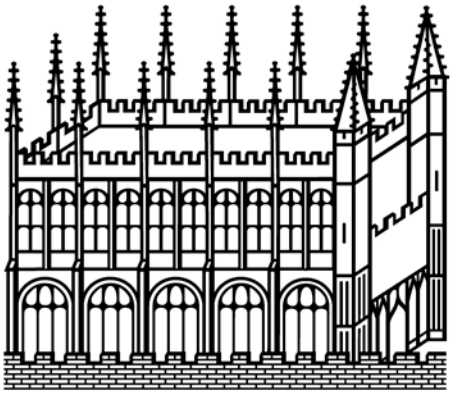

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ART. [illegible]*ins of the Kings of Ghazní.* *By* EDWARD THOMAS, ESQ., *Bengal Civil Service.*

[*Read 6th March*, 1847.]

THE coins to which the following notice refers form part of the extensive collection made in Afghanistán by Mr. Masson, now deposited in the Museum at the India House. Amid the more important relics of the Bactrian successors of Alexander the Great, which constituted the bulk of this acquisition, slight attention was attracted by the medals of a subsequent Mohammedan dynasty, the events of whose rule were comparatively well known, and whose history in itself possessed none of the classic interest attaching to the survival of the Greek monarchies in Central Asia. From this and other causes, Professor Wilson, in his description of the antiquities of Ariana, which the labours of Mr. Masson had placed at his command, but briefly referred to the numismatic monuments of the race of Sabaktagín. Such being the case, and adverting both to the numerical amount of these coins now available, and to the very limited number of medals of the Ghaznaví princes yet noticed, either by English or continental writers, it seemed probable that an attempt at a classification of these minor antiquities might not be altogether devoid of interest.

In addition to the assistance derived from the free use of the treasures of the East India Company's Cabinet, advantage has been taken of the equally liberal access afforded to various public and private numismatic collections, to fill in some of the lacunæ in the serial order of the moneys of Zábulistán; the aid thus obtained will be found duly acknowledged in the detail of the coins themselves.

The eventful period of Mohammedan history comprised in the early rule of the Ghaznavís; the brilliant successes of the arms of Islám under Mahmúd; as well as the material encouragement given to literature by the potentates of the day, have rendered the rise of this dynasty the theme of so many Eastern authors, that in the fulness of their narrations but little remains to be elucidated by collateral means; and though in the present instance scanty room is left for speculation founded on medals, these effectively fulfil their more legitimate archæological use of verifying authentic history, and thus testing the comparative accuracy of the various writers on the subjects they illustrate, whose works are now extant.

If the coins of the present series, unlike the medals of Greece and Rome, offer no rare devices, no effigies or imitations of animal life,

which, in their boldness and truth of execution, claim homage for the perfection of ancient art; or if they fail in affording classic allegories, and indirect references to customs and superstitions, suitable for the display of antiquarian ingenuity, they record what is of greater importance,—a proportionately far more ample circle of facts. If they supply a more limited field for the exercise of the imagination, and therefore furnish a less fascinating subject of study, they at the same time narrow the possible departure from truth. In so doing they may fairly claim excuse for want of symbolical or sculptural characteristics, as well as a lenient criticism on the artistic demerits, with which, it must be conceded, the later portion of the series especially abounds.

Some few specimens of the early mintages will indeed stand comparison with the best works of art of their class, both in respect to the fineness of the lines, and the elegance and accuracy of the Kufic legends; and, taken as a suite, even allowing for the great deterioration in execution observable under the less powerful sultans of the dynasty, the produce of the Ghazní mint must be admitted to have attained a high degree of excellence in the order of Asiatic coinages of its age.

Before proceeding to a detail of the inscriptions to be found on the coins, a few points may be alluded to as offering subjects of more general interest than the simple historical illustration afforded by the major part of the medals of this collection.

The opinion advanced by many Mohammedan authors[1] that Sabaktagín[2] should be looked upon as the first monarch of the Ghaznaví race, is not borne out by the record on his money: on the contrary, however powerful and virtually independent they may have been, Sabaktagín, Ismaíl, and Mahmúd himself in the early days of his rise, all acknowledged the supremacy of the Sámání emperors, and duly inscribed on the currency struck by themselves as local governors, the name of the Lord Paramount, under whom they held dominion. It was not until the year 389 A.H. that the House of Ghazní assumed independence as sovereign princes, which event is duly marked on Mahmúd's medals of the period, in the rejection of the name of the Suzerain Sámání, and the addition of the prefix Amír to his own titles. (See Coins, Nos. 9, 10, 23, &c.)

The numerous coins of Mahmúd, in their varied titular superscrip-

[1] Mirchond, Hist. Gaz. ed. Wilken, p. 5; Khalásat al Akhbár (Price), ii. 277; Ferishtah (Dow), i. 21 and 22; (Briggs), i. 13 and 14.

[2] Or Subuktikin, سبكتكين, as it is written in a carefully engrossed MS. of Utbí in the British Museum.

tions, mark most distinctly the progressive epochs of his eventful career, commencing with the comparatively humble prænomen of Seif al daulah, bestowed on him by Núh bin Mansúr in 384 A.H., proceeding onwards to the then usual Sámání titles of sovereignty, Al Amír, Al Syíd, conjoined with the epithets of Yamín al daulah, and Amín al Millat, conferred on him by the Khalíf Al Kádir billah, advancing next to the appellation of Nizám al dín, and the occasional prefix of the pompous designations of Malik al Memálik and Malik al Mulúk, and finally ending in the disuse of all titular adjuncts, and the simple inscription of the now truly celebrated name he had received at his birth. (Ex gr., vide Coins, Nos. 8, 9, 43, 44, 49, 53.)

The absence of any numismatic record of the title of Ghází, said to have been adopted by Mahmúd on his return from some of his early expeditions into India, leads to an inference, not altogether unsupported by other negative evidence, that the term in question was not introduced into current use, in the full sense of its more modern acceptation, till a somewhat later period.

The unique bilingual coin of Mahmúd, No. 42, claims a more than passing notice, though in the uncertainty regarding the date, and the erasure of the place of coinage, no satisfactory inference can be deduced as to the possible circumstances under which it was struck. Hence, viewing it on the one hand as a coin minted in reference to some particular occasion, it avails but little to speculate on the precise section of Mahmúd's Indian conquests, which was judged of such importance by the victor, as to be dignified by a commemorative medal; or, on the other hand, recognizing this piece as the existing representative of a local currency, it is equally unprofitable to hazard an opinion as to the identical people upon whom it may have been thought desirable to impress an exalted idea of the greatness of their new master, by thus communicating the sound of his titles through the medium of the characters of the language in vulgar use. The letters on the reverse assimilate in a measure to the form of the Sanskrit alphabet denominated "Kutila," which is proved by the date on the Rohilkund inscription to have been in local use in the tenth century: at the same time the Kutila alphabet by no means suffices for their full identification, many of the characters employed approaching the style of writing attributed to a period, antecedent by many centuries to the precise epoch at which these letters were fashioned; some characters agreeing accurately with the corresponding letters in the Tibetan alphabet, and not a few being readily identifiable with their equivalents in the Allahabad inscription of the fifth century. Of course, it was naturally to be anticipated, that the letters should

exhibit the local modifications incident to the dialect of the country to which they referred, and amid the many Hindú kingdoms subdued by Mahmúd's prowess, it was scarcely to be hoped, that the legend in question should be fully explicable by means of any given form of the still limited number of recognized systems of Devanagarí Palæography; but the present difficulty extends beyond this, inasmuch as the expression of the characters is in itself undecided, and by no means uniform. For the rest, making allowance for a considerable degree of malformation, these letters may be looked upon as generally identical with those employed by the Brahmanical kings of Kábul, and subsequently by the Hindú princes of Northern India. In as far as the legend has yet been deciphered, it would appear to be nothing more than a partial transcript of the Kufic inscription on the opposite surface of the coin. From the imperfection of the form of many of the Sanskrit characters, it would seem that the die engraver must have been somewhat unskilled in the language, the symbols of which he was called upon to imitate. This deduction, if not justified by the crude shape of several of the letters themselves, and the unsuccessful attempt at a representation of the due sound of the corresponding words of the Arabic legend, evidenced in the whole tenor of the transcript, is conclusively proved by the want of uniformity in what must be taken to stand for one and the same letter, in different parts of the inscription itself. The result arrived at from this fact, as well as from the superiority of the execution of the Kufic side of the coin, is simply, that the piece in question was not the work of native moneyers, but rather the production of an artist whose aptitude had been derived from Mohammedan mints; and hence, that this medal should be viewed, not as a new adaptation of the coinage of a subdued country, but as a specimen of money fabricated in reference to some peculiar occasion, to mark some particular victory, or perpetuate some notable conquest.

Mahmúd is related to have assumed the title of "Sultán," and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term[1]. A reference to the coins of this prince, however, leads to some doubt on the subject, and although their testimony in no wise militates against the generally received account of the origin of the designation, yet it inferentially controverts the assertion of its immediate adoption and use by Mahmúd himself. D'Herbelot avers that Mahmúd was first designated by this epithet in 393, by Khalaf, Governor of Seistán, on the occasion of his surrendering himself to Mahmúd's mercy after a futile attempt at rebellion. Il "luy apporta les clefs de sa fortresse, et le reconnut pour son Sultan. Ce titre de Sultan, qui n'étoit pas

[1] Khalásat al Akhbár (Price), ii. 282; Elphinstone's India, i. 538.

encore en usage, plut si fort à Mahmúd, qu'il le prit toujours depuis ce temps-là, et pardonna, non seulement à Khalaf sa révolte, mais le rétablit encore dans son gouvernement[1]." De Guignes, accepting the same narrative of the first enunciation of the word in its new sense, adds a more probable and less express assertion of the degree of Mahmúd's self-application of the term in question—"Et ce titre jusqu'alors inconnu, devint en usage parmi les Princes Mahometans, il plut Mahmoud qui le porta le premier. Auparavant les Princes prenoient celui de 'Malek' ou de 'Roi.' Dans la suite celui-ci s'avilit et ne fut plus donné qu'à des princes tributaires et soumis aux Sulthans[2]." From the numismatic evidence available, it would appear that, although it may reasonably have pleased Mahmúd to be called by this novel denomination, he does not seem directly to have caused himself to be thus officially designated. Had Mahmúd either himself assumed this prænomen, or had he received it from any competent authority, he would most probably have inscribed the appellation on his coins, whereon it will be seen he at one time much rejoiced to record his greatness. Moreover, had this title been adopted and employed by Mahmúd in the sense in which it was subsequently used, it is but reasonable to infer that it would have been continued by his immediate successors, and, as such, would have appeared on their money; whereas, the first Ghaznaví sovereign who stamps his coinage with the term, is Ibrahím[3], 451 A.H. (See Coins, Nos. 117, 119, &c.) During the interval, the designation had already been appropriated by another dynasty, the Seljúk Toghral Beg having entitled himself Sultán so early as 437 A.H., if not before that date, after having in the first instance, on his conquest of Khorasán from Masaúd, contented himself with the usual style of Amír. (See note to Coin 59.)

The coins of Mahmúd, in addition to the illustration afforded of the various phases of his immediate reign, offer evidence on two points of contemporaneous history, one of which at least, under ordinary circumstances, should not have been dependent for elucidation upon the medals of a separate dynasty. The first of these refers to the non-recognition of the Khalíf Al Kádir billah, in the province of Khorásán, until about eight years subsequent to his virtual accession. It is necessary to premise, that in the year 381 A.H. the Khalíf Al Tái'h lillah was dethroned by the Búiah Bahá al daulah, the then Amír al Amará of the court of Baghdád, and his place supplied by

[1] D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient., p. 533. Paris, 1697. [2] De Guignes, ii. 162.
[3] It still, however, remains a question whether this title may not have been used by Masaúd on some of his *provincial* Coins. (See p. 343.) Al Bíhekí uses the Amír and Sultán indifferently.

Ahmed bin Ishak, who was elevated to the Khiláfat under the denomination of Al Kádir billah. The author of the Táríkh Guzídah relates that "the people of the province of Khorásán objecting to this supercession, which was justified by no offence on the part of the late pontiff, continued to recite the public prayers in his name; and it was not until Mahmúd of Ghazní, in disavowing his allegiance to the Sámánís, became supreme in that country, that any alteration in this practice was effected, when Mahmúd, between whom and the new Imám there existed a friendly understanding, directed the Khutbah to be read in the name of Al Kádir[1]."

The accuracy of this relation is fully borne out by the archæological evidence furnished by the collection under notice, Mahmúd's coins invariably bearing the designation of the superseded Khalíf, Al-Tái'h, in conjunction with his own early title of Seif al daulah, up to the year 387 (Nos. 8 and 22[2]); while his money of a closely subsequent period is marked by the simultaneous appearance of the name of Al Kádir, in association with his own newly-received titles of Yamín al daulah and Amín al Millat. (See Coins Nos. 9, 10, 23, and 24.) The second medal just cited bears unusually explicit testimony to this self-imposed submission, in the addition made to Mahmúd's detailed honorary denominations which are here seen to conclude with the novel designation of Walí[3] Amír al Mómínín (*Servant of the Commander of the Faithful*).

[1] Extract Táríkh Guzídah, East India Company's Persian MS. Copy, No. 649.

اما در خراسان مدتي خطبه بنام طايع بود و ميگفتند امام بيگناهي كه لايق خلع نباشد چرا مخلوع شود تا چون سلطان محمود سبكتكين بران ملك مستولي شد و اورا با قادر خليفه مصادقت بود خطبه بنام قادر كرد

A somewhat similar passage is to be found in the Rauzat al Safá.

[2] A coin similar to No. 22 has formed the subject of an able essay from the pen of M. De Saulcy, Conservateur du Musée d'Artillerie, Paris. It is satisfactory to find the general accuracy of M. De Saulcy's inferences regarding the non-recognition of Al Kádir in the province of Khorasán, confirmed by the additional historical evidence above quoted, as well as by the copious numismatic examples supplied by the present collection. See Journal Asiatique, 1842.

[3] D'Herbelot quotes the following anecdote from the Táríkh al Khofata, in advertence to the said title of Walí, and the objections to its use supposed to have existed in the case of the Ghaznaví Sultán:—

"Il est rapporté dans le Tarikh al Khofata, ou Histoire des Khalifes, que le Sultan Mahmoud, s'étant rendu maître absolu du pays de Gaznin, et de tant d'autres, par sa valeur, souhaita que le Khalife luy donnast un titre digne de sa

The second circumstance referred to, which has now to be noticed, also regards the dynasty of the Khalífs of Baghdád. The Níshápúr coins, Nos. 12, 19, 20, and 26, display the title of Al Ghálib billah, indicated as "designated successor" to Al Kádir. Who the individual thus nominated may have been, is not recorded in any of the histories of the time usually accessible to English readers, but a manuscript copy of the Táríkh Guzídah, in the Library of the East India House, fortunately supplies the omission in the following passage, which readily leads to an identification of the person in question, and at the same time accounts for the disappearance of his name from the money of subsequent years, and the eventual accession of a son of Al Kádir, other than the one thus appointed.

puissance, et pour l'obtenir il luy envoya un Ambassade extraordinaire. L'Imam Abou Mansor ayant demeuré un an ou environ à Bagdet sans rien avancer dans l'affaire qu'il poursuivoit, présenta enfin un memoire dans lequel il exposoit au Khalife les grandes conquestes de son maître, sa puissance, et son zéle pour la foy Musulmane, la conversion de plusieurs milliers d'Idolâtres à la religion Mahometane, le changement de leurs temples en mosquées, et qu'enfin il étoit tout à fait indigne que l'on ne reconnut pas le merite d'un si grand Prince par un titre qui coûtoit si peu de chose au Khalife de luy accorder. Ce memoire fit son effet auprès du Khalife, lequel craignant qu'un si puissant Monarque ne tournast enfin ses armes contre luy, assembla son conseil, et mit en déliberation quel titre on pouvoit luy accorder, désirant, à cause que ce Prince étoit fils d'un esclave, qu'on luy en donnast un qui fut équivoque. On trouva donc que celuy de Veli luy conviendroit bien, parce que ce mot qui signifie Amy et Seigneur, signifie aussi Serviteur et Valet. Mahmoud connut bien la pensée du Khalife, et il luy envoya un present de cent mille écus, afin qu'il ajoûtast seulement une lettre au nom, à sçavoir, un Elif. On luy accorda cette grace, et on luy envoya les Patentes avec le titre de Vali, qui signifie absolument Maître et Commandant. *Doulet Schah.*" (Bib. Orient., D'Herbelot, p. 536.)

This story bears an appearance of much improbability when considered in reference to the many early instances of mutual good will evinced on the part of Mahmúd and of his spiritual superior; as well as to the fact, that, later in life, Mahmúd is proved to have received or appropriated titles numerous and laudatory enough to have satisfied the most craving ambition for such empty honours; and finally, Ferishtah notices the receipt at the Court of Ghazní, so late as 417 A.H., of a diploma conferring certain highly complimentary denominations both upon Mahmúd and his three sons (كهف الدولة &c., Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 81), apparently the unsolicited offering of the identical Khalíf who is reported to have designed the cutting reproach above described. It is true, it is not stated to what particular period of his reign the occurrence of this episode should be assigned; but Mahmúd's prompt and seemingly voluntary display of the word ولي in immediate connexion with his own name does not look as if he had any scruples regarding its employment, or any dread of consequent imputations on his parentage, even though the *Wali* was wanting in the so-asserted *coveted Alif.*

قادر خليفهرا در سال هشتاد و سيوم پسري آمد اورا ابو الفضل محمّد نام كرد و چون بحدّ بلوغ رسيد ولي عهد كردانيد امّا پيش از قادر درگذشت و هم سال هشتاد و سيوم قادر خليفه با دختر بهاو الدوله ديلم سكينه نام وصلت كرد[1]

"In the year (3)83, a son was born to Al Kádir, who was named Abúl Fazl Mohammed, and when he arrived at years of puberty he was created Walí Ah'd; he, however, died during the life-time of Al Kádir, who, in this same year, 83, married Sukínah, the daughter of Bahá al daulah Dílemí."

The Tabakát Násirí furnishes the following additional information regarding the titular designations of Al Kádir's sons, and conclusively fixes the identity of the first successor elect:—

و درتمامت عهد محمود خليفه القادر بالله بود و او پسر خودرا در روزكار خود ولي كرد و اورا الغالب بالله لقب داد غالب پيش از پدر برحمت حق پيوست پس ديكر پسررا ولي عهد كرد القايم بامر الله لقب داد[2]

The distinct information afforded by the money of Mahmúd on this head, simply amounts to the fact that Al Ghálib billah was recognized heir to the Khiláfat from 399 to 409 A.H. It would also seem probable, from the occurrence of this title on a coin of Mumehid al daulah Merwání, dated 392, that the nomination of Al Ghálib as "Walí Ah'd," must have taken place prior to this last epoch. The piece here referred to has been described by Frœhn and Lindberg[3], and

[1] MS., No. 180, p. 129. East India House Library.
[2] MS. Tabakát Násirí. East India House Library.
[3] Silver. Struck at Míáfáríkín. A.H. (3)92.

Areas.

لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	صلى الله عليه و اله
الغالب بالله	القادر بالله
ممهد الدوله	الملك بهاء الدولة
ابو منصور	قطب الملة

Frœhn, Num. Kuf. p. 77; Lindberg, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. du Nord, 1844, p. 261.

the title of Al Ghálib billah was imagined by these authors to appertain to the Merwán Amír himself; but the more explanatory legends on the Ghaznaví coins indicate clearly the personage to whom the epithet belonged. In 416 A.H. Abdallah, the son of Al Kádir, then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, entitled Al Káim beamerillah, was nominated successor, and acceded to the throne of his father in the last month of 422 A.H.

The ample materials supplied by Mr. Masson's collection, in leading to the identification of previously unattributed medals, shew that the appropriation by the Ghaznaví monarchs of the device of Nandí (Bull of Siva), superscribed by the words Srí Samanta dév, as first used on the coins of the Brahmanical kings of Kábul, took place somewhat earlier than has hitherto been supposed; and that, whereas Ibrahím was imagined to have been the first king who associated himself thus far with his Indian possessions, it now appears that the conjunction of Mohammedan titles with the Hindú Bull of Siva on one and the same piece, took place in the reign of Modúd (432 A.H. = 1041 A.D.), if not at a still earlier period. (See Coins, Nos. 91, 92.)

Several conjectures have been advanced to account for the seeming anomaly of a sect, usually so prejudiced on such subjects as the followers of Islám, accepting as a device for their money, a symbol (adverting to the source whence it was derived) so purely idolatrous as the one in question. In this instance a reference to the other coins of the collection assists in elucidating this apparent difficulty. It is to be remarked, that, throughout all the conquests and consequent acquisitions of new territory effected by the House of Ghazní, there is to be seen a general indisposition to disturb the existing currency of the kingdoms subdued. Financial motives may probably have first prompted this conservatism; but from whatever cause arising, the effects are manifest throughout the period of the more extended domination of this dynasty. What description of currency Alptegín may have found in use, or may himself have introduced at Ghazní, there are no means of knowing, as the only coin now extant, which bears his distinct name, is a piece struck at Anderábeh in 347 A.H. (see Coin No. 1); but Sabaktagín's coins, minted in the province of Bámián, vary considerably from the currency of his masters, the Sámánís, and approximate in weight and size to the local coinage of Kábul, under the Hindú kings of that city. Mahmúd's Ghazní coins come in the same category; while the money of his Níshápúr mint differs materially from these last, both in form and value. The like may be said of the produce of the mints of Balkh and Sejistán, the former of which obviously, and the latter inferentially, may be taken to disclose their

respective provincial peculiarities. The same remarks also apply generally to the coins of Masaúd. The conclusion deducible from these facts is, that there existed on the part of the Moslem potentates of Central Asia at this period a desire to retain, as little changed as need be, the local currency of the various provinces of their dominions[1]. Thus, if it be admitted, that it was not the custom to alter the coinage of a newly-conquered country, the Ghaznaví monarchs, in stamping the coins of the Hindús with their own names and titles, must be considered, not as having placed the figure of a Bull upon their own money, but as having "caused the coin of these provinces to be struck in their own names." The feeling of vanity incident to Oriental Princes, which so uniformly led to this ceremony on the first acquisition of new territory, need not be enlarged upon, further than to notice that, under this plan of retaining for the obverse, the device of the existing currency, in conjunction with the proof of their own supremacy, evidenced by the legend on the reverse, a more explicit record of the conquest itself was attained, than would have resulted even from a radical change of the entire coinage.

The identification of the name of the city of Lahór on the imperfect margins of coins Nos. 92 and 129, points out distinctly the province to which these bilingual coins refer; and a proof is thus furnished of the accuracy of the previous attribution of an intermediate class of medals, bearing the device of the Bull with the Horseman reverse, which have been assigned to the Hindú Sovereigns of the Punjáb[2], and which are now seen to form the connecting link between the original coins of the Brahmanical Kings of Kábul and the Mohammedan adaptation of this species of money now under review.

[1] If it were necessary to cite foreign and earlier examples of an analogous absence of more modern Moslem scruples in similar cases, it might be advantageous to point, among others, to the remarkable departure from the supposed absolute rule on the subject, instanced in the retention by the Arabs, for the first twenty years after their conquest of the country, of the Byzantine types of the money of Mauritania, extending not only to the use of the general device of the prototype, and the expression of Arabic names by means of Latin letters, but even to an acceptance of a but slightly modified form of the cross itself. It is to be observed, moreover, that this enduring instance of freedom from the prejudice above referred to, occurred at a period closely subsequent to the difference between the Khalíf Abdal Malik and the Greek Emperor, which, in A.H. 76, led to the first fabrication of pure Arabic money, when, if there had been the most remote feeling of objection to the use of symbols on the part of the then followers of Islam, it must have been expected to have shown itself with peculiar force. An interesting paper on this subject may be referred to in letter No. 5 of M. de Saulcy à M. Reinaud, Journal Asiatique, A.D. 1840.

[2] Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII., p. 184.

There is considerable discrepancy observable in the statements of the various authors[1] of the history of the family of Ghazní in the recognition of the exact date of Abdal Rashíd's succession; though the coins of the series under notice are insufficient to fix with precision when the event occurred, yet as they suffice to prove when it actually had taken place, they assist in dissipating errors which it might

[1] To obviate the confusion incident to detached notices, and to present at one view a detail of the various historical writers to whom reference is made in the present paper, the following summary of the several authorities quoted is here subjoined:—

1. The Biography of Masaúd, the son of Mahmúd of Ghazní, catalogued in the Royal Library, *Paris*, as the *Táríkh Masaúdí*, by Abúl Fazl Mohammed bin Al Husén Al Bíhekí. The work contains a full and voluminous account of the reign of Masaúd, interspersed with occasional digressions upon the occurrences of the day: it was chiefly written and finally completed after the accession of Ibrahím, 451 A.H. The writer also refers to his own Táríkh Yamíní. Hají Khalfa has a notice of this author's compositions, to the following effect:—"Táríkh A'l Subektegin, Historia magna Ghaznavidarum pluribus voluminibus comprehensa, Auctore Abu'lfadhl Al Beihacki." The Paris MS. is of modern transcription (A.H. 1019), and, as far as the contents of European Public Libraries are known, it is believed to be unique. The existence of this MS. only became known to the author of the present notice after the major part of these sheets had been prepared for the press; and even then the time disposable for its examination only admitted of a partial perusal.

2. Tabakát Násirí, by Minháj bin Suráj Jurjání, dedicated to Násir al dín Mahmúd of Delhí. A.H. 658.

3. Tárikh Moktasar al Daul, by the Armenian Abúl Faraj. Latest date, 683 A.H.

4. Jámi al Tawáríkh, by Rashíd al dín, Vizír of Gázán Khán, and subsequently of Oljáitú Khán. A.H. 710.

5. Táríkh Binákití, otherwise entitled Rauzat álí al Albáb, an Abridgment of the Jámi al Tawáríkh, by Abú Solímán Fakhr al dín Dáúd (vulg. Binákití). A.H. 717.

6. The original of the Annales Muslemici of Abúl Fedá of Hamát was written between 715 and 732 A.H.

7. Táríkh Guzídah, by Ahmed bin Abú Bekr Al Kaswíní. 730 A.H.

8. Rauzat al Safá, by Mír Kháwand Sháh (otherwise Mirkhond), dedicated to Alí Shír, Vizír of Sultán Hussén. The author died in Khorásán, in 903 A.H.

9. Khalásat al Akhbár, an Abridgement of the Rauzat al Safá, 905 A.H.; 10. Habíb al Sair, about 927 A.H., dedicated to Habíb Ullah, Vízír of Ismaíl Shah Sufaví, King of Persia; both by Ghíáth al dín bin Hamid al din, Khondemír.

11. Jemál al dín *Abúl Mahásan* Yúsaf bin Taghrí Bardí (Egypt). Middle of ninth century A.H.

12. Táríkh Nigáristan, by Ahmed bin Mohammed, Al Kaswíní. Middle of tenth century A.H.

13. Tabakát Akberí, by Nizám al dín Ahmed bin Mohammed Mokim, of Herát, written at Agrah, in the time of Akber (about) 991 A.H.

14. Táríkh al Jenábí, by Abú Mohammed Mustafí (vulg. Al Jenábí). Latest date 997. The author died in 999 A.H.

15. Mirát al A'lem, by Bukhtáwur Khán. Time of Aúrungzíb.

16. Táríkh Ferishtah, (Bíjápúr). A.H. 1018 = A.D. 1609.

otherwise have been somewhat difficult to rectify. Minháj al Suráj (the author of the Tabakát Násirí), Abúl Faraj, Abúl Fedá, and Rashíd al dín, unite in affirming that both Módúd's death and Abdal Rashíd's accession took place in the year 441 A.H. The three latter authorities, indeed, assume a direct succession, but the probably more accurately informed Minháj al Suráj allows an interval of two months for the joint reigns of Masaúd II. and Abúl Hasan Alí[1]. The Táríkh Guzídah gives the year 441 A.H. (Rajab) as the date of the death of Módúd, and 443 for the accession of Abdal Rashíd, and these periods have been accepted with little variation by the authors of the Rauzat al Safá, Habíb al Sair, the Khalásat al Akhbár, and the Táríkh Ferishtah. The evidence derivable from coins would indicate that these historians are one and all, to a certain extent, incorrect in their determination of the epochs in question, inasmuch as the medal of Abdal Rashíd (No. 93) clearly displays the *written* numbers 440, thereby proving incontestably, that the prince, under whose auspices it was struck, had obtained full possession of regal honours some time in the year recorded. In thus approximately fixing the time of the accession of Abdal Rashíd, and in so doing ante-dating the period usually assigned for Módúd's death by at least *seven* months, some assistance might have been anticipated therefrom in the solution of another doubtful point, viz., the duration of the reign of this last-named prince. The averments of different historians on this head vary to the amount of no less than two years and ten months[2]. Of course this discrepancy implies to a certain extent a corresponding difference of opinion as to the date of accession. There is, however, less variation in the assignment of this æra than might have been expected from the contradictions adverted to; the period of the decease of this monarch being now in a manner fixed, demands an acceptance of the testimony of those authors whose relation assimilates most nearly with the probabilities resulting from the facts available. The year above assigned as having witnessed Módúd's death, 440 A.H., placed in reference to even the earliest date proposed by any one of the writers whose conflicting assertions it is desirable to reconcile, does not admit of the possibility of his having reigned nine years. It becomes, therefore, necessary to ascertain how far the shorter period of seven years will meet the exigencies of the case. Here again, a weighty objection presents itself, inasmuch as the corroborative detail of contemporaneous events, and the means

[1] Or بها الدوله علی *Bahá al daulah* Alí, as he is called by the Guzídah and Habíb al Sair.

[2] Násírí, Abúl Faraj, Jenábí, Tabakát Akberí, and Ferishtah, nine years; Abúl Fedá, nine years and ten months; Rauzat al Safá, nine years and eleven months; Taríkh Guzídah, Habíb al Sair, and Khalásat al Akhbár, seven years.

of accurate knowledge possessed by the author of the Táríkh Masaúdí, scarcely admit a question as to the correctness of his statement, and this is to the effect that Módúd captured and killed his uncle Mohammed in Shabán, 432 A.H.[1] If this is to be taken as the actual date of accession, it leaves an interval to be filled up of eight years, more or less; the exact duration of the asserted seven years' sway, is thus manifestly unsupported by the evidence cited; it is true that, by antedating still more the epoch of the decease of Módúd, the use of the term seven years, or less than eight, might possibly be justified; but it must at the same time be admitted that there is no direct testimony to support any such solution of the matter at issue[2].

Whatever may be the correct estimate of the length of the reign of this Prince, the origin of the differences to be detected in the assertions of the historians above noted seems to be clearly explained by a casual observation to be found in the Mirát al A'lem; viz., that "Módúd reigned for seven years subsequent to the death of his uncle Mohammed, and in all nine years[3]." Hence it would appear that it was the practice among some writers to compute the commencement of Módúd's reign at an epoch much prior to his full accession, that is to say, from the time when he was first placed in charge of Balkh, &c., on his father's departure for Ghazní, in 431[4], or

[1] و امیر مودود در ین شعبان که شاه ملک خطبه بکردانید [۴۳۲ه] بدینور آمد و جنک کرد و عمرا بکرفت با پسرانش و کساني که با آن پادشاه یار بودند همکان‌را بکشت

Táríkh Masaúdí, Bibl. du Roi, Paris.

[2] M. De Guignes (ii. 177), in quoting from various authors at one and the same time, has placed himself in a difficulty in respect to this question. He takes Abúl Faraj's statement, which he cites as A.H. 433, for the date of Mohammed's second accession; then mentioning Módúd's death and quoting from Abúl Fedá, he states that this monarch died in 440, after a reign of nine years and ten months. The seven years actually adopted from date to date, as the duration of Módúd's reign, in which also must be included the brief sway of Mohammed, is thus, in the confusion of authorities, amplified by two years and ten months. Moreover, the quotations themselves are both incorrect; the printed texts of Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá, severally give 432 as the epoch of the revolt against Masaúd and the elevation of Mohammed [see p. 343 (Pococke, Oxon. 1643), and p. 132, vol. iii. (Reisk), respectively]. In like manner, the period of 440 will be seen in the printed text of the original to be 441 (see Abúl Fedá, iii. 132).

[3] سلطان مودود بن مسعود بعد از هلاک عم خویش مدت هفت سال و بقولي نه سال بسلطنت قیام نموده * *

Mirát al A'lem, No. 7657, Rich Collection, British Museum.

[4] Shawál, 431. Abúl Fedá.

possibly from a period still earlier, as Ferishtah asserts that Módúd was invested with the "ensigns of royalty" some time previous to this occasion.

The next circumstance which is capable of elucidation from the coins of this series, although a matter of no particular weight, is a fit subject of remark, as showing the possible value of numismatic studies in historical investigations of greater importance. A single medal of Ferokhzád is adequate at this distance of time, and in the hands of a strange people, to decide with certainty what the authors of the Guzídah and the Jámi al Tawáríkh, writing with all the advantages incident to their positions, were unable to pronounce a correct opinion upon, viz., the parentage of the prince in question, who is here distinctly announced as "the son of Masaúd." (No. 97, &c.)

Another inquiry which has attracted much notice from the various authors whose evidence is extant, is the duration of the rule of Ibrahím. This difficulty, even in the absence of any direct medallic dates, is capable of solution from the collateral record borne by coins. Fortunately for the facility of present proof, the discussion of the question is much simplified by the circumstance of the debated point being, not up to what time the reign extended, but as to which of the two periods of thirty or forty-two years[1], is the correct representative of its total duration. All writers concede that one of these two given quantities is the true one: hence a settlement of the matter is reduced to the simple acceptance of one or the other. There seems to be little ground for hesitation in the admission that either the year 450 or 451 A.H., (probably the latter,) witnessed the accession of this Sultán. If thirty years be taken as the limit of his reign, Ibrahím should have ceased to rule in 480–481 A.H.; but as the coin, No. 125, exhibits the name of the Khalíf Al Mostazher billah, as contemporary with Ibrahím, whose money it purports to be, and as this Khalíf did not ascend his own pontifical throne till 487, it is clear that Ibrahím of Ghazní lived and ruled subsequent to this last epoch. The inference that he reigned his full forty-two years is, under the circumstances, sufficiently legitimate.

It remains to notice one more fact, illustrated by the money of the period,—that Bahrám Sháh held his kingdom under Sanjar, governor of Khorásán. Abúl Fedá refers[2] distinctly to this point, and even goes somewhat beyond what the coins of Bahrám (Nos. 142, 144, &c.)

[1] Date of Ibrahím's death, according to different authors: Násirí, 492; Táríkh Guzídah, idem; Táríkh Binákiti, idem; Abúl Fedá, Mirkhond, and Jenábi, 481; Abúl Mahásan, 492; Ferishtah, doubtful!! De Guignes, 481.

[2] ودخل سنجر غزنة واستولى عليها واخذ منها اموالا عظيمة

altogether support, in respect to the mention of the recital in the Khutbah, and consequent inscription on the coinage, of the name of Sanjar's brother, Mohammed, the Seljúk emperor. The Jámi al Tawáríkh, more accurately, confines its assertion to the now affirmed recognition of Sanjar's supremacy alone[1]. Mirkhond gives no information on the subject of this vassalage; and Ferishtah only alludes to it indirectly in noticing the original grant of the kingdom of Ghazní to Bahrám by Sanjar on the occasion of the latter's defeat of Arslán Sháh. The medals of Khusrú Sháh (Nos. 148, 149) indicate that this feudal subjection extended to the early part at least of the reign of this, the succeeding king.

Adverting to the numerical amount of the Ghaznaví coins in the East India House Cabinet, some explanation is due, regarding the apparently limited result obtained in actual dates. But this deficiency is readily to be accounted for. It will be seen that in the silver money of the kingdom of Ghazní it was the custom to record both the date and place of coinage on margins forming the extreme edge of the piece. Two causes have combined in the present instance to render the inscriptions on these margins generally illegible. First, to judge from the specimens extant, the insufficient breadth of the planchet in itself could have afforded but little probability of securing a complete marginal legend on any given piece, the dies being usually larger than the surface of the metal to be impressed[2]. Second, the coins of Mr.

وقرّر السلطنة لبهرامشاه بن مسعود وان يخطب في مملكته للسلطان محمد ثم للملك سنجر ثم للسلطان بهرامشاه المذكور

Abúl Fedá, Ann. Mos., iii. 384.

و دیکر خطبه بنام سُلطان سنجر کردند [1]

Persian Jámi al Tawáríkh, British Museum, No. 7628.

[2] The following description of the process of coining, as in use at Delhí at a somewhat later period, probably represents pretty accurately the mode employed in the fabrication of the coins of the present series:—

"The Melter melts the refined plates of gold [silver, &c.], and casts them into round ingots.

"The Zerráb [ضراب] cuts from round ingots, pieces of gold, silver, and copper of the size of the coin. * * * It is surprising, that in Iran and Turan they cannot cut these round pieces without an anvil [سندان] made on purpose; and in Hindoostan, the workman, without any such machine, performs this business with such exactness, that there is not the difference of a single hair.

"The Seal-engraver engraves the dies of coins on steel and such like metals.

"The Sickchy places the round piece of metal between two dies [سکه], and, by the strength of the Hammerer, both sides are stamped at one stroke." Gladwin's Ayin í Akberí, i. 15.

