperial person. But the reason said by the author of the *Miftāḥ* or his authority to have been put forward by these sticklers was historically fallacious and betrayed their ignorance of its true origin as well as of the dignity and glory which it had possessed in the eyes of many ancestors of the Emperor's who had not disdained to wear it.

XVIII. THE WEIGHT OF THE MUGHAL TOLA.

"The unit of the British Indian ponderary system," writes James Prinsep, "is called the *Tola*. It weighs 180 grains English Troy weight." (Useful Tables, Ed. 1834, p. 61.) But the value here assigned to the tola was only established by the East India Company's Regulation No. VII of 1833, and the object of so fixing it was merely to make it identical in weight with the rupee of "the equalised monetary system of British India" which was then first introduced. (*Ibid.*, p. 61.) In other words, the valuation was purely factitious, and there are no grounds for assuming that the tola was calculated at the same rate in earlier times. In fact, Prinsep himself declares that "the average of several gold and silver *Jilālies* of Akber's reign, found in good preservation, gives 15·5 grains [as the value of the māsha of Akbar's times], which also agrees with the weight of the māsha of many parts of Hindustan." (*Ibid*, 17.) This necessarily involves the recognition of a tola of 186 grains. Unfortunately, Prinsep's argument is vitiated, as Thomas has pointed out, by a radical error of fact. He was misled by Gladwin's translation of the *Āīn* in which the weight of the Akbarī rupee was given (on the authority of the not very correct manuscript on which that version was founded) as only $11\frac{1}{4}$ māshas, *i.e.* at $\frac{1}{4}$ of a māsha or about "four grains below its true standard" (Chronicles, 405).

It is now a numismatological commonplace that the issue weights of Akbar's ordinary muhr and of his rupee were 11 and $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas respectively, and it is apparently a simple problem to deduce from these equations the value of 12 māshas or 1 tola with the assistance of his existing coins. Unfortunately, it is no easy matter to fix precisely the theoretical contents of either of these monetary types in terms of the English ponderary scale. All that can be said is that the probabilities point to their having been about 170 grains and a fraction for the muhr and 178 grains and a fraction for the rupee (B.M.C. Introd., p. lxxvi).[1]

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[1] Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, takes the issue-weight of the ordinary muhr to have been 170 grs troy and puts that of the rupee at 180 grs. Now Abūl Faẓl explicitly gives the weight of the two coins in the Indian scale as 11 and $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas respectively. Mr. Lane Poole's second figure would imply that the moiety of the māsha was equivalent to 10 grs., the māsha itself to 20 and the tola to 240 grs.—suppositions which are obviously inadmissible.

Now if 11 māshas were = 170 grains
12 māshas or 1 tola would be $= \frac{170}{1} \times \frac{12}{11} = \frac{2040}{11}$
$= 185\ \frac{5}{11} = 185{\cdot}45$ grs.

Again, if
$11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas were = 178 grs
12 māshas or 1 tola would be $= \frac{178}{1} \times \frac{12}{1} \times \frac{2}{23}$
$= \frac{4272}{23} = 185\frac{17}{23}$
$= 185{\cdot}73$ grs.

Thirdly, Abūl Faẓl says that the Ilāhī muhr weighed 12 māshas, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs (*Āīn*. Tr. I, 30). Now B.M.C. No. 165 is an undoubted Ilāhī muhr and its actual weight is 187 grs. (*Vide* also Nos. 163 and 176 which are absolutely identical in weight but differ very slightly as to the arrangement of the formula constituting the legend).

Now if
12 māshas, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs or $12\frac{7}{32}$ māshas = 187 grs.
12 māshas or 1 tola $= \frac{391}{32} \times \frac{12}{1} \times \frac{187}{1} = 183\frac{25}{391}$ grs
$= 183{\cdot}6$ grs

This gives a much lower return for the tola, but it is, almost certainly, due to no allowance having been made for abrasion and the intentional mint-standard was perhaps two, if not three grains higher.[1] If the issue-weight is supposed to have been 189 grs., we should get for the tola a value of 185·5 grs.

Let us take another gauge. There is an exceptionally heavy gold-piece of this Emperor in the British Museum which weighs 838 grs. and is of A.H. 971 (Cat. No. 23). A duplicate with the date 982 A.H. which is in the Cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society scales 841 grs. (Journal, 1891, p. 33). A very similar piece of Jahāngīr in the British Museum (No. 305) touches 843 grs. I have shown elsewhere that the first two pieces are the twentieth parts of the second or less heavy type of the *Sihansa* which weighed 91 tolas 8 māshas, and was "in value equal to 100 *round* muhurs." (*Āīn*, Tr. I, 28, 29.) They are, therefore, five-muhr pieces like the very similar specimen which bears the name of Jahāngīr. Now if

$\frac{1}{20}$ of $91\frac{8}{3}$ tolas = 841 grs.
$\frac{1}{20} \times \frac{275}{3} = \frac{2750}{60} = \frac{55}{12}$ tolas = 841 grs.
1 tola $= \frac{841}{1} \times \frac{12}{55} = \frac{10092}{55} = 183{\cdot}49$ grs.

[1] The weight in māshas of the *Ilāhī* muhr and the square *La'l i-Jalālī* was, according to Abūl Faẓl (*Āīn*, Tr. 1, 30) identical. I have shown elsewhere that B.M.C. No. 70 is a square *La'l-i-Jalālī* of the *old* or kalima type. It touches 188 grs. and this is sufficient to show that the original mint standard of both these types must have been at least 188 grs. if not a grain more.

This figure is still lower, but here again the possibility of the coins having lost some grains by wear should not be overlooked. Single round muhrs touching 169 and even 170 grs. (P.M.C. Nos. 144. 152, 135. and I.M.C. Nos 68, 69, 66, 83. 88, 95,) are not uncommon. If the issue weight of the five-muhr piece was five times the *actual* weight of several specimens of the single muhr, it would have been 850 grs. (170 × 5). In that case, the value deduced for the tola would be 185·45 grs. ($\frac{850}{1} \times \frac{60}{275} = \frac{850}{1} \times \frac{12}{55} = \frac{10200}{55} = \frac{2040}{11} = 185\frac{5}{11}$).

In this connection three points should be borne in mind. Akbar's muhrs were almost entirely pure and contained little or no alloy. They were consequently liable to lose more by abrasion than the English sovereign, which has been estimated by Jevons to lose at least 0·043 grain annually, that is, about one grain in twenty years, although it is only 11 parts fine. (Money, p. 157.) Secondly, the rate of wear varies inversely with the size of the coin. " A large coin * * * suffers comparatively little wear because the surface increases much less rapidly in proportion than the contents of the coin " (*Ibid.*, 158.) The Akbarī muhr was, it should be remembered, both smaller and heavier than the sovereign. Lastly, as the legend was engraved in much higher relief than on the sovereign, the loss on that account also must have been greater. (See *ibid.*, 163.) Everything considered, it is safe to say that the loss by wear must have been at least one grain for every ten years of circulation, and this fact should not be lost sight of in these calculations.

Lastly, Abūl Faẓl positively declares that the dām was equal to 1 tola, 8 māshas and 7 surkhs or ratīs. With a postulated weight of only 323 grs. for the dām (many coins actually touch that figure),

323 grs. would be = $\frac{1067}{900}$ tolas.

∴ 1 tola would be = $\frac{323}{1} \times \frac{900}{1067} = 185\frac{113}{1067} = 185{\cdot}6$grs.

It may be added that the historian Firishta who wrote about 1611 A.C., says of the *paisa* of his day that it " weighed ¼ tola short of 2 tolas." [مثل پول ابن زمان دو تولہ ربع کم.] Lakhnau Lith. I, 114, l. 15, Briggs, Rise of the Mahomedan Power, Calcutta Reprint 1908, Vol. I, p. 360 [1], *i.e* 1¾ tolas.

Now if

$\frac{7}{4}$ tolas = 323 grs.

1 tola $= \frac{323}{1} \times \frac{4}{7}$

$= \frac{1292}{7} = 184\frac{4}{7}$

$= 184{\cdot}57$ grs.

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[1] The Calcutta Reprint of Briggs' translation give the weight of the pice as " ¾ of a tola," but this is demonstrably erroneous.

It should be remembered, however, that Firishta does not profess to give the exact weight of the پول or paisa, *i.e.* the dām of his day, but only its approximate equivalent. Abūl Faẓl's more precise statement, 1 tola, 8 māshas 7 surkhs is just one *surkh* (ratī) short of $1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas, or 1 tola, 9 māshas

This is what can be gathered from the *Āīn*. It will be seen that though these equations relate to different types of coins, they are all consistent with one another and yield, when proper allowances are made for possible sources of error, practically the same result—a value of about 185·5 grains for the Akbarī tola.

Let us now see what the Emperor Jahāngīr has to tell us. This does not amount to much In the first place, he equates the tola with $2\frac{1}{2}$ current or common miṣqāls of Persia (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 12, 116). Statements of similar import are to be found in the *Iqbālnāma* (Text, 69, 247) and the *Bādishāhnāma* also (Text, I. i ii. 79, l. 10), but as the weight of the miṣqāl is, if anything, less easily determined than that of the tola, this equation or rather conventional formula of the school-books makes no useful contribution to the solution of the problem But in the passage cited below, the Imperial author has recorded the result of an actual weighment of Akbarī rupees in terms of the tola which appears, *prima facie*, likely to make a substantial addition to our knowledge. We read :—

"On the same day [22 Rabʿī II, 1016], they brought a peach from Istālif * * * I had not seen a peach of such a size and ordered it to be weighed, and it came to 63 Akbarī rupees or 60 tolas."

(*Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 117; Text, 56, eight lines from foot.)

Now if 63 rupees were = 60 tolas of 12 māshas each, 1 rupee would be $= \frac{60}{1} \times \frac{12}{1} \times \frac{1}{63} = \frac{720}{63} = 11\frac{27}{63} = 11{\cdot}428$ māshas. It may be noted that this is very close upon the issue-weight of the rupee as given by Abūl Faẓl, *viz.* 11·5 māshas—the difference per unit being only ·072, *i.e.* $\frac{72}{1000}$ or about $\frac{1}{11}$ of a māsha. This is not only confirmatory of Abūl Faẓl's statement, but indicates that the coins weighed were fairly well up to the standard and not much worn. *Postulating* then that the average loss by abrasion was one troy *grain* ($\frac{72}{1000}$ of a māsha would be about equal to the same), and the theoretical standard to have been 178 grs., (178-1) × (63) grs. would be = 60 tolas, or 177 × 63 = 11151 grs. = 60 tolas :

∴ 1 tola would be $= \frac{11151}{60} = 185\frac{51}{60}$ grs. = 185 85 grs.

It may be admitted that nothing like certitude can be claimed or is attainable in such cases. Everything depends on the average weight of the rupees of the equation. If it is supposed to have been 176 grs., the value of the tola would be

only 184·8 grs., while if it is reckoned at 175 grs. the tola would have to be placed at the still lower figure of 183·75 grs.

The only other piece of evidence from indigenous sources that remains to be cited is a statement occurring in the History of Khāfī Khān about Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I having commanded the issue of a rupee of 12 māshas, that is, increased its weight by half a māsha and equated it exactly with the tola. The matter has been discussed already by the present writer in Num. Sup. XXVIII, Art. 176, where the passage is quoted from Dowson's Translation. (E D. VII. 393 = Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 574, five lines from foot.)

I have there pointed out that the *ipsisimma verba* of the Imperial Farmān on the subject are transcribed from the original or a copy existing in the archives of the Ṣūba of Aḥmadābād by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*. (Bombay Lith. 1307 A.H. Part I, 408, ll 10–13.) As this statement also has been reproduced in the original Persian as well as in an English version in that article it will suffice to say here that the Indian Museum contains four rupees of this Emperor which turn the scale at 184 and 185 grs (Catalogue, Nos. 1666, 1666*a*, 1667–8), and that the British Museum also possesses some of the same weight (Brown, L.M.C. I, p. 40). It may be permissible to repeat what I then wrote and point out that "if the *actual* weights of these coins which were intended to be equal to the *tola*, are 184 and 185 grs. the *tola* itself must have weighed at least as much, if not a grain or two more, in the time of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I.' (*Loc. cit*, p. 69)

Let us now see if it is possible to glean more exact information on the subject from the writings of European travellers and merchants. I must, first of all, mention a dictum of Sir Thomas Roe's. "The Portugalles," he writes in his Journal on 29th May, 1616, "went before the King with a present, and a Balass Ruby to sell that weighed as was reported. 13 *tole*, 2 tole and a half being an ounce "(Embassy, Ed. Foster, 189.) If it is the Troy ounce that is meant, this would make the tola equivalent to 192 grs. ($480 \times \frac{2}{5}$). It may be, however, said without hesitation or disrespect that Sir Thomas cannot be accepted as an authority on the metrology of the Mughal period. He would, as a matter of fact, seem to be naïvely repeating a popular equation or formula which, like all such expressions, is devoid of accuracy and is at best but approximately correct. Indeed, the formula '$2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas make an ounce' is even *now* current and may be heard any day in the Indian bazars, although the tola of our day is equivalent to 180 grs, and $180 \times 2\frac{1}{2} = 450$ only. But if Sir Thomas appears to have been guilty of a palpable over-statement, two of his contemporaries are chargeable with the opposite error of considerably undervaluing the tola. Mr. Thomas Kerridge and Mr. Thomas Rastell write in a letter addressed to the Governor of the East

India Company from Sūrat on 9–15 February, 1618, that "the tola of this place * * is troy weight one-third of an ounce, five graynes less." (Foster, English Factories in India, 1618–1621, p. 57. See also *ibid.*, 47 note, where the same equation is said to be transcribed on the margin of an earlier communication).[1] This would mean that the tola was equal to only 155 grs. which is obviously too low Elsewhere, however, we find a very different statement. Francis Fettiplace writes, while sending '20 toles of musk' from Agra to the Company in London that '52½ tole make a seer of 30 pices.' (1st December, 1618, *ibid.*, p. 47.)

Now this is, curiously enough, just what we have found the historian Firishta stating. The پیسہ or *pice* (*i.e.* dām) of his own day, he tells us, weighed 1 tola and three quarters, and $30 \times 1\frac{3}{4} = 52\frac{1}{2}$. It might be remembered that the weight assigned by Abūl Faẓl to the dām or pice, 1 tola, 8 māshas and 7 ratīs, differs from the above by only one ratī, and that this would make the tola about 184·57 grs. ($\frac{1373}{1} \div 1\frac{3}{4} = \frac{3373}{1} \times \frac{4}{7} = \frac{12992}{7} = 184\frac{4}{7}$).

We have seen Messrs. Kerridge and Rastell asserting in 1619 A.C. that the Sūrat tola was equal to only 155 grs. troy, and I have remarked that this figure is too low to be admissible.

But in another letter written also from Sūrat by Kerridge himself as President on 29th November, 1626, he speaks, not once but twice, of "2½ tolas 3 vals making one ounce." (English Factories, 1624-29, p. 156.) And this same equation is endorsed by President Breton and the Council of Sūrat who speak of "accompting 2 tolas 19 vals to the ounce, which we find to be the exact weight." (28 Nov., 1644, Eng. Fact., 1642-1645, p 209.)

Now 32 vāls make a tola (Fryer, New Account, Ed. 1698, p. 206), so 2½ tolas and 3 vāls are exactly the same as 2 tolas and 19 vāls and if

$$2\tfrac{19}{32} \text{ tolas} = 480 \text{ grs.}$$
$$1 \text{ tola} = \frac{480}{1} \div \frac{83}{32} = 185{\cdot}06 \text{ grs.}$$

Lastly, Mr. Foster informs us that on the original record of a Surāt consultation dated 12th January, 1633, there is 'a marginal note made in London' in which it is explicitly stated that a 'toule of gould is 7 dwt. and 16 graines' (*ibid.*, 1630–3, p. 262), which means that the tola was reckoned at about 184 grs. troy.

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[1] In such cases, any emendation seems uncalled for and impertinent, but it may be permissible to suggest that ⅗ is a misreading for ⅘. A mistake of this sort is very likely to occur in old manuscripts. Thus.

$$\frac{480}{1} \times \frac{2}{5} = \frac{960}{5} = 192 \text{ and } 192 - 5 = 187.$$

I must now extract three statements on this subject which arrest the attention of the reader in Thevenot's Travels. In his chapter on the 'Weights and Money of Surat,' this traveller who arrived at the Bar of that town on 10th January, 1666, writes :—

"All Gold and Silver is weighed by the *Tole* and the *Tole* contains fourty *Mangelis*, which makes fifty-six of our *Caracts*, or thirty-two *Valès*, or otherwise fourscore and sixteen *Gongys* [*i.e.* Ratīs]. The *Vale* contains three *Gongys* and two Toles a third and a half, answers to an Ounce of *Paris* weight, and a *Tole* weighs as much as a *Roupie*." (Travels, Eng. Trans., 1687, Part III, p. 18) Now Thevenot says of the Mangelin that it was = $5\frac{3}{5}$ *French* grains. (*Ibid.*, p. 98)

Then the tola of 40 mangelins would be = $40 \times 5\frac{3}{5} = \frac{10}{1} \times \frac{28}{5} = 224$ *French* grains.

According to Ball (Tavernier's Indian Travels, I, 416).,

1 French grain = ·837 of a grain troy.

$\therefore$ 224 French grains = $\frac{224}{1} \times \frac{837}{1000} = \frac{187488}{1000} = 187{\cdot}488$ grs. troy.

But Thevenot also says that

1 tola = 56 of our, *i.e.* French carats.

Now Ball reckons the French carat at

3·169 grs. troy. (*Op. cit.*, I, 417.)

$\therefore \frac{56}{1} \times 3{\cdot}169 = 177{\cdot}464$ grs. troy would be the weight of a *tola*.

This is ten grains below the first result, and there must be a mistake somewhere. It is not improbable that the French carat has been under-estimated by Ball.

This is not all. Thevenot has yet another equation still. "Two toles, a third and a half answer," he says, "to an ounce of Paris weight." Now we have it from Ball that 1 *French* ounce = 482·312 grs. troy. (*Op. cit.*, I, 418.)

$\therefore$ 1 tola would be equal (leaving out the fraction) to about

$$482 \div (2 + \tfrac{1}{3} + \tfrac{1}{2}) = 482 \div 2\tfrac{5}{6} = \frac{1482}{1} \times \frac{6}{17} = \frac{2892}{17}$$
$$= 170\tfrac{2}{17} \text{ grs. troy.}$$

There can be no doubt of an error here. Thevenot's Journal was published, after his untimely death, from his papers and was edited, translated and printed by individuals who had but an indifferent knowledge of Indian weights and measures I venture to suggest that what he wrote was probably 2 tolas, a third and *a quarter*.

In this amended form, the statement would mean that

$$2 + \tfrac{1}{3} + \tfrac{1}{4} = 2\tfrac{7}{12} \text{ tolas} = 482 \text{ grs. troy}$$

$\therefore$ 1 tola would be = $\frac{4824}{1} \times \frac{12}{31} = \frac{57884}{31} = 186{\cdot}58$ grs. troy.

We have next to consider a statement which occurs in the works of a much more widely-known author—the jeweller Tavernier. It is expressed in very different terms and it is therefore all the more remarkable that the value of the tola which it yields agrees almost exactly with that arrived at from the first of Thevenot's three equations. In Book I, chapter II, of his Indian Travels, Tavernier writes : —

" Throughout the Empire of the Great Mogul all the gold and silver is weighed by a weight called *tola*, which amounts to 9 *deniers* 8 *grains* of our weight." (*Op. cit.* Tr. Ball. I, 14.) A few lines further on the same page, he declares that " one hundred tolas are equivalent in our weight to 38 onces 21 deniers 8 grains " ($\frac{100}{1} \times 9\frac{1}{3} = \frac{100}{1} \times \frac{28}{3} = \frac{2800}{3}$ deniers = $\frac{2800}{3} \times \frac{1}{24} = \frac{350}{9}$ ounces = 38 ounces, 21 deniers, 8 grains.)

Now the French ounce is equivalent to 482·312 grains troy and there are in the ounce 24 deniers and in each denier 24 grains (Ball, op. *cit.*, I, 416.)

Thus the tola of 9 deniers and 8 grains = $9\frac{1}{3}$ deniers.

$$= \frac{28}{3} \times \frac{1}{24} \times \frac{18233}{10} = \frac{337761}{180}$$
$$= 187\ \frac{141}{180}$$
$$= 187{\cdot}6 \text{ grains.}$$

It will be seen that Tavernier assigns to the tola a higher value than any other writer, Oriental or European. It is no doubt true, as I have already pointed out, that this result is very close to, if not absolutely identical with, that obtained from the first equation of his contemporary and compatriot, Thevenot, —*viz.* 187·488, grs troy but it may be fairly questioned if it is not too high. His estimate of the weight of the rupee itself is almost certainly so. He informs us that it was 9 deniers and 1 grain and the standard of the silver 11 deniers and 14 grains (Travels, Tr. Ball, I, 26)

Now 9 deniers 1 grain

$$= 217 \text{ grains } (\textit{French})$$
$$= \frac{217}{1} \times \frac{837}{1000} = \frac{181629}{1000}$$
$$= 181{\cdot}629 \text{ troy grains.}$$

It may be safely said that this statement receives no corroboration either from the coins or the histories and it must follow that there is an error somewhere I am myself inclined to think that the weight of the French ounce and grain has been *overrated* by Ball, and that Tavernier's ounce was, at the most, no heavier than the ounce troy of 480 grs.

To make matters worse, Tavernier himself in another place makes a statement which is not quite consistent with the above. " All this silver is bought," he writes, " by the weight, called *tola* which weighs 9 deniers and 8 grains or 32 vals, and 81 vals make, as I have said [Travels, Vol. I, p. 25], one *once*." (*Op. cit.*, I, 34.)

Now if 32 vals make a tola, and 81 vāls make a French ounce of 482·3 grains troy,

$$1 \text{ tola} = \tfrac{4823}{10} \times \tfrac{32}{81} \text{ grs. troy} = \tfrac{77168}{405} = 190\tfrac{218}{405}$$
$$= 190{\cdot}5 \text{ grains troy.}$$

This makes the tola three grains heavier still, but it is not at all improbable that 81 is here wrongly given for 83, if not 84. We have seen the English Presidents Kerridge and Breton repeatedly saying that there were 83 vāls in the *English* ounce of 480 grs. troy. Tavernier's statement that there were 81 only in the *French* ounce of 482·3 grs. troy, naturally raises doubts as to its accuracy. It should be borne in mind that his book was compiled in 1676 — about nine years after his last voyage—from notes and memoranda which were, according to Mons. Chappuzeau, who was employed to edit and give them some literary form, in a most confused, if not absolutely chaotic condition. It is admitted by his translator that "obscurity and contradiction are not absent from the text and the effects of the careless editing of the original are also much to be deplored," (Travels, Tr. Ball, I, Introd., pp. xxx, xxxii). It is therefore not unlikely that we have here a proof of his defective memory or of the disordered and imperfect state of the fragments of journals and diaries on which the 'Six Voyages' were founded. If then he is supposed to have written or meant to say that 83 vāls made a French ounce, the tola would be equal to 185·9 grains troy ($\tfrac{4823}{10} \times \tfrac{1}{83} \times \tfrac{32}{1}$) = ($185\tfrac{75}{83}$ grs).

However that might be, it is certain that Fryer who was in India between 1672–1681 A.C. makes the troy ounce equal to '2 Tolas and 19 Valls or 83 Valls', in his "Table of Goldsmiths' and Jewellers' Weights in Surat." (New Account, Ed. 1698, p. 206.) Fryer was in the service of the East India Company and his information was probably derived from his countrymen of the Sūrat factory, but the exact coincidence between the equation given by him and the considered statements made by President Kerridge in 1620 and by President Rastell in 1644 is worthy of serious attention. It shows that the *Sūrat* tola was reckoned as equivalent to 185·06 grs. troy, by the Company's servants who might be reasonably supposed, from the nature of their business, to have felt the absolute necessity of fixing as accurately as possible its authentic weight in terms of the English scale.

These statements are somewhat bewildering in their variety and multiplicity, and it may not be unprofitable to concentrate in tabular form the results obtained from an examination of the different gauges. The reader will be thereby enabled to take them all in at a glance and to form a critical estimate of their real significance.

Abūl Faẓl	(*a*)	185·45	grs.	
,,	(*b*)	185·53	,,	
,,	(*c*)	183·6	,,	Making no allowance for abrasion.
,,	(*d*)	183·3	,,	
,,	(*e*)	185 7	,,	
,,	(*f*)	185·6	,,	
Firishta		184·57	,,	Approximately.
Jahāngīr		185·85	,,	,,
Khāfi Khān / Mirāt i-Aḥmadi		185 00	,,	or a little more.
Sir Thomas Roe (1616)		192·00	,,	
Francis Fettiplace (1618)		155·00	,,	(?)
Thomas Kerridge *a* (1619)		184·57	,,	
Th. Kerridge *b* (1626)		185·06	,,	
Sūrat Consultation (1633)		185·06	,,	
President Breton (1644)		184 00	,,	
Thevenot	(*a*) 1666	187·488	,,	
,,	(*b*) ,,	177·464	,,	(?)
,,	(*c*) ,,	170·11	,,	(?)
Tavernier	(*a*) 1667	187·6	,,	
,,	(*b*) ,,	190·5	,,	(?)
John Fryer (1672–81)		185·06	,,	

Such is the sum and substance of what it is possible to learn. What is the conclusion? In the first place, it must become increasingly clear to every one who studies with due care and attention the original authorities,—indigenous and European—that it is useless to make any attempt to determine *absolutely* the *precise* weight of the Mughal tola in terms of the English ponderary system. The tola was founded on the ratī, the ratī on rice grains. No two ratīs or rice grains are, at any time or in any place, exactly alike in weight and they were besides subject to capricious alteration by governmental decree. Whatever the merits of the old Indian system of weights and measures, and however well adapted it might have been to its environment or the manner of thinking of the people, it was crude and empirical. The foundations of the tables were on units which had never been standardised and which were, perhaps, in their nature, incapable of being reduced to uniformity. There was nothing also even distantly resembling the marvellous precision of modern appliances, and it might be fairly doubted if there was anywhere in the country a balance sensitive enough to detect a difference of $\frac{1}{10}$ or perhaps even $\frac{1}{4}$ of a grain. Briefly, the conditions indispensable for the attainment of the minute accuracy and undeviating uniformity which appear to us so simple only because we have been so long accustomed to them did not exist. In the circumstances, the only result of demanding mathematical exactitude must be to involve ourselves in a maze of inconsistencies and contradictions. In short, the tola does not appear to have had anything like the absolutely definitive or uniform value of the English pound or foot or the French gramme or metre. Approximate accuracy is all that can be hoped for or predicable in regard to it, and all that can be said on the evi-

dence available is that it was somewhere between 185 and 186 grs. troy and perhaps the mean of these two figures, *i.e.* 185·5 grs. represents more nearly than any other its *average* weight.

XIX. THE STANDARD OF FINENESS OF MUGHAL COINS.

The money of the Mughal rulers was, in the days of the Empire's prosperity, held in the highest esteem for the purity of its contents or the fineness of its standard. Our stock of the mintages of Bābur and Humāyūn is not large and it has not been thought worth while to *assay* any of them. But the results of the quantitative analysis, by modern methods, of Akbar's muhrs and rupees are available and they are in striking accord with the statements of Abūl Faẓl and other writers on the subject.

"By the attention of his Majesty," writes this historiographer, "gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity The highest degree of purity is called in Persia *dahdahī*, but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called *bārahbānī*, as they have *twelve* degrees. Formerly the old *hun* which is a gold coin current in the Decca was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees, but Majesty has now fixed it at 8½; and the round small gold dī of 'Alāuddīn, which was considered to be twelve degrees, turns out to be 10½" (*Āīn*, Text. I, 14, l. 2; Bloch Trans. I, 18)

Of the *old*, *i.e.* Mediæval South Indian hūns or there are numerous local types and varieties and very known of their intrinsic contents of pure metal, but if or matt. of the coins of which Abūl Faẓl speaks resemblance to that of the pagodas current in the 18 19th centuries, they could not have been of a very high of purity. Readers of Prinsep will find in his 'Usefu' the results of the assays of thirty-five different varie latter The touch ranges from 95·1 to 55·2 and t fineness of all the 35 works out at only 77·7. (*C* 1834, pp. 39–40). Our author reckons it at 8½ assuming that 12 bān = 100 touch, implies that t 70·83 fine.

The "gold dīnār of 'Alāuddīn" may be con fied with the *ashrafī-i-'Alāī*, one hundred ja with which are said by Abūl Faẓl and Firish found in the hoards of the Rānī of Garha-Ka conquest of that country (*Akbarnāma*, Tran II. 215, l. 19; Briggs, Trans., II, 218). A Faẓl, it was far from being absolutely pure a 10½ bān, *i.e.* about 87·5 degrees fine. Prins of his assay of some specimens sent to hi

Treasury as 94·2. (*Op. cit.*, p. 40*c*.) It should be remembered, however, in comparing the two statements, that 'Alāu-d-dīn's gold mintages are of by no means uniform excellence. Thomas remarks of a specimen registered by him (No. 131) that it is "a small thick coin of pale gold," and adds that "these pieces seem to have been *direct* remintages of southern gold huns, without any attempt *at refining the metal up to the Dehlī standard.*" (Chronicles, p. 169). The Italics are mine.

This 'Dehlī standard' appears to have been fairly high even during the 'Pathān' period. We have seen from Prinsep's analysis that 'Alāu-d-dīn's gold tanka was 94·2 degrees fine, and an examination of a similar issue of his predecessor, Jalālu-d-dīn Fīrūz showed that the touch or pure contents of gold in 100 parts was 94·5 (*Op. cit.*, p. 40 *c*). This clearly points to the 'Pathān' moneyers having maintained a very high standard, and Abūl Faẓl does not deny them credit for it What he emphatically asserts and takes pride in asserting is that Akbar's mintages surpassed them in this respect as well as in others. And the point to be here noted is that this is not an empty vaunt but a statement which can be proved to be true.

The results of the analyses of four different Akbarī muhrs given in the 'Useful Tables.' A 'jiljilalee' struck at Lāhor as found to be 100 degrees fine, another muhr coined at Āgra 1560 proved to be of exactly the same standard (p. 39), and average of several issues of the Dehlī mint also yielded a of 100. A fourth type was, it is true, only 97·4 points ut it had been "injured by the solder of a ring." (*Ibid.*,

t the numismatist may pertinently inquire to what the example set by Akbar in regard to the utmost refinement of the metal of his gold coins was followed successors. No light is thrown upon the matter by the s of the Mughal dynasty, but here again the labours of ed master of the Calcutta mint have placed us in n of information which is more precise and convincing hing which they could have imparted to us, or we e been justified in expecting from them.

ermission to give in the subjoined Table the results mination of a remittance of 725 old gold-mohurs General Treasury to be melted and recoined," are relevant to the subject of our inquiry.

—	Touch or pure gold in 100 parts	Remarks.
Akber, average ..	100 0	A.D. 1556 ,Delhi.
,, single ..	97·4	Injured by solder of ring.
Jehangeer ..	100·0	At Boorhanpoor.
Shah Jehan (*a*) ..	97·4	Plain field.
(*b*) Chahar-yaree..	99·8	Square shield.
,, ..	91·7	Vitiated by solder ?
(*c*) Lozenge shield	99·5	Struck at Allahabad.
Patna ..	99·7	Supposed, from Symbol 39.
Aurungzeb, plain.	100·0	Several.
Sun 5 to 51 ..	98·0	Delhi A.H., 1076.
Agra ..	100·0	1100 [A.H.]; these vary only in the place of coinage.
Etawa ..	100·0	
Delhi ..	100·0	
Lahor ..	94·5	
Surat ..	100 0	
Sun 29 ..	79·7	No place of coinage; others Delhi.
Behadur Shah ..	97·4	Struck at *Khujisteh buniad* * * * in 1123
Jehandar Shah ..	100 0	Struck at Jonpur [?] 1124.
Furokshseer Sun 6	96 4	Delhi, A H. 1125.
Lahore ..	96·4	
Moham. Shah (*a*)	96·9	Struck at Delhi.
(*b*) Suns 2 to 17 ..	97·4	Ditto average.
Agra ..	99·0	
Allahabad .	99·2	
(*c*) Arcot ..	96·4	
Benares ..	100·0	
Islamabad ..	99 2	
Oojyn ..	98·5	
Etawa .	99·8	
(*c*) Sun 12 ..	87·5	Ill-executed, Delhi, mark
Ahmed Shah ..	99 0	
Boorhanpoor..	100·0	
Aulumgeer II, S. 1	99·2	Struck at Del (*a*)
Sun 3 ..	99 0	Inscription (*b*).
A.H. 1170–1173	98·4	Inscription (*c*).
Var. Suns ..	99·0	Struck at [Jaipur] S
Shah Alum Del[hi]	97·4	Present Inscription.
Suns 3 to 15½		
Suns 19 to 34	100·0	With the Chhata [1
Boorhanpoor	99·5	Same as old Bom[
Furukhabad ..	91·7	Average of 16.
Lucknow ..	99·2	Under the Nawal
Surat Sun 19 ..	99·8	Same as old Bor
Akber II ..	100·0	With dagger. [1]

[1] Useful Tables, Ed. 1834, pp. 40 *c* an

These figures bear eloquent witness to the solicitude displayed by the Mughal government during the entire period of its existence and even in the days of its decline in regard to the purity of the gold-contents of the muhr. Of the forty-four different types assayed, no less than 14 were found to be absolutely pure without a grain of alloy, and represented the issues of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Aurangzeb, Jahāndār, Muḥammad Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh, Shāh ʿĀlam II and Akbar II. Thirteen had a touch of something over 99 and bore the names of Shāh Jahān, Muḥammad Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh, ʿĀlamgīr II and Shāh ʿĀlam II. The Dehlī muhrs of Aurangzeb, and some others displaying the style and titles of Muḥammad Shāh and ʿĀlamgīr II were just a point lower and were 98 degrees fine, although the last two types were probably not strictly Imperial. One muhr of Akbar yielded a somewhat lower result (97·4), but this was due to its having been injured by the solder of a loop or ring. Four other coins belonging to the reigns of Shāh Jahān, Bahādur Shāh Shāh Alam I, Muḥammad Shāh and Shāh ʿĀlam II were of the same standard. Both the specimens of Farrukhsiyar's mintages and two others of Muḥammad's were about 96 arts fine and a Lāhor ashrafī of Aurangzeb was two points ver still. A gold piece of Shāh Jahān, popularly called ahār Yāree,' from the names of the four friends [Yārs *i. e.* the lifahs] of the Arabian prophet inscribed in the margins, an exceptionally high proportion of alloy and was only 22 fine, but it is candidly observed that it had been vitiated er. One other type of this low standard (91·7) is also d, but it was really the Farrukhābād muhr struck by India Company, which was, with a view to assimilate respect to the English sovereign, made only $\frac{11}{12}$ths veral muhrs of Aurangzeb and Muḥammad Shāh were ed to be of only 79·7 and 87·5 touch. They were in only types in this list of 44 different varieties which rior in purity of intrinsic contents to the English But they were all "badly executed," and there eason to believe them to be forgeries (*op. cit.*, p.

of the forty-four types assayed, two were not wo others had suffered loss of pure metal at the lderer. Of the remaining forty, 13 gave results lute purity; 12 others were above 99 degrees 5 in all out of 40, that is 62·5 per cent were All the others, with one exception of avowed- which was only twenty-two carats fine, were rior in this respect to the English sovereign. needs elaboration, but it may be observed of the genuine issues of Akbar, Jahāngīr, gzeb, Jahāndār, Muḥammad Shāh, Aḥmad and the second Shāh ʿĀlam appear to

have been absolutely or practically unalloyed. Of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I, only one coin or variety was assayed, the seven years of Farrukhsiyar's reign were represented by only two specimens and all these three were of comparatively low matt, but these and the other examples of deviation from absolute or practical purity must be regarded as more or less exceptional issues which are to be attributed to the imperfection of the technical processes of the day, the unskilfulness of the artisans employed in some of the provincial mints, the inefficient supervision or dishonesty of the mintmasters and lastly, perhaps, the pernicious custom of farming out the revenue of the mint which was introduced during the decline of the Empire.

So much as to the issues in the noblest of the metals. The standard or quality of the contents of the silver coins appears to have been almost equally high, though Abūl Fazl does not say that it was *absolutely* pure. He writes :—

"Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper Irān and Turān, they also call the highest degree of finen silver *dahdahī*, in Hindustan the Sairafis use for it the ter *biswah* [Twenty-twentieths] According to the quality alloy, it descends in degree ; but it is not made less and no one would care for silver baser than ten degr In former times silver also was assayed by the *banwā* now it is calculated as follows : if by refining 100 shāhī silver, which is current in Irāq and Khurāsān, a lārī and misqālī, which are current in Turān, there three tolas and one surkh, and of the same quant European and Turkish Nārjīl and the Mahmūdī and of Gujrāt and Mālwah. 13 tolahs and 6½ māshas ar become of the imperial standard." [نقرهٔ شاهنشاهي Tr. I, 22–3, Text, I, 18–19.

This is not very illuminating. It is clear t perial standard was about three per cent higher the Shāhī and about thirteen per cent higher th Gujrāt Mahmūdī and some unidentifiable type and Turkish money. But we know nothing either the *Shāhī* or the *Mahmūdī* and these co ments are therefore infructuous for our pu determination of the fineness of the silver in Akbarī rupee.

In the circumstances, we naturally tu notices of the Mughal system of currenc found in the works of the European trav It is therefore a matter of regret that th expectations in the matter of precisi definite information. Several of them b ral terms to the extraordinary purity but the details we are in search of are

"The coin there," writes Edward Terry, "is more pure than in any other part of the world, being (*as they report*) of pure silver without any alloy; so that in the Spanish money, the purest of all Europe, there is some loss." (A Voyage to East India, Ed. 1777, p. 113.) Herbert says of the 'Mammoody' and the 'Roopee' that they were 'good silver' (Travels, Ed. 1665, p. 46). Mundy also assures us that the current 'coyne is of good gold, silver, copper, etts." (Journal, Ed. Sir R. C. Temple, II, 130.) Thevenot too declares that "the silver money of the Great Mogul is finer than any other, for when ever a Stranger enters the Empire, he is made to change the Silver he hath, whether *Piastres* or *Abassis*, into the Money of the Country and at the same time they are melted down, and the Silver refined for the Coyning of *Roupies*." (Travels, ng. Trans., Ed. 1687, Part III. p 18.) Fryer again informs in his description of Surat that "over-against the Custom- se is the stately Entrance into the Mint, which is a large of Offices within itself; hither repair all Shroffs or s, for the Proof of Silver, which in this place is the most and purest from alloy, in the World; as is also their (New Account, Ed. 1698, p. 98.) Thomas Bowrey his account of the currency of Bengal that "a sort of fine silver money was coined in the mint at l that the 'gold Moors' [Muhrs] also were of 'the tt.' (Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669–1679. C. Temple, p. 217).

ll this is too vague to be really helpful. I know of writers of the period who eschew generalities and give the percentage of pure silver in the Mughal ct terms. The French jeweller, Tavernier asserts ht of the rupee was 9 *deniers* and 1 *grain*, and the he silver 11 *deniers* and 14 *grains*. (Travels in ll, I, 26. See also *ibid.*, I, p. 25, where an identi will be found = Six Voyages of J. B. Tavernier, J. P[hillips], Ed. 1678, Part II, pp. 21, 22.) the rupee of Tavernier's days contained about silver ($11\frac{14}{24} = 11\frac{7}{12} = \frac{139}{12} \times \frac{1}{12} \times \frac{100}{1} = \frac{8475}{36}$

Ovington. "The gold of Suratt," he writes, at 12 or 14 per cent may be often gained by pe. And the silver which is the same all even the Mexico and Sevil Dollars and has ther in the world. I never saw any clipt rare if either the gold or silver coin is oor or gold roupie is valued generally at ver roupie at two shillings three pence." . 1689, p. 219.) This is in the usual style ies. More precise information, however, oins at the end of the work, in which he

states that "the Matt or Touch of the gold muhr of Hindustan was 9⅞ and that of the rupee 9½." This means that the pure contents of the muhr were 98·75 per cent and those of the rupee only 95 per cent.

Ovington was in India in 1689, about the same time as Tavernier and his estimate of the intrinsic value of the Mughal rupee is in fairly close agreement with that of the latter. But it should be remembered that neither Tavernier nor Ovington was an expert metallurgist and that the statements of both must have been based on popular belief or, at best, on what they had been told by the *Ṣarrāfs* or money-changers of the Bazārs. These men had their own method of ascertaining the proportion of alloy by blowing off the copper with lead (Thomas, Chronicles, 281), but the process was crude and i results only approximately correct even when very careful conducted. They cannot in any case compare with th arrived at by modern analysis Here again our gratefu knowledgments are due to Prinsep for concentrating following statement a good deal of most useful infor which is nowhere else available.

"Cabinet specimens of the Coins [*i.e.* Rupees] of Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe have also an average 175 grains *pure*, and the same prevails with little v to the time of Mahomed Shah in the coins c extremities of the empire; or struck in the soubas Ahmedabad, Delhi and Bengal.

The following are examples of this agreement

Akbery, of Lahore	.. ..	175·0 grai
,, of Agra	.. ..	174 0 d
Jehangiry, Agra	.. ..	174·6 (
,, Allahabad	..	173·6 (
,, Kandahar	..	173·9
Shah Jehany, of Agra	..	175·0
,, Ahmedabad	..	174·2
,, Delhi	..	174 6
,, Surat ..	..	175·0
,, Lahore ..	..	174·(

To which may be added from the Table at the Mint, reckoning *pure contents* only:—

Delhi Sonats	.. ..	17
,, Aulumgeor	.. ..	1
Old Surat Rupee	..	
Moorshedabad	..	
Persian Rupee of 1745		
Dacca, old	..	
Mahamed Shahy	..	
Ahmed Shah	..	
Shah Aulum (1772)	..	

The above quotations are s Mogul Emperors maintained a g of their vast empire." (Useful

These figures speak for themselves. It is unfortunate that the *absolute* weights of the coins themselves are not given, and that it is impossible in consequence to exactly determine the proportion of alloy. But it will be observed that the *pure contents* are only in two cases below 173 grs. Now supposing the authentic issue weight to have been even 180 grs. (it was, in all probability, a grain or two lower) the degree of purity works out *at more than* 97 p.c. in all but two instances. In some cases, it would seem to have been as high as 97·5. This is in fair accord with and justifies the encomiums of Terry and Fryer. It is in agreement with the detailed statements of Tavernier and Ovington also and should be regarded as sufficiently exact.

A few words of caution and qualification may, however, not uncalled for. The Mughal money was hammered and consequently easy to fabricate. Any skilful and unscrupul- goldsmith in the Empire had it in his power to imitate turn out from his shop specimens apparently as good difficult to distinguish from, the mintages of the Imperial

" the issues of the eighteenth century, the general n of the administrative system of the Empire and universal "lack of governance" in the provinces ne in mind. It would appear from some curious ing details which have been unearthed by Mr. om the Manuscript Records of the Calcutta Mint rnicious practice of debasing the currency was Banāras as early as the reign of Farrukhsiyar. ill perhaps have some reason to complain of the extract, but the essay itself is neither very acces- rally known, and the facts revealed are not only indisputable, but provide a most instructive of the prevailing custom.

vas first established at Benares," writes Mr. e 15th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah v of the rupee was fixed at 22 chauwals, but of the Superintendents of the mint, it was wals at different periods before the 30th and gn.[1]

grain,' 8 chauwals make a ratī and 8 ratīs a tandard weight of the rupee of Muḥammad olicitly stated to have been 9 māshas 7 ratīs. chauwals, it follows that originally the This is a most interesting fact and we are at the *original standard of fineness* of the four successors was the same, *viz.* 96 per een that this is in fair accord with the ect and that it receives confirmation

note that Akbar's rupee weighed

"During the first three years of the reign of Ahmad Shah (1748–50), the mint was under the charge of Rājā Balwant Singh, who increased the duties on the coinage by attaching the fees of the officers of the mint, and establishing new ones to the same amount. In the first year, the assay was kept up to [illegible] chauwals, but in the second and third years the mint to one Nandrām, who to incre based the coin to 24 and 32 chauwals farming out the mints, first adopted Farrukhsīyar, at length introduced value of the rupee every year. make were consequently oblig the mint to have them recoined . s the rupees of the current year. Previous t the reign of Shāh 'Alam (1769), the new coined after circulating twelve months, fell three per cent, expiration of two years, two per cent more, at w it continued under the denomination 'sanwāt.' the beginning of the fourth to the end of the sixth a (1754) of Ahmad Shah, the mint was under the ch Asad Beg, Kiladār or Governor of the Fort of (assay of the rupees was from 26 to 32 chauwals. mencement of the reign of 'Alamgir II (1754), the Vizier Shuja'ud-daulah. During the first and se assay of the rupees was from 26 to 28 chauwa year, Shuja'ud-daulah made over the mint to h Mirza 'Alī Khān, who farmed it to Subhāw Ch the rupee was from 24 to 32 chauwals. In mint was farmed to the agent of an emine and the rupees were debased to 64 chauw time, half a rati in weight. Rājā Balw receive them into the treasury. In the were raised to their proper weight of 9 chauwals) but continued at the debase chauwals. In the sixth and last year o were debased to 100 chauwals assay (*i.e.* and half a ratī in weight. In the first 'Alam, * * * the rupee was restored to 7 r.) and to 26 chauwals assay. D years the assay remained at 40 cha (1767) Shujā'u-d-daulah * * resolve A Delhi rupee of the 18th year of

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11 māshas and 4 ratīs. The Banāras only 9 māshas and 7 ratīs. This d māsha and 5 ratīs lighter, but that t local variations were only too comm *average* weight of the Banāras mā $\frac{13983}{80} = 174\frac{23}{80}$ grs.

as a sample for the new coinage. This rupee was 22 chauwals fine, but being worn had lost 2 chauwals in weight. The new rupees were, in consequence, 2 chauwals deficient, and from that time [to the 15th year], the Benares rupees continued at [illegible] ch., being 2 chauwals less than the original weight

* A considerable portion of the rupees issued ined only 5½ oz. of silver, to 10½ of copper. reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1776), the mint npany to Chait Singh, who engaged ch. weight and 18 chauwals fine, 17th san, in order to put an end ncy occasioned by the constant ue of the coin." (Note on the History of a Company's Coinage from 1753–1835 in J.A.S.B., 1–56).

statistics may appear tiresome but they give us rmation as to the real state of affairs even in an commercial centre like Banāras and warn us that of the standard had already begun in the time of Shāh, if not even earlier, in that of Farrukhsiyar. t should not be forgotten that the Mughal system nt was, even at its best, an oriental despotism he defects of its qualities. In such a polity, nds, in spite of rules, regulations, Farmāns mals of the most stringent and benevolent character of the sovereign himself and osen by him to exercise authority on his pire. Akbar had introduced (speaking comly centralised system of administration. ined its vigour up to the last years of in the best of times, the control of the s exercised intermittently, and in the iceroys and other officials were permitmuch in their own way. There was system of supervision and punishment rare. The mints were, we may be sure, r the charge of unscrupulous Dāroghas, hat the coinage *was*, in places and at weight or standard.

