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THE
INITIAL COINAGE
OF
BENGAL,

UNDER THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN CONQUERORS.

PART II.

EMBRACING THE PRELIMINARY PERIOD BETWEEN A.H. 614-634 (A.D. 1217-1236-7).

BY
EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

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BENGAL COINS.



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THE INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL.

THE discovery of an undisturbed hoard of no less than 13,500 coins in Kooch Bihár, inhumed some five centuries since, recently claimed attention both from the number and importance of its representative specimens, which so effectively illustrated the history of the kingdom of Bengal for a consecutive period of some 107 years.¹ The earliest date thus accorded towards the purely Initial Coinage of the country under its newly-installed Muslim administrators did not reach higher than the reign of the Empress Rizíah, A.H. 634-637 (A.D. 1236-1239), or more than 34 years after the first entry of the adventurous *Khilji* and *Turki* troops into the recognized Hindú capital of the lower Gauges.² A still more recent discovery of a comparatively poor man's *cache*, in the fort of Bihár,³ elucidates an earlier chapter of the local annals; and though the contents of the earthen vessel in this case are limited in number to a total of 37 pieces, and restricted in their dates to a term of 13 years, they, in some respects, compete advantageously with the previously-recovered unexampled store, in the value of their contributions

¹ Journ. R. A. S. (N.S.) Vol. II., 1866, p. 145. Reprinted in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxxvi., 1867, p. 1.

² The name of Nuddaa, नवद्वीप, *Navadvīpa*, the "new island" (converted into نوید by the Muslims), would seem to imply a southerly movement, in concert with the silt of the Gauges, of the seat of Government down to the comparatively modern occupation of this site, on the abandonment of the successive traditional capitals of earlier dynasties.

³ I have no information as to the exact circumstances of the discovery of this small hoard, beyond the general intimation that it was secured by Mr. A. M. Broadley, C.S., in or near the Fort of Bihár. The coins have now become the property of Colonel Guthrie, who had already contributed the materials for my earlier notice of the Initial Coinage of Bengal. I understand that a description of these pieces is to be included in Mr. Broadley's forthcoming account of his antiquarian researches at Bihár (*Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, July, 1872, p. 120); but I have not considered that such a promised publication need interfere with a completion of my previous article in this *Journal* by the aid of these new acquisitions.

27/10/86

to the obscure records of the Gangetic Delta, and in priority of date bring us more than 20 years nearer to the first occupation of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár *Khilji* in 600 A.H. As in the larger and almost-regal treasure trove of Kooch Bihár, the specimens in the present instance prove to be essentially of home or indigenous fabric. With the exception of a single northern piece of the supreme *Sultán* of India, they are one and all the produce of the mints of Bengal proper, and mark with singular fidelity the varied incidents of the alternate rise and fall of the provincial governors during the unsettled relations existing between suzerain and vassal from A.H. 614 to 627, when Altamsh came into real and effectual possession of the south-eastern portion of his Empire.

One of the most instructive facts disclosed by these few pieces is, that the rich and comparatively undisturbed territory of Bengal felt the want of a supply of *silver* money long before a similar demand arose in the harassed provinces of the north-west. The southern coins date, as far as can be seen, some nine years prior to Altamsh's earliest effort at a silver coinage in his northern dominions; and even Rizíah's silver money of deferred date bears every token of exclusive manufacture in the subordinate Lakhnautí mint.

I have already quoted the testimony of Minháj-us-Siráj, to the effect, that on the first conquest of Bengal by the Muslims, they found no metallic or other circulating media of exchange except that supplied by *cowries*;¹ even the compromise of the mixed silver and copper *jitals* of the various Hindú dynasties of the central Rájput tribes was unknown in the sea-board marts of the south.

The chronicles of the proximate kingdom of Orissa, whose boundaries touched if they did not often trench upon the ancient kingdom of Gaur,² explain how so infinitesimal

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 148. See also Hamilton's *Hindustán*, i., p. 40.

² Mr. Stirling says, under the Ganga Vansa line, for a period of nearly four centuries (from A.D. 1132), the boundaries of the Ráj of Orissa may be stated as follows: . . . "North, a line drawn from the Tribeni or Triveni ghat above Húgli, through Bisherpár, to the frontier of Patkúm: East, the river Húgli and the sea."—As. Res. xv., p. 164. Hunter, i., p. 280. "To the north of the mouth of the Saraswatí lies the broad and high Tribeni Ghát, a magnificent flight of steps,

and largely distributed a currency was able to supply the wants of so rich and essentially commercial a population. It would appear, from the official records preserved in the Temple at Púrí, that although there was no silver money in use, gold in convenient weights, if not in the form of absolute coin,¹ was freely interchangeable with the more bulky heaps of cowries. In these same official *Palm-leaf* documents we find the powerful King of Orissa, Anang Bhím Deo (A.D. 1174-1201), describing the geographical limits of his kingdom, specifying, with close exactitude, its now *proved* superficial area (39,407 square miles); and adding that, as the revenues of his predecessors of the Kesari line had amounted, with a more limited extent of territory, to 15,00,000 *marhs* of gold, so his own added boundaries had raised the State income to 35,00,000 *marhs*. Mr. Stirling (our most trusted Revenue authority), relying upon still-extant local tradition, defined the *marh* at 5 *máshas'* weight;² while Dr. Hunter, under later and more vague native inspiration, pronounces it to be $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *karishá*, which measure may be assumed to represent the local pronunciation of the old widely-spread *karsha* of Manu, corresponding with the normal weight of the gold *suvarṇa*, i.e. 80 *ratis*.³ Taking the *rati* at 1.75 grains, this will make Mr. Stirling's return amount to 43.75 grains ($5 \times 5 = 25$; $25 \times 1.75 = 43.75$) per *marh*; whereas Dr. Hunter's estimate, under the same figures, would only produce 35 grains ($140 \div 4 = 35$); but, as he assumes the modern *karishá* to be equal to "one *Toláh* or one Rupee" of our modern system,—the amount of which however he does not further define,⁴—and taking the 180 grain total as the

said to have been built by Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orissa."—Blochmann, *As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 282.

¹ On the above occasion, likewise, a new coin and seal were struck by the Rája's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Khúrda Rájás, who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They run thus: *Vira Sri Gajapati, Gauriswara*, etc. "The illustrious Hero, the Gajapati (Lord of Elephants), sovereign of Gaura (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Kernáta, and the nine forts," etc.—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 272.

² *Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 271. Mr. Stirling, however, seemed to imagine that the sum named for the total revenues, as stated by this estimate, was too high; but later investigations fully support the reasonable measure of the King's boast.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, II., pp. 169, 170. *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 221.

⁴ "Orissa," a continuation of the "Annals of Rural Bengal," (London, Smith &

test,¹ the result is not far removed from Mr. Stirling's earlier estimate under the old régime;—producing, in effect, a return of 45 grains for the *marh* ($180 \div 4 = 45$). But, singular to say, if we revert to the more ancient standard of the *ṣataraktika*, or 100-*rati*² weight,—a metric division which was reproduced and reaffirmed in the authorized *tankah* of the Pathán dynasty, and to which we have to allow a theoretical weight of 175 grains,—Dr. Hunter's $\frac{1}{4}$ *toláh* will come out to the exact second place of decimals of the 43·75 ($175 \div 4 = 43\cdot75$), obtained from Mr. Stirling's data.

The determination of the true weight of the *rati* has done much both to facilitate and give authority to the comparison of the ultimately divergent standards of the ethnic kingdoms of India. Having discovered the guiding *unit*, all other calculations become simple, and present singularly convincing results, notwithstanding that the basis of all these

Elder, 1872), i., pp. 316, 317. Dr. Hunter, like myself, has endeavoured to make his antiquarian researches instructive in their application to the defects of our own government in India, consequent upon the too frequent disregard of the superior local knowledge and hereditary instincts of the races we are appointed to rule over.

After enumerating the ascertained totals of the revenue of the province at various periods, the author goes on to say, "From time immemorial Orissa, like some other parts of India, has used a local currency of *cowries*. When the province passed into our hands in 1803, the public accounts were kept and the revenue was paid in these little shells." We "however stipulated that the landholders should henceforth pay their land-tax in silver, and fixed the rate of exchange at 5120 *cowries* to the rupee." (In 1804 the official exchange was 5120, and the practical rate of exchange from 6460 to 7680.) . . . "Had our first administrators contented themselves with taking payment in silver at the current rate of the cowrie exchange, the Orissa land-tax would now have been double what it is at present. But had they resolved to collect it at a grain valuation, according to Akbar's wise policy, it would now be more than double; for the prices of food have rather more than doubled since 1804. The system of paying the land-tax by a grain valuation appears to me to be the best means of giving stability to the Indian revenues."—Orissa, ii., p. 172. Dr. Hunter had not seen my notice of "The Revenues of the Mughal Empire" (Trübner, 1872) when this was written. I had equally appreciated the equity and suitability of the system of estimate by agricultural produce, which had come down to Akbar's time from the earliest dawn of the civilization of the nation at large; but I had to condemn Akbar for introducing a new element in the shape of a settlement to be paid in silver, on the average of the prices of previous years—an assessment he hoped, in defiance of the proverbial uncertainty of Indian seasons, to make immutable; furnishing, in effect, the leading idea we so unwisely followed in that deplorable measure, Lord Cornwallis's "Permanent Settlement of Bengal."