Masson's collection were gathered on the locale of their original issue and subsequent more immediate circulation, and unlike the reserved store of less-freely current foreign coin, or the choice specimens of a miser's hoard, they have, in the majority of instances, been inhumed in detail, apparently, after having been subject to an extensive series of successive transfers in the ordinary commerce of their day. The coins have suffered accordingly; and much of what was probably originally clear, is now often wholly obliterated.

The same causes have offered obstacles to the full examination of the geographical questions involved in a comprehensive decipherment of the names of the mint cities. There, however, seems to be less ground to regret this circumstance, as, judging from the names already identified, there is reason to suppose that, dating from the reign of Módúd, with the single exception of the produce of the city of Lahór, the monetary circulation of the empire was supplied solely from the mint of the capital. It is not proposed to enter into a lengthened examination of the positions and relative importance of the different cities recorded on these coins. They are sufficiently in accordance with accepted history to require but little separate notice; where any difficulty in regard to due identification suggests itself, full geographical references are appended in the notes pertaining to the coin on which the name first occurs.

In the detailed enumeration of these cities, the absence of the name of Kábul, looking to its magnitude and local importance, might be noticed as somewhat singular; but it would seem, from the limited numismatic evidence at present available, as if Ferwán, in the first instance, and subsequently Ghazní, had satisfied the monetary wants of the entire Hill country in which they were situated. The political value of the position of the former, in reference to the Sámání possessions immediately to the northward, together with its advantageous proximity to the silver mines of Punjhír, may probably have first influenced the adoption of Ferwán as a leading mint city, in which respect it would seem to have superseded the functions of Punjhír itself, which was at one time a place of coinage of the Emperors of Bokhárá[1]. By the time Mahmúd had ascended the throne, the regal city of Ghazní may be supposed to have risen to a sufficiently elevated position as a capital to do away with the necessity of the services of a second mint in the circumjacent territory.

Though not strictly within the limits of the prominent subject under review, yet, as a matter intimately connected with the rise of

[1] بنجهير. See Coins, Nos. *75 (A.H. 294) and *133 (A.H. 302), Frœhn's Recensio.

the Moslem power in an integral portion of the Ghaznaví dominions, it may be useful in regard to the closely previous history of Kábul[1] itself, to examine briefly the narrations of the contemporaneous as

[1] In citing the subjoined extracts from different geographical authors, it will be useful to premise the dates at which these writers severally flourished, as without full advertence to this particular, many of their assertions regarding the state of backwardness or advancement of the various localities described may appear inconsistent, and even conflicting.

In judging also of the credibility of the more modern geographers, close attention must be paid to discriminate between the original observations of the author himself and the incorporated transcripts from earlier authorities: these last are often acknowledged, but when not admitted to be quotations, are manifestly liable to mislead.

The earliest production to which it is necessary to refer, is the Arabic original of the Persian MS. translated by Ouseley, and published by him in the year 1800, as "The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal." Ouseley's MS. was at that time supposed to be a Persian version of Ibn Haukul's Arabic Musálik wa Mumálik; intermediately, the text in question has been attributed by Uylenbroek to Ibn Khordadbah, whose original composition was supposed to bear a similar title, viz., كتاب المسالك والممالك or المسالك الى الممالك. Gildemeister has, however, determined that "Istakhrí ابو اسحق الفارسى الاصطخرى auctor libri *climatum* كتاب الاقاليم, qui inter annos 900 et 825 Chr. scripsit. Sindiam invisit ejusque terræ tabulam delineavit. Editus est ejus liber ex versione Persica in Anglicam linguam translatus ab Ouseleyo." (Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis, p. 76.) Mœller also, the Editor of the lithographed facsimile of the original Arabic text of Istakhrí, testifies that "Idem est opus geographicum, quod vir cel. W. Ouseley in Anglicum sermonem translatum anno 1800 hoc nomine 'The Oriental Geography, &c.,' Londini edidit;" and he adds, regarding the date of the composition itself, "Inde apertum est, Abu Ishakum annum 303 inter et annum 307 vel 309 H. (= 915—921 p. Chr.) opus suum geographicum confecisse." (Liber Climatum, &c., J. H. Mœller, Gothæ, 1829, p. 22.)

Ibn Haukul began his travels in 331 A.H. "scientiæ cupiditate ductus longis itineribus fere omnes terras Muslimicas invisit, ex quibus redux sub annum 366 (inc. 29 Aug., 976) opus suum geographicum كتاب المسالك والممالك inscriptum concinnavit ita, ut id Içthakhrii libro quasi fundamento superstrueret suis observationibus aucto et perfecto." (Gilde., p. 78.)

In like manner, Mœller observes—"Diserte igitur Ibn Haukalides unice ad opus Abu Ishaki el faresii se applicasse, ejusque formam et expositionem sequutum esse profitetur, ita ut Ibn Haukalidis opus non nisi altera sit auctior et emendatior Abu Ishaki operis editio. (p. 4.) Ibn Haukalidem opus suum anno demum 366—367 H. (= 976—977 p. Chr.) ex itineribus suis, quæ anno 331 H. (= 942 p. Chr.) ingressus erat reducem composuisse, cujus rei nullam clarissimi Uylenbroekii sagacitas reliquit dubitationem." (Mœller, p. 22.)

Albírúní's Kánún is the next in order of antiquity; the exact epoch of its completion is not known, but an approximate estimate may be formed from the

well as the more modern writers who refer to its conquest by the Mohammedans, as it is by no means clear from their varied assertions

fact of the author's death having occurred shortly subsequent to 430 A.H. = 1038—39 A.D.

Edrisi's work received its finishing stroke in Shawál, 548 A.H. = 1154 A.D.

Kaswíní (Zakaria bin Mohammed bin Mahmúd), the author of the Athár al belád, died in 674 A.H. = 1275 A.D.

And, lastly, Abúl Fedá concluded his geographical compilation (Takwím al Baladán) in 721 A.H. = 1321 A.D.

وكابل لها قهندز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها المسلمون ولها الربض بها الكفار من الهند ويزعمون ان الشاه لايستحق الملك الا اذا عقد له الملك بكابل

(Liber Climatum Auctore El Issthachri, J. H. Mœller, Gothæ, p. 110.)

The sentence regarding the inhabitants of Kábul appears in the following form in the Persian Mesálik wa Memálik.

كابل قهندزي دارد * * * قهندز مسلمان دارند و ربض هندوان كافر دارند و گويند كه شاه &c.

(Persian MS. مسالک و ممالک East India House.)

"Kábul is a town with a very strong castle, accessible only by one road: this is in the hands of the Mussulmans; but the town belongs to the infidel Indians. They say," &c. (Ouseley's Translation, p. 226.)

Ibn Haukal follows Istakhrí with sufficient precision in the main point of the occupancy of the town and castle; but he seems, intentionally or otherwise, to have made the الكفار من الهند into الكفار واليهود.

و كابل لها قهندز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها المسلمون ولها ربض فيه الكفار واليهود ويزعمون &c.

Ibn Haukal. Bodleian Library, No. 538, Hunt.

Kaswíní does not throw any new light upon this subject, his version of the matter being much to the same purport as the following *mis-quotation* of Ibn Haukal by Abúl Fedá, where it will be seen that the nice distinction of the tenure of the castle by the Mohammedans, while the Hindús still occupied the town, is entirely lost sight of.

Judging from the French translation (Géographie D'Edrisi, par M. Amédée Jaubert, pp. 182, 183; see also p. 459), the passage in Edrisi, corresponding with the first part of the above quotation, appears to be somewhat confused, and a simultaneous reference to the city of Kandahar, is strangely mixed up with many local details, which manifestly apply to the town of Kábul.

قال ابن حوقل وكابل من عمل باميان وفيها المسلمون وكفّار

at what exact period the city first passed from the hands of its ancient masters. Leaving unnoticed the early attacks of the generals of the first Khalífs, the wars of Hejáj, and even the conquests of Amín[1], which scarcely affected the permanent independence of the monarchy, the explicit statements of the Tabakát Násirí[2], and the Rauzat al

الهنود ويزعم الهنود ان الملک وهو الشاه لايستحقّ الشاهية دون
ان يعقد له المُلک في كابل * * * قال في القانون قلعة
كابل مستقرّ ملوک الاتراک كانوا ثم البراهمة * * وكانت
من ثغور المسلمين في وجوه الهند وفي غربيها مدينة غزنة

(Géographie D'Aboulfeda, Texte Arabe, par MM. Reinaud et De Slane, Paris, 1843, p. ۴۶۹.)

"Ibn Haukul said: Kábul is in the jurisdiction of Bámián, and in it are Moslems and infidel Hindús. The Hindús are of opinion that the King, who is the Sháh, is not rightly entitled to the dignity of Sháh, unless the sovereignty be covenanted to him in Kábul. It is said in the Kánún (Albíruní), that the Castle of Kábul was the residence of (the) *Princes of the Túrks, then of the Bráhmans* * * it is one of the frontiers of the Moslems towards India: to the west of it also is the city of Ghazní."

Before taking leave of the geographical authors who illustrate the various subjects connected with the age immediately preceding that to which the present paper refers, it is desirable to attract the attention of the curious in such matters to the valuable but little known MS. of Ibn Khordadbah, in the Bodleian Library, which contains much miscellaneous information regarding India and Central Asia; the work is entitled كتاب المسالک في صفة الارض by عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن خردادبه. The Oxford MS. was engrossed in 630 A.H. Ibn Khordadbah died in 300 A.H. (= 912 A.D.); his compositions are largely praised, and were extensively used by Masaúdí, 332 A.H. (Vide Meadows of Gold, &c., Oriental Translation Fund Edition.)

[1] "In the year 107, under the Khalifat of Hesham, the son of Abdulmullick, his Governor of Khorasan, Ameen, the son of Abdallah Casheery, conquered Ghour, Ghurgistan, and Neemroz of Cabul. From that time, under the Khalifs of the Houses of Ommiah and Abbas, these provinces continued to be dependent upon Khorasan." Gladwin's Ayin í Akberí, ii. 209.

[2] الاول يعقوب الليث * * و از انجا بجانب طخارستان و
بلخ آمد و بكرفت و از انجا باز كشت بجانب كابل آمد و
ان فتح در شهور سنه ست و خمسين و مايتين بود

MS. Tabakát Násirí. East India House.

Safá[1], show that Kábul was completely subjugated, in the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, by Yakúb Líth, the first of the Sofárians of Sejistán.

Istakhrí, writing early in the fourth century of the Hijrah (303 to 309), notices the citadel of Kábul as being in the hands of the Mohammedans, the town being still occupied by the Hindús, and he goes on to add that the King is not entitled to the sovereignty unless it be covenanted to him at Kábul; both the one and the other expression implying that the king, to whom the latter sentence refers, did not reside at Kábul, his castle being in the occupancy of people of another race, and the very fact of the necessity of his coming to Kábul for inauguration, evidencing generally that he held his court in some other city. Ibn Haukul, in reproducing almost verbatim the exact expressions of Istakhrí, gives additional authenticity to the original text, which he recognises as the basis of his own work, appending thereto such observations as the progress of time and his own more extended knowledge enabled him to supply[2].

Albírúní's averment, in the Kánún, which has been preserved

[1] و یعقوب از فارس مراجعت کرده منازل قطع نموده ببلخ رسید و انجا بالشکر کران متوجه کابل شد و کابلرا در تحت تصرف آورده حاکم آن ولایت اسیر و دستگیر کشت و بعد از آن بهرات رفت و بر ان دیار مستولي کشت

MS. Rauzat al Safá, Royal Asiatic Society, No. 43.

[2] For instance, the passage which should correspond with the text of Istakhrí, p. 110, line 7, Mœller, and which is translated from the Persian version by Ouseley, p. 225, last line, and two first lines of 226, runs thus in Ibn Haukal:—

ولیس فی هذه النواحی والمدن التی فی نواحی بلخ کلها مال ولا تجارة اکثر من غزنة لانها فرضة الهند وان کانت قد تغیرت فی سنة خمس وخمسین وثلثمایة

And among his many additional observations on Kábul, he in one place thus expresses himself:—

والذی شاهدت دون ذلك باسباب جرت من الفتن بدخول البتکین والخلف بینه وبین الملوك المجاورین

The few passages cited, in the present paper, from the Oxford MS. of Ibn Haukal have been carefully collated with a copy of *the Leyden* MS. of that author in the possession of M. Reinaud.

by Abúl Fedá, is strictly consistent with his assertions in the Táríkh Hind; but at open variance with the deposition of Istakhrí; so much so, that it is difficult to reconcile the obvious discrepancies. If Istakhrí be correct, the castle of Kábul was in the possession of the Moslems in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijrah; it had possibly remained so from the time of its capture by Yakúb Líth. Albírúní's mention of its being the residence of the Túrk, and subsequently of the Brahman Kings, would appear to indicate, that, however much of continuity there may have been in its occupancy by the royal line of the former race, and whether they were the parties losing and recovering it, or not, one fact is clear, that the Brahmans, as well as the Túrks, once possessed it. Albírúní's position in the suite of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and his consequent opportunities of obtaining precise information on the spot, to the closely preceding history of which his observations refer, together with his admitted knowledge of the language of the country itself, render his evidence on this point unassailable. Recognizing this, and at the same time holding deserved confidence in the accuracy of Istakhrí, who, it is to be noted, was also an original observer, the apparently conflicting statements are explicable only by concluding that Kábul having once been subdued by the Moslems, was recovered by the indigenous rulers some time after the visit of Istakhrí. This may have been effected by the Túrks; but it is more probable that the Brahmans recaptured the city, as, on attaining supremacy, and speedily becoming a powerful and conquering dynasty, and having also in view the prestige attaching to the ancient metropolis, which has formed the subject of remark of the Mohammedan authors now cited, their early endeavours would naturally be directed to the re-acquisition of so desirable a possession.

In examining the correspondence of the different epochs, it will be seen that the period which directly succeeds the date of Istakhrí's observations, accords with sufficient exactitude with the conclusions already arrived at from indirect testimony as to the date of the subversion of the Túrk, and the rise of the Brahman dynasty[1]. It may be objected that the wording of the sentence of the Kánún above referred to, might be taken to mean that the Brahman occupation of the Castle of Kábul was direct, as was their supercession of the Túrk Kings; but this can scarcely be said to be the sole and necessary sense of the terms employed.

Before concluding these preliminary observations, it may be requisite to advert concisely to an important element of any numismatic system—the monetary standard. The monuments at command, whence

[1] Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII., p. 179.

all inferences on this head must be drawn, though numerically ample, are, as has been already remarked, in a generally imperfect state of preservation, arising not so much from any direct injuries incident to their age, as from a necessary detrition consequent upon a prolonged circulation; hence, any attempt at an adjudication of the original mint weights, must be founded less on any extended average, than on a comparatively limited number of selected specimens. It will tend to disembarrass the inquiry of much of its apparent complexity, to reject all advertence to provincial coins, and to confine the attention to the produce of the mints more directly dependent on the seat of government, as these will manifestly offer a more accurate criterion of the Imperial standard, than the palpably varying currencies of the several departmental governments.

In the unsatisfactory state of the materials which are to form the more immediate proofs in the present investigation, great aid may be anticipated from an approximate identification of the monetary system upon which the Ghaznaví currency was founded. Two most obvious sources present themselves for selection—the system of the Sámánís, from whose court the newly-made monarchs took their rise; or that of the Brahmans, to whose kingdom they succeeded[1]. The weights of the Bokhárá moneys have not been very accurately ascertained. Marsden, however, after deciding upon the standard of the coins of the Khalífs as averaging severally—gold, 65·6 grains; silver, 45 grains,—goes on to observe, that the Sámání dirhems appear to have been slightly heavier than the corresponding coins of the Khalífs; and his own published specimens of these pieces—thirteen in number—show an average weight of 45·30; the highest weight of any single coin being 49·5 grains. If these last figures are to be taken as the accurate representatives of the standard of the Bokhárá silver coinage, it would seem to have been too light to have stood as an exemplar for the money of Ghazní, as a cursory glance at the weights noted with each coin now described will discover numerous silver pieces of 51, many of 52, and some as high as 55 grains. The most ancient Indian coins known, which consist of "small flattened bits of silver, stamped

[1] As far as can be ascertained from the numismatic records they have left behind them, the currency of the Brahmans would seem to have formed a very large proportion of the circulating medium of the surrounding hills. It is to be noted also, *en passant*, that the precise Dynasty that ruled at Ghazní at the time of its capture by Alptegín has not yet been identified, but judging from Istakhrí's statement (Ouseley's Orient. Geog., p. 208), the future capital of the empire of Mahmúd was a place of but small importance in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijera.

at random with punches," the supposed "marks of successive dynasties authenticating the currency," average in weight 50 grains[1]; the old Varáha, a frequent and widely-spread species of silver coin, also averages 50 grains[2]; and, finally, the Rájpút, or what are now known to be Kábul Brahmanical silver pieces, average *over* 50 grains[3], and appear, from their direct connexion and close approximation in weight, to have served as the true models upon which the Ghaznaví money was based[4], and this inference receives additional confirmation from the fact of an apparent attempt at an assimilation, observable in the outline, form, and shape of the moneys of the preceding and succeeding dynasties.

All reference to the gold coinage of the House of Ghazní has hitherto been avoided, as there is no known gold piece of the Brahman Kings of Kábul, whereon to found a comparison; indeed, it would seem as if the currency of this metal, if existing at all, in the form of national coins, in the Hill dominion of this race, must have been very closely limited[5]. Moreover, singular to say, among the many gold medals of Mahmúd and his immediate successors, struck in various parts of the extensive empire which owned their sway, there is not a single metropolitan gold coin in Mr. Masson's collection that dates prior to the reign of Módúd. These and the succeeding extant medals of this metal, like the provincial coins of Níshápúr[6], &c., in their extraordinary variation in weight, offer serious obstacles to any satisfactory identification of the *intentional* standard. The Ghazní gold coins, on a rough estimate, may be inferred to have had a proposed average weight of about 65 or 66 grains[7], and to have been modelled, in point of form, upon Mahmúd's early Níshápúr Dínárs, which he first issued while still only a Governor for the Sámánís[8].

[1] Prinsep, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. IV. p. 627 (50 grains, or the tank of 3 mâshas.)

[2] Idem, p. 671. [3] Idem, 677.

[4] There are some unaccountable exceptions to any possible rule of even partially equivalent weights, as, for instance, No. 65. The silver coin, No. 37, which weighs 75 grains, may possibly have had an original mint value of 1½ Ghazní Dirhems.

[5] "The Unit of the Hindú system [India] was of gold, and the old specimens found are of 60 or 120 grains in weight." Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 15.

[6] The Níshápúr gold coins of Mahmúd, Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 12, average 68·4 grains. No. 9 differs in weight from No. 10 as much as 20·1 grains. Masaúd's Coin, No. 58, and three other similar Níshápúr pieces, the latter actually the produce of the *same* dies, average 64·85 grains; but vary in different specimens to the extent of 23·2 grains.

[7] Nos. 77, 78, 93, and 98, average 65 grains.

[8] The Cabinets in the British Museum, amid an ample series of Sámání silver

The copper currency would appear, from its general characteristics, and the weights of the better specimens, to have been intended to correspond with the silver currency. It will be seen that brass was occasionally made use of for coinage, though probably only in lieu of the accustomed copper; but the minute silver coins of 5·25 and 5·50 grains (Nos. 74, 103) must have greatly superseded the necessity for an extensive copper currency. The mixed silver and copper, or billon, coinage of the Punjáb may be assumed to have been continued, in point of weight and value, on the old Hindú standard.

A few words seem to be required to introduce to the notice of the reader an item of occasional consequence in numismatic investigations, the monograms and mint marks. In the present instance, it may be sufficient to remark that the former present but few notable attributes, and that their range is limited to the following unimportant varieties:—

1. Words expressive of some excellence, such as عدل Justice (Just?)[1]; فتح Victory, &c.

coins, contain only five specimens of the gold coinage of the Monarchs of this House, and these are, without exception, the produce of the Nísháṕur mint; their weights are as follows:—A.H. 345, 66·4 grains; A.H. 365, 62·0 grains; A.H. 376, 75·0 grains; and A.H. 384, two specimens, 54·5 and 48·0 respectively.

[1] It seems probable, from the frequent and, at times, almost uniform use of the word عدل on the dies of Kufic Coins, that its employment was designed to refer to the integral value of the piece to be impressed, and, as such, that it should be read as عَدِل *Just*, and not as عَدْل *Justice*. The appearance of other distinct substantives, such as فتح, ظفر, which occasionally take the place of عدل—though these also may be taken to refer, less directly perhaps, to the Coins so inscribed—certainly militates against the entire conclusiveness of this suggestion; but, on the other hand, the early history of Arab money, and the subsequent numismatic employment of the word عدل and its derivatives, tend to show that the present may very fairly be admitted to be an open question.

The earliest coinage of copper money under the Arabs (*ante*, A.H. 76), or rather the but slightly-modified adaptation by the followers of Mohammed of the existing currency of the Syrian provinces of the Byzantine Empire, in which are associated Arabic words in conjunction with the old devices and partially retained Greek legends, shows that the probably initiatory application of the Arabic alphabet to these Coins was employed to denote simply the place of issue and the full and fair measure of the value of the piece; the one conveyed by the curt inscription of the name of the mint city, the other in the record of either of the following

2. Abbreviations of titles, as يميني ناصري &c.

3. The names of the Arabic months, رجب محرم &c., referring possibly to the month in which the piece was struck.

4. The designation of various cities of the empire, such as اندراب فروان &c. It does not appear quite clear what may be the intent of these last superscriptions, as they are found on coins fabricated in cities *other* than the town whose name is expressed by the monogram.

words: جائز *current, lawful;* طيّب *good;* واف *full* (*weight*). Occasionally the Arabic words are used in direct reference to, and correspondence with, the customary Greek word ΚΑΛΟΝ, to be found on the opposite surface of one and the same Coin, evidencing thereby their meaning—long unknown—as well as their use and origin. (M. de Saulcy, Journal Asiatique, 1839; see also Marsden, Pl. XVII., Nos. CCCIV., CCCII., and Nos. CCXCVI., CCXCVIII.)

The primary examples of the inscription of عدل are noticed in Frœhn's comprehensive Recensio Numorum Muhamedanorum, as discovered on certain Bokhárá copper Coins of the Khalifs—A.H. 185, 190, and 209—which may be supposed, from the tenor of the legend, and the circumstances under which they were struck, to have required some unusual authentication; thence the use of the word may be traced as of constant recurrence on the medals of the Sámánís, whence it must have found its way to the anomalous position it is seen to hold on the Nágarí Coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII., p. 187).

Whatever may have been the previously accepted signification of this monogram, its adoption in this case admits of but one explanation, namely, that it was intended to attest the current value of the coinage thus marked. Had it been the object of the Kábul Monarchs in any way to refer to their own justice, or to equity in the abstract, as a virtue to be inculcated in the every-day transactions of those who were to use this money, the monogrammatic word would have been put forward in a form and character intelligible to those who were expected to profit either by one or the other—the subjects of the Sovereign with whose device it was thus identified—and not, as is here seen, in the superscription of an isolated word in a strange language, the very letters of which the native die-engravers were scarce able to imitate; whereas, in adopting the attestation mark of his neighbours, the Ruler of the day may well have proposed to himself to ensure the free circulation of his own money, if not in the adjacent dominions, still, unobstructed by undue depreciation in the marts and bazaars of the conterminal cities.

For the after adaptation of the import of عدل, it may be sufficient to refer generally to its frequent appearance on Coins authoritatively passed into circulation in a country for whose express use they were not in the first instance designed. The currency marks in these cases were given by a subsequent *punch* impression, and the adjective meaning of عدل, the most common of these stamp words, is indirectly attested by the oft-recurring use of the nearly analogous

The single letters, which are found occupying any convenient corner of the area, are usually held to be mere mint marks, and seem to import little or nothing calling for extended observation[1].

contre-marque رائج *current* (Frœhn, pp. 463, 499); more rarely is to be seen the punch-mark of ظفر victory, which, though convertible as ظافر *victorious*, may be accepted as a substantive denoting perchance the acquisitions of *victory*, in the same way that the original die use of this word and its synonyme فتح may be supposed to have referred to a similar means of attainment of the component materials, or to have conveyed the less direct allusion, implied in the mere commemorative record of a recent conquest.

The عدل is also often conjoined in these second impressions with the name of the Monarch who wishes to stamp the authenticity of the medal. (See Numismatic Chronicle, Coin of Humáyún, Article "Patán Kings of Delhí," 1847.)

And, lastly, the term seems so to have passed into mint *parlance*, that it is to be seen as عدليه and فلس عدليه (Frœhn's Recensio, pp. 431, 432) on the moneys of the descendants of Timúr; and by Mohammed Tughlak of Delhí the word العدلي is applied as the direct name of a novel species of Coin introduced by himself. (Num. Chron., 1847.)

[1] Professor Frœhn at one time advocated the opinion that the isolated Kufic letter or letters ح س د ر and ل occasionally to be seen on ancient Mohammedan Coins, were intended to denote the month in which the pieces thus marked were struck (Frœhn, Prol., i., 15), these being supposed respectively to stand for the initial letters of Jumád al Awal, Shabán, Zí'l Hajah, Rabí al Awal, and ل for the final letter and representative of Shawál. Setting aside the admittedly unsatisfactory character of this theory, its application to the present series is clearly shown to be inadmissible, by the fact of the occurrence of one of these supposed initial indices س in conjunction with other single consonants, which might also stand for the first letter of the name of a month, as in No. 3; but, in addition to this, the same س is seen on three several Coins, Nos. 84, 85, 86, in association with the full names of three distinct and varying Mohammedan months.

TABLE I.—*The Ghaznaví Dynasty, and the cotemporary Khalífs.*

Khalífs of Baghdád.	Accepted Dates of Accession. A.H.	A.H.	A.D.	Kings of Ghazní.	Notices of various Dates assigned by different Authorities.
Al Mutí'h lillah ..... Abd., Zí'l Kadah, 363	334				
		350	961	Alptegín	Revolt, 350, Rauzat al Safá.
Al Tái'h lillah ..... Deposed by Bahá al daulah, (Shabán) 381	363				
		366	976	Ishak	Alptegín's death, doubtful. See note, p. 298. Abú Ishak "*Ibrahím*," Ibn Haukal.
		367	977	Sabaktagín	
Al Kádir billah ..... Died, Zí'l Hajah, 422	381				
		387	997	Ismaíl	Sabaktagín's death, 386, Násirí, Jenábí; 387, Abúl Faráj; 387 (Shabán), Rauzat al Safá, Abúl Fedá, Khalásat al Akhbár.
		388	998	Mahmúd	Entitled Seif al daulah, 384; takes possession of Ghazní, Rabí al Awal, 388; becomes independent, 389.—Various authorities.
		421	1030	Mohammed	Mahmúd's death, Rabí al A'khir, 421, Abúl Fedá, Khalásat al Akhbár.—See note to Coins 50, 51, &c.
		421	1030	Masaúd	Mohammed's 1st reign, 7 months, Násirí. Masaúd's accession, 422, Násirí; 421 (3rd Shawál), Rauzat al Safá, Khalásat al Akhbár.
Al Káim beamerillah ... Died, 13 Shabán, 467	422				
		432	1040-1	Mohammed	Rebellion against Masaúd, 432 (Rabí al A'khir), Abúl Fedá; Mohammed's restoration, 432, Násirí, Abúl Faraj; 432 (Jumád al Awal), Akberí; 433, Habíb al Sair; 433 (Jumád al Awal), Guzídah.
		432	1041	Módúd	Mohammed's 2nd reign, 4 months, Násirí. Módúd's accession, 432 (Shabán), Masaúdí; 432, Násirí, Abúl Faraj. Entry into Ghazní. 432 (23rd Shabán), Abúl Fedá. Accession, 434, Guzídah; 433, Khalásat al Akhbár, Ferishtah.
		440	1048	Masaúd II.....	Módúd's death, 441, Násirí, Abúl Faraj; 441 (Rajab), Abúl Fedá, Guzídah, Rauzat al Safá, Khalásat al Akhbár, Habíb al Saír.
		440	1048	Abúl Hasan Alí *Bahá ul daulah*	Masaúd II. and Abúl Hasan Alí, length of reign, jointly, 2 months, Násirí. Masaúd II., 1 month, Guzídah, Habíb al Saír; 5 days, Tabakát Akberí; 6 days, Ferishtah. Abúl Hasan Alí, length of reign, 2 years, Guzídah, Khalásat al Akhbár; nearly 1 year, Habíb al Saír; 1 month, Tabakát Akberí.
		440	1048	Abdal Rashíd	Accession, 440, fixed from Coins; 441, Násirí, Abúl Faraj, Abúl Fedá; 443, Guzídah, Khalásat al Akhbár.
		444	1052	Toghral	444, Abúl Fedá.
		444	1052	Ferokhzád	Length of Toghral's rule, 40 days, Násirí, Khalásat al Akhbár, &c. Ferokhzád's accession, 443, Zí'l Kadah, Násirí.
		451	1059	Ibrahím	Accession, 451, Táríkh Masaúdí, Násirí, Abúl Fedá, Jenábí; 450, Guzídah, &c.
Al Moktadí beamerillah Died, 15 Muharrim, 487	437				
Al Mostazher billah ... Died, 16 Rabí Akhir, 512	487				
		492	1099	Masaúd III.	Ibrahím's death, 492, fixed from Coins, Násirí, Guzídah, Abúl Mahásan; 481, Abúl Fedá, Rauzat al Safá. See p. 280.
		508	1114	Shírzád ..... *Kamál al daulah*	Guzídah, Jenábí, &c.
		509	1115	Arslán	Accession, 509, Násirí, Guzídah, &c.
Al Mostarshid billah ... Killed, 17 Zí'l Kadah, 529	512	512	1118	Bahrám	Capture and sack of Ghazní by Alá al dín Jehánsóz, 547.
Al Ráshid billah	529				
Al Moktafí leamerillah Inaug., 12 Zí'l Hajah, 530	530				
		547	1152	Khusrú	Accession, 552, Násirí; 544, Guzídah; 548, or 550, Abúl Fedá; 547, Akberí.
Al Mostanjed billah ...	555	555	1160	Khusrú Malik....	Khusrú Malik finally dispossessed of Ghazní by the Ghoriáns, 567, Ferishtah; forced to surrender at Lahór, 585, Rauzat al Safá; 583, Akberí; 582, Ferishtah.

The monthly dates in this column are taken from Abúl Faraj.

It has been usual to consider as the Obverse of pure Mohammedan Coins that surface of the medal which bears the formulæ of لا اله الا الله &c.; this rule will be seen to have been adhered to, where circumstances would permit, in the following description of the Coins of Ghazní; but it is necessary to notice that, although the European custom of placing the Obverse or its representative on the left hand has been complied with generally in the engravings, it has been found necessary to reverse the usual practice in the printed transcript of the legends of the medals, as the nature of the language employed—being written from right to left—and the parallel juxtaposition of the contents of the Obverse and Reverse—which in many instances are intended to be run one into the other—rendered this arrangement almost imperative. It will be seen, however, that this has not in all cases sufficed to accomplish the end in view, as the die-cutters seem at times to have disregarded all attempts at uniformity, and to have considered their task fulfilled in the mere insertion of a given number of words, without much regard to the order in which they were required to be placed.

The type lines, which are occasionally to be found above the Arabic legends, are intended to mark that part of the word or sentence that is clearly legible, in contradistinction to what may be either doubtful or, in some cases, actually illegible. They have been adopted as less unsightly in their association with the type, and more consonant with Oriental practice than the brackets in use among Western nations to indicate restored passages.

It is to be observed that Roman numerals have been attached to those Coins of which engravings are to be found in the plates.

Table I. has been placed in its present position as being properly introductory in showing the order of succession of the Kings of the Dynasty and the several contemporary Khalífs. Tables II. and III., giving the summary of the dates and mint cities, are inserted at the conclusion of the description of the Coins which have furnished the results indicated.

DETAIL OF THE COINS.

ALPTEGIN.

No. 1.

Silver. Anderábeh? 347 A.H. Frœhn, Nov. Symb., p. 15.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد رسول الله
لا شريك له	عبد الملك
نصر من الله	البتكين
	وفتح قريب
Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم	Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله
باندرابه سنة سبع واربعين	بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره
وثلثماية ماية	علي الدين كله ولو كره
	المشركون

The following coins are noticed in this place as probably deriving their origin from a mint under the control of Alptegín; there are many arguments in favour of this classification, though it is not definitively adopted, as the pieces are wanting in the distinctive name of the chief in question, and the assignment now proposed is perhaps at variance with the requirements resulting from the acceptance of the reading of a medal, presenting many identical peculiarities given by Professor Frœhn, whose description of the coin is reproduced below.

It will be seen that the St. Petersburg Professor discerns the name of Bokhárá, as the place of mintage of the coin referred to, which identification, if correct, is slightly adverse to the attribution at present suggested: however, without directly impugning the decipherment

adopted by Professor Frœhn, the presumptions in support of the proposition above advanced may be briefly enumerated.

The first coin of the class now cited (letter A) has been assigned to Abdal Malik, the sixth Sámání[1]; that it was struck during his reign, and under his acknowledged auspices, there can be little doubt, but, as will appear from other specimens of analogous mintages, probably either in honour, or under the immediate influence, of an exalted officer of the State, if not actually *in* one of the chief cities of a provincial governor.

It is to be premised in entering on this discussion, that the quotation of نصر من الله وفتح قريب[2], which occupies the prominent portion of the area of one face of the coin, and will be seen to form the distinctive mark of the present series, is found on *none* of the other coins of any of the three several Emperors, whose names are recorded on the opposite surface of the medals now described. This peculiarity would in itself imply that the coins thus emblazoned, were separated from the other monies of these Princes, on account of some local or political cause hitherto unexplained, and were there no other unusual facts observable in regard to these pieces, this alone would induce an inquiry as to the possible design which originated this want of uniformity.

The first step in the present examination is, to fix with as much

[1] With a view to avoid textual recapitulation, and future references to the original authorities, a detail list of the Sámání Monarchs is here annexed:—

	Accession. A.H.	
1. Nasr bin Ahmed - - - -	261	
2. Ismaíl bin Ahmed - - - -	279	
3. Ahmed bin Ismaíl - - - -	295	*Safar*, Khalásat al Akhbár.
4. Nasr bin Ahmed - - - -	301	*Jumád al A'khir*, idem.
5. Núh bin Nasr - - - -	331	*Rajab*, idem.
6. Abdal Malik bin Núh - - -	343	*Rabí al A'khir*, Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá.
7. Mansúr bin Núh I. - - -	350	*Shawál*.
8. Núh bin Mansúr - - - -	366	Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá; 365 *Rajab*, Khalásat al Akhbár.
9. Mansúr bin Núh II. - - -	387	*Rajab*, Abúl Fedá and Khalásat al Akhbár.
10. Abdal Malik bin Núh - - -	389	*Safar*, Khalásat al Akhbár.
Eilek Khan enters Bokhárá - -	389	10 *Zí'l Kadah*, Násirí, &c.

11. Ismaíl bin Núh (Múntaser), killed in Rabí al Awal 395, Khalásat al Akhbár.

The months given generally indicate the date of the death of the preceding monarch, and do not always so accurately represent the time of the inauguration of the successor.

[2] "Assistance from God, and speedy victory." Korán, surah lxi. ver. 13.

precision as the materials will admit of, the period of time embraced in the issue of the various extant medals bearing the motto above referred to. This will be seen to extend from the sixth year of the reign of Abdal Malik, through that of Mansúr bin Núh I., to the early part at least of the domination of Núh bin Mansúr, or during the period included between the years 348 A.H., as proved by the St. Petersburg coin, and 366 A.H., the first year of the reign of the third of these monarchs.

The second condition in this investigation is to decide the locality in which the pieces in dispute received their stamp. The coin (A) has been asserted to have been struck at Bokhárá; all the others, which retain either the entire record or partial trace of the name of their mint city, disclose the whole or portions of the word Ferwán[1].

The last point to be determined is the identification of the individual who, on any other species of medal, may be found to have used the

[1] فروان Vide Istakhrí (Moeller,) pp. 109, 112 Text, and Map صورة خراسان No. XVIII, p. 111. See also Persian MS. Mesálik wa Memálik, East India House Library, p. 91.

"The river of Penjhir runs through the town, (جاريانه), and passes from Jarianeh till it comes to فروان Ferouan, and so proceeds into Hindoostan.' Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 225.

"La ville de Carwan قروان est peu considérable, mais jolie; ses environs sont agréables, ses bazars fréquentés, ses habitants riches; les maisons y sont construites en argile et en briques. Située sur les bords de la rivière qui vient de Bendjehir بنجهير cette ville est l'un des principaux marchés de l'Inde." Geographie d'Edrisi, p. 476. Paris Edit. 1836.

Abulfedá, quoting Ibn Haukal and Abúl Majd Ismaíl al-Mósalí, also mentions فراوان (Feráwan) as a considerable town in the province of Bámián; vide p. 464 and 467, Géographie d'Aboulféda, Texte Arabe. Paris, 1840.

"Barwan," Ibn Batuta (Dr. Lee's Translation, pp. 97 and 98).

"Another route [from Balkh to Kábul] is that of Perwân. Between Perwân and the high mountain, there are seven minor passes, which they call the Heft-becheh (the seven younglings). As you come from the Anderâb side, two roads unite below the main pass, and lead down on Perwân by way of the Seven Younglings. This is a very difficult road." Erskine's Bâber, p. 139.

"On the skirts of the hills [of Ghûrbend] there are some districts; in the upper part are Mîteh, Kacheh, and Perwân." Idem, p. 146.