XX. RUPEE-VALUE OF THE ASHRAFĪ OR MUHR.

The coin-denomination Ashrafī is of incessant occurrence in the Mughal histories The learned compilers of 'Hobson Jobson' declare that the word اشرف means 'Noble' in Arabic and that "the term is applied to various gold coins (in analogy with the old English 'Noble'), but especially to the Dinar of Egypt and to the Gold Mohur of India" (*op. cit.*, Ed. Crooke, p. 38). Steingass (Arabic-English Dictionary *s.v.*) takes the same view, but Mr R. S. Poole is of opinion that the "name came from * * * the Memlūk El-*Ashraf* Barsabay [*r.* 1422–1438 A.C.] or El-Ashraf Kait-Bey [*r.* 1468–1496 A C.] under whom it became famous in commerce not long after its introduction into the Egyptian currency." (Coins of the Shāhs of Persia, Introd. lxii.) Mr. Stanley Lane Poole has declared himself in favour of the same derivation. (Weights and Denominations of Turkish Coins, Num. Chron. 1882, p. 168.)

Whatever the true etymology may be, it is certain that the designation came, in course of time, to be loosely applied to gold coins of all sorts of weights and values. Dozy says it is used in the *Alf Laila wa Laila* ('The Thousand Nights and a Night') for the gold dinār of the value of about 11s. 6d. (*Glossaire*, pp. 353–4) and the lexicographer Richardson is responsible for the statement that it was the name of "an old Spanish coin, worth about seven shillings or seven reals." (Persian-Arabic-English Dictionary, *s.v.*)

The word occurs in the 'Memoirs of Bābur' and *seems* to be used for the gold tankas weighing about 168 grs of the 'Pathān' Sulṭāns of Dehlī.

"On Wednesday (Ṣafar 6th)," he writes in his diary of the year of his final and absolutely decisive invasion of India (932 A.H.) * * * "the younger brethren of Nūr Beg—he himself remaining in Hindustān—brought gold *Ashrafīs* and *tankas* to the value of 20000 Shāhrukhīs, sent from the Lāhor revenues by Khwāja Ḥusain." (Mrs. Beveridge's Trans. 446; Erskine, 290).

Bābur never appears to have struck any gold money in his own name. He was perhaps too poor to afford the luxury. The total annual revenue of the kingdom of Kābul was only 8 laks of *Shāhrukhīs* or 3,20,000 rupees, and when he became master of the treasures of the Lodīs, he squandered them so quickly and thoroughly that he earned the name of 'Qalandar' (Firishta, Briggs' Trans. Calcutta Repr. II. 49) and found himself in such financial straits (Memoirs, Trans. Beveridge, 617 =

Erskine, 387) that he was obliged to raise the taxes 30 p.c. all round.

Gold coins of his son and successor, however, are known and exemplified by B.M.C. 8–10*a*, I.M C. 13–14.

Humāyūn's sister Gulbadan speaks of trays full of Ashrafīs and Shāhrukhīs having been presented or distributed among the ladies of the Court and the Amīrs on festival occasions (*Humāyūn Nāma,* Ed. A. S. Beveridge, 95, 124, 125). Elsewhere she tells us that Māldeo, the Rājpūt prince of Jodhpūr sent to Humāyūn on his arrival at Phalūdī in the course of his wanderings, "a present of armour and a camel's load of *Ashrafīs*," (*Ibid.*, 153–4) and that Tardī Beg who "had a great deal of money" lent the distressed Emperor 80000 *ashrafīs* at the rate of two in ten [*i.e.* on interest at 20 per cent] (p. 157). In all these cases, the reference is probably to the small gold coins weighing about 18 grs. and 9 grains, of which a few are still preserved in our public and private collections. But the same authoress calls the enormous gold piece weighing "three Imperial [Bādshāhī, *i.e.* Akbarī ?] *Sīr*, or fifteen *Sīr* of Hind" which her father Bābur sent as a present to an old servant ('Asas) also an Ashrafī. (*Ibid.*, p. 96.)

The word occurs occasionally in Abūl Faẓl's *Āīn* (Blochmann, Tr. I. 224, 289), the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Text, 342, Elliot and Dowson v. 411), and Badāonī's *Muntakhab* (Text, II. 236, 384. Lowe's Tr II. 243, 397) and may, in all these instances, be confidently said to be employed for the Akbarī gold muhr.

The author of the *Ghiāṣu-l-Lughāt*—a standard Persian Dictionary compiled in Muṣṭafābād-Rāmpūr—says that the Ashrafī was a gold coin weighing ten māshas which was first struck in the reign of a Pādishāh called *Ashraf*. This is not quite correct, but it is clear that the writer was referring to the Mamlūk Sulṭān Ashraf Barsabay, and that he thought the weight of the Egyptian coin was about the same as that of the Mughal gold muhr.

The first question that arises in connection with this exceedingly well-known type of money, is what was its rupee-value at different periods and what light do our authorities throw on the vexed and difficult question of the ratio of gold to silver. It must be at once admitted that in this respect, they are exceedingly disappointing. Their authors were, it should be remembered, neither economists nor statisticians nor currency reformers anxious to prove or disprove a theory. They had never heard of the Double or Bimetallic Standard and the difficulty or rather the impossibility of preventing sudden and violent fluctuations in the comparative values of the precious metals had never vexed their souls. Their ideas or methods of historical writing were very different from ours and they had no conception of the value and importance of either economic or social history. It is therefore futile to expect them to replace

the darkness by a blaze of knowledge, but it may be useful to bring under one view the few scattered notices on the subject which have, in the course of these studies, arrested my attention.

Here also the first glimmer of light comes to us from Abūl Faẓl who has left behind in the tenth chapter of the First Book of the *Āīn* an elaborate description of the mintages of his own day and recorded not only the weights of the issues in both metals, but also their values in exchange. "These copious and somewhat tedious statistics" have been meticulously examined by Edward Thomas. It is hardly necessary to reproduce the entire passage in which "the leading results" of his scrutiny are concentrated by that expert. It will suffice to quote in illustration of his method, the first item and the last.

"No. 1. The massive piece, the Sihansah, of the above table, in value 100 L'al Jalālīs, gives a return of weight in gold of *tolahs* 101, māshas 9, *ratīs* 7 = 1000 silver rupees : 18328 : : 172500 (1725 × 100 × 10) : 1 : 9 4118.

* * * * No. 10. 'Adl Gutkah or Round Muhar, also called Mihrābī Weight in gold, 11 *māshas* = 9 *rupees* · 165 : : 172·5 × 9 (1552·5) : 1 : : 9 40909." (Chronicles, p. 424.)

It will be seen that these estimates are based on certain assumptions of which the validity is not beyond question. In the first place, it is postulated that the tola of Akbar was identical in weight with the modern or British Indian tola of 180 grains troy—which was first introduced only in 1834 A.C. It follows by implication that its subdivisions, the *māsha* and the *ratī* were respectively equivalent to just 15 grs and 1·875 grs. It is common knowledge that the existing evidence is adverse to any such suppositions, and Col. Nassau W. Lees was not al together unjustified in openly proclaiming his distrust of "calculations based upon a measure not accurately ascertained." (Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1865, p. 210)

In the second place, Thomas would appear to have erred in supposing that the theoretical or issue weight of the Akbarī rupee was only 172·5 grs., inasmuch as coins which touch 177 and even 178 grs. are very common

In these circumstances, it appears necessary to set aside Thomas's calculations and work out the ratio *de novo* from Abūl Faẓl's data, employing a method of which the results would be altogether independent of and could not possibly be affected by the uncertain value of the tola and the māsha in terms of the English scale of weights.

Now if 101 tolas, 9 māshas and 7 ratīs of gold were = 1000 rupees of $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas each, it is clear that $101\frac{9}{96} \times 12$ māshas of gold were = 11500 māshas of silver,

or $\frac{9787}{96}$ māshas of gold were = 11500 māshas of silver

$$\frac{9787}{96} \times \frac{11500}{1} = \frac{160}{17} = 9\ 4117.$$

Again, if the 'Adlgutka or round muhr of 11 māshas was valued at 9 rupees of $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas each,

11 māshas of gold = $103\frac{1}{2}$ māshas of silver
∴ 1 māsha of gold = $\frac{207}{22} \times \frac{1}{11} = \frac{207}{22} = 9\frac{9}{22}$
= 9 4090 māshas of silver.

It would serve no useful purpose to work out in detail the other items of Thomas's schedule, as the results arrived at by this method are in agreement with his up to three places of decimals, and therefore identical to all intents and purposes. It may however, in view of some observations hazarded by Mr Lane Poole, be permissible to invite attention to the weight and value of the *Ilāhī* muhr—which stands 9th on the list given in the Chronicles. Abūl Faẓl declares that it weighed 12 māshas, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs, and was valued at 10 rupees. Mr Lane Poole, referring to the singular square issues of Fatḥpūr and Urdū Ẓafar Qarīn in the British Museum (Cat. Nos. 66-70; 73-78) which are of almost exactly this weight (186-188 grs.) has advanced the opinion that the difference of value [as compared with that of the muhr of 11 māshas which was 9 rupees] seems to have depended upon the *purity*, and not upon the *weight*, and this cannot be tested without injuring the coins."

I beg leave to point out that a simple calculation is all that is necessary to secure the rejection of this theory and to show that the difference depended not upon the purity but upon the weight alone and that the standard of all the gold coins was practically identical. For, if 9 rupees could purchase 11 māshas of gold of a certain standard, 10 rupees would buy $\frac{11 \times 10}{9}$ $= \frac{110}{9} = 12$ māshas and $1\frac{7}{9}$ ratīs of gold of the same touch or matt. Abūl Faẓl's figure is 12 māshas $1\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs which is almost the same, as the difference is only $\frac{1}{36}$ of a ratī or about ·03 of a troy grain.

Again if 12 māshas $1\frac{3}{4}$ ratīs of gold were equal in purchasing power to 10 rupees of $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas each, it is clear that $\frac{391}{32}$ māshas of gold = 115 māshas of silver
∴ a māsha of gold = $\frac{115}{1} \times \frac{32}{391} = \frac{160}{17} = 9{\cdot}4117$ māshas of silver.

Now this is *exactly* the result that we obtained from the data for the heavier or larger Sihansah and it differs from the ratio deduced from the weight of the '*Adlgutka* or round muhr, *viz.* 9·4095, by only $\frac{22}{10000}$ or ·0022. This difference is, considering the crudeness and imperfection of the technical processes of the day, so small as to be negligible and it may be safely said that the standard of *all* the gold coins was the same, that the difference in value was due to weight only and that the ratio of the value of gold to that of silver was about 9·4 : 1 at the date of the composition and completion of the *Āīn*, *i.e.* in the beginning of the fifth and last decade of Akbar's reign.

But gold would appear to have appreciated in comparison

with silver soon afterwards. We have seen already that Captain William Hawkins valued the 'Seraffin Ecberi' at 'Ten rupias a piece.' (Voyages, Ed. Markham, 421). Hawkins was at Agra from about 1608 to 1611. And there is a statement in the Emperor Jahāngīr's Chronicle of the 10th year of his own reign, 1615—which points, though somewhat doubtfully, to a ratio of 12 : 1. He says that the *Nūr Jahānī* muhr which he presented to the Persian ambassador on 8th Shahrīvar X.R.Y. was worth 6,400 Rupees (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I. 298) and he informs us again while recording the gift of a muhr of the same name to the ambassador from Bījāpūr on the 19th of the very next month, that it weighed 500 tulchas, *i.e.* tolas. This would mean that 500 × 12 = 6,000 māshas of gold were = (6400 × 11½) = 73,600 māshas of silver or one māsha of gold was = 12 $\frac{1}{5}$ or 12·266 māshas of silver; one tola of gold would be worth 12 Rs 12 as., and the ordinary muhr of 11 māshas about 11 Rs 12 as. This is a very high figure and there is a temptation to suspect that the number of rupees is wrongly given. It seems *prima facie* unlikely that the ratio should have gone up at a bound from 9·4 to 12 2 in twenty years. These doubts, are to a certain extent, reinforced by the fact that the Emperor himself in another passage speaks of the ordinary Pādshāhī muhr as if it was worth only 10 rupees. In his account of the monetary system of Kishtwār he writes :—

"A coin of the name of *Sanhasī* is a relic of the old rulers of Kashmīr, one and a half of which equal a rupee. In their business transactions, they reckon fifteen *Sanhasi* or ten rupees, as one *Pādshāhī* muhar" (*Tūzuk*, Tr. II. 139) (XV R.Y.).

I must leave the reconciliation of these discrepant statements to the ingenuity of others, though of course there is nothing inherently or even flagrantly improbable in the supposition that the year in which the Emperor wrote the first two paragraphs—the tenth of his reign—was marked by one of those sudden inflations in the comparative or silver value of gold which India and even other countries have so frequently witnessed. It is also not at all impossible that in a remote and out-of-the-way mountainous district like Kishtwār, gold was under-valued in comparison with silver.

However that may be and whatever the true explanation of these figures, there can be no doubt that the ratio had risen considerably in favour of gold and was about 14 : 1 in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The author of the *Bādishāhnāma* deserves our acknowledgments for having gone out of his way to make three most interesting and explicit statements on this subject.

In his account of the construction of the Peacock Throne, he says that it was estimated to cost a crore of rupees, and that the Emperor himself picked out fifty thousand *miṣqāls'* weight of precious stones of the value of 86 laks of rupees, with a view to their being set or inlaid in the throne, for the con-

struction of which one lak tolas or two hundred and fifty thousand miṣqāls of pure gold costing 14 laks of rupees were set aside. (*Op cit.*, I. ii. 79. l. 10) Now it is obvious that if a tola of *pure* gold was worth 14 Rs., the ordinary Mughal muhr of eleven māshas must have had the corresponding value of 12 Rs. 13 as. and 4 pies ($\frac{14}{1} \times \frac{11}{12} = \frac{77}{6} = 12\frac{5}{6}$ Rs).

The fact is recorded in the chronicle of the 8th year of the reign (1044 A.H.). Seven years later, (XV R , 1051 A.H.), we find the same contemporary authority stating, in his inventory of the estate of Shāh Jahān's father in-law, Āṣaf Khān, that he left " three laks of Ashrafīs equivalent to 42 laks of rupees " (اشرفي سه لک که چهل و دو لک روپیه باشد) (*Ibid.*, II. 259, l. 10.) If these *Ashrafīs* were the *ordinary* Mughal muhrs, of eleven māshas, a strict interpretation of the words would lead to the supposition that a further rise had taken place in the price of gold.[1]

Lastly, there is in the annals of the 20th year (1056 A.H.) a monetary statement which yields a still higher value for the Ashrafī or muhr. " The head of 'Āqil Khān was," we read, " exalted by the gift of a horse and he was commanded to carry 15 laks of rupees and 70 thousand Ashrafīs, that is, 25 laks in the aggregate, to Shāh Beg Khān, the commandant of the fort of Ghorī." (*Ib.*, II. 578, l. 16)

Now if this is to be understood *literally*, it must imply that the Ashrafī or muhr was now worth not 14 Rs. but something more. 14 Rs. 4 as. and $6\frac{6}{7}$ pies ($\frac{1000000}{70000} = \frac{100}{7} = 14\frac{2}{7}$ Rs.).

But the author is probably speaking only in *round* numbers.

It remains now to cite two equations from the history of Khāfī Khān which point to a further advance in the rupee value of the muhr. " At the commencement or first day of the Jashn or festival of the 9th year [of Aurangzeb's reign] [1076 A H.], the annual pension of the Nawāb Qudsiya Begam Ṣāhiba which had been 12 laks was increased by 3 laks of rupees and a lak of rupees and ten thousand Ashrafīs, the value of each of which *was at the time 17 rupees*, were bestowed upon her in cash."

یک لک روپیه , ده هزار اشرفي که درآن وقت هفده روپیه اشرفي بود

(Bibl. Ind. Text, II. 189, l. 8.) * نقد مرحمت فرمودند

But only a few lines further, and on the very next page, the Ashrafī is reckoned at only 16 rupees. " On the 18th of Zi-l-Qa'da, 1076 [A.H.], Sivaji and his son of nine years old had

[1] Elsewhere also, in his account of the great festival held in honour of the Princess Jahānāra's recovery in 1054 A.H. (1645 A.C.), he casually states that 2,000 gold muhrs were equivalent to 28,000 rupees. (Bib. Ind. Text, II. 396.)

the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offer of 1500 [500 in Dowson is a misprint or clerical error] ashrafis and 6000 rupees, altogether 30000 rupees." (Elliot and Dowson, VII).

هزار و پانصد اشرفي و شش هزار روپيه كه مراد از سي هزار روپيه آنزمان
باشد نذر و نثار گذراند *

Text, II. 190, l. 6.

It is clear that the 1,500 Ashrafis are here valued at 24,000 rupees which implies that one *Ashrafī* was worth only 16 rupees. Khāfī Khān is a careless and slovenly writer who has to be read with caution and his details are often wanting in precision The discrepancy between the two statements is glaring, but that is no reason for discrediting them altogether and the right way of understanding them is to suppose, in a general way, that the muhr had gone up still higher and was worth about 16 rupees during the first decade of Aurangzeb's reign.

This is what can be gathered from the indigenous authorities. To complete the evidence, it is necessary to examine the statements of contemporary European travellers. We have seen that Hawkins valued the Serafin Ecberi, *i.e.* the ordinary Akbari muhr of eleven māshas at ten rupees in 1608–11 A.C. In a marginal note appended to the passage, the reader is further informed that "a tole is a rupia challany of silver, and *ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold.*" (Voyages, Ed. Markham, 1878, p. 421.) The wording of the paragraph is loose and it will hardly do to construe either of these statements strictly or to postulate their absolute accuracy, but they indicate that the ratio was *approximately*, 10 : 1 when he wrote, *i.e.* about 1610 A.C.[1]

About eighteen years later, Sir Thomas Herbert defines what he calls the *Dina* [*recte* Dīnār, *i.e.* gold muhr] as "a piece of gold worth thirty shillings." As he takes the rupee at two shillings and three pence, the dinār would be worth 13⅓ rupees. [Travels, Ed. 1665, p. 46.] Then in 1633 A.C, Thomas Mundy says that the "Mohores or Gunnees" [*recte* Sunnea ?] were "each worth about 5 Nobles [6s. 3d] English, sometimes more or less."[2] (Travels, Ed. Sir R. C. Temple, II. 310.) As he

[1] Tom Coryat says in a letter addressed to his mother that when he left Ajmer to begin his pilgrimage back again into Persia, Sir Thomas Roe gave him "a piece of gold of this Kings coyne worth foure and twentie shillings." (Purchas His Pilgrimes, Ed. Mac Lehose, IV. 487.) As Coryat repeatedly reckons the rupee as equivalent to two 'shillings' (*ibid.*, IV. 486, 487), this would mean that the muhr was valued at twelve rupees in 1616 A.C., but perhaps 'the piece of gold of this King's Coyne' was not the *ordinary* muhr, but one of the heavy mintages turning the scale at about 200 grs.

[2] The Dutchman De Laët whose book '*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*' was published in 1631 or 1632 A.C. says the rupee varied from 2s to 2s. 9d.

also takes the rupee at 2s. 3d., this gives to the muhr a value of about 14 rupees. Then about 1641 A.C, Sebastein Manrique informs us that "three gold rupees" were worth "thirty-nine silver rupees." (Travels, Tr. [Sir] E D. Maclagan, in Journal, Panjab Historical Society, Vol I, 1911, p. 97.)[1]

The jeweller Tavernier who visited India five times between 1641 and 1667, says that the golden rupees were not current among the merchants, that they were scarcely ever to be met with save in the houses of the great nobles and that each was not worth more, than 14 silver rupees. (Travels, Ed. Ball, I, 18; see also *ibid.*, 414 note)

His compatriot and contemporary, Thevenot, who landed at Surat on the 11th of January, 1666 A.C. (Travels, Eng. Trans. of 1687, Part III, p. 1) informs us that the "Roupeis of Gold" were "worth about one and twenty French Livres," but that "they pass not commonly in trade and are only coined, for the most part, to be made presents of." (*Ibid.*, p. 18.)

Now as the French Livre was worth about 1s. 6d. the Gold Roupie would be equivalent to 31s. 6d. or 14 silver rupees at 2s. 3d to the latter. (See Ball's. Trans. of Tavernier's Travels, I. 411–2.)

Towards the end of the 17th Century, the Italian traveller, Gemelli Careri who saw Aurangzeb in his camp at Galgala or Quṭbābād in 1695, assigns to the muhr a value of 13¼ Rupees. "The mony coin'd in Indostan," he writes, "is Roupiès, half Roupiès, and quarter Roupiès of Silver; as also Roupiès of Gold, worth 13 Silver Roupiès and a quarter, or six pieces of Eight, Spanish mony half Roupiès and quarters * * * There are also Copper Pieces, called Pesies, 54 whereof make a Roupié of Silver." *Voyage Round the World* in Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, IV, 255.

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but he makes the *dina* worth 30 rupees! Sir Thomas Herbert has *borrowed very freely* from him, but he has had the good sense to correct the blunder and substitute 'shillings' for 'rupees.' See Vincent Smith in J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 238.

[1] J. A. de Mandelslo who was in India in 1638, informs us that "they have also a certain coin of Gold which they call Xerafins [recte, *Ashrafī*] and it is worth about thirteen Ropias and a half." (Eng. Trans. of John Davies, 1669, p. 69.) But Mandelslo's book is a compilation from many heterogeneous sources and of small value.

It would appear from the Correspondence of the English East India Company edited by Mr. Foster, that about 1628–1630, there was a sudden fall in the value of gold at Sūrat and Aḥmadābād and the muhr fetched only 13 Rs. or was worth even 12¾ rupees, but this appears to have been only a temporary depreciation and the price rose to 14 rupees soon afterwards. (English Factories in India, 1624–1629, pp. 235, 270, 295, and 1630–1633, pp. 32 and 123.)

XXI. CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGNS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS.

The historical literature relating to the domination of the house of Tīmūr in Hindustān is, as may be perceived from a glance through the last four volumes of Elliot and Dowson's invaluable work, much more extensive and trustworthy than the material available for any other period of Indian history. The chronology of their reigns, however, can be scarcely said to have been established on an absolutely firm or satisfactory basis. Conflicting statements as to the precise time of the occurrence of minor or unimportant events occasionally arrest the attention of even ordinary readers in the publications which record, from day to day or week to week, the annals of our own times. They are inevitable, and there is no cause for astonishment in that connection. It is a striking and regrettable feature of the Mughal chronicles that they often differ, really or apparently, from each other, not only in matters of detail, but in regard to the exact dates of such epochal events as the accession of a sovereign or his deposition and death.

For these unfortunate and perplexing discrepancies there are several reasons. They are sometimes due to the ignorance of the writers, or their carelessness and constitutional indifference to chronological exactitude. In other cases, they are traceable to the lapses of copyists or the defects inherent in the Arabian script. Certain numbers are peculiarly liable to confusion in Persian writing. Thus هشتم is often mistaken for بیستم or *vice versa*; and یازدهم and پانزدهم, ششم and شصتم, هفتم and هشتم, دو and دو, سه and سی and سیم and سیوم are often misread and miswritten, the one for the other And this is a fruitful source of many puzzling and apparently irreconcilable variations.

But there is a factor of confusion which is incomparably more pervading and also more difficult to eliminate It has its origin in the Islamic method of computing time. We all know that the Muḥammadan year and month are lunar, but very few persons seem to be aware that at least three different varieties of the lunar month, three distinct modes of reckoning which do not always agree as to the number of the day, *i.e.* the age of the moon, have been and are even now current in the Muḥammadan world. *Prima facie*, it is not at all easy to say which of the three systems has been followed in a particular case by any historical writer.

There is, first of all the Hilālī or Ruiyyat method in which the first day of the month is reckoned from the sunset immediately succeeding the heliacal rising of the [new] moon (*Hilāl*). The great Arab mathematician, Albīrūnī, informs us that the Era of the Hijrat is "based upon lunar years in which the commencements of the months are determined by the *appearance* of the new moon, *not by calculation. It is used by the whole Muhammadan world.*" (*Āthāru-l-Bāqiya*, or 'Chronology of Ancient Nations.' Tr. Sachau, p. 34). Elsewhere, he says that "the Arabs fixed the beginning of the month by the *appearance* of the new moon, and the same has been *established as a law in Islām.*" *Ibid.*, p. 76. (The Italics are mine.)

Abūl Faẓl has given a lucid account of the matter in the *Āīn* which may be commended to the attention of all students of Musalmān history and Numismatics. He writes:—

"The month according to this (*scil.* Hijrī) system is reckoned from the *sight* [دیدن هلال] of one new moon, after the sun has completely set till the next is visible [رویت دیگر]. It is never more than 30 nor less than 29 days. It sometimes occurs that four successive months are of 30 days, and three of 29.

Chronologers putting aside calculations based on the moon's appearance [رویت] reckon lunar months in two ways, *viz. Natural* [حقیقی] which is the interval of the moon's departure from a determinate position, with the sun in conjunction or opposition or the like to its return thereto; secondly, *Artificial* اصطلاحي]; since motions of the moon are inconstant, and their methodisation as well as an exact discrimination of its phases difficult, *its mean rate of motion* [حرکت وسطی] is taken and thus the task is facilitated. In the recent (Gurgānī) tables [زیج جدید], this is 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes. The rule is this, that when the fraction is in excess of half, it is reckoned as one day. Thus when the excess is over a half, they take the month of Muharram as 30 days, and the second month 29, and so on alternately to the last. In common years, therefore Dhi'l Hijjah is 29 days. The mean lunar year consists of 354 d. 8 h. 48 m., which is less than a solar artificial year [سال شمسی اصطلاحي] by 10 d. 21 h 12 m. Mirzā Ulugh Beg has based his New Canon [زیج جدید] on this [*scil.* Hijra] era of which 1,002 years have elapsed to the present time." (Tr. Jarrett, II, 27–8; Text, I, 276.)

It will be seen that this author speaks comprehensively of all the three methods, *viz.* (1) according to the length of the

interval between the visibility, [*Rūiyyat*], *i.e.* the heliacal rising, of one new moon and another; (2) the length of the natural lunar month [*māh-i-Ḥaqīqī*] or the *True* Lunation; and (3) the length of the artificial Lunar Month [*Māh-i-Iṣṭilāḥī*] or the *Mean* Lunation.

In recording the day of the great Emperor's *julūs* in the *Akbarnāma*, he takes care to state that it was "near noon on Friday, which was according to *Visibility* the 2nd of Rab'ī II, 963 of the lunar year [رویت] but by calculation [*recte*, 'mean rate of motion,' باصر اوسط], the 3rd (*Akbarnāma*, Text, II, 3, l 21; Beveridge's Trans. II, 5) [1] And he again notes the difference of a day between the two reckonings when registering the birth of Sulṭān Dāniāl which is said to have taken place on "Wednesday, 2nd Jumād I according to *Visibility* [رویت], but the night of the 3rd according to *mean motion* or calculation [باصر اوسط]. *Ibid*, Text, II, 373; Tr. II, 542.

Other authors also occasionally warn their readers of the difference and the compiler of the *Bādishāhnāma* notes that Akbar ascended the throne near noon on Friday, the 2nd of Rab'ī II, 963 Hijrī, but that the day was the 3rd according to custom or convention. [سیوم هنگامی]. (Text. I, Pt. i, p. 66, l. 12.) Khafī Khān expressly states that on account of the invisibility [عدم رویت] of the moon, there was a difference of opinion [اختلاف] as to the precise day of Bahādur Shāh. Shāh 'Ālam's accession, some regarding it as the last day [سلخ] of Muḥarram and others as the first day [غرّه] of Ṣafar. (Text, II, 574, l. 13; E.D. VII, p. 392, where the real meaning has not been grasped by the translator).[2]

Orthodox Muslims firmly believe that the first of these

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[1] The expression باصر اوسط which occurs again (*Akbarnāma*, Text, II, 373) and which Mr. Beveridge says he does "not fully understand" (Tr. II, 542 note) is identical with what Abūl Faẓl speaks of in the *Āīn*, as حرکت وسطی 'Mean rate of Motion.' (*Op. cit*, Text, I, 276. Jarrett, Trans. II, 17, 28.)

[2] The author of the *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* says that the date of Shāh Jahān's birth was the last day [سلخ] of Rab'ī I, 1000 A.H. according to *Rūiyyat* [از روی رویت], but the 1st of Rab'ī II according to the canons of the astronomers [دستور العمل اهل تنجیم]. *Op. cit.*, 7, l. 8.

Similarly, the author of the *Khazāna-i-'Āmira* declares that the day on which Niẓāmu-d-daula (Nāṣir Jang) was killed in a night attack by the Nawābs of the Karnātak [Kadāpa, Karnūl, etc.] was 17th Muḥarram 1164 A.H. according to astronomical reckoning, but 16th according to *Rūiyyat* (p. 55, l. 8).

three systems, the *Hilālī* or *Rūiyyat*, is the only true and legal [شرعي] one, that it only is in accordance with the commands of the Prophet and that all religious festivals and fasts should be celebrated in conformity with it and no other.[1]

Unfortunately, the motions of the moon are very irregular and she is frequently invisible on account of clouds and other atmospheric changes. Her heliacal rising is also liable to take place a day earlier or later in one place than in another on account of variation in latitude and longitude. The *Rūiyyat* system is therefore subject to considerable uncertainty and ill-adapted for chronological purposes.

The other two methods of computation involve—when strictly followed—the regular adding up of hours and minutes and are for that reason unsuitable for popular use. The necessity of devising some simple formula or system by which the application of the mean-lunation method could be facilitated was felt so early as the third century of the Hijra by Musalmān chronologists and a short cut to practical accuracy was devised by a book-rule which is founded on the following considerations.

We have seen that, according to Muslim astronomers, the mean lunation is 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. or just 44 minutes in excess of 29½ days. The *mean* lunar year (of 12 *mean* lunations) is, therefore, $354\frac{11}{30}$ days If then the months beginning from Muḥarram have alternately 30 and 29 days each, the common year will consist of 354 days and the fraction will amount to exactly 11 days in 30 years. The addition of a day to the last month (Ẕī-l-ḥajja) in 11 years out of 30 would square up the account at the end of the cycle, and a result would be arrived at, which *in the long run*, would be sufficiently correct for all *practical* purposes. (Cunningham, Indian Eras, p. 66)

Now this is a rule-of-thumb and it is not mathematically exact, but it can be easily remembered and applied by the man in the street. Unfortunately, there is a certain amount of difference of opinion and also usage as regards the *order* of intercalation. It would appear from Albīrūnī that an astronomer named Ḥabsh was in favour of adding one day in each of the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 21st, 24th, 27th and 30th years. Others have advocated arrangements differing in respect of three or four years from the foregoing. (Chronology of Ancient Nations, Tr. Sachau, 179–181 ; 416. For Ḥabsh, see Jarrett, *Āīn*, Tr. II, 7 note).

The *Ordo Intercalationis* which has found most favour is

[1] A society named the '*Anjuman-i-Rūiyyat-Hilāl*' has been recently founded in Bombay by some devout and influential Muhammadans with a view to the observance of the 'Īds and other festivals by all the Faithful in India, according to this, the only method which is in harmony with the Law and Practice of the Arabian Prophet (شريعت).

that in which a day is added in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 16th. 18th. 21st, 24th. 26th and 29th years This is the system adopted in the *Zīch-i-Jadīd* or 'Tables of Ulugh Beg' and the Tables of Gladwin, Cunningham and Wüstenfeld also postulate the same arrangement. Mr. Sewell, however, substitutes 15th for 16th Indian Calendar, p. 102) and in the order adopted by Jervis, the 8th, 19th and 27th years are intercalary instead of the 7th, 18th and 26th (Cunningham, Indian Eras, 68)

Now these Tables of Wüstenfeld and others are undoubtedly useful, but it should not be forgotten that *the Book-rule* which is their foundation is only an empirical or rough and ready device for avoiding the complicated calculations associated with the continuous summation of mean lunations (or *Tithīs*) in the original system.

It is, in fact, a sub-variety of that method in which matters are simplified for the sake of the layman. By this mode of adjustment, the reckoning *is* somehow brought into accord with the mean revolutions of the moon, but this can take place only *in the long run*—after the lapse of thirty years The results yielded by its application may be correct within limits or for practical purposes, but they can never be mathematically accurate. Nor can they be expected to accord exactly or always with those arrived at by any of the other three methods founded on the Heliacal Rising of the Moon, or its True or Mean Motion.

I have shown that competent Musalmān authors are fully aware of the divergencies between the *Hilāli* and *Hisābī* dates and occasionally take care to mention both. It can hardly be said that European chronologers have always grasped the distinction and many of them write as if the Book-rule method was the only one in existence or the only one that was correct. For instance, Cunningham complains that he has discovered a discrepancy of one day, in no less than eight cases, between the dates given by his 'Tables' and those recorded in Musalmān histories and inscriptions. He admits that none of these discrepancies can be explained on the supposition of one of the variant 'orders of intercalation' having been adopted, and he opines that they must be ascribed to "carelessness on the part of the writers." (Indian Eras, p 68.) Now there is in *all* these eight cases a common feature or peculiarity which is noteworthy. It is that the week-day obtained by means of Cunningham's and the other European Tables founded on the Book-rule is *always* one day behind the week-day recorded in the contemporary chronicles or inscriptions. For instance, where the Histories have Tuesday, the Tables show Monday, where the former give Friday and Wednesday, the latter yield Thursday and Tuesday respectively. It seems to me that a systematic or methodical variation of this sort cannot be ascribed to 'carelessness' and that the true explanation is to

be sought in the writers having employed one or other of the three methods which have been described above, and all of which may be safely said to have been familiarly known to Musalmān *litterateurs*.

It is now forty years since Cunningham's book was published, but it would appear from the observations, founded on a similar misapprehension, which occur in a more recent work of great merit that the subject is not yet clearly understood.

"There is," writes Mrs. Beveridge, "singular variation between the *Bāburnāma* and Wüstenfeld's *Tables*, both as to the day of the week on which months began, and as to the length of some months. * * * The two authorities agree as to the initial week-day of four months [only] out of twelve [of the year 935 Hijrī]. * * * In eight of the months, the *Bāburnāma* reverses the 'book-rule' of alternative Muḥarram 30 days, Ṣafar 29 days *et seq.* by giving Muḥarram 29, Ṣafar 30. * * * Again these eight months are in pairs having respectively 29 and 30 days and the year's total is 364 [*recte* 354]. * * * It would be interesting if some expert in this Musalmān matter would give the reasons dictating the changes from the rule noted above as occurring in 935 A H. (Memoirs of Bābur, Fasc. III, lxxi-ii).

It would lead me too far from the subject of these inquiries to enter into an examination of Bābur's chronology. It must suffice here to point out that these remarks imply a radical misunderstanding of the nature, origin and purpose of the Book-rule. There is nothing fixed or immutable about it. There are no grounds for believing it to have been in universal vogue and there is not the smallest warrant for supposing it to be the crystallized expression of the only system in use.

The arrangement by which 30 and 29 days are assigned in alternation to the months is purely factitious and there is nothing to be surprised at in its reversal or modification. A casual, and therefore all the more significant observation made by Bābur himself would *seem* to indicate that his mode of reckoning had nothing whatever to do with the book-rule and that it was the orthodox or strictly legal or popular one connected with the Heliacal Rising or visibility (*Rūiyyat*) of the planet. He declares that in the year 935 A.H., only 29 days were allotted to Ramẓān (the book-rule assigns 30), because, though "the sky was not clear, *a few people saw the Moon*, and so testifying to the Qāẓī, fixed the end of the month." (*Op. cit.*, 683.) The fact that the eight months are in pairs, having respectively 29 and 30 days each, would also appear to point in the same direction. But it is not impossible that some of the other dates in the day-to-day record of this particular year were taken by the author straight from a *Taqvīm* or Almanack based on one of the two other types of the *Ḥisābī* system.

I have said that the belief in the universal or exclusive vogue of the book-rule method is founded on a gratuitous assumption, and I have cited a passage from Bābur's Memoirs which shows that it was subject to alteration and even set aside altogether in favour of the 'results of popular observation.' I will now cite the testimony of another writer of the period which confirms that opinion. In the "Memoirs of Bāyazīd Biyāt" which have not yet been published in the original, but of which Mr. Beveridge has given an interesting and useful summary in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, we read:

"Apparently when Humāyūn went westward, Bāyazīd proceeded in the opposite direction towards Mashhad, for he was there with his father when Humāyūn arrived on the first Shawwāl 951 (16th December, 1544). It was the day of the *'Idu-l-fitr* or the breaking of the fast of the Ramẓān, but the weather had been so bad from rain and snow that the people of Mashhad had not been able to see the moon. Humāyūn, however, was able to satisfy the Qāẓī that he had seen the moon, when crossing the Zaqī Pass on the previous evening, and so after 9 A.M. all the inhabitants proceeded to the 'Idgāh." (*Loc. cit.*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, pp. 297–8.)

This is not all. There is another matter also which requires to be borne in mind when taking from European Tables the week-day of any Hijrī date. This is that the Muhammadan day begins not from sunrise or midnight but from sunset. "In Persian documents," says Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, "the word شب 'night,' denotes the first moiety, روز 'day.' the second, * * *. There is thus a discrepancy in the beginning of any day in Muslim and European reckoning, amounting to the interval from sunset to midnight, each day of the week beginning so much earlier than with us in Muslim countries, our eve of Sunday for instance, being their night of the day. * * * This is shown in Ideler's remarks on the initial day of the Hijra, reckoned by the Easterns as Thursday, July 14-15, A.D. 622; by the Europeans as the Oriental Friday, 15–16 (*Handbuch*, II. 482–485). * * * Wüstenfeld's Tables * * * following the European reckoning, begin the calendar with Friday, July 16, which should be Thursday-Friday, 15–16. Thus in converting dates we can use Wüstenfeld's Tables, *allowing for his neglect of the portion of the European day, and* also for the possibility of *the difference of a day on either side due to observation.*"

(Coins of the Shāhs of Persia, xv–xvi. The italics are mine.)

In these circumstances, it is futile to look for *exact* coincidence between the dates and week-days given in the Mughal Chronicles and the equivalents obtained by the

application of the book-rule by modern calculators. The European Tables have no claim whatever to infallibility and their sole foundation is an artificial formula which has nothing to recommend it except its general utility or convenience for practical purposes. It cannot therefore be too often repeated that the Tables are liable to mislead. if allowances are not made for the possibility of error on not one, but *two* grounds, the discrepancy of a day arising from the general use among orthodox Muslims *in old times* of a computation resting only on 'popular observation' of the New Moon and the similar difference due to the "neglect of the portion of the European day" between sunset and midnight.

But this does not exhaust the sources of error and confusion. There is yet another, which from the numismatological point of view, is even more important than any of the foregoing. It is that the *real* dates of accession given in the historical works are often very different from the *official*. Akbar was the first Emperor who fixed an *artificial* date for his *Julūs* and his not very commendable example was followed by Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb, Bahādur Shāh Shāh'Ālam I, Farrukhsiyar, Muḥammad Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh, 'Ālamgīr II and Shāh 'Ālam II. In other words, ten out of the fifteen regular Emperors appear to have deliberately promulgated fictitious or factitious and sophisticated dates for their coming to the throne. Now it is this *official date* or reckoning with which, notwithstanding its admittedly suppositious and unreal character, the numismatist is most concerned. The right of coining money has been always regarded by Asiatic rulers as the most formal and deliberate sign of sovereignty, and it would be unthinkable to suppose that any other date than that fixed by Imperial decree would be permitted to make its appearance on the coins. The inevitable result of this extraordinary procedure is that the true or correct date is not only useless for numismatic purposes, but positively calculated to mislead. The neglect of this precaution has been fruitful of error. Many regnal dates on the coins which are *officially* quite correct, have been queried or confidently stigmatised by present-day numismatists as errors, and attributed to the carelessness or incompetence of the mint-masters.

It will be seen that the investigation of the subject is beset with difficulties of all sorts and that precision of statement in regard to many points must be unattainable without considerable labour and meticulous attention to details. But the matter itself is not undeserving of such toil We all know that it was thought worthy of careful treatment by the late Dr. Taylor, and the results of his industry have been incorporated bodily and without alteration by Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Brown in their Catalogues.

It is needless to say that Dr. Taylor's article (Num. Supp.

VII § 51) is a creditable piece of work, but my own independent researches in the same field have brought to light several mistakes and defects. Dr. Taylor was, from his inability to read the original authorities, necessarily dependant on the abstracts and translations in Elliot and Dowson's History and on Beale's Biographical Dictionary. Unfortunately, several of the Hijrī dates given by those authorities are demonstrably erroneous, and these mistakes have been quite innocently reproduced by Dr. Taylor and transferred from his pages by Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Brown to their own publications. Several clerical slips and typograpical blunders also stand in need of rectification. A much more serious defect is the almost total omission of any reference to the fictitious *official dates* of accession, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the significance or interpret *correctly* the regnal dating of the coins.

BĀBUR.

According to Bābur's own 'Memoirs,' the Khuṭba was first read in his name at Dehlī on Friday, 15 Rajab, 932 A.H. (Bāburnāmā or Tūzuk-i-Bāburī. Trans. A. S. Beveridge, 476 = Leyden and Erskine's Trans. 308 = Elliot and Dowson, IV, 25.)

Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says that the battle of Pānīpat was fought on Friday, 6th Rajab, 932 and that the Khuṭba was read on the Friday following (Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Lakhnau Lith. 186, l. 15 and 187, l. 10). Here ششم is probably a copyist's mistake for هشتم.

Badāonī, who as a rule, follows Niẓāmu-d-dīn closely, gives Friday, the 8th of Rajab as the day of the battle but adds that the Emperor "after gaining this signal victory departed thence [*Scil.* Pānīpat] and reached Dehlī on the same [week ?] day [همان روز در دهلي نزول فرمود] and encamped there. He then caused the Khuṭba to be read in his name." (Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh, Tr. Ranking, I. 441; Text, I. 335, l. 1; 336, l. 11.) This would imply that the Khuṭba was read on the 8th of Rajab but this is demonstrably erroneous and is due to a careless perusal or misapprehension of his authority.

Abūl Faẓl does not give the precise date of the first proclamation of the Imperial titles from the pulpits. He merely says that the battle was fought on Friday, the 8th of Rajab, that Bābur alighted in Dehlī on Wednesday, the 12th and that he "unfolded the umbrella of Fortune in Āgra on Friday, the 21st" (*Akbarnāma*, Tr. Beveridge, I. 242, 247; Text, I. 95, 98). Here, both the week-days seen to be wrongly given. If the 8th was a Friday, the 12th was a Tuesday, and the 21st a Thursday.

Firishta says the battle was fought on Friday, 10th Rajab, that Bābur entered Dehlī on the 12th, that the Khuṭba was first read there by Sheikh Zain and that the Emperor reached

Āgra on the 22nd (Briggs' Trans., Calcutta Reprint, II. 44, 46; Lakhnau Lith. I. 204).

These conflicting statements are, at first sight, puzzling, but it is not difficult to divine the causes of error. There can be little doubt that the first public announcement of the advent of Mughal dominion was made on the 15th of Rajab, 932 which corresponded according to Wüstenfeld's Tables, to Friday, 27th April, 1526 A.C.

Death.

5 Jumādā I, 937 (Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p. 192, two lines from foot).

Monday, 5 Jumādā I (Gulbadan, Humāyūn-Nāma, Tr. 109; Text, 24).