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, U.T., p. 7.

² *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, pp. 3, 167, 223, 224 (note). Dr. A. Weber, in the *Zeitschrift* for 1861, p. 189, cites the parallel designation of *Ṣata Kṛishnala*, from the *text* of the Black Yajur Veda (circa 800 B.C.). The commentator uses the local name above quoted.

estimates rests upon so erratic a test as the growth of the seed of the Gunjá creeper (*Abrus precatorius*), under the varied incidents of soil and climate. Nevertheless this small compact grain, checked in early times by other products of nature, is seen to have had the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India, which only came to be disturbed when monarchs, like Shír Sháh and Akbar, in their vanity, raised the weight of the coinage without any reference to the number of *ratis* inherited from Hindú sources as the *given* standard, officially recognized in the old, but altogether disregarded and left undefined in the reformed Muhammadan mintages.

I may as well take this opportunity of disposing of the other technical questions bearing upon the general subject; and, without recapitulating the investigations elsewhere given at large,¹ I may state generally, that I understand the *rati* to have been 175 grains, the 100-*rati* piece—reproduced in the ordinary Dehli *tankah*—175 grains. The Rájput *jital*, composed of mixed silver and copper, preserved in the early Dehli currencies of the Muslims, is $\frac{1}{4}$ in value of the 175-grain silver coin; but the number of *jitals* in any given composite piece was dependent upon the proportional amount of the silver added to the ruling copper basis. The *káni*, like the *jital*, is $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *tankah*; but the *káni* is found to be the practical as well as the theoretical divisor, applicable alike to land and other measures, preserving its more special identity in the southern peninsula. Both terms have now been found in conjunction on a single piece of Metropolitan fabric, where the *jital* is authoritatively declared to be of the value of *one káni*.² In more advanced days under the Patháns, immense quantities of pieces were coined to meet the current exchange answering to $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the *tankah*; and under Muhammad Tughlak, amid other useful breaks in the too-uniform descending scale of the small change, a new division was introduced, in the form

¹ Numismatic Chronicle (N.S.), iv., p. 40, et seqq. J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., pp. 150, 166, 168. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, pp. 161, 262.

² Pathán Chronicles, coin No. 207, p. 252. See also pp. 218, 219.

of a $\frac{6}{8}$, or *six-kāni* piece, which subsequently became better known as the *Black tankah*.¹

It would appear that the normal or conventional rate of exchange of the precious metals mechanically accepted in India from the earliest times was as silver to gold 8:1; copper to silver 64:1. Of course these rates were constantly liable to fluctuation.² Indeed, we can trace the effect of the influx of the gold of the Dakhin, after its conquest, in the fall of that metal, evidenced by the obvious readjustment of the weights of the gold and silver coinage at the Imperial seat of Government.³ But the copper rate must have had a very extended lease of immutability, as this ratio of 64:1 was maintained from the most primitive ages up to the time of Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1488-1517).

As regards the application of these data to the examples specially under review, it would seem that the Bengal silver coinage was, from the first, deficient in weight in reference to the corresponding issues of the Dehli mint; but the Dehli silver coins were avowedly designed to fall in with the concurrent gold pieces of identical weight, and of full standard in metal: whereas we must suppose that the Lakhnautī silver pieces, in introducing a new element, were graduated to exchange in *even sums* against the extant gold currency of Bengal and Orissa. Now the gold *marh* weighed, as we have seen, 43.75 grains, which, with gold as 1 to 8 of silver, would require 350 grains of the latter metal as its equiva-

¹ I was mistaken in my first impression that the Bengal *tankahs* themselves might have a claim to this obnoxious designation. J.R.A.S., II., p. 160.

² In Akbar's time, even, the progressive alteration in the value of gold, since so much accelerated, had only reached the proportion of 94:1. *Chronicles*, p. 424. J.R.A.S., II., p. 63.

³ *Pathān Chronicles*, p. 235. In my previous article in this *Journal*, I was led by Ibn Batutah's indiscriminate use of the terms "Dirhams and Dinars," in their local application in Bengal, to suppose that his definition of coin exchanges referred to the relative values of gold and silver, and that it in so far supported my estimate of 1:8 (J.R.A.S., II., p. 61, note 1). I now find that towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign, the exchange had come for the moment to be 1:10 (*Chronicles*, p. 227), in lieu of the ordinary 1:8. The entire difficulty of the obscure passage in the *Journal of the African Voyager* has, however, been set at rest by the more comprehensive tables of values furnished by the Egyptian traveller Shaikh Mubārak *Anbati* (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii., p. 51), which shows that the *aindr* of silver (i.e. the *tankah*) was equal to 8 *dirhams* (*hasht-kāni*). See also Elliot's *Historians*, iii., pp. 577, 582.

lent, or two 175-grain *tankahs*, reconciling alike the *fours* of the Hindú ideal with the *fives* and *tens* of Muslim predilection; but as there is reason to believe that the local gold was not refined up to a high state of purity, this defective standard may readily account for the corresponding reduction of a few grains on the full total of the silver pieces, equally as it may have justified the acceptance of a lower *touch* in the silver itself.

Later in point of time, under Bahádur Sháh (710-730 A.H.), the progressive fall in the value of gold is more definitively marked by the diminution of the weight of the silver piece to the uniform standard of 166 grains,¹ in contrast to the 169 grains which are preserved in some of the primary issues here described (Nos. 6, 7).

The central figure in the historical tableau, illustrated by these introductory coinages, stands prominently to the front in the person of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz—an outline of whose career I now append.

Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz bin Al Husain.

Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz *Khiljí*, a native of Ghór in Afghánistán, on joining Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of Gangautri.² He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of Deokót,³ by Kutb-ud-dín

¹ J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 157. The new and unworn pieces in the Kooch Bihár *trouvaillé* averaged 166 grains; and the earlier issues, of 188, 189 grains, found with them, had generally been reduced in weight to correspond with the later official standard.

² Variants كنگتوري—کنگتوري Text, p. 153, and MSS. I have preserved Stewart's version of the name in my text, but the site of *Gangautri* has not been identified. There is a town called Gurguri (24° 23', 86° 55') on the line of country between Bihár and Nagore, but it is not known to have been a place of any mark. There is also a celebrated fort of high antiquity on the same line of communication, named Ghidúr (24° 53', 86° 55'), which may have served as an outpost of the Bihár head-quarters.

³ Deokót (lat. 25° 18', long. 83° 31'), the chief place in Gangarámpúr (district of Dinájpúr), is now known by the name of Damdamah. Hamilton states that "it received its present appellation from its having been a military station during the early Muhammadan Government" (p. 50). Muhammad Bakhtyár,

Aibeg's representative commissioner in the South-east, and with his aid eventually defeated Muhammad Shīrān and the other confederated Khiljī chiefs.¹ On the definite appointment of 'Alī Mardān Khiljī to the kingdom of Bengal by Kutb-ud-dīn Aibeg, he paid his devours to the new Viceroy by meeting him on the Kūsi, and accom-

after his first success against the King of Bengal at Nuddea (lat. 23° 25', long. 88° 22'), contented himself with destroying that town, and withdrew his troops nearer to his base of communications, to a position about 90 miles to the northward, somewhere about the site of the future Lakhnauti, Deokót again being some 50 miles N.N.E.

Minhāj-us-Sirāj, in describing Lakhnauti, at a later date (641 A.H.), mentions that habitations were located on both sides of the Ganges, but that the city of Lakhnauti proper was situated on the western bank. The author adds, that an embankment or causeway (بُل) extended for a distance of ten days' journey

through the capital from Deokót to Nagore in Bīrbhūm, (lat. 23° 56', long. 87° 22').—Stewart's Bengal, p. 57. Persian text of Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri, pp. 161, 162, 243. Ain-i-Akbari, ii. p. 14. Elliot's Historians, ii., p. 318; iii. p. 112. Rennell's Map, p. 55. Wilford, As. Res. ix., p. 72.

The subjoined curious notice of the distribution of the boundaries of the kingdom of Bengal shortly before the Muhammadan conquest has been preserved in Hamilton's Hindustān. The compiler does not give his specific authority.

"During the Adisur dynasty the following are said to have been the ancient geographical divisions of Bengal. Gour was the capital, forming the centre division, and surrounded by five great provinces.

"1. Barendra, bounded by the Mahananda on the west; by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges, on the south; by the Kortoya on the east; and by adjacent governments on the north.

"2. Bangga, or the territory east from the Kortoya towards the Brahmaputra. The capital of Bengal, both before and afterwards, having long been near Dacca in the province of Bangga, the name is said to have been communicated to the whole.

"3. Bagri, or the Delta, called also Dwīpa, or the island, bounded on the one side by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges; on another by the sea; and on the third by the Hooghly river, or Bhagirathi.

"4. Rarhi, bounded by the Hooghly and the Padma on the north and east, and by adjacent kingdoms on the west and south.

"5. Maithila, bounded by the Mahananda and Gour on the east; the Hooghly or Bhagirathi on the south; and by adjacent countries on the north and west."

"Bollal sen, the successor of Adisur, is said to have resided partly at Gour, but chiefly at Bikrampūr, eight miles south-east of Dacca." Bollal sen was succeeded by Lakshmana sen, who was defeated by Muhammad Bakhtyār. The author continues, "It is possible that the Rāja only retired to his remote capital, Bikrampūr, near Dacca, where there still resides a family possessing considerable estates, who pretend to be his descendants. We also find that Soungong, in the vicinity of Bikrampūr, continued to be a place of refuge to the Gour malcontents, and was not finally subjugated until long after the overthrow of Rāja Lakshmana."—Hamilton's Hindustān (1820), i., p. 114.