"A city of magnitude must have existed at Perwán, about eight miles, bearing north nineteen west from Bégrám. * * * Coins are discovered there in large quantities. * * * The site in Perwân is called by Máhomedans Merwân, and by Hindús Milwân." Masson, vol. III., p. 166.

motto of نصر من الله وفتح قريب. The only other reference to the numismatic employment of this quotation in Professor Frœhn's own voluminous works, points to the coin of Alptegín, No. 1 of this series.

These data having been disposed of, it becomes necessary to consider how far the direct historical, as well as the numismatically inferential testimony accords with the conclusion, which the last coincidence renders obvious, that the medals under review are in some way connected with Alptegín himself.

The undisputed coin of this Chief, No. 1, received its stamp in 347 A.H. The earliest coin of the present doubtful class was struck in the year following; the later pieces, (B) and (C), in 365; and the latest, (D), may, for the present, be inferred to have been coined in 366, or the first year of the rule of the Sovereign whose name it bears. The period, therefore, embraced in the issue of the various coins under notice, corresponds almost exactly with the time intervening between the prominent portion of the rise and the decease of Alptegín, which last event is variously placed in 365 and 366 A.H[1].

Regarding the geographical question involved in this inquiry, all written testimony unites in affirming, that the hill country encompassing Alptegín's new capital of Ghazní defied the attempts of the Sámánís towards its resubjection[2], and that Alptegín continued in effect absolute master of all the high ground south of the province of Balkh[3], from the time when his position at the Court of Bokhárá first became equivocal, on the accession of Mansúr bin Núh in 350 A.H., up to the

[1] The Guzídah does not notice the exact epoch of Alptegín's decease, though, in affirming that he held dominion in Ghazní for sixteen years, it in effect accepts the year 366. The Chronicle of Ibn Haidar (quoted by Wilken, "Mirchond Hist. Gaz.") also adopts sixteen years as the duration of this Chieftain's independent sway. The Rauzat al Safá does not give the date of the death of Alptegín with any precision, merely reporting that event as taking place shortly after the accession of Núh bin Mansúr, in Rajab 365 A.H. It will be seen, however, that there is reason to question this last date, as Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá assign the decease of Mansúr bin Núh I. to the year 366, instead of to 365, though Mirkhond's statement as regards the survival of Alptegín, and his consequent contemporaneous existence with Núh bin Mansúr, which is at present the real point at issue, tallies well with the other evidence. Jenábí most erroneously places even the first assumption of independent power by Alptegín so late as 366 (Dorn, Hist. Afgháns, Notes, p. 79). And Ferishtah, though he boldly affirms that this Chieftain died in 365, yet, in the very context of his narrative (351 Revolt + 15 years' reign = 366, and not 365; Briggs, vol. I. p. 13,) he conveys a palpable doubt as to the accuracy of his own definite assertion.

[2] Rauzat al Safá, History of Sámánís; Elphinstone, vol. I., p. 525.

[3] Alptegín would appear to have been unable to retain Anderábeh. See coins, No. 315, Frœhn Recensio; No. 39, Nov. Symb.; and No. 44, Num. Kuf.

date of his own death. Accepting the above statements as to the territorial possessions of Alptegín, they necessitate a conclusion, that in the year 365 A.H., when coins (B) and (C) were fabricated, Ferwán was in the hands of that chief. Such being the case, and adverting both to the mint customs in like cases, and the avowed attitude of defensive hostility assumed by Alptegín towards his quondam masters, it would be highly improbable, that the produce of the Ferwán Mint should be put forth unmarked by some record of the successful general, who then swayed the destinies of the rising empire of Ghazní.

In this point of view therefore, the appearance of the superscription of نصر من الله وفتح قريب, as denoting a reference to Alptegín, merely tallies with what is demanded by the probabilities of the case[1].

Having thus far brought under one view the earlier and the later coins bearing the motto of نصر من الله وفتح قريب, it is requisite to discriminate the alteration in Alptegín's position at the different epochs when these numismatic monuments were fabricated. At the time of the issue of the coin (A), Alptegín was the honoured and obedient vassal of his Sámání lord; as such, any mention of, or reference to, him on the money of the day must have been due to the sanction of his Suzerain, and the money disclosing such allusion would be expected to partake of the general characteristics of the current mintages; hence it is seen that these coins, though offering a most novel device in the reverse area, preserve on that side the usual marginal legend of لله الامر &c[2]. At the period of the coinage of

[1] It is pertinent to the matter in hand to observe, with reference to the peculiarly local characteristics of Mr. Masson's collection, already referred to, that in an accumulation of medals, numbering thousands, there are not ten *proper* coins of the Sámání Emperors—a race, occupying territory, the boundaries of which were immediately proximate to the country whence the present monuments were culled, and whose money is in other places so plentiful that the *published* notices alone of the partial contents of different European cabinets, admit of the possibility of the citation of a coin corresponding with nearly every single year of the domination of the family. This fact, though remarkable, is strictly in accordance with the inductions which should result from the testimony of *written* history, viz., that the pure Bokhárá Imperial money obtained but little currency in the hill country of Zábulistán prior to the conquest by Alptegín, and that after the fall of Ghazní to the arms of that Commander, the circulating medium was supplied from sources other than the mints of the Sámání dominions.

[2] Assuming that Professor Fræhn has not fallen into the very facile error of reading from a possibly worn coin the legend لله الامر &c., (Korán, surah xxx. ver. 4, 5,) in place of امر به الله, &c., of Coins (B), (C), and (D).

the later examples of this money, Alptegín was in the anomalous condition of a revolted Governor, who had actually conquered a new kingdom for himself, simultaneously retaining part of the territories of his late masters; and while he showed himself able and prepared to defend his appropriations, still rendered a nominal homage to the race of his ancient benefactors. Whether the altered record on the reverse margin of coins (B), (C), and (D), about to be noticed, is any indication of such a state of things, is perhaps not altogether beyond a doubt; but there appears on these later coins, a curiously dubious marginal legend[1], which might well be expected to emanate from a semi-recusant governor, who, although he acknowledges, in a way, the feudal supremacy of the successors of Abdal Malik, either cannot claim the permission of his legal Suzerain *to coin*, or will not compromise the dignity of his partially-perfected independence, by admitting that, the money bearing his own mark, and struck in one of his capital cities, was fabricated by order of the reigning Emperor; but who reverts to Nasr bin Ahmed for his authority to issue money; alluding probably to the first of the name, the prominent founder of the family to which his own allegiance was due, or, possibly referring to the fourth of the line of the same designation, the Nasr bin Ahmed under whose early patronage he himself must have been advanced the first step on the road to power[2].

If the proposed explanation of the meaning of the *Toghrá*, which forms the central ornament in the reverse area of these curious coins, is correct, the name of نوح Núh, may also be understood as expressive of a design to refer to another member of the Sámání family, the Núh bin Nasr, from whom Alptegín received the distinguished honour of the nomination to the command of the army.

[1] It is right to notice, though it is difficult to explain, the appearance of a seemingly similar *incomplete* marginal legend on a coin of Mansúr bin Núh, struck at Bokhárá 358 A.H. The inscription reads—

مما امربه الامير * * * بن احمد مولى امير المومنين

Frœhn, Die Münzen, &c., p. 51, pl. xiv., fig. 22.

[2] The notices of Alptegín's early history are naturally somewhat scanty; it seems to be admitted, however, that in his youth he was the slave of Ahmed bin Ismaíl, the third Sámání monarch. It is stated in the Táríkh Guzídah that, during the reign of Núh bin Nasr, he was promoted to the command of the Imperial Army:

(البتكين در زمان او راه امارت لشكر يافت)

Under Abdal Malik, he rose to be Governor of Khorásán, and on the elevation of Mansúr bin Núh I. to the throne of Bokhárá, in 350 A.H. he revolted, and erected a quasi-independent chieftainship at Ghazní.

ABD-UL-MELIK I. FILIUS NU'H I.

[A.] No. *269. N. ær. rariss. et notabilissim. cus. ibidem [Bocharæ] anno eodem [348] ـــــ ـــان واربعين وثلثماية

In supr. A. I. ✡ infra autem ضكس

A. II^æ. inscriptio artificiosius disposita. In medio denuo occurrit ضكس cinctum a لو (seu نو fort. ابو) quater repetito, extra quod

نصر من الله وفتح قريب

Auxilium a Deo (venit) *et victoria instans*, in orbem disposita sunt.

Marg. لله الامر &c.

[B.] Copper. Weight, gr. Ferwán. 365 A.H.

The name of Núh نوح four times repeated, radiating from the centre of the area, and forming a circle by a curious distribution of the final ح together with the motto

نصر من الله وفتح قريب

disposed in the shape of a square in the four compartments.

لله

محمد

رسول الله

منصور بن نوح

فتح

Marg. بسم الله ضر الفلس بغروان سنة خمس وستين وثلماية

Marg. مما امربه الامير نصر بن احمد مولى امير المومنين[1]

A second coin, weight 38 gr., apparently the produce of the same dies, exhibits the words بغروان quite distinctly.

[1] This reading is confirmed by the marginal legends of *four* specimens of coins similar to the above.

[C.] Copper. Weight, 46·7 gr. Ferwán. 365 A.H. British Museum.

Area as above [B.]	Area as above [B.]
	But without the word فتح
Marg. مما امربه الامير نصر	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
بن احمد مولى امير	الفلس بفروان[1] سنة خمس
المومنين	وستين وثلثماية

[1] The name of the mint city is nearly obliterated.

[D.] Copper. Weight, 36 gr. Unique.

Area.	Area.
As above [B.]	ـــ ‖ محمد ‖ رسول الله ‖
	نوح بن منصور
Marg. ـــبه الامير نصر بن	Marg. Illegible.
احمد مو ـــ	

SABAKTAGIN*.

No. II.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Ferwán. 380 A.H. C.

Rev.	Obv.
٠ الله	∴ ٥
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله نوح بن	الله وحده
منصور	لا شريك له
سبكتكين	الطايع لله
* ٥ ٠ ٥	٠ ٥
Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الد [ين]	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بغروان سنة ثمانين وثلثماية

* The subjoined account of the succession to Alptegín's Chieftainship is given entire from the Tabakát Násirí, as offering a version of the question to which it refers, widely differing from that to be found in the writings of the more generally known Authors; and although there are many objections to the unqualified admission of its verity, yet the Násirí's undoubted antiquity and usual accuracy entitle the statement to full consideration.

چون ایالت خراسان بالبتکین حواله شد امیر سبکتکین بخدمت او بود چون البتکین بعد از حوادث ایام بغزنین افتاد و ممالک زوالستان فتح کرد و غزنین از دست انوک[1] بیرون کردند و امیر البتکین بعد از هشت سال برحمت حق پیوست پسر او اسحاق بجاي پدر بنشست و بانوک مصاف کرد[2] و هزیمت افتاد و ببخارا رفت بخدمت امیر منصور نوح ایشانرا مدد

فرمود تا باز آمد و غزنین بگرفت و بعد از یکسال اسحاق در گذشت ملکاتکین را[3] مهتر ترکان بود بامارت بنشاندند و او مرد عادل و متقي[1] بود از مبارزان جهان ده[4] سال در امارت بود و درگذشت و امیر سبکتکین بخدمت او بود و بعد از ملکاتکین[5] امیر بري[6] بامارت بنشست و او مرد مفسد عظیم بود جاعتي از غزنین نزدیک ابو علي انوک چیزي نبشتند[7] اورا استدعا کردند ابو علي انوک پسر شاه کابلرا بمدد آورد چون در حد جرخ[8] رسیدند امیر سبکتکین با پانصد ترک برایشان زد و ایشانرا بشکست و خلق بسیاررا بسیاررا بکشت و اسیر کرد و دو[9] پیل بگرفت و بغزنین آورد و چون چنین فتحي بردست او برامد همکنان از فساد پري[6] سیر آمده بودند باتفاق امیر سبکتکین را بامارت بغزنین بنشاندند در هفتم[10] شعبان سنه ست و ستین و ثلثمایة

Persian MS. Tabakát Násirí, E. I. House Library, No. 1952.

This MS. is "*said to have been copied by the Author.*" Vide Stewart's Catalogue. A second more modern copy of this work, in the possession of the Rev. W. Cureton, has the following deviations from the above reading:—No. [1] امیر لویک

No. [2] بالویک جنک کردند No. [3] بلکابکین را and [5] بلکانکین

No. [4] دو No. [6] پیري No. [7] لویک چیزي نوشتند

No. [8] جزح No. [9] دء No. [10] بست هفتم

No. 3.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. 382 A.H.

Legends in Areas similar to No. II. Mint marks, Obv. س and Rev. ر س .

Obv. Marg.

بسم الله ضربهذا الدرهم . . . سنة اثن وثمانين وثلثماية

A nearly analogous Coin has on the Obv. Marg.

—— هذا الدرهم بغروان سنة اثنيو or اثناو ——

No. 4.

Silver. Weight, 43·5 gr. Ferwán. 383 A.H. British Museum.

Areas similar to No. II. Mint marks ر ف .

Obv. Marg. —— بغروان سنة ثلث و ثمانين و ثلثماية

No. 5.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. (3)84 A.H.

Areas similar to No. II. Mint marks at the foot of the legends ر ف .

Obv. Marg. —— سنة اربع و ثمانين و ——

A corresponding Coin has —— درهم بغروان سنة اربع و ——

In Coins of the three last classes the Rev. Marginal legend usually ends with ليظهره .

No. 6.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
٥	لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله نوح بن
لا شريك له	منصور
سبكتكين	الطايع لله
ف ر	ف ر

Margins illegible.

ISMAIL.

No. VII.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. V. R.

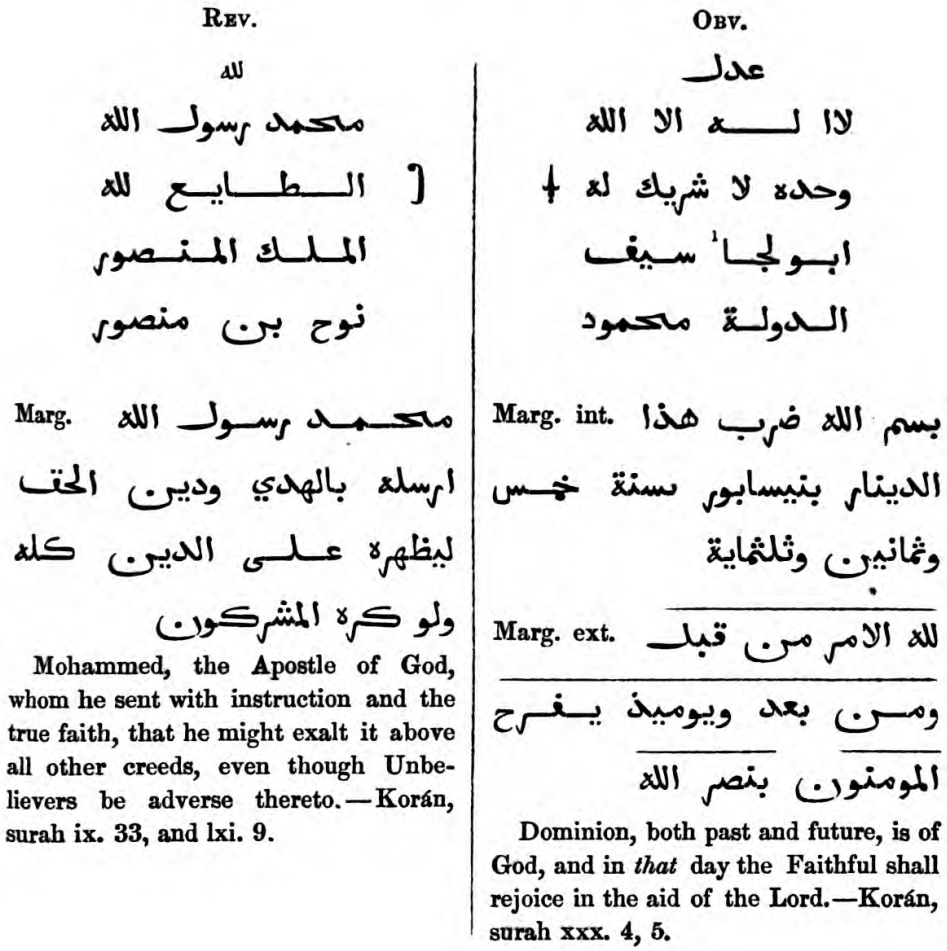
Rev.	Obv.
• لله •	• ٥ •
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله منصور	الله وحده
بن نوح	لا شريك له
اسمعيل	الطايع لله
ف ر ر	ف ر ر
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. Worn, illegible.

On the Rev. Marg. of one of Ismáil's Coins is to be seen the commencement of the usual symbol محمد رسول الله &c.

MAHMUD.

No. VIII.

Gold. Weight, 76·8 gr. Níshápúr. 385 A.H. British Museum.



REV.

لله
محمد رسول الله
الطايع لله
الملك المنصور
نوح بن منصور

Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Mohammed, the Apostle of God, whom he sent with instruction and the true faith, that he might exalt it above all other creeds, even though Unbelievers be adverse thereto.—Korán, surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

OBV.

عدل
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
ابو لجا[1] سيف
الدولة محمود

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة خمس وثمانين وثلثماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

Dominion, both past and future, is of God, and in *that* day the Faithful shall rejoice in the aid of the Lord.—Korán, surah xxx. 4, 5.

[1] لجا an Asylum.

No. IX.

Gold. Weight, 57·3 gr. Níshápúr. 390 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.

الله
محمد رسول الله
الامير السيد يمين
الدولة و امين ا
لملة ابو القسم ولي
امير المومنين

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

This title of امين الله Amin Allah was conferred on him by the Khalif Al Kadar. see D'Herbelot Page 110 folio Edn.

Obv.

عدل
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
القادر بالله
ع

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة تسعين و ثلثماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 10.

There is a second Gold Coin in the British Museum, in weight 77·4 grains, similar in every respect to the above, with the exception of the ع on the Obverse, which is placed on the right of the field, instead of being at the foot of the legend, as in the specimen just described.

No. 11.

Gold. Nísháṕúr. 400 A.H. Frœhn's Recensio, p. 142.

Rev.	Obv.
لله محمد رسول الله يمين الدولة و امين الملة	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. As No. IX., with سنة اربع ماية ـــــ Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. XII.

Gold. Weight, 62·3 gr. Nísháṕúr. 401 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
لله محمد رسول الله يمين القادر بالله الدولة ولى عهده الغالب بالله	عدل لا اله الا الله امين وحده لا شريك له الملة ابو القاسم
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدي واربعماية Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 13.

A second Gold Coin, of the like date and place of mintage, varies in the disposition of the inscription: the usual short symbol occupying the whole of the Obverse area, the Reverse area containing the acknowledgment of the mission of Mohammed, the designation of the Khalíf and his successor elect (excluding the words ولى عهده), as well as the three titles of Mahmúd himself, the يمين الدولة and the امين الملة being placed one on each side of the rest of the legend. The word مايتة is wanting in the record of the date.

No. 14.

Gold. Weight, 60 gr. Herát. 395 A.H.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	∴ لله ∴
لا الـــــــه الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحـــــــده	يمين الدولة
لا شريك لـــه	وامين الملة
القادر بالله	ابو القاسم
Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهراة سنة خمس و تسعين و ثلثماية	Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.
Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	

No. 15.

Gold. Weight, 65 gr. Herát. 401 A.H. Masson.
Gold. Weight, 50 gr. Herát. 401 A.H. British Museum.

Similar to Coin No. 14, but imperfect in the exterior Margin of Obverse, the word المومنو wanting the final ن.

No. 16.

Gold. Weight, 56 gr. Herát. 411 A.H. *Lady Macnaghten.*

Differs slightly from No. 14, in the absence of عدل in the Obverse, and in the initial محمد in the Reverse standing in a line by itself; the concluding ابو القسم being reduced in size to meet the thus increased demand for space.

No. 17.

Gold. Weight, 65 gr. Herát. 413 A.H.

As No. 14; but the exterior Margin of the Obverse is perfect.

No. 18.

Gold. Weight, 63 gr. Herát. 414 A.H.

Ornamental Kufic; otherwise similar to No. 14.

No. 19.

Gold. Weight, 77 gr. Níshápúr. 407 A.H.

REV.

الله

محمد رسول الله

القادر بالله

ولي عهده

الغالب بالله

يمين الدولة

الملة

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

OBV.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

ابو القسم

وسلم

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة سبع واربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 20.

Gold. Weight, 57 gr. Níshápúr. 409 A.H. Dr. Swiney.

Similar to No. 19, except that in the Obverse ابو القسم and وسلم are wanting.

No. XXI.

Gold. Weight, 59 gr. 4** A.H. British Museum.

Rev.

لله

محمد

رسول الله

القادر بالله

مسعود

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله يمين الدو

لة و امين الملة

ابو القاسم

محمود

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينار ——— سنة ———

اربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

A Coin apparently struck by Masaúd, while acting as a local Sovereign, during the lifetime of his Father, Mahmúd.

A.H. 407. "Returning to Bulkh, Mahmood gave the government of Hirat to his son, the Prince Ameer Musaood."

A.H. 418. "He conferred the Government of Rye and Isfahan on his son, the Prince Musaood."

Briggs's Ferishtah, Vol. I.

No. XXII.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٭ لله ٭	٭ ٭ ٭
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله منصر	الله وحده
بن نوح	لا شريك له
سيف الدولة	الطايع لله
محمود	ف ر

Margins. Worn, illegible.

On one specimen is seen محمد رسول الله

This Coin must be inferred to have been struck in or after the year 387 A.H., or the year in which Munsúr bin Núh II. ascended the throne of Bokhárá.

No. 23.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
الامير السيد	لا شريك له
يمين الدولة	القادر بالله
محمود	

Margins. Illegible.

No. 24.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	محمد رسول الله
لا اله الا الله	بمين الدولة وا
وحده لا شريك له	مين الملة محمود
القادر بالله	بن سبكتكين
Marg. Imperfect.	Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم	بعد و يوميذ يفرح

No. 25.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. (3)95 A.H. C.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	* لله *
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله بمين الدو
لا شريك له	لة و امين الملة
القادر بالله	٥ محمود ٥
بميني	٥
Marg. سنة خمس	Marg. Illegible.
وتسعين و	

The Obverse Margins of two similar Coins exhibit the words الدرهم بغزنه سنة

Different specimens have respectively the letters ع ك س below the عدل on Obverse.

No. XXVI.

Silver. Weight, 76 gr. Níshápúr? 399 A.H. Large Coin.

Rev.	Obv.
❀	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
يمين الدولة	وحده لا شريك له
و امين الملة	القادر بالله ولي
ابو القسم يميني	عهده الغالب
س	بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5. Legible.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
لله الامر من ——— ح	الدرهم بنيسابور سنة تسع
المومنون بنصر الله	وتسعين وثلثماية

No. XXVII.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. C.

Rev.	Obv.
* o *	يميني
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القادر بالله	الله وحده
يمين الدولة	لا شريك له
محمود	ص د
Marg. لله الامر من قبل	Marg. ——— سنة تسع
——— ويومئذ يفرح المومنون	وتسعين وثلثم—
بنصر (الله)	

Another Coin discloses on its Obverse Margin the words

ضرب هذا الدرهم بغزنه سنة خمس

No. 28.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Similar legends to No. XXVII., with monogram اندراب at the top; and بمبني at the bottom of Obverse; and

Monogram { عدل / لله } at the top of the Reverse Area.

No. 29.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٥ لله ٥	عدل
محمد رسول الله	فروان
القادر بالله	لا اله الا الله وحده
بمين الدولة	لا شريك له
محمود	بمبني
Marg. Composed of thin straggling letters, utterly illegible.	Marg. ـــــ والين سنة خمس و ـــــ

Wálín والين عمله

مسافات مدن بلخ || من بلخ الى خلم يومان ثم الى والين يومان

Istakhrí (Mœller), p. 112.

See also Map (Idem) No. XVIII. صورة خراسان.

مسافات شهر بلخ || از بلخ تا خلم دو روزه و از خلم تا والين دو روزه

Persian Memálik wa Mesálik, p. ٩٢. See also Map, p. ٩٣.

"From Balkh to Khulum, two days' journey; from Khulum to Valein والين, two days' journey." Ouseley's Orient. Geog., p. 230.

"On compte au nombre des dépendances de cette dernière province (le Badakchan بدخشان) les villes de خُلم ,ورواليين, &c. De Balkh à Warwalin, ville agréable et commerçante, dont dépendent divers villages, 2 journées. De Warwalin à Talecan (طالقان), 2 journées. De Balkh à Houlm, ville située à 2 journées à l'ouest de Warwalin, on a 2 journées de chemin à faire." Edrisi (Jaubert), pp. 474, 475.

The above identification is proposed without any great amount of confidence, as the orthography of the name of the city whose position is here indicated, varies to a more than usual degree of uncertainty, inasmuch as the facsimile MS. of Istakhrí, in four repeated references to the town in question, gives no less than the same number of discordant readings, viz., p. 109, روالين: idem, ورواليين; p. 112, ورالين; and Map No. XVIII. والبان, or possibly مالبان.

The East India House Persian MS. Mesálik wa Memálik also exhibits discrepancies in the mode in which the name is written, having in one place روالين; and on two subsequent occasions والين. The same may be said of Ouseley's translation, which is made from *other* MSS. of the same work, and which affords the several examples of زروالين, p. 223 and 224; and والين, p. 230. Ibn Haukal[1] openly avows a difficulty as to the correct mode of expressing the name, writing ورواليين or ورواليِين. And finally, as will be seen from the above extract, the French Translation of Edrisi gives the word as ورواليين. Abúl Fedá has no notice of the place.

A more serious objection, however, presents itself to the admission of the correctness of the locality suggested, in the fact of the dissimilarity observable between the form and fabric of the Coin itself, and the general characteristics displayed by the Balkh money, which last is seen to be uniformly a thin broad piece, whereas the two Coins, Nos. 29 and 64, upon which the whole, or the major portion, of the doubtful name is found, partake of the character of the more common types of the narrow Ghazní currency, and if any faith is to be placed in such indications, would necessitate a search for their place of coinage somewhat nearer the capital, or, at all events, in a province whose monetary types assimilated more closely to the produce of the

[1] MS. Bibl. Bodl., No. 538. Hunt.

metropolitan mint. As such, the name of Málín مالين[1] might claim consideration, as corresponding in its component letters with what remains of the Kufic word on the margin of No. 29. There are, however, no recognized Herát silver coins, whence a judgment might be formed as to the identity of style; so that no valid argument could be raised on that ground. Moreover, the orthography of Málín, like that of Wálín, is open to much question, as, in addition to the two different modes of pronunciation to which the name is liable, as noticed by Abúl Fedá, it is written by both Istakhrí and Edrisí مالن. However, whatever might be said regarding the admissibility of the adoption of Málín as the place of fabrication of the one Coin, No. 29, the same can by no means be extended to the piece No. 64, the initial letter of the monetary city of which, can never be read as a *Mim* م, or other than one of the three letters ق ف or و.

An identification which seems to meet more satisfactorily the various numismatic requirements, though it is opposed by the demands of absolute exactitude of *literal* uniformity, is suggested by some casual references made by more modern writers, which tend to show that there must have been a town, or certainly a fort, of a very similar denomination to that to be found on the Coins, either in or near the Hills, somewhere proximately northward of Ferwán. An indication of this locality is furnished by Mirkhond, who mentions the siege of the fortress of Wálián والیان by the generals of Jengiz Khán[2], which castle appears from the context to be identifiable with the place alluded to by Báber in the following sentence:—"There are besides three roads in Ghúrbend; that which is nearest to Perwân is the pass of the Yangi-yuli (the new road), which descends by Waliân and Khinjan[3]." This last position is marked in many of the later maps; and one of the neighbouring passes to this day retains its name of Wálián, though in the hands of modern geographers it would seem to have been corrupted into Gwalian.

[1] مالين من املاء هراة ـــــ واهل هراة يقولون مالان
Abúl Fedá, p. 456.

[2] See Rauzat al Safá, History of Jellál al din Khwárizmí; also Price, from Khalásat al Akhbár, Vol. II. p. 410.

[3] Erskine's Báber, p. 139.

No. 30*.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Area as No. XXVII., with ابو القسم at the top.

Area as in No. XXVII.

Monograms عدل / ع / يميني

Margins. Illegible.

No. 31*.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Rev.

محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
يمين الدولة
محمود

Obv.

عدل
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
يميني

Margins. Illegible.

No. 32*.

A similar Coin, with the monogram قروان inserted between the عدل and الله at the top of the Obverse, as in No. 29.

No. 33.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Legend as in Reverse, No. 31; but the امين الملة is to the left of the rest of the inscription.

Monogram, *supra*, لله; *infra*, ك.

Legend as in Obverse, No. 31, with the addition of the word نقر, possibly نقد, on the right of the field.

No. 34.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Reverse, three lines, as in No. 31; but the second title is placed thus—

وامين محمود الملة

Monograms, *supra*, الله ٥ الله

Obverse as No. 31.

No. 35*.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Reverse. The same inscription as in No. XXVII.; but with the محمود at the top of the field, and امين الملة at the bottom.

Obverse. The same as No. 31.

No. XXXVI.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Ghazní. 401 A.H.

Rev.

الله

محمد

رسول الله

القادر بالله

محمود

Marg. Composed of Bosses and الله alternating.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

يميني

Marg. بسم الله ضرب بغزنة سنة احدي و اربع ماية

---

* Many of these several classes of small silver Coins have mere careless imitations of the usual marginal inscriptions, such as obviously could never have been intended to be legible, the scroll between the parallel circles being at times made up solely by the repetition of certain characters that may be taken to represent the word سنة, and in other instances filled in with a confused jumble of consecutive masses of the common form of ⊥ interspersed with an occasional ٤ or م.

No. 37.

Silver. Weight, 75 gr.

Reverse. Broad Area, with the legend محمد رسول الله القادر بالله يمين الدولة وامين الملة	Obverse. Small Area, legend as in No. XXXVI.
Marg. Narrow; inscription illegible.	Marg. As the *Reverse* Margin of No. XXXVI.

No. 38.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

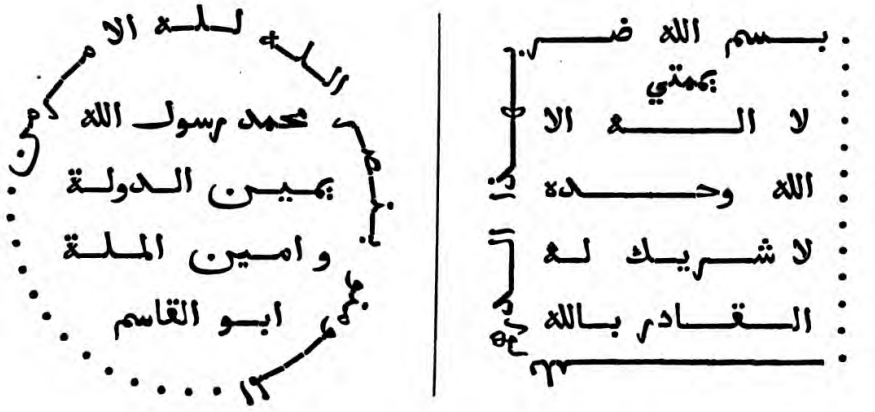
A Coin similar to No. XXXVI., having *both* Margins composed of bosses and الله alternating.

No. 39.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

In this Coin the accustomed marginal legends are disposed around the field, and are not separated from the body of the inscription by the usual lines.

Rev. Obv.



No. 40.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Balkh. 411 A.H. Broad Coin (ornamental Kufic).

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	الله
لا الـــــه الا	محمد
الله وحـــده	رسول الله
لا شريك لـه	القادر بالله
	يمين الدولة
	ابو القسم
Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلخ سنة احد عشر و اربع ماية	Marg. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

No. 41.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Níshápúr. 414 A.H. Broad Coin. Dr. Swiney.

Obv.	Rev.
The usual Symbol in three lines.	الله
	محمد رسول الله
	القادر بالله
	يمين الدولة
	و امين الملة
Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بنيسابور سنة اربع عشر واربعماية	Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. XLII.

Silver. Weight, 45·4 gr. Unique.

REV.

بالله
لا الـــه الا الله
محمد رسول الله القادر
يمين الدولة
محمود
وامين الملة

Marg. بسم الله ضرب
هذا الدرهـــم واربعماية

OBV.

श्री वृकुसेन SRI VRIKUSEN
महमृद आ MRĂHĂMRID Ā
महर नृव MĂHĂRĂNRIVĂ
महमूद MĂHĂMŪD

Marg. संवत ४१२ अयटन महमूद
SĂMVĂT 412 ĀYĂTĂN MĂHĂMŪD

ANALYSIS OF THE SANSKRIT LETTERS.

No. 1, श्री *Srí*; possibly अ *a*. 2, वृ *Vri* of the seventh century; or पृ *pri* of the ninth. 3, कु *ku* of the fifth century (Allahabad Inscription); the Kashmírí *ku* of the present day differs but little from this form. 4, से *se* of the fifth century; or मे *me* of the seventh. 5, न *n* of the ninth century (see Kutila Inscription); possibly either भ *bh* or क *k* of the same century. 6, म्र *Mr*. 7, ह *h* of the fifth century; possibly ड *d* of the ninth. 8, मृ *mri;* or मु *mu:* in this latter the उ *u* might be objected to, but it is the form in use on the Gupta Coins, and there is no saying how long it may have remained in partial use (see Plate XIX., Vol. VII., Journ. As. Soc., Bengal). 9, द *d*. 10, अ *a*. 11, म *m?* 12, ह *h;* or ञ *ñ*, fifth century: the letter corresponding to the modern palatal ञ has not been identified in the Kutila Inscription. 13, र *r*. 14, नृ *nri;* or ञु *ñu*. 15, व *v*. 16, म *M?* 17, ह *h*. 18, मू *mū*. 19, द *d*.

Margin. No. 20, स *S;* or म *M*. 21, व *v*. 22, उ *u*, ninth century: a letter of the same shape answers at the present day for a त *t* in the Punjábí alphabet (*vide* Carey's Grammar); accepting this last rendering, the first three marginal letters might be taken as intended to represent the word संवत *Samvat*. 23, ४ 4. 24, १ 1: the character to be seen on the Coin assimilates closely to the form of an ancient Kashmírí 1, given in Plate XX., Vol. VII., Journ. As. Soc., Bengal; and the modern form of the numeral varies only from these in the junc-

tion of the ends of the figure. 25, २ 2; the Devanagari 2 of the tenth century is but little dissimilar to the unit figure on the Coin, which latter might, however, be read as an र *r*, but that it differs so much from the *r* in the body of the Inscription. 26, श्र *a*; or श्री *sri*. 27, य *y*. 28, ट *t* of fifth century. 29, न *n*; or क *k*. 30, म *M*. 31, ह *h*. 32, मू *mū*. 33, द *d*.

No. XLIII.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Ghazní. 411 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلى الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
القادر بالله	نظام الدين
يميني	س محمود ف
Marg. يمين الدولة ———	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
و امين الملة ———	الدرهم بغزنة سنة احدي عشر
	واربع ماية

A Coin, in the possession of Lady Macnaghten, exhibiting generally similar characteristics to the above, has the Obverse Margin occupied by the words الدرهم بغزنة سنة (expressed in most accurately formed letters) five times repeated. The Reverse Margin is filled up with a like reiteration of the words مما امربه

No. XLIV.

Silver. Weight, 38 gr. Ghazní. 411 A.H. *Lady Macnaghten.*

Similar in shape and legend to No. XLIII., with the exception of the name of Mahmúd, the letters of which are curiously impressed in intaglio, instead of being raised like the rest of the inscription.

The Reverse Monogram يميني is correctly formed on this specimen; but the Mint marks on the Obverse are altogether omitted.

Much of the Obverse marginal legend, given at length under No. 35, is traceable, and the Reverse Margin displays the outline of the following words—

مما امربه الملك المالك يمين الدولة و ———

No. 45.

Silver. Weight, gr. Balkh. 412 A.H.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل ع لا الـــــه الا الله وحـــــده لا شـــريـــك لـه القادر بالله	لله محمد رسول الله يمين الدولة نظام الدين ابو القسم محمود
Marg. ـــــ بهم ببلخ سنـة اثني عشر و اربع ماية	Marg. لله الامر من قـبـل و مـن بعد و يوميذ يـفـرح المومنون ـــــ

No. XLVI.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. 414 A.H.

Legends in both Areas as in No. 45.

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. ـــــ اربع عشر وابع ماية

No. 47.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. 419 A.H. Unique.

Obv.	Rev.
القادر لا الـــــه الا الله محمد رسول الله نـظـام الـدين ابو القسم	لله محمد رسول الله الـقـادر بـالله يمين الـدولـة محمود
Marg. بسم ا ـــــ نور سنة تسع عشر واربعماية	Marg. Illegible.

No. XLVIII.

Silver. Weight, 63 gr. Sejistán[1]. Broad Coin.

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

يمين الدولة

و امين الملة نظام

الدين ابو القاسم

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

القادر بالله

يميني

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدرهم بسجستان سنة ——

واربع ماية

[1] Zaranj; called also Sejistán, as capital of the province of that name; the Doeshak or Jellalabad of the modern maps.—See Edrisi, p. 431 and 432. Abúl Feda has the following:—

زرنج قصبة سجستان قال ابن حوقل وزرنج مدينة كبيرة من سجستان قال وقد يطلق علي زرنج نفسها سجستان

Texte Arabe, p. ٣٤٣.