6 Jumādā I (Akbarnāma, Tr. I 277; Text. I. 118, l. 1).

Monday, 5 Jumādā I (Firishta, Briggs' Tr. II. 64; Text, I. 211, l. 14).

6 Jumādā I, 937, is given also by the authors of the *Bādishāhnāma*, Text, I. i. 62, l. 11 and *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, 22, l. 12. The latter says it was Monday.

According to Wüstenfeld. 5 Jumādā I, 937 A.H. corresponded to Sunday, 25 December, 1530 A.C. But the week-day is expressly stated to have been *Monday* by Bābur's daughter, the Princess Gulbadan, as well as the historian Firishta, and if this has been correctly given, the Julian equivalent must be 26 December, 1530. The Hijrī date given by both is, it is true, the 5th. But this is probably the *Rūiyyat* date, the 6th being the Ḥisābī. *i.e.* the Mean Lunation or Book-rule date.

HUMĀYŪN.

Accession

The date is given as 9 Jumādā I, 937 in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 194, l. 6 = E.D. V. 188; Akbarnāma, Tr. I. 286, Text, I. 121, three lines from foot; Bādishāhnāma, I. i. 63; l. 9; 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, 17, l. 6).

The renowned historian and litterateur Khondamīr who was one of the Emperor's chosen associates and the Princess Gulbadan give the identical date but say that the week-day was *Friday*. (Humāyūn-Nāma, in Elliot and Dowson, V. 118 and Gulbadan, Memoirs, Tr. 110, Text, 25, l. 14.)

The historian explicitly states that the "*Khutba* was read in the Jām'a Masjid at Āgra on Friday, the 9th (*loc. cit, ibid.*). He was probably himself present and he could hardly be wrong in such a matter. The point to note is that if the 6th (Ḥisābī) was a Monday, the 9th must have been a Thursday. But if, as I have suggested, Monday corresponded to 5th (Rūiyyat), 9th (Rūiyyat) must have fallen on a Friday. The

conclusion is that the date of Humāyūn's accession as recorded by all the authorities is that according to popular observation, but that the date of Bābur's death is given by some of them according to the Ḥisābī system. The dates of both events given by Bābur's daughter only are consistent with each other and are both in conformity with the *Rūiyyat* reckoning. If the week-day is correctly given, the Julian correspondence must be 30th December, 1530 A.C.

End of the First Reign.

Humāyūn may be reasonably supposed to have ceased to be Emperor on the day on which he was decisively defeated at Qanauj. The date of this event is given by all the authorities as 10 Muḥarram, 947 A.H. (Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiāt, Trans. Stewart, 21; Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 202, l. 6 = E.D. V 205; Akbarnāma, I. 164, l. 14; Tr. I. 351; Firishta, l. 218 four lines from foot; Briggs, II. 90; Bādishāhnāma, I. i, 64 six lines from foot.) 10 Muḥarram, 947 was according to Wüstenfeld = 17 May 1540 A.C.

Second Reign.

It is not easy to fix the exact date of its commencement.

He entered Lāhor on 2 Rab'ī II, 962 A.H. (Akbarnāma, I. 343; Trans. I 624).

The battle of Sarhind was fought, according to Abūl Faẓl, on 2 Sha'bān, 962 (Akbarnāma, I. 348. two lines from foot, Trans, I. 631), but according to Firishta, on the last day [سلخ] of Rajab, which Briggs, following the common book-rule, supposes to have been the 29th. The author of the Akbarnāma afterwards explicitly informs his readers that the Emperor "entered Dehlī on the 4th of Ramẓān and became established on the throne of the Khilāfat." (I. 351, l. 8; Trans. I. 634)

Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Badāonī and Firishta all concur in asserting that Humāyūn entered Dehlī in the month of Ramẓān, but none of them has troubled to give the exact date (Ṭab. Akb. 221, l 12; Badāonī, Text, I. 462; Ranking's Trans. I. 596; Firishta, I. 242-3; Briggs' Tr. II. 175-6). The author of the Bādishāhnāma gives the same dates as Abūl Faẓl, but his testimony has no independent value, as he is merely copying from that author.

Humāyūn's restoration then may be, with good reason, dated from the 4th of Ramẓān, 962 A.H., which according to Wüstenfeld, corresponded to Tuesday, 23rd July, 1555 A.C.

According to the Bibliotheca Indica Text of the Akbarnāma, 1 Ramẓān, 962 was a Thursday (پنجشنبه) I. 351, l. 7. The 4th must have therefore been a Sunday. The discre-

pancy is unaccountable and must be due to some error or oversight.

DEATH.

The date of Humāyūn's death has been discussed at some length by Blochmann, (J.A.S.B. 1871, pp 136–138), Von Noer (The Emperor Akbar, I 67 note) and Mr. Beveridge, (*Akbarnāma*, Trans. I. 654–5 note)

The date of the accident and that of its fatal termination are very variously given by the best authorities, but it is not, after all, difficult to eliminate the different sources of error and reach a reliable, if not absolutely certain decision on the matter. To enable the reader to take in at a glance and form an opinion of the evidential value of the statements occurring in the Mughal Chronicles, I have arranged them in parallel columns and in the order of the date of composition.

Authorities.	Date of Accident.	Date of Death.
Sīdī Ali, Mirātu-l-Mamālik, Tr. Vambery, 55.	Friday evening in Rab'ī I, 963. A.H.	Monday, third day after accident.
Nafāisu l-Maāṣir, MS. quoted in J.A.S B., 1905, p. 237.	16 Rab'ī I. ..	18 Rab'ī I.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Text, 222, l. 1=E.D. V. 240.	عروب, Sunset of 7 Rab'ī I (Text); E.D. has 8th.	Evening [عروب] of 15th Rab'ī I.
Badāonī, Text, I. 465–6, Ranking, Tr. I. 600–1.	7th Rab'ī I, 963. ..	15th Rab'ī. I.
Akbarnāma, Text, I, 363, Tr. I. 654, 658.	Close of Friday [آخر روز] of Rab'ī I.	Seventeen days before Akbar's accession.
Firishta, Text, I. 243, l. 11; Tr. II. 178.	Sunset, 7th Rab'ī, I ..	Sunset, 11th Rab'ī I.
Bādishahnāma, I. i. 63, l. 17, and I. i. 65, l. 15.	——	Sunday, 13 Rab'ī I, 963.
'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Text, 17, l. 15, and 18, l. 4.	Evening of 11th Rab'ī I.	Sunday, 13th Rab'ī I.
Khāfī Khān, Text, I. 124, four lines from foot.	5th Rab'ī I. 963. ..	Sunset, 11th Rab'ī I.

These discrepancies are very puzzling but, all this notwithstanding, it is not impossible to arrive at the truth. The marrow of the matter seems to be that the accident took place at or after sunset on a Friday in Rab'ī I, 963 A.H. Now ac-

cording to Wüstenfeld's Tables, 1 Rab'ī I, 963, was a Tuesday. It is clear then that the event must have occurred on the 4th, 11th, 18th or 25th of the month. Now Abūl Faẓl says that the Khuṭba was first read in Akbar's name at Karnāl on the 28th of Rab'ī I—seventeen days after the accident The Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī also who was an eyewitness of the fall, informs us that the Emperor died on Monday evening and that he himself afterwards left Dehlī for Lāhor on a Thursday in the *middle* of the same month. This might be safely supposed to have been the 17th and all these indications point to the accident having taken place on Friday evening, 11th Rab'ī I. and the death at sunset on our Sunday [Muḥammadan Monday] evening, 13 Rab'ī I, 963 A.H.

It will be seen that this conclusion is in exact accord with the statements of the author of the Bādishāhnāma whose efforts to settle the chronology of the reigns of the Timurides have justly earned the praise of Blochmann. (J.A.S.B., 1871, p. 138.)

In this matter, assurance has been now made doubly sure by the discovery of the Original draft (*brouillon*) of the first volume of Abūl Faẓl's Akbarnāma. In this Manuscript, "it is clearly stated that the fall occurred on Friday, the 11th of the month (Rab'ī-al-awwal) and that Humāyūn died on the following Sunday, 13th idem." (H. Beveridge, 'A new MS. of the Akbarnāma' in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, 1903, p. 121.)

According to Wüstenfeld's Tables, Sunday, 13th Rab'ī I, 963 A H. corresponded to 26th January, 1556 A.C.

AKBAR.

Accession.

2 Rab'ī II, 963 A.H. (Ṭab. Akb. Text, 222, l 14); Friday, 2 Rab'ī I, 963 A.H. (*ib.*, Text, 242, l. 20). [The month is wrongly given in the second statement] E.D. V. 241, 247.

Friday, 2 Rab'ī II, 963 (Badāonī, Text, II. 8. Lowe, 19). Abūl Faẓl says the Khuṭba was first recited in Akbar's name at Dehlī on 28 Rab'ī I, 963, seventeen days after Humāyūn's accident. (Akb. Nām. Text, l. 364, l. 12, Trans. I 658.) The coronation, however, took place "near noon of Friday, which was according to visibility [رویت], the 2nd of Rab'īu-ṣ-ṣānī 963 of the Lunar year [قمری], but by Mean calculation [باعتبار اوسط], the third, 10 Isfandārmaz *Māh-i-Jalālī* of the year 477; 15 Tīr *Māh-i-Qadīmī* of the Yazdajardī year 925; 14 Shabāṭ *Māh-i-Rūmī* of the year 1867." (Akb. Nām. Text, II, 8, l. 21; Trans. II. 5.)

2 Rab'ī II, with or without the specification of the week-

day [Friday] is also given by several other authors. (Firishta, Text, I. 244 ; Briggs, Trans. II, 182 ; Bādishāhnāma, Text, I. i. 66, l. 13 ; 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Text, 15, l. 9 ; Khāfī Khān, Text, I. i. 127, l. 15.)

According to Wüstenfeld's Tables, 2 Rab'ī II, 963 = 14 February, 1556 A.C. was a Friday, and this may be taken to be the correct equivalent date in the Christian Era.

But when Akbar founded the new Solar Era, he ordered the years of his *Julūs* to be reckoned, not from the 2nd of Rab'ī II, 963, but from the *Nauroz* of that year. The reason of this departure from custom is thus stated by Abūl Faẓl.

"Inasmuch as the wise of the past and the present are agreed that whenever some glorious event is made the foundation of an era, the latter should begin from the proximate New Year [از نوروزی که قریب باشد] without regard to a discrepancy either in previousness or lateness [کم و بیش را منظور ندارند], the sundry days before the New Year were reckoned as included in the New Year, [چند روز پیش نوروزرا داخل نوروز اعتبار کرده], and the latter was made the beginning of the Divine Era." (Akb. Nāma, Text, II. 18, l. 21 ; Trans. II. 33.)

The "sundry days" were according to Abūl Faẓl, twenty-five, and the initial date of the Ilāhī Era or of Akbar's *Official Accession* was Wednesday, 28 Rab'ī II, 963 A.H. (Akb. Nām. Text. II 18; Trans II. 32). According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, it was Monday, 27 Rab'ī II. (Text, 242, last line = E D. V. 247), but the author himself says on the same page that 2 Rab'ī II was a Friday, in which case, the 27th would be a Tuesday and the 28th a Wednesday. Abūl Faẓl's chronology is, as a rule, much more accurate and reliable than Niẓāmu-d dīn's, and we may take it that the initial date was Wednesday, 28 Rab'ī II, 963 A.H. = 11 March, 1556, which was according to Wüstenfeld, a Wednesday.

DEATH.

Night of Wednesday, 4 Ābān [50 Ilāhī]. 'Ināyat ullah (Takmīla-i-Akbarnāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, III. 841, l. 13). The author afterwards says that the body [جسد مطهر] was taken to the burial ground on Wednesday morning [صباح روز چهار شنبه] *Ib.*, 842, l. 3, which shows that the death took place on our Tuesday night.

Wednesday, 13 Jumādā II, 1014 (Firishta, Text, I. 271, l. 25 = Briggs, II. 280).

Night of Wednesday [دیباچه], 12 Jumādā II .1014 = 2 Ābān (Bād. Nām. I. i. 66, l. 17).

After one pahr and seven gharīs of the night of Wednesday—Jumādā II = 2 Ābān, 50th year Akbarshāhī. ('Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, 15–16)

Midnight of Wednesday, 12 Jumādā II, 1014. (Khāfī Khān, Text, I, 235, l. 5.)

Night of Wednesday, 13 Jumādā II. 1014. (Muḥammad Hādī's Introduction [دیباچه] to Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 17, l. 22)

It will be seen that there is the usual difference of a day in reference to the Hijrī date. Akbar seems to have died *a little before* or *after midnight*. According to the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*,' the event took place 1 *pahr* and seven *gharis*, i.e. about six hours after the setting of the sun on Tuesday; according to Khāfī Khān, at midnight. Now 13 Jumādā II was = 26 October, 1605, Wednesday, according to Wüstenfeld. The correct European date would be 25–26 October (Tuesday–Wednesday), 1605 A.C. New Style, 15–16 October, Old Style.

It is clear then that Akbar ruled for 49 (solar) years, 8 months and 2 days, and that his death took place in the 50th year Ilāhī. It is, therefore, disconcerting to find Dr. Taylor, Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Brown asserting that his latest gold coin is dated, 51st Ilāhī. Dr. Taylor declares (Num. Sup. VII, p. 62) that the coin is in the British Museum and it is safe to say that the statement is founded on Mr. Lane Poole's reading of the date of B.M.C. No 175 (Pl. V). The metrical legend on the obverse was deciphered by him thus—

زر ست از مهر اکبر پادشاه نور بر آن زر نام شه نور علی نور

and the date was made out to be ٥١. Seventeen years before the publication of his Catalogue, an exactly identical coin had been described and figured in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. XLV, 1876, p. 292, Pl. V, Fig. 7) by Mr. Delmerick and attributed by him to the 5th year of Akbar's *Julūs*. I have never been able to bring myself to accept either of these readings of the date and submit that both these coins are probably of the 50th year Ilāhī. Mr. Delmerick mistook the dot or small circle on the right of the ز of زر for an ornament or useless adjunct. It *may* really be the zero or cipher of ٥٠ (see Whitehead, P.M.C. Introd. lxxv). Mr. Lane Poole supposed the perpendicular or upright stroke to the left of the ز of زر to be the units figure of ٥١. It is, I venture to say, preferable to take it as the 'alif' of است, the second word, and read زر است instead of زر ست. The elision of the 'alif' is common and permissible, but its transcription in full is also correct. The line will scan perfectly well with it and its insertion is in accordance with the rules of Persian prosody. Coins, it may be observed, are human documents and it may be said without much hazard of error, that the Ilāhī issues of Akbar and the mintages of his immediate successors are public manifestoes which were put forth or uttered with great care and after much thought and deliberation. Now it is a sound and uni-

versally accepted rule of construction that if the words of a document are susceptible of two decipherments or interpretations, one of which necessarily implies error or ignorance on the part of the promulgator, it is not to be entertained without the clearest proof and the most pressing necessity. The burden of proving the error is on the challenger and the presumption of it without proof is neither fair nor justifiable. In the present case, the reading '50' is *at least as supportable* as the rival decipherment 51, and does not besides, involve any such gratuitous assumption. It is therefore to be preferred, and there would appear to be no warrant for predicating the existence of a coin of the 51st year Ilāhī or for presupposing the mint-master of the Imperial Capital (Āgra) to have been so stupid or ignorant as not to know that the 51st solar year of the great Emperor's reign had not yet commenced.

JAHĀNGĪR.

Accession.

One astronomical after sunrise on Thursday 8 [a misprint for 20] Jumādā II, 1014 (Tūzuk i-Jahāngīrī, 1, l. 1; Trans. I, 1).

Thursday, 11 Jumādā II, 1014 (Iqbālnāma, 2, l 3).

Thursday, 20 Jumādā I, 1014 = Roz 11 (Khūr), Ābān *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī, Lakhnau Lith., 1293 A.H., Preface p. 6, last line.) [The Hijrī month is wrongly given, probably by oversight.]

Thursday, 20 Jumādā II, 1014 A.H. = 10 Ābān, 50th year Akbarshāhī. (Bād. Nām. 1, i. 69, l. 7).

One astronomical hour after daylight on Thursday, 20 Jumādā II, 1014. ('Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, 12, l. 7.) Elsewhere (*ibid.*, 36, l. 9) he says it was 10th Ābān *Māh-i-Ilāhī*.

Thursday, 20 Jumādā II, 1014 A.H. (Khāfī Khān, I. 246. l. 14). According to Wüstenfeld, 20 Jumādā II, 1014 = 2 November was a Wednesday. But Jahāngīr himself repeatedly says that the day of his *Julūs* was a Thursday, (Tūzuk, Trans I. 9, 184, 386) and all our authorities are absolutely unanimous on the point. The correct European equivalent, therefore, must be, not 2nd November, but Thursday, 3rd November, 1605 (New Style) or 24th October (Old Style).

The *official* date of Jahāngīr's accession, however, was very different from the actual day of the enthronement. He ordered the *Julūs* reckoning to start from the *Nauroz*—the entrance of the sun into Aries. This took place, he himself tells us, on the *night of Tuesday*, Ẓī-l-qa'da 11th, A.H. 1014, "*in the morning*, which is the time of the blessing of light," *i.e. on Tuesday morning* according to the European reckoning. (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I. 48; Text, 22, l. 18.)

11th Ẓī l-qa'da, 1014 is given also by the author of the 'Iqbālnāma' (Text, 8, l. 6) and Khāfī Khān (I. 249, l. 16).

According to Wüstenfeld, 11-xi-1014 A.H. = Tuesday, 21 March, 1606, New Style (11 March, 1606, Old Style).

DEATH.

Breakfast time [هنگام چاشت], Sunday 28, Ṣafar 1037 = 15 Ābān XXII *Julūs*. (Iqbālnāma, 293, l. 14. See also E.D. VI, 435).

Sunday, 28 Ṣafar, 1037 A.H. = 15 Ābān. (Bād. Nām. I, l. 69, l. 19).

Twelve *gharīs* [*i.e.* 4 hours and 48 minutes] after sunrise on Sunday, 28 Ṣafar, 1037 A.H. = 15 Ābān ('Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, 205, l 9; see also *ibid.*, p 13, l. 7).

Breakfast time, end of Ṣafar 1037 A H. (Kh. Kh., I, 388, l 20).

Muḥammad Hādī copies the Iqbālnāma but has 'eleventh' [یازدهم] instead of 'fifteenth' [پانزدهم] Ābān. (Continuation of Tūzuk, ed. Sayyad Aḥmad Khān, 421, l. 14.)

According to Wüstenfeld, 28 Ṣafar, 1037 = Monday, 8 November, 1627, New Style.

But according to the contemporary authorities, Jahāngīr would appear to have died on *Sunday morning* which would give 7th November, 1627, New Style, or 28 October, 1627 (Old Style).

Sir Thomas Herbert who is sometimes cited as a valuable contemporary authority for the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr says, the latter "died (suspected of poyson), the twelfth of October or Ardabehish in the year of our accompt 1627 and of the Hegira 1007!" (Travels, Ed. 1665. p. 102.)

DĀWAR BAKHSH.

ACCESSION.

The Khuṭba was read in his name by the orders of Āṣaf Khān in the environs [حوالی] of Bhimbar soon after Jahāngīr's death (Iqbālnāma, 295, l 1 = E.D. VI, 436; Muḥammad Hādī, *op cit.*, 422, l. 4; Khāfī Khān, 1, 389, l 11), but the precise date is nowhere given.

Nevertheless, as Jahāngīr died on 28 Ṣafar, 1037 A.H. at Changaz Hatti which is three stages [منزل] or twelve koss distant from Bhimbar. (*Iqbālnāma*, 298, l 3 = E.D VI. 437; *Bādishāhnāma*, I. ii, 17–18: *'Ālamgīrnāma*, 822–3; Bernier's Travels, Ed. Constable and Smith, 1914, p. 401 note), the ceremony may be reasonably supposed to have taken place about the 3rd or 4th of Rab'ī I, 1037 A.H. As the 4th of Rab'ī I, was a Friday, it is probable that the Khuṭba was read in the mosque at Bhimbar during the Jām'a prayers on the afternoon of 12th November, 1627 A.C., N.S.

DEATH.

Wednesday, 26 Jumādā I, 1037 = 13 Bahman. (Iqbālnāma, 303, l. 14 = E.D. VI, 438).

Night of Wednesday, 25 Jumādā I, 1037 (Bād. Nām. I. i. 219, l. 13; 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ 219, l. 13; Muḥammad Hādī, *op. cit.*, 425. five lines from foot).

22 Jumādā I, 1037 A.H. (Khāfī Khān, I. 394, l. 4). The author of the 'Maāṣiru-l-Umarā' gives 26th Jumādā I, at I. 156, l. 8, but 25th Jumādā I, at p. 714, l. 7 of the same volume.

According to Wüstenfeld, 25 Jumādā I, 1037 A.H. = Tuesday, 1st February, 1628 (New Style). Dāwar Bakhsh would appear to have been put to death during the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, 1-2 February, 1628, New Style (22-23 January, Old Style).

SHĀH JAHĀN

The Khuṭba was first recited by Āṣaf Khān's orders in Shāh Jahān's name at Lāhor on Sunday, 22 Jumādā I, 1037 A.H. = 10 Bahman, XXIInd year of Jahāngīr's reign (Iqbālnāma, 303, l. 9 = E.D. VI, 438; Bād. Nām I. i. 79, l. 15; Muḥammad Hādī, *op. cit.*, 425, l. 24 Dowson's 2 Jumādā I is a clerical or typographical error).

According to Wüstenfeld, 22-v-1037 A.H = Saturday, 29 January, 1628 A.C., New Style or 19 January, Old Style. If the week-day يكشنبه has been corectly given by the contemporary chronicles, the Julian equivalent must be 30th January, N.S.

ACCESSION.

Monday, 8 Jumādā II, 1037 A.H., 25 Bahman *Māh-i-Ilāhī*; 1 Isfandārmaz *Māh-i-Jalālī*, 549 Malikshāhī; 27 Tīr *Māh-i-Qadīmī*, 997 Yazdajardī; 4 Shabāṭ *Māh-i-Rūmī*, 1,939th year of Alexander [Seleucidan Era]. (Bād. Nām. I. i 87, l. 2.)

Three gharīs and a half [*i.e.* 84 minutes] after sunrise on Monday, 7th Jumādā II, 1037 A.H. ('Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, 225, l. 4, but he has 8th Jumādā II, at p. 261, l. 16.)

One astronomical [اعتدالي] hour and a half after sunrise on 7 Jumādā II, 1037 = 25 Bahman *Māh-i-Ilāhī*, Khāfī Khān I, 395, l. 9. Muḥammad Hādī has Monday, 27th Jumādā II, 1037 A.H. instead of 7th, but this is probably a clerical or typographical error (*loc. cit.*, 426, l. 21).

In Dowson's abridged translation of the 'Bādishāhnāma' (E.D. VII, 6), we have "18 Jumādā the second, 1037 A.H." and this has been followed by Dr. Taylor and Mr. Whitehead. It is demonstrably erroneous and is, in all probability, a slip of the pen.

It will be seen that there is the usual discrepancy of a day

in the above statements, which may be due either to the confusion between هفتم and هشتم or to the conflict between the *Ḥisābī* and *Rūiyyat* reckoning.

The true date of his accession is, curiously enough, recorded in the *Emperor's own handwriting* on the flyleaf of a manuscript of Niẓāmī's *Khiradnāma-i-Iskandarī* dated 945 A.H. which was exhibited before the Asiatic Society of Bengal as "25 Bahman Ilāhī, corresponding to the 8th Jumādā, II, 1037 A.H.," Blochmann in Proc. A.S.B., 1869, pp. 190-1. The exact Julian equivalent also is recorded by an eyewitness in a document edited by Mr. Foster. The Factors of the English East India Company at Āgra write thus in a letter addressed to the President and Council of Surat on the 17th February, 1628: "As you weare advised by ours of the prime current as aforesaid, Shaw Jehann sate on his royall throne the 4th ditto, and was saluted and proclaimed King with Cuttbah read according to the custome of his ancestors." English Factories in India, 1624–1630, p. 240. This 4th February is the date in the Old Style. The New Style equivalent would be the 14th.

Official date of Accession.

Shāh Jahān was really enthroned on 8th Jumādā II, 1037, but orders were issued for reckoning the *Julūs* in *lunar years* from the 1st of Jumādā II, 1037 A.H., as "it was preferable to commence a year from the very beginning of a month" Bād. Nām, I i. 129, l. 1 [امّا چون ابتداء سال از سر آغاز ماه اولی از پیشگاه دانش فرمان شد که مبداء سال فرخنده جلوس غرّه جمادی الثانیه اعتبار کنند]. See also "Ālamgīrnāma' where the same statement is explicitly made (p. 388, l. 3). Khāfī Khān's chronology is, not infrequently, erratic and slipshod, but he also, as a rule, reckons the Julūs years from 1st Jumādā II. (Text, I 515, 566.)

Deposition.

The Emperor fell ill on the 7th of Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1067 A.H.; the battle of Dharmātpūr was fought on the 22nd of Rajab, 1068, and Dārā was defeated at Samūgarh on the 7th of Ramẓān, 1068 A.H. ('Ālamgīrnāma, Text, 94, five lines from foot; Maās. 'Ālam. 6, l. 16. Khāfī Khān in E.D. VII, 213, 219, 220.) But he was never formally deposed and it is therefore not at all easy to fix the exact day on which his reign came to an end. Still, it is safe to say that he was both Emperor *de jure* and Emperor *de facto* during the first eight months of 1068 A.H. The first coronation of Aurangzeb took place on the 1st of Ẓī-l-qa'da and we know that silver and copper coins bearing his name were put forward in that year, though the chroniclers

say that the settlement of the *Khuṭba* and the *Sikka* was left over for a more fitting occasion. It is highly probable that a *few* coins *were* struck merely in commemoration of the event. This day, then, on which we find the son celebrating his own accession and going, however hurriedly and perfunctorily, through the ceremony of a coronation may be safely taken as that on which the father was deposed to all intents and purposes and ceased to be Emperor.

Now I have shown elsewhere that Shāh Jahān's *julūs* years are to be reckoned on a lunar basis. The 32nd year of his reign, therefore began on the 1st of Jumādā, II, 1068 A.H. more than three months *before* the date of Aurangzeb's victory at Samūgarh. The mintages of 1068–32 are therefore perfectly regular. The difficulty arises in connection with some issues which display the Hijrī year 1069 and the *Julūs* figures 32 and 33. Some of these can be satisfactorily accounted for. I.M.C. 1082 is an issue of Tatta which exhibits the date 1069–32. I M.C 1083 and L.M.C 2106–7 are from the same mint, but have 1069–33 on them P.M.C. 1440 is of Multān mint and shows the date 1068-33. These coins were in all probability, struck in the name of the old Emperor by Dārā Shikoh or his partisans.

That unfortunate prince fled first to Lāhor and then to Multān, Bhakkar, Tatta and Aḥmadābād. He reached Multān on 17 Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1068 ('Ālamgīrnāma, 204, l. 14), and after leaving his baggage and guns in the fortress of Bhakkar. left it on the 30th of Muḥarram, 1069 A.H. (*Ibid.*, 274, l. 17.) Tatta was reached on the 16th of Ṣafar. (*Ibid.*, 280, l. 14.) Bhakkar did not surrender for more than six months, and Aurangzeb was compelled, by the resumption of the offensive on the part of Shujā' to recall the pursuing army from Sind and abandon the province, for a time, to Dārā's adherents. (Manucci, Storia').

The "Ālamgīrnāma' says Shāh Jahān reigned for 31 lunar years 2 months and 23 days, or 30 Solar years 4 months and 18 days. Text, 934–5. [The author appears to have reckoned from 8 Jumādā II, 1037 to 1st Ramẓān, 1068—the *official date* of Aurangzeb's accession.] The first statement is correct. but there is an error in the second. We know that 8 Jumādā II, 1037 = 25 Bahman, Ilāhī (Bād. Nām. I, i. 87, l. 2; 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, 261, l. 16), and that 1 Ramẓān, 1068 = 14 Khūrdād Ilāhī ('Ālamgīrnāma, 85, l. 20 and 94, l. 18.) Shāh Jahān would have thus reigned for only 30 Solar years 3 months and 18 days. The author of the *Maāṣir i-Ālamgīrī roughly* states that he ruled for 31 (*lunar*) years and 2 months (p. 53, l. 17).

Khāfī Khān asserts on the authority of 'Āqil Khān Khāfī's *Wāqi'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī* that Aurangzeb "directed Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān to go into the fort of Āgra, and to place some of his trusty followers in charge of the gates" on 17th Ramẓān,

1068. (Text, II, 22, l. 11 = E.D. VII, 226.) Dr. Taylor has followed this and supposed the Emperor's deposition to have commenced from the 17th of Ramẓān, 1068 A.H. (18 June 1658 N S.)

DEATH.

اوائل شب Night of Monday (دوشنبه), 26 Rajab, 1076 A.H. ('Ālamgīrnāma, 931, l. 8 ; Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, 53, l. 6.) End [او اخر] of Rajab 1076, A.H. (Khāfī Khān, II, 187, l. 2 = E.D. VII, 275.)

According to Wüstenfeld, 26 Rajab, 1076 = Monday, 1st February, 1666. It is not clear whether the Emperor died before midnight or after it. In the former case, the correct equivalent would be Sunday, 31st January (New Style) or 21st (Old Style) ; in the latter, 1st February (N.S.), or 22nd January, 1666 (O.S.).

MURĀD BAKHSH.

ACCESSION.

The exact date of his 'assumption of independence' is not given in any of the published authorities, but he may be presumed to have been enthroned some time after 7th Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1067 A.H.—16th September, 1657 A.C., New Style, or 6th September, 1657, Old Style. ('Ālamgīrnāma, 27, l. 7 ; 29, l. 1 ; Maāṣ 'Ālam, 2, l. 17 ; 3, l. 3 ; Khāfī Khān, II 5, l. 2 = E.D. VII, 214 ; Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī, I, 248, two lines from foot.)

Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, however, says that "Murād had himself crowned at 4 hours 24 minutes after sunrise on the 20th November [Old Style], as the astrologers declared that there was such a conjunction of auspicious planets as would not happen again for many years to come. "The moment was too precious to be lost. In all hurry and secrecy, at the time indicated, Murad mounted a throne in his Hall of Private Audience, with only a few trusted officers as witnesses. * * * The public coronation took place on 5th December with as much pomp and rejoicing as the low state of his finances would permit." The authority cited is the *Faiyāzu-l-Qawānīn*. MS., pp 473-4. (History of Aurangzib, I, 329-30.)

The Julian date of the first enthronement—20 November, 1657 (O.S.) corresponds to 23 Ṣafar, 1068 A.H. That of the second or public coronation, 5 December—to 9 Rab'ī I, 1068 A.H. (Gladwin's Tables.)

DEPOSITION.

Murād Bakhsh was taken prisoner near Mathurā on 4 Shawwāl, 1068 A.H. ('Ālam. Nām., 138, l. 1 ; Khāfī Khān, II, 38, l. 12 = E.D. VII. 229 ; Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī. I, 252, l. 11). Maāṣ. 'Ālam. gives 2 Shawwāl, 1068. p. 8, l. 13.

4-x-1068 A.H. was = Saturday, 5 July, 1658 A.C. New Style ; (26 June, Old Style).

Murād was put to death on Wednesday evening [شب روز] 21 Rab'ī II, 1072 A.H. ('Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Manuscript, p. 394, l. 7 = Elliot and Dowson, VII, 132). Khāfī Khān (II, 156, six lines from foot) gives the month, Rab'ī II, but not the day.

21-iv-1072 A.H. = Wednesday, 14 December, 1661 A.C., (New Style) or 4 December (Old Style)

SHUJĀ'.

Accession.

The precise date of Shāh Shujā's accession is nowhere given. All that can be said is that he 'rebelled, after 7th Ẓī-l-ḥajja, 1067 A.H.—the date of Shāh Jahān's illness ('Ālamgīr-nāma, 27, l. 7 ; 29, l. 1 ; Maāṣ. 'Ālam, 2, l. 17 ; 3, l. 5 ; Khāfī Khān, II, 5, l. 1 = ED. VII, 214).

Defeat.

Shujā' was defeated at Kajwa on Sunday, 19 Rab'ī II, 1069 = 23 Dai ('Ālam. Nām., 242, last line ; Maāṣ. 'Ālam., 12, four lines from foot).

According to Wüstenfeld, 19-iv-1069 A.H. was = *Tuesday*, 14 January, 1659, A.C., New Style (4 January, Old Style).

The date of his flight from Jahāngīrnagar (Dhākā) to Ārākān is given as Sunday, 6 Ramẓān, 1070 A.H. ('Ālam. Nām., 557, l. 12, and 483, last line, and Maāṣ. 'Alam, 30, six lines from foot).

6-ix-1070 A.H. was = Sunday, 16 May, 1661 A.C. (New Style) or 6 May (Old Style). (Wüstenfeld).

AURANGZEB.

Accession.

European writers—historians as well as numismatists—do not at all appear to be agreed as to the precise date of Aurangzeb's accession, which is supposed by some to have taken place in 1068 A.H. and by others in 1069 A.H. Elphinstone notes that he did not "put his name on the coin, and was not crowned until the first anniversary of his accession, a circumstance which has introduced some confusion into the dates of his reign" (History, Ed. Cowell, 1866, p. 599). Grant Duff observes that "he appears to have begun by reckoning his reign from the date of his victory over Dara, to have subsequently ascended the throne in the following year, and then changed the date, which he again altered by reverting to the former date at some later and unknown period." (History of the Mahrattas, Bombay Reprint, 1873, p. 72 note.) Mr. Lane Poole asserts in one place that he was proclaimed Emperor "in

May 1659 (1069)" (B.M.C. Introd. xxvi,) but elsewhere dates the reign from July 1658 (Aurangzīb, Rulers of India Series, p. 21). Dr. Taylor, reckons the reign from 1 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1068 (21 July, 1658, Old Style) and has been followed by Mr. Whitehead and Mr Brown.

It is permissible to say that neither Elphinstone nor Grant Duff nor any of the other writers mentioned appears to have grasped the truth of the matter which has been clouded and obscured by Grant Duff's imperfect apprehension of the words of the not always accurate Khāfī Khān. The question has been fully discussed and satisfactorily cleared up by the late Mr. Irvine in an article in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. lxii, 1893, pp. 256–261. As he has already cited the statements occurring in the *'Ālamgīrnāma* and the *Maāṣir 'Ālamgīrī*, it will suffice to refer the reader to his pages and give here the net result of the inquiry.

Date of First Coronation.

Friday, 1 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1068 A.H. corresponding to 11 Amardād. ('Ālamgīrnāma, 152, last line.) Khāfī Khān (II. 39, l. 21) gives the same Hijrī date and week-day, but does not mention the corresponding equivalent in the Ilāhī reckoning. The *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* has the identical Hijrī and Ilāhī date, but does not specify the week-day (p. 8, three lines from foot).

1 Ẕī l-qa'da, 1068 was, according to Wüstenfeld = Wednesday, 31st July, 1658 A.C. (New Style). The week-day given by the authorities cannot be wrong. The true Julian equivalent must be 2nd August.

Date of Second Coronation.

Sunday, 24 Ramẓān, 1069 A.H. corresponding to 25th Khūrdād, Māh-i-Ilāhī, 25th Khūrdād, Māh-i-Jalālī of the 581st Malik Shāhī year, 6 Āẕar Māh-i-Qadīmī [*i.e.* ancient or Old Persian] of the 1028th Yazdajardī year and 5 Ḥazīran Māh-i-Rūmī of the 1970th Alexandrian [*i.e.* Seleucidan] year." ('Ālamgīrnāma, 361, two lines from foot.) The Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī gives Sunday, 24th Ramẓān = 25 Khūrdād Māh-i-Ilāhī (p. 22, l. 10) and Khāfī Khān has only the Hijrī date. Dowson has 4th Ramẓān in his Translation (E.D. VII, 241) but this is an error. The Text has 24th Ramẓān (II, 76, l. 10).

According to Wüstenfeld's Tables, 24th Ramẓān corresponded to Sunday, 15th June, 1659 A.C. New Style.

Official Date of Accession.

But the official date of accession was specially fixed by Imperial decree as 1 Ramẓān, 1068 A.C. Muḥammad Sāqī, the author of the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* explicitly says so:

چون لمعان انوار ظفر در شهر رمضان پرتو سعادت بر جهان گستر حکم معلّی بنفاذ پیوست که غرّهٔ آن ماه را مبداء سنین این دولت در دفاتر و تقاویم ثبت نمایند *

p. 25, l. 2.

"As the reflection of the rays of Victory had spread the light of prosperity on the world in the month of Ramẓān, the exalted command was issued that the 1st of that month should be entered as the initial date of the years of the reign in the official records and the almanacs" (p. 25, l. 2)

An exactly similar statement is made in still more grandiloquent terms in the *'Ālamgīrnāma* (p. 388, l. 13) and this writer, as if to leave no doubt on the matter, expressly informs his readers that one year and twenty-four days of the reign of the Emperor had expired on the day of his second coronation (*ibid.*, 389, l. 5). Later on, he says that the third year of 'Ālamgīr's reign commenced on Tuesday the 1st of Ramẓān [روبت هلال *lit.* appearance of the New Moon], 1070 A.H. (p. 480, l. 8) and the author of the *Maāṣir-i-'Alamgīrī* adopts exactly the same reckoning (p. 30, l. 7).

1 Ramẓān, 1068 A.H. corresponded, according to Wüstenfeld, to Sunday, 2nd June, 1658 A.C. (New Style).

Death.

One pās [pahr or three hours] after sunrise on Friday, 28 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1118 A.H. (Maāṣ. 'Ālam., 521, l. 5; Maāṣiru-l-Umarā. I. 609, l. 1).

28 Zī-l-qa'da, 1118 A.H. = 13 Isfandārmaz, *Māh-i-Ilāhī*, 51st year of the Julūs. (Kh, Kh. II, 549, l. 11 = E.D. VII, 386.)

"One *pahr* and three gharis after day-break or about five astronomical hours after sunrise on Friday, twentieth Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1118." (Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn, Trans. Reprint, 1902, I, 3).

['Twentieth' is obviously an error for 'twenty-eighth.']

28-xi-1118 A.H. was = Thursday, 3rd March, 1707 A.C., New Style (21 February, O.S.), but the 'Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī' explicitly states that Aurangzeb died, as he had always desired, on a Friday. Its author was his secretary and was in attendance on him at the time. The other authorities also give the identical week-day. Manucci, too, states that Aurangzeb died on March 4 [1707] two hours after midday. Storia, Tr. Irvine, IV, 401.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the correct correspondence is 4 March, 1707 (New Style), 22nd February (Old Style).

A'ẒAM SHĀH.

Accession.

10 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1118 A.H. (Kh. Kh. II, 566, four lines from foot; *ib.*, 571, l. 18 = E.D. VII, 387, 391).

Wednesday, 'Idu-d-Ẕuha [Day of Sacrifice], *i.e.* 10 Ẕī-l ḥajja, 1118. (Siyaru-l-Mutākh, Tr. I, 3.)

Saturday, 10 Ẕī-l-hajja, 1118 A H. (Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, Manuscript, p. 57, l. 12.) The week-day is demonstrably wrong.

10-xii-1118 A.H. was = *Tuesday*, 15 March, 1707 A.C. (New Style), or 5 March, Old Style (Wüstenfeld).

If the week-day (Wednesday) given in the 'Siyar' is correct, 16th March would be the true equivalent. If 28 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1118 was a Friday, the 10th of the following month must have been a Wednesday, supposing, Ẕī-l-qa'da to have had 30 days in accordance with the book-rule. Manucci asserts that A'ẓam sat on the throne at 10 o'clock on March 15, and remained seated until midday. Storia, IV, 398–399

Death.

18 Rab'ī I, 1119 A.H. (Maāṣ 'Ālam., 536, three lines from foot; Dānishmand Khān 'Alī, Jangnāma, quoted by Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 261; Siyaru-l-Mutākh, Trans. I, 7).

18 Rab'ī I, 1119 = 29 Khūrdād (Khāfī Khān, II, 590, l. 9 = E.D. VII, 398).

18-iii-1119 A.H. was = Sunday, 19 June, 1707 A.C., New Style (8th June, Old Style).

Manucci says the battle between the brothers began on 19th June, 1707, and lasted for three days. According to him, A'ẓam Shāh was killed on the 21st. Storia, Tr. Irvine, IV, 402–403.

KĀM BAKHSH.

Accession.

The precise date of his 'accession' is nowhere given. The ceremony of the enthronement probably took place soon after the death of Aurangzeb, i.e. after 28 Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1118 A.H.

Death.

3 Ẕī-l-qa'da, two years after the death of Aurangzeb. [سیوم ذی قعدہ بعد انتقال حضرت بدو سال] (Maāṣ. 'Ālam, 538, l. 11.)

10 Ẕī-l-qa'da. 1119 A.H. (Khāfī Khān, II. 421, l. 11.) The year is certainly wrong, 10th (دهم) is perhaps an error for 2nd (دوم)

Wednesday, 3 Ẕī-l-qa'da 1120 (Siyaru-l-Mutākh, Trans I. 13).

3-xi-1120 A.H. was = Monday, 14th January, 1709 (N.S.) (3 January O.S.).

Manucci says the battle between KāmBakhsh and Bahādur Shāh was fought on 15 January, 1709 (N.S.), that the news reached Pondicherry on 31st January (Thursday), and that "a number of persons from the army arrived there on February 2, of the same year." (Storia, Tr. Irvine, IV. 406.)

Dr. Taylor, following Khāfī Khān, has "*circa* 1-xi-1119 A.H." but there can be no doubt that the correct year was 1120 A.H.

We possess Kām Bakhsh's coins of 1120 A.H. and there is no reason for believing them to be posthumous, or for ascribing the dates to the carelessness or ignorance of mint-masters. Kām Bakhsh died only towards the end of that year, and the dates are perfectly regular. The apparent confusion has its origin in a blunder of Khāfī Khān's by whom Elphinstone (History, Ed. 1866, p. 676) and other European writers have been misled.

BAHĀDUR SHĀH SHĀH 'ĀLAM I.

Accession.

24 Muharram, 1119 A.H. (Muḥammad 'Alī, 'Burhānu-l-Futūḥ,' Br. Mus. Or. MS. No. 1884, folio 162 *b*, quoted by Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 261). "Either the last day, *i.e.* 30th of Muḥarram or the 1st day of Ṣafar [1119 A.H.], for there was a difference of opinion on account of the invisibility [of the new moon]"

* در سلخ محرم و غرهٔ صفر المظفر از عدم رویت اختلافی بود

(Khāfī Khān, II. 574, l. 13 = E.D. VII. 392. Dowson has not understood the real meaning of the passage.)

Muḥammad Qāsim Lāhorī says the Emperor was enthroned at Pul-i-Shāh Daula, 15 miles from Lāhor, in Muḥarram 1119 A.H. ('Ibratnāma. MS. quoted by Irvine. J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 261.)

Midnight of *first* Wednesday of Muḥarram 1119. (Siyaru-l-Mutākh, Trans. I. 5.) [*First* Wednesday is perhaps an error for *last* Wednesday.]

In Wüstenfeld's Tables, 1 Muḥarram 1119 A.H. = Monday, 4 April, 1707 A.C. April 6th = 3rd Muḥarram would thus be the first Wednesday of the month, but 27 April = 24 Muḥarram would be the *last*, and this is exactly the date given in the 'Burhānu-l-Futūḥ.

Official Date of Accession.

Khāfī Khān explicitly states that the Emperor fixed the 18th of Ẓī-l-ḥajja [1118 A.H.] as the initial date of the acces-

sion, [هیجدهم ماه ذی الحجه که اغاز سال جلوس مقرر فرموده بودند] and that the feast of the second year was celebrated on 18 Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1119, corresponding to 21 Isfandārmaz Māh-i-Ilāhī. (Text, II. 607, l. 9.)

"On the 1st Shawwāl 1119 H. (25th Dec., 1707), he [Bahādur Shāh] issued an order that his reign should commence from the 18th Ẕū.l-ḥajj, 1118 H. (22nd March, 1707), the day that he heard of his father's death." (Dānishmand Khān 'Alī, Bahādurshāh-nāma, entry of the said date, *apud* Irvine, in Official Reckoning of the Reigns of the Later Mughal Emperors, J.A S.B., 1893. p. 262.)

According to Wüstenfeld's Tables, 18-xii-1118 A.H. was = 23 March, 1707 A.C. New Style. (13 March Old Style.)

DEATH.

20 Muḥarram 1124 A.H. (Kāmwar Khān, Tarīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Chaghtāyah *apud* Irvine, *loc. cit.*, J.A.S.B., 1893. p. 262. See also E.D. VIII. 19, note.)

End (or last day) of the second decade of Muḥarram 1123 A.H. [اواخر عشر ثانی محرم الحرام.] (Khāfī Khān, II. 683, l. 15.) A few lines below (l. 21) on the same page, the same author says it was the شب هشتم, night of the *eighth* [Muḥarram], which is a manifest error for بیستم 'twentieth.' The year given is also wrong. See also E.D. VII. 428.

21 Muḥarram, 1124 A.H. (Tārīkh-i-Irādat Khān in E.D. VII. 556.)

19 Muḥarram 1124 A.H. about two hours before night. (Siyaru-l-Mutākh. Trans. I. 22.)

20-i-1124 A.H. was = Sunday, 28 February, 1712 A.C. New Style, or 17 February, Old Style.