۱ وچون او [محمد شیران] مهتر امرای خلیج بود همکنان اورا

خدمت می کردند و هر امیر بر سر اقطاع خود می بود.

Stewart's Bengal, p. 51. Elliot's Historians, ii., p. 315.

panied him to Deokót, where he was formally installed in power. When Kutb-ud-dín died at Láhor, in 607 A.H., 'Alí Mardán assumed independence under the title of 'Alá-ud-dín; but after a reign of about two years, he was slain by the Khiljí nobles, and Hisám-ud-dín was thereupon elected in his stead (608 A.H.). History is silent as to when he first arrogated kingly state, and merely records Shams-ud-dín Altamsh's expedition against him in 622 A.H., with the object of enforcing his allegiance to the Imperial crown, when, after some doubtful successes, peace was established on the surrender of 38 elephants, the payment of 80 *laks* [of *tankahs*?], and the distinct recognition of Altamsh's suzerainty in the public prayers, with the superscription of his titles on the local coinage. The Emperor, on his return towards Dehli, made over the government of Bihár to 'Alá-ud-dín Jáni, who, however, was not long left undisturbed, for the Southern potentate speedily re-annexed that section of his former dominions,—an aggression which was met, in A.H. 624, by the advance of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in force, who, in the absence of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz on distant enterprises, succeeded in obtaining possession of the new seat of Government. In the subsequent engagement the Bengal army was defeated, and Ghíás-ud-dín killed, after a reign estimated by the local annalist at 12 years.¹

This is all the information we are able to gather from the incidental biographical notices furnished by our sole authority, Minháj-us-Siráj, that most intelligent employé of the Rulers of Dehli, and welcomed visitor at the Court of Lakhnauti in A.H. 641, where he saw and appreciated the material undertakings of this self-made king, whose memory he lauds enthusiastically. A tribute Altamsh had virtually anticipated, when he was at last permitted to behold the glories of his adversaries' capital, in 627 A.H., and then conceded the tardy justice of decreeing, that in virtue of his good works, Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz should, in his grave, be endowed with

¹ Allowing 'Alí Mardán from 607-8 to 609-10, this leaves an interval up to 612, during which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz was content to remain head of the Khiljí oligarchy and local governor.

that coveted title of *Sultán*, which had been denied to him while living.¹

We have now to examine how far the recently discovered coins will fill in this defective historical outline.

COINS STRUCK IN THE NAME OF ALTAMSH, in Bengal.

No. 1. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 168 grs. *Unique*, in this date.
Pl. i. fig. 1. A.H. 614.

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
<p>السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر الشمش القطبي ناصر امير المؤمنين</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Device.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Horseman at the charge.</p> <p><i>Margin—</i></p> <p>لااله * * * محمد [رسول الله بتاريخ سنه اربع عشر وستماية</p>

The date of A.H. 614, this earliest numismatic record contributed by the Bengal Mints, is further remarkable as the epoch of Altamsh's final assertion of supremacy on the defeat of his last powerful competitor in Hindústán, Násir-ud-dín *Kubáchah*, after he had already disposed of his other prominent rival, Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, in 612 A.H. The issue of these provincial coins, at this conjuncture, would seem to attest the first voluntary recognition of Altamsh by Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz, who was at this time in undisturbed possession of Bengal and its dependencies. The adoption of the Cavalier device on the obverse may have been suggested by the conventional acceptance of that design on the money of the

¹ *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, Text, p. 163. Dr. Blochmann has an interesting paper in the September number of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 259), on Muhammadan Titles. Among other questions discussed is the derivation and early application of the title of *Sultán*. The author remarks that "the first clear case of *Sultán* having been used as a title belongs to the time of Rukn-ud-daulah, deputy over Fárs, under the Kbalifah Al Munt'illah," A.H. 338, or A.D. 949. MM. Oppert et Ménant were under the impression that they had discovered the title so early as the time of Sargon, who, in his grand inscription at Khorsabad, is said to speak of Subaco as "*Siltán*, or *Sultán d'Egypte*."—*Journal Asiatique*, 1863, p. 9, and *text*, p. 3. *Commentary*, 1864, p. 10. Some doubt has, however, since been thrown upon this identification, as the designation reads optionally, if not preferably *רַגְלִי*.—Schröder, *Cuneiform and Old Testament Studies* (1872), p. 157.

native princes of the North-west, whose hereditary types were copied by Muhammad bin Sâm, and retained for a long period by Altamsh himself. In the new mintage, however, the Rájput horseman with his spear is superseded by the Túrki Cavalier with the historical mace,¹ and the general outline of the coarse Northern steed may perchance have been heightened to record a triumph, or to carry a menace to the subjected Bengális,² who had left their king to escape ignominiously, and virtually surrendered their capital to the eighteen troopers of Muhammad Bakhtyár's advance guard.

Among other peculiarities of these coins is the tenor of their legends, which differ from the ordinarily adopted Imperial intitulations of the Sultán, who is here designated as التطمى, the slave or freedman of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg,—a term which may have concealed a latent taunt to one who was now supreme in the chance virtue of his arms, or may otherwise indicate the independent Khiljí method of discriminating the followers of Kutb-ud-dín as opposed to the Mu'izzi faction of the nobles of Hindústán, who had already tried conclusions with each other, to the disadvantage of the latter.

¹ Mahmúd of Ghazni's favourite weapon. Tradition affirms that it was preserved in all honour by the guardians of his tomb at Ghazni.—Atkinson, Expedition into Afghánistán, p. 222. So much credence was attached to this ancient legend, that we find Lord Ellenborough in 1842 instructing his generals, in sober earnestness, to "bring away from the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazni his club which hangs over it." Muhammad Bakhtyár himself had also won glory by the use of his mace in his gladiatorial encounter, single-handed, with an elephant, who was compelled to retreat before the first blow of his powerful arm.

² The name of *Asvapatis*, "Lords of Horses," was subsequently applied specifically in Orissa to the Muhammadan conquerors. Mr. Hunter remarks, "The Teluga Palm Leaf MSS. state that between (Saka 895) A.D. 972 and A.D. 1563 three great powers successively arose. During this period the *Gajapatis*, 'Lords of Elephants,' ruled in Orissa and the north of Madras; the *Narayatis*, 'Lords of Men,' held the country to the southward. The Lords of Horses were the Musalmáns, who, with their all-devouring Pathán cavalry, overthrew the two former."—Orissa, ii., p. 8. Stirling, Asiatic Researches, xv., p. 254. Ain-i-Akbari, Gladwin's translation, i., p. 319. Abúl Fazl, in describing the game of cards affected by his royal master, speaks of "*Ashvooput*, the king of the horses. He is painted on horseback, like the king of Dehli, with the Chutter, the Alum, and other ensigns of royalty; and *Gujput*, the king of the elephants, is mounted on an elephant like the king of Orissa."

No. 2. Gold. Weight, 70·6 grs. *Unique. Gaur, A.H. 616.*¹



OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم

شمس الدنيا والدين

ابو المعظف المشمش

القطب برهان

أمير المؤمنين²

REVERSE.

Horseman at the charge.

In the field—ضرب دكور

Margin—

لا * * * رسول الله بتاريخ سنة

ست عشر وستماية

This unique gold coin of the period, put forth under Muslim auspices, is of more than usual value in confirming the locality of the Mint of its counterparts in silver, which are deficient in any geographical record; indeed, none of the Bengal coins, which form the bulk of the *trouvaille* to which the present notice is devoted, bear any indication of the site on which they were struck. Found, however, in company with so many clearly local pieces, there would have been little hesitation in assigning them to the southern division of the new Muhammadan empire; but the distinct announcement of the place of issue of the gold piece is of importance not only in fixing definitively the then head-quarters, but in presenting us with the name of *Gaur*,³ regarding the use of

¹ Reproduced from the original coin, in the collection of Col. Guthrie, already published in the *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 78.

² Kilij Arslán, the Seljúk of Anatolia (A.H. 556), uses this title of برهان أمير (Frähn, p. 156). The three sons of Kai Khnúrd (A.H. 647) employ the term in the plural براهين.

³ I need have no hesitation in admitting that on the first examination of this piece, as an isolated specimen of a hitherto unknown mintage, I was disposed,

which, at this epoch, there was some controversy.¹ Advantage has been taken in this, to the native comprehension, more elaborately-finished piece, to insert in the vacant spaces on the field, above and below the main device, the words, ضرب بگور, "Struck at Gaur," and although the requisite dot below the بگور has escaped definition, there need be little doubt as to the purport of the entry, which it was not thought necessary to reproduce on the less-esteemed silver money, whose status with the Mint officials, as equally with the public at large, ranged at a lower level.

The date of 616 A.H. on this coin, supported and in a measure explained as it is by the marginal legend on No. 3, proves that the professed allegiance of the local ruler of Bengal to the head of the followers of Islām at Dehli, was no momentary demonstration, but a sustained confession of vassalage extending over one complete year, and portions of the previous and succeeding twelve months.