"Zaranj, Capital of Sejistán. Ibn Haukul said Zaranj is a large city of Sejistán; and it is further said that (the name of) Sejistán is applied to Zaranj itself."

For examples of the numismatic use of the name in this sense see Coins of Harún al Rashíd, Nos. 135*, 136*, p. 11*, and 145*, p. 13*, Frœhn's Recensio.

The Táríkh Masaúdí quotes the following authorized detail of Mahmúd's titles in a copy of a Missive from the Khalif Al Káim be amerillah to Masaúd, in which the *recognized* designations of the latter's father are thus given at full length—

نظام الدين كهف الاسلام والمسلمين يمين الدولة واميين الملة ابى القاسم ولى امير المومنين

With the single exception of the كهف الاسلام والمسلمين, all these several titles are to be found on the Coins above described.

No. 49.

Silver. Weight, 26 gr. Small Coin.

Rev.

ملك
الملوك
يميني

Marg. int.
مالك يمين الدولة

Marg. ext. Illegible.

Obv.

الله
محمد
رسول الله
يمين الدولة

Marg. الملك الممالك

No. 50.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. (Apparently of the Balkh fabric.) 421 A.H. Broad Coin.

Rev.

الله
محمد
رسول الله
عليه السلم
محمود

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Obv.

عدل
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القادر بالله

Marg. الله ضرب هذا
الدرهم في ربيع الاول
سنة احد و عشرين واربعماية

Rabí al Awal ربيع الاول

No. 51.

Silver. Weight, 53·5 gr. Balkh. 421 A.H. Large Coin. British Museum.

Areas as in No. 50.

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Marg. ضرب هذا الدرهم
ببلخ فجماد الاول سنة
احدي وعشرين واربعماية

*Dir*hem, at Balkh, in Jumád al Awal, the year

هم ببلخ فجماد الاول سنة

No. 52.

Silver. Weight, 60 gr. Small Coin.

Rev.

لله
محمد
رسول الله
عليه السلم
محمود

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

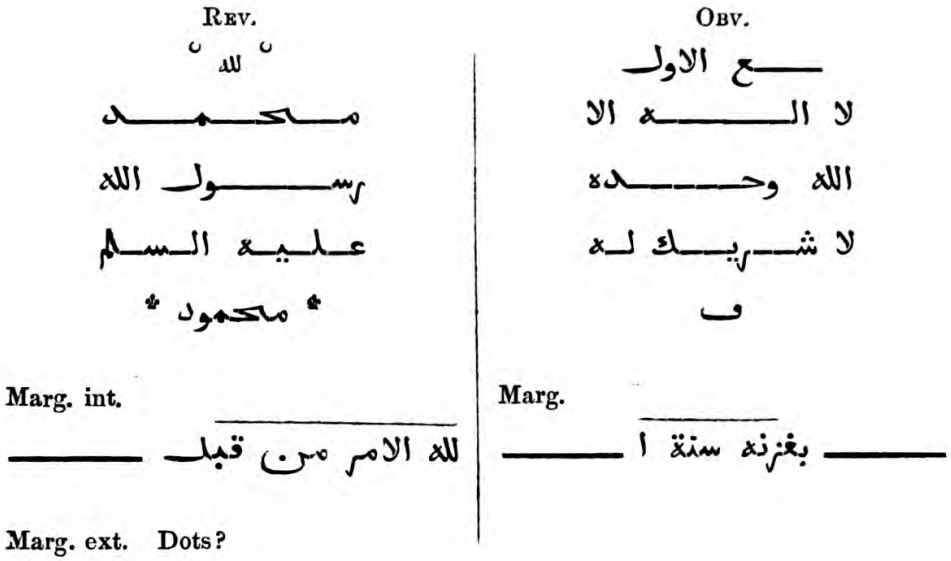
Obv.

عدل
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك
له القادر بالله
الاول

Marg. بسم احدي
و عشرين و اربعماية

No. 53.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Small Coin.



Marg. ext. Dots?

The above Coins present too many novel peculiarities to admit of their being passed over in silence, though the mutilated state of the more important portions of each, as well as a corresponding deficiency of unquestioned historical data, may render any deductions on the subjects embraced somewhat inconclusive. Still, whatever may be the correct reading of the abraded parts of the several legends, two points at least evidence a departure from the uniform practice prevailing in previous mintages:—Firstly, the inscription of Mahmúd's sole *untitled* name; and, secondly, the insertion of an unusual additional detail, intimating what would seem to be the name of the *month*, as well as the accustomed record of the *year* of issue.

These two remarkable indications are found in concurrence (in the three most legible Coins) with a notification, purporting that the medals themselves were struck in the year 421 A.H., the early part of which witnessed the decease of the Monarch whose name they bear. There are but two of the four specimens (Nos. 50, 51) that retain a sufficiently clear impression of those portions of the legends it is sought to decipher, to permit an approach to a satisfactory conjecture as to their original intent and purport; and these severally disclose the worn and imperfect outline of the characters which represent the names of the Arabic months of Rabí al Awal and Jumád al

Awal[1], or the third and fifth months of the Mohammedan year, located on the margins of the Coins immediately preceding the annual date.

The two smaller Coins (Nos. 52, 53) display on their Obverse surfaces, in the spaces generally devoted to the reception of monograms, the same concluding and distinguishing word الاول, together with traces of what probably once stood for ربيع.

Whatever may have become the custom in after times among Mohammedan nations in regard to the inscription of the months of the year in which Coins were fabricated, their unprecedented appearance on the pieces under notice, as well as their immediate subsequent disuse, taken as isolated facts, can only be supposed to point to an intention of fixing, with more than usual precision, the moment of the issue of the Coins thus marked, and, as such, to advert to some prominent epoch in the history of the race by whom they were put forth. Now, as the periods inscribed closely coincide with the supposed date of Mahmúd's death, the question naturally suggests itself, Were not these moneys in some way connected with this event?

In addition to the default of sufficient numismatic data, the difficulty of arriving at any correct estimate of the design attending the production of these medals, is much enhanced by a co-existent doubt as to the precise month in which Mahmúd died; and, consequently, as to whether these pieces are to be recognised as the latest record of his life, commemorative medals struck in his honour after his decease, or the mere mechanical continuance of the use of his name by the mint officials.

This last suggestion seems to be at once negatived by the appearance of purpose to be detected in the singular changes already noticed; the question is therefore narrowed to the consideration of the two remaining possible explanations.

[1] In concluding that the doubtful letters on the Margin of Coin No. 51 represent the name of a month—and looking to their position immediately following the record of the mint city, and preceding the year of the date, they cannot well be taken to import anything else—it is to be conceded that, setting aside the worn state of the writing, the expression of the words is by no means perfect, the في being abbreviated to فـ (which, however, is not unusual in MS.), and the ا of جهاد in its present shape would more accurately perform the function of an ي, or any other of the convertible letters for which the Kufic medial ـا stands sponsor, rather than the ا, which the context seems to require.

The balance of written testimony greatly preponderates in favour of the assignment of the 23rd of Rabí al A'khír[1] as the date of the death of Mahmúd; at the same time, the event is variously reported by different authors as having taken place on one of the three following dates—11th Safar[2], 13th Rabí al Awal[3], or even so late as Jumád al Awal[4].

The second and third of these four epochs are the only periods that are not at variance with the idea of a posthumous character attaching to the Coins under review; and there is clearly too little reliance to be placed upon the authorities citing these dates, to justify a rejection in their favour of the statements of more esteemed writers, to meet the wants of a theory so incomplete in numismatic proofs as the one now discussed. Indeed, if the apparently conclusive testimony

[1] و در آن هفته بخواست رفت روز شنبه ده روز مانده بود از جمادي الاولي سنة احدي و عشرين و اربعماية ناگاه خبر رسيد كه پدرش امير محمود رضي الله عنه گذشته شد و حاجب بزرك علي قريب در پيش كارست و در وقت سواران مسرع رفتند پس كتابت ملطفه خود بمن انداخت گفت بخوان بازگردم خط عمتش بود حرّه ختلي نبشته بود كه خداوند ما سلطان محمود نمازديگر روز پنجشنبه هفت روز مانده بود از ربيع الآخر گذشته شد

MS. تاريخ مسعودي Bib. du Roi, Paris.

The following authorities also cite Rabí al A'khir as the period of Mahmúd's decease:—Abúl Fedá, Annales Muslemici (Reisk), Vol. III. p. 76; Rauzat al Safá (Wilken), p. 231; Habíb al Sair, MS., No. 17, East India House; Akberí, MS., East India House; Ferishtah (Briggs), Vol. I. p. 84.

[2] Ibn Haidar, quoted by Wilken, Hist. Gaz., p. 227.

[3] واقعه مذكوره در روز پنجشنبه سيزدهم ربيع الاول سنة احدي و عشرين و اربعماية روي نمود

تاريخ نگارستان. Lithographed at Bombay, in 1829.

[4] Quoted by De Guignes, Vol. I. p. 240, and Vol. II. p. 170.

The Násirí, Abúl Faraj, and the Guzídah fail in mentioning the month in which Mahmúd died.

of the Táríkh Masaúdí is entitled to the credit its circumstantial detail and high antiquity seem to demand, this class of Coins can only be taken to have originated with Mahmúd himself, though, in all likelihood, only late in his career; and that having been thus introduced into use, the Balkh mint continued to fabricate the like species of money—with altered monthly dates to meet the progress of time—up to the period of the receipt of the intelligence of the decease of Mahmúd at Ghazní, or possibly until the full inauguration of his successor[1]. In arriving at this conclusion, it is necessary to consider the causes of the subsequent discontinuance of the insertion of monthly dates. This may be explained by the supposition—fully justified by their respective medals—that Mahmúd interested himself in the mint arrangements of his dominions, thereby insuring an advanced state of excellence in the details of his coinage, whereas Masaúd[2], to judge by the results, paid but little attention to the fashion of his money, and disregarded the omission of the more exact record of the date introduced by his father.

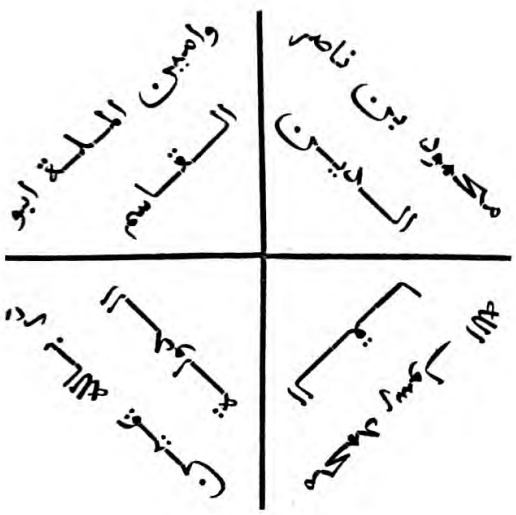
It is less easy to account satisfactorily for the motives which led to the first monetary change already described. That Mahmúd may at the last moment have affected humility, and refrained from the employment of all titular distinctions, is just possible, but by no means probable, considering his admitted and proved partiality to the use of titles of honour, and the fact that the closing acts of his life—the contemplation of his boundless treasures, and the review of the splendid equipments of his powerful army—savour strongly of still-surviving vanity. It may be doubted whether the seeming humility implied in the disuse of honorary titles, may not have been in reality the result of an increased degree of pride, which imagined, and with fair reason, that so great a name as that of the Conqueror of India required no titular adjuncts.

[1] It may assist in the due determination of the value of the above suggestion to note that, at Mahmúd's death, there was not only a disputed succession, but that at the moment, both Mohammed and his brother Masaúd were absent from the capital—and equally so from Balkh, the mint city wherein the Coin No. 50, if not 51, was struck—the one brother being in Jurján, the other near Hamadán; and that it was not until a certain interval after the decease of Mahmúd that Mohammed was elevated to the throne at Ghazní: the exact duration of this interval is not stated. Vide Ferishtah (Briggs), Vol. I. p. 93.

[2] It would be useless to speculate on the almost unique Coin of Mohammed (No. LVII.)

No. LIV.

Brass. Weight, 59 gr. Ghazní. 405 A.H.



لا الـــــــه الا
الله وحـــــده
لا شـــريـــك لـه

Marg. بسم الله ضـر || بـــهـذا
الفلس || بـــغـزنـــة سنة || خمس
واربع مايـة

The above arrangement of the legend of the Reverse is merely intended to show the contents of each compartment. It does not in any way carry out the intricate cross-reading to be seen on the Coin itself.

No. 55.

Copper. Weight, 40 gr.

Areas. Legends as in No. 27, Silver Coin.

Monograms. Obverse, *infra* يميني. Reverse, *supra* لله.

Margins. Illegible.

No. 56.

Brass. Weight, 39 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــــه الا
يمين الدولة	الله وحـــــده
و امين الملة	لا شـــريـــك لـه
ابو القاسم	القادر بالله

Margins. Illegible.

MOHAMMED.

No. LVII.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
? اواحد	
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــــه الا
جلال الدولة	الله وحـــــــده
وجمال الملة	لا شـــريـــك لـه
محمد بن محمود	القادر بالله

Margins. Illegible.

The issue of this Coin is to be referred to the first reign of Mohammed, as Al Kádir, whose name is here inscribed, died ten or eleven years before this Ghaznaví Monarch's second accession.

MASAÚD.

No. LVIII.

Gold. Weight, 75·7 gr[1]. Níshápúr. 422 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.

الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
حافظ ولي عهده صح
القايم بامرالله
ناصر دين الله

Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Obv.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
مسعود

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة اثني وعشرين[2] واربعماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

[1] Weights of other analogous specimens—73·6 gr., 57·6 gr., 52·5 gr.

[2] عشر in original. The عشر (10) is assumed to be a mistake for عشرين (20), for various reasons, notwithstanding that Masaúd is known to have been Governor (on the part of his father) of the province of Herát, and possibly Níshápúr itself, so early as 407. In the first place, it is highly improbable that the use of Mahmúd's name should have been discontinued on the provincial Coins during his lifetime; indeed, the binominal medal, No. XXI., seems to prove a contrary practice to have prevailed. In the second place, it is known that Al Káim be amerillah, whose titles are to be seen on the Coin immediately in question, was not appointed Walí Ah'd till 416. (Mirkhond.) And, lastly, the very existence of the و *wau* after the اثني would in itself evidence an error, taking the sentence as it now stands, as this conjunction is not usually employed to join the two Arabic words forming any given number between 10 and 20!

No. 59.

Gold. Weight, 56·4 gr. Níshápúr. 431 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
لله محمد رسول الله القايم بامرالله ناصر دين الله حافظ غيار[1] الله د	ظفر لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له مسعود
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدي وثلثين واربعماية Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

[1] غيار a mark or symbol used to distinguish the votaries of any particular creed.

The legends of the two following Coins of Toghral Beg have been inserted, both in advertence to what has already been stated regarding the first adoption of the title of Sultán (p. 271), as also with a view of showing, by the earliest available numismatic evidence, the actual loss by the Ghaznavís of the city of Níshápúr, which was finally taken from Masaúd by the Seljúks in 431 A.H.

Gold. Weight, 62·5 gr. Níshápúr. 433 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
محمد رسول الله القايم بامرالله الامير الاجل طغرل بك	فتح لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9; which is, however, incomplete, ending thus— المشرة	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة ثلث وثلثين وابعماية Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. LX

Silver. Weight, 54 gr. 422 A.H. Broad Coin.

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

ناصر دين الله

حافظ غيار الله

مسعود

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

محمد رسول ———

——— كره المشركون

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القادر بالله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

——— ور سنة اثني وعشرين

واربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Gold. Weight, 60 gr. Níshápūr. 439 A.H. *My Cabinet.*

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

طغرل بك ابوطا

لب

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

القايم

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

بامرالله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينار بنيسابور سنة تسع

وثلثين واربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 61.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Broad Coin. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
عليه السلم	لا شريك له
مسعود	القادر بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا ——— واربعماية

No. 62.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. 425 A.H. Broad Coin. *My Cabinet.*

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
القايم بامرالله	لا شريك له
مسعود	
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدر ——— سنة خمس وعشرين واربعماية

No. 62*a*.

A fragment of an analogous Coin bears on its Obverse Margin the words

سنة سبع وعشرين (4)27.

No. 63.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Balkh. (42)8 A.H. Broad Coin.

Similar in legends to No. 62; but the characters are coarsely executed.

Obverse Margin. ـــــ ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلخ سنة ثمـــــ

No. 64.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Wálín. Small size. Very scarce.

Legends on Areas the same as No. 61.

Marg.	Marg.
ـــــ لله الامر من بعد وبو ـــــ	ـــــ ضرب هـذا الـــــم بوالين سنة ـــــ

Wálín ـــم بوالين سنة

No. 65.

Silver. Weight, 66 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله مـــحـــمـــد رســـــول الله عـلـيـه الـسـلم مسعود	القايم بامر الله لا الـــــــه الا الله وحـــــده لا شـــريـــك لـه

Margins. Illegible.

A second Coin has the Obverse monogram formed thus .

No. 66.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Small size.

Same as No. 65, with القايم at the top, and بامرالله at the bottom of Obverse Area.

No. 67.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــه الا
القـائم بامـرالله	الله وحـــــده
نـاصـر دين الله	لا شـريـــك لـه
مسعود	س

Margins. Illegible.

Some specimens of this class of Coins have their Margins quite plain, the parallel lines being separated by four small circles.

No. LXVIII.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Areas as in No. 67, with the monogram اندراب at the top of Obverse, and لله at the top of the Reverse legend.

No. 69.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرله	
محمد رسول	لا الـــــه الا
الله نـاصـــر	الله وحـــــده
ديـــن الله	لا شـريـــك لـه
مسعود	

Margins composed of circular lines:—Obverse, quite plain; Reverse, lines separated by bosses.

No. LXX.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٥ لله ٥	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــــه الا
نـاصـر دين الله	الله وحـــــــده
ابـو سـعـيـد	لا شـــريـــك لـه
مسعود	س
Marg. بسم الله ضـر ———	Marg. Illegible.
——— واربعماية	

No. 71.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

The same as No. LXX., but with القايم at the top and بامرالله at the bottom of the Obverse legend, in the place of عدل and س; and محمد occupying an entire line, in lieu of the لله on the Reverse.

No. 72.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــــه الا
الـقـايم بامـرالله	الله وحـــــــده
نـاصـر دين الله	لا شـــريـــك لـه
٨	س

Margins. Illegible.

No. 73.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــه الا
القـايم بامـرالله	الله وحـــــده
نـاصـر دين الله	لا شـــريـــك لـه
ابو سعيد	س

Margins. Illegible.

No. LXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 5·5 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
بن محمود ح	مسعود

No. 75.

Brass. Weight, 42 gr.

Same as Silver Coin No. 67. Margins without legends.

No. 76.

Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
Same legend as No. 61.	Usual symbol in three lines.

Margins. Illegible.

The subjoined Coin is inserted in this place, instead of being located in its due position in the series of the moneys of Masaúd, as there are some doubts regarding its correct identification consequent upon the worn state of the name of the Khalif, and the obliteration of the Obverse marginal legend, which would have served to fix the date and place of coinage. The piece is remarkable if it be from any of the mints of Masaúd of Ghazní, inasmuch as the word Sultán appears for the first time on the medals of this dynasty. Supposing that it really belongs to Masaúd, the son of Mahmúd, it will be necessary to conclude that it was struck in some of the provincial governments of his extensive dominions, as the type and the style of the legend equally differ from those of any of the recognized Coins of Ghazní.

The following is an enumeration of the various territorial possessions of Masaúd—

وكان ملكه عظيما فسيحا ملك اصفهان والري وطبرستان

وجرجان وخراسان وخوارزم وبلاد الران وكرمان وسجستن والسند والرخج وغزنة وبلاد الغور واطاعه اهل البر والبحر

Abúl Fedá, Ann. Musl. (ed. Reisk), Vol. III. p. 114.

This summary does not appear to require any lengthened comment, the majority of the places indicated being sufficiently well known to modern geographers. It may be necessary, however, to notice that the word الران is frequently used by Ibn Haukul for ارّان (see Géographie d'Aboulféda, note at foot of page 387); and to explain that الرخج, or الرحج, is the name of a district of the province of Sejistán, situated up the River Helmund (see Istakhrí, p. 101; Ouseley's Orient. Geography, p. 207; Edrisi, p. 444; Aboulféda, Géographie, p. 342). Reisk, in his *translation* of the above passage, adds the name of Mekrán, which, though not to be found in his Arabic printed text, may possibly have had its place in the original MS.

Brass. Weight, 60 gr. Unique. Mr. Masson's own collection.

Rev.

سلطان المعظم ملك العالم مسعود

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Obv.

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

عادر بالله

Marg. Illegible.

The annexed curious passage, relating certain unaccountable posthumous honours paid to Masaúd in the public prayers, is extracted from the Táríkh Masaúdí, as it is by no means improbable that a similar commemorative record may have been extended to the coinage of the day.

شاه ملک * * * روز ادینه دیکر روز بمسجد جامع آمد با بسیار سوار و پیاده ساخته و کوکبه بزرك و بنام امیر المومنین و سلطان مسعود پس بنام وي خطبه کردند عجایب این باید ستود آن روز که بنام امیر مسعود آنجا خطبه کردند پیش از آن بمدتي وي بقلعت کیري بکشته بودند

MŌDŪD.

No. 77.

Gold. Weight, 52 gr. Ghazní. 433 A.H.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة ثلث وثلثين واربعماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد يومیذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

Rev.

لا اله الا الله فتح

محمد رسول الله

شهاب الدولة وقطب الملة مودود

Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

No. LXXVIII.

Gold. Weight, 62 gr. Ghazní. 435 A.H.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	لله فتح لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	شهاب الدولة
لا شريك له	وقطب الملة
القايم بامر الله	مودود
س	
Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة خمس وثلثين واربعماية	Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومیذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله	

No. 79.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
رمضان	فتح
عدل	محمد رسول الله
لا اله الا	القايم بامر الله
الله وحده	شهاب الدولة
لا شريك له	مودود
س	

Margins. Illegible.

No. 80.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Similar legends on both Areas, with the monogram رمضان at the top, and سعى ـــــ at the foot of the Obverse, in place of س.

Obverse Margin. الدرهم بغزنة.

No. 81.

Silver. Weight, 41 gr. 433 A.H.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	فتح
لا الـــــه الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	علي الله عليه
القايم بامر الله	شهاب الدولة
خ	مودود
Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بـــــ سنة ثلث وثلثين واربعماية	Marg. Illegible.

No. LXXXII.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. Ghazní. 434 A.H. Common.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	فخر
س	محمد رسول الله
لا الـــــه الا	شهاب الدولة
الله وحـــــده	ابو الفتح
لا شريك له	مودود
القايم بامر الله	
Marg. ـــــهم بغزنة سنة اربع وثلثين واربعماية	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بغزنة سنة اربع وثلثين و ـــــ

There are two thick specimens of this type of Coin, each of which weighs 63 gr.

No. 83.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr. Ghazní. 4?? A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
لله فتح لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــــه الا
شهاب الدولة	الله وحـــــــده
وقطب الملة	لا شـــريـــك لـه
مودود	القايم بامر الله
	س
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هـذا
	الدرهم بـغـزنـة سنة ـــــ
	واربعماية

No. LXXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word محرّم Muharrim over the عدل in Obverse. Mint mark س.

No. 85.

Silver (impure). Weight, 40 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word رجب Rajab over the عدل in Obverse. Mint marks س ع.

No. 86.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word شوال Shawál over the عدل in Obverse. Mint marks س ع.

No. 87.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
* فتح *	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــه الا
شهاب الدولة	الله وحـــــده
وفخر الاملة[1]	لا شـــريـــك لـه
مودود	القايم بامر الله
	س
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. Worn. الدرهم بغزنة

[1] املة Hope (faith).

No. 88.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٥	٧
شهاب الدولة	لا الـــــه الا
وفخر الاملة	الله وحـــــده
ابو الفتح	لا شـــريـــك لـه
مودود	القايم بامر الله
	س

Broad Margins, with bosses and الله alternating.

No. 89.

Brass. Weight, 30 gr.

Legends in Areas as in No. 87, Silver Coin. The Obverse is wanting in the usual عدل, and has the mint mark س on the left of the legend.

Marg. As usual. لله الامر من	Marg. بسم الله ـــــ اربعماية

No. 90.

Brass. Weight, 33 gr.

Areas as in No. LXXXII., Silver Coin.

Marg. Illegible.	Marg. ـــــ ضرب هذا

No. XCI.

Copper and Silver, mixed. Weight, 44 gr. *My Cabinet.*

Rev.	Obv.
عدل شهاب الدولة وقطب الملة ابو الفتح مودود	श्री समन्त देव Figure of Nandí.

Marg. Illegible.

No. 92.

Copper and Silver. Weight, 45·5 gr. *My Cabinet.*

Similar to No. XCI.

Reverse Margin. — ضربهذا الدرهم بلوهور —

The earliest Mohammedan notice of Lahór is to be found in Albírúní; it is to the following effect:—

ثم فيما بين المغرب والشمال الى اَدَتْهُور تسعة والى حجنير ستة والى ميذهوكور قصبة لوهاور على شرق نهر ايراده ثمنية

"Si de là [Canoge] on se porte vers le nord-ouest, on rencontre Adathaur, à la distance de neuf parasanges; ensuite Hadjannyr, à la distance de six parasanges; puis Maydahoukour, capitale du Lauhâour (Lahor), sur la rive orientale du Irâdha (le Ravi), à la distance de huit parasanges."

Fragments Arabes, &c., Reinaud, pp. 88, 114.

قال في اللباب[1] ولوهور مدينة كبيرة من بلاد الهند كثيرة الخير ويقال لها ايضا لهاور

Géographie d'Aboulféda, p. 359.

"It is stated in the Lubab, *Lóhór* is a great city of the cities of India, possessing many advantages. It is called also *Luháwur*."

[1] The Lubáb of Ibn Alatír is not extant. Reinaud et MacGuckin de Slane, Préface. Idem, p. 37.

ABDAL RASHÍD.

No. XCIII.

Gold. Weight, 74 gr. Ghazní. 440 A.H.

Obv.

عدل

س

لا اله الا

الله وحده لا

لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

عز الدولة

وزين الملة

شرف الله

عبد الرشيد

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة اربعين واربعماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومیذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

No. XCIV.

Gold. Ghazní. 441 A.H. M. B. Allard.

Obv.	Rev.
س	لله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	عز الدولة ٥
لا شريك له	وزين الملة
القايم بامر الله	شرف الله
	عبد الرشيد
Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة احدي واربعين واربعماية	Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله	

No. XCV.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr. Ghazní. (4)42 A.H. Rare.

Obv.	Rev.
فتح	شرف الله
لا اله الا	محمد رسول الله
الله وحده	عز الدولة ٥
لا شريك له	وزين الملة
القايم بامر الله	عبد الرشيد
Marg. ـــ الدرهم بغزنة سنة اثـــ	Marg. ـــ بغزنة سنة اثني واربعـــ

A second specimen of this description of Coin has the words "At Ghazní,

year (4)42" بغزنة سنة اثني واربعين و clearly developed on the Obverse Margin; and a third similar piece discloses on both Margins the more important confirmative unit of سنة احدي وار (44)1.

No. 96.

Other Coins, of a nearly analogous character, have the word زين written in a manner differing from the form observable in the Engraving of Coin XCV., the Kufic ن being projected above the line of the word, as is usual in the old style of the letter. They also vary from No. XCV. in the Obverse monograms, which are occasionally seen to be عدل ° عدل ° and ° عدل ° ك س .

On the Obverse of one specimen is likewise to be detected the imperfect marginal date of 441 ـــة احدي اربـــ واربعـــ

The examination of the mutilated marginal legends of the concluding examples of the Coins of Abdal Rashíd has been followed out in more than usual detail, with a view to determine, by satisfactory corroborative evidence, the credibility of the date of 440 A.H., to be seen on medal No. XCIII. This has been undertaken, not so much on account of the existence of any doubt as to the correct decipherment of the inscription on the Coin itself, as to meet any objection arising from the possibility of an omission—on the part of the die-engraver—of the word which should express the unit number in the date. Had the remaining Coins of Abdal Rashíd indicated no dates but such as would maintain the statement of those writers who assign this Monarch's accession to the year 443, and thereby negatively have justified the inference of an error in the preparation of the die of No. XCIII., some difficulty might have been experienced in accepting the *historically* unsupported testimony of an isolated Coin; but, the specimens now cited, though they unquestionably do not directly affirm the doubtful date, uphold it so sufficiently with immediately consecutive annual dates, that the value of the initial numismatic record may fairly be relieved from all suspicion.

FEROKHZÁD.

No. XCVII.

Gold. Bibliotheque du Roi, Paris. Kufic letters.

Rev.

*

محمد رسول الله

جمال الدولة

وكمال الملة

فرخزاد بن

مسعود

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

*

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينار بـ

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. XCVIII.

Gold. Weight, 72 gr. Persian letters—single Margins. Unique.

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

القايم بامر الله ع

جمال الدولة

ابو شجاع

Marg. محمد رسول الله

ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق

ليظهره على الدين كله

ولو كره المشركون

Obv.

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

فرخزاد بن مسعود

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينار

واربعماية

This Coin is noticeable, as offering the only instance in the present series of the use of Persian letters, in lieu of the accustomed Kufic. It is known that Mahmúd's Vizír, Abúl Abbás Fazíl, introduced for the first time, at the Court of Ghazní, the practice of writing public papers in the Persian language; and that

Khwájah Ahmad, the son of Hasan Meimendí, who subsequently became Minister, reverted to the Arabic for all permanent official documents (Ferishtah, Briggs, i., 88). It is possible that the altered style of the legend of the above medal may indicate a similar attempt at the re-introduction of the Persian language, as shown in the adoption of its characters on the coinage of the day. A more probable explanation of the origin of the change in the form of the letters is, however, to be found in the supposition that it may have been designed to convey an allusion to the temporary success of Ferokhzád over the armies of the Seljúks in Khorásán; or, indeed, it is by no means unlikely that the medal itself may actually have been struck in some of the Persian cities during their brief occupation by the troops of the Ghaznaví Monarch.

No. 99.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Rev.

محمد رسول الله

ابو شجاع

فرخزاد بن

مسعود

Marg. الدرهم بغزنة سنة ا

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

Marg. Illegible.

No. 100.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr. (4)4? A.H. Broad Margins.

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

صلي الله عليه

جمال الدولة

فرخزاد

Marg. Illegible.

Obv.

؟ عدل ؟

س

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

عدد

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدرهم ——— اربعين

واربعماية

No. 101.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. 450 A.H. Broad Margins.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	جمال
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــه الا الله
صلي الله عـلـيـه	وحده لا شـريـك له
جـمـال الـدولـة	الـقـايم بـامر الله
فرخزاد	عدد
Marg. ــــــــم بغزنة سنة	Marg. ــــــا الدرهم بغـــــ
خمسين وا ــــــــ	خمسين واربعماية

No. CII.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٥	فتح
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــــه الا
جـمـال الـدولـة	الله وحـــــده ٥
وكمـال المـلـة	لا شـريـــك لـه
فرخزاد	القايم بامر الله

No Margins.

Others have monograms عدل and لله. Weights, up to 47 gr.

No. CIII.

Silver. Weight, 5·5 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله محمد رسول الله فرخزاد	لا اله الا الله القايم بامر الله

Average weight of four other specimens, 5·25 gr.

No. CIV.

Mixed Silver and Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
عدل جمال الدولة ابو شجاع فرخزاد	श्री समन्त देव Figure of Nandí.

No. 105.

Mixed Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
 فرخزاد ‖ ابو شجاع ‖ —— بعلبك	श्री समन्त देव Figure of Nandí.

No. 106.

Copper. Weight, 39 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	٥ ٥
لا الـــــه الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شـريـك له	صلي الله عـلـيـه
الـقـايم بامـر الله	جمـال الـدولـة
بن مسعود	فرخزاد

Margins. Illegible.

No. 107.

Copper. Weight, 30 gr.

Same as No. CII., Silver Coin.

IBRAHĪM.

No. CVIII.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Rare.

Obv.	Rev.
ظهير	ملك
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لا شريك له	القايم بامر الله
الدولة	ابرهيم

Broad Margins. Bosses and ﷲ alternating.

No. CIX.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr. Unique.

Obv.	Rev.
٥ ٥ ٥	٥ ﷲ ٥
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله ظهير
لا شريك له	الدولة
القايم بامر الله	الملك ابرهيم
ع	نصيري

Margins. Illegible.

No. 110.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
ملك	لله
لا الـــــه الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شـريـك له	صلي الله عـلـيـه
الـقـايم بامـر الله	ظـهـيـر الـدولـة
الاسلام	ابرهيم

Margins. Illegible.

Judging from the outline of what still remains of the nearly obliterated Reverse marginal legend, the inscription seems to have been composed of a mere repetition of the words الملك لله ——

No. 111.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
المظفر	عدل
لا الـــــه الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شـريـك له	صلي الله عـلـيـه
الـقـايم بامـر الله	ابـــو المـظـفـــر
عدد	ابرهيم
Marg. ــ ضربهذا الدرهم بـــــــ	Marg. Illegible.

A similar Coin has the monogram عدل in the place of المظفر, the former being replaced by the word لله

Obverse Margin. بسم الله ــــــ واربعماية

No. 112.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
محمد	القايم
رسـول الله	لا الـه الا
نـصـير الـدولـة	الله وحـده د
وظـهـير المـلـة	لا شـريـك لـه
ابرهيم	بامر الله
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. الملك لله

No. 113.

Silver. Weight, 33 gr.

A Coin similar to No. 112, having the Khalif's name in the third line of the Obverse, the two first lines being lengthened accordingly to contain the usual legend. Monograms $\frac{\text{عدل}}{\text{عدد}}$.

Reverse legend as in No. 112. Monogram قران.

No. 114.

Silver. Weight, 33 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
قران	
محمد رسول الله	
نـصـير	Similar to No. 113.
الـدولـة	
ابرهيم	

No. 115.

Silver. Weight, 31 gr.

Rev. (*Circular Area.*)

الله ○ الله

محمد رسول الله

نصير الدولة

وظهير الملة

ابرهيم

Obv.

القايم

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

الملك

Marg. Illegible.

The title الملك at the foot of the Obverse surface is occasionally replaced by the word عدل.

No. 116.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.

محمد

رسول الله

ظهير الدولة

ونصير الملة

ابرهيم

Obv.

القايم

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

بامر الله

راحت

No. CXVII.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Rev.

الله الله الله

محمد رسول الله

السلطان الاعظم

قاهر الملوك

سيد السلاطين

ابرهيم

Obv.

الله ○ ○

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

ملك الاسلام

نصيري

Margins. Illegible.

No. 118.

Other Coins of this type bear the name of the Khalif Al Moktadí be amerillah. Monogram on Obverse قران.

No. CXIX.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
لا الـــــه الا الله	عمادي
محمد رسول الله	السلطان الاعظم
المقتدي بامر الله	قاهر الملوك
ملك الاسلام	سيد السلاطين
ح ٨ ك	ابو المظفر
	ابرهيم

Margins. Illegible.

A second specimen has بسم الله ضرب هذا ———— وارىعماية legible on the Obverse Margin.

No. 120.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
قران	
لا الـــــه الا الله	السلطان
وحده لا شريك له	الاعظم قاهر
المقتدي بامر الله	الملوك
ملك الاسلام	سيد السلاطين
ك ٥ ك	ابرهيم

Margins composed of minute triangular points.

No. 121.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Obverse. As No. 120; but the Khalif's name is at the top and bottom of Obverse, thus $\frac{\text{المقتدي}}{\text{بامر الله}}$.

Reverse. Monogram قران, and a legend similar to No. 120; but the whole is comprised in four lines, instead of five.

No. 122.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
٥ المقتدي ٥	لله * لله
السلطان الاعظم	السلطان الاعظم
قاهر الملوك	قاهر الملوك
سيد السلاطين	سيد السلاطين
بامر الله	ابرهيم

No. 123.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
	لله لله لله
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	السلطان الاعظم
ملك الاسلام	قاهر الملوك
المقتدي بامر	سيد السلاطين
الله	ابرهيم

Another specimen of this class of Coin has the monogram قاهر at the top of the Obverse.

No. 124.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
المقتدي	حافظ
لا الـــــــه الا	السلـــطـان
الله مـحـمـد	الاعـــظـــم
رسـولـ الله	ابرهيم
بامر الله	

Another Coin of this type has on the Reverse Margin

ـك لله الملك لله الملك لله

No. CXXV.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
المستظهر	حافظ
لا الـــــــه الا	السلـــطـان
الله مـحـمـد	الاعـــظـــم
رسـولـ الله	ابرهيم
بالله	

Marg. ـملك لله الملك لله الملك لله

Marg. Illegible.

No. CXXVI.

Silver. Weight, 5·5 gr.

Obv.	Centre.	Rev.
ابرهيم		بن مسعود

No. CXXVII.

Silver. Weight, 4·5 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله القايم
ابرهيم	بامر الله

No. 128.

Silver and Copper, mixed. Weight, 27 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
ابو المظفر	وحده لا شريك له
ابرهيم بن	القايم بامر الله
مسعود	عدد

No. CXXIX.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 46 gr. Lahór.

Rev.	Obv.
عدل	श्री समन्त देव
السلطان	Figure of Nandí.
المعظم	
ابو المظفر	
ابرهيم	
Marg. ضرب هذا الدرهم	
بلوهور	

A second similar specimen has also the words ضرب هذا الدرهم بلوهور clearly legible on its Margin.