Here again, a knowledge of the *official* date of the Emperor's accession is indispensable for the correct understanding of the Julūs dates on his mintages. Reckoning from the actual day of his enthronement, 30-i-1119 A.H. to that of his death, 20-i-1124, he ruled only for 4 (lunar) years, 11 months and 20 days. In other words, he was on the throne for not quite five years and consequently never entered on the 6th year of his *Julūs*. And yet his coins tell a different tale. P.M.C. No. 2054 is unmistakably of the 6th year and the parenthetical *sic* clearly betrays Mr. Whitehead's puzzlement. I.M.C. 1068 is a rupee of 1124–6 and at least three other coins with identical dates are registered in the Lucknow Museum Catalogue (Nos. 3491, 3498, 3516). B.M.C. 875 also is of the 6th year, but the Hijrī date is 1123. It is hardly necessary to labour the matter. All these dates are perfectly regular and correct on the official theory. The sixth official year of the Emperor's reign began on the 18th of Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1123 A.H. B.M.C. 875 must have

therefore been stamped on some one of the last twelve days of 1123, and the other coins may be safely taken to have been uttered in the first three weeks of 1124 A.H.

'AẒIMU-SH-SHĀN.

Accession.

"On the 7th Ṣāfar 1124 A. H. (15 March, 1712), he [*scil* Farrukhsiyar] heard of Bahādur Shāh's death, and on the 13th (21st March), without waiting for further information, he proclaimed his father's accession and caused coin to be stamped and the public prayer or *Khuṭbah* to be read in his name." (Irvine, Later Mughals, J A.S B., 1896, p. 172, and the contemporary authorities quoted there: see also Khāfī Khān, Text. II. 710, l. 13 = E.D. VII, 438 and Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn, Trans. I. 47

JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH.

Accession.

21 Ṣafar 1124 A.H. (Nūru-d-dīn Multānī, Jahāndārshāh-nāma *apud* Irvine, J.A.S B, 1893, p. 262). Khāfī Khān gives practically the same date but puts it into 1123 A.H. He says the battle began on the last day of the second decade [او اخر عشر ثاني] of Ṣafar, and that Jahān Shāh was killed on the following day (Text. II. 686–7 = E.D. VII. 430–1), when Jahāndār became Emperor.

Dr. Taylor, following Beale's Biographical Dictionary, gives 14 Rab'ī I, 1124, but in the Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh, Beale says Jahāndār Shāh was crowned at Lāhor toward the end of the month of Ṣafar [در آخر ماه صفر] 1124 A.H (Cawnpore Lith. of 1284 A.H., p. 299, l. 9).

21-ii-1124 A H. was = Wednesday, 30th March, 1712. New Style, or 19 March, Old Style—(Wüstenfeld).

Official Date of Accession.

Jahāndār Shāh is said to have ordered his own reign to begin from the 18th Muḥarram 1124 A.H., the day of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam's death.

اهل دفاتر تاريخ جلوس او از تاريخ هيزدهم ماه محرم سنه مذكور كه روز وفات بهادر شاه است نوشته اند *

So says Beale in the *Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh* (p. 299, l. 10). I am not aware of any contemporary authority for the statement; but the point is immaterial, as Jahāndār never entered upon the second year of his accession, according to *either* method of reckoning, and no coins of his second year are known.

Defeat.

Wednesday, 13 Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1123 A.H. [*recte*, 1124] = 19 Dai *Māh-i-Ilāhī*. (Khāfī Khān) II. 701, l 16 and also 721, l. 6. E.D. VII. 437 has 16th Ẕī-l-ḥajja, but the text has clearly 13th in both places.

There is a very long account of the battle based on *unpublished* contemporary authorities in Mr. Irvine's 'Later Mughals' (J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 198) He also gives 13th Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1124. The *Siyaru-l-Mutākhkharīn* has 14th Ẕī-l-ḥajja. (Tr. I. 53.)

13-xii-1124 A.H. = Wednesday, 11th January, 1713 A.C., N.S.

Death.

16 Muḥarram 1124 A.H. [*recte*, 1125]. (Kh. Kh. II. 734, l. 8 = E.D. VII. 445.)

16 Muḥarram 1125 A.H. (Irvine, Later Mughals, J.A.S.B., 1898, pp. 149–150 and the authorities cited there.)

Tuesday, 17 Muḥarram 1125 A.H. (Siyaru-l-Mutākh. Trans. I. 62.)

16-i 1125 A H. corresponded to Sunday, 12–13 February 1713, New Style. (1 February, Old Style.)

FARRUKHSIYAR.

Accession.

29 Ṣafar 1124 A.H. (Muḥammad Ḥusain Ījād, Farrukhsiyarnāma, *apud* Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 262. See also Later Mughals, J.A.S B., 1896, p. 172 and the authorities quoted there.)

Beginning or first [اوایل] of Rabʻī I, 1123 A.H. (Kh. Kh. II. 711, l. 10.) The year is wrong, but the date is almost the same, for the first day of Rabʻī I is the very next day to the last or 29th day of Ṣafar. See also E.D. VII. 439.

29-ii-1124 A.H. = Thursday, 7 April, 1712 A.C. New Style.

Official Date of Accession.

"An order was made that the reign of Jahāndār Shāh should be considered as an adverse possession [عهد مخالف] and that the reign of Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar should date from the first of Rabʻiu-l-awwal, 1123 A H. [recte, 1124 A H.]" Khāfī Khān in E.D. VII. 446, Text, II. 737, l. 9.

Kāmwar Khān states that "orders were issued on 9 Jumādī II, 1125 for striking out from the records and treating as non-existent the reign of Jahāndār and dating Farrukhsiyar's own reign from his enthronement at Patna on 29 Ṣafar 1124 A.H. (Tarīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Chaghtāyah, Entry of 9th Jumādā II, *apud* Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 262.)

DEPOSITION.

9 Rabʿī II, 1131 A.H. (Irvine, Later Mughals, J.A.S.B., 1904, pp. 342–4, and the manuscript authorities cited there.)

Wednesday, 9 Rabʿī II, 1131 A.H. (Khāfī Khān, Text, II. 807, l. 7 = E D. VII 476–8. [Kh. Kh. says the 8th was a Tuesday]. See also *Siyaru-l-Mutākh*. Trans. I. 129–135.)

9-iv-1131 A.H. was = Wednesday, 1 March, 1719, New Style—18 February, Old Style.

Farrukhsiyar's coins of the 8th year are correctly dated, if the official date of accession is borne in mind.

DEATH.

Night between 8th and 9th Jumādā II, 1131 A H. (Irvine, Later Mughals, J.A.S.B., 1904, p. 350, and the authorities quoted there.)

Khāfī Khān does not give the precise date. He only says that he was put to death about two months after his imprisonment. (Text, II, 819, l. 6 = E.D. VII. 480)

8-vi-1131 A.H. = Friday-Saturday, 28–29 April, 1719, N.S. or 17–18 April, O.S.

Dr. Taylor has 9-vii-1131, A.H and Sunday 17-v-1719 A C. This is a slip. Jumādā II is the *sixth* Muḥammadan month, not the seventh.

RAFʿU-D-DARAJĀT.

ACCESSION.

One pās [i.e *pahr* or watch] and four gharīs after sunrise on Wednesday, 9 Rabʿī II = 10 Isfandārmaz *Māh-i-Ilāhī* 1131 A.H. (Khāfī Khān., II. 816, l 6 = E.D. VII. 479.)

Kāmwar Khān (Tārīkh i-Salāṭīn-i-Chaghtāyah) gives the same date Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 262.)

About nine o'clock in the morning of Wednesday [9th] second Rabʿī 1132. [The year is wrong.] (Siyaru-l-Mutākh. Trans. I. 136.)

Mr. Irvine gives 28 February 1719, N.S., but if the week-day is correct, and it is given by all the authorities, the true correspondence must be 1 March, 1719, N.S., 18 February, Old Style

DEPOSITION.

17 Rajab 1131 A.H. (Kāmwar Khān, Tārikh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Chaghtāyah *apud* Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 262 and *ibid.*, 1904, Extra Number, p 40.) Khāfī Khān says (Text, II. 830, l. 2) that he reigned for *three* months and ten days. Dowson, however, has, in his abstract translation, *six* months and ten days. This is demonstrably incorrect. The author of the *Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn* also declares that he reigned for three months and some days. (Trans, I. 143.)

17-vii-1131 A.H. = Monday, 6 June, 1719, N.S. or 26 May, O.S.

DEATH.

Three days after the accession of his brother Raf'ïu-d-daula on 20 Rajab 1131 A.H. *i.e.* 23 [or 24] Rajab 1131 A.H. (Khāfī-Khān. II. 830 last line = E.D. VII. 482)

24 Rajab 1131 A.H. Wārid, 150*a apud* Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 40.

The *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī* (MS , p. 84 last line) says he died *fifteen* days after his brother Rafïu-d-daula's accession on Saturday, the 8th, *i.e.* on 23rd Rajab 1131 A.H.

21 Rajab, Saturday (Siyaru-l-Mutākh. Trans. I. 143).

24-vii-1131 A.H. corresponds to Monday 12 June, 1719, N.S. or 1 June, 1719, O.S.

RAF'ÏU-D-DAULA.

ACCESSION.

Saturday, 20 Rajab 1131 = 11 Khūrdād *Māh-i-Ilāhī* (Khāfī Khān, II. 831, l. 4 = E D. VII. 482). This writer quotes a contemporary chronogram—a تاريخ عيّاني as it is called—of the event, viz. شنبه بيستم مه رجب بود The Abjad value of the letters of the line is 1131 (300 + 50 + 2 + 5 + 2 + 10 + 60 + 400 + 40 + 40 + 5 + 200 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 6 + 4). The day and the month are at the same time explicitly stated.

19 Rajab 1131 A H. (Kāmwar Khān quoted by Irvine, J A.S.B , 1893, p. 263; also J.A S B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 40.)

Saturday, 8 Rajab, 1131. (Tārikh-i-Muzaffarī, Manuscript, p. 84, l. 3 from foot), هشتم 8th is the usual mistake for بيستم 20th.

The week-day given in the chronogram can hardly be wrong. The date also must have been بيستم 20th, not هشتم. The Abjad equivalent requires it And yet, 20-vii-1131 A.H. was according to Wüstenfeld, Thursday, 8th June, 1719 A.C. 8-vii-1131 A.H. was *Saturday*, 27th May, 1719 A C. (N.S).

DEATH.

4th or 5th Zī-l-qa'da, 1131. (Kāmwar Khān quoted by Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 263. See also J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 53.) Mr. Irvine says (*ibid.*, 53 note) that Khushhāl Chand, the contemporary author of the *Nādiru-z-zamānī*, gives the 7th, and quotes a couplet in support of his statement.

Khāfī Khān says he died after a reign of three months and some days, but he does not give any precise date (Text, II, 838, three lines from foot; E.D. VII, 485).

Dr. Taylor gives 22-x-1131 A.H. and quotes Khāfī Khān (E.D. VII, 485), but that author does not give any precise date in the passage referred to, and a few lines lower down, he himself states that "Rafī'u-d-daula had been dead nearly a week before the young Prince [Muḥammad Shāh] arrived" at Fatḥpūr on 11th Ẕī-l-qa'da, 1131. This would show that the death took place not on 22 Shawwāl, but about 4 Ẕī-l-qa'da.

$\frac{4}{5}$-xi-1131 A.H. = Monday-Tuesday, $\frac{19}{20}$ September, 1719 (New Style), $\frac{8}{9}$ September (Old Style).

NIKŪSIYAR.

Accession.

29 Jumādā II, 1131 A.H. (Kh. Kh. Text, II, 825, l. 3 and 827. l. 12.)

29 Jumādā II, 1131 is given also in Kāmwar Khān's *Tār. Salā. Chagh.* and Muḥammad Qāsim's, *'Ibratnāma*, according to Mr. Irvine (J.A.S.B., 1893, p 263. See *ibid.*, J A S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 35).

Dr. Taylor has 9th Jumādā II, but this is an error. He has been misled by Dowson, who has 9th in his Translation (E.D. VII, 482), though the Bibl. Ind. text of Khāfī Khān gives 29th clearly at p. 825, and the same date is repeated at p. 827.

29-vi-1131 A.H. = Friday, 19 May, 1719, N.S. or 8 May, O.S.

Deposition.

27 Ramẓān, 1131. (Kh. Kh. II, 836, six lines from foot. E.D. VII, 484.)

22–27th Ramẓān, 1131 (Kāmwar Khān, cited by Irvine, J.A.S B., 1893, p. 263). But Mr. Irvine gives 27th Ramẓān in "Later Mughals." J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 48.

29 Ramẓān, 1131 A.H. (Mḥd. Qāsim, 'Ibratnāma, MS p. 289, and Tabṣaratu-n-Nāẓirīn, MS. p. 129, quoted by Irvine, *ibid.*, note 4).

27-ix-1131 A.H. = Sunday, 13 August, 1719, N.S., 2 August, O.S.

Death.

6 Rajab, 1135 A.H. (Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī (MS.) cited by Irvine, J.A.S.B. 1904, Extra Number, p. 49, note 3.)

6-vii-1135 A.H. = Monday, 12th April, 1723 A.C. (New Style). Mr. Irvine gives 11th *March*, 1723 as the Julian correspondence, but this is out by a month and due to some slip or oversight.

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

Accession.

Saturday, 15 Ẕī-l-qa'da = 8 Mihr Māh-i-Ilāhī, 1131 A.H. (Khāfī Khān, II, 840, l. 16; E.D. VII, 485). Kāmwar Khān

gives the same date according to Mr. Irvine (J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 263; and also J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 55).

Four astronomical hours on the morning of 15 [Zī-l-qa'da] 1131 A.H. (Siyaru-l-Mutākẖ. Trans. I, 145.)

Tuesday, 15 Zī-l-qa'da, 1131. (Tārīkẖ-i-Muẓaffarī, Manuscript, p. 85, eight lines from foot.)

According to Wüstenfeld, 15-xi-1131 was *Friday*, 30 September, 1719, N.S., 19 September, O.S. If the week-day given by Khāfī Khān is correct, the correct correspondence would be 1 October, N.S. or 20 September O.S.

Official Date of Accession.

"It was settled that the beginning of his reign should date from the deposition of Farrukẖ Siyar, and should be so entered in the Government records." (Khāfī Khān in E.D. VII, 486; Text, II, 841, four lines from foot.) The same statement is made in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* (Manuscript, p. 424, l. 21 and Tārīkẖ-i-Muẓaffarī, MS. p. 86, l. 14). In the 'Siyaru-l-Mutākẖkẖirīn,' we read, "it was enacted that to prevent all confusion in the records, the seven or eight months that had elapsed under the short-lived reigns of those three princes, should be omitted entirely, and that they should be comprehended within Muḥammad Shāh's reign, which, of course, was made to commence immediately on Ferok-Siyar's demise" (Trans. I, 146).

Mr. Irvine notes that the reign of Muḥammad Shāh is accordingly "counted usually from the 9th Rabī' II, 1131 H., but the contemporary authority Kāmwar Khān. gives the first of that month, namely the 1st Rabī' II, 1131 H. * * as the exact reckoning." (J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 263.)

1-iv-1131 = Tuesday, 21 February, 1719, N.S., 10 February, Old Style.

9-iv-1131 = Wednesday, 1 March, 1719. N S., 18 March, O.S.

Death.

27 Rabī' II, 1161 A.H. (Tārīkẖ-i-Aḥmadshāhī in E.D. VIII, 111; Gulistān-i-Raḥmat, Tr. C. Elliott, 25–26 Siyaru-l Mutākẖ. Trans. III, 263. Khazāna-i-'Āmira of Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, Cawnpore Lith. of A.C. 1900, p. 78, l. 12, and also Maāṣiru-l-Umarā, I, 366, l. 6.)

The Tārīkẖ-i-Muẓaffarī (MS., p. 186) gives 27 Rabī'u-l-*awwal*, but it is probably a slip.

27-iv-1161 A.H. = Friday, 26 April, 1748, New Style (15 April, O.S.).

The latest *julūs* date that has been observed on this Emperor's coins is 31, though he did not really reign for 30 lunar years. The dating is perfectly correct from the official standpoint. Reckoning from the day of Farrukẖsiyar's deposition, he reigned for 30 years (lunar) and 18 days.

MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM.

Accession.

11 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 1132 A.H. = 20 Mihr-Māh-i-Ilāhī (Khāfī Khān, II, 914, l. 12; Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, MS. 108, l. 1; Siyaru-l Mutākh, Trans. I, 186)

Mr. Irvine gives "15th Ẕū,l-Ḥijjah, 1132 H." and quotes Kh.Kh. II, 914 and three other unpublished authorities. He adds that the *Jām-i-Jam*, a modern work, "assigns the enthronement to 28th Ẕū,l Ḥijjah, 1132 H." (Later Mughals, J.A.S B., 1908, p. 568.)

Dr. Taylor has 9-xii-1132 H. but this is due to an error of Dowson's who has 9th in his translation of Khāfī Khān (E.D. VII, 509), though the Bibl Ind. text has the 11th (یازدهم) quite clearly.

11-xii-1132 A.H. was = 14 October, 1720, N.S. or 3 October, O.S.

Deposition.

Taken prisoner in battle on

14 Muḥarram, 1133 A.H. (Kh. Kh. II, 933, five lines from foot; Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, MS. 116, l. 11; Siyar, Trans. I, 191–3.)

Mr. Irvine has a long account of the battle in his 'Later Mughals' based on these and other unpublished authorities and gives the same date. (J.A.S.B., 1908, pp 575–582.)

14-i-1133 A.H. was Friday, 15 November, 1720 A.C., N.S., 4 November (Old Style). Mr. Irvine's authorities would seem to give 14 Muḥarram, *Thursday* (14 November, N.S.).

AḤMAD SHAH.

Accession.

Wednesday, 1 Jumādā I, 1161 A.H. (Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 78, l. 18 and 90, l. 15.) (This work was composed in 1176 H.) Tuesday, 1 Jumādā I, 1161 (Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī, I, 110, l. 11).

1 Jumādā I. 1161. (Gulistān-i-Raḥmat, Tr. 26.)

Tuesday, 1 Rab'ī II 1161 (Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, MS. 188, last line.) [The month is again wrong.]

2 Jumādā I, 1161. (Beale, Miftāḥ, 327, l. 14.)

Fourth day after the death of Muḥammad Shāh on 27 Rab'ī II, 1161 A.H. (Siyaru-l-Mutākh, Tr. III, 263.) This would be 1 Jumādā I, 1161 A.H.

1-v-1161 A.H. was = *Monday*, 29 April, 1748, N.S. according to Wüstenfeld, or 18 April, O.S. (Gladwin.)

Deposition.

11 Sha'bān, 1167 A.H. (Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr-i-Ṣānī in E.D. VIII. 141.)

Sunday, 10 Sha'bān, 1167. (Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 52, l. 9, and 90, l. 16; Maāṣ-l-Umarā II, 851, l. 3.)

10 Sha'bān, 1167. (Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī, I, 110, l. 12; Siyar, Tr. III, 339.)

Sunday, 10 Sha'bān, 1167. (Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, 230, l. 6)

Beale says the Emperor was imprisoned towards the end of Jumādā II, and *blinded* on 10 Sha'bān. According to the *Siyar* he and his mother were blinded seven days after the deposition, that is on the 17th of Sha'bān.

10-viii-1167 *was* a Sunday, 2 June, 1754, according to Wüstenfeld.

DEATH.

2 Sha'bān, 1188 A.H. (Beale, Miftāḥ, 335.)

'ĀLAMGIR II.

ACCESSION.

11 Sha'bān, 1167 A.H. (Tār. 'Ālamgīr-i Ṣānī in E.D. VIII. 141.)

Sunday, 10 Sha'bān, 1167 is given by the Khazāna-i-'Āmira (52, l. 9). Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī. (Manuscript, 243, l. 2, also in E.D. VIII, 323), Gulistān i-Raḥmat, Trans. 50, Siyaru-l-mutākh, Tr. III, 339, Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh, 340, Maaṣiru-l-Umarā and Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī, Manuscript, 796, l. 1. The last mentioned author adds that orders were issued to the effect that the beginning of the reign was to be reckoned, for official purposes, from the 1st of Sha'bān.

و مبدأ سنین جلوس مبارک از غرهٔ شهر صدر اعتبار نموده محسوب و مرقوم نمایند *

Ibid., 796, l. 9.

DEATH.

Thursday, 20 Rab'ī II, 1173 A.H. ('Ibratnāma of Faqīr Khairu-d-dīn Muḥammad in E.D. VIII, 243.)

8 Rab'ī II, 1173 (Gulistān-i-Raḥmat 57). Thursday, 8 Rab'ī II, 1173 (Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī (MS.) 276, l. 7; Maāṣiru-l-Umarā, II, 855, top line.) 7 Rab'ī II of the sixth year of his reign (Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Shāh 'Ālam Nāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, 93); Thursday, 8 Rab'ī II, 1173 (Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 54, l. 7.) Beale says it was Thursday, the 8th Rab'ī II, but 18th according to another authority. (Miftāḥ, 341, five lines from foot.) The Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī also gives 8 Rab'ī II and Thursday. (MS. 935, l. 10, Bombay Lith. I, 111, l. 1.)

Dr. Taylor has 20th, but there can be little doubt that he has been misled by Dowson's translation of the 'Ibratnāma.' The copyist has evidently miswritten بیستم (20th) for هشتم (8th).

According to Wüstenfeld's Tables, 20th Rab'ī II, 1173

A.H. was a Tuesday, but the 8th *was* a Thursday and corresponded to 29 November, 1759 A.C.

SHĀH JAHĀN III

Accession.

20 Rab'ī II, 1173 A.H. ('Ibratnāma in E.D. VIII, 243.)
8 Rab'ī II. 1173. (Gulistān-i-Raḥmat, Tr. 57; Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, MS. 276, six lines from foot. Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 90, last line. See also *ibid.*, 54, l. 8. Mirāt-i-Āḥmadī, I, 111, l. 7.)

The correct date is 8 Rab'ī II. بیستم is an error for هشتم
8-iv-1173 = Thursday, 29 November, 1759. (Wüstenfeld)

Deposition.

29 Ṣafar, 1174 A.H. (Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Khān in E.D. 278; Gul. Raḥm. Tr. 60; Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 91, l. 6).
29-ii-1174 A.H. was—Friday, 9 October, 1760, A.C.

SHĀH 'ALAM II.

Accession.

4 Jumādā I, 1173 A.H. (Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 91, l. 1.)
One pās [pahr or watch] and two gharīs after sunrise on 4 Jumādā I, 1172 [*recte.* 1173] A.H. Shāh 'Ālam Nāma, 104-5.)
4 Jumādā I, 1174 [*recte.* 1173]. (Tār. Muẓ., MS., 286, l. 11.)
4 Jumādā I, 1173 (Miftāḥ 343, three lines from foot).
4-v-1173 A.H. was = Monday, 24 December, 1759 A.C.

Official date of Accession.

"The Secretaries of the Records were commanded to reckon the auspicious accession from the day of the martyrdom of his exalted father, *viz* 8 Rab'ī II," [1173]. (Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī (MS.,) 286, l. 14.)

There is a very similar statement in the Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 91, l. 3 and Beale's Miftāḥ, 343, last line. Mr. Keene informs us that "he [Shāh 'Ālam] is recorded to have ordered that his reign should be reckoned from the days of his father's martyrdom, and there are farmāns of his Patent Office still forthcoming in confirmation of the record." Fall of the Mughal Empire, Ed. 1887, p. 65.

Deposition by Ghulām Qādir.

27 Shawwāl, 1204 A.H. ('Ibratnāma in E.D. VIII, 247). [The year is wrongly given. 1204 is a manifest error, probably typographical, for 1202.]

Beale (Miftāḥ 361) says the Emperor was imprisoned on 22 Shawwāl, 1202 A.H. and blinded on the 5th of Ẕī-l-qa'da

of the same year. According to the '*Ibratnāma* (*loc. cit.*, 248), he was blinded on 9th Ẕī-l-qa'da. Mr. Keene in his 'Fall of the Mughal Empire' gives the date of deposition as 29th July, 1788 (Ed. 1887, p. 176) and says he has followed the 'Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī.' The date is given as 2nd August in the Selections edited by Mr. Seton-Kerr from the Calcutta Gazettes. (1. 263.)

According to Wüstenfeld, 27-x-1202 A.H. corresponded to Saturday, 31 July, 1788 A.H.

DEATH.

7 Ramẓān, 1221 A.H. *Miftāḥ*, 375.

7-ix-1221 A.H. was = Tuesday, 18 November, 1806.

BĪDĀR BAKHT.

ACCESSION.

27 Shawwāl, 1204 A.H. [*recte*, 1202 A.H.] '*Ibratnāma* in E.D. VIII. 247.

22 Shawwāl, 1202, *Miftāḥ*. 361, l. 6.

Dr. Taylor has 27-xi-1202 A.H = Friday, 29-viii-1788. He has been misled by Beale's Biographical Dictionary (p. 106), where 'Ẕīqa'ada' is given instead of 'Shawwāl,' which is the *tenth* month.

AKBAR II.

ACCESSION.

7 Ramẓān, 1221 A.H. = 19 November, 1806 A.C. (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 373, six lines from foot.)

According to Wüstenfeld, 7-ix-1221 A.H. corresponded to 18th November, not 19th.

DEATH.

Friday, 28 Jumādā II, 1253 A.H. = 28 September, 1837 A.C. (*Miftāḥ*, 394, l. 7).

BAHĀDUR SHĀH II.

ACCESSION.

28 Jumādā II, 1253 = 28 September, 1837 A.C. (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 394, l. 16.)

Dr. Taylor gives 29th September, 1837, but according to Gladwin's Tables (Bengal Revenue Accounts, Ed. 1796), 28 September would seem to be correct.

DEPOSITION.

13 Sha'bān, 1274 A.H. = 29 March, 1857 A.C

According to Gladwin's Tables, 13-viii-1274 A.H. was = 28 March, 1857.

DEATH.

14 Jumādā I, 1279 A.H. = Friday, 7 November, 1862 A.C.

XXII. IMPERIAL STYLE AND TITLES.

The proper names and titles current among Muhammadan nations are both exceedingly numerous and complicated. But the subject has been very fully dealt with by Baron Von Hammer, Monsieur Garcin de Tassy and Sir Thomas Colebrooke. Dr. Codrington also has an informing note upon it in his Manual. I have therefore deemed it unnecessary to discuss it at any length or go again over the same ground. The curious reader will find almost everything that he wants to know in Sir T. Colebrooke's article (J.R.A.S., 1879, pp. 171–237).

It will suffice to say that of the seven classes of names or titles enumerated in Dr. Codrington's useful and handy volume, the serious student of Mughal coins has little or no concern with four, viz. the الانساب or اسم‌نسبت - the عنوان - علامت and تخلّص. Those which come within his purview are but three, the علم or Muhammadan name, the كنيت or patronymic and the لقب or cognomen.

The first of these is very briefly and easily disposed of. There are only two *'alams* in the entire series of emperors and claimants, viz. Muḥammad and Aḥmad. The latter was borne by only one individual and all the other personages rejoiced in its synonym Muḥammad.

The *Kunyats* also are not much more numerous. There are only six or seven in all. *Abūl Fath*, *Abūl Muẓaffar* (or *Abū Ẓafar*), *Abūn Naṣr*, *Abūl Barakāt*, *Abūl 'Adl* and *Abūl Fauz* (?) exhaust the list, and one or other of the first two was borne by twelve out of the twenty-six emperors and claimants. Of the rest, *Abūn Naṣr* was assumed by two and each of the others found favour only with a single individual. Two of the emperors and seven claimants either assumed no Kunyats or they are unrecorded.

It is otherwise with the *laqabs*. There are only four cases in which one and the same 'cognomen' is found to have been adopted by two individuals. Jalālu-d-dīn was the common attributive of Akbar I and Shāh 'Ālam II, Naṣīru d-dīn was shared between the Emperor Humāyūn and the claimant Shujā'. Ẓahīru-d-dīn was assigned to Bābur the empire-builder as well as the puppet Ibrāhīm; Farrukhsiyar and Akbar II betrayed a partiality for Mu'inu-d-dīn. With these exceptions, every one who sat or aspired to sit on the throne of the

Great Mogul would appear to have deliberately and of set purpose chosen a title ending in *dīn* which had not been appropriated by any of his predecessors. This fact is not devoid of interest or practical utility. It frequently puts it in our power to assign a doubtful coin to the true owner and when the appropriate *Kunyat* also happens to be displayed in whole or in part, the second coincidence makes assurance doubly sure and enables the abnormal or *imperfectly* executed issue to be definitely identified.

BĀBUR.

Full Style and Titles.

Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī.

Memoirs of Bābur, Trans. Leyden and Erskine, 355, 359.

,, ,, ,, A. S Beveridge, 574.

Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, Trans. Ney Elias and Ross, 173.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Lakhnau Lithograph, p. 179. l. 8.

Badāonī, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 337, l; Trans., I. 443.

Abūl Faẓl, *Akbarnāma*, Bibl. Ind. Text, I. 48. l. 22; I. 86, l. 9; Trans. H. Beveridge, I. 145, 223.

The laqab Ẓahīru-d-dīn was given to him *at birth*. Bābur's cousin Mirzā Haidar Dughlāt writes: "They begged his Holiness [Khwāja Naṣīru-d-dīn 'Ubaidu-llah, or Khwāja Aḥrār] to choose a name for the child and he blessed him with the name of Ẓahīru d-dīn Muḥammad. At that time, the Chaghatāī were very rude and uncultured [*buzurg*], and not refined [*bāzārī*] as they are now; thus they found Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad difficult to pronounce and for this reason gave him the name of Bābur."[1] *Op. cit.*, 173

Abūl Faẓl has a very similar statement in the *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, 87, l. 5; Trans. I, 225.

Khāfī Khān, however, says that the Amīrs called him [ملقب ساخنده] Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābur, when they placed him on the throne (Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 22, l. 16), but his statement cannot weigh against that of a contemporary.

Bābur himself informs us in his 'Memoirs' that he assumed the title of 'Pādishāh' towards the end of 913 A.H.

"Up to that date," he writes, "people had styled Tīmūr Beg's descendants *Mirzā*, even when they were ruling. Now I ordered that people should style me Pādshāh." *Op. cit.* Trans.

[1] The name itself was not new. It had been formerly borne by Mirzā Abūl-Qāsim Bābur, son of Mirzā Bāisanghār, the grandson of Shāhrukh, the son of the great Tīmūr. He made himself master of Khurāsān after murdering his own brother Sulṭān Muḥammad in A.H. 855 (1452 A.C.), and died at Mashhad in 861 A.H. (1457 A.C.). After his death, Khurāsān was taken possession of by Mirzā Abū Sa'īd, the grandfather of the Emperor. Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, Ed. Keene, *s.v.*; Ḥabību-s-Siyar, Book III, Section iii. 163-171.

A. S Beveridge. 344; Leyden and Erskine, 233. Humāyūn was born towards the end of this very year on 4th Ẕī-l-qa'da, and Bābur's daughter, Gulbadan *writes as if* the birth of an heir was the proximate cause or motive of this 'uplift in her father s style.'

"That same year [913 A.H.], his Majesty was pleased," she says, "to order the Amīrs and the rest of the world to style him emperor (*bādshāh*), for before the birth of the Emperor Humāyūn, he had been named and styled Mīrzā Bābar All kings' sons were called Mīrzās. In the year of his Majesty Humāyūn's birth, he styled himself *badshāh*." (*Humāyūn Nāma*, Trans. A. S. Beveridge, 90; Text, 9, l. 9.) Gulbadan wrote down what she had heard and seen only about 995 A.H.—*i. e.* more than eighty years after Humāyūn's birth. The order in which the two events, the assumption of the title and the birth of Humāyūn are recorded in Bābur's own Autobiography militates against the supposition. However that may be, there can be no doubt that *Pādishāh* was no part of Bābur's style before 913 A H.

Abūl Faẓl's account clearly implies that the adoption of the titular adjunct was antecedent to and had no causal connection with the birth of the Prince. "The second time," he writes, "the illustrious army proceeded in the month of Jumādal- awwal 913 (Sep. 1507) by way of Little Kābul (Khurd Kābul) to the conquest of Hindustan. * * * They crossed by Kūner and Nūrgil and from Kūner, he (Bābar) came on a raft (*jāla*) to the camp and then by way of Bādīj to Kābul. By order of his Majesty, the date of his crossing was engraved on a stone above Bādīj. This wondrous writing still exists. Till this time, the noble descendants of the Lord of Conjunction were called Mīrzās. His Majesty ordered that in this inscription, he should be styled *Pādshāh*. On Tuesday, 4 Zī-l-q'ada of this auspicious year (6th March, 1508) occurred in the citadel of Kābul, the fortunate birth of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshīyānī (Humāyūn)." *Akbarnāma*, Trans. I, 235-6; Text, I, 92.

The expedition was a failure on account of "differences of opinion among the officers" It was evidently of short duration and Bābur would seem to have been back in Kābul *before* the birth of his heir. If the title was adopted in the inscription (غازی) which Abūl Faẓl would appear to have seen, its assumption could have had nothing to do with the birth which took place some months afterwards.

Similarly, we have the very best authority—Bābur's own—for saying that the adjunct 'Ghāzī' was assumed after the battle of Kānhwa. (933 A.H. 1527 A.C.). "After this success" [*scil.* defeat of Rāna Sangā], the Emperor himself tells us, "Ghāzī (victor in a Holy war) was written amongst the

royal titles." Memoirs, Trans. A. S. Beveridge, 574; Leyden and Erskine's Trans. 367; Persian Trans. 214, l. 11.

Gulbadan also says that "he arrayed his forces against Rāna Sangā and, by the Grace of God, obtained a victory and became a *Ghāzī*." [به رعنا سنگا جنگ صف شده بعنایت الهي فتح کردند و غازی شدند] *Humāyūn Nāma*, Text, 17, l. 14; Trans. 100.

Firishta (Briggs, Trans. II, 58; Lakhnau Lithograph, I, 209, l. 17) and Khāfī Khān (Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 61, last but one line), have the same statement. See also Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, Trans. Ney Elias and Ross, 402.

Neither of these two points is without interest from the numismatic point of view. Many of this emperor's mintages exhibit no date and it is not easy to predicate any thing as to the time of issue. The above statements furnish useful criteria for fixing the year within certain limits. All coins bearing the title 'Pādishāh' may be confidently said to have been uttered after 913 A.H. None bearing the titular adjunct 'Ghāzī could have been struck before 13 Jumādā II, 933 A.H. (17th March, 1527).

It will be noticed that the Kunyat of this emperor is not given by any of these authors. Perhaps he did not formally assume any.

HUMĀYŪN.

Full Style and Titles.

Naṣīru-d-dīn Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī.

Tezkereh Al Vākiāt, or Private Memoirs of the Emperor Humāyūn, Trans Ch. Stewart, I. 1832, p. 5.

Badāonī, Bibl. Ind. Text, I. 344, l, 1; Trans. I. 451.

Akbarnāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 120, l. 11; Trans. I, 283.

Bādishāhnāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, i. 42, l 11.

There is a passage in the *Akbarnāma* from which it would seem that his Kunyat was ابو النصر [1] (Text, I, 111, l. 15; Trans.

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[1] As the *Kunyat* is not mentioned anywhere else, I give the original passage below. Humāyūn was sent to Kābul after the battle with Rāna Sangā and Abūl Faẓl, in recording the event, writes:—

قرة عيون السلطنة و الخلافة ابو النصر نصيرالدين محمّد همايون را در سه كروهي الور نهم رجب اين سال همايون فال [۹۳۳] رخصت آن ممالک فرمودند *

Elsewhere (Akbarnāma, Text, I, 120, l. 20), the full style of the emperor on coming to the throne is given as

نصير الدين محمّد همايون پادشاه غازی *

only, but it is said in a footnote that the *laqab* Naṣīru-d-dīn is preceded by the *Kunyat*, 'Abūn-Naṣr' in one of the Manuscripts.

I, 267), but the author of the *Haft Iqlīm* (written 1002 A.H.) gives him the titles بادشاه همايون محمد ابو الغازي. Manuscript. But, it should be noticed that the *Kunyat* as given on a gold coin in the British Museum which would appear to be unique, can be clearly read as *Abū-l-Muẓaffar* (B.M.C No. 8). This may be held to settle the question.

AKBAR.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Fath Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh i-Ghāzī.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Lakhnau Lith. 242, l. 8; 343, three lines from foot (contemporary document of 987 A.H.).

Badāonī, Bibl. Ind. Text, 271, seven lines from foot; Lowe, II. 279 Elliot-Dowson, V, 532, and Blochmann, *Āīn*, Trans. I, 186 (contemporary document of 987 A H.).

The same formula is given without any *Kunyat* in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Text, 3, l. 7.

Bādishāhnāma, Text, 66, l. 7.

'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Text, 14, l. 9.

Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq Dehlavī who was born in 958 A.H. (1552 A.C.) and died in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.C.) gives the full title of the Emperor as 'Sulṭān Abul Fatḥ Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādīshāh-i- Ghāzī' in the *Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqi* which was written in the 40th year of the reign (quoted in Elliot and Dowson, VI, 108. See also *ibid.*, 177).

Here the titular prefix *Sulṭān* is perhaps unauthorized. The Mughal Emperors did not care to call themselves *Sulṭāns*. They gave that appellation to their sons, *e.g.* Sulṭān Salīm, Sulṭān Daniāl, Sulṭān Khusrū, Sulṭan Khurram. (See Blochmann, Journ. A.S.B. 1871, p. 116, note. Terry says the same. Voyage, Ed. 1777, p. 396.)

In the letter brought by Sayyad Beg Ṣafavī, the ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persiā (969 A.H. VII R.), Akbar is styled *Abūl Fatḥ Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh* (*Akbarnāma*, Text, II, 171, l. 13; Beveridge, Trans. II, 262).

But Abūl Faẓl gives the full name of his hero as *Abūl Muẓaffar Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh* in the *Akbarnāma* (Text, I, 48, l. 21, Trans. I, 145) on which Mr. Beveridge has the following remarks:—

"In the preface of the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārat* (B.M. No. 5638, p. 8) A. F. calls him Abul-fatḥ, and this is

In the Farmān issued after the battle of Kānhwa (933 A.H.), the prince is called only 'Muḥammad Humāyūn Bahādur' (Memoirs of Bābur, Trans. Erskine, 363, 364, Trans. Beveridge, 566, 569), from which it would appear that the laqab 'Naṣīru-d-dīn' was assumed after his accession to the throne.

the name given in the document drawn up by A. F.'s father Mubārak and others and preserved by Badāonī (Blochmann, 185 and Lowe, 279). There too he is styled *Ghāzī*. A. F. also uses the title Abūl-fatḥ in the introductory verses of the *Tafsīr-i-Akbarī* or Great Commentary which he presented to Akbar on his second introduction to him in 982 (1574) * * * On the other hand, Faiẓī (*Nal ū Daman*, Calcutta, ed. 1831, 24) calls Akbar, *Abūl-Muẓaffar Jamālu-d-daula ū Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar*. Perhaps Muẓaffar was the original name and was changed to Fatḥ, after the victories in Bengal and to assimilate it to the name of Akbar's favourite residence, Fatḥpūr-Sikrī. The words Muẓaffar and Fatḥ are nearly synonymous, one meaning a Victory or victorious, and the other victorious.[1] * * * It is perhaps rather significant that both A. F. and his brother should omit the title of Ghāzī which was given to the young Akbar after the defeat of Hemū."

Firishta also gives the *Kunyat* as *Abūl Muẓaffar*, Lakhnau Litho. I, 244, l 5.

In an inscription (dated 975 A.H.) on the bridge built by the Khān i-Khānān Mun'im Khān across the Gumtī at Jaunpūr, the Emperor is styled *Abūl Ghāzī* Jalālu-d dīn Muḥammad *Akbar*. Blochmann, Proceedings, A.S.B., 1873, p. 140.

The Farmān addressed to Bairam Khān after his rebellion and reproduced in original in the *Akbarnāma* has the rubric, "Farman of *Jalālu-d-dīn wa-ad-duniyā Akbar Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī*." (Text. II, 106, l 5; Trans. II, 161).

The princess Gulbadan speaks of her illustrious nephew as *Haẓrat-i-Pādishāh i 'Ālam panāh i 'Ālamgīr Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī*. *Humāyūn Nāma*. Text, 59, l 5; Trans. 158.

Jauhar says that the name given to the future Emperor at birth was 'Badru-d-dīn,' and not 'Jalālu-d-dīn.' "This auspicious event, (*scil* the birth of Akbar) happened," he writes, "on the night of the full moon of the month Shābān, 949; in consequence of which His Majesty was pleased to name the child, the Full Moon of Religion (Budr addyn) Muhammad Akber." (*Tezkereh Al Vākiāt*, Trans. C Stewart, 44).

Mr. Vincent Smith insists that, in the matter of the name as well as the date of birth, which is very differently given by all the other contemporary authorities, Jauhar is "true and accurate" and the official version is "the result of deliberate falsification effected for adequate and ascertainable reasons." He even goes so far as to assert that "the proof is so convincing that more could not be required if Abū-l-Faẓl were on his trial for forgery." (Indian Antiquary, November 1915, p. 233.

[1] Mr. Beveridge appears to have overlooked the fact that the *Kunyat* is 'Abūl Fatḥ' in the letter addressed by Shāh 'Abbās to Akbar in 969 A.H., long before "the victories in Bengal." It is given in extenso in the *Akbarnāma* and may be found in his own translation (II. 263). The fact is conclusively adverse to the conjecture he has advanced.

See also his Akbar, 14–15 and 464) The point is hardly within the scope of this work, and must be reserved for discussion elsewhere. It will suffice to say here that there is no occasion or warrant for all this violent and intemperate language. Whatever the name given to Akbar at his birth, it is certain that his official *laqab* was *Jalālu-d-dīn*, and that is all that numismatists are concerned with.[1]

The Jaunpūr coins on the reverses of which he is called "Jalālu-d-din Muḥammad Akbar" and also *Nāṣiru-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn Abūl Muẓaffar*[2] are evidently exceptional issues and must be ranked with the Shīr Shāh rupee on which his *laqab*, about which there is an absolute consensus among the historians, is erroneously or capriciously given as *'Alāu-d-dīn*. (Hoernle, J.A.S B., 1893, p. 244. pl ix, fig. 23).[3]

The circumstances under which the adjunct *Ghāzī* was adopted by Akbar are matter of common knowledge The discrepancies about details are fully discussed by Mr. Vincent Smith in J.R A.S., 1916, p. 527 and in 'Akbar,' p. 39. They are not of numismatic interest.

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[1] Supposing even that Akbar's original laqab *was* Badru-d-dīn, there would be nothing extraordinary in the substitution of Jalālud-dīn at his accession. The author of the *Rauẓatu-ṣ-Ṣafā* explicitly informs us that "Muḥammad bin Sām was named Shamsu-d-dīn and his brother was named Shihābu d-dīn before he became Sulṭān. But when the latter was established on the throne of empire, he adopted the title [ملقّب] of 'Sulṭān Ghīaṣu-d-dīn' and the laqab Shihābu-d-dīn was given to his brother." (See Thomas, *Chronicles*, 137–8.)

At the same time, his own son, Khwāndmīr says that *Shamsu-d-dīn* was the first *laqab* of Sulṭān Ghīāṣu-d-dīn and that Shihābu-d-dīn called himself *Mu'izzu-d-dīn* on coming to the throne after the death of his brother (*Ḥabību-ṣ-Siyar*, Bombay Lithograph, II, iv. 154, last line but one, and 155, l. 3). With such examples before us, it is hardly justifiable to make serious allegations of 'forgery' and 'falsification' of evidence in connection with such trivial alterations in nomenclature.

[2] Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Brown read *'Abūl Muẓaffar,'* I.M.C., 198–200; L M.C., 455–6), Mr. Whitehead *Abūl Fatḥ*. (P.M.C., Nos. 301–2), But the I.M C. specimens are of 975 A.H., the P.M.C. of some year in the sixties. The ظفر is fairly clear on the former (see Plate). The latter are, unluckily, not illustrated. However that may be, it is clear from the coins that there was some doubt as to the true *kunyat*. 'Abūl Fatḥ' was certainly more common, but 'Abūl Muẓaffar' also was occasionally used, and this is just what we gather from Abūl Faẓl and Firishta. It is perhaps worth while to state that Akbar is styled ابو المظفر in the inscription on a Bāolī or stepwell, at Kharīān in Gujrāt (Panjāb). The date is Ramẓān 1013 A.H. (Blochmann, Proc. A.S.B. 1865, p. 66).

[3] Dr. Hoernle writes, "I cannot account for this anomaly, nor can Mr. Rodgers, to whom I referred this coin." (Loc. cit.)

JAHĀNGĪR.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Muẓaffar Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Pādishāh-i- Ghāzī.

Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī Bibl Ind. Text, p. 2, l. 13.

Muḥammad Hādī's *Dībācha* to *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Sayyad Aḥmad Khān's Edition, p. 2, l. 4.

The contemporary author of the *Farhang i-Jahāngīrī* calls the Emperor.

Abūl Muẓaffar wa Abūl-Manṣūr Nūru d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādishāh, Lakhnau Lith., 1293, A.H. Preface, p. 7, l. 9.

Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Pādishāh. Bādishāhnāma I, i. 69, l. 2, and *'Amal-i-Ṣālih.* 11, l. 18

Abūl-Muẓaffar Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jāhāngīr Pādishāh, Khāfī Khān, I 244.

The reasons for calling himself Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr are thus stated by the Emperor himself in his 'Memoirs.'

"When I became king, it occurred to me to change my name, because this [*scil* Salīm] resembled that of the Emperor of Rūm [این اسم مجدل اشتباه است بنام قیاصرهٔ روم][1]. An inspiration from the hidden world brought it into my mind that inasmuch as the business of kings is the controlling of the world [جهانگیری], I should give myself the name of Jahāngīr (World-seizer) and make my title of honour (*laqab*) Nūru-d-dīn, inasmuch as my sitting on the throne coincided with the rising and shining on the earth of the Great Light (the Sun).[2] I had also heard, in the days when I was prince, from Indian sages [دانایان هند], that after the expiration of the reign and life of King Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar, one named Nūru-d-dīn would be administrator of the affairs of the State Therefore I gave myself the name and appellation [اسم و لقب] of Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr Pādshāh."

Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, Trans. Rogers and Beveridge, I, 2–3; Sayyad Aḥmad Khān's Edition, p. 1, l. 27 ff.

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[1] The name had been borne by two Sulṭāns of the house of Othmān. Salīm I (r. 1512–1520 A.C.) who poisoned his father and murdered eight of his brothers and has been called 'the greatest monster of that monstrous race.' Salīm II, (r. 1566–1574) was an indolent voluptuary who lost almost his whole fleet and 35,000 men in 1571 A.C. at the battle of Lepanto (Beale, Oriental Biog. Dict. Ed. Keene, *s.n.*).

[2] Jahāngīr himself informs us that he "ascended the royal throne in the capital of Āgra in 38th year of his age when one sidereal hour of Thursday, Jumādā-s-Ṣāni, 20th A.H. 1014," *i.e.* one hour after sunrise. *Tūzuk*, Trans. Rogers and Beveridge I, 1.

DĀWAR BAKHSH.

The 'llqāb' of this unlucky *fainéant* are nowhere mentioned. As he was never crowned in any real sense of the word, it is safe to say that the official style of his 'khuṭba and sikka' was never formulated. His coins display only his birth name, by which he is thrice mentioned in his grandfather's *Tūzuk* (Tr. II, 260, 261, 297. Text, pp. 361, 381). European writers call him almost always by a pet-name which they variously transliterate or transmogrify as 'Sultān *Bulloch*' (Herbert, 102, 103), *Bolaki* (Tavernier, Tr. Ball. I, 337), *Ballaqui* (Manucci, I, 178), *Bulake* (Peter Mundy, Travels, II, 107, 206), or *Polagi* (Olearius, Voyages and Travels of the Holstein Ambassadors, Ed. 1669. p. 191). A person calling himself Sultān Bulāqī was certainly residing at Kazvīn under the protection of the Shāh of Persia about 1049 A.H. (1639 A.C.) as there is a long account of him in Mirzā Ṭahir Vahīd's *Tārikh-i-Shāh 'Abbās-i-Ṣānī*. (Manuscript in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, Bombay, Rehatsek's Catalogue, IV, 27. p. 88.)

The sobriquet is derived from بُلاق 'an ornament worn in the nose.' (Steingass, *s.v*).

SHÁH JAHÁN I.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Muẓaffar Shihābu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥibqirān-i-ṣānī Shāh Jahān Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī.

Bādishāhnāmā, Bibl. Ind. Text, I, i. 82 five lines from foot; *Ibid*,. I, i 91, l. 11. See also Elliot and Dowson, VII. 6.

'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Bibl. Ind. Text, 227, l. 22; 228, l. 17.

Khāfī Khān, I, 495, l. 6. (He leaves out 'Muḥammad').

Mirāt i-Ahmadī, Bombay Lith., I, 211, l. 4.

Jahāngīr informs us that this prince was given at birth the name 'Sulṭān Khurram' because "his advent made the world joyous (*Khurram.*)" *Tūzuk*, Trans I, 19 and note: Text, 8, l. 25.

We learn from the same unimpeachable source that Sulṭān Khurram was given the title [خطاب] of *Shāh* (which was made a part of his name), [اسم], and ordered to be styled '*Shāh* Sulṭān Khurram' in the eleventh year of the reign [1025 A.H. 1616 A.C.]. *Tūzuk*, Trans. I, 338; Text, 167, l. 13.

In the following year [1026 A.H., 1617 A.C.], the title of *Shāh Jahān*, which is supposed by many to have been *first assumed* by this Emperor only on coming to the throne, was bestowed on his favourite son by Jahāngīr "in reward for his distinguished service" in the Deccan. *Tūzuk*, Trans. I, 395: Text, 195, l. 24.

The author of the *Bādishāhnāma* expressly informs us that the laqab 'Shihābu-d-dīn' was adopted in accordance with the suggestion of Āṣaf Khān.

و لقب گرامی ابن بر گزیدهٔ الهی * * * پس از اورنگ آرائی بالتماس یمین الدوله آصف خان شهاب الدین مقرر گردید *

Text I, i. 96, l. 2.

Elsewhere, the same contemporary chronicler quotes the very words of a gracious Farmān addressed from Āgra, by the Emperor on the day of his accession, to Āṣaf Khān who was then in Lāhor. In this also, Shāh Jahān informs his uncle (عمو) that he had determined to assume the *laqab* Shihābu-d-dīn, which he, Āṣaf Khān, had proposed.

دستوری که معروض داشته بودند لقب را شهاب الدین قرار دادیم *

Ibid., I, i. 114, l. 11.

There can be little doubt that the unique Lāhor rupee in the British Museum (No. 578) on which the *laqab* of the Emperor is given as ناصر الدین was struck *before* the formal choice of شهاب الدین on the day of the enthronement (8 Jumādā II, 1037 A.H.). We know that the khuṭba was read by Āṣaf Khān's orders at Lāhor on Sunday the 21st of Jumādā I, 1037 (*Iqbāl-nāma*, Text, 303, l. 9), and we may be sure that the inclusion of the birth-name (Khurram) and the absence of the second adjunct *Ṣāḥib qirān* were both due to the fact of the official style and titles of the new emperor having not yet been fixed.

The equally extraordinary Sūrat Rupee in the Panjāb Museum (Cat. No. 1331) with the Kalima and the date on one side and the optative superscription سکهٔ شاه جهان رائج باد is also demonstrably a preaccession issue. Indeed, we know from a contemporary European record that it was an unauthorized product of the Sūrat mint and disowned by Shāh Jahān himself who ordered that all coins should continue to bear the name of his father up to the day of his formal coronation.

The East India Company's factors at Aḥmadābād write on the 31st of January, 1628, in the following terms:—

"This cittie is in quiett State. Naer Cawn [Nāhar Khān], Mirza Muckey [Makkī] Dewan, and Caphaiett Cawn [Kifāyat Khān] Buckshee [Bakhshī]. What money is coined in this town bears the Stamp of Shawselim [Shāh Salīm, i.e. Jahāngīr] by the Prince's owne order at this being here, till he bee crowned in Dillie so that the quoyning of money in Surratt under his name is affirmed to be done by the Governour there without his order; neither will they passe here without some losse." English Factories in India, 1624–1629, ed. W Foster, 232.

"This reference to the premature coining of money at Surat is interesting," says the editor of the Correspondence

who does not appear to have known that a specimen of these unauthorized mintages has survived the 'tooth of time' and is now lodged beyond the reach of the melter or the vandal in the Lāhor Museum.

It is scarcely necessary to recapitulate the true reasons for the assumption of the additional *laqab* 'Ṣāḥibqirān-i Ṣānī.' It will suffice to refer the curious to my note on the subject in Num. Supp. XXXV, Art. 217.

MURĀD BAKHSH.

The full style and titles of this claimant are not given by the chroniclers. The author of the *'Ālamgīrnāma*, however, states that "he adopted the laqab *Murāwwiju-d-dīn*, gave himself the name of Sulṭān, and had the khuṭba read and coins struck in his own name."

خود را مروج الدین ملقب ساخته اسم سلطنت بر خود بست و خطبه و سکه بنام خود کرد *

Text, 134, four lines from foot.

The author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* has copied this sentence. Bombay Lithograph, Pt. I, 249, l. 6. See also *ibid.*, Pt. I, 248, five lines from foot.

The coins show that his *Kunyat* was *Abūl-Muẓaffar* and that he retained his birth-name, Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, as his 'regnant' designation.

His full style and titles may be therefore taken to have been

Abūl Muẓāffar Murawwiju-d-dīn Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh Pādishāh-i Ghāzī.

In the couplet engraved on his Sūrat rupees (B.M.C. 699) he is called *Sikandar-i-ṣānī*, but this may be only a poet's adulatory flourish, and not a real *laqab*, publicly or officially assumed by the claimant himself. It looks as if it had been dragged in only to rhyme with the شاهجهاني of the preceding line.

SHUJĀ'.

There is no mention of the style and titles assumed by this rebellious son of Shāh Jahān in any of the published chronicles, but his full name is given as

Abūn-Naṣr Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān Shujā'

in a *Taẓkara* or 'Biography of Poets' called *Mirātu-l-Khiyāl*, Bombay Lith., 1324, A.H., p. 143, l. 10.

This work was written in 1102 A.H. (*Ibid.*, 342 and 240) and its author Amīr Sher 'Alī Khān Lodī appears to have been in the prince's service.

It is certain that his *'Alam* or Muḥammadan name was

Muḥammad. He is frequently styled 'Pādishāhzāda Muḥammad Shāh Shujā' Bahādur' in the *Bādishāhnāma* of 'Abdul-Ḥamīd (I, i. 97, 392, 408; I, ii. 32, 64, 208).

In his note on 'A New Type of the Coins of Shāh Shujā' (Num. Supp. VI. Art. 44), Mr. R. Burn offered the suggestion that "the top margin of No. 691 [B.M.C.] seems to read نصيرالدين ..... , which presents a difficulty." (*Loc. cit.* p. 266). He himself was inclined to decipher the *laqab* occurring in the last line of the new type published by him as ناصرالدين.

In a letter dated 1-8-1920, Mr. R. B Whitehead wrote to me: "Four rupees of Shah Shujā' have been found in the Bihar and Orissa Province. In a recent letter you told me that for the first time you had discovered for certain that Shāh Shujā's *laqab* and *Kuniyat* were Nasīru-d-din and Abu'l Nasr. * * * One of the recently discovered Patna specimens contains the top margin unmistakably as نصيرلدين محمد and also shows most of the left margin, but to my great surprise it does not contain the mint. All I can see is لله ابو لعوا. Can this read *Kuniyat Abū'l Qavi*? The inscription is most unusual. I wish you could help me with it." I venture to suggest that the true reading of the left margin is, probably پتنه ابوالفوز. The patronymic is not *Abū'l-qavī*, but probably *Abūl Fauz*. الفوز is one of the hundred and one names of the Divine Being which are daily recited by devout Moslems in their devotions (Codrington, Manual. 41; Hughes. Dict. of Islam, p. 141), and it would be blasphemous for a Moslem to call himself 'Father of the Very Strong One or Allah,' though عبد الفوی 'Slave of the Very Strong One' would be perfectly proper. A portion only of the preceding word has come on the coin Mr. Whitehead reads it as كديه. If so, it is most unusual and unprecedented. I submit that there is no necessity or warrant for any such assumption, and that we have here the name of the mint-town پتنه in the left margin. ابو لفوز signifies 'Father of authority or power.'[1]

AURANGZEB.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Muzaffar Muḥiyu-d-dīn Muḥammad Aurangzeb Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī.

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[1] I was at first inclined to think that the patronymic was ابو الفضل but more careful examination of the rubbings sent to me by Mr. Whitehead shows that the letter following the ف is a '*wāv*,' and I am almost sure that the correct reading is ابو لفو ز or بوالفوض

'Ālamgīrnāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, 25, eight lines from foot, and 367, l. 5.

Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, Bibl. Ind. Text, p. 23, two lines from foot.

But the *Kunyat* is given as ابو الظفر, not ابو المظفر by *Khāfī Khān*, Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 77, l. 3. The word بادشاه is left out in the Calcutta text of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, but Dowson has it in his English version. ED. VII, 2.

The reason for the assumption of the regnant title *'Ālamgīr* is thus stated by Khāfī Khān.

" On the 10th of Ramaẓān [1068 A.H.], Aurangzeb marched from Samūgarh [where Dārā had been defeated] for Āgra, and encamped outside the city. There he received from his father a consolatory letter written in his own hand. Next day, Kudsiya Pādshāh Begam, by command of her father, came out to her brother, and spake to him some words of kindness and reproach. * * * The answer she received was contrary to what she had wished, and she returned. The Emperor then wrote another admonitory letter, and with a sword which bore upon it the auspicious name *'Ālamgīr* (world-conqueror), he sent it with kind messages by one of his personal attendants to Aurangzeb. The word *'Ālamgīr* immediately attracted notice. It was deemed a good omen, and called forth congratulations." [1]

Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb in Elliot and Dowson, VII, 225–6; Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 31–2.

There is in the *'Alamgīrnāma* (Text, 112-113) a much more lengthy statement to the same effect in its author's characteristically turgid and magniloquent style. See also *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Text, 7, last line.

Manucci informs us that the Mughal Emperors were in the habit of giving special names to "their swords and shields, their finest horses, their elephants and their heavy artillery," and that the *'Catarre'* or sabre which Aurangzeb usually carried in his hand was called *Alamguir*." (Storia, I Tr. Irvine, II, 358-9.)

The title 'Bahādur' had been specially bestowed by Shāh

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[1] This seems to be one of those Pan-Asiatic beliefs or superstitions which arrest the attention of the anthropologist. There is a curious parallel in Forbes' Rās Mālā. When Vishaldev Chauhān resolved to start on a *Digvijaya* or 'world-conquest,' he "gave the order to all the ministers and sent for Keerpāl. From Sambhur he came to the city of Ujmeer. On his arrival he touched the feet of the king; he placed a sword before him as an offering * * *. The raja bound it on his loins; the skilful in vaticination pronounced the omen to be good. The raja said,' 'As this omen has been granted to me I will draw my sword in all the nine divisions of the earth; the whole world I will subdue; I will make tributary rajas, be they as firm as Meroo." (*Op. cit.* Reprint, 1878, p. 72.)

Aurangzeb's *Kunyat* is given as ابو الظفر and ابو المظفر not only in the histories, but in coins and inscriptions.

Jahān on Aurangzeb for the coolness and daring he had displayed in standing his ground against a *mast* elephant at the age of fifteen. The matter has been discussed at some length in another note, as the adjunct occurs on almost all his coins of the Muḥīyu-d-dīn or non-couplet type.

MUḤAMMAD A'ẒAM.

He was born in 1064 A.H. and Muḥammad A'ẓam was his birth-name (Khāfī Khān, I, 728, l. 8). His full style and titles are not given in the chronicles which have been published, but it would appear from his coins that he adopted as his regnant designation the title 'A'ẓam Shāh' which had been given to him by Aurangzeb. Muḥammad Sāqī, the author of the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* says that this prince obtained in 1117 A.H., i.e. the fiftieth year of the reign of Aurangzeb—permission to adopt the *Kunyat* Abūl-Fayyāẓ (Text, p. 514, l. 8).

"As that Leader of the Righteous ones, Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf—may his honoured grave be hallowed—had been permitted [مجاز بودند] to attach the *Kunyat* Abūl-Fayyāẓ to his name, Shāh 'Ālī Jāh [i.e. A'ẓam Shāh] received kind and gracious instructions [مسترشد شدند] to adopt that *Kunyat* himself [باین کنیت مکنی باشند]. Text, p. 514, l. 8.

But this occurred before the death of Aurangzeb, and it does not follow that *Abūl Fayyāẓ* was adopted as the *official* patronymic when the prince set up a claim to the imperial throne It is possible that he retained it from some superstitious belief in its being fortunate or of good omen, but he may have also changed it for some other.

KĀM BAKHSH.

His birth name was Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh.

Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, 60, l. 8; *'Ālamgīrnāma*, 1031.

Khāfī Khān says, "he gave himself the لقب of *Dīn-panāh* in the khuṭba" [خود را در خطبه ملقب بدین پناه گردانیده] and he also quotes the couplet which was ordered to be stamped on his coins. (Text, II, 570, l. 4.)

It would appear from several other passages that Kām Bakhsh was generally spoken of as پادشاه دین پناه or حضرت دین پناه or as دین پناه only by his courtiers. (*Ibid.*, II, 610, five lines from foot; 611, eight lines from foot; 612, seven lines from foot; 613, four lines from foot; 614, two lines from foot.)

BAHĀDUR SHĀH, SHĀH 'ĀLAM I.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūn-Naṣr Quṭbu-d-dīn Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī

Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, Text, 68, l. 8.

Khāfī Khān gives the *laqab* as Quṭbu-d-dīn. (Text, II, 644, four lines from foot), but the *Kunyat* is not mentioned anywhere in his pages.

In the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*—of which the author states that he was eight years old when Bahādur Shāh marched against Kām Bakhsh (Text, Pt. i, 404, line 6), the full name is given thus:—

Abūn-Naṣr Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Mua'zzam Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh Pādishāh-i Ghāzī (p. 400, top line; see also Ib., p. 107, last line).

The compiler of the *Ḥadīqatu-l Aqālīm* gives the *Kunyat* as ابوالمظفر (Lakhnau lithograph, 127, l. 8). but he wrote after 1190 A.H. and his statement on such a subject is of very small value, especially when it is in conflict with that of the author of the *Maāṣir*—who had been for many years in the service of Aurangzeb, and was the Munshī or secretary of Ināyatu-llah Khān, Bahādur Shāh's Wazīr.

Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam's original or birth-name was 'Muḥammad Mu'azzam.' It was given to him by Shāh Jahān (*Bādishāhnāma*, Text, II, 343, l. 10 See also *Ibid.* II, 411, 626, 633).

The author of the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* explicitly says that Aurangzeb bestowed upon him the title of *Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur* on the 17th of Sha'bān, 1086 A.H. [XIX RY]. Text, 153, l. 4.

Khāfī Khān informs us that in the 43rd year of Aurangzeb's reign, "the title of 'Bahādur Shāh' was given to the Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, who had been [hitherto] called 'Shāh 'Ālam,' and he was sent to Akbarābād with full powers to chastise the rebels of that district"

پادشاه زاده محمد معظّم را كه مخاطب بشاه عالم بود به بهادر شاه ملقب ساخته براي بندوبست مسقرّ الخلافت اكبرآباد و تنبيهٔ مفسدان آن صلع باستقلال تمام مرخص ساختند *

Text II, 443, five lines from foot.

There is apparently, a discrepancy between this statement and that of the author of the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*. Khāfī Khān is not always accurate or reliable, but I understand him to mean that the title *now* bestowed was that of Bahādur *Shāh*.

He had been before called only Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur.[1] He was now permitted to add *Shāh* after ' Bahādur.'

ʿAẓIMU-SH-SHĀN.

According to the *ʿĀlamgīrnāma* he was named ' Sulṭān ʿAẓīmu-d dīn' by Aurangzeb who heard of his birth on 8 Jumādā II, 1075 A.H. Text, 874, ten lines from foot.

The *Maāṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī* gives his birth-name as ' Sulṭān Muḥammad ʿAẓīm' (Text, 123, l 14 and 153, l. 10), or 'Shāhzāda ʿAẓīmu-d-dīn,' *Ibid.*, 203, l. 14). Khāfī Khān has ' Muḥammad ʿAẓīm ' Text, II, 266, 332. 'Aẓīmu-sh-Shān Bahādur ' was the title bestowed upon him by his father Bahādur Shāh Shāh ʿĀlam I, (Khāfī Khān II, 599). The *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* calls him Muḥammad ʿAẓīmu-d-dīn (Pt. I, 108, l. 12), Manucci speaks of him as ' Sultan Azimuddin.' (Storia, Tr. Irvine, II, 304, 323).

JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH.

Full Style and Titles.

Nūru-d-dīn Fārūqī, the contemporary author of the *Jahāndārnāma* (composed between 1127 and 1132 A.H.) gives his full name as

Abūl Fath Muḥammad Muʿizzu-d-dīn Jahāndār Shāh (quoted by Irvine. Later Mughals, J A.S.B , 1896, p. 160). He is called 'Abūl Fath Muiʿzzu-d-dīn Jahāndār Shāh Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī ' in *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, I, 108, l. 7 and 417, l. 11. Aurangzeb gave him at birth the name of 'Sulṭān Muʿizzu-d-dīn.' '*Ālamgīrnāma*, 614, four lines from foot.

According to the *Maaṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī* the birth-name was Sulṭān Muḥammad Muʿizzu-d-dīn' p. 35 l. 7.

The title 'Jahāndār Shāh' was not, like ' Jahāngīr ' or ' ʿĀlamgīr,' a regnant designation assumed, for the first time, only on coming to the throne. It had been really bestowed upon him by his father, soon after the latter's accession. [1119 A.H.] " And Muḥammad Muʿizzu-d-dīn, the largest star of the Sultanate was entitled [سبقاطب] 'Jahāndār Shāh Bahādur,' and Muḥammad ʿAẓīm obtained the honorific desig-

[1] " The Kings of Dihli before Bābar styled themselves Sultans both before and after the downfall of the Khalifahs of Baghdād who by the whole Muhammadan world were looked upon as the fountain of all honours and titles. The princes had titles as Khān Khānān, Khān Jahān, Ulugh Khān, Ikit Khān, Bārbak, etc; * * with Bābar, the code was altered. He and his successors styled themselves Pādishāh, and the lower title of Sultan was given to the Princes, while the sons of princes were styled *Shāhzādah*. A few princes received for meritorious services the title of *Shāh*, as Khurram and Muhammad Muʿazzam." Blochmann in J.A.S.B , 1871, p. 116 note.

nation [لقب] of ''Aẓīmu-sh-shān Bahādur' and 'Rafī'u-l Qadr' got the appellation [خطاب] of 'Rafī'u-sh-shān Bahādur' and Khujista-Akhtar was named [لقب] 'Jahānshāh Bahādur' (Khāfī Khān, Text, 599, l. 6 .

FARRUKHSIYAR.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Muẓaffar M'uīnu-d-dīn Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar Pādishāh.

Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī of Mirzā Muḥammad Hārisī (composed *circa* 1163 A.H.) cited by Irvine, Later Mughals, in J.A.S.B. 1904, p. 356.

Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī. Bombay Lith. Pt. i, p. 108, l. 11 and p. 420, top line.

He is called 'M'uīnu-d-dīn Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar' in Beale's *Miftāhu-t-Tawārīkh*, p. 300 last line and Wārid's *Mirāt-i-Wāridāt* (MS.), 148*a*, *apud* Irvine, *Loc. cit* 356

Mr. Irvine says (*Ibid.*) that he is styled *Jalālu-d-dīn* Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar by the authors of the *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī* (p. 130) and the *Jām-i-Jam*, but the former was composed only about 1800 A.C. and the latter nearly forty years later (Elliot-Dowson, VIII. 316, 431). Their statements cannot be accepted in preference to those of the earlier contemporaneous authors who agree in giving the laqab as *M'uīnu-d-dīn.*

On the round seal of the Emperor reproduced in Mr Irvine's article from a Farmān dated 5 Rabī' I of the 4th year, his titles are thus emblazoned: "Abūl Muẓaffar *M'uīnu-d-dīn* Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar-i 'Aẓīmu sh-shān 'Ālim, Akbar-i Ṣānī, Wālā Shān." On the square seal, the words are somewhat differently arranged and the title *Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī* is added. (*Loc. cit.* 358–9.)

RAF'IU-D-DARAJĀT.

Full Style and Titles.

Shamsu-d-dīn Abūl Barakāt Raf'īu-d-darajāt. Khāfī Khān II, 816, l. 8.

Beale adds 'Muḥammad' after 'Shamsu-d-dīn.'

Miftāhu-t-Tawārīkh, 303.

The *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī* also gives the laqab as Shamsu-d-dīn. Manuscript, p. 84, l. 4.

Mirzā Muḥammad Hārisī calls him Abūl-barakāt Sulṭān Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad Raf'īu-d-darajāt Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī. *Taẓkira*, MS. p. 470, quoted by Irvine, J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra number, pp. 28, 41.

RAF'IU-D-DAULA.

The full style and titles of this Emperor are nowhere given.

Khāfi Khān merely says that he was given the لقب of *Shāh Jahān-i-Ṣānī* on his accession. Bibl Ind. Text, II, 831, ll 1, 6. So also the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, I, 109. Beale calls him *Shamsu-d-dīn* Raf'īu-d-daula, and adds that he was styled [معوسوم] *Shāh Jahān-i-Ṣanī* (*Miftāḥ*, 304, l 10), but Mr Irvine does not seem to have found any authority for the laqab 'Shamsu-d dīn' in any of the contemporary chronicles which were accessible to him. J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 54.

NIKŪSIYAR.

Of this claimant's style and titles nothing is known.

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Muẓaffar Nāṣiru-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī.

Khāfī Khān, I, 2, l. 9; II, 841. l. 3; 850, l 16; 903, l. 4; 927, l. 9; 933, l. 6 = ED. VII, 485.

Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī I, 108. l. 14;

It will be seen that both these authors assign to this emperor the *Kunyat* 'Abūl Muẓaffar,' but it is given as *Abūl Fatḥ* by several other writers, e g.

Tārīkh-i-Hindī of Rustam 'Alī (written 1154 A.H.) (1741–2 A.C.) *apud* Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 42.

Tārīkh-i-Manāzilu-l-Futūḥ of Muḥammad Ja'far Shāmlū, *apud Ibid*, VIII, 144.

Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, Manuscript. p. 85. ten lines from foot.

Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn, Trans. (Reprint). I, 146, note.

Miftāḥu-t-Tawārīkh, Kāhnpūr Lith. 305, l. 7.

The explanation of this discrepancy is to be found in Ghulām 'Alī Khān's *Muqaddama-i-Shāh 'Ālam Nāma.*' This chronicler states that " on the 3rd Jumādā II, 1134 A.H. (20 March, 1722 A.C.), the style was changed from *Abūl Fatḥ* to *Abūl Muẓaffar.*" (Quoted by Irvine, Later Mughals, J.A.S.B., 1904, p. 56 note). It is possible to cite the testimony of another writer in confirmation of the statement.

The author of the *Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn* also has explicitly recorded the alteration. We read: " On the next Sunday, being the third of the month Djemady the second, of the same year [1134 A.H.], the Nowroz or New Year's day was celebrated at Court with the usual ceremonies; and the Emperor's title which had been hitherto that of the *Master of*

Success [ابوالفتح] was now changed into that of the *Father of Victory* [ابو المظفر] and the *Succourer* of *Religion*" [ناصر الدين] Trans. I, 236–7.

It would appear that Khāfī Khān has noticed only the later title which was in vogue when he *completed* his work [1], and altogether ignored the earlier one.

The other writers would seem to have recorded only the *Kunyat* assumed at the accession and been ignorant of the subsequent alteration.

In an article in Num. Supp. XII, a *Dāru-s-Surūr-i-Burhānpūr* rupee of *Sanah-i-'Ahd*, but without any vestige of the Hijrī date was described by Mr. H. Nelson Wright The legend on the obverse was read as

سکهٔ مبارک بادشاه غازي فضل الدين ابو الفتح *

Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nāgpūr Museum, where the coin is lodged, was good enough to furnish me with a rubbing and a plaster-cast of this rare issue, and I venture to suggest that the correct reading of the *laqab* is ناصرالدين and that the rupee displays the style and titles assumed by Muḥammad Shāh immediately after his accession. As the coin was uttered in the first year (1131–32 A.H.), it very properly shows the earlier type of *Kunyat* ابو الفتح, which was altered only on the Nauroz festival in 1134 A.H. (20th March, 1722 A.C.).

I have, in my possession, an original Farmān of Muḥammad Shāh conferring the *Chaudharāi* of the Qaṣba of Navsāri in the Pārchol *pargana* of the Sarkār of Sūrat on Khūrshed the son of Ṭahmūr, Pārsi. It has a seal at the top, in the customary Mughal style, with the Emperor's name in a central circle and those of his ancestors up to Tamerlane (12 in number) in smaller circles round about. I reproduce the full style and titles of the Emperor just as they are engraved in the inner circle :—

۱۱۳۳ محمد جهان شاه بهادر

بادشاه غاز ابن ے

صاحب قران ثا

شـــــــــــــاه

ابو الفتح ناصر الدين سنه ۳

It will be seen that the date on the Seal is 1133 [A.H.], that the regnal year is the 3rd and that the *Kunyat* is *Abūl*

[1] This appears to have been done in the 14th year of the Emperor's reign. He mentions some events which occurred in that year, Text, I. 2 and II. 973.

Fatḥ. The substitution of 'Abūl-Muẓaffar' came several months later. This absolutely settles the matter. We have in this Farmān much better evidence than that of the author of the *Shāh 'Ālam Nāma,* who wrote only after 1788 A.C. (Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 393).

MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Fatḥ Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm.

Khāfī Khān, Text, II, 913, l. 13 = Elliot and Dowson, VII, 509.

Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī, Manuscript, p. 108, l. 3.

Siyaru l-Mutākhkhirīn, Trans. I, 186.

Mr. Irvine has the same. J.A.S.B., 1908, p. 567.

AḤMAD SHAH.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūn-naṣr Mujāhidu-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī.

Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī, I, 8, last line, 110, l. 10.

Beale inserts *Muḥammad* between *Mujāhidu-d-dīn* and *Abūn-Naṣr*; *Miftāḥ,* 327, l 12. This must be an error. The *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī* has *Abūn-Naṣr Mujāhidu-d dīn Aḥmad Shāh,* MS. p. 188, six lines from foot. The author of the *'Tārīkh Aḥmad Shāh'* says he took the title of *Mujāhidu-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh-i-Ghāzī* (quoted in Elliot and Dowson. VIII, 112).

Khāfī Khān says that his mother was a daughter of Farrukhsiyar, and that he was given at birth the name of 'Aḥmad *Shāh'* (Text, II, 973, l. 15 = Elliot and Dowson, VII, 531). As Khāfī Khān's chronicle does not extend beyond the 14th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, and as he does not seem to have been alive at the death of the latter, it may be safely said that 'Aḥmad Shāh' was not a new title or designation assumed only on coming to the throne. It was the name by which he had been known in the days of his princehood and which was retained without alteration as the Imperial title.

'ĀLAMGIR II.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl-'Adl 'Azīzu-d-dīn Muḥammad 'Ālamgīr-i-Ṣānī Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī.

Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr-i Ṣānī quoted in Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 141.

Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī, I, 14, l. 10; 110 last line.
Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh, 340 (*Abūl 'Adl* is left out).
The author of the *Shāh 'Ālam Nāma* calls him *Abūl 'Adl 'Azīzu-d-dīn 'Ālamgīr-i-Ṣānī*, Bibl. Ind. Text, p. 39, nine lines from foot.

He is called 'Azīzu-d-din Muḥammad' in the *Ḥadīqatu-l-Aqālīm*, p. 136.

On some couplet rupees struck at Muḥammadābād-Banāras in the first year of this Emperor, the *Kunyat* seems to be *A'zu-d-dīn*, and has been so deciphered by Mr. Nelson Wright as well as Mr. Whitehead (I.M.C., III, 2228; P.M.C., 2766.) This is most probably due to some error or misunderstanding on the part of the die-cutter. A'zu-d-dīn [اعزّالدين] was the name of this Emperor's elder brother. They were both sons of Mu'izzu-d-dīn (Jahāndār Shāh) and the names of both occur on the same page in the *Maāṣir i-'Ālamgīrī* (Text, 345, l. 8). A third son of Prince Mu'izzu-d-din called عزالدين is mentioned by the same writer in his chronicle of the 39th year (p. 365, five lines from foot). A'zu-d-dīn was the eldest, and his name occurs at least twice in Khāfī Khān's account of the reign of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I (Elliot and Dowson, VII, 392, 393) and twice in that of Jahāndār. (*Ibid.*, VII, 434, 436.) In the chronicle of Farrukhsiyar's reign, we are informed that "A'zu-d-din son of Jahāndār Shāh, after the flight of his father from the field of battle, hid himself in Agra, but he was discovered and taken," and that he and "two other princes, Humāyūn Bakht and Wālā Tabār were deprived of sight" (*Ibid.* VII, 448; Text, II, 740, l. 14. See also Blochmann, Proc. A.S.B., 1871, p. 126.) According to Mr. Irvine, Jahāndār Shāh had three sons:

(1) A'zu-d-dīn, who was born before 1103 A.H. blinded on 6th Muḥarram 1126 (?) A H. and died at Dehlī on 8 Zī-l-hajja, 1157 A.H.

(2) 'Izzu-d-dīn who was also alive in 1103 A.H. and died in confinement at Delhī on 8 Rab'ī II, 1151 A.H. and

(3) 'Azīzu-d-dīn who was born at Multān in 1099 A.H., his mother being Anūp Bāī. (Later Mughals, J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 209, citing the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* and other original authorities.)

There can be no doubt that the true *laqab* of 'Ālamgīr II was عزيزالدين and that the اعز الدين of the coins is an error.

SHĀH JAHAN III.

His full style and titles are nowhere given. All that is known is that he was called [ملقّب] Shāh Jahān.

His original name was 'Muḥīu-l-Millat,' and he was the son

of Muḥīu-s-Sunnat, son of Kām Bakhsh. '*Ibratnāma* of Faqīr Khairu-d-dīn Muḥammad in ED. VIII. 243.

Shāh 'Ālam Nāma, Bibl. Ind. Text, 95, five lines from foot.

The author of the *Chihār Gulshan* calls him *Muḥīu-d-dīn Shāh Jahān the Second*; Sarkār, 'India of Aurangzeb.' Introd. xv)

As this author completed the work in 1173 A.H., 1759 A.C., the very year in which Shāh Jahān was placed on the throne (E D. VIII, 255), he might be supposed to know what he was writing about. It is possible that the *laqab* 'Muḥīu-d-dīn' was actually chosen on account of its resemblance to his birth-name. But it is at least equally likely that the two names have been confounded by the writer—Rāi Chatar Mān Kāyath—who is not particularly remarkable for precision of statement, and whose work was available to the translator only in a single transcript crowded with errors.

Musalman authors never speak of this puppet as Shāh Jahān the *third* [ثالث]. They merely say that the لقب given to him was شاه جهان; *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* I, 111, l. 6; *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, 90, last line.

SHĀH 'ALAM II.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Muẓaffar Jalālu-d-dīn Shāh 'Ālam Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī. Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh, 343, l. 14.

In the *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī* (Manuscript, p. 286), he is called 'Abūl Muẓaffar Jalālu-d-dīn 'Ālī Gohar Shāh 'Ālam-i-Ṣānī Bādishāh.'

At a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held in January 1870, Blochmann exhibited a Sanad dated 5th Jumādā II. of the 26th year of Shāh 'Ālam II. The seal has the date 1173 A.H. سنه احد and the full name of the Emperor is there given as

Abūl Muẓaffar Jalālu-d-dīn Shāh 'Ālam Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī, Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, pp 6–9.

There are in existence some coins which do not bear the regnant title of Shāh 'Ālam, but his preaccession name. One described by Mr. Longworth Dames (Num. Chron. 1902, pp. 305–6) is of the 2nd year Another in the Panjāb Museum is of the 15th (P.M.C., 3164) On both these specimens, which I have elsewhere shown to have issued from the Peshwā's mint of Muḥīābād-Pūna (Num. Sup. XXXI, 365–8), the name is written علی گوهر This mode of spelling is not at all correct, and is due to Mahratta ignorance or carelessness. Misled by this, and perhaps also, by a fancied connection with the name

of the fourth Khalīf, many European writers who are by no means indifferent to or oblivious of the requirements of accurate transliteration have allowed themselves to reproduce it in various forms which are all incorrect Thus, Messrs Lane Poole and Rodgers have *'Alī Gaur* (B.M.C., xli; J.A.S B., 1885, p. 73); Mr. Keene writes *Ali Gohar*, (Fall of the Moghul Empire, Ed. 1887, p 40); Mr. Dames (Num. Chron., 1902, p. 305) and Mr Whitehead agree in making it *'Alī Gohar*.

I may be permitted to say that the name is really عالی گوهر or عالی گُهر, and it is always so written by the chroniclers.

Maāṣiru-l-Umarā, II, 717, l. 7; 845. l. 18, 851, l. 11; 855, l. 14; III, 922, l. 11.

Hadīqatu-l-Aqālīm, p. 117.

Tārīkh-i-Muzaffari (MS.) 270 ll. 17, 20.

Miftāhu-t-Tawārīkh, 343, l. 16; 344, ll 3, 6.

The translator of the *Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn* always calls him *'Aaly-Goher'* (Reprint 1902, II, 286) and says that the name signifies "gem of *high* value" (Ibid., II, 336 note). گوهر is also written گهر, in Persian. It means according to Steingass, "gem, jewel, race, stock, essence, quality, etc.," and عالی has the sense of 'high, sublime, eminent, excellent.' (Dictionary *s.v.*). The point would scarcely need elaboration but for an unfortunate consensus of error, and it may be permissible to point out that the accurate and learned Blochmann writes *Álī Guhar* (Genealogical Table of the House of Tīmūr (*Āīn*, Translation, *ad fin.*).

This article may fitly conclude with the citation of a Chronogram which was composed by a contemporary poet for symbolising in *Abjad* the date of the accession of this Emperor.

زهي شاه عالی گُهـــر عدل گستر
با و تاج و تخت و نگین شد مسلّم
برون آر سال جـــلوس همایون
ز سلطان هندوستـــان شاه عالم

Khazāna-i-'Āmira, 91, l. 4.

It will be noticed that the first line will not scan unless the name is read as عالی گُهر. The numerical value of the words سلطان هندوستان شاه عالم is 1173.

BIDĀR BAKHT.

Full Style and Titles.

Nothing is known of the full style and titles of this poor creature of Ghulām Qādir. All that can be said is that his

'*alam* was 'Muḥammad' (I.M.C., 2498–9). Beale says (*Miftāḥ*, 361, l. 8) that he was given the regnant title [موسوم به بیدار شاه ساخته] of Bīdār Shāh and also cites in support of his statement the Pretender's *Bait-i-sikka* which is as follows:—

حامي دين نبي بيدار شاه
سكه زد در هند از فضل الله

But no numismatic warrant for the distich has been yet discovered.

AKBAR II.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūn-Naṣr M'uīnu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh-i-Ṣānī.
Miftāḥu-t-Tawārīkh, 375, l. 21.
Blochmann, Genealogical Table of the House of Tīmūr in *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Trans. I, *ad fin.*

BAHĀDUR SHĀH II.

Full Style and Titles.

Abūl Muẓaffar Sirāju-d-dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh Pādishāh-i-Ghāzi.
Miftāḥu-t-Tawārīkh, 394, l. 14.
Blochmann, Genealogical Table, *Āīn*, Trans. I, *ad fin.*
Garcin de Tassy gives *Sirāju-d-dīn* Abū Ẓafar *Muḥammad* in '*Mémoire sur les Noms Propres et les titres Musulmans*' (Paris, 1854),[1] p. 16. Beale says that ابوالمظفر gives in 'Abjad' the date of his birth [تاريخ ميلاد اوست] i.e. 1189 (?). The 'Kunyat' is ابوظفر in his coin-couplet, *Miftāḥ*, 394, l. 21.

[1] The full name of this Emperor is given as

ابو ظفر سراج الدين محمّد بهادر شاه بادشاه غازى

by Sayyad Aḥmad Khān also, *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*. (Urdū), Ed. 1895 A.C. Part II, p. 22 last line. On the coins, however, the *Kunyat* is ابو المظفر and the م is unmistakably clear in the plates. (I.M.C. No. 2513; P.M.C., 3276.)

XXIII. COIN-COUPLETS.

The patience and ingenuity which have been brought to bear upon the decipherment of the couplets inscribed on the coins of the Mughal Emperors must command the admiration of all those who have any experience of the difficulty of piecing together legends of which only detached fragments are frequently visible on individual specimens. It is not perhaps generally known that several of the distichs which have cost so much time and labour to 'build up' are reproduced *verbatim et litteratim* in the Mughal histories.

It is possible to claim a very respectable degree of antiquity for the practice of covering with verses the surfaces of coins. Metrical legends are found on the monetary issues of the Byzantine or Lower Eastern Empire as early as the 11th century of the Christian Era—(Encyc. Brit. Eleventh edit. Art. Numismatics, XIX. 896). The earliest known example of a Persian coin-couplet occurs on some heavy copper pieces of the Gujarāt Sulṭān, Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh (846-855 A.H.) I.M.C II, p. 227, No. 9; Taylor. Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, Bom. Br. R.A.S. Journal, 1903, p. 328). A poetical invocation addressed in Arabic to 'Alī, attracts attention on a coin issued in 928 A.H. by the zealous Shī'a, Shāh Ism'aīl Ṣafavī I. (R. S. Poole, Coins of the Shāhs of Persia in the British Museum, No. 15; Codrington, Musalmān Numismatics, p. 95). The only published coin of Ism'aīl II (984 A.H.) displays on the Reverse a [illegible] which M. Soret who first published it was unable to decipher. But Mr. R. S. Poole had the good luck to find the inscription written out as a distich in the *Tārīkh-i-'Ālam-ārāi-'Abbāsī*. It is

زعشرق تابمغرب گر امام است

علی و آل او مارا تمام است

'If an Imām there be between the east and west,
'Alī along with 'Alī's house for us is best.'

(R. S. Poole, *op. cit.* Introd. lxxvi–ii. See also Oliver, Coins of the Safawī Dynasty of Persia, J.A.S.B., 1887, p. 67 and note; pl. II. No. 13).[1]

[1] Some copper coins exhibiting dates ranging from 934 to 940 A.H. have a couplet on them, the credit of first deciphering which belongs, to my knowledge, to Mr. Nelson Wright. They have been fully described by the late Dr. Taylor in Num. Supp. XXXIII, art. 200. Their attribution is not certain, but they must have been first uttered either by Bābur or Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. I have myself about two dozen of them in three sizes.

It is not at all improbable that Akbar borrowed the idea of having verses on the coins, like several other of his notions, from Persia, and students of his mintages will perhaps be struck by the verbal resemblance between the above distich and the lines composed by Sharīf Sarmadī in 991 A.H.—only seven years later-for the earliest issues of the newly-opened mint of Ilahābād.[1]

Badāonī writes: "At that time [991 A.H. XXIXth R.Y.], A'zam Khān came in haste from Ḥājīpūr to Ilāhābād and did homage * * * And the Amīrs laid in that city the foundations of a great building, and it was determined that thenceforth that place should be the capital. And they struck a new coinage [و سکّه نو زدند] and Sharīf Sarmadī * * * wrote this verse for the coin: [سجع سکّه این بیت یافت].

'Ever may it current be, like the gold of sun and moon,
From east to west of the world, the coinage of Ilāhābād

[همیشه چون زر خورشید و ماه رایج باد
بشرق و غرب جهـــان سکّهٔ الٰه آباد]

(Lowe II, 345; Text II, 335-6: The second line is not correctly given).

The words used by the historian [سکّه نو زدند] may be perhaps taken to imply that some sort of innovation was introduced in the form or style of the coin, and the novelty may be fairly supposed to consist in the substitution of the سجع or metrical legend for the customary superscription in prose. It should be also noticed that the author explicitly puts the issue of this type of money into the 29th year of Akbar's reign [2] The earliest *dated Rupees* of the Ilahābād mint are of the 40th. (I.M.C III, xxviii). Now Badāonī is known to have died in that very year,[3] and if the first issue of these couplet-rupees had been

[1] Sharīf was a Sayyad of Nishāpūr, and his mother is said, by the author of the *Maāṣir-i Raḥīmī*, to have been the sister of Amīr Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time assay-master under Shāh Ṭahmāsp. He died in 1002 A.H. Blochmann, *Āīn*. Tr. I, 591.

[2] Badaonī puts this event (the foundation of Ilahābād etc.) into the 29th year and before Ẕī-l-ḥajja: 91 A.H. But his chronology is not always correct or even absolutely consistent. He has, as a rule, followed Niẓāmu-d-dīn, but in attempting to rectify the errors of his predecessor, has fallen into new ones of his own. It is clear from Abūl Faẓl's *Akbarnāma* that it was the 28th Ilāhī year which began on 28th Ṣafar 991 A.H. and that the 29th commenced only on 8 Rabī' I, 992 A.H. (Elliot and Dowson V. 246; Cunningham, Indian Eras, p. 225). Abūl Faẓl says that the foundations of the city were 'laid in an auspicious hour' on 1st Āẕar of the 28th year. (A.N., Trans. I, 617).

[3] Dowson says that A.H. 1024 (1615 A.C.) is given as the year of his

such a recent event, it is not easy to conceive how he could have made the mistake of ante-dating them by ten or eleven years. It is not improbable that the oldest or first type of this Ilahābād rupee bore no date at all, and that it is exemplified by B.M.C. 254 and 254*a*.[1]

Several verse-mottoes were also composed by Faiẓī the poet-laureate, for the 100 muhr, 50 muhr and 25 muhr gold-pieces struck by the Emperor's orders. They are quoted in Abūl Faẓl's *Āīn*, (Blochmann's Trans. I, 28–9). and will be found transcribed in the chapter on the 'Gigantic Coins.'