The topographical record on No. 2 would further seem to show that Hisām-ud-dīn had not as yet transferred his capital to the new site of *Lakhnauti*, to the west of the river, whose designation first appears in a definite form on the coins of the Empress Rīzīah, in A.H. 635.²

in the absence of any dot either above or below the line of writing, to adopt the alternative reading of بگور instead of بگور, while confessing a preference for the latter transcription, on account of the need of the preposition ب (Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 79); but, at the time, I was unprepared to expect that Altamsh's sway had extended to the lower provinces, which were avowedly in independent charge of the Khilji successors of Muhammad Bakhtiyār. This difficulty is now curiously explained by the concurrent silver pieces, and the supposition that the local chieftain found it expedient to profess allegiance, nominal or real, to the preponderating influence of the master of Hindūstān. In like manner, the recently discovered silver coins have supplied a clue to the more satisfactory decipherment of the marginal legend, and the explanation of other minor imperfections in the definition of the exotic characters of the gold coin, which it is useless to follow in detail.

¹ J.R.A.S. (n.s.) II., p. 187. Cf. also Albfirāfi; Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 298, quoted in J.R.A.S. (n.s.) I., p. 471. As. Res. ix., pp. 72, 74; xvii. 617. Wilson's Glossary, *sub voce*, etc. Rennell, Map of Hindūstān, p. 56. Stewart's Bengal, pp. 44, 57.

² Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 107. J.R.A.S. (n.s.) II., p. 187, coin No. 14 *infra*.

No. 3. Silver. Size, 7. Weight, 168 grs. *Very rare.*

Pl. i. fig. 2. A.H. 616.

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
<p>السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المعز الممش القطبي برهان * *</p>	<p>Horseman at charge.</p> <p>Margin— لاله الاله محمد رسول الله بتاريخ سنه سته عشر وستمايه</p>

No. 3a. Variety. Weight, 162 grs. Pl. i. fig. 3. Date illegible. The Persian legend on the obverse is given in very imperfectly defined characters, and offers the peculiarity of the insertion of the Hindi letters **श**, for *Sháh*, above the name of the king, thereby indicating that both die-engravers and the local public were naturally better versed in the old alphabet than in the newly-imported letters of the conquerors.

COINS OF GHÍÁS-UD-DÍN 'AWZ.

No. 4. Silver. Size, 7½. Weight, 161 grs. (full weight.)

Pl. i. fig. 4. A.H. 616. (7 specimens.)

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
<p>السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين ناصر امير المؤمنين</p>	<p>لاله الاله الله محمد رسول الله Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في شهور سنه سته عشر وستمايه</p>

Coin No. 4 teaches us that in the same year 616 A.H., in the early part of which Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz had confessed allegiance to Altamsh, he seemingly grew weary of such

pretences, and openly declared himself *Sultán* in his own right, assuming the regal title of *Ghás-ud-dín*, and the quasi-hierarchical function implied in the designation of *Násir Amír Al Muammínin*, "Defender of the Commander of the Faithful." Whether this overt assertion of independence was suggested by his own growing power, or was due to the imagined weakness of the suzerain, is not clear; but there can be no question as to his success in the extension and consolidation of his dominions, or to his vigorous administration of a country, fertile in the extreme, and endowed with such singular commercial advantages of sea and river intercourse.

At this particular juncture Altamsh does not seem to have been pressed by any important home disturbances, but there were dark clouds on the N. W. frontier. The all-powerful 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *Khárismi*, whose outposts extended over so large a portion of Asia, had been coining money in the inconvenient proximity of *Ghasni* throughout the years 613, 614–616 A.H.;¹ and no one could foretell when he might follow the ordinary precedent, and advance into Hindústán. As fate determined, however, it was left to his son *Jalál-ud-dín* to swim the Indus, at the risk of his life, as a fugitive before the hosts of Changíz Khán, in 618 A.H.

The mention of *Changíz Khán* suggests to me the desirability of repeating a correction, I have already recorded elsewhere, of a singular delusion, shared alike by native copyists and English commentators, regarding one of the supposed incidents of the sufficiently diversified career of this scourge of the world, to the effect that his unkempt savages had penetrated down to the impossible limit of the lower Ganges. The whole series of mistakes, Asiatic or European, may now be traced back to a simple clerical error in the transcription from a chance leading copy of the ordinarily rare work of Minháj-us-Siráj—where the name of *Changíz Khán* جنگیز خان has been substituted for the more obvious designation of the ancient town of *Jájnagar* جا جنگر.

¹ J.R.A.S. IX., p. 381; XVII., p. 202; Chronicles of Pathán Kings, p. 86.

Modern authors, examining a single passage, might well have felt reserve in reconstructing at hazard a primary version; but the editors of the Calcutta official printed text have gone so far towards perpetuating the enigma they were unable to unravel, as to add to the difficulties of solution by making Changiz Khán fight (so far on his way to Lakhnautí) the memorable battle of Perwán [35° 9' N., 69° 16' E.] on the conveniently converging site of Budaon (p. 348), which was situated on one of the favourite main lines of transit to the south, east of the Ganges. This conglomeration is, however, the less excusable, as Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, had already pointed out Ferishtah's palpable mistake to the same effect; and the editors themselves unconsciously admit the preferable variant of جاجنجر inserted in the foot-note, p. 199. Dr. Hunter, I see, in his new work on Orissa (ii. 4), incautiously follows Stewart's first impressions, in the notion that the "vanity" of Muhammadan historians had intentionally "converted the attack of the humble Orissians into an invasion of Tartars" (Stewart, p. 62).¹ I myself prefer the

¹ Mr. Stirling, in his most exhaustive memoir on Orissa, published in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1822, observes:—"Major Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, places an invasion of Orissa by the Mussulmans of Bengal during this reign, that is a.d. 1243. The *Chronicles* of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus: 'In the year 614 (a.d. 1243), the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Toghan Khan marched to Ketasun, on the frontier of Jagopur, where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up intrenchments to oppose him.' . . . Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality, as here described; and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishtah is altogether silent on this subject in his *history of Bengal*, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chittis, Thibet, etc. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghral into Jajinagar (a.d. 1279), which he calls *Orissa*, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon as lying on the road, that Jajinagar is some place beyond the Ganges."—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 274.

It seems to have escaped Mr. Stirling's notice, that Stewart had already corrected his own error in speaking of "Jagepore" as "Orissa," pp. 61 and 65, by placing that town in its proper position in "Tipperah," in a later passage (p. 70); and he further improved upon his advanced knowledge by saying in a note, at p. 72, "Jagenagar is said to have been a town in Orissa, near Cuttack; but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooteer. The Jagenagar mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore." [?] Stewart, *Hist. Bengal*, p. 72. Dow, i., p. 202 (4to. edit.). Briggs, i., p. 260. See also *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 121.

more obvious and direct explanation above given, which perhaps reflects more upon our defective criticism than upon Muslim vanity.¹

No. 5. Silver. Size, 8½. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 617.
(2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا
المعظم غياث الدنيا	الله محمد رسول
والدين ابو الفتح عوض	الله
بن الحسين ناصر امير	Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في
المومنين	التاريخ السابع عشر وستمايه

No. 6. Silver. Size, 8. Weight, 169. (Coarse badly formed legends). A.H. 617. (2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
غياث الدنيا والدين	محمد رسول الله
ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين	الناصر لدين الله
ناصر امير المومنين و	امير المومنين
ولي عهده عملا الحق	Margin—ضرب هذه السكه في
والدين	شهور سنه اربع عشر وستمايه

¹ Cf. *Elphinstone* (now edit. by Professor Cowell), p. 377. Elliot, *Muhammadan Historians*, ii., pp. 264, 344. Dr. Lee's *Ibn Batutah*, *Oriental Tr. Fund*, p. 97. Ferishtah, *Bombay Persian Text*, i., p. 122. Badaoni, *Calcutta Persian Text*, p. 88. *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, *Calcutta Persian Text*, pp. 157, 163, 199, 243, 245.

No. 6a. Variety. One example gives the altered marginal reading of

قرب هذه السكه في ربيع الآخر سنة سبع * * ستمايه

Al Násir-le-dín Ilah was invested in the Khiláfat in A.H. 575, and died on the 1st Shawwál, A.H. 622 (5th October, 1225 A.D.). Bar Hebraeus, *Abulfaraj*, pp. 269-301. Ibn Asf, p. 285, fixes his death at the end of Ramazán. Price, *Muhammadan History*, ii., p. 210.

The tenor of the legends of the consecutive issues of A.H. 617 disclose an increasing confidence in his own power on the part of *Ghiás-ud-din 'Auz*, in the addition made to his previous titles, and in the assumption of the superlative *Al 'Azam*, "the highest," as the prefix to the *Al Sultán* in place of the heretofore modest adjective of *Al Mu'azzam*, "the great."¹ Here, for the first time in this series, we meet with the official or regnant designation of the Khalif of Baghdád, who has hitherto been referred to by the mere generic title of "Commander of the Faithful."

It would appear from this innovation, as if *Ghiás-ud-din* had already, indirectly, put himself in communication with the Pontifical Court at Baghdád, with a view to obtaining recognition as a sovereign prince in the Muslim hierarchy,—a further indication of which may possibly be detected in the exceptional insertion of the *month* in addition to the ordinary *year* of issue on the margin of No. 6a; a specification which will be found more fully developed in the succeeding mint-ages, where it admits of an explanation which is not so obvious or conclusive in this instance.