No. 130.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
Legend commences with السلطان الاعظم instead of السلطان المعظم	As in No. CXXIX.

Some Coins have the monogram سيف in lieu of عدل; and many have the Margins filled with dots in the place of legends.

No. 131.

Brass. Weight, 28 gr.

Areas as in No. 112, Silver Coin.

No. 132.

Brass. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
As in No. 121.	As in No. CXIX.

MASAŪD III.

No. CXXXIII.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Unique.

Obv.	Rev.
لله * لله لا الـــــه الا الله محمد رسول الله المستظهر بالله يميني	ابو سعد السلطان الاعظم الكادم بامر الله القايم برجب الله مسعود
Marg. ـــــنة سنة خمس و ـــــ	Marg. الملك المويد علا الدولة و ـــــ

No. CXXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. 494 A.H.

Obv.	Rev.
المستظهر لا الـــــه الا الله محمد رسـول الله بالله	ظهير السلطان الاعظم مسعود ع
Marg. ـــــ اربع وتسعين اربعماية	Marg. الملك المويد علا الدولة وسنا[2] الملة ظهير الامام[1]

[1] This marginal legend has been restored from the collation of different specimens.

[2] سنا Light.

No. CXXXV.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
سناي	
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
علا الدولة	محمد رسول الله
وسنا الملة	المستظهر بالله
ظهير الانام	ملك الاسلام
مسعود	ابو سعد

No Margins.

A second Coin has the monogram * سناي * at the top of Reverse.

No. 136.

Silver. Weight, 38 gr. Common.

Rev.	Obv.
ابو سعد	عدل
السلطان العادل	لا اله الا الله
مولي السلاطين	محمد رسول الله
نظام الدين	المستظهر بالله
مسعود	قاهري
Marg.	Marg. Illegible.
بغزنة سنة خمس و ـــ	

No. CXXXVII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 gr. Major Simpson.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان	श्री समन्त देव
علا الدولة	Figure of Nandí.
مسعود	

No. 138.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 gr. Major Simpson.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان العادل ابو سعد مسعود	श्री समन्त देव Figure of Nandí.

No. 139.

Copper. Weight, 47 gr.

Similar legends, &c., to Silver Coin, No. 136.

ARSLAN.

No. 140.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
ملكي محمد رسول الله سلطان الدولة ملك ارسلان بن مسعود	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له المستظهر بالله م
Marg. الملك لله الملك لله الملك لله	Marg. Illegible

No. CXLI.

Copper. Weight, 42 gr. Common.

Rev.	Obv.
ملك ارسلان	سلطان الدولة

BAHRÁM SHÁH.

No. CXLII.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Very common.

Rev.	Obv.
سلطان	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المسترشد بالله
يمين الدولة	عضد الدولة
بهرامشاه	سنجر
ع	

Margins. Illegible.

A second Coin has ـــــ الدرهم بغزنة ســـــ on its Obverse, and ـــــ ضرب هذا الدرهم بغـــــ on its Reverse Margin.

No. 143.

Silver. Weight, 30 gr. Small Coin.

Areas as in No. CXLII. No Margins.

No. CXLIV.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
ناصري	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المقتفي لامر الله[1]
يمين الدولة	عضد الدولة
بهرامشاه	سنجر

Margins. Illegible.

[1] Sic in orig.

No. CXLV.

Silver. Weight, 8 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
Margin.	Margin.
السلطان المعظم يمين الدولة	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
Centre.	Centre.
بهرام شاه	بهرام شاه

No. 146.

Silver. Weight, 10 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٥ بن ٥	شاه
مسعود	بهرامشاه
٥ ↑ ٥	ع

This type of Coin has no *written* Margins, the space being filled in with simple dots.

Silver 20 3g 2cm Lahore
Silver 20 3g 2a 2cm Lahore

No. CXLVII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 48 gr. *My Cabinet.*

Rev.	Obv.
عدل	
السلطان	श्री समन्त देव
الاعظم	Figure of Nandí.
بهرامشاه	

KHUSRÚ SHÁH.

No. CXLVIII.

Gold. Weight, 59 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
معز	. . .
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــه الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	وحده لا شريك له
معز الدولة	المقتفي لامر الله
خسرو شاه	عضد الدولة
	سنجر
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. ارسله بالهدي ———
	——— علي الدين ———

No. 149.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
ناصر	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــه الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المقتفي لامر الله
معز الدولة	عضد الدولة
خسرو شاه	سنجر
Marg. Composed of dots.	Marg. ——— ضرب هذا ———

No. CL.

Silver. Weight, 63 gr. Scarce.

This type varies from No. 149, in the rejection of the name of Sanjar, the two last lines of the Obverse Area being superseded by the words

امير المومنين

Both Margins are composed of dots.

KHUSRÚ MALIK.

No. CLI.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Unique.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	?
لا الـــــه الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	السلطان الاعظم
المقتفي لامر الله	تاج الدولة
امير المومنين	خسرو ملك

Margins filled up with dots.

No. CLII.

Silver. Weight, 66 gr. Common.

Obv.	Rev.
عدل	
لا الـــــه الا الله	محمد رسول الله
المستنجد بامره[1]	السلطان الاعظم
امير المومنو	تاج الدولة
	خسرو ملك

Dotted Margins.

Some have marginal inscriptions; but the purport is unintelligible. Occasionally are to be seen the Obverse monogram, *infra*, ں ع ں, and Reverse, *supra*, تاج.

[1] Sic in orig.

No. CLIII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان الاعظم تاج الدولة خسرو ملك	The Bull Nandí in Toghrá, and traces of श्री समन्त देव

No. 154.

Copper. Weight, 48 gr. *My Cabinet.* (See also Plate XX., fig. 16, Ariana Antiqua.)

Rev.	Obv.
In a circle ب خسرو ملك	السلطان الاعظم سراج الدولة

No. 155.

Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
تاج الدولة خسرو ملك	السلطان الاعظم *

TABLE II.—*Abstract of Dates legible on the Coins.*

A.H.	Mint City.	King's Name.	Reference to Coins.	Remarks.
347	(Anderábeh)	Alptegín	1	Frœhn.
380	Ferwán	Sabaktagín	2	2 specimens.
382	?	idem	3	
383	Ferwán	idem	4	
(3)84	?	idem	5	
385	Níshápúr	Mahmúd	8	
390	idem	idem	9 and 10	
395	Herát	idem	14	See also No. 25, (Ghazní).
399	(Níshápúr)	idem	26	
399	(Ghazní)	idem	27	
400	Níshápúr	idem	11	Frœhn.
401	idem	idem	12 and 13	
401	Herát	idem	15	2 specimens.
401	Ghazní	idem	36	
405	idem	idem	54	
407	Níshápúr	idem	19	
409	idem	idem	20	
411	Herát	idem	16	
411	Balkh	idem	40	
411	Ghazní	idem	43 and 44	
412	Balkh	idem	45	See also No. 42.
413	Herát	idem	17	
414	Níshápúr	idem	41	
414	Herát	idem	18	
414	?	idem	46	
419	?	idem	47	
421	?	idem	50 and 52	
421	Balkh	idem	51	4 specimens.
422	Níshápúr	Masaúd	58	
422	?	idem	60	
425	?	idem	62	
(4)27	?	idem	62*a*	
(42)8	Balkh	idem	63	
431	Níshápúr	idem	59	
433	Ghazní	Módúd	77	
433	?	idem	81	
434	Ghazní	idem	82	
435	idem	idem	78	
440	idem	Abdal Rashíd	93	
441	idem	idem	94	See also No. 96 and Note to No. 95.
(4)42	idem	idem	95	2 specimens.
(4)4?	?	Ferokhzád	100	
450	Ghazní	idem	101	
494	?	Masaúd III.	134	

Mons. F. Soret, in his "Lettre sur quelques Monnaies inédites trouvées à Bokhara" (Genève, 1843), describes a copper Coin similar in historic characteristics to No. 8, bearing the conjoint names of Al Táí'h lillah, Núh bin Mansúr, and Seif al Daulah (Mahmúd), struck at Níshápúr in 386 A.H. M. Soret also cites from Frœhn's works, gold Coins of Mahmúd, Níshápúr, 413, and Ghazní, 406. The means of verification of these last quotations are not immediately available.

TABLE III.—*Mint Cities.*

1	Balkh	بـــلـــخ	Nos. 40, 45, 51, &c.
2	Ferwán	فـــروان	,, 2, 4. See also Coins B and C, pp. 35, 36.
3	Ghazní	غـــزنـــة	,, 36, 43, 49, 53, &c., &c.
4	Herát	هـــــراة	,, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, &c.
5	Lahór	لـوهـــور	,, 92, 129.
6	Níshápúr	نـيـسابور	,, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, &c.
7	Sejistán	سجستـــان	,, 48.
8	Wálín	والـيـــن	,, 29, 64.
9	Anderábeh?		Frœhn, Novæ Symbolæ, p. 15.
10	Bokhárá, 412 A.H.	..	Are quoted by Mœller (De Numis. Orientalibus, p. 134), as given by Frœhn (2ter Ber., p. 36).
11	Kermínía, 389 A.H.		

Since the major portion of the preceding pages have passed through the press, an opportunity has occurred of inspecting a *second* copy of the rare work of Al Bíhekí, containing the life and history of Masaúd of Ghazní, in the possession of W. H. Morley, Esq. Any lengthened notice of this MS. might be deemed out of place at the present moment, but it is necessary to state that a more extended, though still imperfect, examination of this MS. in no way shakes the authenticity of any previous quotation; and, though much might have been added, there is nothing to alter in any of the deductions heretofore drawn from its pages, with the single exception of a remark which suggests itself from a discovery that Masaúd bore among his other titles that of حافظ لعباد الله, and that possibly this may be the designation intended to be recorded in the inscription which occupies the last line of the Reverse Areas of Coins Nos. 59, 60. This was in truth, the most obvious and satisfactory reading, and that which presented itself at the first sight of the Coins; but it was rejected, and is still questioned, on account of the shape of the final letter of the second word differing so materially from the other *dals* د to be found on other parts of the self-same Coins.

SUPPLEMENT.

In bringing to a conclusion the foregoing description of the Coins of the Ghaznaví Kings of the race of Sabaktagín, it may be appropriate to take this opportunity of referring cursorily to any of the more rare or remarkable medals connected with the locality, whence this dynasty derived its name, which have found a place in the collection of Mr. Masson.

With this single object in view, and avoiding any effort at serial classification, the following detached notices of a few of the numismatic records of some of the early successors of the more strictly so-called Ghaznaví Monarchs are here subjoined. In the express desire also of limiting the present observations, the reproduction of any previously fully-deciphered Coin has been carefully avoided, and the necessary introductory remarks have been confined to little more than mere references to readily accessible historical authorities.

GHÍÁTH AL DÍN MOHAMMED BIN SÁM.

Ghíáth al dín Mohammed bin Sám was the Suzerain of, and eventually the associate Sovereign with, his brother, Muaz al dín (otherwise Shahab al dín) Mohammed bin Sám, better known as Mohammed Ghórí, the conqueror of Hindústán, and founder of the powerful dynasty of the Pat'án Monarchs of Delhí[1].

The Coins of these brother Kings are not uncommon, and may be referred to in the Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, May, 1838; Ariana Antiqua, pp. 435, 437, and 438, Nos. 29, 35, Pl. XX., and Nos. 24, 25, 26, 35, 36, Pl. XIX.; and also Numismatic Chronicle, October, 1846.

No. *1.*

Silver and Copper. Weight, 46 gr.

Obv. Rude figure of a Cavalier, facing to the left, with his lance at the charge.

Rev. سيف الملك الاعظم ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

The above Coin is remarkable as illustrating the authenticity of an assertion in

[1] Ferishtah (Dow), i., 127; Briggs, i., 169; Price, ii., 313; Price, quoting the Khalásat al Akhbár, ii., 455. Dorn's Hist. Afghans, Annotations. Elphinstone, i., 603.

Abúl Fedá, to the effect that, after Alá al dín Hussén *Jehánsóz'* death, Ghiáth al dín Mohammed bin Sám reigned over Ghór and Ghazní as *Malik*, that is to say, without at first adopting the higher style of *Sultán*.

وخطب لنفسه في الغور وغزنة بالملك

Abúl Fedá, Ann. Mosl.

BAHÁ AL DÍN SÁM BIN MOHAMMED.

The Dynasty of the Ghóríans of Bámián.

Dominions.—Tokháristán, Balkh, Boklán, and Badakhshan, &c.

1. Fakhr al dín Masaúd, son of Eiz al dín Hussén, *Amír Hájib* of Sultán Ibrahím.

2. Shems al dín Mohammed bin Masaúd.

3. Bahá al dín Sám bin Mohammed. Fourteen years' reign. Died in 602 A.H.

4. Jellál al dín Alí. Seven years' reign. Conquered and put to death by the Khwárizmís[1].

No. 2.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا	السلطان الا
الله محمد	عظم بها الد
رسول الله	نيا والدين
الناصر لدين	سام بن محمد
الله	

Margins. Illegible.

No. 3.

Silver. Weight, 12 gr.

Obv. The usual symbol in three lines, as in No. 2, but without the addition of the Khalíf's name.

Rev. السلطان الاعظم بها الدنيا والدين سام بن محمد

[1] Rauzat al Safá, quoted by Dorn, ii., 91; see also *original* MS., No. 43, Roy. As. Soc.; and MS. Khalásat al Akhbár, Idem.

No. 4.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 gr.

OBV. Rude figure of a Horseman, facing to the right, holding a lance at the charge.

REV. As No. 2.

TÁJ AL DÍN ÍLDUZ.

Táj al dín Ilduz, one of the slaves of Mohammed Ghórí, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his appointment to the government of Kirmán. He was subsequently elevated to the charge of Ghazní itself, in which position he revolted on Mohammed Ghórí's defeat by the Allies of the King of Khwárizm; but finding his master at the gates of the capital, with sufficient force to insure success, he submitted, and was pardoned, being allowed to retain his former charge. On Muaz al dín's death, Ilduz became independent Monarch of Ghazní, and held possession until its capture by Mohammed Khwárizmí, after which he returned to Kirmán, and eventually in endeavouring to conquer Hindústán, he was taken prisoner by Shems al dín Altemsh[1].

No. 5.

Gold. Weight, 46 gr. Unique.

OBV. Area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله
امير المومنين

Marg. * * * شهور سنة ثمان وسـ * * *

REV. Area. السلطان (ا)لاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو
المظفر محمد بن سام

Marg. * * * ـظم تاج الدنيا والدين

[1] Ferishtah [Dow, i., 138; Briggs, i., 200]; D'Herbelot, Article "Ildiz;" Elphinstone, i., 616.

No. 6.

Gold. Weight, 61 gr. Unique.

OBV. Area. السلطان الشهيد محمد بن سام

Marg. * * هذا بيلده غز * * شهور سنة * *

REV. الملك المعظم سلطان الشرق تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

No. 7.

Silver. Weight, 94 gr. Unique.

OBV. *Square* Area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Marg. هذا الد || ـــــ || ـــهور سنة || عشر ـــ

REV. *Small square* Area. السلطان المعـــز

Marg. السلطاني عبّد ومولّا تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

No. 8.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 39 gr.

OBV. Rude figure of a Cavalier, facing to the left, with his spear at the charge.

REV. Area. الملك المعظم تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

Marg. Filled in with dots.

No. 9.

Silver and Copper.

OBV. The *Kirmán* style of the figure of the Bull (Nandí?)

REV. معز الدنيا والدين عبّد يلدز

A Coin of Táj al dín Ilduz is depicted in fig. 18, Pl. XX., Ariana Antiqua.

ALÁ AL DÍN MOHAMMED KHWÁRIZMÍ.
(*Sekander al Thání.*)

Alá al dín Mohammed, son of Tukush, the sixth of the Khwárizm Sháhís, ascended the throne of his father in 596 A.H. After the defeat of the Kára Khitans, in 605[1], he was entitled Sekander al Thání[2]. Subsequently he subdued Bámián; and in 612[3] he reduced Ghazní. He died in 617.

The gold coins of this Prince have been sufficiently noticed by Professor Wilson, in his Ariana Antiqua, p. 437 (see also Frœhn's Recensio, pp. 146 and 595). One class of Alá al dín's *broad* silver coins partakes of the general characteristics of his gold coinage: the two specimens of this description in Mr. Masson's collection weigh severally 97 and 102 grains. In addition also to the common *narrow* silver coins, in make and weight similar to those of his son (No. *17*), there are examples of thin *broad* silver pieces, likewise weighing about 47 grains, which are curiously ornamented with a scolloped Margin, in the interstices of which are inscribed the usual marginal legends. These coins have the monogram فروان at the top of each Area; the place of mintage is not legible.

No. *10*.

Copper. Weight, 67 gr.

Obv. Horseman in outline (*Toghrá*)[4] *face to the left*

السلطان ——— دنیا و ———

Rev. Bull in outline. ابو الفتح محمد بن السلطان

This Coin and No. *15* are noticeable as evincing how completely it was the custom with Eastern conquerors, in Central Asia at least, to adopt the types of the money of the countries subdued. It has been shown (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., xvii., 190) that the Khwárizmís, in imitation of their immediate predecessors, the Ghórís, made use of the device of the Horseman, first introduced by the Brahman Kings of Kábul; but the present examples prove that they also appropriated, subject to but slight modification, the Reverse die—the Bull of the Hindú prototype.

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[1] De Guignes: see also D'Herbelot, Article "Mohammed Koth beddin."

[2] Or according to the Khalásat al Akhbár, in 607 A.H.; Price, ii., 399.

[3] Anno duodecimo, mense Shaabano, potitus est Soltan Mohammed urbe Ghazna; cum antea maximam Chorasani partem et regnum Bamianæ possedisset. Abúl Faraj [Pocock], p. 287.

[4] See a somewhat similar figure on a coin of this Monarch, Plate, p. 177, fig. 23, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII.; and Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, fig. 2, Pl. XIV., Vol. VI.

No. *11.*

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

OBV. *Square Area.* السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين

REV. Horseman, *face to the left* محمد بن السلطان ‖ تكس

No. *12.*

Silver and Copper. Weight, 53 gr. Bámián.

OBV. As No. *11.*

REV. Horseman, *face to the right.*

محمد بن السلطان

and in a line with the spear, below the horse,

بامیان.

No. *13.*

Silver and Copper. Weight, 42 gr.

OBV. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

REV. Marg. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين محمد

Centre. بن سلطان

No. *14.*

Copper. Weight, 51 gr.

OBV. As No. *13.*

REV. Marg. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين

Centre. محمد

No. *15.*

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

Obv. السلطان الاعظم سكندر الثاني

Rev. Bull Nandí, and the imperfectly formed letters मस.

For an engraving of this Coin see Ariana Antiqua, Plate XX., fig. 4; figs. 8 and 15, of the same Plate, also represent Coins of Alá al dín bin Mohammed.

No. *16.*

Silver and Copper. Weight, 40 gr.

Obv. السلطان علا الدنيا و الدين سكندر الثاني

Rev. Horseman in *Toghrá, face to the right*, and श्री हमीर:

JELLĀL AL DĪN MANKBURĪN.

On the death of Alá al dín, his son, Jellál al dín Mankburín, retired to Ghazní, and not long afterwards (618) retreated before Chengiz Khán towards Hindústán, by whom he was overtaken and totally defeated on the banks of the Indus. After this, he held temporary dominion in India for two years, and in 620[1] proceeded to Irak, and having experienced various remarkable turns of fortune, he was finally routed by the Tatars in 628 A.H., from which time he is entirely lost sight of[2].

No. *17.*

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Unique. (*Small Coin, with dotted Margins.*)

Obv. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Rev. جلال الدنيا و الدين منكبرين بن السلطان

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[1] Ferishtah [Briggs], iv. 415.

[2] Price, from Khalásat al Akhbár, ii. 410; D'Herbelot, Article "Gellaleddin."

No. *18*.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. Rare. (*Persian letters.*)

Obv. السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا و الدين

Rev. Horseman in *Toghrá*.

No. *19*.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 45 gr. Rare.

Similar to No. *18*; but with *square* Kufic letters.

CHENGIZ KHÁN.

Declared Emperor of the Moghuls 602 A.H. = 1206[1]. Died, Ramzán, 624 A.H.

The extensive conquests achieved by the Moghuls under Chengiz Khán, and the sanguinary character of their inroads into the countries of the different nations of Asia, are too prominent in the general history of the world to require any extended recapitulation in this place; it may, however, be necessary to mark the various points of this Monarch's connexion with the land to which it is probable the Coins below quoted more immediately refer. The detail of this portion of Chengiz Khán's career is almost wholly confined to his contests with Jellál al dín, the last of the Khwárizmís. The progressive advance of the conqueror may be traced in the sieges of Balkh, Tálikán, and Bámíán, each rendered memorable in the record of the atrocities which were enacted on their capture. While engaged in reducing the last named city, the forces of the Moghuls received a check in the defeat of two several detachments by their intrepid opponent, who at this time held his Court at Ghazní. Dissensions, however, arising in the camp of Jellál al dín, followed by the defection of one of his most powerful supporters, induced Chengiz Khán to take advantage of the opportunity, and advance in person upon Ghazní, whence, as has already been stated, Jellál al dín retreated, and was brought to action on the Indus, where he nobly defended himself to the last extremity; and, in his equally bold passage of the river itself, when all was lost, he elicited the involuntary admiration of his barbarian adversary.

[1] Price (Habíb al Sair), ii. 486, 518, 520, &c.; D'Herbelot, Article "Genghiz Khan."

Beyond this spot Chengiz Khán's Indian conquests can scarcely be said to have extended, as he seems to have satisfied himself with the dispatch of one of his Generals to ravage the country, which was effected in the full measure of Moghul ferocity as far as Multán and Lahór[1].

No. *20.*

Silver. **Weight, 47 gr. Very scarce.** (*Small thick Coin, with dotted Margins.*)

Obv. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Rev. العادل الاعظم چنكز خان

No. *21.*

Silver. **Weight, 48 gr.**

A Coin similar to the above, but having the name and title written in the more modern form of Kufic characters as two distinct words چنكز خان

No. *22.*

Silver and Copper. **Weight, 63 gr.** (Coin of a similar character and form of letters to No. *20.*)

Obv. As above, No. *20.*

Rev. عدل خاقان الاعظم

A Coin of Chengiz Khán (Bokhárá) is described by Frœhn. Die Münzen, p. 57.

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[1] Price, ii. 520; De Guignes, ii. 278, *et seq.*; Abúl Faraj, p. 293, &c.

INCERTI.

No. *23*.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. (Three specimens in the Masson collection.)

OBV. A rudely-formed figure of a Bull, facing to the left, apparently in a rising posture, with the tail erect: above the back of the animal, expressed in *Persian* letters, is the word فروان Ferwán.

REV. Area (in ill-formed *Kufic* characters).

عدل السلطان الاعظم مسعود

Marg. Illegible.

No. *24*.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

OBV. Horseman in *Toghrá*, facing to the left, and श्री हमीरः imperfectly formed, the म being completely reversed.

REV. *Persian characters.*

سف الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر الحـــ بن محمد

سیف ?[1]

More recent acquisitions.

From Thomas Supplementary contributions. Journal Roy Asiatic Society Vol XVII Part I

No 1. Mansur bin Nuh. Ghazna. AH 359 = AD 969.
Dom's coin.

Mansur Unnad

لا
عبد
رسول
الله
منصور
بن نوح

obverse under the symbol
بلكاتكين Balkategin
margin بعزنة ضرب تسع وخمسين و
ثلثماية

This name is known to us by a coin published in Frehn's Recensio P 569 No 229 d. with the mint name Balkh. & date AH 324. And in this unique coin we trace him as having joined the cause of Alptegin, and issuing money in his own name, for the first time Ghazni appears as a mint city, and as chief of the Samani party therein we find him independant.

No 2. Mahmud. Gold. Weight 68 1/2 gr. Nishapur. AH 399. Br Museum

Rev
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
يمين الدولة و امين
الملة ابو القاسم

Obv.
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله ولي
عهده الغالب بالله
يميني

Obv. Margin Int بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور في سنة تسع
وتسعين و ثلثمايه
Ext. Surah XXX. 4, 5
Rev Margin. Surah IX. 33 & IX, 9.

No 3. Mahmud. Gold. Weight gr Nishapur AH 403. Gen. Miles.

Rev
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
ولي عهده
الغالب بالله
يمين الدولة

Obv
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
ابو القاسم

Obv Margin بنيسابور سنة ثلث و اربعمايه . . . .
Rev Mar Surah IX, 33 & IX, 9.

No 4. Mahmud 52 gr. Gold. Herat. AH 413. New type. Col Stacy.

Rev.
لا
محمد رسول الله
يمين الدولة
وامين الملة
نظام الدين
ابو القسم

Obv. Symbol with the
القادر بالله

Obv Mar بسم الله ضرب هذا ال... بهراة سنة ثلث
عشرة و اربعمايه
Ext Surah XXX 4, 5
Rev Mar Surah IX, 33, and IX, 9.

No 5. Mahmud. Gold. weight 62 gr. Ghazni. AH 415. Unique. Stacy.
No 6. Mahmud. Gold. weight 60.5 gr. Ghazni AH 418. Br Museum.
محمود substituted for ابو القاسم on the Reverse.
No 7 Mahmud. Gold. Weight 70 gr. Nishapur. AH 405. Br Museum.

No8. Mahmud. Gold. Nisapour AH 421. Frahn. Edit Dom P251.

Rev. محمد رسول الله
علیه السلام
محمود.

Obv. عدل
with symbol
and
یمینی

No9 Mahmud Silver Weight 44gr Ghazni AH 395. Stacy.

No10. Mahmud. Silver. Bilingual. Br Museum. Bush & Thomas. Weights 45:4. 36.5. and 46 gr. Br. Mn. Duplicate 46 gr.

No11. Mahmud. Silver. gr 46. Bush. Mint and Margin illegible

Rev. لا
محمد رسول الله
صلی الله علیه وسلم
القادر بالله
یمین الدولة
ولی محمود

Obv. عدل
with symbol
and
یمینی

Margin apparently unengraved

No12. Mahmud. Copper. Ghazni AH 405. with ی, غ (city) as a prefix to mint city, in the same manner as بلد was occasionly used by the Ghori kings.

No13. Mahmud. Silver. Weight 36gr. Juzjan AH 414. Unique Bushé cabinet.

Rev. لا
محمد رسول الله
صلی الله علیه وسلم
القادر
بالله یمین الدولة
واامین
الملة ظهیر الدین
ابو القاسم

Obv.

Symbol
محمد بن محمود
margin ... هم بجوزجان سنة اربع

Rev Mar Surah XXX 4,5. This coin introduces us to a new Mint Juzjan the capital of a portion of Khorasan.

No14 Mahmud. Silver. Weight 50gr. Wawalin. Unique. Bush.

Rev. لا
محمد
رسول الله
علیه السلام
محمود

Obv. عدل
Symbol with
القادر بالله
محمد بن
margin ... بهذا الدرهم بواوالین سنة

Rev. Margin Surah XXX, 4, 5. This coin confirms the reading of Mr. Thomas of No29 & 64 Old Series with the mint of Wahin on them.

No15. Mahmud. Silver. Weight 60gr. Unique. British Museum.

Rev محمد
رسول الله جلال
الدولة وجمال
الملة ابو احمد
محمد بن محمود

Obv.
Symbol with
القادر بالله
Margin illegible.

Margin Surah XXX 4, 5

No16. Silver. 53gr. Bush. Variety of LXVII Old Series. The word لا replaces the لا اله at the top of the reverse field, and the full name of Mahmud is contracted into its initial

J.Basire sc.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNÍ.

Recent acquisitions.

No 17. Masaud. Copper? Mr. Bayley. Obv. Nandi with Sri Samanta Deva epigraph. Rev Horseman, to right in whose front in cufic letters are the names of Mahommed and Masaud - the latter is distinct but the wood cut leaves the former name open to doubt.

No 18. Modud Silver gr. Ghagni 4 34.

Rev فتح
محمد رسول الله
القايم بامر الله
سهاب الدولة
مودود

Obv. عدل
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Obv. Margin ... ضرب غزنة سنه اربع و ثلثين
Rev Margin Sured xxx 4. 5. Another coin of this type of Col. Stacy has the word رائج, "current" on the right of the obverse field.

No 19. Abdul - Bashid. Silver Copper weight 37 Unique. Mr. Thomas

Rev ——
عز الدولة
وزين الملة
عبد الرشيد

Obv.
Sri Samanta Deva
figure of Nandi

No 20. Silver weight 48 gr. Stacy. Ibrahim.

محمد رسول الله
ظهير الدولة
الملك
ابو المظفر
ابراهيم

الله
Bilingual
Symbol
القايم بامر الله
نصيري

Margins illegible.

No 26. Ibrahim. Weight 29 gr. Bush. Variety of CXXV old Series

obverse رمضان محمد رسول الله نصير الدولة ابراهيم

Rev. Type of No 116 Old Series.

No 22. Silver Weight 35 gr. Bush. Variety of No CXX old series.

Obv. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المقتدى بامر الله
Rev as on No 120 Old series ملك الاسلام ع ض

No 23. Silver Weight 9 Gr EIH.

Obverse The Kalimah in three lines

Rev السلطان الاعظم ابراهيم.

No 24. Silver Weight 5 gr. EIH.

Obv. as on 23. Rev ملك ظهير الدولة ابراهيم. Margin illegible

No 25 Masaud III. Silver and copper mixed. Weight gr. EIH.

فتح
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
المستظهر بالله

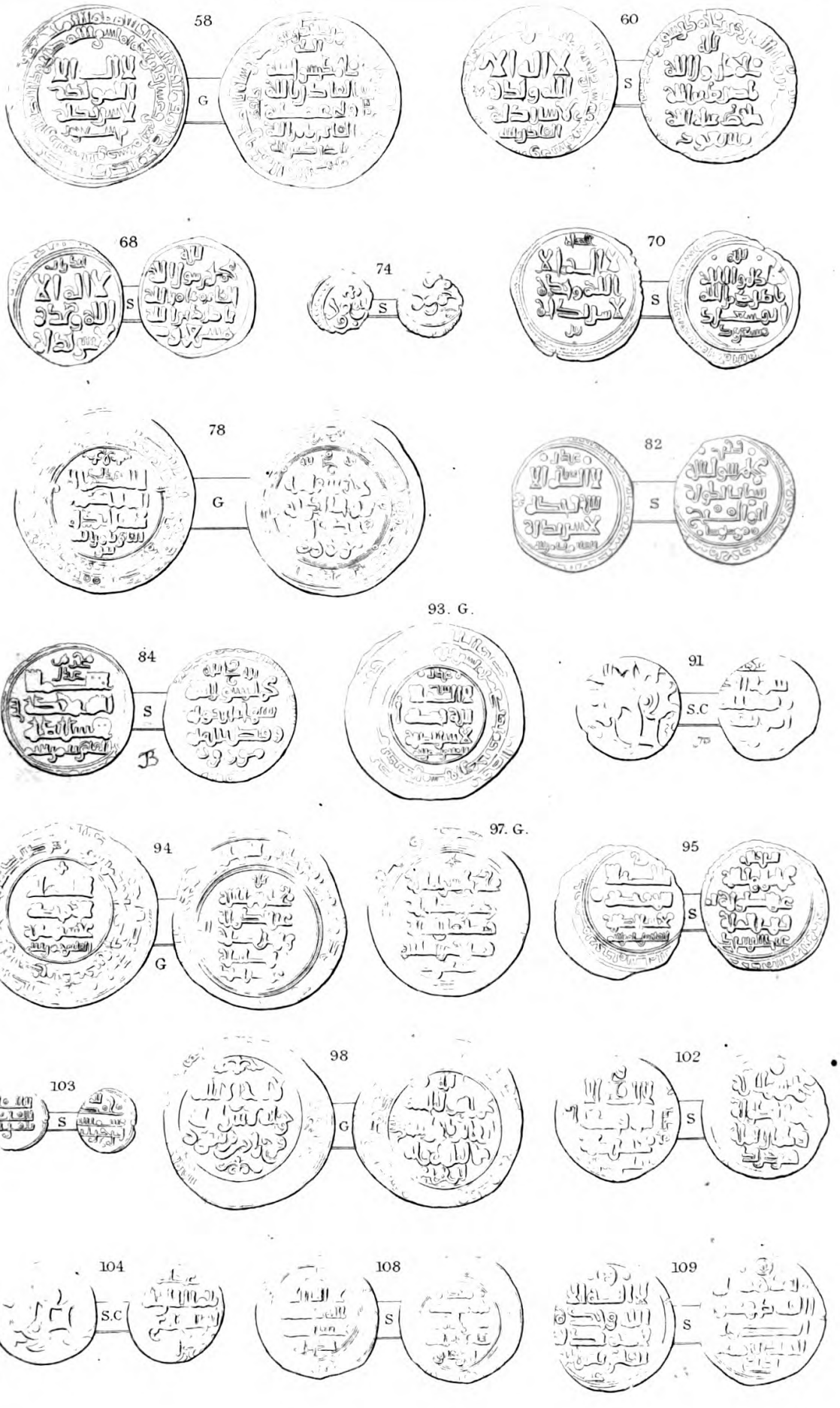
السلطان
الاعظم
عز الدولة
مسعود

Obv Margin filled in with triangular dots

Rev margin no.

Recent acquisitions.

No 26. Masaud III. Silver. Weight 5 gr. EIH.
Obv. Kalimah in three lines. Rev. السلطان الاعظم مسعود.
No 27. Copper Weight 40 gr. Masaud III. Unique Bush.
Obv. Central Area The seal of Solomon within a circle Margin illegible Rev. as on obverse slightly varied. Margin السلطان الاعظم ابو سعد مسعود
No 27 Masaud III Copper. Weight 48 gr. Bush.
Rev Square area
علا الدولة
ابو سعد
مسعود
Obv Square Area
السلطان
الاعظم
ملك الاسلام
Obv Margin الامام المستظهر بالله...
Rev Margin ... الله الا ...
No 28. Silver and copper Weight 32 gr. Bush
Rev السلطان
الاعظم
ملك الاسلام
Obv. श्री समन्त देव
Figure of Nandi.
No 29 Silver Weight 7 gr. EIH. Bahram Shah.
Obverse السلطان الاعظم ...
Rev. السلطان الاعظم بهرامشاه. Oramental Margins.
No 30. Weight Gr. EIH. Bahram Shah.
Obv. جلال
لا اله الا
محمد رسو-
للقتفر امرا
امير المومنين
السلطان الاعظم
يمين الدولة
ابو الف
بهرا
Margin filled in with dots.
No 31. Copper. Weight. Unattributed and Unique Bush.
عدل
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
لله
ناصر
محمد
رسول الله
× القا... الله
بن الحسين
Margins broad and composed of bottes. In good order.
× Mr Thomas without hesitation reads القاهر but I cannot follow him.



J.Basire del. et sc

COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNÍ.

J.Basire, del. et sc.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNÍ.

Note on Col. Stacey's Ghazni Coins, by E. THOMAS, *Esq. C. S.*

In the year 1848 the Royal Asiatic Society of London, did me the honour of publishing in their Journal my Essay on "The Coins of the Kings of Ghazni," which had for its object the exhibition of a classified Catalogue of this particular section of Mr. Masson's most successful Numismatic gleanings in Afghánistán. Col. Stacey's collection* of Ghaznaví money, about to be described, will be found to furnish several supplementary dates and many unique and interesting additions to the general series, and as I have endeavoured to make this notice

* In lately passing through Cawnpore I had an opportunity of cursorily examining the late Col. Stacey's extensive collection of Coins, and by the kind permission of the present owner, Captain Wroughton, I was enabled to secure this series for publication.

Apart from the historical interest and typical novelty of many of the specimens thus entrusted to me, I am anxious to make known the contents of this division of Col. Stacey's Cabinet as a fair sample of the entire collection, as I am desirous of seeing these Numismatic Treasures promoted into some locality more accessible to Oriental Antiquaries, than they at present occupy in a private Cabinet in an out of the way station in the N. W. Provinces.

An opportunity of effecting this occurs at the present moment, as the whole collection is now for sale, and it is offered on the very equitable terms that the price shall be determined by any third party, being a competent judge of these antiquities, who may be elected by the intending purchaser and approved of by the seller!

A general idea of the extent and character of the collection may be formed from the following classified outline of its contents.

	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.
Greek and Bactrian,.....	..	137	251
Indo-Scythian,.....	11	10	445
Arsakian,.....	..	27	54
Sassanian,.....	..	50	84
Old Hindu, ...	..	375	487
Gupta and Saurashtran, ...	18	29	4
Rahtors of Kanouj, ...	15	2	2
Kabul and Kashmir, ...	2	55	875
Khalifat, Ghazni, &c.,.....	57	677	1399
Grand Total,.....	103	1362	3601

so far complete in itself, by inserting full transcripts of the legends and engravings of specimens of the leading classes, I trust it will prove an acceptable contribution to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose pages, I may remark, as yet bear no record of the coinage of the first Moslem Dynasty of Zábulistán.

I prefix a Table shewing the order of succession of the Ghaznaví Sultáns, together with a summary of the dates of accession of those contemporaneous Potentates whose names find a place on their medals.

A Table of the Ghaznaví Dynasty, &c.