Reference may be made to the same paper for the passage in which Jahāngīr informs us that the following verses composed by Āṣaf Khān were stamped on the 100, 50, 20 and 10 tola muhrs for the striking of which he gave orders soon after his accession.

بخط نور بر زر کلک ثقه دبیر
رقم زد شاه نور الدین جهانگیر
شد چو خورزین سکه نوراني جهان
افتاب مملکت تاریخ آن

(*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Text, 5, l. 18; Trans. I, 11).

The distich inscribed on the *Nūrjahānī* or 'one tola muhr' was the product of the Amīru-l-umarā's poetical genius and is also cited by the Imperial autobiographer. It is the well-known ساخت نوراني couplet of the coins.

روی زر را ساخت نوارني برنگ مهرو ماه
شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

Ibid. Text, 5, l. 24; Trans. I. 11.

We are also informed that the silver tankas or *double-rupees* struck during Jahāngīr's visit to Cambay in the twelfth year

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death by the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* (E.D. V. 478). But Ghulam 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī declares, on the authority of the writer of the *Ṣumrātu-l quds*, who was a pupil of Badāonī—that the latter died in 1004 A.H. (*Khazānā-i-'Āmira*, Kāhnpūr Lith. 1900 A.C., p. 324, l. 1). This receives confirmation from several other sources. (Blochmann, J.A.S.B., 1869, pp. 142–3. See also Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, Ed Keene, p. 4.)

[1] In this connection, it may be worth while inviting attention to the fact that we find the Ilahābād mint issuing coins of a really novel type in the 31st year of the reign. The inscription on the obverse مهر الها باس is most unusual, and does not, to my knowledge, recur on any other copper coins of the Mughal series. The word مهر has been understood in the literal sense of 'stamp'—hence 'stamped money of any denomination or value.' The type seems to have been discontinued after the 33d year. (B.M.C., 273*a*. I.M C. III, 367–8).

(1027 A.H.) bore the following metrical legends on obverse and reverse :

بزر این سکّه زد شاه جهانگیـــر ظفـــر پرتو
پس از فتح دکن آمد چو در گجرات از ماندو

(*Ibid* Text, 207, ll. 9–11 ; Trans, 1, 418). The subject is more fully treated in another chapter.

The distich inscribed on the obverse and reverse of some undated rupees of *Burhānpūr* is quoted by the compiler of the *Mukhtaṣar-i·Siyar-i Gulshan-i-Hind.* I give it below as it derives added interest from the fact that the poet has chosen to give to the bibulous emperor the epithet of دین پناه which was afterwards assumed as his official *laqab* by Kām Bakhsh

سکّه زد در شهر برهان پور شاه دین پناه
شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

(*Op cit.* 67 *quoted by* Rodgers, J.A.S.B., 1888, p. 24).

I have also found another familiar distich or 'Bait' in the so-called *Tārīkh-i-Salīm Shāhī* or *Jahāngīrnāma*—an unauthentic recension of the Emperor's 'Memoirs' which was first given to the world, so long ago as 1832 in an English version, by David Price. "I ordained," Jahāngīr is here made to say in the very beginning of the Autobiography, "that the following legend should be stamped on the coinage of the empire ; 'Stricken at Agrah by that Khossrou, the safeguard of the world ; the Sovereign splendour of the faith, Jahangueir, son of the Imperial Akbar," (Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir, written by Himself. Trans. Major D. Price, Calcutta Reprint. 1918, p 2).

Its huge and preposterous exaggerations, want of chronological sequence and other defects have justly caused this work to be looked upon with grave suspicion, and Sir Henry Elliot was inclined to regard it as spurious and altogether unworthy of credit. But it is an undoubtedly contemporary compilation and there is a copy of it in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society which *purports* to have been written in 1040 A.H.—only three years after Jahāngīr's death. (Elliot and Dowson VI, 253). The historian Khāfī Khān was acquainted with it and has cited at length two of its most marvellous and incredible tales (Text, I, 308–313). It also contains many minor details and much "matter which the other version shows to have been characteristic of Jahāngīr" (E.D. VI, 255). The original text has not yet been published but it is clear that its compiler, whoever he was, had an Āgra coin bearing the خسرو گیتي پناه couplet before his eyes when writing

The author of the *Iqbālnāma* informs us that coins were

struck in the name of Nūr Jahān and that the legend on the coins (نقش سکّه) was as follows :—

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور

بنام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر

(Bibl. Ind. Text, 56, two lines from foot).

The writer adds that the style or formula at the top of the *farmāns issued by* Nūr Jahān herself was :

حکم علیه عالیهٔ مهد علیا نور جهان بادشاه بیگم *

Ibid. 57 = Elliot and Dowson, VI, 405.[1]

The Nūr Jahān couplet is also given by Khāfī Khān, I, 268, five lines from foot and in Beale's *Miftāḥu-i-tawārīkh*, Kāhnpūr Lith. 1284 Hijri, p. 214.

These coins are among the most interesting in the Mughal series and it may be therefore worth while to draw attention to an explicit statement, fixing the date of their withdrawal from circulation, which is buried in the correspondence of the East India Company. In a letter addressed to the President and Council of Sūrat by the Factors at Āgra on 17th February, 1628, we read: "All rup[ees] of Noor Jehann Beagams stampe are called in and not to bee uttered." English Factories in India, 1624–1629, p. 241. As Shāh Jahān formally ascended the throne on the 14th of February, 1628, N.S., he would appear to have lost no time in issuing the order.

It may be permissible to say a few words in connection

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[1] In Dowson's rendering of this passage we read: "On all *farmāns* also, receiving the Imperial signature, the name of Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam was jointly attached." This is incorrect, and the author's meaning has been misunderstood. I have seen originals or copies of several Farmāns of this Emperor and not one of them bears any such superscription. The words, طغراي فرامين چنين نقش بست merely mean that the inscription written in the *Ṭughrā* character at the head of *Nūr Jahān's own farmāns* or letters contained these words. The reading of the words is given because the *Ṭughrā* character is exceedingly difficult to decipher, and very few can write or read it well. *Vide* Richardson's Persian Dictionary, *s.v.* طغرا

In this connection, it might be worth while citing the exactly parallel case of the all-powerful mother of Sulṭān ʿAlāu-d-dīn Takash—Turkān Khātūn. Her name and titles were, like Nūr Jahan's, permitted to appear on coins and specimens of these issues are extant. Thomas, J.R.A.S. 1879, p. 26.

"Turcan-Khatoune," writes the historian of the Mongols, "mère de Sultan * * était à la tête du parti formé par les généraux de sa nation, et donée d'un grand caractère, elle exerçait un pouvoir égal à celui de son fils. * * * Son monogramme (Tougra) qu'elle écrivait de sa main sur ses Ordonnances, se composait de ces mots : *Protectrice du monde et de la foi, Turkan reine des femmes de l'univers*; et sa devise était : *Dieu seul est mon refuge.* Elle prenait le titre de *Khoudavend Djihan*, ou de souveraine du monde." D'Ohsson, Histoire des Mongols, I. 198.

with the title 'Pādishāh or Bīdishāh Begam.' Marsden declares that it means '*Imperatris consors*,' Blochmann opines that we should translate it by 'Imperatrix, Queen Begam.' (Proceedings A S.B., 1869, p. 255). Dowson's rendering is 'Queen Begam' and Mr Whitehead adopts the simple English word 'Empress.' All these equivalents are more or less deficient in accuracy. They are liable to obscure the true significance of this honorific title and even calculated to convey a false impression as to the real position of the person who bore it. The 'Pādishāh Begam' was not necessarily *Imperatris consors* nor *imperatrix* nor Empress.

The title did not imply that the lady was the wife either of the reigning or of a deceased emperor. There is excellent authority for saying that it was borne by Shāh Jahān's eldest daughter, the Princes Jahānārā, and Khāfī Khān gives her the appellation at least twice in his chronicle.[1] (Text, II. 77, l. 19 and 110, l. 13). We also know that Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I, conferred it on Zebu-n-nisā, his own half-sister and the full-sister of A'ẓam Shāh. (Khāfī Khān, Text, II, 30, l. 3; 600, l. 10; 735, two lines from foot and 736, l. 1)

The 'Pādishāh Begam' was really the First lady of the Court or Empire, the individual who, in the feminine world, took precedence of all other women, as the Emperor did, of all other men. The widowed mother or elder sister or aunt often occupies in an oriental household a position far superior to that of the wife. It is clear from the *Humāyūn Nāma* of the Princess Gulbadan that the most honoured lady in Bābur's family was not his favourite wife, Māham, but his widowed elder sister, Khānzāda Begam, and that she continued to rule the household even in the reign of his son. (Trans. 103, 106, 117, 125, etc.)

Akbar's mother, *Miriam Makānī*, appears to have had greater influence than any of his wives, and the reverential manner in which Jahāngīr invariably speaks of his own mother, *Miriam Zamānī* leaves little doubt that so long as she was alive, she was the first lady in his realm. (*Tūzuk*. Trans. I, 76, 78, 81, 145, 230; II, 68, 261).

We do not know when the title 'Pādishāh Begam, was bestowed on Mihru-n-nisā. She was styled Nūr Jahān only in the 11th year, and the conjecture may be offered that it was only after the death of the Emperor's mother that the honour was conferred upon her. Now Miriam Zamānī died at Āgra in Rajab 1032 A.H. and Jahāngīr heard of the event in his camp at Ajmer on the 19th of that month (9th Khurdād, XVIIIth R.Y.). *Tūzuk*, Tr. II, 261. *Iqbālnāma*, Text, 205, l. 8. It

[1] Manucci says Aurangzeb conferred on her "the title 'Pacha Begam' that is Empress of Princesses." Irvine, Storia, II, 127.

Tavernier also states that Aurangzeb commanded that she should "bear the title of Princess Queen." [*Cha-Begam*]. Travels. Tr. Ball., I, 376; Eng. Trans. of J.P. 1678, Part II, Bk. II, 121.

may be a mere coincidence, but it is not unworthy of note that the earliest coins bearing the couplet with the title is a Sūrat Rupee of 1033–19 (B.M C. No. 514).

The distich which continued to appear on Aurangzeb's mintages in gold and silver for nearly half a century is given (with بدر in the first line), by the author of the *'Ālamgīrnāma* (*Bibl. Ind.* Text, 367, l. 3) and is also in the *Maaṣir-i-Ālamgīrī*. The latter adds that the *Bait* was composed by Mīr 'Abdu-l-Bāqī whose pen-name [تخلّص] was Ṣahbāī and that it greatly pleased the Emperor [بغایت پسند طبع اقدس آمد] (Text, 23, l. 10). Khāfī Khān also quotes the lines, but he has مهر in the first hemistich and expressly says that بدر was stamped in its stead on the Rupee [و در روپیه بجای مهر بدر مسکوک ساختند]. Bibl. Ind. Text, II. 77, l. 10. See also Elliot and Dowson, VII, 241.

These well-known verses appear to have struck the fancy and fixed themselves in the memory of at least two European sojourners in this country, the English physician Fryer and the Venetian adventurer Manucci. Their versions of the legend are worth reproducing as curiosities, if not monstrosities, of transliteration. Fryer or perhaps his printer is responsible for the following:—

Dergs hau sic casud chubadera monier,
Paudshaw Aureng-zeeb Allum Geir.

He says that "it was the Inscription on his *Rupees* in Persian characters." New Account of East-India and Persia, Ed. 1698, p 113.

Manucci also states that Aurangzeb "caused coins to be struck in his own name" at Dehlī, "on which were shown these words.

Seca zad der Jahan chuni badre munir.
Xaa Orangzeb Alamguer.

* * * that is to say, 'struck coin in the world as clear as the sun and moon, I, King Aurangzeb, conqueror of the world." Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, 339.

It will be observed that both these writers have بدر in the first half of their representation of the couplet.

The distich is also given in the *Ḥadīqatu-l-Aqālīm*, Lakhnau Lith p. 111, and Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 266.

Khāfī Khān informs us that A'ẓam Shāh ascended the throne on the 10th of Ẕī-l-ḥajja 1118 A.H. and "made this coin-legend resound throughout the Dekkan" [بدین سکه دکن را پر آوازه ساخت]. He then gives the words of the distich which are

سکّه زد در جهان بدولت و جاه پادشاه ممالک اعظم شاه

† Text, II, 571, five lines from foot.

Manucci also has reproduced the lines in a way and added some details which would be of great value if they were not demonstrably incorrect.

"On March 15 [1707]," he writes, 'A'ẓam Tārā decided to take his seat on the throne. * * * He ordered new money to be coined, one-twelfth part larger than the pieces current, and of the small change he ordered two coins to be made into one. Thus nowadays one rupee is worth thirty-two pieces of copper. Upon the new coin were impressed the words:—

Secadzad der Juan badablout iaè
Patxa mamalek Azamxa."

'Storia do Mogor,' Tr. Irvine, IV, 398–9.

Manucci sat down to compose his 'Memoirs' when he was past sixty (*op. cit.* Introd. lxxiv). He was at Madras himself in 1707. He wrote from hearsay and it seems to me that he has jumbled up things and ascribed to the younger brother what was really done by the elder. (See my note on 'Some Heavy Rupees of Bāhadur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I.' Num. Supp. XXVIII. Art. 176). But even then, the increment of six or seven grains could be hardly said to represent the 'twelfth part' of 178 grains, which was the theoretical or issue-weight of the Mughal rupee.

The Memoirs of this Italian picaroon-footman, gunner, quack, money-lender and diplomatic agent—contain much that is interesting and amusing, but they are also crowded with errors, misrepresentations and misconceptions of all degrees of magnitude and grossness. Coins of A'ẓam are very rare, but the extant specimens in gold as well as silver are of normal weight and do not bear out the assertion of the Venetian. No copper coins of this claimant have been found.

Rodgers says that he was able to "build up" the metrical legend on the rupees and muhrs of Kām Bakhsh only after minutely comparing two coins of his own with one referred to by Mr. Delmerick and illustrated in the Proceedings of the A.S.B., for May, 1884. (J.A.S.B., 1888, p. 28.) He would have found the *ipsissima verba* of the couplet correctly transcribed and ready to his hand, if he had gone to the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān where it is thus given:—

در دکن زد سکه بر خورشید و ماه پادشاه کام بخـــش دین پناه

(Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 570, l. 6.)

When Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I finally determined the form of his own *Khuṭba* and *Sikka* after defeating A'ẓam Shāh at Jājau Sarāī, "Orders were given that in the coinage of rupees and *Ashrafīs* no verse should be used, but that the name [اسم] 'Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh' and the name of the (mint) city should be impressed in prose." (Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, trans. in Elliot and Dowson, VII, 404, Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 603, l. 13.)

It would seem that. in this matter, as in several others, Bahādur had, like the Roman Emperor of old, made up his mind to "avoid in all things the example" of his father. All his father's issues of the normal type had displyed a ﷺ or verse-motto for fifty years. He would, for that very reason, have none of the jingle of which a facetious parody attributed to Shāh 'Abbās II, of Persia, was on everybody's lips.

Manucci's account of the insults heaped by the Shāh on Aurangzeb's ambassador is too long to quote, but the parody itself will bear citation. He gives it thus:—

Seca zad bacurs penir,
Orangzeb beradercox padergir.

which Mr. Irvine thus translates:—

'Struck coin upon a round of cheese.
Aurangzeb, brother-slayer, father-seizer.'

Storia do Mogor, II, 131.

The verses are also given (incorrectly) in the *Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn*, Calc. Repr. IV, 196, Translator's Note.

We have seen Khāfī Khān stating that Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I. expressly prohibited the use of verse legends and yet couplet-coins of this Emperor, from at least four mints, Akbarābād, Tatta, Murshidābād, and Multān are known. (P.M.C. Nos. 2015, 2037, 2091 and J.A.S.B. 1912, p. 437.) They are all of the first year [ﷺ] and we are naturally led to ask, why this is so. The answer is that the order spoken of was issued only after Bahādur's chances of securing the throne were assured by the defeat of his rival A'ẓam at Jājau Sarāi on the 18th of Rab'ī I, 1119. We are told that the Emperor's Farmān on the subject of the 'khuṭba' and the 'sikka' reached Aḥmadābād only some time after 9th Rajab 1119 A.H. (*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, Bombay Lith. 1, 402, l 4). At any rate, coins must have been issued in his name immediately after his accession on the 30th of Muḥarram 1119 A.H. in all those cities of which the governors happened to be his old adherents or recent partisans. The Ṣūbas of Tatta, Multān and Bengal were, at the death of Aurangzeb, under the government of three sons of Bahādur, the princes Mu'izzu-d-dīn, A'zu-d-dīn and 'Aẓīmu-sh-Shān (ED. VII, 392, 393), who might be safely supposed to have lost no time in uttering coins bearing the name of their parent. As for Akbarābād, Khāfī Khān informs us that though the commandant of the fort, Bāqī Khān, outwardly assumed an attitude of neutrality, and even wrote a very humble letter to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, his personal predilections were in favour of Shāh 'Ālam, as he considered the latter's chances of being the first to reach Āgra a great deal the best. (*Ibid.*, VII, 392–3.)

But all these partisans were at some disadvantage in not having been provided with a coin-formula possessing the Imperial sanction. They were all familiar with the different names borne by the eldest prince, but no one could tell which of them would be retained and which rejected by him in his new position. The authorities at Akbarābād appear to have plumped for *'Ālamgīr-i-Sānī*, *Ṣāḥib qirānī*, and vetoed the familiar birth-name *Mu'azzam*. The prince-governor of Tatta thought the odds were most in favour of *Mu'azzam* and *Shāh Jahān-i-Ṣānī*. The mint-master of Murshidābād took three out of these four magniloquent epithets and contrived to pack them all together in one and the same distich. His Highness A'zu-d-din of Multān took a line of his own. He put Shāh 'Ālam in the foreground and thought his father would most easily win public favour by styling himself *Ḥāmī-i-dīn*, 'Defender of the Faith.' Briefly, every one was obliged to exercise and give free play to his own invention, and as all the issues of the last half-century had made a legend in rhyme so familiar to the popular imagination as to make it indispensable, the 'local poets' were everywhere appealed to for 'something suitable.' The results may be seen in these unauthorized issues of the *Sana-i-Ahd*.

Jahāndār Shāh, in his turn, reversed the decree of his father banishing 'poetry' from the mints He restored the سجع and one of the couplets found on his coins is correctly given by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* in the following form :—

در آفاق زد سکه چون مهر و ماه ابو الفتح غازي جهاندار شاه

(Bombay Lithograph, 1306 A.H., Pt. I, p. 417, ll. 1-2.)

The author of the *Hadīqatu-l-Aqālīm* (written about 1190 A.H., vide Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 180) says that the following distich was inscribed on the coins of that emperor, and this *alleged* couplet is also cited in Beale's *Miftāhu-t-tawārīkh*.

(Kāhnpūr Lithograph, 1867 A.C., p. 299, l. 13.)

بزد سکه در ملک چون مهر و ماه شهنشاه غازي جهاندار شاه

Hadīqatu-l-Aqālīm, Lakhnau Lithograph, p. 131, l. 12.

The author of the *Mukhtaṣar-i-Siyar-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* also gives this distich with نقره instead of در ملک in the first line. (Rodgers, *loc. cit.* p 28.) It is not unlikely that the last two writers have transcribed the 'bait' from the first without any attempt at verification, but it is also not impossible that the lines quoted in the *Ḥadīqat* represent a variant form, of which examples may be hereafter found.

The بیت سکه of Farrukhsiyar

سکّه زد از فضل حق بر سیم وزر پادشاه بحر و بر فرخ سیر

is correctly quoted in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*. (Bomb. Lith. Pt. I. 422, ll. 6–7; *Ḥadīqatu-l-Aqālīm*, Lakhnau Lith. 133, l. 6;

and Beale, *Miftāḥu-t-Tawārīkh*, Kāhnpūr Lith. 1867, p. 301, l. 9.)

The following parody of these lines is quoted by Mr. Irvine: (Later Mughals, J A.S.B., 1904, p. 357.)

سکه زد بر گندم و موتهه و مټر پادشاه دانه کش فرخ سیر

"Struck coin on wheat and lentils and peas,
The grain-gathering Emperor, Farrukhsiyar."

The authorship of these lines has been ascribed to Mirzā Ja'far Zaṭalī of Nārnol and he is said to have been condemned to death for perpetrating them (Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, Ed. Keene, p. 189).

The contemporary author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* has left it on record that the coins of the fainéant Raf'īu-d-darajāt bore this couplet.

زد سکه بهند تا هزاران برکات شاهنشه بحر و بر رفیع الدرجات

Manuscript in the Library of the Archaeological Society of Junāgadh, page 419.

The verse is also in Beale, *Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh*, Kāhnpūr Lith, p. 304, top line.[1]

Mr. Irvine writes: "On the second day of the reign, Quṭb-u-l-Mulk called on Fatḥ Khan Fāẓil to provide a couplet which should allow of a different word for gold coins (*ashrafī*) and silver coins (rupees), as was the case with 'Ālamgīr's coinage. The poet on the spur of the moment produced the following lines:—

Sikkah zad Shāh Raf'iud-darajāt
Mihr mānind ba Yamīn-o-barakāt.
'The Emperor Raf'īud darajāt struck coin
Sun-like with power and felicity.'[2]

On the rupee, the word *badr* (moon) was substituted for *mihr* (Sun). It is not known whether these lines were ever actually brought into use, as we have no coin on which they appear."

(Later Mughals, J.A.S.B. 1904, p. 41, citing Kāmwar Khān, (MS.), 197, and Mirzā Muḥammad, Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī, MS., 470).

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[1] The British Museum possesses a Mu'aẓẓamābād muhr (Catalogue No. 937*a*) with a variant form which "has not been satisfactorily deciphered." I beg to suggest that it has نصر instead of بهند

[2] The second line is, I venture to say, not correctly given. It seems to me that we should read يُمن *Yumn* instead of *Yamīn*, and substitute 'prosperity' for 'power' in the translation. The fact is that the poet is punning on the name of the Emperor. The synonym of برکات is not يمين but يُمن.

Students of Mughal coins know from Dowson's condensed translation of Khāfī Khān that "Coins of gold and silver were struck in the name of Nikūsīyar, (E.D. VII, 482), but they do not seem to be aware that the couplet itself in its entirety and 'full resonant beauty,' is to be found in the original. No coins of the claimant have been discovered, but they may turn up yet, and then only will it be possible to say if the following is genuine.

بزر زد سکـــهٔ صاحب قرانی [1] شه نیکـــو سیر تیمور ثانی

Bibl. Ind. Text, II, 825, l. 7.

"On gold struck he coin like the Ṣāḥibqirān,
Nikūsīyar, the Emperor, Tīmur the Second."

But the existence of this probably genuine distich of the claimant in the pages of the contemporary chronicler does not seem to have been known, and Rodgers ascribed to that puppet the very different *Bait* which arrests attention on some muhrs and rupees minted at Sūrat, A'ẓamnagar and Bhakkar (?) in 1131 A.H. This conjectural attribution was more or less passively acquiesced in by numismatists, until the late Mr. Irvine pointed out that this metrical legend was, in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, definitely stated to have been stamped on the coins issued by the mint-masters in Gujrāt immediately after the receipt of the news of Muḥammad Shāh's accession. As the latter portion of this provincial history has not yet been published and the original text of this important passage was not cited by Mr. Irvine, I give it below from a fairly correct manuscript in the Library of the Archaeological Society of Junāgadh. After saying that Nāhir Khān, the Diwān of the province, received from the Vazīr a *Hasbu-l-ḥukm* or order announcing the accession of Muḥammad Raushan Akhtar and his assumption of the *laqab* Muḥammad Shāh, he says:—

پس از ورود احکام مهر علیخان نایب صوبه و روح الله خان نایب دیوان و ارباب تحریر و نقد هاي پادشاهي منادي باسم مبارک بلند آوازه گردانیدند صغیر و کبیر و بر نا و پیر از جلوس ابد قرین مخبّر ساختند و خطیب بخواندن خطبهٔ ' طیبه بالقاب همایون رطب اللسان و عذب البیان گشته پایهٔ منبر را مرتبهٔ بر تری داد و مهر طلا و نقره بنقش سکه مبارک بهای و رتبه بی اندازه بهم رسانیده اعتبار رواج افزود چندی در آغاز جلوس این بیت مسکوک گست ' *

[1] This phrase سکهٔ صاحب قرانی which occurs for the first time in the Mughal series on the couplet rupees of Bahādur Shāh (P.M.C. Nos. 1996, 2015 and 2091), and hereafter becomes vastly more common (P.M.C. Nos. 2748, 2766, 2839, 2861, 2890-1, 3050, etc.) appears much earlier on the coins of Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia (R.S. Poole, Coins of the Shāhs of Persia, No. 3646; Codrington, Musalmān Numismatics, 96).

سکه زد در جهان ز لطف الله بادشاه زمان محمد شاه
من بعد سکّه مبارک محمد شاه بادشاه غازي قرار یافت *

(MS. p. 426, l. 1.)

"After the arrival of these orders, Mihr 'Alī Khān the Nāib-Ṣūba and Ruḥallah Khān, the Nāib-Diwān and the members of the Secretariat (or Clerical department) and [other] imperial servants had the auspicious name [of the Emperor] loudly proclaimed, and informed the small and the great, the young and the old of the never-ending enthronement. The Khaṭīb waxed eloquent and fluent while reciting the august titles in an elegant Khuṭba and the dignity of the pulpit was thereby still more exalted. Gold and silver coins acquired greater value and esteem and circulated and passed more freely on account of being inscribed with the auspicious coin-legend [سکّهٔ مبارک]. And for some time after the commencement of the reign, the following couplet was stamped on the coins:—

'Struck coin in the world by Heaven's Grace,
Muḥammad Shāh the Lord of the Age.'

Afterwards, it was resolved that the legend was to be *Sikka i-Mubārak-i-Muḥammad Shāh Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī*."

We may take it then for certain that the 'Bait' which figures on the first-year issues of Sūrat and A'zamnagar—is Muḥammad Shāh's, and our grateful acknowledgments are due to the author of the *Mirāt* for having not thought it below the dignity of History to record this minor detail.

Two out of the three couplets which have been noticed on the coins of 'Ālamgīr II are correctly transcribed in the *Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh* and the *Mukhtaṣar-i-Siyar-i-Gulshan-i-Hind*. The compiler of the former tells us that the بیت سکه of this Emperor was—

بزر زد سکهٔ صاحب قراني عزیز الدین عالمگیر ثانی

Op. cit. 341, l. 2.

The author of the latter has left it on record that the Shāhjahānābād rupees of the first year of this Emperor were stamped with the distich.

سکه زد بر هفت کشور همچو تابان مهر و ماه
شاه عزیز الدین عالمگیر غازي بادشاه

(Rodgers, J.A.S.B. 1888, p. 31.)

That enthusiastic and untiring coin-hunter had not come across, when he wrote, any numismatic proof of his author's veracity, but the Panjāb Museum has since acquired four silver issues of the Shāhjahānābād mint which are all of the

4th regnal year, 1170 A.H. (P.M.C. Nos. 2790–93), and on which these magniloquent lines are inscribed. I have recently received from Lieut.-Col. Nevill rubbings of two puzzling coins, the attribution of which to this Emperor is fixed by the presence of the words مهرو ماه and عزيز الدين, although the date is 1181 A.H.![1]

The well-known couplet of Shāh 'Ālam II's coins—

سکه زد بر هفت کشور سایهٔ فضل الله حامی دین محمّد شاه عالم بادشاه

is given in the *Miftāḥ* (p. 361, eleven lines from foot). The translator of the *Siyaru-l-Mutākhkhirīn* also cites it and adds that "these verses were made extempore by Mir Mehdi-qhan—a Persian Secretary of his acquaintance." (Reprint, 1902, II, 336 note.) This couplet, as well as the later variant, in which the first hemistich is—

سکهٔ صاحب قرانی زد ز تائید الله *

is quoted by the conscientious compiler of the *Mukhtaṣar-i-Siyar-i-Gulshan-i-Hind*. (Rodgers, *loc. cit.*, 31.)

Beale says that Ghulām Qādir ordered to be struck in the name of Bīdār Shāh coins on which the following lines were inscribed :—

سکّه زد در هند از فضل الله حامی دین نبی بیدار شاه

Miftāḥ, 361, l. 10.

Rodgers informs us that the following couplet is said by the author of the *Mukhtaṣar-i-Siyar-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* to have been stamped on the coins of Akbar II.

سکه زد در جهان ز فضل الله حامی دین محمد اکبر شاه

Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888, p. 32.

Very similar words, have, it should be stated, been actually found on a rupee bearing the name of Muḥammad Akbar and struck in the first year of his reign (سنه احد). But the Hijrī date is clearly given as 1203, which is hardly reconcilable with what is generally known of the history of the period. The coin is in the Panjāb Museum, and is described in the Catalogue (No. 3277), but left as unassigned. More recently, copper-coins leaving no doubt as to the correctness

[1] Rodgers, who may be truly said to have been 'easily first' in the decipherment and interpretation of these poetical trifles, has very justly remarked that they are "helpful in the assigning of coins to their proper strikers. * * * On some coins, only part of the inscription comes. A few words from the couplet enable us to assign the coin to the proper King. Besides all these couplets are historical compositions. They show us the vanity and ignorance of the kings who used them, and the flattery and ignorance of those who made them." (J.A.S.B., LVII, 1888, p. 33.)

of the reading of the Hijrī date have come into the possession of Mr. Whitehead, and I have been able to find in Seton-Karr's 'Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes' some contemporary evidence of Akbar II having been set up as King or Emperor for a time, in 1203 A.H.[1]

Further, Beale declares that the *Bait-i-Sikka* of Akbar II was thus worded :—

سکّه جهانبادي چراغ دودهٔ تیمـــور اکبـــر ثاني

Miftāh, 375 last line.

According to the same author. the couplet of Akbar's son and successor Bahādur Shāh was the following :—

سکّه بفضل الله سراج دین ابو ظفر شه بهادر شاه

Ibid, 394, nine lines from foot.

It may be perhaps necessary to add that no coin of Bīdār Bakht has been discovered bearing the couplet assigned to him by Beale—and the same may be said with regard to Akbar II and Bahādur Shāh II. But Beale was a most accurate and painstaking writer and he was besides a contemporary of the last two Emperors. His book was first lithographed at Āgra in 1849 (E.D. VIII, 444), and at his death in 1875, he had reached a very advanced age. He is not likely to have made these statements without possessing any authority, and it is not improbable that he had seen some rare coins answering to his descriptions.

I cannot conclude this note without a few observations on the manner in which these metrical legends should be set out and correctly transcribed in our coin-catalogues. On the coins themselves, the words of the '*Baits*' are often arranged, and even divided or cut up without any regard for sense, syntax, metre or rhyme, according to the whim or caprice of the engraver or his own notions of calligraphic elegance. As a rule, the verse commences at the bottom and is to be read from below upwards, but sometimes the first word is to be found at the top and we have to follow it from above downwards. This lawlessness makes no small addition to the difficulty of correct decipherment. A cursory examination of our most recent catalogues will suffice to show that there is considerable room for improvement in reference to the transcription of the couplets *in the order required by the rules of Persian Prosody*. It is more than fifty years since Blochmann examined the readings proposed in the *Numismata Orientalia* of

[1] This evidence has been fully set out in an article which will be published very shortly, along with Mr. Whitehead's own description of the coins, in one of the Numismatic Supplements. The mint-name on the copper coins, *Dāru-s-Surūr-i-Sahāranpūr* goes far to confirm the connection of Ghulām Qādir with these hitherto inexplicable issues.

Marsden "from a metrical point of view," and showed from Marsden's errors how necessary "it was even for numismaticians, to take care of the *Ars Poetica*, when describing the coins of the Moghul Dynasty of India and the Çafawis of Persia" (Proceedings, A.S.B. 1869, p. 260). Rodgers seems to have profited by the warning, and sought and obtained the counsel and assistance of two Maulavīs of the Calcutta Madrassa in compiling his valuable articles on these poetical effusions, (J.A.S.B. 1888, pp. 18, 27 notes). Mr. Lane Poole also has publicly acknowledged the help he received in "reading and interpreting the Persian Distichs" from Dr. Rieu and Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole (B.M.C. Introd. cxix). But the compilers of more modern catalogues who have had to work without such expert advice have frequently gone astray or been obliged to content themselves with reproducing the words just as they are engraved on the coins, without venturing to arrange them in the order required. Here again, we receive valuable guidance from the annalists and their statements both provide useful corrections of error and reinforce Blochmann's contention and warning. It will suffice to give a few instances.

The first line of the Kām Bakhsh couplet has been often given as

سکه زد در کن ده خورشید و ماه

This is undoubtedly wrong. Khāfī Khān has it correctly thus:—

در دکن زد سکّه بر خورشید و ماه

Similarly, the first hemistich of one of Jahāndār's *baits* has been set out as—

سکه زد در آفاق چون مهر و ماه

which is erroneous. The transcription given by the scholarly author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* leaves no doubt that the true order is— در آفاق زد سکه چون مهر و ماه

The metre is common *Mutaqārib*.

Lastly, the first line of the Raf'īu-d-darajāt distich should not be read as—

سکه زد بهند دا هزاران برکات

but

زد سکه بهند با هزاران برکات

and that is the form in which it appears in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* as well as the *Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh* of Beale, who was himself a prolific composer of the poetical chronograms called 'Tārīkhs' (See Rodgers' article on the subject in J.R.A.S. 1898, pp. 716, 738.)

XXIV. THE KHUṬBA AND THE SIKKA.

The "exaggerated importance" universally attributed by the accredited exponents of the history as well as polity of Islām to the merely formal prerogatives of sovereignty described as the 'Khuṭba and the Sikka' is matter of common knowledge. The proclamation of the regnant appellation and titles of the actual occupant of the throne or of a presumptive claimant to the *masnad* in the Friday prayers, and the stamping of money inscribed with his *Alqāb* were universally regarded as manifestoes of unchallenged supremacy or incontrovertible proofs of rebellion and treason. I have, in another article, collected and brought under one view all those passages in which our authorities record the dates on which the regular Emperors ascended the throne or on which the Imperial titles were assumed by pretenders, puppets and claimants. I must now invite attention to several others in which the historians of the dynasty exultingly proclaim that the *khuṭba* was recited and coins struck in this or that town or province or country in the name of a particular Emperor to mark the occasion of its conquest or acquisition by his arms. It is perhaps necessary to say that all these notices have not the same historical significance. They are often only empty boasts, records of a momentary triumph after a casual incursion or temporary raid. They sometimes imply merely the formal acknowledgment of allegiance on the part of the hereditary chief of the district and occasionally they mean nothing but a nominal concession of supremacy on his part to ward off an invasion or terminate a period of stress. But besides such notices of permanent or temporary conquest, there are passages in which it is recorded that this or that individual governor or subordinate ruler had the *khuṭbā* recited and coins stamped with his own name in some district or division of the empire to announce publicly his independence and arrogation of sovereign authority.

It will be observed that several of these announcements are not undeserving of the attention of the coin-hunter. We are told, for instance, that coins were struck in the name of Akbar at Nagarkot and Katak and also by Sulaimān Kararānī in Bengal. We are also informed exactly of the year in which money emblazoned with the titles of the Second Ṣāḥib Qirān—Shāh Jahān—was first uttered at Daulatābād, Gulkanda, Qandahār and Balkh and the fact of the "numismatic memorials" of the conquest of 'Ālamgīrnagar (Āssām and Kūch Bihār) and Tibet having been presented to Aurangzeb is also recorded.

Some of these mintages are not represented either in our museums or private collections, and it may be permissible to express the hope that the prominence given to them in this chapter may directly or indirectly promote their eventual discovery, or at least contribute something towards the decipherment of their legends or the determination of the mint-names.

Khuṭba recited in the name of Hindāl at Āgra in 945 A.H., but nothing is said about the striking of coins, *Akbarnāma*, Trans., I, 338; *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Tr. I.

Coins struck by Mirzā Ḥaidar in Kashmīr in the name of Nāzuk Shāh after the conquest of the province in 939 A.H. *Akbarnāma*. Trans., I, 405; Text, I, 198.

Khuṭba recited by Mirzā Ḥaidar in Kashmīr in the name of Humāyūn after the conquest of Kābul by the latter, 952 A.H. *Ibid.* Tr., I, 405: Text, I, 198.

Khuṭba read in Kāmrān's name in Kābul and Qandahār A.H. 948 or 949. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Text, 206. I, 3; *Akb. Nām*. Trans., I. 407; Text, I, 199.

Coins struck in the name of Kāmrān at Badakhshān, 947 or 948 A.H. *Akb. Nām*. Trans., I, 408; Text, I, 200.

Khuṭba read in the name of Mirzā Sulaimān at Kābul in 963 A.H. *Ṭab. Akb*. Text. 243, last line = Elliot and Dowson, V. 248; *Badāonī* Text, II, 12; Lowe's Trans. II. 5; *Akb. Nām*. Trans., II 43; Text, II, 25.

Khuṭba recited and coins struck in the name of Akbar at Nagarkot in 980 A.H *Ṭab Akbārī*, Text, 304, l. 2 = ED. V. 359; *Badāonī*, Text, II, 163; Tr. II, 166.

Jalālud-dīn Sūr had had coins struck in his own name in Bengal. *Badāonī*, Text, II, 192; Trans., II, 195

Bahādur son of S'aīd Badakhshī had the Khuṭba read and coins struck in his own name in Tirhut and took the title of Bahādur Shāh 989 A.H. *Badāonī*, Text, II. 298; Trans, II, 307. See also *Iqbālnāma* quoted by Beveridge, *Akb. Nām*. Tr., III; 451, note.

Khuṭba read by Sulaimān Kararānī in Bengal in 977 A.H., but he did not afterwards observe the conditions of the treaty. *Akb. Nām*. Text, II, 324; Trans., II, 477.

Khuṭba recited in the name of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm by the rebels in Bengal (XXV R. 988 A.H.) *Akb. Nām*. Text, III, 304; Trans., III, 449.

Y'aqūb of Kashmīr rebels and takes the title of Shāh Ism'aīl. *Akb. Nām*. Text, III, 502; Tr., III, 762.

Coins struck in Akbar's name at Jalesar (Jellasore) in Orissa (XXXVII R). *Akb. Nām*. Text, III, 615: Tr., III, 940.

Coins struck in the name of Shāh Jahān at Daulatābād [1041 A.H. 5 R] *Bādishāhnāma*, Text, I, i. 429.

Coins struck in the name of Shāh Jahān at Gulkanda (1045 A.H. 9 R) *Ibid.* I. ii. 145, 178; *Khāfī Khān*, Text, I, 523.

Coins struck in the name of Shāh Jahān at Qandahār (XI R, 1047 A.H.) *Bād. Nām.* II, 34, 39, 94; *Khāfī Khān*, I, 556.

Coins struck in the name of Shāh Jahān at Balkh. XX R 1056 A.H.; *Bād. Nām.* II, 562; *Khāfī Khān*, I, 639.

The Jām of Nawānagar who used to strike Maḥmūdīs in the name of Muẓaffar III. compelled to abandon the practice. *Bād. Nām.* II, 232; *Khāfī Khān*, I, 583.

Coins struck in the name of Aurangzeb in (Great) Tibet. *'Ālamgīrnāma*, Text, 922; *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 52; *Khāfī Khān*, II, 185.

Coins struck in the name of Aurangzeb at 'Ālamgīrnagar, i.e. Kūch Bihār (IV R). *'Ālam. Nām.* 694; *Maās. 'Ālam.* 40; *Khāfī Khān* II, 137, 153 (1071 A.H.).

Coins struck in the name of Aurangzeb at Bījāpūr in 1091 A.H. *Māaṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 192.

Coins struck in his own name by the rebel Aimal Khān Afghān. *Khāfī Khān* II, 233 (1079 A.H.).

Rāja Shivājī coins huns and coppers. *Khāfī Khān*, II, 177 (1074 A.H.)

The rebel Prince Muḥammad Akbar coins money in his own name (1089 A.H.). *Khāfī Khān* II, 266.

The English in Bombay strike money in the name of their own Pādishāh. *Ibid.* II, 423.

Khuṭba recited in the name of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I at Qandahār (Afghānistān) in 1119 A.H. *Khāfī Khān*, II, 644.

Coins struck in the name of 'Ālamgīr II, by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's rebellious viceroy Sakjīvan [?] some time after 1167 A.H. *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, II, 721, l. 10.

XXV. CONSPECTUS OF PASSAGES.

Baburnāma.

Pers. Tr. Bombay Lith., 1308 A.H. — *Eng Tr. Leyden and Erskine.* (Reprint 1921.) ,, ,, *A. S. Beveridge.*

Text. (Pers. Trans.).	Trans. Leyden and Erskine.	Trans. A. S. Beveridge.	
16	I. 41	43	Gold and silver almonds and pistachios sent as gifts after a wedding. 179
37	I. 96	93	One thousand *Tumān-i-fulūs* assigned for maintenance to Shaikh 'Abdulla Birlās. 186
89	I. 243	221	Revenues of Kābul from all sources, eight lacs of Shāhrukhīs. 1
117	II. 4	296	Bābur takes three hundred *Tumān-i-Kipkī* from the Turks of Bādghīs (Khūrāsān). 187
136	II. 59	344	Bābur styles himself *Pādishāh.* 291
141	II. 92-3	379	Shāhrukhīs paid by the *Jūd* and *Janjūha* and the Nilābīs (2 passages) (see also Elliot-Dowson, IV, 231). 1–2
143	II. 98	383	Ransom of four laks of Shāhrukhīs imposed on the people of Bhīra (E. D. IV, 233). 2
148	II. 112	394	One hundred Miṣqāls of silver presented to certain Afghān Chiefs.
151	II. 119	400	Sāchiq (Wedding-gift) of one thousand Shāhrukhīs. 2
155	II. 128	408	Sāchiq (Offering or Naẓar) of one thousand Shāhrukhīs. 2
159	II. 139	417	One hundred Shāhrukhīs given for buying wine, etc , for a banquet 2
160	II. 142	421	Tribute of the Najrāo people fixed at 60 gold Miṣqāls (مثقال طلا).
163	II. 155	446	Gold Ashrafīs and Tankas to the value of 20,000 Shāhrukhīs sent from the Lāhor revenues to Bābur in Kābul. 2–3
176	II. 190	476	Khuṭba read at Dehlī in Bābur's name = E.D. IV, 257. 261

Text. (Pers. Trans.).	Trans. Leyden and Erskine.	Trans. A. S. Beveridge.	
177	II. 193	477	Ransom of four lacs of Shāhrukhīs imposed on the people of Bhīra (E. D. IV, 258). 3
177	II. 192	478	Diamond weighing eight Miṣqāls presented to Humāyūn by the relatives of Raja Bikrāmajīt.
204	II. 240	517–8	Weights and measures of Hindustān. (Ratī, Tānk, Tola, Sēr, etc.) 104
..	II. 244 *n*	521	Revenues of Hindustān: *Silver* Tankas, *Tankas* and *Black* Tankas mentioned. (E. D. IV, 262).
206	II. 246	523	Bābur sends a gift of one Shāhrukhī to every soul in the country of Kābul. 3
214	II. 307	574	Bābur assumes the title of Ghāzī. 292
229		631	Offerings of Red, White and Black money from Amīrs.
229	II. 359	632	Ambassadors presented with a silver-stone's weight (سنگ) of gold and a gold-stone's weight of silver at the audience of leave 61
232	II. 368[1]	642	Ten thousand Shāhrukhīs sent to Humāyūn and Kāmrān as presents (*Sāchiq*). 3

Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī.

Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt. *Trans. N. Elias and Ross. 1895.*

Trans.

173 Bābur was given the *laqab* Ẓahīru-d-dīn soon after birth. Reason of the name Bābur. 291

202 Shāhrukhīs.

256 "A *bālish* is 500 Mithkāl (of silver) made into a long brick with a depression in the middle." 61

402 Bābur took the title of Ghāzī after defeating Sāngā. 293

469 Kāmrān raised the author's salary from 15 to 50 lacs. One lac of Hindustān is worth 20,000 Shāhrukhīs. "A current Shāhrukhī is worth one Mithkāl of silver." 8

475 Date of Humāyūn's defeat at Qanauj.[2] 263

[1] In the Text, the references are to the original Edition of 1826, which is now exceedingly scarce and almost inaccessible. Here, the pagination given is that of the two-volume Reprint edited recently (1921) by Sir Lucas King.

[2] The author was a cousin of the Emperor Bābur. He was present

Memoirs of Jauhar.

Written about 1590 A.C. *Translated by Stewart.*

Trans.		
21	Date of the Battle of Qanauj.	263
44	Akbar was given the name of *Badru-d-dīn* as he was born on the Full Moon [٩٥٤] of Sh'abān, 949 A.H.	295
45	Two hundred Shāhrukhīs entrusted by Humāyūn to Jauhar for safe keeping.	4
49	Shāhrukhīs.	4
66	Fine of one Tumān for each animal allowed to escape in the chase.	188
88	Ten Tumāns given by Humāyūn to a follower.	189
106	Shāhrukhī mentioned as a coin of small value.	5
120	Date of Humāyūn's death.[1]	

Humāyūn Nāma.[2]

Gulbadan Begam. *Ed. and Tr. A.S. Beveridge.*

Text.	Trans.		
6	86	One thousand Tankas each of one Miṣqāl (*Tanka-i-Miṣqālī* in Text) paid for a burial ground by Bābur.	8
9	90	Bābur takes the title of Pādishāh.	292
10	92	Ransom of four lacs of Shāhrukhīs imposed on the people of Bhīra by Bābur.	3
12	95	Trays full of Ashrafīs and Shāhrukhīs sent as presents to the Begams in Kābul by Bābur	3–4
13	96	Large Ashrafī weighing three Imperial *Sēr* or fifteen *Sēr* of Hind sent as a present by Bābur to 'Asas in Kābul.	62
18	102	Khalifa and his wife present 5,000 and 3,000 Shārukhīs to Gulbadan Begam.	4
24	109	Date of Bābur's death.	262
25	110	Date of Humāyūn's coronation.	262
26	110	Five lacs were charged on Bayāna for the maintenance of Bābur's tomb.	

at the battle of Qanauj and afterwards became virtual ruler of Kashmīr. He was killed by a party of conspirators in 958 A.H., 1551 A.C. (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, 129).