¹ Altamah himself seems to have been indifferent to this distinction, but its importance is shown in the early coinages of Muhammad bin Sâm, who invariably reserves the superlative prefix for his reigning brother, while he limits his own claims to the virtually comparative *المعظم*. And further to mark these gradations, he prominently adopts the higher title after his brother's death. *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, pp. 12, 13, 14. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx., figs. 29, 35.

No. 7. Silver. Size, 9. Weight, 169 grs. Pl. i. fig. 5.¹ Dated
20th of Rab'ul ákhir, A.H. 620. (7 specimens.)

OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
غياث الدنيا	لا اله الا الله
والدين ابو الفتح عس	محمد رسول الله
ض بن الحسين قسيم امير المؤمنين	الناصر لدين الله
سلطان السلاطين في الدنيا	امير المؤمنين
والدين ابو المظفر على يده	في التاريخ العشرين—Margin
امير المؤمنين	من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
خلد الله ملكه	عشرين وستمايه

No. 7a. Variety. Weight, 165 grs. Coin of the same date and similar character, which transfers the complete name of عوض into the third line; the dubious prefix to the second *الدنيا والدين* reads more as *معز*, while the suggested *يده*, above given, appears as *يدو*.

If the preceding coins had left any doubt as to Ghíás-ud-dín's designs in regard to the assumption of sovereign power, the tenor of the legends on Nos. 7 and 7a, would conclusively set that question at rest. Here, not content with the recently-arrogated title of *السلطان الاعظم*, we find him calling himself "*Sultán of Sultáns*," by direct appointment of the Khalif,² associated with which is the entry

¹ See also Marsden, No. DCCLVII. p. 564. There are two coins of this type in his collection in the British Museum. Marsden remarks, "The date of this coin, the earliest of those belonging to the princes who governed Bengal in the name of the Kings of Delhi, but who took all opportunities of rendering themselves independent, is expressed distinctly in words. . . . The titles and patronymics of the Sultán by whom it was struck are for the most part illegible; not so much from obliteration, as from the original imperfect formation of the characters."

² The term *علي يدي* is of frequent occurrence on the early Muslim coinages, and is usually associated with the name of the officer—whatever his condition—responsible for the mint issues, as *علي يدي أحمد* which is translated by Frøhn as "*manibus*" (*i. e. curá et operá*), *Ahmádís* or "*curante*,"—a definition accepted in later days on the Continent as "*par les mains de, par les soins de,*" etc.

of a specific date, with the still more unusual definition of the day of the month, which is preserved constant and unvaried throughout the entire issue. More remarkable still is the abnormal departure from the conventional form of coin legends, in the omission of the preliminary "*Al Sultán*," and the abrupt introduction of the regnal title of the once probational *Hisám-ud-dín*, under his more ambitious designation of *Ghiás-ud-dín*. In short, the entire drift of the altered superscription points to an intentional reproduction of some formal phraseology, such as would be eminently consistent with an official transcript of the *revered* precept emanating from Baghdád.

I should infer from these coincidences that a formal diploma had by this time been conceded by the Supreme Pontiff, admitting the newly-erected kingdom of Bengal within the boundaries of Islám, and confirming the reigning monarch in possession, with added titles and dignities. The date so prominently repeated may either be that upon which the patent was originally *sealed*, or more probably it points to the auspicious moment of the reception of the ambassadors, who conveyed the formal document and paraphernalia of investment, at the Court of Lakhnautí. This assignment in no way disturbs my previous attribution of the inaugural piece of Altamsh,¹ marking his attainment of the like honours in A.H. 626. The very concession to the Bengal potentate possibly led his once suzerain to seek a parallel sanctification of his own rights, which he had previously been content to hold by the sword: and the difficulty of communication with Baghdád over alien kingdoms and disturbed frontiers would account for a delay of the emissaries on the one part and the other, which would not affect the open ocean passage between the mouths of the Ganges and the sea port of Bussorah.

In the present instance it would seem to imply a more or less direct intervention by the Commander of the Faithful himself in favour of his nominee.

¹ Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II, p. 154, No. 1, *note*; Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46. Of course this exceptional issue will now have to cede priority of date both to the Bengal coins of A.H. 614, etc., and likewise to the northern piece of Altamsh, No. 8, which must be taken as anterior to No. 10.

COIN OF ALTAMSH.

No. 8. Silver. Size 8½. Weight, 168 grs. Square Kufic characters, which seem to belong to Lâhor or some northern Mint.¹ Pl. i. fig. 6. A.H. 62*?

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا إله إلا الله
المعظم شمس	محمد رسول
الدنيا والدين	الله ناصر لدين
أبو المعظفر أيلشمش	الله أمير المو
السلطان يمين خليفه	منين
الله ناصر أمير	Margin— هذا الضرب؟
المومنين	عشرين وستة مائه

BENGAL COINS OF ALTAMSH SUBSEQUENT TO THE RE-ASSERTION OF HIS
IMPERIAL SWAY.

No. 9. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 168 grs. Bengal type of Coin.
A.H. 622.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	As in Nos. 6 and 7,—Coins
المعظم شمس الدنيا و	of Ghíás-ud-dín, with the
الدين ابالمعظفر أيلشمش	name of the Khalif <i>Al</i>
السلطان يمين خليفه	<i>Nâsir-le-dîn Illah.</i>
الله ناصر أمير المو	Margin—
منين	هذا الضرب ² في شهر سنة اثني
	عشرين وستمائه

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 15. Pl. i. figs. 4-8.

² This word as designating the coin is unusual; but we have the term

Altamsh does not seem to have found it convenient to proceed against his contumacious vassal, who was now ready to meet him on almost equal terms, till A.H. 622, when the coinage immediately attests one part of the compact under which peace was secured, in the exclusive use of the name of the Emperor of Hindústán on the money of Bengal.¹ That the issue, represented by No. 9, proceeded from the local Mints, is evident alike from the style and fabric of the pieces, their defective metal, and the uncouth forms of the letters of the legends.

No. 10. Silver. Size 8. Weight 168 grs. (2 specimens.)

Plate i. fig. 7. A.H. 624.

OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ
أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ أَيْلِشْمَشُ
السُّلْطَانُ نَاصِرُ أَمِيرِ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

REVERSE.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
الظَّاهِرُ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ
أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
ضَرَبَ هَذَا * * * شَهْرًا—Margin
سَنَةِ أَرْبَعٍ وَعِشْرِينَ وَسِتِّ مِائَةٍ

دارالضرب for the Mint, and the *هذه* *ضرب* etc., as the ordinary prefix to the *السكة* or *الفضة* of the Pathán monarchs. The letters on the Bengal coins look more like *الفرج*, which, however, does not seem to make sense. Fræhn long ago suggested that the word *ضرب* ought to be received as a substantive, especially in those cases where the preposition *ب* did not follow it, in the given sentence, as a prefix to the name of the Mint city.

¹ غياث الدين عوض خلجي رقبه خدمت در ريقه انقياد آورد و سي [سي و هشت 162 p.] زنجير پيل و هشتاد لک مال بداد و خطبه و سکه بنام مبارک شمسي کرد.—Calcutta text, pp. 163, 171.

Al *Záhir* beamrillah, the Khalif whose name is inscribed on this coin, succeeded his father on the 2nd of Shawwál, A.H. 622, and died on the 14th Rajab, A.H. 623 (July 11, 1226 A.D.). Bar Hebraeus, *Abulfaraj*, p. 302.

No. 11. Silver. Size 7. Weight 167 grs. *Unique*. Pl. i., fig. 8. A.H. 624.

Square area, within double lines, following the pattern of some of the examples of Muhammad Ghori's coins.

السلطان الاعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر ايلتمش
السلطان ناصر

The words أمير المؤمنين are inserted in the interstices between the square area and the circular marginal line, as in the Delhi coins of Bahram Sháh.¹

REVERSE.

Legend in the area as in the last coin, with the name of the Khalif *Al Záhir*.

Margin—ضرب * * سنة أربع—

وعشرين وسة مائة

It might be supposed to be an open question as to whether Ghíás-ud-dín 'Aww or Náşir-ud-dín Mahmúd—the eldest son of Altamsh and his viceroy in Bengal—presided over the Mints which put forth the coins classed under Nos. 10 and 11. As regards the latter, at present *unique* piece, there can be little doubt, from its assimilation to the ordinary Delhi models, that it formed a portion of the revised and improved coinage of the south after Mahmúd's defeat of Ghíás-ud-dín in 624 A.H. In like manner, the introduction of the term *الاعظم* on No. 10, as a prefix to the title of

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 118.

Sultán Altamsh, points to a feeling of filial reverence, which is altogether wanting even in Ghíás-ud-dín's repentant manifesto in the legend of No. 9. Mahmúd's appointment to the Government of Oudh dates from A.H. 623,¹ and the tenor of one of the narratives of Minháj-us-Siráj would imply that he proceeded southwards with but little delay; so that all coins bearing the date of 624, with the name of Altamsh, might preferentially be assigned to his interposition, more especially as Ghíás-ud-dín at and prior to this period had placed himself in a renewed attitude of insurrection.

Coin of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh, as Viceroy in Bengal.