Khalífs of Baghdád.	Dates of accession.			Kings of Ghazni.	Accessions.	Sámání Emperors.
	A.H	A.H.	A.D.		AH.	
Al Mutí'h lillah,.....	334					
		350	961	Alptegín,..	350	Mansúr bin Nóh I.
Al Tái'h lillah, ...	363					
		366	976	Ishak, ...	366	Nóh bin Mansúr.
		367	977	Subuktigín,		
Al Káder billah,.....	381					
		387	997	Ismaíl,....	387	Mansúr bin Nóh II.
		388	998	Máhmúd,..		
				..	389	Abdal Malik bin Nóh.
		421	1030	Muhammad.		
		421	1030	Masaúd.		
Al Káím be amerillah,..	422					
		432	1040-1	Muhammad.		
		432	1041	Módúd.		
		440	1048	Masaúd II.		
		440	1048	Abúl Hasan Alí.		
		440	1048	Abdal Rashíd.		
		444	1052	Toghral.		
		444	1052	Ferokhzád.		
		451	1059	Ibrahím.		
Al Moktadí beamerillah,	467					
Al Mostazher billah, ..	487					
		492	1099	Masaúd III.		
		508	1114	Shírzád.		
		509	1115	Arslán.		
Al Mostarshid billah,..	512	512	1118	Bahrám Sháh.		Sanjar, the Seljúk Governor of Khorásán.
Al Rashid billah, ...	529					
Al Moktafí leamerillah,	530					
		547	1152	Khusrú Sháh.		
Al Mostanjid billah, ..	555	555	1160	Khusrú Malik.		

The second or reference number in the subjoined list of Coins indicates the heading, in the original Masson Catalogue,* under which each piece should be classed.

* I would take this, my earliest, opportunity of referring to a Review of my Essay by M. DeFremery, which appeared in the Revue Numismatique of Paris in

SUBUKTIGIN.

No. 1. [ii.] Silver, highest wt. 46 gr. Perwan, *Six Coins.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	لا اله الا
محمد رسول	الله وحده
الله نوح بن	لاشريك له
منصو ر	الطايع لله
سبكتكين	ر •
زره	
Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Margin. —— هذا الدرهم بفروان سنة ؟

Average weight 43.6 gr.

NOTE.—I have not any books of reference at hand to enable me to determine whether the two Coins, whose legends are transcribed below, have been published in any of the numerous continental works on Sámání money; but their association in date and in proximity of place of issue with certain of the earlier Coins of the present series, as well as the illustration they afford of the distribution of the territorial tenures of the day, will, under any circumstances, render their insertion in this place appropriate.

Extrâ No. A. Gold, Wts. 57 and 61 gr. Herát A. H. 360 and 361.

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	الولي
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله و حده
المطيع لله	لاشريك له
منصور بن	محمد
نوح	بسم الله ضربهذا الدينار
Mar. محمد رسول الله &c. المومنون	Mar. Int. بهراة سنة ستين و ثلثماية [alt. سنة احدو]
	Mar. Ext. لله الامر من قبل &c. المومنون بنصر الله

1849. I need not here enter into the several questions raised by my Critic, but I may candidly plead guilty to one of the two, I am proud to say the only two objections taken against me. For the rest the notice is most encouraging for my further efforts! and is altogether written in so kindly a spirit as to demand my warmest acknowledgments.

ISMAÍL.

No. 2. [vii.] Silver, wt. 43 gr. *Rare.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	لا اله الا
محمد رسول	الله وحده
الله منصور	لا شريك له
بن نوح	الطايع لله
اسمعيل	

Margins illegible.

MAHMÚD.

No. 3. [to follow xvii.] Gold, wt. 52 gr. Herát A. H. 413. *New Type.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
يمين الدولة	الله وحده
و امين الملة	لا شريك له
نظام الدين	القادر بالله
ابوالقسم	Mar. Int. بسم الله ضربهذ االد بهراة
	سنة ثلث عشرة واربعماية
Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Mar. Ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 4. [to follow xviii.] Gold, wt. 62 gr. Ghazní A. H. 415. *Unique.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	لا اله الا
محمد	الله وحده
رسول الله	لا شريک له
يمين الدولة	القادر بالله
وامين الملة	Mar. int. بسم الله ضربهذا الدينار
ابو القسم	بغزنه سنة خمس عشرة واربعماية
Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Mar. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Mr. Bardoe Elliot possesses a similar Coin of the Ghazni Mintage, dated اربع عشرة واربع i. e., 414, A. H.

No. 5. [xxii.] Silver, wt. 53 gr. *Rare.*

لا اله الا	لله
الله وحده	محمد رسول
لاشريك له	الله منصور
الطايع لله	بن نوح
ب ص	سيف الدولة
	محمود

Margins illegible.

No. 6. [xxv.] Silver, highest wt. 64 gr. *average* 46.5 *gr. Eight Specimens.*

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
عدل	* لله *
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله يمين الدو
لاشريك له	لة وامين الملة
القادر بالله	محمود
يميني	
Mar. &c. بسم الله ضربهذا الدرهم	Margins illegible.

No. 7. [xxvii.] Silver, wt. 44 gr. Ghazní A. H. 395, four Specimens.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
يميني	٥ ∩ ٥
لا اله الا	محمدرسول الله
الله وحده	القا در با لله
لاشريك له	يمين الد ولة
ص د	محمو د
Margin. بسم الله ضربهذا الدرهم بغزنه سنة خمس وتسعين وثلثماية	Margin. S. xxx. 4, 5.

No. 8. [No. xxx. &c.] There are 18 Coins in Col. Stacey's collection offering various subordinate modifications of the general type of the class just described. The leading trilinear legend of either area remains constant, but the monograms vary in their style and position —at times the word عدل is introduced at the top of the obverse field, and the يميني figures at the foot of the main inscription, لله also is seen to head the legend on the reverse—and the characters, in which

the name of Mahmúd is expressed, differ considerably in the several specimens, graduating from the formal letters of the old Kufic to the interlaced flourish of more modern writing. In some examples again, the titles ابوالقسم and in others امين الملة are engraved in fine lines within the areas, but the position they occupy is indeterminate.

Where decipherable, the obverse marginal legends usually purport that the piece was coined at Ghazní in A. H. 395 *et seq ;* but in many of these Coins the marginal spaces are filled in with mere unmeaning repetitions of short perpendicular lines and small circles, which last in imperfectly formed Kufic legends answer for either ه م or و

No. 9. [to follow xliii.] Silver, wt. 37 gr. *Unique.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
صلى الله عليه وسلم	الله وحده
القادر بالله	لاشريك له
يمين الدولة	٥ يميني ٥
وامين الملة	
محمود	

Margins illegible.

NOTE.—[No. liv.] While last year at Jhelum, I met with a variant of the elaborately designed copper money of Mahmúd described and figured under No. liv. of my list in the Jour. Royal As. Soc. The Jhelum specimen possesses the peculiarity of having the word كورة inserted before the name of the city of Ghazní [thus بكورة غزنة] This is the only instance within my knowledge of the use of this prefix in this series.

I am indebted to Sir H. M. Elliot for the reference to the subjoined notice of the impositions practised by certain Hindus, which led to an extensive deterioration in the local standard of Mahmúd's Silver coinage.

The Persian text appears defective, I however give it, as it stands, merely inserting variants from a second copy, without at present entering into any further remarks.

منتخب از کتاب جامع الحکایات
ولوامع الروایات

حکایت اورده اند که چون یمین الدولت بپادشاهي نشست واثار سیاست او در ممالك برسید حکمای هند رائها برانداختند [زدند] وحیلتی پیش آوردند واول درمي [در] پیش آوردند تمام عیار وقیمتي فراخور بروی نهادند چون یکچندی برفتند چون [و] رعیت درستدن صادق دیدند بتدریج عیار باز کم کردند تا [و با] بازرگانان سود نقره می کردند وخلق کم عیاري بدیدند [ندیدند] از اقصای جهان درم نقره بهند می بردند چون این فسار از حد بگذشت وعلاء الدوله بپادشاهي نشست روی بتدارك ان خلل آورد وبا بزرگانان رای زد که این را چگونه تدارك باید کرد اشارة کردند که ان نقود را بدل ازخزانه باید آورد وبازرگانانرا عوض بدادن [باید داد] علاءالدوله بفرمود تا از خزانه صد بارهزار هزار درم نقره اطلاق کردند وبدار الضرب بردندو بمصالح بندگان خدای تعالی صرف کرد واثر نیکنامی او در اقطار جهان روشن گشت *

Dr. A. Fleming in his Diary of a Trip to Pind Dadun Khan, and the Salt Range, published in a previous number of the Journal Asiatic Society (Vol. 18th p. 661) gives a very complete description of the method of coining in use in the Mint at Pind Dadun Khan in 1848. The process indeed is the essential counterpart of that described by Abúl Faz'l as obtaining in Akber's time.

If we may also assume that similar mechanical means were resorted to in the earlier days to which the above tale refers, we may satisfy ourselves of how easy it would have been to have had a mint in every house and how difficult it would be to prevent the issue by private individuals of money of an inferior standard.

MASAÚD.

No. B. [To precede No. lviii.] Gold—*Mr. Bardoe Elliot.*

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
القایم	لله
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لاشریك له الله	نا صر دین الله
القا در با لله	حافظ عباد الله
ولي عهده	ظهیر خلیفه الله
Margin, illegible.	مسعود
Margin Ext. (as usual).	Margin (as usual.)

NOTE.—The above Coin displays with unusual completeness the various honorary titles by which Masaúd was designated.

As connected with the subject I transcribe from the copy preserved by Bíhaki a detail of Masaúd's recognised titular designations as accepted by the Khalíf's Ambassador, in 423 A. H.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله ابن عبد الله ابي جعفر الامام القايم بامر الله اميرالمومنين الى الناصرلدين الله الحافظ لعباد الله المنتقم من اعداء الله ظهير خليفة الله ابي سعد مولى امير المومنين بن نظام الدين

Again in another place (under A. H. 424), our author entitles the Sultán

ناصرالدين الله و حافظ بلاد الله المنتقم اعداء الله ابو سعيد مسعود

Albírúnis' enumeration, as found in the unique copy of his Kánún-i-Masaúdí which has lately come into the possession of Sir H. M. Elliot, varies but slightly, being to the following effect :

الملك الاجل السيد المعظم خليفه الله وناصر دين الله و حا فظ عبا د الله المنتقم اعداء الله ابي سعيد مسعود

No. 10. [to follow 58.] Gold, wt. 57 gr. Ghazní, A. H. 423. *Unique.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	لا اله الا
محمد رسول الله	الله وحده
صلى الله عليه	لاشريك له
الناصرلدين الله	القايم بامرالله
مسعود	Mar. int. بسم الله ضربهذا الدينار
Margin. Surah ix. 33 and lxi. 9.	بغزنة سنة ثلث وعشرين واربعمايه
	Mar. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 11. [to follow 58.] Gold, wt. 54 gr. Ghazní, A. H. 423. *Unique.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	
محمد	
رسول الله	Area as in the last Coin.
عليه السلم	
مسعود	
Margin. S. ix. &c.	Margins, as in the last Coin.

No. 12. [lviii.] Gold, wt. 69 gr. Ghazní, A. H. 428. *Unique.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
القايم بامر الله	وحده لاشريك له
ناصر دين الله	مسعود بن محمد
ابو سعيد	Margin. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
Margin. Surah ix. 33 and lxi. 9.	ضربهذا الدينار بغزنه سنة ثمان
	وعشرين وار بعماية

Mr. B. Elliot has a Coin of this type dated Ghazní 427, A. H.

I would draw attention to the modification that is seen to occur in the characters in which the legends of this Coin are expressed, as contrasted with those in previous use.

The change from the stiff outlines of the Kufic in Nos. 10 and 11, to the Persian writing in No. 12 is most marked, and illustrates effectively the lost supremacy of the Arabic tongue and the complete recognition of the more intelligible Persian as the Court language. Bíhaki indeed shews that so early as A. H. 423 Masaúd's ministers had some difficulty in corresponding with the Court of Baghdád, and apparently still more in selecting fit speakers for the vivâ voce intercourse of Embassies, &c.

No. 13. [lxi.] Silver, broken Coin. Balkh A. H. [4] 22.

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
لله	لا اله الا
محمد	الله وحده
رسول الله	لاشريک له
علية السلم	القادر بالله
مسعود	——— الدرهم ببلخ
Margin. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	سنة اثني و عشرين ———

A second specimen bearing similar legends varies in having the Khalîf's name engraved in full sized letters. The Coin retains the imperfect date of عشرين واربعما يه 420?

No. 14. [lxii.] Silver, broken Coin.

عدل	لله
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول الله
لاشريك له	القايم بامرالله
Margin. بسم الله ——— ين	مسعود
واربعماية	Margin. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Before closing this notice of the Coins of Masaúd, I am anxious to make known an important variety of his Silver money, which has lately come into the possession of Mr. E. Bayley. The piece in its general outline and leading types corresponds closely with the common Bull and Horseman Coins of Samanta Deva (Jour. As. Soc. Vol. IV. pl. 36, figs. 3, 4, &c.) but it offers the peculiarity of displaying the name of مسعود engraved in well defined Kufic characters, on the field in front of the Horseman's face, or in the space usually held by the word عدل

A second similar specimen retains traces of the name of محمد occupying the same position.

I consider these pieces to be the produce of the metropolitan mint of the Hindu kingdom of Kabul, the site of which is not as yet satisfactorily determined—and it is in consonance with the usual policy of Mohammedan conquerors to suppose that the local mint was allowed to maintain its old style of issue, modified only by the impress of the name of the ruling Sultán.

This explanation may possibly account for the previously felt difficulty of there being no extant Ghaznávi Kufic Coins inscribed as struck at Kabul.

In my previous paper on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazní (p. 77) I quoted a passage from Abúl Fedá regarding Masaúd's territorial possessions—as some of the names are imperfectly determined I annex the following passage from Bíhaki in further elucidation of the subject.

وامیر المومنین منشوري تازه فرستد خراسان وخوارزم ونیم روز و زابلستان وجمله هند وسند وجغانیا وختلان وقبادیان وترمذ وقصدا

ومكران و دانشتان و كيكا هان وَرَيْ وجبال وسپاهان جملة تا عقبة حلوان و كُركان و طبرستان دران باشد وباخاقان تُركستان مكاتيب نكنند

Modúd.

No. 15. [lxxix.] Silver, wt. 46 gr.

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
محمد رسول الله	عدل
القايم بامر الله	لا اله الا
شهاب الدوله	الله وحده
مودود	لا شريک له
	س
Mar. illegible.	Mar. بسم الله

No. 16. [lxxxiii.] Silver, wt. 55 gr.

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
* فتح *	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
شهاب الدوله	الله وحده
وقطب الملة	لا شريك له
مودود	القايم بامرالله

Margins illegible.

Ibrahím.

No. 17. [to follow cix.] Silver, weight 48 gr. *Unique.*

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
٠ ٥ ٠	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
ظهير الدولة	وحده لاشريك له
الملك	القايم بامر الله
ابرهيم	نصيري
ع	

Margins illegible.

No. 18. [cxxiii.] Silver, weight 42 gr. Two specimens.

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
• قاهر •	لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله	وحده لاشريک له
السلطان الاعظم	القايم با مر الله
قاهر الملوک	ملك الاسلام
سيد السلاطين	نصيري
ابرهيم	

Margins illegible.

No. 19. [cxlii.] Silver, weight 44 gr. [Ghazní].

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
سلطان	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المسترشد بالله
يمين الدولة	عضد الدولة
بهرامشاه	سنجر
ع	

Margins illegible.

(Under No. cxl.) Since the publication of the Catalogue of Mr. Masson's Ghazní Coins, I have met with a specimen of Arslán's money of the Lahore Mint Type.* The Obverse bears the usual Bull of Siva with the legend श्रीसमन्त देव

The Reverse displays the words السلطان الاعظم ملك ارسلان

No. 20. [cxlix.] Silver, weight 46 gr. Two specimens.

Reverse.	*Obverse.*
ناصر	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا لله
السلطان الاعظم	Sic. ————
معز الدولة	المقتفي لا مر الله
خشرو شاه	عضد الدوله
	سنجر

Margins contain no legends, but are filled in with dots.

* Jour. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. IV. Pl. xxxvi. Fig. 23 and xxxvii. Fig. 46.

Among other specimens of minor value Col. Stacey's cabinet contains:

1st. Two (mixed Silver and Copper) Coins of Khusrú Malik No. cliii.—having the imperfect imitation of the Bull Nandi in Toghra on the Obverse, with the King's name prefaced by the title of تاج الد ولة on the Reverse.

2nd. Fourteen Coins of the common Type, No. cliv. (Pl. xx. Fig. 16, Ariana Antiqua).

3rd. One specimen of No. clv.

Col. Stacey's collection is likewise rich in Khwárizim Coins, which have been forwarded to me with the Ghaznaví series. However as I do not propose to take up this class of money at present, I confine my notice to a single Coin, which is remarkable as bearing the name of a new Mint, *Zemíndáwur*. The piece is of mixed Silver and Copper, in weight 48 grains. The Obverse and Reverse read through, but singular to say the marginal legends being completed thus Obverse. السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا و الدين Reverse. ابو الفتح محمد—

The inscription, in the Reverse Circular Area, commences the word زمين and the obverse centre gives the completion of the name داور زمين داور—

On the Oriental character of certain Northern Antiquities.—By GEORGE BUIST, *Esq. LL. D.*

I some time since received from Mr. Chalmers, of Auldbar, three copies of his splendid work on the Cross Stones of Forfarshire, one for my own use, the other two to be disposed of as I thought best. I have given one of them to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and cannot better bestow the other than on the oldest and most distinguished learned body amongst us, the Bengal Asiatic Society. The subject treated of by Mr. Chalmers, is, as will presently appear, decidedly Oriental, and the remarks I am about to make may probably have some influence in stimulating to enquiry on the subject: perhaps this may for the first time make some of your readers aware of the existence of a much closer relationship betwixt Oriental and Hyperborean Antiquities than they might be altogether prepared for.

Lest it might be imagined from the minuteness with which the most elaborate details are given, and the extreme beauty of the lithographs altogether, that they have been in any way embellished, I forward for the inspection of the Society a drawing book of my own, in which rough, half-finished sketches, having no pretension to artistship whatever, will be found of a large portion of the stones represented in the work of Mr. Chalmers; and it will be seen that the two coincide as closely as it is possible for first-rate lithographs to do with indifferent China ink or pencil sketches. My drawings were mostly made betwixt 1820 and 1835, more than twenty years before Mr. Chalmers' were dreamt of; and at the time referred to, there were a number of the Sculptures entire,—the most important being the Eassie Sphinx, to be referred to by and bye—which seem since to have become obliterated; and I have given a number from Fife, Perth, and Aberdeenshire, that will assist in illustrating what is about to be stated. In an article in a recent number of "Blackwood's Magazine" on these matters, the difficulty of obtaining correct drawings, and the diversity of appearances presented by the Sculpture according to the light in which it is viewed, is so enlarged upon, that the impression left on the reader is that much must be ascribed to the imagination. That it is not so, will be seen from a comparison of the lithographs with my drawings rude as they are. Every man accustomed to decipher moss-grown, or time or weather worn sculptures, whether in India or in England, has encountered the difficulties enumerated by Blackwood, which may always be surmounted by care and patience, so as to leave no doubt on the mind as to perfect fidelity of result.

For shortness sake I shall in the following observations make use of the name of "Runic Stones," generally applied to this class of monuments, stating at the same time that I feel satisfied that it is a misnomer, and that they have no connection whatever with the Danes, or any other modern European nation.

Runic Stones are unknown in the Continent of Europe, and are not to be found in any part of England or of Wales, or in the Southern Counties of Scotland—the Ruthell Stone belongs to a very recent period in comparison, and I am not aware of any of them being found to the South of the Forth and Clyde. There are five or six in different parts of Fifeshire, the St. Andrew's Stone Coffin being one of the most

ON THE COINS

OF THE

DYNASTY OF THE HINDÚ KINGS OF KÁBUL.

BY

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq.,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

ASHMOLEAN
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LIBRARY

J. Basire del. et

COINS OF THE KINGS OF KÁBÚL, &c.

Lee Soc. Numismatic Pl. 22xx No 324.

On the Coins of the Dynasty of the Hindú Kings of Kábul.

By Edward Thomas, Esq., *Bengal Civil Service.*

In a work by M. Reinaud, entitled, Fragmens Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde, lately published at Paris, is to be found the following translation of a passage from the Arabic Manuscript of Abúl Rihan Mohammed Albírúní, which enables Indian numismatists to fix both a kingdom and a date for a class of coins, regarding the history of which much uncertainty has up to this time prevailed: Albírúní's original Arabic version, designated Taríkh-i-Hind, was composed in India between the years 1030 and 1033 A.D. His evidence, therefore, in the present instance is of the highest value, as having been committed to writing in the country to which it refers, at a period immediately contemporaneous with the existence of one of the short list of kings whose history it concerns.

"Le dernier roi de cette dynastie[1] fut Laktouzeman. Ce prince avait pour vizir un Brahmane nommé Kaller. Ce vizir etait favorisé par la fortune, et il trouva dans la terre des trésors qui lui donnèrent de la force et accrurent sa puissance. D'un autre côté, la fortune tourna le dos à son maître. En effet, il y avait bien long temps que cette famille était maîtresse du pouvoir. Laktouzeman prit une direction mauvaise; il se livra à une conduite honteuse; et, comme les plaintes arrivaient de tout côté au vizir, celui-ci fit charger le prince de chaînes et l'enferma pour le corriger. Ensuite le vizir se laissa aller à la tentation d'être le maître unique: il avait des richesses suffisantes pour lever tous les obstacles. Il s'empara donc du trône et eut pour successeur le Brahme Sâmanda. Celui-ci fut remplacé par Kamalavâ, puis vinrent successivement Bheema, Djayapâla, Anandapala, et Nardadjanpâla. Celui-ci monta dit-on, sur le trône l'an 412 de l'Hegire (1021 de J. C.). Son fils, Bheemapâla, lui succeda au bout de cinq ans. La souveraineté Indienne s'eteignit dans la personne de ce dernier, et il ne resta plus d'individu de cette famille pour souffler le feu[2]."

Prior to the discovery of this passage, the kingdoms and epochs

[1] The Túrk Kings of Kábul. The previous relation closes with the reign of Kank.

[2] "La nouvelle dynastie me paraît avoir remplacé le Bouddhisme par le Brahmanisme, et j'attribue à ces princes la série de médailles que M. Wilson a crue d'origine Rajepout."—Reinaud.

assigned to the dynasty who had issued the series of coins, heretofore denominated Rájpút, were manifold indeed. However, admitting all the doubt reasonably attendant upon the early discovery of a limited number of medals, and marking the various and unlooked-for ramifications into which this class of coins eventually extended, we may, in the case in point, fairly claim a degree of credit of no ordinary character for the science of Numismatics, which in spite of all obstacles enabled the admirable Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, James Prinsep, to announce with confidence so long ago as 1837, on information derived almost solely from the medals themselves and their places of discovery, that the species of coins which form the subject of the present notice, extended "upwards to the Brahmanical rulers of the Punjáb, and probably of Kábul:" an opinion now seen to be justified to the very letter.

Professor Wilson also, in adjudging the coin of Prithví Raja to its right owner, the last Hindú king of Delhi (A.D. 1192), was able to conjecture, with some certainty, that the early princes of the dynasty, who had introduced medals of the like device, had reigned in the Punjáb at the end of the tenth, and early part of the eleventh century. In addition, then, to a confirmation of the speculations of Professor Wilson and James Prinsep, we derive, from this passage in Albírúní, the distinct information, that a Brahmanical dynasty succeeded a race of Túrk kings in Kábul. A full list of these Brahman sovereigns, brought down to a time when other Mohammedan authors begin to notice Indian history, enables us, in a most satisfactory manner, to make a correct attribution of a very extensive, if not important, class of medals.

The dates of the reigns of the last two princes of this line are fixed by Albírúní; and these alone would be sufficient to enable us to form an approximate estimate of the epoch of Samanta, and that of his predecessor, the founder of this dynasty. We have, however, in addition, a singular piece of collateral evidence, illustrative of the period sought, in the discovery of one of Samanta's coins, so lately as 1842, at a place called Obrzycko, in the province of Posen, in company with those of thirty different kings of Europe and Asia, all of whom reigned prior to 975 A.D.[1] Considering the distance this solitary coin of Kábul had to travel, (probably only in the simple course of commerce) prior to its inhumation, in seeking for a satisfactory era for this monarch, we may justly admit a margin of forty or fifty years, pre-

[1] For the notice of this discovery, as bearing upon the era of the Brahman kings of Kábul, we are indebted to M. A. de Longperier, whose valuable communication on this subject is printed at the end of M. Reinaud's work.

vious to this date, and assume his accession at any period proximate to 935 A.D. Over and above these evidences, we find a more specific date for our purpose, and one less removed from the period in question, in the known fact of Jeipál's existence as king of Lahore, prior to the death of Aleptegín, which took place in 796 A.D., as Jeipál is noticed by Mohammedan historians as opposing Sabaktagín in his early expeditions into India, while this last was still only the general of Aleptegín: allowing, then, forty years upwards from 976 (a date by no means proved to be that of the commencement of Jeipál's reign,) for the united reigns of Samanta, Kumlowa, and Bhím, we shall scarcely err in fixing the accession of the first of the three as early as 935 A.D. This mode of computation, however, under any circumstances, is but imperfect, and the utmost the materials at our command enable us to assert with any degree of certainty is that Syala's usurpation took place early in the tenth century.

Before entering upon the question of the identification of any of the doubtful names in our list, it is necessary to premise, that great latitude is to be allowed in any attempt to reconcile Hindú names, written originally in the Sanskrit character, with a transcription of the same into Arabic. All who are acquainted even with the letters of these two languages will be prepared to admit the difficulty here adverted to The Arabic Manuscript from which the present French translation has been made is acknowledged to be of modern execution: hence, as might be expected, we labour under full disadvantage of the errors of succeeding manuscript copyists. These, were they not amply notorious, are sufficiently proved to have existed in perhaps more than their usual force in the present instance, where M. Reinaud is found giving four possible readings of the name of Nardadjanpál from his own manuscript, besides adverting to three other readings by Otbí and Ferishtah.

Keeping the above in view, then, we propose, instead of endeavouring to identify Hindú names through the mazes of uncertainty of the Arabic manuscript, boldly to correct the Arabic from the unquestionable records of the coins themselves; and instead of applying coins to kings, apply the kings to their own coins.

Before proceeding with the nomenclature of the Brahmanical kings, it may be proper to notice in this place, the coincidence between the Arabic name of the celebrated Túrk king, Kank, كنک, and the Srí Vanka dev श्री वकं देव of the Elephant and Lion type of coin which preceded the Bull and Horseman money introduced by the Brahmans. The similitude of names and the needful correspondence of all avail-

able evidence, are surely sufficient to authorize our indicating Vanka dev, as the hero the history of whose rule immediately precedes the extract above given.

The first king in this Kábul dynasty, named in the Arabic, "Kalar Brahman," is, we have little doubt, the Syalapati of our coins. There is less difference in sound between Syala and Kalar, than would at first be imagined, so that if our translator Albírúní wrote his Arabic version from oral tradition, this slight change in the initial pronunciation of the name would be fairly probable. If this supposition be rejected, there is still in reserve the very likely substitution by succeeding copyists of the Arabic Manuscript, of a ك for an س. It will be seen that in this argument, all account of the latter part of the name found on the coins is rejected. The Pati was probably, as it is at the present day, used as a second name; or we may fairly look upon Syala as a popular abbreviation of the somewhat long title of Syala pati dev.

For the third king's identification, it must be confessed, that we have to demand to the full, all the consideration above claimed, to justify our appropriation of the medal bearing the legend *Khvadavayaka*, or *Khedavayaka*, to our Arabic author's king, كملوا, *Kamlowá:* Khedava and Kumlowa are not, even to liberal ears, quite accordant in sound; still their sounds, with the causes of disturbance stated above, might well be farther removed one from the other. Supposing the original native name to have been correctly rendered into the Arabic in the first instance, the mutation from *Kadává,* كداوا, to *Kamlowá,* كملوا, might easily have occurred. A blot in the middle of the word, or a careless running of one letter into another, would readily convert داو, *dav,* into ملو, *mlu.* The style of coin, as well as the metal it is composed of, agree exactly with those of three out of the four first rulers of our very limited dynasty; so much so, and so much evidence does it bear of belonging to one of the earlier kings of this race, the later princes of our list having adopted a mixed silver and copper currency, that we might almost assume from the negative fact that it does not bear the name of any of the other three princes, that it was once the property of the third Kábul Brahman.

Referring to the name of Nardadjanpál, seeing the uncertainty as to its correct orthography avowed by M. Reinaud, we naturally hesitate in any attempt at numismatic identification, more especially as we are disposed to doubt whether the denomination here quoted is a name at all, and whether it is not rather a mere indication of the rela-

tionship of the successor of Anungpál to his grandfather, the great Jeipál. In the lithographed Persian copy of Ferishtah, the words نبیرهٔ جیپال "grandson of Jeipál" have been adopted. The Rózut-al-safá as well as its abridgment the Habib-al-sair, both works of early date and high authority, give no name, mentioning only the accession of Pál, the son of Anungpál.

The readings of the coins of the three other sovereigns in Albírúní's list of whose money we have specimens, do not appear to require any special notice, as the Hindí and Arabic names agree most satisfactorily.

With a view of assuring ourselves of the probable wealth and extent of kingdom of each ruler of this race, it may be as well that we should advert generally to the comparative abundance, as well as to the localities in which this class of coins is discovered. The medals of Syala are found in considerable numbers in Afghánistán. They are, however, comparatively less abundant in the Punjáb, and North of India; whereas, the monies of Samanta, common as they are in and around Kábul, are, we imagine, even more plentiful in the Punjáb, and the north-western provinces of Hindústán. We can at all events, from our own experience, assert that they are met with in surprising quantities in the North of India, and in actual amount and number now preserved, far surpass those of any other Indian king antecedent to the Mohammedan conquest. We are, as yet, aware of the existence of only four specimens of the money of Khedava. The coins of Bhím are found in Kábulistan, but are seldom, if ever, met with in India. The coins of Anungpál are common, and are plentiful in the Punjáb, and the northern parts of the Ganges Dúáb. Of Jeipál, Nardadjanpál, and Bhímpál no medals are known.

Numerous as Syala's coins are, their *bonâ fide* production, both from his mint and from his own resources, does not appear beyond the reach of probability, explained as it is, in a measure, by Albírúní's mention of his great riches.

To account for the enormous amount of the money of Samanta, there may be assigned two different causes; either, an actual legitimate issue from his mint of the number of coins of which the medals now extant are the representatives, (rendered possible by the magnitude of his possessions); or, the recoinage of the money of his predecessor, arising from a desire of aggrandizing either himself as an individual, or the religion of which he was a prominent follower, by replacing with his own name and a symbol of his creed, those of his predecessors of an opposing faith. Samanta's celebrity, from whatever

source derived, is evidenced by the uniform retention of his name on the coins of his successors, from the time of Anungpál down to the Mohammedan conquest of Delhi in 1192; by the adoption of the device of Nandí, superscribed by his appellation, by the later Ghaznevides; and by the assumption of the Horseman reverse of a coinage at that time completely identified as his, by the Ghoríans, on their first extension of their dominions. It would appear also, from the number of Samanta's proper coins still extant, and the variety of countries they are to be found in, that he must have held under his sway some very rich and extensive kingdom. That under him the original Kábul territory of Syala was carried to the extreme limits of the Punjáb and Sirhind, is rendered likely by the number of his medals still found in those parts, and by the fact, that coins bearing the Brahmanical device conjoined with Samanta's name, and evidently imitations from the Kábul originals, are found in use by his early successors, and regularly continued as the currency of those countries for nearly two centuries. Keeping in view, in this inquiry, that Samanta was not the actual founder of his dynasty,—at all events as far as the original kingdom of Kábul is concerned—if he had not made himself remarkable, either by conquest, or by the advancement of Hindú ascendancy, it is difficult to explain why the name of Syala, the first of the line, was not the one chosen for a mint motto, or even that of Bhím, the last Brahman predecessor (as we shall presently show) of those who introduced the use of bi-nominal coins. This custom, be it observed, was in all likelihood derived from the practice of the Mussulmáns inscribing the titles of the mundane head of their religion on the reverses of their medals, but in the present instance the name of Samanta supplied the place of the Moslím Imám; if the idea now advanced be correct, it in itself supplies us with another indication, over and above those we have yet to advance, of Samanta's priestly supremacy.

It may be as well here to notice, that the silver and copper coins bearing the single word "Samanta" over the bull, without any name on the reverse, cannot, under any circumstances, be taken to be the coins of a class of monarchs using one particular form of medal, as distinguished from one individual bearing the appellation; as Samanta's immediate successors inscribe their own names above the figure of Nandí, on the obverse of their own coins.

It is somewhat worthy of remark in this place, and with reference to this particular view of Samanta's greatness, that Ward, in his list of Kings of Hindústán, extracted from the Puránas, notes Sumoodru Palu, as the founder of a Yogí dynasty of paramount monarchs,

numbering sixteen kings; among these sixteen, we find the names of no less than three princes, whose coins we now have to show, bearing the identical Bull and Horseman device of the Kábul Brahmans. Two of these, Bhím and Anunda, correspond in name with two of the successors of Samanta recorded by Albírúní. Moreover, this same list of Ward's, brought down through many Rajas, ends in Prithví Raja, the last Hindú monarch of Delhí, and one who, we have already seen, retained Samanta's name and style of coin. If we accept the evidence of the Puránas in this coincidence, it will be seen that following Ward himself, we must entirely reject their chronology.

That Samanta should, from a motive of individual vanity, have recoined, in his own name, all the money of his predecessors within his reach, is highly probable; indeed, we have an instance of a like act in a country not too far removed to have furnished him an example; as the author of the Raja Taranginí informs us, that Toramana, king of Kashmír, from 415 to 430 A.D. melted down the ancient coin of the country, and struck dinars in his own name.

Samanta's renown as a king, whether he were a conqueror or not, was probably connected with the progress of Brahmanism, in opposition to Búddhism, the former of which is shown by Colonel Sykes to have made such important advances just about this period[1]: at the same time there is evidence sufficient, aided by that afforded by Albírúní, to justify us in supposing that the Túrk kings of Kábul were Búddhists. From religious zeal to advance Brahmanism, it was possibly Samanta's object to remove, as early after the usurpation of the monarchy by his family as he safely could, all traces of Búddhist ascendancy. In the East, where these things are much considered, in no way would a man's ideas turn more readily in an attempt of this nature, than to the destruction of the coins of former kings, and the increase of his own.

Were there nothing intrinsically indicative of a religious motive in the assumption by these Brahman kings of the Nandí type of coin, the entire change in the device of the coinage of a kingdom, concurrent with the accession of a ruling power professing a different creed, would in itself attract attention to the subject, especially when, in addition, we have reason to think that the coins of the Túrk kings, in their die of the elephant, refer to the Búddhist faith. The fact of the entire absence of any single specimen of the silver coinage of the Túrk kings of Kábul is most remarkable; especially as the copper pieces, bearing their elephant and lion device, are plentiful, we cannot with any

[1] Vide Journal Royal Asiatic Society, No. XII., Art. XIV.

reason imagine these kings or their country so poor, as to have been absolutely wanting in a silver currency. The careful suppression of these silent records by a successful adversary, then, is perhaps one of the few ways of accounting for their non-existence. The copper coins being more perishable, may have been allowed to escape; nay more, of so little importance does the copper currency seem to have been considered, that we have instances of Samanta's name appearing on coins of the old die, even after Syala had introduced copper money of the same form and size as his silver currency. The issue of these elephant coins may, indeed, have occurred early in Samanta's reign, before his bigotry gained head, otherwise it militates somewhat against this explanation of the cause of his apparent wealth.

The association of the names of Hindu Deities in several distinct instances, on the coins of Madanpál, Prithví Raja and others, as prefixes to the name of Samanta, testifies in an obvious manner the sacerdotal eminence of this last.