[1] Mr. Beveridge who has seen the original says the date is *not* given in the manuscript in the British Museum (*Akbarnāma*, Tr. I. 4).

[2] Written about 1590 A.C. The authoress died at the age of eighty in 1603 A.C. (Mrs. Beveridge's Tr. Introd. p. 77).

Text.	Trans.	
27	112	Gold and silver *filberts*, walnuts and almonds made for Niṣār. 179
34	124	Niṣār of Ashrafīs and Shāhrukhīs at Hindāl's wedding.
53	151	Humāyūn gave Mīr Abūl Baqā two lacs of *ready money* for the *nikāḥāna* (dowry) of Ḥamīda Bānū Begam.
58	157	Tardī Beg lent Humāyūn 80,000 *Ashrafīs* at 20 per cent (*deh dū*). 246
77	178	Twenty Shāhrukhīs equal to five Miṣqāls staked by each player at a card-game. 8
95	200	Salīm Shāh Sūr gave Kāmrān only 1,000 *rupees* as a present.

History of Gujarāt.

Abū Turāb Walī.

Bibl. Ind. Edition,
1909 A.C.

Text.

12 Bahādur Shāh Gujarātī gives Tātār Khān Lodī twenty kror Tankas of the old money (زر قدیم) which would be equivalent to thirty krors and fifty lacs Murādī (cf. *Akb. Nām.* Tr. I. 296 and note).

27 Humāyūn gave to the father and uncle of the author, out of the treasures of Champāner, about 1,80,000 Maḥmūdis equivalent to 75,000 rupees. (963 A.H.) 125

38 'Imādu-l-Mulk—a Gujarāt noble—raised a large army by giving to every man who brought three horses (سه اسپه) a jāgīr of one lac (Gujarātī) *Tankas* (cf. *Akb. Nām.* Tr. I. 313).

88 Shaikh Muẓaffar the Ṣadr of Gujarāt accused of taking a bribe of 12,000 Maḥmūdis (980 A.H.). 126

103 Ten thousand Maḥmūdis sent to Muẓaffar III (the deposed Sulṭān of Gujarāt) and Sherkhān Fulādī for expenses by 'Atabāru-l-Mulk, a Gujarāt Noble.[1] 126

[1] The author was a Gujarāt Noble who entered the Imperial service after the conquest of the province. He was appointed *Mīr-i-Ḥājj*—Chief of the Pilgrims' Caravan—in 985 A.H. and *Amīn-i-Ṣūba*—Deputy Governor of Gujarāt—in 992 A.H. 1583 A.C. He died in 1003 A.H. or according to another account, in 1005 A.H. (*Bibl. Ind.* Ed. Introd. p. iii–iv).

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī.

Lucknow Lith. Text.	Elliot and Dowson Vol. V.		
179	..	Style and titles of Bābur.	291
185	..	Hiṣār Fīrūza and its dependencies with a (revenue) of one kror given to Humāyūn.[1]	
187	..	Khuṭba read in Bābur's name at Dehlī	261
187	..	Seventy lacs given to Humāyūn from the treasures of the Lodīs.	
187	..	Present of one *Shāhrukhī* sent for every resident of Kābul, etc.	3
192	..	Date of Bābur's death.	262
194	188	Date of Humāyūn's coronation.	262
202	205	Date of Humāyūn's defeat at Qanauj.	263
206	..	Kāmrān has the khuṭba read in his own name at Kābul, Qandahār and Ghaznī (952 A.H.).	
221	239	Khuṭba read again in Humāyūn's name in Hindūstān.	263
222	240	Date of Humāyūn's death.	264
222	242	Date of Akbar's Coronation.	265
239	..	Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr scatters *Tankas* among the people at his accession.	178
242	..	Akbar's style and titles.	294
242	247	Date of Akbar's coronation.	265
242	247	Initial day of the *Tārikh-i-Ilāhī*.	11
243	249	Khuṭba read in Mirzā Sulaimān's name in Kābul (963 A.H.).	331
245	..	Niṣār of coins at Akbar's coronation.	179
257	276	Seven lacs of *Tankas* given to Sayyad Beg, ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. N.S. XXVIII, 81.	
265	295	*Three krors of Tankas* spent on building the Fortress of Āgra. N.S. XXVIII, 81, 92.	
278	332–3	Foundation of Fathpūr, 976–977 A.H (XIV R).	
288	334	Two lacs of Tankas given to Khwāja Ḥusain Marwī for a Qaṣīda. N.S. XXVIII, 81.[2]	

[1] In this and several other passages large sums are mentioned by this author as well as by Bābur and Badāonī without any qualifying monetary denomination. "One Kror," "Three Krors," "One Kror and twenty lacs," "Ten Krors," (کرور ۸۵) or "twenty-five krors of ready money" are common expressions. It would be unprofitable to indulge in any positive statements about such a matter, but the context would seem to show that the denomination meant is the Sikandarī *Tanka* (Double Dām), Dām or some other unit of low value.

[2] In the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of Khākī Shīrāzī (written 1019 A.H.) the *in'ām* is explicitly said to have been "two lacs of Tankas or ten

Text.	Elliot and Dowson Vol. V.	
291	338	Jāgir of fifty lacs of Tankas given to Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. N.S. XXVIII. 81.
300	353	Jāgir of (two krors and) fifty lacs of Tankas given to Muẓaffar Khān (*not* Gujarātī). N.S. XXVIII, 81.
304	359	Khuṭba read and coins struck in Akbar's name at Nagarkot (XVIII R), 980 A.H. 331
..	..	*Niṣār* of gold and silver coins on the head of the *Khaṭīb*.
308	..	War-cry of Yā Mu'iyyan at battle of Aḥmadābād, 980 A.H. 169
309	..	Ditto ditto ditto 169
311	..	Niṣār on Akbar's return to Fatḥpūr after defeating the Mirzās.
311	..	Niṣār at the Princes' circumcision.
312	370–1	Debts amounting to one lac of Akbarshāhī Rupees or 500 Tumāns of 'Irāq paid out of the State Treasury. N.S. XXVIII, 87.
313	..	The Khwāja of Ajmer was the *Muiyyan wa Nāṣir* of the *Pādishāh* ('Helper and Protector of the Emperor').[1]
323	383	Officers called Krorīs appointed in charge of tracts of land yielding a revenue of one kror *Tankas* a-piece.[2] N.S. XXVIII, 81.
..	..	Price of grain ( ) one hundred and twenty *Tanka-i-Siyāh* during a famine in Gujarāt. N.S. XXVIII, 81.
341	409	Reservoir at Fatḥpūr filled with red, white and black money amounting to twenty krors of Tankas. *Ibid.*[3] 195
342	411	One hundred Akbarshāhī Ashrafīs, fifteen hundred rupees and 24,000 *Murādī Tankas* presented to Khwāja 'Abdulla envoy of 'Ādil Khān. N.S. XXVIII, 82–3.

thousand rupees," which shows that the word is here used for the *Sikandarī* Tanka (quoted in *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 411).

[1] This and the statements at pp. 308 and 309 *ante* seem to show that the amphibological invocation *Yā Mu'iyyan* on the Muhrs of Akbar refers more to the Khwāja of Ajmer than to God (The 'Helper'), cf. *Akbarnāma*, Tr. III. 82.

[2] Abūl Faẓl has "one kror of *Tankas*" in the corresponding passage in the *Akbarnāma* (Tr. III. 167), but "one kror of *Dāms*" in the *Āīn* (Tr. I. 13).

[3] Abūl Faẓl has 34 krors of Dāms (*Akb. Nām.* Tr. III. 354). Jahāngīr gives a total of one kror and three lacs of rupees, i.e. about 41 krors of Dāms. This would indicate that the word is here used for the *Sikandarī* Tanka $=\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee (*vide Tūzuk*, Tr. II. 68-9).

Text.	Elliot and Dowson Vol V.	
343	..	Akbar's style and titles in a contemporary Maḥẓar dated 987 A.H. 294
350	423	Atak Banāras founded (XXVII R.Y.).
359	437	Ilāhabās founded (XXIX R.Y.).
360	438	Muẓaffar Gujarātī sends one lac of *Maḥmūdīs*, etc., to Amīn Khān Ghorī, the Ḥākim of Sorath and also to Jām Satarsāl of Nawānagar. 126
366	..	Two krors of Tankas fixed as the *mahr* or dower of Jahāngīr's first wife, Rāja Bhagwāndās's daughter. N.S. XXVIII, 81.
370	453	Four lacs of Tankas equal to five hundred Tumāns of 'Irāq given to Naẓar Beg. N.S. XXVIII, 83.
371	455	Presents of the value of three thousand, seven hundred Tumāns of 'Irāq, equal to *about* one lac and a half of rupees sent to 'Abdulla Khān, the ruler of Balkh. N S. XXVIII 87.
377	462	Yādgār calls himself Sulṭān and has the Khuṭba recited in his own name in Kashmīr.
379	467	In'ām of one kror *Tanka-i-Murādī* given to Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī. N.S. XXVIII, 84.[1]

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh.

VOL. I.

Badāonī.

Bibl. Ind. Text, 1868. *Trans. G. S. Ranking*

Text.	Trans.	
333	439	Ḥiṣār Fīrūza with a revenue of two krors given to Humāyūn.
335	441	Date of the Battle of Pānīpat. 261
336	442	Khuṭba read in Bābur's name at Dehlī on the same day. 261
341	447	Date of Bābur's death. 262
350	459	Mirzā Hindāl has the Khuṭba read in his own name (945 A.H.). 331
354	464	Date of the Battle of Qanauj. 263
418	537	Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr orders arrows tipped with gold worth five hundred Tankas each to be thrown among the people of Dehlī. 178

[1] This work must have been completed before the 23rd of Ṣafar 1002 A.H. (XXXIX R) on which day the author died. (*Badāonī*, Tr. Lowe. II. 412).

Text.	Trans.		
433	556	Khiẓr Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Gauria calls himself Sulṭan Muḥammad Bahādur and strikes coins in his own name in Bengal (962 A.H.).[1]	
462	596	Restoration of Humāyūn.	263
465–6	600–1	Date of Humāyūn's accident and death.	264
476	617	Five Shāhrukhīs bid for a worthless old *Posteen* at an auction in Kābul (story).	5

VOL. II.

Badāonī.

Bibl. Ind. Text, II. *Trans. Lowe. II.*

Text.	Trans.		
8	1	Date of Akbar's coronation.	265
12	5	Khuṭba read in Mirzā Sulaimān's name at Kābul (963 A.H.).	331
20	13	Niṣār and Iṣār at Bairam Khān's marriage to Salīma Sulṭān Begam.	179
41	36	One kror of money (یک کرور زر) spent on the jewelled banner (علم مرصّع) made by Bairam Khān for Imām Riẓā's shrine at Mashhad.	
41	36	Sixty thousand *Tankas*, afterwards increased to one lac, paid to Hāsham Qandahārī for a Ghazal by Bairam Khān. N.S. XXVIII, 82.	
42	37	One lac Tankas given on one day to Rāmdās Kalāwant by Bairam Khān for his music. N.S. XXVIII, 82.	
42	37	One lac Tankas (Naqd) given to Hijāz Khān Badāonī by Bairam Khān for a *Qaṣīda*. *Ibid.*	
52	49	Seven lacs of Tankas given to Sayyad Beg ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp *Ibid.*	
68	68	Gold coins were struck in Gujarāt by Changīz Khān during the period of his ascendency (story).	
74	75	Three krors of money (سه کرور زر)[2] spent on building the fortress of Agra. N.S. XXVIII, 82.[3]	
120	124	Two lacs of Tankas in money (Naqd) given by	

[1] Bahādur Shāh's coins are extant. (Wright I.M.C. II, p. 181.)

[2] The word in the original is زر. Lowe's translation is loose and inaccurate.

[3] This is borrowed from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Text, p. 265), but the aggregate cost is given by the author of the *Haft-Iqlīm* and the Emperor Jahāngīr as 'seven krors of Tankas or thirty-five lacs of rupees.' (*Vide Tūzuk*, Tr. I. 3.)

Text.	Trans.	
		Akbar to Khwāja Ḥusain Marwī for a Qasīda. *Ibid.*
149	153	Jāgir of two krors and a half (دو نیم کرور) given to Muẓaffar Khān. *Ibid.*
163	166	Khuṭba read and coins struck in Akbar's name at Nagarkot (980 A.H.). 331
167	170	War-cry of *Ya Mu'iyyan* (981 A.H.).
168	171	Ditto ditto. ditto.
179	182	Niṣār of pearls on Akbar's head in Mun'im Khān's camp at Patna. 179
185	188	Jāgir of one kror, twenty lacs given to Ḥusain Khān Tukriya.[1]
186	189	Price of Jowār 120 *Tanka-i-Siyāh* during famine in Gujarāt. N.S. XXVIII, 82.
189	192	Revenue Officers (Krorīs) appointed in charge of as much land as would yield one kror of *Tankas* of revenue [2] N.S. XXVIII, 82.
192	195	Jalālu-d-dīn Sūr had been at one time *Ṣāḥib-i-Khuṭba wa Sikka in Bengal.*[3] 331
210	213	Discussion about stamping the words *Allāhu Akbar* on coins. 81
265	273	Reservoir filled with copper coins (زر سیاہ) to the value of twenty *Krors.* N.S. XXVIII, 82. 195
270	278	Niṣār of gold and precious stones when Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān was appointed Prince Salīm's Atālīq. 179
298	307	Bahādur, son of Sa'īd Badakhshī, calls himself Bahādur Shah and has the Khuṭba recited and coins struck in his own name in Tirhut.[4] 331
301	310	The date *Alf* ordered to be inscribed on coins (XXVII, R).
306	316	Establishment of the Ilāhī Era. 11
313	323	Qāẓī Jalāl Multānī banished for forging an order on the Treasury for five lacs of Tankas. N.S. XXVIII, 82.
331	341	Quṭbu-d-din Khān's wealth (ten krors) seized by Muẓaffar Gujarātī.
335	345	Rāja Rāmchand Bāghela had given one kror

[1] Lowe adds "of rupees," but the interpolation is unwarranted The author most probably meant *Tankas* i.e. *Dāms.*

[2] Abūl Faẓl has one kror *Dāms* in *Āīn*, (Tr. I, 13) but *Tankas* in *Akb. Nām.*, (Tr. III, 167).

[3] Coins struck by him are extant. Wright, I.M.C. II, p. 181.

[4] The fact is mentioned in the *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī* also. (Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, Tr. III, 451 note.)

Text.	Trans.	
		of money[1] (یک کرور زر) to Miyān Tānsen Kalāwant on one day.
335	345	Verse-motto (سجع سکه) composed of by Sharīf Sarmadī for the coins of Ilāhabād. 315
338	349	'Shast' given by Akbar to the members of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. 150
341	352	Two krors of Tankas fixed as the Mahr or dower of Rāja Bhagwāndās's daughter. N.S. XXVIII, 82.
341	352	Nisār on the pālkī (پالکی) of the *bride*. 179
343	353	Officers ordered to offer 'Peshkash,' 'Nazar' and 'Niāz' on the Nauroz of 993 A.H.
352	363	Four lacs of Tankas equal to five hundred Tumāns of 'Irāq given to Nazar Beg. N.S. XXVIII, 83.
356	367	*Allāhu Akbar—Jalla Jalāluhu* established as the new forms of salutation (*Salām* and *Jawāb-i-Salām*) 46-7
358	370	Muzaffar Gujarātī sends one lac Mahmūdīs, etc, to Amīn Khān Ghorī of Sorath and also to the Jām Satarsāl 127
374	387	Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī dies leaving *twenty-five krors of ready money*. (مبلغ نقد.)
380	393	Regulations about old and worn coins (cf. *Āīn*. Tr. I, 32–5). 131
388	402	One kror *Tanka-i-Murādī* in cash (نقد) given to Mirzā Rustam. N.S. XXVIII, 84.
402	416	Ten thousand *Tanka-i-Murādī* given as *In'ām* to Badāonī himself. *Ibid.*, 85.[2]

Āīn-i-Akbarī.

VOL. I.

Bibl. Ind. Text, 1877. *Trans. H. Blochmann.*

Text.	Trans.	
10	13	Zealous and upright men put in charge of the revenues each over one kror of *Dāms* (krorīs).

[1] Lowe translates زر by "gold pieces," but this is manifestly wrong. Cf. *Akb. Nām*, Tr. II, 280, note, where it is said that Akbar gave Tānsen at his first assembly one kror of *Dāms* equal to two lacs of rupees or 6,000 Persian Tumāns.

[2] The author is believed to have died in 1595, A.C. 1004 A.H. (Blochmann, J.A.S.B. 1869, p. 143), soon after completing his History.

Text.	Trans.	
10	13	Old and worn coins to be accepted at their real value by the collectors of revenue. 131
11	14	A kror of Dāms kept always in readiness in the palace in bags (called *Sahsa*) containing one thousand in each. N.S. XXVIII, 85.
12	16	Weights of precious stones, etc., in the Imperial Treasury given in *Tānks* and Surkhs (Ratīs). 108.
12	16	*Sūkī* equal to one-twentieth of a rupee. 50
14	18	Degree of purity of the Hūn of Southern India and of the small gold Dīnār of ʿAlāu-d-dīn Khiljī. 235
17	21	Half-quarter Dāms called Damrīs. 52
19	23	Degrees of purity of various silver coins, the *Shāhī* of ʿIrāq and Khurāsān, the *Lārī* the *Miṣqālī* of Tūrān, the European and Turkish *Narjīl*, and the *Maḥmūdīs* and *Muẓaffarīs* of Gujarāt and Mālwā. 10, 126
23–6	127–30	Inventory of the gold coins of the Empire. 64, 42
26	31	List of the silver coins of the Empire. 49
27	31	List of the copper coins of the Empire. 52
27	31–2	Names of towns permitted to coin gold, silver and copper. N.S. XXXIV. 165.
27–9	32–35	Regulations about worn or old coins (cf. Badāonī, Lowe, 393). 131
31	37–38	Seigniorage, cost of minting and profit of the dealers in gold and silver who brought bullion to the mint. (Thomas, Chronicles, 424.) 131
100	87	Table of ancient Hindū weights (cf. Thomas, Chronicles, 221).
125	114	Weights of musket-bullets given in *Tānks*. 111
141	134	*Sēr* of 28 *Dāms* was formerly current in Akbar's reign. Now, the *Sēr* is fixed at 30 *Dāms* (42 R). 63
160	166	*Shāst-i-Khāṣa* given to members of the Ilāhī faith after initiation. 151
174	229	Old *Sēr* of 28 *Dāms* again mentioned. 112
176	233	Value of the rupee raised by Akbar from 35 to 40 Dāms.[1]
179–1	237–1	Abjad value of *Jalāla*,[2] i.e. الله, God's Holy

[1] This is a very significant item of information, but unfortunately no details are given.

[2] "This curious word, is according to the *Bahār-i-Ajam*, an abbreviation of the phrase, *Jalla Jalāluhu* 'May His glory shine forth.' It is then used in the sense of *God*." Blochmann's note.

Text.	Trans.	
		Name, equal to the number of Manṣabs, viz 66. N.S. XXXV, 101.
212	294	*Dāms used as weights*: A falcon's allowance of meat was 7 Dāms' weight.
221	307	*Dhan* pieces, *Man* pieces, i.e. half Muhrs and quarter Muhrs.

Vol. II.

Trans. H. S. Jarrett, Vol. VII.

Text.	Trans.	
277	30	The Ilāhī Era. 12
279	31	The names of the Ilāhī, Jalālī and Yazdajardī months (Comparative Table). 13
..	46	Treasurers not to demand any particular kind of coin, etc. (Cf. *Āīn*, Tr. I. 13.)
..	49	*Ibid*, *ibid*
293	56	Rupee value of the Turkish coins, *Ibrāhīmīs Kabīrs* and *Akchēs*.
294	57	The Khalīf Omar's *Jizya* Rates. N.S. XXVIII 50.
296	61	Sikandarī Tankas of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī The Ilāhī gaz.[1]
474	224	The Tanka of Khāndesh equal to 24 Dāms Akbarī.
478	231	Tanka current in Berār equal to eight Tankas of Dehlī. N.S. XXVIII, 90.
493	252	Maḥmūdīs mentioned
49	259	Revenues of Kāttyāwār Ports given in Maḥmūdīs.
504	265	Several krors of Tankas (of Gujarāt) offered to Bābur by Nāṣir Khān (Maḥmūd II), king of Gujarāt for military aid in the struggle for the succession.[2]
564	354	Currency system of Kashmīr[3] (Thomas, Chronicles, 222 *n.*)
586	393	Rupee value of the Dīnār of Qandahār and Tumān of Qandahār, Tumān of Khurāsān and Tumān of 'Irāq. 196
588	396	Bāburīs and Tangas. 6
588	396	Dīnārs of Qandahār.

[1] The author explicitly states that the new yard measure was called *Ilāhī* "in remembrance of or for recalling God" to memory (یاد کرد الہی loc. cit., p. 296, l. 10).

[2] Cf. Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarāt. p. 319 and note.

[3] *Vide* Num. Chron. 1899, pp. 125–174 and J.R.A.S. 1900, pp. 187–194 for [Sir] Aurel Stein's luminous exposition of this subject.

Text.	Trans.	
594	410	The revenue of Kābul in the days of Bābur was twenty (*recte*, eight) lacs of Shāhrukhīs, equal to 32,00,00 Akbarshāhī rupees of 40 Dāms each. (Cf. Bāb. Nām. Tr. 221.) 6
595	412	Rupee value of Umayyad Dirhams. 7,00,000 Dirhams of A.H. 77 equal to 3,00,000 Akbarī rupees.

VOL. III.

Bibl. Ind. Text, 1877. Vol. II. — *Trans. H. S. Jarrett, Vol. III.*

Text.	Trans.	
59	16	Hindu Clepsydra containing 100 Tānks weight of water. 111
60	123	Table of Ancient Hindu weights. *Māsha*, *Tānk Tola*, etc.
60	125	Table of jewellers' weights, Ratīs, Tānks. Miṣqāls. 104
60	125	Table of Goldsmiths' weights. 105
60	125	The Sēr was equal to 28 dāms in the beginning of Akbar's reign; subsequently to 30 dāms each dām equal to five tānks.[1] 63, 112

Akbarnāma.

VOL. I.

Bibl. Ind. Text, 1877. — *Trans. H. Beveridge, Vol. I.*

Text.	Trans.	
13	42	Humāyūn instructed in a dream to give Akbar the name of Jalālu d-dīn.
48	145	Akbar's style and titles. 294
85	221	Bābur's style and titles. 291
87	225	Bābur is given the *laqab* Ẓahīru-d-dīn *at birth*. 291
92	236	Bābur styles himself Pādishāh (A.H. 913). 292
99	247	Allowance of seven lacs of Tankas made to Ibrahīm Lodī's mother by Bābur.
99	248	Seventy lacs of *Sikandarī* Tankas given to Humāyūn, seventeen lacs to Kāmrān and fifteen lacs to Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, etc. (Cf. *Ṭab. Akb.* Text 187.)[2]

[1] This work was practically completed about the 40th or 42nd year of Akbar's reign, 1005 A.H. (*Vide* N.S. XXXIV. 172–5.)

[2] The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* has 'seventy lacs.' Firishta gives 'three

Text.	Trans.		
99	248–9	One Shāhrukhī sent to every inhabitant of Kābul, etc.	3
102	253	Fīrūz Khān received a jāgīr of one kror and odd of Tankas, Shaikh Bāyazīd of one kror. Maḥmūd Khān of 90 lacs, Qāẓi Jiā of 20 lacs. (Cf. *Bāburnāma*. Trans. Beveridge, 527.)	
104	256	Fatḥ Khān Sarwānī received one kror and six lacs.	
106	260	One lac of revenue furnished 100 horse, one kror of revenue 10,000 horse in Bābur's time. (Cf. *Bāburnāma*, Tr. Beveridge, 562.)	
111	267	Humāyūn's full name given as ابوالنصر نصیر الدین محمد همایون.	293
118	277	Date of Bābur's death.	262
120	284	Humāyūn's full style and titles.	293
121	286	Date of Humāyūn's coronation.	262
128	296	Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt gave Tātār Khān Lodī twenty krors of the old coinage of Gujarāt, equal to forty krors of the current Dehlī coinage. (Cf. Abū Turāb, *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, p. 12)[1]	
138	313	'Imād-ul-Mulk collected an army by giving every one who possessed two horses a lac of Gujaratīs. (Cf. Abū Turāb, 38.)[2]	
164	351	Date of the Battle of Qanauj.	263
198	405	Ḥaidar Mirzā had the Khuṭba read and coins struck at first in the name of Nāzuk Shāh of Kashmīr and not of Humāyūn.	331
199	405	The Khuṭba was read in Humāyūn's name in Kashmīr only after the conquest of Kābul (955 A.H.).	331
200	408	Khuṭba read and coins struck in Kāmrān's name in Badakhshān (947 A.H.).	331
209	424–5	Tabrīzī Tumāns (Persian money of account).	189

lacs and fifty thousand rupees' which shows that he took them as *Sikandarī* Tankas, of which 20 went to the rupee.

[1] Abū Turāb has "twenty krors of the old money" [زر قدیم] equal to "thirty krors and fifty lacs Murādī." I cannot reconcile the two statements. There is an error somewhere.

[2] *i.e.* Gujarāt Tankchas, of which 100 went to the Akbarī rupee. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, Tr. Fazlullah, 256; *Mirāt i-Aḥmadī*, Tr. Bird, 109). Cf. *Akbarnāma*, Tr. I. 260, where it is said that one lac of Tankas furnished 100 horse. One thousand Tankas would then be required for one horse, which would be equivalent to 500 rupees, if they were *Sikandarī* Tankas. One lac Gujarāt Tankas would be worth 1,000 rupees but 'Imādu-l-Mulk might have offered 'double pay' on account of the emergency.

Text	Trans.		
211	428	Three Tabrīzī Tumāns = 600 Shāhīs.	189
332	609	Two Kunyats given at birth to Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, viz. Abūl Mufākẖir and Abūl Faẓāil, by Humāyūn.	
342	623–4	Kẖuṭba read and coins struck in Lāhor in Humāyūn's name (962 A.H.).	263
343	..	Humāyūn entered Lāhor some days afterwards 2 Rab'īu-s-Ṣānī, 962 A.H.	263
351	634	Date of Humāyūn's entry into *Dehlī* and re-establishment on the throne.	263
363	654	Date of Humāyūn's accident.	264
364	658	Kẖuṭba read in Akbar's name.	265

VOL. II.

Bibl. Ind. Text. 1877.

Text.	Trans		
5	5	Date of Akbar's coronation.	265
9–10	15–7	Text of Farmān issued on the establishment of the Ilāhī Era; names of the Ilāhī months and days.	13
18	32–3	Initial day of the Ilāhī Era.	13
25	43	Mun'im Kẖān consents to recite the Kẖuṭba *once* in Mirzā Sulaimān's name at Kābul, 963 A.H.	331
106	161	Akbar's style and titles in Farmān addressed to Bairām Kẖān (967 A.H.).	295
170	262	Fourteen lacs of Dāms equal to seven hundred Persian Tumāns given to Sayyad Beg, Shāh Ṭahmāsp's ambassador for expenses.[1]	190
171	264	Akbar's style and titles in letter addressed to him by Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia.	294
188	292–3	Thirty lacs of *Tankas* (not *rupees* as in Translation) in specie and goods belonging to Mun'im Kẖān carried off after his defeat near Kābul.	
215	332	One hundred jars (دیگ) full of 'Alāu-d-dīn's Ashrafīs (اشرفي علائی) obtained by Āṣaf Kẖān from Garhā-Katanka.	235
219	338	Sulaimān Kararānī agrees to recite Kẖuṭba in Akbar's name (IXth Year).	331
270	403	*Dāms*—Pay of soldiers of the first class, 48,000	

[1] The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Text, 257) and Badāonī (Lowe, II, 49) give 'seven lacs of *tankas*,' which implies that the word is used by them for the double dām or *Sikandarī* Tanka.

Text.	Trans.		
		dāms a year, of the second 32,000 and of the third 24,000.	
285	420	Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān rebelled and read the Khuṭba in Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's name.	
324	477–9	Sulaimān Kararānī again agrees to recite the Khuṭba and strike coins in Akbar's name, but the peace was an insincere one (كرگ اشتي).	331

Vol. III.

Bibl. Ind. Text. 1886.

Text.	Trans.		
20	28	Dāūd Kararānī assumes independence and has the Khuṭba read in his own name in Bengal.	
55–8	79–82	War cries of "Allāhu Akbar" and "Yā Mu'iyyan" in the battle of Aḥmadābād: Saif Khān Koka cried *Ajmīrī, Ajmīrī.*[1] (Cf. *Ṭab. Akb.* Text, 311.)	169
117	167	Krorīs appointed to look after an extent of territory which yielded a kror of *Tankas.*[2] (Cf. *Āīn*, Tr 13; *Ṭab. Akb.* 323; *Bad.* Lowe II, 189.)	
227	320	Reorganization of Imperial mints (XXII R).	
227	321	Square rupees ordered to be struck. *Ibid.*	
246	354	Anūptalāo reservoir filled with coins to the value of 34 krors of Dāms. (Cf. *Ṭab. Akb* 341; *Badāonī*, Lowe, II, 273; *Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 68–9.)	195
272	397–8	Akbar repudiates the charge of pretending to Divinity.	82
304	449	Khuṭba recited by the rebels in Bengal in the name of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm.	331
354	520	Fatḥ Dost initiated into the Dīn-i-Ilāhī and the *Shast* given to him.	152
355	520–1	Atak Banāras founded (XXVI R).	
383	564–5	Regulations about old and worn coins (E.D. VI, 64).	131
431	644–5	Ilāhī Era instituted and became current from the 29th regnal year.	46
451	678	Niṣār at Jahāngīr's marriage to Bhagwāndās's daughter.	179

[1] This clearly shows that it was the help of the 'Khwāja of Ajmer' that was specially invoked.

[2] *Here* the word would seem to be used for the *Single* and not the *Double* Dām or *Sikandarī* Tanka.

Text.	Trans.	
502	762	Y'aqūb of Kashmīr takes the title of Shāh Ism'aīl (XXXI R).[1] 331
615	940	Coins struck in Akbar's name at Jalesar (Jellasore) in Orissā (XXXVII R). 331
638	..	Maḥmūdīs mentioned.
651	..	New regulations about old and worn coins (XXXIX R).
668	..	Gold and silver coins struck in Akbar's name in Qandahār (XL R., 1003 A.H.).
745	..	Carpet worth 300 Tumāns of Persia.
792	..	Khuṭba read and coins struck in Akbar's name in Badakhshān (XLVI R., 1009 A.H.).[2]

Takmīla-i-Akbarnāma.

Bibl. Ind. Text, 1886. *Shaikh 'Ināyatu-lla, also called Muḥammad Sālīḥ.*

Text.	Trans.	
832	..	Prince Salīm offers as *Nazar* a ruby worth a lac of rupees, 209 Muhrs of 100 tolas each, 200 Muhrs of 50 tolas each, 4 Muhrs of 20 tolas each and 3 of 20 tolas each. (Cf. Noer, Emperor Akbar, Eng. Tr. II, 415; Smith, Akbar, 318.) 77
841	..	Date of Akbar's death. (E.D. VI, 115 gives 9th Āzar which is demonstrably wrong.) 266

Mirāt-i Sikandarī.

Bombay Lithograph. 1831 A.C. *Trans. E. C. Bayley.* ,, *Fazlullah Lutfullah.*

Text	Trans. Bayley.	Trans. Fazlullah.	
51	132	25	Five hundred gold Tankas [دینار زر in Text] of full weight.
62	146	32	Tankas of silver and of gold differentiated.
66	151	35	Five Phadīyas equivalent to twelve Murādī Tankas. N.S. XXVIII, p. 88.

[1] His coins are extant Wright, I.M.C. II, p. 193.

[2] The compilation of this voluminous work was begun in the 34th year of Akbar's reign, 1589 A.C. The author was assassinated in the 47th, on 12th August, 1602 (Elliot and Dowson, VI, 3, and Beveridge, Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, 1903, p. 117).

Text.	Trans. Bayley.	Trans. Faẓlullah.	
76	162 *n.*	42	The Gujarāt seer was equal in weight to 15 Bahlūlīs[1] in the time of Maḥmūd I (1459–1511 A.C.).
114	208	66	One lac of Tankas, each Tanka being equal to eight Akbarī Tankas. N.S. XXVIII, 90.
151	246	94	Six lacs of Gujarāt Tankas, each worth 8 Murādī Tankas; at the present time (c. 1611 A.C.); this Tanka is still current in Khāndesh and the Dekkan.
242	346	163	Barīd ruler of Berār agrees to use the name of Bahādur Shāh in the Khuṭba and on coins.
302	410	211	Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Khāndesh agrees that the Khuṭba should run and the coins of the country be struck in the name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd III.
307	414	..	Mallū Khān, ruler of Mālwā, was permitted in the reign of Maḥmūd III to use his own name in the Khuṭba and on coins. (*Vide* N.S. XI, 316.)
357	..	256	Twenty-two ('twenty-two *Millions*' in the Trans. is an error) *krors* of Gujarātī Tankchas equal to twenty-two lacs of Akbarī Tankas, i.e. rupees.
365	..	262	Author's father gets a present of 42,000 Muẓaffarīs (Reign of Aḥmad II).[2]
420	..	302	Maḥmūdī Changīzīs.
446	..	321	Muẓaffar III, the deposed Sulṭān of Gujarāt sends two lacs of Maḥmūdīs to Amīn Khān, ruler of Sorath.[3]

[1] The Bahlūlī was probably the Copper Coin of Bahlūl Lodī weighing about 144 grs. It seems to have been also called *Paisa* (*Āīn*, Tr. I, 31). The author probably means the Gujarāt Tankcha of copper, which very closely resembled it in size weight and general appearance.

[2] For the *Muẓaffarī* see *Āīn*, Tr. I, 23; Firishta says it was equivalent to about half a rupee. (Text. II. 287, Briggs' Tr. IV. 319.)

[3] This Provincial history was written about 1611 A.C. The Emperor Jahāngīr who paid a visit to the author's garden at Aḥmadābād in 1027 A.H. (1617 A.C.) mentions the work. *Tūzuk*, Tr. I, 427.

Tārīkh-i Firishta.

Lucknow Lithograph, Vol. I.		*Trans. Briggs—Rise of the Mahomedan Power, Vol. II.*
Text.	Trans.	
191	3	Bābur assumed the *laqab* Ẓahīru-d-dīn on *coming to the throne.* 291
205	48	Bābur presented to Humāyūn 3,50,000 rupees and to Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā 20,000 rupees (Cf. *Akb. Nām.* Tr. I. 248 ; *Ṭab. Akb.* Text 187).
205	49	He sent to every one of his subjects in Kābul a Shāhrukhī (one Miṣqāl of silver).[1] 7
205	46	Diamond weighing eight Miṣqāls presented to Humāyūn by Rāja Bikramājīt of Gwāliar's relatives.[2]
211	64	Date of Bābur's death. 262
218	90	Date of the Battle of Qanauj. 263
243	176	Date of the Humāyūn's restoration. 263
243	178	Date of the Humāyūn's death. 264
244	182	Date of Akbar's accession. 266
252	211	Sayyad Beg, the Persian ambassador, was given presents to the amount of two lacs of *rupees* or five thousand Tumāns of ʿIrāq. (But see *Akb. Nām.* Tr. II. 262; *Ṭab. Akb.* in E. D. V, 276; Badāonī, Lowe, II. 49). The equivalent in Tumāns is not given by Briggs. 190
254	218	Āṣaf Khān finds in the Treasury of Gaḍha one hundred Jars of ʿAlāu-d-dīn Khilji's Ashrafīs.
271	280	Date of Akbar's death. 266
272	281	Inventory of Akbar's treasure. 68
II. 287	IV. 319	Mirān Muḥammad Fārūqī—ruler of Khāndesh compelled to sue for peace and pay to Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh six lacs of *Muẓaffarīs*, a sum *nearly* equal to three lacs of *Tankas of silver* [قریب سه لک تنکه نقره می شود] in Text; Briggs has *siccas*].

[1] The words in brackets are not in Briggs's Translation.

[2] Briggs has "eight miskals *or 224 ruttees.*" There is nothing corresponding to the last three words in the Text and his statement that 224 "Rutties" are equivalent to 672 carats is founded on a misapprehension. The Ratī was only $\frac{7}{8}$ths of a carat (Tavernier, Ed. Ball. II. 89) and 224 Ratīs would make only 196 carats.

Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.

VOL. I.

Sayyad Ahmad Khān's Edition, Aligarh, 1864.		*Trans. Rogers and H. Beveridge.*
Text.	Trans.	
1	1	Date of Jahāngīr's enthronement (E.D. VI. 284). 268
1–2	2–3	Reasons for choosing the name Jahāngīr and the *laqab* Nūru-d-dīn. 297
2	3	Aggregate cost of building Āgra Fort given in Rupees, Tumāns and Khānīs. 192
5	10–12	New names given to coins of different weights by Jahāngīr (E.D. VI, 287). 69
19	42	Akbar's war-cries of 'Allāhu Akbar' and 'Yā Mu'iyyan' in the battle near Aḥmadābād 169
28	60–61	The 'Shast and Shabīh' given to murīds (disciples) of the Emperor. 149
34	71–72	Shaikh Ḥusain given twenty lacs of Dāms equal to thirty or forty thousand rupees.[1]
46	96	Cost of building Rohtās Fort given in Dāms. Rupees, Tumāns and Khānīs. (E.D. VI, 307.) 193
51	105	Niṣār of rupees, *darbs* and *charns* on entering (Kābul). 180
55	116	Peach weighing twenty-five tolas, equal to 68 miṣqāls. 227
56	119	Peach weighing sixty-three Akbarī rupees, equal to 60 tolas. 227
57	121	Niṣār of *Darbs* and *Charns* on leaving Kābul. 93
61	128	Amount distributed to the poor for the repose of Akbar's soul given in Rupees, Tumāns and Khānīs. 194
63	132–3	Weights of some rubies given in Tānks and Miṣqāls. 108
63	133	Five lacs of Dāms equal to 7,000 or 8,000 rupees bestowed on the envoy of a Sharīf of Makka.[2]
70	148	Ruby of seven Tānks presented by Āṣaf Khān (E.D. VI. 318). 109
73	152	Cost of building Akbar's tomb at Sikandra,

[1] The Imperial author is evidently at fault. Twenty lacs of dāms would at 40 dāms to the rupee be equal to fifty thousand rupees.

[2] The calculation is again wrong if the numbers are correctly given. Five lacs of dāms would be equal to 12,500 rupees.

Text.	Trans.	
		given in Rupees, Tumāns and Khānīs. (E.D. VI. 320.) 194
93	193	Thirty thousand rupees equal to 1000 Persian Tumāns presented to the ambassador of the Shāh of Persia. 194
96	197	Issue of heavy (*Sawāī*) rupees ordered to be discontinued (VI. R) 135
116	237	(*Kaukab i-ṭāli'a*) Muhr of one thousand Tolas presented to the Persian ambassador. 70
116	237	Khwāja Yādgār makes an offering (Naẓar) of 100 *Jahāngīrī Muhrs.*
121	249	Niṣār of 5000 rupees *in small coin* (زر ریزگي) among the people at Akbar's tomb. 180
124	253	Discovery of the coincidence between the Abjad value of جهانگیر and اکبر الله. 168
131	267	Jahāngīr has his ears bored to signify that he was the ear-bored slave of the Khwāja Mu'iyyanu-d-dīn of Ajmer. 169
139	284	Twenty thousand Darbs equal to ten thousand rupees presented to the Persian ambassador.
140	285	Ruby of eight Tānks presented by Rāna of Ūdaypūr to Prince Khurram. 109
141	287	One lac Darbs presented to Kunvar Karan of Ūdaypūr. 95
142	290	Mullā Gadāī of Kashmīr dies leaving a Qurān worth *seven hundred Tankas* to pay for the expenses of his burial [1]
145	296	Ten thousand Darbs presented to the relations of Mirzā Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain. 97
146	298	One *Nūr Jahānī* Muhr of the value of 6400 rupees presented to the Persian ambassador. 70
147	300	One *Nūr Jahānī* Muhr of 500 Tulcha (Tola) presented to the envoy of 'Ādil Khān of Bījāpūr. 70
149	304	Present of one thousand *Jahāngīrī* Muhrs sent to Khwāja Ḥāsham of Dahbīd.
150	306	Thirty thousand Darbs bestowed on Mīr Mīrān. 98
156	319	Nūr Maḥal Begam ordered to be styled Nūr-Jahān Begam (XI R).
157	321	Twenty thousand Darbs presented to Allahdād Afghān. 98
159	325	Ditto ditto ditto. 98

[1] This must be the Tanka or double dām, equal to the 1/20th of the Akbarī rupee. *Vide* Num. Supp. XXVIII. 92 and the authorities quoted there.

Text.	Trans.		
177	359	Niṣār of 3500 rupees in small coins (زر ریزگي) at Ujjain.	180
179	363	Niṣār of 1500 rupees on entering Mandū.	180
180	364	Cost of repairing old buildings in Mandū given in rupees and Tumāns.	194
185	374	Sixty thousand Darbs or thirty thousand rupees presented to the ambassador of the ruler of Irān.	94
186	375	Niṣār of 1000 Ashrafīs over Nūr Jahān's head for killing four tigers with only six shots.	180
188	379	A Diamond of 14½ Tānks presented by Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ Jang.	109
188	379	Fourteen thousand Darbs given to Yādgār Qurchī.	96
195	394	Ruby of eleven Miṣqāls presented by Mahābat Khān.	109
195	395	Niṣār of precious stones and gold coins over Shāh Jahān's head on his return from his victorious campaign in the Dekkan.	180
195	395	Niṣār of gold coins on the head of a choice elephant.	180
198	399	Ruby of 19½ (19 in Text) Tānks or 17 Miṣqāls and 5½ Surkh.	109
198	399–400	Weights of rubies and pearls presented given in Tānks and Miṣqāls.	110
198	401	Aggregate value of Shāh Jahān's *peshkash* in Rupees, Tumāns and Tūrān Khānīs.	194
201	406	Two *Kaukab-i-Ṭāli'a* Muhrs, each weighing 500 tolas presented to the Wakīls (envoys) of 'Ādil Khān of Bījāpūr.	70
202	408	Muhr of 100 Tolas and 20,000 Darbs presented to Udārām Dakhanī.	7,198.
202	409	Ruby weighing 9 Tānks, 5 Surkhs presented to Shāh Jahān.	111
204	412	Conjurer swallows an iron chain weighing one sēr and 2 *Dāms*.	
205	415	Niṣār of 15,000 rupees (Nariād).	180
205	415	Revenue of Petlād seven lacs of rupees, equal to 23,000 Tumāns of 'Irāq.	194
205	415	Niṣār of 1000 rupees (Petlād).	180
206	417	Niṣār of 5000 rupees (Cambay).	180
207	417–8	Tankas (i.e.) *double* Muhrs and *double* Rupees of gold and silver struck at Cambay (E.D. VI, 354).	173
211	426	Niṣār of 1500 rupees (Aḥmadābād).	180
212	428	Niṣār of 1500 rupees (Sarkhaiz, Aḥmadābād).	180

Text.	Trans.		
214	432	Niṣār of 1000 rupees (Aḥmadābād).	180
214	433	One lac Darbs presented to the Wakīls of ʿĀdil Khān.	95
218	439	Thirty thousand Darbs presented to the Wakīls of Quṭbu-l-Mulk.	95

Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.

Vol. II.

Text.	Trans.		
224	4	Twenty thousand Darbs given to Mīr Jumla at his first presentation.	97
226	6	Zodiacal Coins (E.D. VI, 357.)	171
229	9	Niṣār of 20,000 Charns (Aḥmadābād).	100
230	11	Twenty thousand Darbs presented to Ḥakīm Masīḥu-z-zamān. (E.D. VI, 357.)	95
239	26	One thousand Darbs given to the sons of Shaikh Muḥd Ghauṣ.	96
241	31	Niṣār of pearls and golden roses on the feast of solar weighment.	181
244	36	Six thousand Darbs presented to the envoys of ʿĀdil Khān.	95
258	63	Mirzā Hindāl had the Khuṭba recited in his own name at Āgra.	331
260	68–69	Kapūr Talāo treasure given in Dāms Rupees and Tumāns.	195
260	69	One thousand Darbs presented to Ḥāfiẓ Nād ʿAlī the reciter.	96
264	75	Twenty thousand Darbs bestowed on Jagat Singh of Maʿū and Dahmīrī.	97
265	78	Weights of rubies and pearls given in Tānks and Surkhs.	111
266	81	Ruby of 12½ Tānks presented by Āṣaf Khān.	111
267	83	Three thousand Darbs given to Hunarmand the European jeweller.	96
271	90	Twenty thousand Darbs presented to Mīr Sharīf, Wakīl of Quṭbu-l-Mulk (of Golkonda).	95
274	94	One thousand Darbs presented to Sayyad Ḥasan, the Persian ambassador.	95
275	97	Ten thousand Darbs given to Bahlīm Khān.	97
281	108	The old order for raising the weight of the Sēr from 30 to 36 Dāms confirmed.[1]	145

[1] Jahāngīr had at his accession, ordered the weight of the *Sēr* and the length of the *gaz* to be increased by 20 p.c. The Jahāngīrī Sēr and *gaz* or coved are frequently referred to in the correspondence edited by Mr. Foster. (English Factories in India, 1618–1621, pp. 192, 236, 199.)