The administration of the Bengal Mints under the official auspices of Násir-ud-dín *Mahmúd*, as developed in the issues Nos. 10, 11, leads up to and confirms with more full effect an identification I have hitherto been obliged to advocate in a less confident tone—that is, the attribution of the piece, reproduced in the woodcut below, under No. 12, to the eldest son of Altamsh, at some period towards the close of his brief career.² With these newly-discovered evidences of his overt intervention in the local currencies, the transition to a subdued and possibly paternally-sanctioned numismatic proclamation, in his own name, would be easy, more especially if that advance was made simultaneously with the effusive reception at Dehli of the reigning Khalif's earliest recognition of Altamsh's supremacy, coupled with the desirability of making this Imperial triumph manifest in those southern latitudes, where other dynastic names had already claimed a prior sanctification.³

¹ Persian text, 180.

² Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II., p. 182. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 81.

³ Minháj-us-Siráj, after completing his account of Násir-ud-dín's conquest of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz, and the transmission of the spoils to the Sultán at Dehli, continues—

وچون تشریفات دارالخلافه بحضرت سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه

Such an authorized augmentation of the Prince's state is rendered the more probable, as Altamsh in a measure shared with his favourite son the honours and dignities conferred by the Khalif, and simultaneously extended to him the right to use an umbrella with the tint of Imperial red.¹ Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the contemporary biographer remarks, was from that time looked upon as the recognized successor to the throne of Hindústān. Equally, after Mahmūd's premature death, his father still so held him in honour that his body was brought to Dehli, and enshrined under one of the choicest domes that Eastern Saracenic art could achieve, which to this day, amid its now broken marbles, stands as a monument of the virtues of this prince, and preserves in its decaying walls the remains of² the *first* royal tomb of the

رسید از انجمله یکت تشریف گرانمایه با چتر لعل بظرف لکهنوتی
فرستاد ملک ناصرالدین علیه الرحمة بدان چتر و تشریف و اکرام
مشرف گشت وهمکنان را از ملوک و اکابر مملکت هند نظر بدو بود
که وارث مملکت شمسی او باشد فاما * * بعد از یکسال و نیم * *
برحمت حق تعالی بموست۔ ۱۸۱ p.

(See also Elliot's *Historians*, ii., pp. 326, 329.)

The Khalif's emissary arrived at Dehli on the 22nd of Rabi'ul awwal, (3rd month of) A.H. 626, p. 1۷۹, and news of the death of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd reached the capital in the 5th month of the same year, p. 174.

¹ The founder of the Ghaznavi dynasty, the Great Sabuktigin, assumed regal state under the shadow of a *red* umbrella. Altamsh's ensigns are described as *black* for the right wing *سیاه میمنه* *رایات*, and *red* for the left wing *رایات*, *میسرة لعل* p. ۱۷۴. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām's standards bore the same colours, but the discrimination is made that the *black* pertained to the Ghōris, and the *red* to the Tūrks, p. 1۲۷. Ghīās-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām used *black* and *red* for the two wings respectively, p. 83.

² INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SULTĀN GHĀZĪ [NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN MAHMŪD] AT DEHLI, DATED A.H. 629.

امر بنام هذه القبة المباركة السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم

slave kings erected near the capital,¹ on the shattered entrance arch of which we can still trace the devotional prayer of the father for the soul of his son, whose mundane glories he briefly epitomizes as "King of Kings of the East," implying, in the conventional terms of the day, all India beyond the Gogra.

And still further to secure a contemporary memento of his lost heir, Altamsh conferred the same name and title upon a younger son, who, in his turn, was destined to occupy the throne of Dehli for twenty years, and the name of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd was perpetrated anew in the next generation, under another dynasty, as the designation of Balban's heir, who carried it back to Bengal, where he was permitted to found a new family of southern kings,² who for half a century succeeded in maintaining a fitful sovereignty, seldom disturbed by the more powerful Sultáns of Hindústán.

مالك وقاب الامم ظل الله في العالم ذو الامان لاهل الذمه سلطان
السلطين شمس الدنيا والدين المنصوص بعنايت رب العالمين ابي
المظفر الممش السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه لروضه
ملك الملوك الشرق ابي القتمح محمود تعمده الله بغفرانه واسكنه
كنف نعيم جنانه في شهور سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة

This Tomb, which is known as the Makbarat of Sultán Gházi, stands amid the ruins of the village of Mullikpúr Koyi, about three miles due west of the celebrated Kutb Minár. *Asár-us-Sunnadid*, Dehli, 1864, pp. 23, 30 (No. 12, 18, Facsimile), and 60 (modern transcript revised). See also *Journal Asiatique*, M. G. de Tassy's translation of the *Urdu* text; also *Journal Archaeological Society of Dehli*, p. 57, and *Hand-book for Dehli*, 1863, p. 85.

¹ Rukn-ud-dín Firáz Sháh, another son of Altamsh, who for a brief period held the throns of Dehli, found a final resting-place on the chosen site of Mullikpúr; and his brother in deferred succession, entitled Mu'izz-ud-dín *Bahádm Sháh*, followed him into the Tombs of the Kings in the same locality.—*Asár-us-Sunnadid*, pp. 25, 26. *Elliot's Historians*, iii., p. 382. *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 290.

² See p. 35 *infra*.

No. 12. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 163·1 grs. *Unique.* British Museum.



OBVERSE.

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
 نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ
 أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ
 شَاهُ بَنِ سُلْطَانَ



REVERSE.

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمَامِ
 الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ
 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Al Mustansir billah was inaugurated on the 14th of Rajab, 623 A.H.=1226 A.D., the same day that his father Al Zâhir died.—Bar Hebræus, p. 303.

I quote in illustration of my previous remarks, the legends on the special issue of Altamsh on the occasion of the receipt of his diploma of investiture in A.H. 626.

Weight of the B. M. Coin, 164 grains.

OBVERSE—لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ وَرَسُولُ اللَّهِ

REVERSE—As above, in No. 12, with similarly formed characters.¹

It may be noted that on a like occasion of the reception of the Egyptian Khalif's diploma at Dehli in 744 A.H., Muhammad bin Tughlak adopted a similar method of exhibiting his respect by introducing the pontiff's name on the coinage to the exclusion of his own.

The identification of the individual, who styles himself Daulat Shâh, with many high-sounding prefixes, on the sub-joined coin, demanded a certain amount of patient patch-

¹ Chronicles of the Pathân Kings, p. 46.

work, which I have relegated to the note below.¹ Suffice it to say that *Daulat Sháh bin Modúd* is the person who is spoken of elsewhere as *Ikhtiyár-ud-dín BALKÁ*² *Khilji*, and who appears in history on the single occasion of his possessing himself of the Kingdom of Bengal on the death of *Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd*, and his subsequent suppression and capture on the advance of *Altamsh's* forces in the self-same year, 627 A.H., he was unwise enough to record on his unauthorized coinage.

در ماه جمادی الاولی سنه ست و عشرين و ستمائه خیر فوت
ملک سعید ناصرالدین محمود برسید بلکا ملک خلجی در ممالک
لکهنوتی عصیان آورد و سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه لشکرهای
هندوستان بطرف لکهنوتی برد و در شهر سنه سبع و عشرين و ستمائه
آن طافی را بدست آورد و تخت لکهنوتی بملک علاءالدین جانی
داد علیه الرحمة و در رجب همین سال بحضرت جلال دهلی بار
آمد Calcutta Text, p. ۱۷۳.

سلطان سعید شمس الدین چون بدیار لکهنوتی رسید بعد از فوت
ملک ناصرالدین محمود طاب ثراه و دفع فتنه ملک اختیار الدین
بلکا Calcutta Text, p. ۱۶۲

In the printed text, under the *first* Court Circular list of the *ملوک و اقرباء* of Sultán Shams-ud-dín, we find the following entry, *دولت شاه خلجی*; and in the *second* document, purporting to be a variant of that official return, we read, *ملک اختیار الدین ایران شاه بلکا خلجی* (pp. ۱۷۷ and ۱۷۸), which latter version is greatly improved by the Oriental Lord Chamberlain's list preserved in a MS. in the B. M. (Addit. No. 26,189), which associates more directly the *title* with the *name*, and identifies the individual as *ملک اختیار الدین دولمشاه بلکا*

¹ The word *Balká* has exercised the commentators. It may be found, however, in the early Ghaznavi name of *Balká-Tigin*. *بلکا* means a "camel colt," and *تکین* is "handsome."

No. 13. Silver. Size 9¼. Weight, 168. *Uniquo*. Plate i. fig. 9.
A.H. 627?

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
المستنصر بالله	السلطان
امير المؤمنين السلطان	العادل شينشاه باذل
العظم شمس الدنيا والدين	علا الدنيا والدين ابو الغازي
أبو الفتح ايلتمش السلطان	دولتشاه بن مسعود
برهان امير المؤمنين	عصه خليفه الله
	ظهير امير المؤمنين
	** * شهور سنه سبع—Margin
	وعشرين وستمائه

The reading of *أبوالغازي* is speculative: the letters *العا* are distinct, as are also the two dots of the *ي*, but that letter *itself* cannot be traced, and the visible remains of the character succeeding the *العا* are more like *ا* or *لي* than the suggested *زي*.

Inscription of Altamsh.

Among the numerous inscriptions of Altamsh already known, no one possesses greater interest than the subjoined, which has lately been published in the J.A.S. Bengal.

Budáón was one of Altamsh's earliest charges, and from thence he was called to supreme sovereignty at Dehli on the death of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg.

Inscription of Altamsh, on the gateway of the Jám'i Masjid at Budáón.¹

ادخلوها بسلام آمنين السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم شمس

¹ Deciphered by Mr. Wilson, C.S., Budáón.—J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 112.