It will be remarked, on a reference to Albírúní, that a notable change takes place in the termination of the names of the sovereigns after the fourth on the list. Syala, Samanta, and Bhím, call themselves déva; Jeipál and the rest are all pála dévas. At the same time, our plate shows a considerable variation in the style of coinage; in the medals of Syala, Samanta, Khedava, and Bhím déva, we have the name over the bull on the obverse, the reverse being occupied by the horseman, accompanied by what, as far as we know, are mere mint marks, and the Arabic word عدل (just), whereas, in the money of Anung pál déva we find the designation placed on the reverse, occupying the place of the mint marks just noticed, the bull on the obverse being superscribed (as has been before mentioned) by the title of Samanta; and this practice is continued by succeeding monarchs of the race. The inscription of the name of a preceding prince on the coins of his successors cannot but point, not only to the celebrity of the former, but to the acknowledged relative inferiority of the latter; hence we naturally inquire, if Khedava and Bhím considered themselves equal to their immediate predecessor, why Anung pál, and most probably Jeipál, admitted their own subordination? We have it, on the authority of Ferishtah, that Jeipál was the son of Hispál; and we learn that he was king of Delhi, and that he extended his dominion to Lahore[1]. This must be taken to mean, that Jeipál conquered the province of Lahore, and as we find him noted as one of the successors of the Kábul dynasty, we might well suppose that he con-

[1] Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Useful Tables.

quered Kábul also; but Abúl Fazl tells us that Aleptegín possessed himself of Kábul as well as Ghazní, and we know from Ferishtah and Mirkhond, that Jeipál's dominions extended westward only to Peshâwur and Lughmán; clearly proving that he did not own Kábul. If such be the truth, the only way of accounting for Jeipál's being recorded as a king of the Kábul race, is, to conclude, as Samanta's coins give us reason to do, that the early princes of the line possessed the Punjáb, and that Jeipál, in taking this from them, succeeded to all they then had left, and, with their lands, took the honours of one of their line. It is possible also, if the Brahmans did not possess the Punjáb, that, on their loss of the kingdom of Kábul, leaving, as it did, the owner of the land of the five rivers, the nearest neighbour of the advancing Mohammedans, Jeipál may have put himself forward as the "Fidei Defensor," and, as such, called himself successor to these priestly kings. In identifying the Jeipál of Delhi with Albírúní's king of Kábul, we may very fairly conjecture that, being of the Delhi Tuar line, Jeipál was a Tuar Rájpút and no Brahman. If objection be taken to the sufficiency of the data upon which the identification of the Delhí with the Lahore monarch is founded, there is still much to favour the supposition that Jeipál was a Rájpút; his name as well as the caste of his peculiar subjects admit the probability of his being a Bháttí, or shepherd. This change of caste in a line of Hindú monarchs, would at once explain any acknowledgment of inferiority. There are, however, objections to the too ready admission of this solution of the difficulty, as Ferishtah unquestionably mentions Jeipál as "of the Brahman race:" this, in a Mohammedan author, may merely mean one of a line heretofore of that caste, or as a king identified with Brahmanism by promoting and defending that creed. The same remark, indeed, might be applied to the statement of Albírúní himself, on the subject of the caste of the early Kábul kings, except that the allusion to the Brahman origin of Syala and Samanta is distinct and reiterated; whereas the other sovereigns are only indicated by name as succeeding each in his turn, without any precise reference to the class from whence they sprang.

It is not a little singular, amid the profusion of the medals of other kings of the dynasty, that no single specimen of the produce of Jeipál's mint has as yet been brought to light. It would be unreasonable to infer from this that Jeipál did not coin money; the Eastern feeling on the subject, his long reign, and his rich kingdom, all oppose this deduction. We must conclude, then, that the extensive currency of Samanta sufficed for the general wants of the time, and that Jeipál's frequent employment in war, left him little time to attend

to the arts of peace, and induced him to content himself with a very limited issue of coin.

Touching the extent of the kingdoms possessed by each prince of the line, but little information is accorded to us by Albírúní; he simply alludes to the revolution which placed the first of the race at the head of the kingdom of Kábul, and then satisfies himself with a scanty notice of the rest of the dynasty.

We have already ventured to infer from the record borne by medals, that one of the first kings of this dynasty added the Punjáb to his somewhat limited Kábul state. The dominion of Jeipál is shown by Mohammedan authors to have "extended from Sirhínd to Lamghán, and from Kashmír to Multán." The Hindú annals of the countries themselves bear witness that he was also king of Delhí. Anungpál, in succeeding to these possessions, was not able to retain the full vigour of his sovereignty against the repeated attacks of the Mohammedans. In his reign Jessalmír is noted as tributary, and held under him by a local king. This and many other states, regarding which no distinct information has come down to us, there is reason to believe, must have been attached to the kingdom during Jeipál's time. Indeed, whatever the peculiar dominions of each king may have been, all testimony on the subject demonstrates that Jeipál, Anungpál, and his successor, were recognised as paramount monarchs of Northern India. The readiness with which the troops of the local rajas were collected at their demand, their usually being found at the head of the army when assembled, and the protection they extended to states not in their own immediate possession, all show this supremacy. It would seem never to have been the custom of Indian conquerors to occupy the kingdoms they subdued, they satisfied themselves apparently with exacting submission, demanding as a proof of such, either a nominal tribute or an obligation of service. Nardadjanpál (known among the Mussulmáns as Jeipál II.), finally lost Lahore, which from this period became an appanage of the Ghaznevides. In the absence of any other evidence, we must conjecture that Bhímpál succeeded to the territories his father was able to save from Mohammedan conquest.

While on the subject of the coins of the kings of Kábul, it may be proper that we should briefly advert to several medals displaying more or less relation to the original type, but inscribed, at the same time, with Cufic letters. No. 19 of our plate is a coin evidently imitated from Syala's money, bearing on the one side the bull, but little altered, with the exception of the removal of the sign of the trident of Siva from the animal's haunch to a more prominent position

on the field of the coin; the space usually occupied by the name of Syala, is here supplied by that of the Khalif, المقتدر بالله Al Muktadir billah; on the space above the bull is also to be seen a monogram, apparently one of the Sanskrit double letters, ननं, found on some types of the money of Syala, reversed; this mark, in itself, identifies the coin most intimately with those we suppose it to be derived from: the reverse exhibits the horseman, somewhat altered from the original, in the absence of the spear, and the nearer approximation of the head-dress to the form used by the Imáms; the whole is superscribed جعفر لله "Lillah Jafer," Jafer being supposed to be the real name of the Khalif himself, or that of his Vizir, to either of whom, it correctly belongs. This coin is conjectured by M. A. de Longperier to have been issued by some quondam Hindú prince newly converted to Mohammedanism, who must have been in a measure connected with the state of Kábul. There are several casts of similar coins in the British Museum, and one original in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. That there was much intercourse and some unexplained connexion between the Hindús and Mohammedans in the days of Syala, there is further evidence in his coins themselves: for the curious monogram)+ in front of the horse on his medals and those of his successors, is discovered from a clear cut die of a coin of Khedava, to be a strange perversion of the Arabic word عدل. As the Mohammedan specimen errs in its reversal of a Hindí letter, and would seem to indicate itself the work of a die-cutter versant in Cufic, but ignorant of Sanskrit; so, the coins of Syala, both in this instance and those about to be noticed, prove their artist a master of Sanskrit, though wofully uninstructed in Arabic. On other of Syala's coins (especially on three presented to the British Museum by Colonel Lafont), are to be found what, at present, in the imperfect state of the medals themselves, appears to be a somewhat lengthened Persian inscription, in front of the horseman. These coins are here alluded to, in the hope of drawing the attention of possessors of better specimens to the subject, with a view to its full elucidation. In order to embrace a reference to all medals having any bearing on this question, we may note the publication of four coins in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vide Plate XLIX., Vol. IV., Figures 27, 28; and Plate XI., Vol. II., Figures 14 and 17. The Sanskrit inscription on these has not been satisfactorily decyphered. The Persian reads clearly ناصر الدنيا والدين Násir-

ed-dín, it is to be observed, was the title of Subuktagín, a title adopted by no succeeding Indian potentate till 1210 A.D.

In the series of kings using the bull and horseman currency we have a break extending from Bhímpál to Prithví Raja, a period of nearly a century and a half. Into this extensive gap we are at present able to introduce, with historical certainty, only one king, Madanpál. (Fig. 15.) The name of Sallakshanpál (vide Figs. 11 and 12), claims insertion in our list, but the local annals extant do not enable us to fix its due position. The make of the coins, and the form of character with which they are inscribed, suffice to point to an early reign; as such, we have placed this king before Madanpál. We have, also, the coins of three princes (Nos. 16, 17, and 18 of our plate[1],) who will probably be found to have reigned during this interval; however, the paucity of specimens, and the abrasion of the letters on the margin of these medals, do not permit us to suggest the full titles they once bore. The name of Mahapál is distinct on the small piece, Fig. 15, and the device seems to bear some affinity to the Kábul type. This will probably be found to be a coin of Mahipál, otherwise Bhúpál, king of Benares and Gáur, A.D. 1027. We must not omit, in this casual mention of the coins of Madanpál and Prithví Raja, to allude to the titles of Mádhava and Asáwurí, to be discovered on each respectively. Mádhava is one of the many names of Krishna, and its adoption on the money of a king of Kanoúj, for as such we identify Madanpál, is appropriate, inasmuch as the classic land of Mathura, the birth-place of this divinity, was in all probability a fief of Kanoúj. The Asáwurí, another title of Dúrgá, may evidence a separate dynasty and a race of kings of a different Rájpút family, who may have adopted for their local goddess, the mountain-born Parvuti.

The unassigned coin of पोमे** देव[2] (Fig. 16), displays the Asáwurí, and hence may teach us to look for the identification of its master

[1] See also Figs. 21 and 28, Plate XIX., Ariana Antiqua.

[2] Were it not venturing beyond what the strict reading of the inscription on this coin altogether permits, it might well be attributed to Sómeswar, the Chohán King of Ajmír, the fourth in descent from the great Visala dev.

In the transition state of the Devanagari alphabet at this period, the initial letter of the name, which undoubtedly (referring to the modern forms) looks more like a प *p* than any other consonant, may possibly have been used to represent an *s* स, and what appears of the remainder of the word tallies well with सोमेस्वर देव "Someswar dev." Vide Tod, Vol. I. p. 225; and Vol. II. p 451.

among the families of the Chohans, or the Tuars, to whose throne they succeeded.

That the whole country of Hindústán was, during the century and a half above adverted to, in a state of extreme anarchy, incident upon the frequent inroads of the Ghaznevides, there can be little doubt; that there was a great subdivision of monarchies and consequent general insignificance of their rulers, we have evidence enough to show, did we not find proof of it in hearing of the combination of no less than one hundred and fifty kings to oppose the invasion of Mohammed bin Sám

It is difficult, among so many sovereignties, to know where to turn to seek the owners of our coins, or to conjecture in what line, and by what process of descent, the right to strike these medals was continued from monarch to monarch, till we find it fixed in Prithví Raja. It is possible that the mere possession of the capital, in itself constituted its lord a nominal Maharaja, and that with the capital also went the die, which had long been in use for the currency of the dependent countries. That this particular species of coin was regarded as the fixed currency of the dominions of the successors of the Kábul kings, is sufficiently proved by its acceptation, in part, by Ibrahím; its being found in use by Prithví Raja; and its recognition and retention by Mohammed bin Sám, and his successors on the throne of Delhí. At the same time, it is not unlikely, as the prestige attaching to the lordship of the old seat of government gradually became weaker, as its princes became less powerful, that this coinage, in continuing to be recognised among the Hindús as a type of their faith, was adopted at will by any of the numerous rajas of that belief, who, for the time being, attained ascendancy sufficient to entitle them, in any way, to assume the leadership of their brethren in their opposition to the advance of Mohammedan conquest.

It has been mentioned above, that the Mohammedan princes of Ghazní and Ghor imitated, in part, the coinage of the Kábul kings: some notice of these currencies may not, therefore, be out of place in our present inquiry. The copper money of the later Mussulmán kings of Ghazní has one of its surfaces ornamented with the bull Nándí, above which is inscribed, as in his own coins, the name of Samanta; the other surface bears the name and titles of the Mohammedan prince in Cufic characters. The first Ghaznevide of whom we have money of this description, is Ibrahím (A.D. 1058), Plate, fig. 20, and its use seems to have been continued until the close of the reign of Khusrú Shah (1160). The adoption of a symbol so purely Hindú, superscribed by the name of a Hindú king, by a sect so bigoted in these matters as

the followers of Mohammed, is singular, but may be accounted for, either by the supposition that the Ghazní sultans, in virtue of their conquest of a part of the territories of Samanta's successors, assumed a reverse for their coins indicative of such success; or, more probably still, this device may have been borrowed by the Ghaznevides from motives of policy, originating in a desire to conciliate the feelings of their new subjects, in continuing a symbol connected with the Hindú faith, to the rejection of the invocation of Islamism, up to this time used, in its place, on their own coins. It is to be observed, that this change was not made till the sultans began to trust themselves among their Indian subjects, by taking up their residence at Lahore. The last of the race of the Ghaznevides, Khusrú Malik, discontinued the use of the bull reverse, and issued money having Cufic inscriptions on both sides.

The house of Ghor appear to have assumed one of the symbols of the Kábul money, after they had won Ghazní in 1171: instead, however, of following their fellow-Mohammedans in affecting the bull, they adopted the opposite surface, and issued a copper currency, decorated, on one side, with the horseman, accompanied by the words Sri Hamíra, श्री हमीरः, inscribed, on the reverse, with their own titles. The device thus adopted was continued, on the one hand, through the Delhí successors of Mohammed bin Sám up to the time of Násir-ed-dín Mahmúd (A.D. 1266), and on the other, having been employed severally by Mahmúd (Plate, fig. 22), the son and Afghán successor of Ghiáth-ed-dín Mohammed bin Sám, and Táj-ed-dín, the slave king of Ghazní, it fell with this last territory into the hands of its Kharizm conquerors, by whom it was retained in a slightly altered form (Plate, fig. 23) till the fall of their family in 1231. This style of coin was also employed by another slave of the house of Ghor, Kubácha of Sindh, whose money may be referred to in fig. 19, Plate XX., of Ariana Antiqua.

In addition to adopting the reverse just noticed, Mohammed bin Sám, on his conquest of Delhí, continued the use of the Bull and Horseman coin of Prithví Raja, in the full purity of its original device, varying only the inscriptions, the "Sri Samanta dev" being replaced by his own titles, and the place of the Hindú king's name over the horseman being supplied by the "Sri Hamíra" already inscribed on the Ghazní medals. Specimens of this money are extant, carrying the Delhi Mohammedan succession down as far as Alá-ed-dín Masáud, A.D. 1246.

A remark occurs to us, relating to this, the latest specimen of the

Kábul imitations, which may, with propriety, be introduced in this place. It is singular that the word Hamíra, so long supposed to be a proper name, and so eagerly sought for in the annals of the Hindú kings of India, proves to be a title which must even have borne reproach to the ears of the votaries of that faith, being simply an abbreviation of the full title of the Khalif of Baghdad,—"Amír ul Muminín," continued by the Mohammedans in this curtailed form, from the Arabic reverses of their own Ghazní money, when they adopted the style of coin found current in the countries they had subdued. This reading of the meaning of this much-disputed word, is well upheld by the fact, that the earliest instance of its use is on the reverse of the first occupying Mohammedan conqueror of Delhí; as well as by its retention unaltered by his successors, so long as they continued to employ this form of coin: the abbreviation of the full titles of the Khalif into Srí Hamíra will be seen to have been necessary, as the space occupied by the device did not admit of the introduction of many more Hindí letters, of the size it was the custom to employ.

We append, in a tabular form, for facility of reference, a list of the kings of the Kábul dynasty, giving the names in Arabic, as found in Albírúní; and in Hindí, as found on the coins themselves; where possible, adding the dates, and the probable kingdoms ruled over by each.

SINCE writing the above, we have had an opportunity of examining the Arabic copy of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, as well as a valuable Persian MS. of the same work in the British Museum[1], the texts of which give us some reason to question the accuracy of the Paris MS. of Albírúní, in as far as regards the passage quoted at the commencement of this article. It is not by any means proposed to impugn the general correctness either of the Arabic version or M. Reinaud's translation, at the same time we cannot be too cautious in receiving as fact, a relation bearing upon a period, the history of which has hitherto been completely obscure, and regarding which we now for the first time obtain any written evidence; keeping in view also that this testimony (with the exception of the collateral support to be derived from coins) stands alone, it is requisite, should there be any doubt of its exactitude, to submit it to the most rigorous tests within our reach. The first in order, and perhaps the only one available on this occasion, is that which may be said to be contained within itself, the due correspondence of different copies. Unfortunately no second transcript of Albírúní is available, whereby to check the errors of the MS. whence M. Reinaud derives his text; we are therefore necessitated to apply to a separate compilation, which however displays so much of the letter and spirit of the original, that its version may readily be accepted in correcting a doubtful passage even in a copy of that original itself; it is to be borne in mind that the absence of a record of any given fact in the work of Rashíd-ed-dín does not in any way shake the veracity of the author whom he quotes; it is only in cases of actual discrepancy that there is reason to question the accuracy of the sole existing transcript of Taríkh-i-Hind of Albírúní.

It may be necessary briefly to allude to the connexion existing between these two works, and to mention that Rashíd-ed-dín, the author of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, acknowledges to have derived all the materials for the composition of that part of his history which relates to India, from the Arabic version of Albírúní's Taríkh-i-Hind. The former production was composed in Persian about the year 1310 A.D., and almost simultaneously translated into Arabic, one

[1] This MS. (No. 7628, Addit.) is also a very ancient and seemingly trustworthy copy. It is said to have been once the property of the great Oljáitú Khán himself, under whose auspices part of the work was written. Be this as it may, there seems good reason to believe that it was once owned by Shah Rokh, the son of Tímúr. The MS. is the work of different hands, and badly written at the part quoted below.

of the earliest copies in which language we are now in a position to cite as our authority[1].

It is true that, under ordinary circumstances, a transcript of an original work ought to be considered a better authority than a compilation formed from extracts of the same; but, in the present instance, we find that, although Rashíd-ed-dín left unnoticed much that was to be found in Albírúní, yet in the case of the extract to which we refer, as in many others, he transferred whole passages in all their original integrity, though, of course, not always in the identical words, in which they were found in the Taríkh-i-Hind.

Hence the question, as to the confidence due severally to the London and Paris Arabic MSS., resolves itself into whether, allowing even for re-translation, an extract collated under the eye of an eminent scholar and admirable linguist like the author of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, the actual document of which we are able to refer to, and which was engrossed so long ago as 1314 A.D. supported as it is by unexceptionable parallel passages in a second language, be not preferable to a modern copy of an original, which, for all we know, may have passed through the hands of an endless series of mere mechanical transcribers.

The Asiatic Society's Arabic MS. is written in so careful a manner and so clear a hand, that it is next to impossible to err in the mere perusal; and with reference to the subjoined extract, the exactness of its text is strongly corroborated by a counterpart account to be found in the British Museum Persian copy, and in several MSS. of the Taríkh-i-Binákití, an abridgment of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, undertaken during the lifetime of the author of this last; thus in point of date being nearly equal to its original, and possessing an advantage in the present case over any actual copy of the work from which it was compiled, inasmuch as, issuing from the same source, its information is brought down to us through another and independent channel.

We now transcribe our Arabic version, adding its translation, as well as the Persian extracts from the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh and the Taríkh-i-Binákití, merely pausing to notice that "Kuttaur" is mentioned by Elphinstone as the name of one of the tribes of Kafirs of the Hindu Kúsh[2], and that Burnes informs us that the chief of Chitral to this day bears the title of "Shah Kutore," and boasts of his Macedonian lineage[3].

[1] For full accounts of this manuscript, vide Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XI., p. 20.

[2] Elphinstone's Cabul, Vol. II., p. 376.

[3] Burnes's Bokhara, Vol. II., p. 209, 8vo. edit.

و رجع کنک الي ولایتهِ و هو آخر مُلوک کتورمان[1] کان
و ساعده الزمان و ارفده البخت و وقف علي اکثر دفاین الملوک
المُتقدّمین فقوی بها و استظهر بتلک الاموالِ و الذخایر حتي اغترّ
بها و نسی الواجب و رکب قبیحةً مِنَ القبایح فشکت الخلایق
الي الوزیر من سوء فعلهِ و حبسهُ للتابت[1] ثم استولي علي الملک مرّةً
ثانیةً و بعْد وفاتهِ ملک علیهم من البراهمة سامند و من بعْد سامند
کملو و بعْده بهیم * * * * *[2]

"And Kank returned to his country, and he was the last of the Kutaurman kings, and it happened that the times were prosperous for him, and fortune exalted him; and he lighted upon many of the treasures of former kings, and grew strong in consequence; and he shone with these sources of wealth and treasure until he grew proud, and forgot his duty, and committed some great wickedness, and the people turned from him in complaint towards his vizir because of his wicked deeds, and confined him for correction. Then he acquired dominion again, and after his death there reigned over them of Brahmans, Samund, and after Samund, Kumloo, and after him Bhím," &c.[3]

Corresponding Persian passage from Jámi-al-Tawáríkh in the British Museum.

و کنک باولایت خود معاودت کرد و اخرین بادشاهان
کتورمان بود زمانه چنان اورا مساعدت و مرافدت نمود که
همه دفائن مقتد ایان[4] بیافت و بران متظهر و مغرور شد ناگاه

[1] Sic in orig.
[2] Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, Part III., Sec. 5, Royal Asiatic Society.
[3] This translation is from the pen of Mr. H. T. Prinsep.
[4] مقتد ایان

ارتکاب قبیحة نمود قمله[1] خلائق سکایت او بوزیر می کردند وزیر اورا جهة تادیب بگرفت و حبس کرد و دیگربار برملک مستولی شد و بعد از وفات او از برای همه[2] سامند بادشاه شد و بعد از و گملوا و بعد از و بیهم * * *

"And Kank returned to his own country, and was the last of the Kutaurman kings. Fortune so favoured him, that he found many treasures of (former) chiefs, and in consequence he became proud and exalted; at length he gave way to disgraceful conduct, on which account the people complained of him to his vizir. The vizir took him into custody for the purpose of correction, and confined him. And a second time he became ruler over the kingdom. After his death Samund, from among the Brahmans, became king, and after him Kumlowa, and after him Bhím," &c.

The Persian sentence, corresponding with the commencement of the above, from two copies of the Táríkh-i-Binákití, reads thus:—

و بعد از و کنک و او اخرین بادشاهان کتورمان بود[3]

"and after him [came] Kank, and he was the last of the Kutaurman kings."

A similar extract, from another less perfect copy, runs

و بعد از و کنک و او اواخرین[4] بادشاه کتورمان بود و بعد از و از براهمه سامند بادشاه شد * * * *[5]

The information acquired by this variation from the reading of the Paris MS., (supposing it to be correct), does not in any material degree affect the positions assumed in the above paper on the Coins of the Kings of Kábul.

It now appears that there was a direct usurpation of the sovereignty of Kank by his vizir, and that no other monarch of Kank's

[1] قبله [2] از براهمه

[3] No. 119, Royal Asiatic Society, and a copy of Sir G. Ouseley's.

[4] Sic in orig.

[5] Taríkh-i-Binákití. Brit. Museum: Rich Coll., No. 7627.

race filled the throne of Kábul after his death. The non-introduction of Syala's name in our MSS. but little affects his identification as that vizir: his coins, in their make and execution, indicate their own position as preceding those of Samanta, as well as the Brahman origin of him whose name they bear. The re-accession of the last of the Túrk kings explains to us, in a measure, how Samanta came to be looked upon as a founder of a dynasty, without at all detracting from the celebrity, either religious or temporal, heretofore attributed to him.

The very legible penmanship of the Arabic MS. of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh supplies us with another version of the name of the second Jeipál; he is there called تدو جيپال Tudau Jeipál. The Persian Jámi-al-Tawáríkh has نندوا جيپال Nundowa Jeipál.

In bringing these observations to a close, we may add, that we have not failed to consult the Persian copy of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh in the Library of the East India House, but this MS., among its other imperfections, has unfortunately a lacuna just at the exact point in the history of Kank's reign where it might otherwise have served to elucidate the present inquiry.

[Since the printing of the preceding sheet a coin has been found at the East India House, which confirms the conjectural reading of "Someswara," suggested by the writer in Note 2, p. 14.—Ed.]

The Arabic names from Albírúní; the Sanskrit ones from Coins.

No.	Name.	Name in Arabic.	Name in Sanskrit.	Date of Accession A.D.	Recorded Kingdoms, and Authorities.			
					Kábul.	Lahore.	Delhí.	Other States.
1	Syala	كلر ?	श्री स्यलपति देव	920	Albírúní			
2	Samanta	سامند	श्री समन्त देव	935	Do.			
3	Khvadava	كملوا	श्री खुदवयक:	. .	Do.			
4	Bhím	بهيم	श्री भीम देव	. .	Do.			
5	Jeipál	جيپال	. .	975	. .	Ferishtah	Prinsep U.T. Abúlfazl ?	
6	Anungpál	انندپال	श्री अणगं	1000	. .	Do.	Do. Do.	Jessulmír (tributary)
7	——? Jeipál	نردجنپال	. .	1021	. .	Lahore annexed to Guzní, 1023 A.D.		
8	Bhímpál	بهيمپال	. .	1026				
	Madanpál *	. .	श्री मदनपाल देव	1070	. .	. .	. .	Kanoúj
	Prithví Raja	. .	श्री पृथ्वीराज देव	1176	. .	. .	Ferishtah Tod	Ajmír †

* Mentioned as king of Kanoúj, and contemporary with Rajapal of Benares. This last came to the throne in 1070. Madanpál is also recorded in inscriptions as king of Kanóuj in 1096 A.D. Vide Bird's Guzrat, and Useful Tables. † Ferishtah, Tod.

Contents of the Plate.

Note. The weights of the silver coins of the Kábul kings, Nos. 2 to 8 inclusive, average in the specimens engraved, forty-eight grains. The mixed silver and copper coins of the Lahore princes and their successors, Nos. 9 to 18, range as high as fifty-two grains. The best specimen of the copper money of Vanka dev, No. 1, only reaches forty-three grains.

Nos. Coins of

1. Vanka dev श्री वक देव
2. Syala श्री स्यलपति देव
3. 4. Samanta श्री समन्त देव
5. 6. 7. Khvadava श्री खुदवयकः
8. Bhím श्री भीम देव
9. 10. Anungpál, *Obv.* श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री अणगं******
11. 12. Sallakshanpál, *Obv.* श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री सल्लक्षणपाल देव
13. Madánpál, *Obv.* (मधव) श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री मदनपाल देव
14. Prithví Rája, *Obv.* असावरी श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री पृथ्वीराज देव
15. Mahapál श्री महपाल देवः
16. *Obv.* श्री पोमे** देव (*Rev.* असावरी श्री समन्त देव).
17. 18. *Obv.* श्री कोल्हि** देव, *Rev.* **पाल श्री समन्त देव.
19. Al Muktadir billah, *Obv.* المقتدر بالله, *Rev.* جعفر لله.
20. Ibrahím of Guzní, *Obv.* श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* السلطان المعظم ابوالمظفر ابرهيم.
21. Mohammed bin Sám, *Obv.* श्री महमद साम, *Rev.* श्री हमीरः.
22. Mahmúd bin Mohammed[1] السلطان الاعظم محمود بن محمد بن سام
23. Alá-ed-dín Mohammed of Khárizm, *Obv.* السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا والدين.
24. Fac-simile copy of the Arabic word عدل from a coin of Khvadava.

[1] It has been considered unnecessary to introduce a coin of Mohammed bin Sám of this type, as the piece here given resembles his coins, from whence it is derived, in every respect except the name it bears.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Art. I.—*On the Dynasty of the Sáh Kings of Suráshtra.* By Edward Thomas, Esq., *Bengal Civil Service.*

[*Read, April* 15, 1848.]

Among the many objects of Indian antiquarian research which possess general claims upon the attention of the Royal Asiatic Society, none perhaps can be cited as more peculiarly entitled to its fostering care than the History of the Suráshtran Kings, as illustrated by their Coins. The pages of the Journal of this Society contain the earliest systematic notice of these beautiful medals[1]; and though much has been written, and much additional information gained in other places, little or nothing has since been done by our Association to forward this particular enquiry. Having presided over the first introduction of this investigation into the world of literature, it is but fit the Society should watch over its accepted offspring; and if as yet unable to conduct it to a safe and satisfactory resting-place, it may at the least prove useful in advancing it some stages on its way.

The subject itself, at the present moment, is invested with some slight additional interest consequent upon a recent discovery of a considerable number of Suráshtran coins at Junír[2], which has contributed two

[1] Journ. R. As. Soc., No. XII.

[2] The Junír *find* (August, 1846) consisted of some four hundred coins, comprising specimens of the mintages of most of the early monarchs of the list at present adopted, the series concluding with those of Viswa, the son of Atri, the twelfth king. Of the entire number of medals thus brought to light, a selection of ten has been forwarded by the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. These have been unreservedly placed at my disposal for publication. About a moiety of the whole Junír collection, in the possession of Dr. Bird, has been brought to England since the body of the present paper was presented to the Royal Asiatic Society; I am indebted to the owner's kindness for an opportunity of inspecting many of these specimens, and am permitted to cite the extra dates inserted—each duly acknowledged—at the close of the detail of these records, to be found under the description of the obverse surface of the medals of the several kings. As Dr. Bird proposes, at some future period, to

new names to the list of the previously-known Sáh Kings. A review of the entire question is likewise specially called for on other grounds, inasmuch as it yet remains no slight reproach to Indian archæologists that their best authorities differ in respect to the æra to which it is proposed to assign these medals, to the strange extent of many centuries[1]. Fortunately there is less doubt regarding the locality whence these coins chiefly come, and it is a most important point in the enquiry, freely conceded by all, that Suráshtra—of which the peninsula of Guzerát may be taken as the metropolitan province—is the nidus to which their origin must be traced. It does not often occur in Numismatic investigations that this point is so clearly and unexceptionably made out, and emphasis is laid upon the fact thus early in the present notice, as the singularly local character attaching to these coins affords a sure light amid the somewhat misty atmosphere in which the general subject is enveloped. Other salutary checks are indeed offered to any

give to the world his ideas of the history of the series—for which, indeed, he has for some time past been making preparation—I am the more particular in thus expressing my obligation to him for the amount of courtesy just noticed. To this I have now to add, that, since the foregoing sentence has been in type, I have been favoured by Dr. Bird himself not only with a close verification of the dates to which I at first proposed to limit my quotations, but also with a very full detail of many incidental peculiarities attaching to his collection, which, in my own very cursory examination, fairly escaped observation. Most important among these is to be noted the first recognition of the name of Dámá Sáh (the 3rd king) on his own proper coins, and the information attendant upon the discovery that he also was the son of Rudra Sáh, he having hitherto been known only as being named on the coins of the 5th, 6th, and 7th kings as their common father. To Colonel Sykes I have to tender my thanks for the liberal way in which the whole of his extensive collection of Guzerát coins—chiefly found at Kaira—was made over, to add to the materials already at command, and to test the value of the information previously made patent through the numismatic contributions of Steuart and Prinsep.

It will be seen that the Cabinets of the Royal Asiatic Society and that of my friend Dr. Swiney have each furnished their quota to the general illustrations.

A few valuable coins, part of a hoard of some hundreds found at Kamptí (Nagpúr), for the communication of which I am indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Wynch, Madras Artillery, have afforded important additional data.

I have also to add my recognition of the obliging manner in which access to the Prinsep Collection has at all times been accorded by the officers of the Medal Room in the British Museum. And, lastly, I must acknowledge the free reference conceded by C. Steuart, Esq., to the cabinet of his late brother, when necessary to decide any doubts left by the imperfection of the outlines of the Italian engraver who executed the original plates published in No. XII. J. R. A. S.

[1] "Anterior to the fourth century, A.D." Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 410.
"Fourth" or "seventh" century, A.D. Sykes, J. R. A. S., No. XII. 477.
About "153 B.C." Prinsep, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vii. 354.

extensive wandering from the truth, in the co-existence of three distinct collateral channels through which the examination of the details of this question may be conducted; and though it must be conceded that the insufficient, and at times inaccurate, evidence supplied by one species of testimony, may be difficult to be reconciled with the apparent facts, yet, on the other hand, anything like combined attestation derived from such diverse sources must bear a proportionately conclusive weight, and carry conviction in defiance of isolated obstacles. The tests to which these observations refer consist of,—1st, Coins; 2nd, Inscriptions; and 3rd, Written History, or rather the incidental contributions of Eastern and Western Authors[1], which must here supply its place. It is not proposed to enter into the unnecessary detail involved in the invariable application of these tests under their separate heads; it will be sufficient that they be severally kept in view throughout the examination of the various branches into which the entire subject divides itself. They have been brought thus prominently into notice, in order to show explicitly the *whole* means available for arriving at a correct judgment on a somewhat intricate question; as it will be seen hereafter that the present paper is illustrated by little if any new *matériel*, and that its value must depend solely upon the correct combination of previously known facts.

As the subject, in its different bearings and ramifications, is spread over some centuries, and refers to many distinct races, it may simplify its due demonstration to premise the various heads into which it seems divisible, subsequently examining these in detail. It is to be noted, in introducing this preliminary outline, that it has been found advisable, for the more satisfactory exposition of the whole case, to reverse the usual course of tracing successions downwards in the order of time, and, in lieu thereof, to work upwards from almost the only given and *admitted* local date we possess, the Valabhi Æra.

The following are the different divisions of the enquiry, placed in the order in which it is proposed to advert to them:—

I. The Valabhi Æra.
II. The *Local* supercession of the Guptas by the Valabhi Family.
III. The identity between the Guzerát Guptas and the Guptas of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

[1] The last ground has been so thoroughly explored by fully competent scholars that it would be almost impertinent to attempt to add to what has already been cited on the subjects embraced, by modern writers both English and Continental; hence I have limited my task in this respect to the simple adoption of materials ready prepared to my hand, without any needless question of the accuracy of the translations or tedious reproduction of original texts.

IV. The verification of these Guptas as the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians.

V. The interval between the rule of the Guptas and that of the Sáh Kings, and the traces of the intermediate possessors of the peninsula of Guzerát.

VI. The inherent title of the Sáh Kings to date in and before the century before Christ.

I. The Valabhi æra is fixed by undoubted evidence to have commenced in 319 A.D.[1] The exact epoch, however, in the lengthened sway of the dynasty whence the cycle takes its name, to which the initial date is to be referred, still remains undetermined. Mr. Wathen supposes that the reign of Srí Dhara Sena I. (the seventh in the Valabhi list[2],) witnessed the introduction of the new æra[3], but from the prominent manner in which (his father) Griha Sena's name is recorded in Dr. Burns'[4] No. I. Kaira Copper-plate Grant, it would seem that *his* accession, or some striking event of his reign, might well contest the honour of having originated *the* family cycle. This, however, is a matter which demands but slight discussion in this place, as it is sufficient for the purposes of the present enquiry to say that the æra of the Valabhis begins 319 A.D.[5], and that—as is now to be shown —the Gupta rule preceded it.

[1] Albírúní, Reinaud, 142, 143; Tod's Annals, i. 801; Inscription at Puttun Somnáth, dated in corresponding epochs of different æras, 662 A.H., Vikrama 1320, Balabhi 945; consequently, An. Valabhi 1 = 318-19 A.D.

[2] The following is Wathen's list of the early members of the Valabhi Family:—

I. *Senápati* Bhatarca; 144 or 190 A.D.
II. Senápati Dhara Sena.
III. *Mahárája* Drona Sinha.
IV. Mahárája Dhruva Sena I.
V. Mahárája Dharapattah.
VI. Mahárája Griha Sena.
VII. Mahárája *Srí* Dhara Sena I.
VIII. Mahárája Siladitya I.
IX. Mahárája Charagriha I., or Iswara Guha (Burns).
X. Mahárája Srí Dhara Sena II.
XI. Mahárája Dhruva Sena II.
XII. Mahárája Srí Dhara Sena III. Mahárája Dhruva Sena III. (Burns' Grant).
XIII. Mahárája Siladitya II.

The order of succession in Burns' plate passes directly from No. I. to No. VI., omitting the intermediate names.

[3] J. A. S. B., iv. 481.

[4] J. A. S. B., vii. 966.

[5] Mr. Wathen, at the time of the first publication of his Valabhi *Tamba patra* decipherments (J. A. S. B., iv. 481), was disposed to render the date of the earliest of these records as संवत ६ Samvat 9 of the Valabhi Æra: subsequently (J. A. S. B., vii. 963) he found reason to distrust this reading, and without attempting to fix the value of the figures employed, to decide that the date

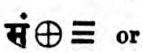
II. It must be admitted that the direct and independent evidence to prove this point, is somewhat incomplete, being confined to a con-

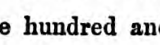
inscribed referred to the Vikramáditya Æra. Prinsep, in one of his latest papers on these subjects (J. A. S. B., vii. 354), had also expressed his conviction that, whatever cycle might be understood as applicable to certain other dates then under consideration, the Vikramáditya Æra alone "must" be held to have been in use in the Valabhi Copper-plate Grants.

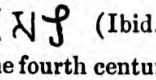
A reference to the numerous Indian Inscriptions published in Vols. IV. and V. J. R. A. S., by Messrs. Wathen and Elliot, shows most distinctly the general prevalence of the official use of the Saliváhana or *Saka* Æra (79 A.D.), and amid the ample series of the grants thus made known, some are dated as early as Saka 411 = 490 A.D. (iv. 5, v. 343), and an inscription is quoted, bearing date Saka 488 = 567 A.D. (iv. 9). The extensive diffusion of the practice of expressing dates in the years of this cycle is also confirmed by its repeated employment in the Rája Taringini (Troyer, ii. 376, 378), by the frequent appearance of the words *Sál Saka* among the epochal references in the Mackenzie MSS. (*Wilson*, i. 163, 264, &c.; *Taylor*, J. A. S. B., vii. 389, 469, 496, &c.); and, finally, Tod distinctly asserts that the æra of Saliváhana "set aside that of the Tuar in the Dekhan"—a practice which may well have extended westward as well as southward.

These facts are perhaps sufficient to authorize an inference that the *Saliváhana* Cycle was used in many of the earlier instances wherein modern Commentators have heretofore supposed that the *Vikramáditya* was the æra employed; and hence, in the absence of any designation of the æra intended to be understood, it may be held as more than probable that both the early Gupta and Valabhi Inscriptions had their dates recorded in this cycle.

Adapting the Saka Cycle to the various dates referring to these families, the several epochs recorded will correspond as follows with the years of our own æra:—

1st. The Chandra Gupta Inscription at Sanchí, No. 1 (J. A. S. B., vi. 455), dated in figures  or Saka *San 93* = 172 A.D.