Text.	Trans.	
283	112	Weights of certain birds given in the Jahāngīrī Sēr of 36 dāms
296–7	138–9	Fifteen *Sanhasī* of Kishtwār equal to ten rupees or one Pādshāhī Muhr. 249
307	159	Shāh-ālū weighing one Tānk and five Surkhs. 112
310	165	Ten thousand Darbs presented to the envoy of the ruler of Ūrganj (Khiva). 95
311	170	Peach weighing 26 Tolas or 65 Miṣqāls.
318	183	Cost of Buildings in Lāhor Fort, seven lacs of rupees equal to 23,000 Tumāns of Persia. (E.D. VI, 374.) 195
320	187	Niṣār of ten thousand Charns (Lāhor). 100
324	193	A Nūrshāhī Muhr presented to Muḥammad Shaf'ī. 71
324	194	Niṣār of four thousand Charns (Dehlī). 100
325	195	Ruby of 12 Tānks sent by Shāh 'Abbās as a present. 111
325	196	Two thousand Charns, distributed among the poor at Humāyūn's Tomb in Dehlī. 100
326	198	A Nūr Jahānī Muhr of one thousand Tolas presented to Zambīl Beg, ambassador of Persia. 71
326	198	Darbs, Charns and Dāms. 96
328	201	Muhr of 200 Tolas presented to Zambīl Beg. 71
335	215	Niṣār of gold and silver on the feast of Emperor's solar weighment. 180
343	230	Eighty thousand Darbs given to Zambīl Beg. 97
344	232	One thousand (*Ten* thousand in Text) Darbs given to Ḥakīm Mūminā. 98
346	236	Eight thousand Darbs given to Mīr Ẓahīru-d-dīn. 97
347	237	One thousand Darbs given to Ḥakīm Mūminā. 98
365	267	'Azīzullah (nicknamed La'natullah) takes 5000 and 4 lacs of Maḥmūdīs from Broach and Sūrat respectively. 127
375	284	Tiger weighing 8½ *Jahāngīrī Maunds* shot by the Emperor.

Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī.

Bib. Ind. Text, 1865. Text.	Trans. (E. and D. Vol. VI).	*Mu'atamad Khān Bakhshī completed about 1040 A.H.*	
2	..	Date of Jahāngīr's coronation.	268
2	..	Jahāngīr's style and titles.	297
8	..	Official date of Jahāngīr's accession or initial day of Year 1 *Julūs*	268
35	..	Rupees, Tumāns and Khānis (same as *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Trans. I, 152).	
49	..	Rupees, Tumāns, Khānis (T J. Tr. I, 193)	
56	405	Nūr Jahān's coin-couplet.	318
69	..	Muhr of 1000 Tolas equal to 2500 Miṣqāls presented to the Persian ambassador. (T.J Tr. I, 237). Name of Muhr *not* given.	
81	..	Mullā Gadāī's Qurān worth *seven hundred Tankas*. (T.J. Tr. I, 290.)	
104	..	Niṣār of precious stones and gold coins over Shāh Jahān's head. (T.J. Tr I, 395.)	
110	..	Kachhī horses often worth one thousand or twelve hundred *hūns*, that is, four thousand or five thousand rupees (Hūn = about four rupees).	
145	..	Sanhasī of Kishtwār. (T J Tr. II, 138–9.)	
171	..	Rupees and Tumāns equation. (T. J. Tr. II, 183.)	
235	..	Three lacs of Hūns equal to twelve lacs of Rupees *nearly* (قریب).	
243	417	Forty Miṣqāls equal to one-fourth of a Jahāngīrī Sēr. (Cf. T.J. Tr. II, 108.)	
247	..	415 Tolas equal to 1037½ Miṣqāls (Miṣqāl equal to 2½ Tolas).	
293	435	Date of Jahāngīr's death	269
295	436	Khuṭba read in the name of Dāwar Bakhsh in the vicinity of Bhimbar.	269
303	438	Khuṭba read in Shāh Jahan's name at Lāhor by the orders of Āṣaf Khān. (Date.)	270
303	438	Dāwar Bakhsh and other princes put to death. (Date.)	270

Bādishāhnāma—I.

Part I.

Bibl. Ind. Text, 1872.			*Portions translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. VII.*
Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.		
62	..	Date of Bābur's death.	262
63	..	Date of Humāyūn's accession and his style and titles.	262
64	..	Date of the battle of Qanauj.	263
65	..	Date of Humāyūn's second entry into Dehlī.	263
65	..	Date of Humāyūn's death.	264
66	..	Date of Akbar's coronation.	266
66	..	Date of Akbar's death.	266
69	..	Date of Jahāngīr's coronation.	268
69	5	Date of Jahāngīr's death.	269
79	..	Khuṭba first read in Shāh Jahān's name at Lāhor (Date).	270
79	..	Dāwar Bakhsh and the other princes put to death (Date).	270
82	..	Shāh Jahān's style and titles.	298
87	6	Date of Shāh Jahān's coronation.	270
91	..	Shāh Jahān's style and titles	298
96	..	Shāh Jahān assumes the *laqab* Shihābu-d-dīn at the suggestion of Asaf Khān.	299
96	..	Reason for assuming the additional *laqab Ṣahib-qirān-i-Ṣānī*. N.S. XXXV, 99.	300
114	..	Date of Shāh Jahān's coronation.	270
128	..	Abolition of the practice of reckoning the Julūs years in solar years and institution of the lunar computation.	201
129	..	Official date of Shāh Jahān's accession. The Imperial accession ordered to be reckoned from 1st Jumādā II, 1037, not 8th Jumādā II, 1037 A.H.	271
156	..	Āgra first styled Akbarābād by Shāh Jahān, not by Akbar.	
173	..	Ruby of eight *Tānks* presented by Rāna of Ūdaypūr to the prince Khurram (*Tūzuk*, Trans. I, 285).	
179	..	Naẓar and Niṣār of Amīrs at the coronation of Shāh Jahān.	
243	..	Niṣār for the festival of the *wazn* sent by Mumtāz Maḥal.[1]	

[1] The gold, silver and other articles against which the Emperor was weighed "were given away to the courtiers, or to pious men, and beg-

Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.	
296	..	Niṣār on entering Burhānpūr.
302	..	Niṣār during 'Id procession at Burhānpūr.
364	25	Amount of land revenue remitted (on account of famine) given in Rupees, Tumāns and Khānis.
429	..	Ashrafīs and Rupees coined at Daulatābād in Shāh Jahān's name brought to Court (1 Zī-l-ḥajja, 1041, V.R.Y.). 331
433	..	Āg Maḥal or Rājmaḥal called Akbarnagar by Akbar.
441	..	Gigantic Ashrafīs and Rupees presented to Mḥd. 'Alī Beg, the Persian ambassador, at his audience of leave. 72
448	..	Tumāns and Rupees (Equation). 195
460	..	Tumāns, Rupees and Khānis (Equation). 195
485	..	,, ,, and Khānis, 2 passages; (Equation). 195
492	..	Prince Aurangzeb given the title of Bahādur. 221

Vol. I, Part II.

Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.	
21	..	The city generally known as Kashmīr is called Srīnagar in the records. (See N.S. XXVIII, p. 73.)
70	..	Ten thousand Rupiya-i-Niṣār given to 'Abdu-l-Qādir son of Aḥdād.
79	..	Price of one lac tolas of gold or 2,50,000 Miṣqāls. 14 lacs of rupees. 249
79	..	Cost of Peacock throne in Rupees, Tumāns, Khānīs (Equation).
89–90	..	Gigantic Ashrafī and Rupee presented to envoy from Tūrān. 72
101	..	Muhr of thirty tolas presented to Naẓar Beg, Qūshbegī of the ruler of Balkh. 72
101	..	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee presented to the Elchī of Irān. 72
104	..	Nine trays of *gold* and *silver Niṣārs* presented to Nābhar Beg, envoy of Naẓar Muḥammad Khān.
134–5	..	Gigantic Muhr presented to Qāẓī 'Umar Qūshbegī. 72
145	53	Khuṭba recited and coins struck in Shāh Jahān's name in Golkonda (IX R.Y.—1045

gars, as a means of keeping the royal person from all bodily and mental harm" Blochmann, *Āīn.* Tr. I. 266 note.

Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.	
		A.H.) Niṣār on the occasion. N.S. XXVII, 136-8. 331
178	..	Do. do. (See also p. 211.) *Ibid.*
178	..	King of Golkonda promises to pay annual tribute of two lacs of Hūns or eight lacs of Rupees.
181	..	Rupees, Tumāns, Khānīs (Equation). 196
187	..	Ruby of about eighteen tānks presented by Prince Shāh Jahān to Jahāngīr (cf. *Tūzuk*, Tr. I. 399-400).
189	..	Total of Prince Shāh Jahān's peshkash Rupees, Tumāns and Khānīs (= *Tūzuk*, Tr. I. 401). 196
196	..	Rupees, Tumāns, Khānīs (Equation).
230	..	25,000 Hūns = 1,00,000 Rupees.

VOL. II.[1]

Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.	
34	..	Khuṭba recited and coins struck in Shāh Jāhan's name in Qandahār (Afghānistān) 23 Shawwāl, 1047, XIR. 332
39	..	Coins struck in the Emperor's name at Qandahār forwarded for presentation at Court. 332
63	..	Total revenue of Persia in Rupees and Tumāns (Equation). 196
64	..	Rupees, Tumāns (Equation).
94	..	Coins struck at Qandahār presented at Court, 26 Ẓī-l-q'ada 1047 332
101	..	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee presented to Yādgār Beg Elchī 72
108	..	The Tanka of Baglāna was equal to nine current Tankas. 122
126	..	Nine thousand Tumāns presented by Shāh of Persia to Shāh Jahān's envoy.
134–5	..	Muhr of thirty tolas given to the chief huntsman of Naẓar Muḥammad Khān of Balkh. 72
162	..	Muhr of one hundred tolas given to Murshid Qulī, 'Alī Mardān Khānī.
177	..	One lac of Dāms in cash (نقد) given to Harnāth *Mahāpātar*
186	..	Ten thousand *Qurūsh*[2] = 20,000 Rupees given

[1] The *Bādishahnāma* is a history of the first twenty years of the reign of Shāh Jahān. The author died in 1065 A.H., 1654 A.C. (Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 3).

[2] This is the Turkish *Ghurūsh*, q.v. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's article on the 'Weights and Denominations of Turkish Coins' in Num. Chron. 1882.

Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.	
		by the Sulṭān of Turkey to Ẓarīf, Shāh Jahān's envoy.
218	..	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee given to the Turkish envoy. 72
232	..	Jām of Nawānagar compelled by A'ẓam Khān to close the mint where Maḥmūdīs were coined and to promise to pay a peshkash of three lacs of *Maḥmūdīs*. 127
246	..	Horse bought at Basra for 12,000 rupees equal to 36,000 *Lāris*.
259	69	Three lacs of Ashrafīs equal to 42 lacs of rupees (1051 A.H -XVR). 250
352	..	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee presented to envoy of 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpūr.
365	..	3,60,000 rupees equal to 12,000 Tumāns equal to 14,40,000 Khānīs
391	..	One Tānk equal to 24 pearl ratīs (رتّي جوهري) and one Miṣqāl equal to 27 Ratīs. 105
396	..	Niṣār of precious stones, Muhrs, *Dhans*, *Charms*, Rupees. *Darbs*, Nisārīs, golden roses and silver fruits during festival in celebration of Jahān Ārā Begam's recovery. 99
399	..	Ḥakīm Muḥammad Dāūd given a five hundred tola Muhr and rupee for curing the princess. 72
492	..	Gigantic Muhrs and Rupees given to Naẓar Shuwāyīb. Elchī of Naẓar Muḥammad Khān. 73
542	..	The total revenue of Balkh and Badakhshān. one hundred lacs of *Shāhīs* (formerly called Khānīs and *also* Tanga) and equal to about 25 lacs of (Shāhjahānī) Rupees.
562-63	..	The debased Khānīs of Balkh melted down and purified and *coined into Shāhīs* of good silver, bearing the name of Shāh Jahān, in the Balkh mint.
578	..	Ashrafī valued at about fourteen Rupees (1056 XX R.). 250
609	..	Fifty thousand Rupees equal to two lacs of Shāhīs.
662	..	Tumāns and Rupees (Equation) : 12,000 Tumāns equal to 4,00,000 Rupees or 250 Ashrafīs.
678	..	Five hundred *Dhans* from the *Zar-i-Niṣār* given to Khwāja Ṭayyab (cf. *Āīn*. Tr. I. 266 note). 44*n*

'Ālamgīrnāma.

Bibl. Ind. Edition, 1868.

Text.

25 Style and titles of Aurangzeb. 301

29 Murād Bakhsh and Shujā' have the Khuṭba recited and coins struck in their own names in Gujarāt and Bengal. 300

112 Shāh Jahān sends a sword named '*Ālamgīr*' to Aurangzeb who takes it as an omen of success, 11-ix-1068 A.H. 302

134 Murād Bakhsh had assumed the *laqab Murawwaju-d-dīn*, called himself *Sulṭān* and had the *Khuṭba* read and coins struck in his name. 300

138 Date of Murād Bakhsh's arrest and imprisonment. 273

152 Date of the first coronation of Aurangzeb. 275

155–6 The form of the *Khuṭba*, the Inscriptions on the coins and the Imperial titles (لقب اشرف) were left for future settlement.

344 Date of Shujā's flight from Akbarnagar.

350 Same as 155–6.

351 Date of the second coronation of Aurangzeb. 275

361 Do. do. 275

366 The Kalima forbidden to be inscribed on Ashrafis and Rupees.

367 Coin-couplet of Aurangzeb (with بدر). 320

367 Style and titles of Aurangzeb. 302

387 Shāh Jahān had abolished the practice of reckoning the years of his reign in solar years and restored the lunar reckoning. Aurangzeb forbids the celebration of the Nauroz. 202

388–9 1st Ramẓān 1068 fixed as the *official date* of the Emperor's accession. 276

438 Twenty-five lacs of rupees equivalent to 75,000 Tumāns of Persia. 196

483–4 Date of Shujā's flight to Ārakān. 274

557 Do. do. 274

608 Muhr and Rupee of 200 Tolas each given to the envoy of Subḥān Qulī Khān 73

627 Three gigantic Muhrs and Rupees given to the Persian ambassador 73

644 Two Do. do. to the envoy of King of Bokhārā. 73

886 One Do do. Habash. 73

922 Khuṭba recited and coins struck in *T'ibet-i-Buzurg* (Great Tibet) (VIII R. 1076) in the name of Aurang-

Text.

	zeb. One thousand Muhrs and 2000 rupees of the Imperial type sent as specimens to Court.[1]	332
931	Date of Shāh Jahān's death.	273
934–5	Length of Shāh Jahān's reign.	272
1051	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee given to the envoy from Balkh.[2]	73

Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī.

Bibl. Ind. Text, 1871 A.C.

Text.

8	Date of Murād Bakhsh's arrest (*'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 138)	273
8–9	Date of Aurangzeb's first coronation—Style of the Khuṭba, Sikka and Imperial titles (لقب اشرف) left undetermined. (*'Āl. N.* p. 155.)	275
22	Date of second coronation (*'Āl N.* p. 351.)	275
23	Kalima forbidden to be stamped on coins. Verse-motto composed by Mīr 'Abdul Baqī whose *nom de plume* was Sahbāī (*'Āl.N.* p. 366.)	320
23	Aurangzeb's style and titles. (*'Āl N.* p 367.)	301
25	1 Ramzān 1068 fixed as the official date of accession. (*'Āl.N.* p. 388)	276
25	Feast of Nauroz abolished. (*'Āl.N* p. 387.)	
30	Date of Shujā's flight. (*'Āl.N.* p. 483.)	274
52	Khuṭba recited and coins struck in Aurangzeb's name made current in *Great Tibet* (1076 A.H. VIII R.) (*'Āl.N.* p. 922.)	332
53	Date of Shāh Jahān's death and length of his reign. (*'Āl N.* p. 931.)	272–3
67	Aurangzeb's style and titles.	301
68	Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam's *Laqab* and *Kunyat*.	304
82	Ruby weighing five Tānks and five Surkhs sent by Prince Mu'azzam as a present from the King of Bījāpūr.	
108	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee given to the envoy of the Sharīf of Makka.	73

[1] Muhammadan geographers speak of "Seven Tibets, three of which are subject to Kashmīr, and the other four are independent, and have a Raja * * or ruler of their own. * * * One Tibbat—*Tibbat i Kalān* [or Great Tibbat]—is parallel with Kashmīr for fifteen stages." Raverty in J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 119.

[2] The *'Ālamgīrnāma* is a history of the first ten years of the reign of Aurangzeb. It was dedicated to the Emperor in the 32nd year of the reign, but on being presented, its continuation was forbidden (Elliot and Dowson VII. 174)

Text.		
153	Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam given the title of *Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur* (XIXR).	304
185	*Charns*, *Doāna* and *Chihār āna* of gold and silver, Black Tankas and cowries mentioned.	101
192	Khuṭba recited and coins struck at Bījāpūr in Aurangzeb's name 1091 A.H. N.S. XXVII.	134
207	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee given to envoy of ruler of Urganj.	74
210	Five hundred Dirham-i-Shar'ī fixed as the *mahr* of Shahr Bānū, daughter of 'Ādil Khān. N.S. XXVIII, p. 46.	
226	35,000 Ibrāhīmīs and one lac Ashrafīs left by Mḥd Amīn Khān.[1]	
230	4000 rupees scattered as Niṣār by Aurangzeb after Prince A'ẓam's escape from the attack of an elephant	
266	Gigantic Muhr presented to Chinqulīch Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang for extraordinarily good service.	74
282	Bījāpūr given *laqab* of دار الظفر. N.S. XXXV. 68.	
302	Ḥaidarābād called دار الجهاد. N.S. XXXV. 59.	
333	One hundred Rupees and some Charns of gold and silver given by Aurangzeb to a certain person.	101*n*
397	Gigantic Muhrs and Rupees given to the envoy of the ruler of Bokhārā.	74
428	*Dām-i-Nauras* struck by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr.	
440	Naẓar of princes ordered to be called *Niāz* and that of Amīrs *Niṣār*.	
460	A Fifty-Muhr gold piece given to Mīr Abūl Wafā for reading a letter written in cipher	74
483	Gigantic Muhr and Rupee presented to the envoy from Balkh.	74
514	Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam begs permission to assume the Kunyat Abūl Fayyāẓ.	303
521	Date of Aurangzeb's death (E.D. VII, 194).	276

[1] Abūl Faẓl says that the Ibrāhīmī was equal to 40 Kabīrs and 14 Kabīrs were equal to an Akbarī Rupee (*Āīn*. Tr. I. 56). The Ibrāhīmī would be thus equivalent to $2\frac{6}{7}$ Rupees. The *Kabīr* is said to have been current at Mochā and to have been reckoned as equal to $\frac{1}{10}$th of a dollar (Ovington 463; Milburn, I. 98 quoted in Hobson Jobson, Ed. Crooke, 121). The double Ibrāhīmī is mentioned in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* and accounted as equivalent to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees. (Bayley, Gujarāt, p. 6: Bird, History of Gujarāt, 109.) Hamilton speaks of *Ebramies* and *Mograbies* as Turkish gold coins of low matt. A New Account of the East Indies, Ed. 1744, I. 43.

Text.

523 Length of Aurangzeb's reign (reckoned from the *official* date) of accession.

536 Date of A'ẓam Shāh's death (E.D. VII, 196). 277

538 Date of Kām Bakhsh's death (E.D. VII, 196).[1] 277

Khāfī Khān.

VOL. I.

Bibl. Ind. Edition 18.

Text.

46 Ransom of four hundred thousand Shāhrukhīs, *each weighing one Miṣqāl*, imposed by Bābur on Bhīra. 8

53 Three lacs and fifty thousand silver Tankas current at the time (سه لک و پنجاه هزار سکهٔ نقره رائج الوقت) bestowed on Humāyūn and two lacs silver Tankas on Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā by Bābur. (Cf. *Akb. Nām* Tr. I 248.)

53 One Shāhrukhī *weighing one Miṣqāl of silver* sent as a present to every soul in Kābul (Firishta, Briggs. II, 49.) 7

61 Niṣār after Bābur's victory over Sāngā.

61 Bābur styles himself *Ghāzī* after defeating Sāngā. 293

124 Date of Humāyūn's death. 264

127 Date of Akbar's accession. 265

131 Khuṭba read in Mirzā Sulaimān's name in Kābul (963 A.H.). 331

155 Meaning of *Tanka*, *Pul-i-Siyāh*, *Fulūs*, *Tanka-i-Nuqra*, *etc.* Todar Mal first introduced the rupee of forty Dāms

161 Two lacs of rupees given to Shāh Ṭahmāsp's ambassador. (But cf. Badāonī, Lowe, II, 49 and *Akb. Nāma*, Tr II, 262.)

165 Āgra was first called Akbarābād only after the accession of Shāh Jahān. (*Bād Nām.* I, i. 156.)

167 Mirzā Sulaimān has the Khuṭba recited and coins struck in his own name at Kābul (973 A.H.). 331

235 Date of Akbar's death. 267

243 Akbar's treasure (Gigantic Muhrs, etc.), cf. Firishta, Tr. Briggs, II, 281. 68

246 Date of Jahāngīr's accession. 268

246 The Emperor takes the *Ilqāb* of Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr. 297

249 Official date of Jahāngīr's Julūs. 268

[1] The author was Secretary to Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I. The work was undertaken at the request of the Emperor and completed in 1710 A.C. (Elliot and Dowson VII. 181).

Text.

268 Verse-motto of Nūr Jahān's coins. 318

272 Jahāngīr orders portrait-medals of a Tola of gold to be struck for presentation to his favourite Amīrs. 147

293 Niṣār of precious stones and Ashrafīs on Prince Khurram's head after his return from the Dekkan (here called تصدق) *Tūzuk* Tr. I. 395.

304 تصدق of silver and gold after Shāh Shujā's accidental fall from the terrace.

386 Jahāngīr orders portrait-medals of five Tolas of gold to be struck. 148

388 Date of Jahāngīr's death. 269

394 Shahrīār and the son of Prince Daniāl put to death by Āṣaf Khān's orders. (Date.) (Dāwar Bakhsh's name is left out.) 270

395 Shāh Jahān's style and titles. 298

395 Date of Shāh Jahān's accession. 271

396 Niṣār of gold and silver and precious stones at Shāh Jahān's coronation.

397 Shāh Jahān forbids the years of his Julūs to be reckoned in solar years and reintroduces the Arabian or Hijrī era. 203

402 Sarhind ordered to be written *Sahrind*. N.S XXXIV, p. 235.

403 Revenue of Persia in Tumāns and Rupees (= *Bād. Nām.* II, 63).

424 Burhānpūr ordered to be styled *Dāru-s-Surūr* (1040 A.H.) N.S. XXXV, p. 64.

503 Cost of the Peacock Throne in Tumāns and Rupees (= *Bād. Nām.* I. ii. 79).

523 Khuṭba read and coins struck at Golkonda in Shāh Jahān's name. The king sends the newly-stamped Rupees and Ashrafīs to court (= *Bād. Nām.* I, ii. 145. 178). N.S. XXVII, 138. 331

523 Niṣār of *golden and silver roses* on the head of the Khatīb.

536 Peshkash of 2 lacs of Hūns or eight lacs of rupees promised by 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh of Golconda. (*Bād. Nām.* I, ii. 178.)

556 Nine Ashrafīs and nine rupees struck at Qandahār in Shāh Jahān's name, sent to court. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 39.) 332

562 The Rājas of Baglāna were at one time صاحب سکه i.e. struck coins of their own and their revenue was fifteen lacs of rupees. 121

574 The Qaiṣar, i.e. Sulṭān of Rūm [Turkey] gives 'inām of 10,000 *Qurūsh* or 20,000 rupees to Shāh Jahān's envoy Ẓarīf. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 186.)

Text.

581 Gigantic medals of gold and silver presented to Arslān Āqā, envoy of the Sulṭān of Rūm. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 218.)

583 Jām of Nawānagar compelled to close the mint where he used to strike Maḥmūdīs. (He says the peshkash was three lacs of *Rupees*.) (*Bād. Nām.* II, 232.) 127

606 Shāh Jahān takes a tray full of pearls and rubies and gold and silver coins worth one lac of rupees and waves it over the head (نثار) of Jahān Ārā Pādishāh Begam, on the feast held to celebrate her recovery. Niṣār of precious stones and *golden roses* on behalf of the Princess and other Begams. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 396.) 99

606 Muhr and rupees of five hundred Tolas given to Ḥakīm Dā'ūd as a reward for curing the Princess. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 399.) 72

632 Total Revenue of Balkh and Badakhshān, one kror Shāhīs *also called Khānīs*; one rupee = 4 Shāhis. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 542.)

639 The circulation in Balkh of the old Khāni which had been debased and had a large proportion of copper forbidden, Shāh Jahānī Rupees and Ashrafīs made current. (*Bād. Nām.* II 563.)

654 Twelve thousand Tumāns or 4 lacs of rupees in cash (نقد) given by the Shāh of Persia to Naẓar Muḥammad Khān. (*Bād. Nām.* II, 662.)

749 Mīr Jumla offers as Naẓar and Niṣār one thousand gold *Ibrāhīmīs* to Prince Aurangzeb. (Cf. *Maas.* '*Ālam.* 226 note.)

Khafī Khān II.

Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.		
2	212	Aurangzeb's style and titles	302
5	214	Shāh Shujā' and Murād Bakhsh have the Khuṭba recited and coins struck in their own names	
29	..	Amīrs offer *Nazar and Niṣār* after the battle of Dharmātpūr.	
31–32	225–6	Shāh Jahān sends a sword named '*Ālamgir as a present to Aurangzeb* who takes it as a good omen.	302
38	228	Murād Bakhsh arrested and imprisoned. (Date.)	273
39	229	Date of Aurangzeb's first coronation; Khuṭba and Sikka not settled.	275
40	..	Naẓar and Niṣār at Aurangzeb's first coronation.	

Text.	Trans. E. D. VII.		
76	241	Date of Aurangzeb's second coronation (*4th* in E.D. is a mistake for *24th*).	275
77	241	Aurangzeb's style and titles.	302
77	241	Stamping of Kalima on coins forbidden. Verse motto on Ashrafīs (with 'mihr'); on Rupees (with 'badr').	
79	241	Celebration of Nauroz forbidden; Hijrī era to be used in the *Hisāb-i-Daftar*.	30
134	..	Narāinī coins of Kūch-Bihār alluded to; (also p. 137).	
153	265	Coins struck in 'Ālamgīrnagar in Kūch Bihār; khuṭba recited in Aurangzeb's name and circulation of *Narāinīs* forbidden. (1072 A.H.).[1]	332
156	267	Murād Bakhsh put to death. (Date.)	274
177	271	Shivājī coins Hūns and copper coins at Rājgadh. (1074 A H)	332
183	275	Ten lacs of Hūns = 40 lacs of rupees (1075 A.H.).	
185	..	Khuṭba recited and coins struck in Aurangzeb's name in Tibet (1075 A.H.).	332
185	..	Niṣār of gold and silver roses on the head of Khaṭīb	
185-6	..	Two thousand of the newly struck Ashrafīs and nine thousand of the rupees sent to court with other presents.	
187	275	Date of Shāh Jahān's death.	273
189	..	Aurangzeb presents to Begam Ṣāhib ten thousand Ashrafīs. each Ashrafī was then equal to *seventeen rupees* (1076 A.H.).	250
190	276	Shivājī offers as Naẓar and Niṣār 1500 Ashrafīs and six thousand rupees equal in all to 30,000 rupees (Ashrafī = 16 rupees).	251
214	..	The publication of Almanacks forbidden.	31
233	..	Aimal Khān Afghān calls himself Aimal Shāh and stamps money in his own name. 1079 A.H.	332
266	301	Prince Muḥammad Akbar said to have struck money in his own name. 1079 A.H.	332
358	336	Ḥaidarābād ordered to be called *Dāru-l-Jihād*	
399	344	Names of places like *Baglāna, Bangāla, Parnāla*, etc., to be written with a terminal *Alef* instead of final 'ha.' 1103 A.H. N.S. XXXIV, 191.	

[1] For these Narāinīs, see Notes On Some Coins of the Koch Kings, by E. A. Gait in J.A.S.B. 1895, 237-241. 'Ālamgīrnagar was the new name given to the capital of Kūch Bihār. (*'Ālam. Nāma.* 694; *Maāṣ. 'Ālam.* 40.)

Text.	Trans. E.D. VII.	
401–2	345	Portuguese silver coin worth nine annas and called *Ashrafī* (Xerafin) and copper coin called *Buzrug* (Bazaruco) equal to ¼ of a Fulūs (cf. Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *Xerafine* and *Budgrook*).
423	351	Rupees struck by the English at Bombay in the name of their own King. 332
432	357	One lac Hūṇs equal to 3,50,000 rupees (1105 A.H.).
443	358	Prince Mu'aẓẓam who had been given the title (خطاب) of Shāh 'Ālam was now given the (لقب) of Bahādur Shāh (1106 A.H.) 304
549	386	Date of Aurangzeb's death. 276
566	387	Date of A'ẓam Shāh's coronation 277
568	389	Aurangzeb's treasure in Āgra Fort, Ashrafīs and presentation money. [سکه غریب نواز] 74
570	390	Kām Bakhsh assumes the لقب *Dīn Panāh* in his Khuṭba and has coins struck in his own name. 303
570	..	Verse-motto of Kām Bakhsh's coins. 321
571	391	Date of A'ẓam Shāh's coronation and his coin-couplet. 277
574	392	Date of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I's coronation 278
574	393	Bahādur Shāh orders the weight of the rupee to be raised by ½ Māsha. N.S. XXVIII, 67.
578	393–4	Bahādur Shāh gets possession of the treasure in Āgra Fort (large Ashrafīs and presentation money). [اشرفي و روپيهٔ غريب نواز] 75
590	398	Date of A'ẓam Shāh's defeat and death. 277
599	..	Titles given by the Emperor to the Princes. 305
603	404	Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I orders that the legends on coins should be in prose, not verse.
607	..	*Official* date of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur's accession fixed as 18 Ẕi-l-ḥajja 1117 A.H. 278
621	..	Date of Kām Bakhsh's defeat and death. 277
644	..	Khuṭba read in Qandahār (Afghānistān) in *Bahādur Shāh's* reign. 332
645	..	Ḥaidarābād ordered to be called Farkhunda *Bunyād.* N.S. XXXV, 79.
683	428	Date of Bahādur Shāh's death. 279
686	430	Date of ' Aẓīmu-sh-shān's death.
701	437	Date of Jahāndār Shāh's defeat. 281

Text.	Trans. E. D. VIII.		
710	439	Farrukhsīyar has the Khuṭba recited and coins struck in the name of his father 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān on receiving the news of Bahādur Shāh's death. N.S XXXV, 82.	
711	439	Farrukhsīyar on hearing of 'Aẓimu-sh-shān's death has the khuṭba read and coins struck in his own name at Patna. *Ibid.* 83.	
721	..	Date of Farrukhsīyar's victory and Jahāndār Shāh's defeat	281
734	445	Jahāndār Shāh put to death. (Date).	281
737	..	Five hundred Tumāns = 24,000 rupees. (1124 A.H.)	196
737	..	Gigantic Ashrafī and rupees presented to the Persian ambassador, Mir Murtaẓā Khafāf.	75
737	446	Farrukhsīyar gives orders that his own reign should be reckoned from 1st Rab'ī I 1123, (Recte I, 1124) and that Jahāndār Shāh's reign should be considered as (عهد مخالف) an usurpation.	281
8	476	Date of Farrukhsīyar's deposition.	282
816	479	Date of Raf'īu-d-Darajāt's coronation.	282
816	479	Style and titles of Raf'īu-d-Darajāt (also p. 814)	306
825	482	Nikūsīyar declared Emperor by the garrison of Āgra Fort.	284
825	..	Nikūsīyar's coin-couplet.	325
827	..	Date of Nikūsīyar's enthronement.	284
829	482	Raf'īu-d-Daula enthroned during the lifetime of Raf'īu-d-Darajāt.	283
829	482	Death of Raf'īu-d-Darajāt three days subsequently.	283
830	482	Date of Raf'īu-d-Daula's accession.	283
831	483	He takes the لقب *Shāh Jahān-i-Ṣānī*.	307
836	484	Surrender of Āgra Fort and deposition of Nikūsīyar. (Date).	284
838	485	Death of Raf'īu-d-Daula after a reign of three months and some days.	283
840	485	Date of Muḥammad Shāh's coronation.	284
841	485	Muḥammad Shāh's style and titles.	307
841	846	Muḥammad Shāh issues orders that his own reign should be taken to have begun from the day of Farrukhsīyar's deposition.	285
850	..	Muḥammad Shāh's style and titles.	307
903	..	Ditto ditto.	307
914	509	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm declared Emperor.	28
914	509	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm's style and titles.	286

Text.	Trans. E. D. VIII.		
927	..	Muḥammad Shāh's style and titles. See also 933.	307
933	515	Defeat of the Sayyads and deposition of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (Date).[1]	286

Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī.

PART I.

Bombay Lith., 1306 A.H. Text.	Trans.	*Tr. Bird, History of Gujarāt (1835).*	
8	91	Style and titles of Aḥmad Shāh.	309
14	99	Style and titles of ʿĀlamgīr II.	309
19–24	109–118	One hundred Tankchas of Gujarāt equivalent to one Akbarī Rupee. (Cf. also Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties, pp. 6–15.)	
..	109	Hūṇs and Ibrāhīmīs reckoned at about 4½ rupees each.	
22	119	Maḥmūdi Changīzī valued at ½ rupee (the figures are probably wrong). (Bayley, p. 12.)	
24	122	Maḥmūdī Changīzī valued at ½ rupee. (Bayley, 14.)	
25	127	Maḥmūdī Changīzī valued at 2/5ths of a rupee. (Bayley, 14, 16.)	
58	..	The Gujarāt seer was equal in weight to 15 Bahlūlīs in the reign of Maḥmūd I 1459-1511 A.C. (For *Bahlūlis*, vide *Āīn*, Tr. I. 31; Thomas, Chronicles, p. 359.)	
104–111	292–300	Style and titles of the Mughal Emperors from Bābur to Shāh Jahān III and the dates of their accession and death.	
166–171	382	Introduction of the Ilāhī era and the Imperial Farmān on the subject.	11*n*
214	..	Shāh Jahān orders the years of his Julūs to be reckoned in Hilālī (Lunar) years. (*Bād. Nām.* I. 1, 128.)	
224–6	..	Aʿẓam Khān compels the Jām to pay tribute and close the mint in which he had been striking Maḥmūdis. (*Bād. Nām* II. 232); (*vide* N.S. XXIV, 468).	128

[1] Khāfī Khān's History is a chronicle of the house of Tīmūr from the accession of Bābur to the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh. (E D. VII, 207.)

Text	Trans.	
279-80	..	Aurangzeb reduces the weight of the Dām from 21 Māshas to 14 Māshas. N S. XXVIII. 63
282	..	Same subject. *Ibid.*, 64.
322	..	Murādī Tankas. *Ibid.*, 91.
408	..	Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I orders the weight of the Muhr and Rupee to be raised and made equal to one Tola—1122 A.H. *Ibid*, 68.
422	..	Coin-couplet of Farrukhsiyar. He issues orders for striking Ashrafīs and rupees of the old-weight, viz. 11 Māshas and 11½ Māshas respectively as in the days of Aurangzeb. 323

PART II.

119	..	The standard weight of the Ashrafī was 11 Māshas and that of the Rupee 11½ Māshas when the author wrote (about 1761 A.C.) [1]

Khazāna-i-'Āmira.

Kāhnpūr Lithograph, 1900 A.C.

Text.

52	Date of Aḥmad Shāh's imprisonment and of 'Ālamgīr II's accession. 287
54	'Ālamgīr II put to death. (Date) 287
55	The day on which the Nawābs of the Carnatic made the night-attack on Niẓāmu-d-daula's (Nāsir Jang's) camp was the 17th of Muḥarram (1164 A.H.) according to astronomical calculation—(حساب تنجیم) but the 16th according to visibility (حساب رویت).
78	Date of Muḥammad Shāh's death. 285
90	Date of Aḥmad Shāh's accession. 286
90	Date of Aḥmad Shāh's imprisonment. 287
90	'Ālamgir II put to death. (Date.) 287
90	Shāh Jahān III is placed on the throne. (Date.) 288
91	Prince 'Alī Gohar ascends the throne and assumes the

[1] This work was begun about 1748 A.C., 1161 A.H. and completed in 1756 A.C., 1170 A.H. (Bird, *loc. cit.* 95, 99). 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, the author, was Diwān of Gujarāt.

Text.

title of Shāh ʿĀlam II. (Date) *Official* date of his accession. 288

91 Shāh Jahān III deposed. (Date.) 288

106 Ditto ditto (Date.) 288

269 The Khān-i-Khānān ʿAbdu-r-Raḥīm, Viceroy of Gujarāt, gave 40,000 Maḥmūdīs to the poet Shakībī in 1011 A.H.

371 Nādir Shāh's Coin-couplet. (Rodgers, *loc. cit.*)

404 Muẓaffar III of Gujarāt gave to the poet Mujī Lārī one hundred thousand Sikandarīs (Tankas) for a Maṣnavī.

411 Khākī Shīrazī says in his *Muntakhabu-l-Tawārīkh*[1] that Akbar gave Khwāja Ḥusain Marwī for a Qaṣīda on the birth of Prince Salīm, two lacs of Tankas, i.e. ten thousand Akbarī Rupees.

Siyaru-l-Mutaākh Khirīn.

Sayyad Ghulām Ḥusain Khān. completed in 1783 A.C. — *Trans. M. Raymond. Calcutta Reprint, 1902.*

Trans

Vol. I. 3 Date of Aurangzeb's death. 276

3 Aʿẓam Shāh ascends the throne. (Date). 277

5 Date of Bahādur Shāh Shāh ʿĀlam I's coronation. 278

7 Date of Aʿẓam Shāh's defeat and death. 277

12 (note) The dām really equal to from the 40th to 48th part of a rupee, but in the Chamber of Accounts 40 dāms always go for a rupee. (See also I. 183 *n.*)

13 Date of Kām Bakhsh's defeat and death. 277

22 Date of Shāh ʿĀlam I's death. 279

47 Farrukhsiyar has the Khuṭba read and coins struck in his own name on hearing of his father's death.

53 Date of Jahāndār Shāh's defeat. 281

62 Ditto ditto death. 281

129–30 Farrukhsiyar is deposed. (Date.) 282

136 Style and titles of Rafʿīu-d-Darajāt and date of his accession. 282

143 Date of Rafʿīu-d-darajāt's death. 283

145 Date of Muḥammad Shāh's coronation. 285

[1] There is a copy of this rare work in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, Bombay. (Rehatsek. Catalogue, p. 84.) The author was Dīwān of Patna and it was completed in 1019 A.H. The statement is therefore not without significance. Cf. *Ṭab. Akb.* Text 288; *Badāonī* Tr. Lowe II, 124. See Elliot and Dowson, VI. 201 for an account of the writer.

Text.		
146	Style and titles of Muḥammad Shāh.	307
146	*Official* date of Muhammad Shah's Julus.	285
186	Style and titles of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm and date of accession.	309, 286
193	Defeat of the Sayyads and deposition of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. (Date.)	286
201	Niṣār by the Emperor's mother on his returning to the palace after the victory.	
237	Alteration of Muḥammad Shāh's *Kunyat* and substitution of *Abūl Fatḥ* for *Abūl Muẓaffar*. (1134 A.H.)	307
Vol. II—336*n*.	Coin-couplet of Shāh 'Ālam II composed by Mīr Mahdī Khān (Brown. L.M.C. i No. 78). Meaning of the name 'Ālī Gohar.'	327
Vol III—339	Date of Aḥmad Shāh's deposition and 'Ālamgīr II's accession.	
,, IV—196*n*.	Parody of Aurangzeb's coin-couplet.	322
224	Bahādur Shāh orders Ḥaidarābād to be styled Farkhunda Bunyād.	

Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī.

Manuscript.

Text.		
57	Date of Aurangzeb's death.	276
57	Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam ascends the throne. (Date.)	277
57	Date of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I's accession.	278
58	Date of A'ẓam Shāh's defeat and death.	277
63	Date of Kām Bakhsh's defeat and death.	277
68	Date of Bahādur Shāh's death.	
69	Date of Jahāndār Shāh's coronation.	
74	Date of Jahāndār Shāh's defeat.	
76	Actual date of Farrukhsiyar's accession.	
79	*Official* date of ditto ditto.	
84	Date of Raf īu-d-darajāt's accession.	
84	Raf'īu-d-daula's accession.	
84	Do. Raf'īu-d-darajāt's death.	283
	Raf'īu-d-daula's death.	
85	Style and titles of Muḥammad Shāh: date of his coronation.	307
86	*Official* date of his accession.	285
108	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm raised to the throne. His style and titles.	309
111-6	Defeat of the Sayyads and deposition of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. (Date.)	286

Text.

117 Niṣār on Muḥammad Shāh's head on his return to the capital

135 Envoy of the Sharīf of Mecca given an Ashrafī of 1,000 tolas called *Kaukab-i-Ṭāl'i.* (XI R.Y.) 75

186 Date of Muḥammad Shāh's death. 285

186–7 Duration of his reign according to the *actual* and *official* reckoning.

188 Date of Aḥmad Shāh's accession. 286

230 Do. do. imprisonment and deposition. 287

243 Do. 'Ālamgīr II's accession. 287

276 Do. do. 's assassination. 287

286 Actual date of Shāh 'Ālam II's coronation; orders about the *official* date of his *Julūs.* 288

Miftāḥu-t-Tawārīkh.

Kāhnpūr Lithograph, 1284 A.H

Text.

213 Couplets inscribed on coins issued from the mints of Āgra and Aḥmadābād in Jahāngīr's reign. (Brown, L.M.C. i. Couplets Nos. 15 and 22.)

214 The Nūr Jahān coin-couplet. (Brown, No 52.) 318

236 Metrical inscriptions on the two hundred Muhr-piece of Shāh Jahān. (Brown No. 55.)

264 Dates of Aurangzeb's two coronations and his style and titles.

266 Aurangzeb's coin-couplet. (Brown, No. 58.)

297 Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam's style and titles and date of coronation.

298 Date of Bahādur Shāh's death.

299 Jahāndār Shāh's style and titles. Date of his coronation. His coin-couplet. (Rodgers. J.A.S.B., 1888, p. 28.)

301 Farrukhsiyar's style and titles. Date of his coronation. His coin-couplet. (Brown, No. 68.)

304 Raf'īu-d-Darajāt's coin-couplet. (Brown No. 69.)

304–5 Raf'īu-d-Daula's style and titles and dates of accession and death.

304 Muḥammad Shāh's style and titles and date of accession.

305 Alleged coin-couplet of Muḥammad Shāh :

زفضل حق شهنشاه محمد شاه دین پرور

دربن عالم زده سکه ز مهر و ماه روشن تر

Text.

326 Date of Muḥammad Shāh's death.

327 Date of Aḥmad Shāh's accession. His style and titles. He assumes the لقب *Bahādur* notwithstanding the advice of his ministers. 219

335 Dates of the deposition, blinding and death of Aḥmad Shāh. 286

340–1 Date of 'Ālamgīr II's coronation. His style and titles and coin-couplet. (Rodgers, *loc. cit.* 31.) 287

341 Date of 'Ālamgīr II's assassination. 287

343 Date of Shāh 'Ālam II's accession. His style and titles and coin-couplet. 288,327

361 Date on which Bidār Bakht was placed on the throne. His alleged coin-couplet. 289,327

361 Date of the blinding of Shāh 'Ālam II. 288

375 Date of the death of Shāh 'Ālam II. 289

375 Akbar II's style and titles. Date of his accession. His coin-couplet. 289,313,328

394 Date of Akbar II's death. 289

394 Style and titles of Bahādur Shāh II. Date of his accession. His coin-couplet [1] 289,313,328

[1] It will be observed that there are in this Conspectus several passages which are not mentioned in the book itself, and to which no references are given. They have been included merely with a view to make the Index as exhaustive as possible. Most of them are literal reproductions or paraphrases of the statements of earlier writers and throw no new light on the subject, or are notices of secondary importance which are so vague, indefinite or incomplete that they make no real addition to our knowledge.

Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.