الدنيا و الدين غياث الاسلام و المشلمين اعدل الملوك و السلاطين
 ابوالمظفر ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه في
 شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ستمايه و ثمانيه عشرين

Dated, *Ramazan* A.D. 628 [Nov. 1230 A.D.].

Coin of Riziah.

I conclude this limited series, and complete this section of the numismatic history of the south, by the reproduction of the sole available *dated* coin of Riziah, minted at Lakhnauti, in A.H. 635. After this epoch there follows an interval of more than half a century, during which we discover no coins of Bengal proper. But the year 691 A.H. may be said to inaugurate a new era, represented by the mintages of the more firmly-established local kings of the family of Nâsir-ud-dîn Mahmûd, the son of Balban, who, perhaps wisely, preferred the placid repose of a *quasi*-vicerealty at Lakhnauti, to the turmoils of the Imperial throne, to which he was the acknowledged heir. He does not seem to have arrogated to himself the right to coin; and it was left to his second son Kai Kâús to resume that symbol of independent power.

No. 14. Silver. Weight, 164·5 grs. Size, 7. Lakhnauti, A.H. 635.
 The late General T. P. Smith.¹

OVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	في عهد الامام
جلالة الدنيا والدين	المستنصر امير
ملكة ابنت التمش السلطان	المومنين
مهرة امير المومنين	Margin—
	ضرب هذا الفضة بلكنوتي سنة
	خمسة وثلثين وستمايه

¹ *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings*, No. 90, p. 107. A similar coin (wanting in the date) is figured and described in the *J.R.A.S. (N.S.)* II., p. 186.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to extend this paper beyond the exact limit covered by Mr. Broadley's collection, in order to gather up such later antiquarian gleanings as chance to illustrate the obscure section of the history of Bengal during the first half-century of the 107 years comprised in the Kooch Bihár representative accumulations, which formed the subject of my previous paper on "The Initial Coinage of Bengal," or, in effect, to follow up the local changes, of which we have occasional monumental records, down to the time when Ilías Sháh attained independence, and expanded his boundaries and his power into imperial proportions.

The energy and research of our fellow-labourers in the East has been largely rewarded in these days by the number of inscriptions brought to light in various parts of the country, which have been deciphered, and more or less completely published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the supervision of their critical and indefatigable secretary, Dr. Blochmann, to whom we are indebted for such comprehensive analyses of the learning and traditions of the Court of Akbar and subsequent Mughal monarchs.

INSCRIPTION A.

The first mural record in point of date of which at present only a brief outline is available, consists of the

INSCRIPTION OF TUGHRIL KHÁN AT BIHÁR,

which is described as pertaining to "an edifice built in A.H. 640, or A.D. 1242, by 'Izz-ud-dín Abulfath Tughril Khán, who styles himself Sultán, and assumes other regal epithets, as *Khákan-ul-Mu'azzam*, *Khallada-lláhu mulakhu*," etc.¹

This is a most suggestive contribution to the other revelations of the condition of the country at this time, from which, on the full decipherment of the original text, we may perchance gain new knowledge of the ever imminent revolutions

¹ J.A.S.B. Proceedings, November, 1871, p. 247.

of regnant vassals *in partibus infidelium* against absent Muhammadan Emperors.

There is nothing, however, to cause surprise in the assumption of royal titles by Tughril on this occasion, as, although he had been a firm adherent of the Empress Rizīah, had been endowed by her with the honours of the *red umbrella*, and had coined assiduously the only silver money bearing her name hitherto discovered, his devotion to the Imperial throne was confessedly shaken after her death, and in this self-same year, 640 A.H., taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning monarch at Dehli, he proceeded to annex the province of Karra Mánikpúr, which in itself constituted an overt act of rebellion against his Suzerain.¹

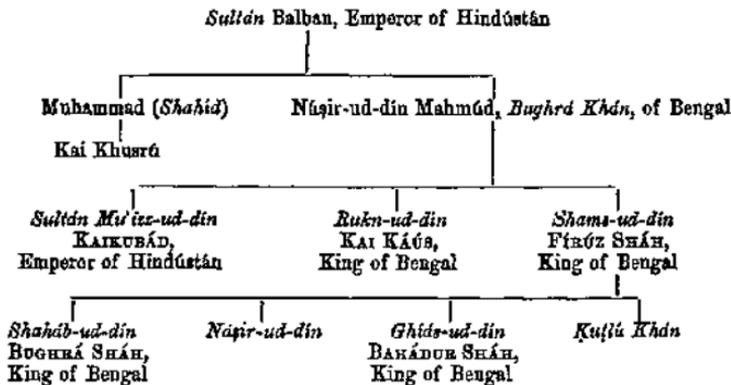
The next division of the Initial Coinage of Bengal brings us into much more definite contact with the realities of mediæval remains, and reminds me that on my first endeavour to identify the Kai Káús of the Kooch Bihár coins, I was obliged to crave indulgence in the mere reading of the dates so incoherently defined on his mintages. I had, for the time, to abandon all faith in the units, to claim only dubious credence for the *decimals*; though the *hundreds* necessarily remained beyond cavil, even had the Bengal Mint-officials blundered in the definition of the alien Semitic legends with more than their accustomed licence.

I was, however, venturesome enough on that occasion to suggest—in dotted lines and duly reserved *square* brackets—that the then obscure *Kai Káús* ought to have a place in the family tree of the house of Balban, a claim which had escaped the record of contemporary biographers, or the knowledge of later commentators on the local events in Bengal. I have since found abundant testimony towards establishing his true place both under the one and the other aspect.

On a recent occasion of reviewing my previous Essay on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, I embodied, with more confi-

¹ Minháj-us-Siráj, Persian text, p. 243. Stewart's Bengal, p. 61.

dence,¹ the restored genealogical tree, of which the following is a transcript :



In support of this direct line of descent, I can now quote evidence from two confirmatory sources, the incidental mention of Kai Káús as "the second son" of Naṣir-ud-din Mahmūd, on the eve of the interview of the rival monarchs, Kaikubád, the eldest son, Sultán of Hindústán, and their father, the occupying Lord of Bengal, which forms the subject of Mír Khusrú Dehlavi's celebrated poem the "*Kirán-us-S'adain*;"² and, also, the inscription reproduced in *extenso* below, which conclusively identifies the same prince in the paternal relation, and simultaneously attests his eventual regal succession in Bengal.

INSCRIPTION B.

Inscription of KAI KÁÚS in Gangarámpúr, Dínájpúr, at Dámdamah, the old Deokót,³ dated Muharram, 697 A.H. [Oct., 1297 A.D.]

بنی هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد السلطان السلاطين ركن الدنيا
والدين ظل الله في الارضين كيكأوس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان يمين

¹ Chronicles, p. 148.

² Professor Cowell's article in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1860, p. 234; and Elliot's *Historians*, iii., p. 530.

³ See Buchanan's *Dínájpúr*, p. 50; and *anté*, p. 9.

خليفه الله ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه بفرمان خسرو
 زمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر ثاني الغ اعظم همايون ظفر خان
 بهرام ايگين سلطاني خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه ومد الله عمره بتوليته
 صالح جيوند ملتاني في القرية من المحرم شهر سنة سبع وتسعين
 وستمائة

J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 103.

DR. H. BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION.

"This mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, Ruku-ud-dunyá-waddín, the shadow of God upon earth, Kai Káús Sháh, son of Mahmúd, son of the Sultán, the right hand of the Khalifah of God, the helper of the commander of the faithful—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!—at the order of the Lord of the age, by Shiháb-ul-haqq-waddín, a second Alexander, the Ulugh-i-'Azam Humáyún Zafar Khán Bahrám Itgín—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom, and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision (batauliyat) of Saláh Jíwand of Multán. On the 1st Muharram, 697 A.H. [19th Oct., 1297]."

I have reproduced in full the above inscription, alike in text, translation, and commentary,¹ as it corrects an avowedly imperfect reading which I had been favoured with by Col. Nassau Lees. Dr. Blochmann was so obliging as to forward me an impression of the original, that I might satisfy myself of the accuracy of the translation now given; but I have unfortunately mislaid the *facsimile* reproduction, and therefore abstain for the moment from any further comments.

¹ Dr. Blochmann continues:—"As mentioned above, this inscription is quoted by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 140, where a 'rough' translation by Colonel Nassau Lees is given. The 'translation' leaves out the name of the builder, and wrongly puts his titles in apposition to the words *Khusraws zaman*. The absence of a *facsimile* has led Mr. Thomas to state that Kai Káús confessed allegiance to 'Alá-ud-dín of Dihlí, who is the Sikandar-uşşání *par excellence*; but the grammatical construction of the sentence, and the *idiom*, show that the words 'Sikandar-uşşání, Ulugh-i-'Azam Humáyún and Zafar Khán,' are merely titles of Bahrám Itgín. He must have been a Malik of high rank, as the titles are high; but my Tribeni inscriptions (about to be published in this volume) give Maliks not only similar titles, but also the phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom,' and even *jalús* names, if I may say so. 'Shiháb-ul-Haqq-wad-din,' therefore, is merely the *jalús* name of Malik Zafar Khán, and shows, moreover, that the Sikandar-uşşání cannot be 'Alá-ud-dín, whose full *jalús* name with the *kunyah* was 'Alá-ud-dín *Abulmuazzar* Mubammad Sháh." This inscription is further referred to by Mr. W. M. Bourke (1872, p. 143), who expresses a hope that his new "rubblings," now submitted to the Society, may resolve Dr. Blochmann's doubt regarding a portion of this inscription, and supply the date in his No. 4 Inscription.

INSCRIPTION C.

Inscription of SHAMS-UD-DIN FIRUZ of Bengal, on Zafar Khán's Madrasah, at Tribeni,¹ dated A.H. 713.

الحمدة لولي الحمد * بنيت هذه المدرسة المسماة دارالخيرات 'في
عهد سلطنة والي الميراث' صاحب التاج والختم 'ظل الله في العالم'
المكرم الاكرام الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم 'شمس الدنيا و الدين'
المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان 'ابو المظفر فيروز
شاه السلطان خلد الله سلطانه' J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 287.

The text goes on to say that the inscription was engraved under the direction of Khán Muhammad Zafar Khán, on the 1st of Muharram, 713 A.H. Zafar Khán's Mosque, in the same locality, bears the earlier date of 698 A.H. (A.D. 1298).

¹ Tribeni or *Tribeni* (as Mr. Money writes it, J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 393), N. of Húglí. Dr. Blochmann adds, "Tribeni is often called *Tripáni* ("three streams"), and by the Muhammadans *Tripáni Sháh-púr*, or *Firúzábád* (see also *Ain-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), ii., p. 5; J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II, (1866), p. 202, *Note 1*, and *Notes 1*, p. 205). Dr. Blochmann, in adverting to Marsden's coin of Táj-ud-dín *Firúz Sháh* (No. DCCCLXXVIII, and Laidley, J.A.S.B., 1846, pl. v., fig. 17), has followed the old authorities in attributing the piece to a Bengal king of that name, and does not seem to be aware that the coin was minted in the Dakhan in 807 A.H., during the reign of the *Bahmani* *Firúz Sháh* (A.H. 800 to 825). See my *Chronicles of the Fatbán Kings*, p. 345. On the other part, I have to thank Dr. Blochmann for a rectification, to which he seems to attach an undue importance.—J.A.S.B., July, 1872, p. 119. In my recent work just quoted, I had occasion to notice, *en passant*, the contemporary coins of the local dynasties more or less connected with the central Muhammadan Imperialism. Among other hitherto unpublished specimens, I described a coin of "Ahmad Sháh bin Ahmad Sháh, Alwali, *Al Bahmani*," (p. 343), dated 856 A.H., and I submitted, without any reserve, in illustration of the piece itself, a facsimile of the original, designed and executed by an independent artist—which may be seen to be defective in both the subordinate points, in which Dr. Blochmann has the advantage of me in a better preserved and more fully legible coin lately acquired by Colonel Hyde. I take no blame to myself for reading the *absolutely detached*

روق of the one specimen for the improved الروف of the other, nor am I surprised at the appearance of the concluding word المهيمن when it is to be found in the very next page of my work, where I had full authority for its citation.

INSCRIPTIONS D. E. F.

Further Inscriptions of Shams-ud-din Firúz.

Dr. Blochmann contributes the following remarks towards the elucidation of some unpublished records of this king :

“The inscriptions at Tribení near Húglí mention the same king (Shams-ud-dín Fírúz) as having reigned in 1313 A.D. Two of Mr. Broadley’s inscriptions—and this will show the value of his discoveries—prove—

1. That Fírúz already reigned in 1309 over (Western) Bengal, or Lakhnautí.

2. That South Bihár under him belonged to Bengal, whilst other inscriptions show that Bihár in 1352 again belonged to Dehlí.

3. That Shams-ud-dín had a son of the name of Hálím Khán, who in 1309 and 1315—and hence most likely during the intervening years—was governor of Bihár.”¹

As respects the later numismatic accessions to this henceforth *second* period of the Muslim annals of Bengal, they may be said to be confined to minor varieties and repetitions of known types, whose dates are, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. A single coin of mark claims attention, in the shape of a gold piece of Bahádúr Sháh, part of his tribute or recognition money (similar to the silver piece No. 9, O.S.) coined in his own name, but with the full acknowledgment of the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The piece itself is the property of Mr. Delmerick—to whom we owe the first notice of the *unique* coin of the Bactrian king *Plato*, which has lately been secured for the British Museum ;²—a medal, I may remark, *en passant*, that contributes the most striking testimony to the value of numismatic inquiries perhaps ever adduced, in confirming by the single date, hitherto known in the entire Bactrian series, which appears on its surface, the

¹ “The two inscriptions of Hálím Khán contain the dates 1309 and 1315 ; the former inscription seems to have belonged to a Saraf, the latter to a Mosque.” J.A.S.B., Proceedings, 1871, p. 246.

² J.A.S.B., February, 1872, p. 34.

exact epoch of Eukratides' death in B.C. 165, which had already been speculatively fixed from less definite data.¹ The specific determination of this era is of the highest importance as giving us a standpoint, so to say critical, towards the close of a dynasty, whose members left so few positive traces behind them, and whose annals were little likely to have been preserved either by the hostile races who succeeded them, or their indifferent cousins who remained in the ancestral homes of the West.

I have little left to say, in conclusion, beyond momentarily adverting to one of the confessed difficulties of the day, the identification of the easily-shifted sites of Eastern cities, whose removal, apart from the caprice of the rulers, was, in this locality, at all times liable to be suggested, if not enforced, by Nature herself, in the ever-changing channels of the waters of the Delta of the Ganges.²

With regard to the emplacement of *Pundua* or "Fírúzpúr," a possible claimant has appeared in the shape of the "Pundooah" (23° 3'—88° 18') near Húghlí, which is in a measure connected with the area of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal's extant memorials at Tribeni, one of the subordinate villages of which still retains the alternative name of "Fírúzábád."³

But I am satisfied that the *Pandua*, near Maldah,⁴ is the

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, ii., p. 175. J.R.A.S. (o.s.) XX., p. 119. Gen. Cunningham *Num. Chron.* ix. (1869), p. 230. I am now, apart from other reasons, the less inclined to accept the author's "83 of the Bactrian era"—which he derives from a quasi-monogram on the coins of Helicetes.

² This is a description of the local peculiarities published in 1820. "In tracing the sea coast of this Delta, there are eight openings found, each of which appears to be a principal mouth of the Ganges. As a strong presumptive proof of the wanderings of that river, from one side of the Delta to the other, it may be observed, that there is no appearance of virgin earth between the Tiperah hills on the east and the district of Burdwan on the west; nor below Dacca and Bauleah on the north. In all the sections of the numerous creeks and rivers of the Delta, nothing appears but sand and black mould in regular strata, until the clay is reached, which forms the lower part of their beds; nor is there any substance so coarse as gravel either in the Delta, or nearer the sea than 400 miles (by the course of the Ganges) at Oudanulla, where a rocky point, part of the base of the base of the neighbouring hills, projects into the river."—Hamilton's *Hindustan*, i., p. 123.

³ J.A.S. Bengal, 1870, p. 282, and note, p. 37, *anté*.

⁴ Rennell and Stewart were alike convinced that the northern city of that name was the scene of Fírúz's contest with Iliás Sháh. Rennell remarks: "Pundua, or Purruah, mentioned as a royal residence in Bengal, in the year 1353 (Dow, i. 349), [*4to.* edit. i., 326; Briggs, i., 449], is about seven miles to the north of Mauldah, and ten from the nearest part of Gour. Many of its ruins yet remain,

real place of mintage of the coins bearing the royal designation of this prince, which later in point of time supersedes the discarded record of "*Lakhnauti*" on the local currency. While the group of "Seven Villages" or Townships in Lower Bengal is defined solely by the appropriate mint term of "*Satgaon*," whose leading centre perhaps oscillated according to the progressive changes of the convenient wharves and landing-places of that emporium. If I could be equally certain of the very reasonable identification of "*Jugdula*" ($25^{\circ} 10' - 87^{\circ} 58'$) of our recent surveys,¹ with the "*Akdalah*" of the Muhammadan historians,² the case would be complete and final in favour of the northern metropolis.

Colonel Haughton's recent investigations enable him to say that *Ghíáspúr* is also "near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah."³ And Dr. Blochmann very safely affirms that *Muazzamábád* is in Sonargaon.⁴ A small incidental note will be found at p. 9 *antè*, on Denkót and the Muslim Lakhnauti, but the subject under its geographical aspect, promises to repay more ample investigation.

particularly the Addeenah mosque, and the pavement of a very long street, which lies in the line of the road leading from Mauldah to Dinagepour."—Bennell, Map, etc., p. 66.

Stewart's understanding of the localities may be traced in the following passage: "Ilyas took post himself in the fort of Akdala; leaving his son to defend the city of Pundua (near Mauldah), which for some time past he had made his capital. The Emperor advanced to a place now called Firozpurábád, and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua."—Hist. Bengal, p. 84. See also Hamilton's Hindustan, i., 230.

¹ Surveyor General of India's latest Maps.

² These passages are given at large in my previous paper. J.R.A.S., II., p. 206. See also pp. 203-210, and Stewart's Bengal, pp. 84 *note*, 86 and 87; as well as Elliot's Historians, iii., pp. 294-308.

³ See Chronicles of Pathán Kings, 153. *Áin-i-Akbari*, ii., p. 3, *suppt.*, and Grant's Report, p. 372.

⁴ Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 121.