2nd. The No. 1 Valabhi Grant of Wathen (J. A. S. B., iv. 481), dated thus  Three hundred and odd Saka, corresponds with the early part of our fifth century.

3rd. The third Valabhi Copper-plate Grant (J. A. S. B., vii. 966) with the figured date  (Ibid., pl. XX.), assumed to refer to some period in the *second* half of the fourth century Saka, falls in with the middle of the fifth century A.D.

It may be necessary to explain briefly the reasons which justify the supposition that the first Valabhí Grant should be held to precede the third by a period of half a century, more or less; and this may be most satisfactorily done by quoting the independent evidence comprised in the following comments annexed to the original translation of the latter document:—"But though there were six successions to the Gadi [between the execution of the first and third Valabhi Grants], these must have been of less than the ordinary duration, for the minister who prepared the Grant in Srí Dhara Sena's reign was Skanna Bhatta; whereas the minister who prepared the present Grant is named as Madana Hila, son of Skanna Bhatta; thirty or forty years will therefore be the probable interval occupied by the reigns of all the princes named as having intervened between Srí Dhara Sena I. and Dhruva Sena III."

jectural assertion of Albírúní's, to the effect that "apparently *Balabha* followed immediately after the Guptas." Whatever value is to be attached to this inference in itself, which however seems fully justified by the facts, one most important item is derived from the preceding part of the sentence, which introduces the deduction in question[1], viz., that a royal race of Guptas lived immediately *prior to*, and were exterminated *in* 319 A.D.

One of the main difficulties heretofore experienced in any attempt at a satisfactory allocation of these Guptas, so far as their dominion over the peninsula of Guzerát is concerned[2], has arisen from a too implicitly received dogma—based chiefly upon conclusions drawn from the dubious context of the Vishnu Purána[3]—that the termination of the Gupta sway should be referred generally to the seventh or eighth century; and consequently any effort to locate the *earlier* portion of the dynasty—which is supposed to have been closely limited in the number of its members—in Guzerát at or about a correspondingly

[1] "Quant au Goupta kâla (ère des Gouptas), on entend par le mot *goupta* des gens qui, dit on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination. Apparemment Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas; car l'ère des Gouptas commence aussi l'an 241 de l'ère de Saca." Albírúní, Reinaud, 143. Annexed is the Arabic text of the original.

واما كوبت كال فكان كما قيل قوما الشرارا اقوياء فلما
انقرضوا ارخ بهم وكان بلب كان اخيرهم فان اول تاريخهم
ايضا متاخر عن شككال ٢٤١

[2] Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, 409; Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 354.

[3] Mill (J. A. S. B., vi. 11), referring to the passage whence his inference regarding the age of the Guptas is drawn, designates it as an "enumeration, strongly indicative of the disturbed and semi-barbarous condition of affairs which caused the suspension of all the ancient records, and in which synchronous dynasties might easily be mis-stated as successive ones, and the sum of years readily palmed on the Hindu reader, to enhance the antiquity of the classical and heroic ages of the country" [yet he trusts *this* text sufficiently to add the enumeration] "is succeeded, in the last period immediately preceding the rise of the Guptas, by something more resembling the records of earlier time." The result of his examination of the whole question is thus stated:—"It is scarcely possible to fix the subjects of our present inquiry, the Guptas, higher than the age of Charlemagne in Europe, *if* we suppose them identical with the Guptas of the Purána." Page 12, *idem.*

So also Wilson (Ar. Ant., 419):—"These considerations harmonize with the inference afforded by the coins, and restrict the most modern period of the Gupta Kings of Magadha to the seventh or eighth century."

Prinsep hesitated in his entire acquiescence in Mill's conclusions, and would have moved up the date of the Purána itself "a few centuries," with a view to placing the Guptas in the very age it is now proposed to assign them to. J. A. S. B., v. 644.

anterior epoch, has been met by the insuperable obstacle of the admitted local domination of other races of kings, of whose *independent* rule there could be little doubt.

This perplexity is now removed, as we have direct authority for placing *a* family of Guptas, evidently extensively paramount as sovereigns of India, at an æra closely antecedent to the rise of the Valabhí monarchs[1]; a period in which neither history nor inscriptions claim for other sovereigns either local or suzerain supremacy over the peninsula of Suráshtra.

[1] The Arabic word Balhara, as used in reference to the Valabhís (Reinaud, Relation des Voyages, i. 24, 26, ii. 26; Masaudí, O. T. F., i. 175, 193, 389; Gildemeister, Script. Arab., pp. 13, 145, &c.), has been the subject of much and various speculation, in the hope of tracing through its derivative identification a connecting indication of the origin of those who, in later times, are seen to have borne it (Wilford, As. Res., ix. 179). Tod (Annals, i. 801) endeavoured to show that as "Balnáth, the deity worshipped in Puttun Somnáth, *the City of the Lord of the Moon*, was the Sun-God *Bál*, hence" came "the title of the dynasties which ruled this region, Bál-ca-Raé, *the Princes of Bál*, and hence the capital Balicapur, *the City of the Sun*," was "familiarly written Balabhí," and the word "Balicarae" eventually "corrupted by Renaudot's Arabian Travellers into Balhara." Wathen (J. A. S. B., iv. 481) was disposed to consider the term either as a corruption of Bhatarca भटार्कः Cherishing Sun (a royal title), or as a titular distinction locally derived from the name of a district near "Ballabhipura," called "*Bhala*," which, with the addition of Rai, would have furnished the Arabs with the designation in question. More lately an attempt has been made to prove the connexion of the word with the *supposed* Palahra on the coins of Vonones (Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 650). Of all these, perhaps the only derivation upon which complete reliance can be placed is Tod's *concluding* identification, and that adopted by Gildemeister, whose notice on the subject may be best given in his own words:—"Nomen quod بلهرا vel بلهرى scribitur, Indopleusta et Masûdio auctoribus commune erat omnibus ejus familiæ regibus; secundum Hauqaliden desumptum est de regionis, quam tenebant, nomine. Utraque sententia recte se habet. Quinam Indicus rex Balharâ ille fuerit, diu latuit, nunc autem certo dici potest, postquam ea dynastia tum ex inscriptionibus, tum ex indigenarum annalibus, tum ex Sinensium relationibus nobis innotuit. Ea in urbe Valabhi, Guzeratæ peninsulæ olim capite, hodie Balbhi vocata, decem milliaria Anglica septentrionem versus et occidentem a Bhownnugger sita, inde a quarto sæculo exstitit, et ab urbe vel regione Valabhî denominata est. Itaque vocabulum بلهرا ortum est ex prâkrita forma वलहिराअ pro वलभीराज. Quum eorum regnum Gurg'arum et Saurâsht'ram complecteretur, omnino recte Arabes ejus finium descriptionem tradiderunt; postea tamen multa in Balharam transtulerunt, quæ in alios Indiæ reges valent. * * Posteriores deinde omnia conturbarunt, et Balharæ ascribunt Kanog'æ regnum vel alia." Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis, pp. 42, 43, 44.

Moreover, an intimation of scarcely less importance is conveyed in the general tenor of Albírúní's expressions[1], which almost necessitate the conclusion that this particular race of Guptas were the *last* of the name who held any prominent place among the monarchs of India prior to the invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní[2]. Beyond this it is distinctly to be borne in mind that, with the exception of the deceptive epoch assumed from the Puránas, there is *no* date of any kind[3] to interfere with the free decision of the question at issue, on the evidence here adduced.

From the various inscriptions left by the Valabhí monarchs, some casual indications might have been anticipated as throwing light upon the history of the race they succeeded. To speak generally, this expectation is not realized; the information on this head, to be gained from these sources, being confined to the not altogether unimportant fact that the immediate predecessors of the Valabhís were of the Hindú faith[4]. Allusion is indeed made in one place to the suzerain under whom the family first rose into notice, and from whom the title of Mahárája was first received by the third Senápatí; nothing, however, is to be gathered from this reference beyond the proof of the widely-spread paramount power of the sovereign thus alluded to[5].

It would also be satisfactory, as affording an important connecting link between these races, to have been able to trace the possible

[1] "Leur extermination," &c., note, p. 6.

[2] It may be necessary to remind the reader that Albírúní lived under this monarch.

[3] The date of the Gupta Alphabet seems to have been ruled from the *assumed* date of the dynasty; and to show how little reliance can be placed on the inference, in itself, by which the use of the characters of the Gupta Lát Inscription is held to have originated at so modern a period as is claimed for it by some, it is to be remarked that James Prinsep himself, although he entered this alphabet in his comparative Palæographic Table as dating from the fifth century, had already admitted that its employment would apply equally well to the third century A.D. (J. A. S. B., vi. 556), an opinion indirectly confirmed by his own expressions at the moment of the publication of the Table itself (vii. 275), and distinctly repeated afterwards (vii. 348). In like manner, those who would follow the erroneous identification of the Phi che li (Vaisáli) of Fa Hian with the ancient Prayaga, the modern Allahabad (J. R. A. S., vi. 301), are to be warned against indulging in any inference, regarding the antiquity of the Guptas, based upon Fa Hian's omission to mention the Asoka and Gupta Lát, which he *might* possibly have seen had he visited the true Prayaga. (See Foe Koue Ki, p. 242; J. R. A. S., v. 128, &c.)

[4] J. A. S. B., November, 1838.

[5] "From the great Sovereign himself, the sole Monarch of the entire world." (J. A. S. B., Wathen, iv. 485.) Mr. Wathen adds—"This evidently refers to some one of the successors of Vikramaditya and Salivahana, the Pramara or Powar Kings of Ujain or Kanouj."

affinity as existing in their respective coins, which the general practice of Indian monarchs more or less distinctly developes in the early imitation by the succeeding family of the types of money found current in the dominions of their predecessors. As yet, however, no medals of the Valabhi dynasty have been definitively identified[1], though a certain shadowy connexion might possibly be based upon the similitude between the device of the Valabhis, the Bull Nandí, as seen on their seals and inscriptions, and the self-same symbol to be found on the Suráshtran coins of the great Skanda Gupta[2].

It may be unnecessary to pursue further this branch of the inquiry, as, however imperfect in itself, as it now stands, the concession of its most important bearing will be claimed hereafter under other proofs, which do not properly belong to this portion of the investigation.

III. The demonstration of the identity between the heretofore denominated Kanouj Guptas and the monarchs of the same name who were supreme in Guzerát, is perhaps not so easy as might at first sight be anticipated[3], inasmuch as there is a necessary absence of the infallible proof offered by an uniformity of coinage, arising from the practice even then prevailing of retaining but slightly modified the forms of the existing currency of each kingdom that fell to the arms of a conqueror. Hence, though the Gupta *Guzerát* coins evince indubitable signs of derivation from the types of the money of the earlier Suráshtran Kings, they naturally offer few points of coincidence with the gold coins of the countries to the northward and eastward, whence the power of the Gupta race—whose identity it is now sought to establish —took its rise. Notwithstanding this, the number of miscellaneous

[1] The Táteríah Dirhems الدراهم الطاطريه noticed as current in the ninth century, by Renaudot's Arabian Traveller, and subsequently adverted to by Ibn Khordadbah, Ibn Haukal, and Masaudí, convey too recent a reference to furnish any assistance in the recognition of the Valabhí currency; the money alluded to by the first of these authors may possibly be identifiable with the silver "Gadhia ká paisa," which must have been current about this time, and which agree sufficiently with the weight indicated by the Arab authority, 1½ dirhems (which is proved to be equal to 67½ gr.; Marsden, xvii). Specimens of this Ass-money are extant, weighing over 66 gr., though the average weight of worn specimens is of course somewhat less. (See Renaudot, Reinaud, i. 25; Script. Arab., pp. 28, 166; Masaudí, O. T. F., p. 389; Prinsep, J. A. S. B., iv. 687; Wilson, Ar. Ant., 413.)

[2] It may indeed be a question whether these and other types of the ample Skanda Gupta coinage did not constitute the bulk of the entire currency under, if many of them were not actually struck by, the earlier members of the Valabhi Dynasty, while acting as *local* sovereigns, on behalf of the Gupta suzerain.

[3] Prinsep, indeed, assumed the fact as a matter of course (J. A. S. B., vii. 37). So also Wilson, in an uncertain way (Ar. Ant., 409).

indications of connexion between the two races about to be noticed, scarcely permit a doubt that the monarchs in question were of one and the same house.

The various links in the chain of evidence, at present within reach, tending to prove this connexion, may be briefly enumerated as follows:—1stly. The inference deducible from the knowledge gained by Prinsep's revised decipherment of the Allahabad Inscription[1], that the Gupta family therein chronicled possessed Guzerát. 2ndly. The Third (undeciphered) Inscription on the Girnár Rock, in the peninsula of Guzerát, records the name of Skanda Gupta. Prinsep, to whom alone the secrets of this monumental writing were known, does not hesitate to announce this prince as "one of *the* [then denominated Kanouj] Guptas[2]." 3rdly. The correspondence of the fact stated on the Bhitárí Lát, that Skanda was the immediate successor of Kumara, with the evidence to the same effect afforded by the Guzerát coins *per se*. 4thly. The identity of the title of Skanda Gupta क्रमादित्य Kramáditya—as found both on his gold coins of the so-called Kanouj type[3], and on his silver Suráshtran pieces[4]. 5thly. The curious coincidence noticeable in Skanda Gupta's alteration of the reverse symbol of his own Suráshtran coins, from the device originally adopted from his immediate predecessor, Kumára[5] Gupta, to the effigy of the Bull of Siva, Nandí,—which now appears for the first time on these pieces,—and the prominent fact explicitly dwelt upon in the Bhitárí Lát inscription, that Skanda Gupta was a firm adherent of the worshippers of Siva, as contradistinguished from the Vaishnaví leaning of those he succeeded[6]. 6thly, and lastly,

[1] "Magadha, Ujjayani, and Surasena are omitted; these, therefore, in all probability, were under his [Samudra's] immediate rule." Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vi. 975.

[2] J. A. S. B., vii. 348. "I may here so far satisfy curiosity as to state that this third inscription, the longest and, in some respects, the best preserved, though, from the smallness and rudeness of the letters, it is very difficult to decipher, is in a more modern character—that allotted to the third century after Christ—or the Gupta alphabet; and that in the opening lines I find an allusion to Skanda Gupta, one of the Gupta family, whose name has also been found upon a new series of the Suráshtra coins." A facsimile of this inscription, taken with much care by Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, has been published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch R. A. S. for April, 1842. No transcript or translation has been attempted.

[3] J. A. S. B., v. pl. 34, fig. 17.

[4] Idem, vii. 356, pl. XII. figs. 18, 20.

[5] *Annexed* Plate II. figs. 39, 40, 41, 42.

[6] Mill, J. A. S. B., vi. 9. It may be useful to annex a detailed reference to the several Gupta Inscriptions at present known:—Allahabad, Mill, J. A. S. B.,

is to be cited the important reference (which more peculiarly belongs to the next division of the subject) conveyed in the superscription of the Indo-Scythic NANO, or PAO NANO[1], on the obverse surface of the Suráshtran coins of Kumára and Skanda Gupta, and the appropriation of the exact types of the Indo-Scythian gold coinage by the earlier members of *the* Gupta family in their Eastern dominions, which are also duly retained by both Kumára and Skanda.

IV. The next point in the general inquiry—the identification of the Guptas as the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians—has, in so far as the numismatic coincidences extend, been fully and satisfactorily proved by Prinsep and Wilson: all that now remains to be done is to apply the already prepared arguments to the altered bearings of the question. So long ago as November, 1835, the first-named author demonstrated by conclusive comparisons "the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanouj [Gupta] coinage." In October, 1836, a paper by the same writer appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which more distinctly and unequivocally developed "the transition from the Mithraic or Indo-Scythic coinage to the Hindú series," at the head of which stands the currency of the Guptas. Professor Wilson also, in his Ariana Antiqua, in one place[2], after enumerating other more obvious resemblances between the two classes of medals, goes on to notice the similarity which extends even to the monograms, which

iii. 257; Mill's Bhitárí Lát, vi. 1; revised by Prinsep, vi. 969; Skanda Gupta, vii. 37; vii. 348; Chandra Gupta, at Sanchi, Bhopal, vi. 455; Budha Gupta, Ságor, vii. 634.

The following is an authoritative list of the Gupta Kings, as extracted from their Inscriptions:—

"1. Gupta.
2. Ghatot Kacha.
3. Chandra Gupta I. (1st Maharája Adhirája).
4. Samudra Gupta.
5. Chandra Gupta II.
6. Kumára Gupta.
7. Skanda Gupta.
8. Mahendra Gupta (noticed as a minor only in the Inscriptions; the name is assumed from Coins)."

Mill, J. A. S. B., vi. 8.

[1] See J. A. S. B., vii. 356. Prinsep, at the time he proposed this reading, did so with but small confidence. A comparison of an extended series of this class of Suráshtran coins with the Indo-Scythic pieces of the Kanerkí gold series, leaves no doubt of the accuracy of the identification. Indeed, if any additional faith is to be given to an independent though *subsequent* recognition of one and the same fact, it may be mentioned that my first detection of the real meaning of the corrupt Greek letters on the first-named coins was suggested by a transcript of the legend of a Kanerkí coin, to be found among Mionnet's fac-similes of Barbarous Greek (viii. pl. iv. fig. 28), before I became aware that Prinsep had already published a similar rendering.

[2] Page 418.

were copied by the Hindú imitators from the Indo-Scythic prototype[1], all of which are mentioned as capable of being cited "as evidence that the coins of the Gupta princes succeeded *immediately* to those of the Mithraic princes, and that the former reigned from the second or third *to the seventh century.*"

Prinsep does not seem to have insisted sufficiently upon the full force of the inference[2], that the derivative which retained in such freshness the impress of its model, was in all probability immediate, and was extremely unlikely to be a deferred revival of a temporarily disused coin. Professor Wilson's perception of the real value of the evidence was more distinct, but his conclusion was deprived of much of its just weight by the indecision of his closing observation, which left a brief dynasty of eight kings[3] to find their own position in so undefined a period as five centuries[4].

But little, perhaps, need be added to such authoritative testimony, further than again to point to the fact noted above, of the still more distinct evidence of association—of what precise character is not so clear—to be drawn from the discovery of the words PAO NANO—the almost uniform titular prefix of the Kanerkí Indo-Scythian gold series—on the Suráshtran coins of the Guptas.

The results deducible from the combined evidence of coins and monumental inscriptions, regarding the progress of the power of the Gupta dynasty, may be summed up in a few words. In the time of the full supremacy of the family, their empire clearly extended from

[1] See also the identity of reverses of Ghatot Kacha coin, J. A. S. B., v. 38, fig. 12 and of the Ardokro Indo-Scythic piece, J. A. S. B., 1845, p. 440, pl. 12, fig. 10.

[2] J. A. S. B., v. 644.

[3] Prinsep remarks, "It does not appear who succeeded him [Skanda Gupta], or whether the Gupta Dynasty there terminated; but I think it is open to conjecture that the whole power was usurped by the Minister's family, because," &c. J. A. S. B., vii. 38.

[4] Since the above was read before the Royal Asiatic Society, Colonel Sykes has communicated to me the following observations, conveyed in a late letter from Captain Kittoe. The deductions in question, valuable in themselves, as derived from entirely new sources, and as the result of independent inductive reasoning, will be seen to corroborate in a remarkable manner the date of the rise of the Guptas already pointed at in the text.

"I have had four valuable copper-plates, from Nagode, in Bundulkund, of Sri Hastina, a cotemporary of Samudra Gupta, for he is named by the latter in the Allahabad Inscription (see J. A. S. B.), translated by Mill. These plates fix the number of years passed of the Gupta Dynasty at that time, viz., 163; this will prove the correctness of the Vansavali, as given on the pillar, and will prove, I think, that the Guptas reigned from the second to the fifth century A.D."

the foot of the hills of Nipál[1] on the north-east, to the extremity of the peninsula of Guzerát on the south-west[2]; its southern boundary is not so well defined, but to the north-westward, suzerainty was claimed over the Punjáb to the banks of the Indus[3]. The same data seem to indicate that the possession of the more western portion of the empire was not obtained till a period subsequent to the consolidation of the kingdom on the Ganges. A possibly important point, also gained from these sources, is that *this* paramount Hindú race, who in later times, at all events, reigned *over*, if not *at* Ujein, is seen in two distinct instances to use the title of Vikramáditya[4].

Having attained thus much of an apparent footing from information gained through other channels, it is necessary to examine whether the *written* testimony of the Hindús in any way corroborates the present conclusions. Without conceding the least faith to either the inductive or direct chronological data to be derived from the craftily-imagined and most inextricably-jumbled post facta prophecies of the Vishnu Purána, it may be sufficient to accept from its pages the bare position, and the partially confirmatory geographical information conveyed in the pretended prediction[5]:—"After these various races will reign" * * * "and the Guptas of Magadha along the Ganges to Prayága."

The Rája Taranginí, the "*only*" Sanskrit Indian History extant, though avowedly local in its purpose, gives promise—could we but rely on its chronology—of unexpected illustration of the present subject of enquiry, inasmuch as it notices a Vikramáditya of Ujein, specified particularly as Emperor of India[6], who nominated Matri Gupta (the only *Gupta*, be it remarked, in the list, within many centuries of the possible time in question) to the throne of Kashmír; moreover, to extend the coincidences, this Vikramáditya is cited as having previously expelled the Mléchchhas and destroyed the Sakas. The following are the dates of accession of Matri Gupta, as given in the original, and by the several commentators: Rája Taranginí, Wilson, 117 A.D.[7];

[1] Bhitárí Lát (Ghazípúr District), "Kosala" (Oude) of Allahabad Inscription, J. A. S. B., vi. 971. Nipál, idem, 973.

[2] Skanda Gupta Inscription at Girnár, J. A. S. B., vii. 348.

[3] Yaudheya, J. A. S. B., vi. 973.

[4] Chandra Gupta, J. A. S. B., v. 650; Skanda Gupta, *infrâ*, Pl. II. fig. 51.

[5] Wilson's Vishnu Purána, 479. The date of this Purána is fixed by Wilson about 954 A.D. Mill quotes the passage thus:—"And in Padmávatí, Kánti purí, Mathurá and on the Ganges from Prayága, shall the Magadhas and the Guptas rule over the people belonging to Magadha." J. A. S. B., vi. 10.

[6] Histoire des Rois du Kachmîr, ii. 76 (Troyer); Wilson, As. Res., xv. 38.

[7] As. Res., xv. 81.

Troyer, 118. 11 A.D.[1]: Adjusted dates, Wilson, 471 A.D.; Troyer, 123. 3 A.D.; Cunningham, 430 A.D.[2] As it is manifest that the chief value of a determination of the identity of the individual, indicated as Srí *Harsha* Vikramáditya of Ujein, in the Sanskrit text, with any member of the family more immediately under consideration, would consist only in a possibility of thereby fixing with more exactness the epoch of the latter, it is useless to encumber the present essay with extended observations based upon such uncertain data. Neither under any circumstances should undue emphasis be laid on a catch identification of any one of the many Vikramádityas[3]; nor is much to be gained from a recognition of the possessor of the second title of Sakári, or even the more direct fact of a partial defeat of the Scythians[4], as proved to have been effected by any given individual. The designation of Vikramáditya is shown, both by the Eastern and Western series of the Gupta coinage, to have been already in established use as a mere *title*, in contradistinction to its supposed retention as a distinct *name*[5]. As there were many Vikramádityas, so probably there were many Sakáris; every frontier encounter with the Scythians which did not result in absolute defeat of the Indian forces, would, under the usual terms of Oriental hyperbole, entitle the local monarch to the honorary appellation of "Foe of the Scythians;" and whatever may have been the real effect of the vaunted success of Vikramáditya's arms against the Sakas—now conclusively dated—in 78 A.D.[6], it is clear that, in some divisions of Northern India, the

[1] Histoire des Rois du Kachmîr, ii. 365, 378.

[2] Cunningham, Num. Chron., vi. 18. [3] Wilford, As. Res., ix. 117.

[4] Taking the term Saka in its generic sense, as it was probably used, without entering into the divisional distinctions of Tochari, &c., noticed in Ar. Ant., 138, 139.

[5] Pl. II. fig. 51; III. No. e; and Appendix, Pl. VII. fig. 7.

[6] "L'ère de Saca, nommée par les Indiens Sacakâla, est postérieure à celle de Vikramaditya de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des Sakya: quelques-uns prétendent qu'il était Soudra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura. Il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race indienne, et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vînt du secours de l'Orient. Vikramaditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Moultan et le château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Saca, et on la choisit pour ère, principalement chez les astronomes. D'un autre côté Vikramaditya reçut le titre de sri (grand), à cause de l'honneur qu'il s'était acquis. Du reste, l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé entre l'ère de Vikramaditya et la mort de Saca, prouve que le vainqueur n'était pas le célèbre Vikramaditya, mais un autre prince du même nom." Albírúní, Reinaud, pp. 140, 141, 142.

Tochari, or Yuë-Chi, continued to furnish Scythic opponents for the occasional display of heroism on the part of the indigenous monarchs until at least the early portion of the third century of our æra[1]. The complete decay of the Indo-Scythic empire, whether due on the one hand to successive losses of frontier provinces, or to the less perceptible fusion[2] of the races of conquerors and conquered on the other, was manifestly a work of time, and apparent traces of the surviving power of the race were to be detected west of the Indus so late as the end of the fourth century[3].

V. These considerations lead naturally to the next division of our theme, the interval between the sway of the Guptas and that of the Sáh kings, and the question whether the succession of the Guptas was immediate or deferred. In following out this enquiry, the principal point to be determined is, whether the Indo-Scythians—the predecessors of the Guptas in other parts—also possessed Suráshtra; a conclusion which is apparently affirmed by the appearance of their dynastic title on the local silver coinage issued by these Guptas.

[1] Note upon Ma-twan-lin, J. A. S. B., vi. 63; also Pauthier, "Thian-tchu," *extract* from the Journal Asiatique, 1839, note, p. 9.

[2] M. Pauthier (Thian-tchu, Journal Asiatique, 1839) notices a curious enquiry, suggested by the similarity of meaning existing between the words Youë chi and Chandra Vansa: subjoined are M. Pauthier's translation of the Chinese text and his own notes on this head:—

"Dans la Relation des contrées occidentales (*Si-yu*), le royaume du *Thian-tchu* est nommé par quelques-uns *Chin-thou;* et on le dit situé au sud-est des Youë-chi[a] ou 'peuple de race lunaire' à la distance de quelque milliers de *li.* Les mœurs de ses habitants sont les mêmes que celles des Youë-chi[b]." Page 7.

[a] "*Yue-chi,* mots éthniques qui signifient *de race lunaire,* absolument comme le terme sanskrit चन्द्र वंश *tchandra-vansa.* Voy. la notice sur ce peuple célèbre (que l'on croit être les Indo-Scythes des historiens occidentaux), que nous avons traduite du Pian-i-tian, liv. LII. art. 2."

[b] "*Sou-yu youë-chi-thoung:* mores cum (τοῦ) *Youë-chi* (moribus) iidem. Quelque extraordinaire que cette assertion paraisse, elle confirmerait le soupçon que nous avons déjà émis ailleurs, que les Youë Chi ou hommes de race lunaire pourraient bien avoir la même origine que les rois Indiens, aussi de race lunaire, tchandra-vansa."

May not these coincidences, conjoined to the curious verbal similarity to be detected between NANAIA and NANO, suggest the possibility of the meaning of the latter referring to the moon, and thus PAO NANO PAO being, the King, the Lunar King, or King of the Lunar Race?

See also remarks bearing upon the general subject in J. A. S. B., iv. 677, 684; and Tod, Trans. R. A. S., i. 207; also Annals of Rajpootana, i. 24, 563.

[3] Wilson, quoting Foe kue ki, Ar. Ant., 307. See also Foë kouë ki, 83—"Les rois des Yuĕ ti continuèrent d'exercer l'autorité dans ces diverses contrées jusque dans le III[e] siècle. Au commencement du V[e] siècle, on parle encore de leurs incursions dans l'Inde." M. Rémusat.

Previous to seeking other evidence, it may be as well to examine the indications offered on this head by the respective coins of the Sáh and Gupta monarchs, in their simple relation to each other as a prior and subsequent series, and hence to determine whether the silver currency of the latter was a directly consecutive adaptation of the circulating medium of the former—a revival of a coinage whose issue had been suspended, but whose previously-uttered pieces still remained prevailingly current and unsuperseded—or, lastly, whether the model of the Guzerát currency of the Guptas was taken from an intermediate modification, which may possibly have formed the connecting link between the moneys of the two races. The more obvious mechanical features displayed by the coins themselves go far to assist a definite selection from among these theories. In the first place, the fidelity with which the main characteristics of the Sáh head are reproduced on some of the earlier specimens of the Gupta coins, seems to negative the idea of the latter having been copied from any inferior model, and should suffice in itself to set aside the claims of the last-named *secondary* transition. The Greek legend on the obverse, on the other hand, shows signs of a material change from the unintelligible, though squarely-outlined and very Greek-looking, letters of the Sáh kings, to the ill-formed and straggling Hellenic alphabet in use among the Indo-Scythians, and points plainly to the occurrence of an interval—indefinite perhaps—between the fabrication of the one class and of the other. The variation also in the expression of the Sanskrit letters on the reverse, evidences extensive modification, such as could only have resulted from some considerable lapse of time[1], and which it would be impossible satisfactorily to explain by any notion that the Gupta artists summarily introduced the form of writing current in the countries whence their masters came, to the permanent supercession of any characters in prevailing local use. The change from the old reverse device is of no import in its bearings upon the present enquiry, as it must have been effected from religious motives, entirely irrespective of any circumstances incident to direct or interrupted succession. The palpable modifications in both the Greek and Sanskrit alphabets now noticed, may be held to prove that the transition from one series of coins to the other was by no means immediate; an inference which is strongly corroborated by the recognition of a distinct group of medals also derived from the original Suráshtran

[1] Compare Nos. 1 to 12 with *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, Pl. III. Prinsep had already remarked that "The Asoka alphabet (the Sanskrit one) agrees very closely with that of our Surashtra coins, which may thence be pronounced to be anterior to the Gupta Series." J. A. S. B., vii. 275.

stock, whose palæographic peculiarities, in associating them obviously and intimately with *the* Sáh exemplars, contrast broadly with the mutations observable in the Gupta series. (See 1st Sub-species, p. 56, Pl. II., figs. 35, 36, 37, 38.) Reviewing all these facts, and giving the requisite weight to the token of the intervening Scythic supremacy conveyed in the use of the title of their chiefs on the Gupta Guzerátí pieces, as well as to the valid presumption, hereafter to be noticed, that the Indo-Scythians themselves did not generally coin silver money, it appears necessary to conclude that the Guptas, on their conquest of the kingdom of Guzerát, contented themselves with remodelling the ancient Sáh coinage, which, from the numbers in which its representatives are still to be found, may reasonably be presumed to have continued to constitute the bulk of the currency of the province at that epoch.

Some objection might be taken to the apparent inconsistency of claiming for the Guptas a direct succession to the Indo-Scythians on the strength of similitude of coinage, when in a nearly parallel instance of imitation by the Guptas of the Suráshtran money, an interval of somewhere about one, or one and a half centuries is admitted to have occurred. If these several facts stood alone, and were to be tried only on their own internal merits, this objection might indeed be valid, but it is to be borne in mind that a very slow process of change would apply to the coinage of a country so nearly isolated in its natural boundaries as the peninsula of Guzerát: as, from the very nature of its geographical outline alone, it is probable that the purely local currency of the kingdom was, on the one hand, little liable to be exported, and, on the other, was but slightly affected by the admixture of foreign specie; so that any endeavour towards a revival of this indigenous currency would both find plentiful models of the old form of coin ready at hand, and, supposing such pieces still to constitute the bulk of the circulating medium, there would be a reasonable motive for imitation—even though remotely delayed—in the desirability of uniformity alone.

To the broad continent of Northern India a very different rule would apply, and amid the diverse series of imitations derived from the Indo-Scythic stock, now known to have existed in this region, the Guptas, had they succeeded at any *distant* epoch to the countries once belonging to the Indo-Scythians, and proposed to themselves to assimilate their own money to the later issues, would have been more likely to have *copied* the already existing imitations, rather than, as they are seen to have done, the best originals. Or, had they to choose a new mintage irrespective of successional associations, there must

have been other and *purer* models in the land, in the very perfect coins of the Bactrian Greeks, once largely concurrent, and necessarily to a late date co-existent, with the money of the Indo-Scythians, upon which the new types of coinage might advantageously have been based.

Again, in respect to the characters employed on the several series —a change from one language, the Greek, to a totally distinct tongue, the Sanskrit, in all medallic superscriptions emanating from the Eastern mints—accounted for as it is by a reasonable probability of the supercession of the former as a foreign tongue, in favour of the official language of the new ruling power, which was at the same time more assimilated to that of the people at large—would evidently require no lapse of time to accomplish; but a very different explation is required for the numerous subsidiary modifications in the local alphabetical characters seen on the Gupta Suráshtran coins, as compared with the more ancient letters of the same class on the original money of the Sáh kings.

These pervading alterations could under no circumstances have been effected by any sudden process, or by any revolution which did not admit of a considerable interval between the use of the one form of writing and the other.

In the absence of either direct history or the more trustworthy record of monumental inscriptions, the next source of information to which it is requisite to apply, is the detached notices of classical writers, who in any way refer to the land and the people more immediately under review. Prominent among these is the reference to Mámbarus to be found in the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea[1]. This, however, when brought to the test of critical accuracy, is found to be useless for any present purpose, inasmuch as, in addition to the avowed difficulty attendant upon the satisfactory explanation of the text itself, as it has been handed down to us, there remains a nearly

[1] Vincent's Periplus, p. 98, and *note* on Mámbarus at the conclusion.

Original Translation.	*Vincent's Proposed Emendation.*
"Next to the bay of Barákè succeeds the gulf of Barugáza, and on this gulf is the commencement of the whole [peninsula] of India, as well as the kingdom of Mámbarus, towards [the confines of] Aríakè."	"Next to Barákè immediately succeeds the gulf of Barugáza, and the commencement of the province of Lár, [which is] the kingdom of Mámbarus, and the whole of this part of India has the same commencement."

"I have attributed the sovereignty of Aríake or Concan to Mámbarus, and I am now convinced that his dominion was Guzerát. * * I made the Parthian power at Minnagar, on the Indus, extend over Guzerát, whereas in reality it embraced only Scindi and Kutch."

equal degree of incertitude regarding the precise epoch[1] to which the amended textual reading—if received—should be held to apply. Hence, even admitting to the full that the original allusion to Larike and Mámbarus is now correctly interpreted, the doubt still remains as to *when* this condition of things is to be made applicable to the kingdom more particularly in question. Thus the independence of Guzerát, at the moment of the visit of the Author of the Periplus, if acknowledged as a fact, does not under these circumstances possess any great historic value; nor would even the exact ascertainment of the epoch testified to, do more than prove the temporary existence of the kingdom of Mámbarus, or by any means demonstrate that the Indo-Scythians did not—either prior or subsequent to the given date—conquer the peninsula of Guzerát[2].

Fortunately for the satisfactory decision of the present question, we have the evidence of a nearly contemporaneous writer, whose statement, though not in unison with the dubious reading of the text of the Periplus proposed by Vincent, is in itself clear and distinct to the point it is now sought to elucidate—the tenure of the peninsula of Guzerát during a portion at least of the time during which the Scythian monarchy at Minnagar was in effective force. From the testimony of Ptolemy it is amply manifest that Guzerát *once* formed a portion of the Indo-Scythian empire, the chief seat of which was on the banks of the Indus[3].

Having determined the main question of fact, it is requisite to pro-

[1] Vincent, "about 63 A.D.," Commerce of the Ancients, ii. 57 and 685; Heeren, "during the first, or, at latest, during the second century A.D." Asiatic Nations, ii. 565, Lond., 1846.

[2] "Ozênè" is noticed in the Periplus "as *formerly* the seat of government" (p. 102). This would be by no means an unimportant piece of information, as showing that in the time of the second Arrian, Ujein was no longer an Imperial metropolis, were it not that it is somewhat difficult to reconcile this statement with the assertion of Ptolemy, who calls it "the capital of Tiástanus, and his royal residence." Vincent, Commerce of the Ancients, ii. 406.

[3] Lassen, quoting Ptolemy, J. A. S. B., 1840, pp. 756, 757.

In support of the conclusion arrived at above respecting the Scythian conquest of Guzerát, it may be expedient to cite the decisive opinion expressed on this head by so able a Numismatist as Capt. Alexander Cunningham, Bengal Engineers, an Antiquary who has moreover devoted special attention to the subject of the geographical limits of the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian monarchies:—"In the most flourishing period of their rule, the Indo-Scythians, under Kanerki and his immediate successors, must have possessed not only Kashmir itself, but also the whole of Gandhara on the Indus; and from Kabul on the west, as far as the Ganges on the east, down to Barygaza or Baroach on the south." Num. Chron., vi. 2, *Article*, "The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir;" see also Num. Chron. viii. 175, "Chronological and Geographical Table of Alexander's Successors in the East."

ceed to that of degree, and to consider what was the nature of the tenure thus established. We learn from the Chinese, "That at the period when all these kingdoms belonged to the Yuë-Chi, the latter put the local kings to death and substituted military chiefs[1]." Hence it is but reasonable to infer that Guzerát, on its subjection, was put upon the same footing as the other countries which fell to the arms of the Indo-Scythians, and that the form of government previously prevailing in the peninsula was superseded by the usual military despotism of the conquerors. The application of this system to Guzerát in itself accounts for much that was inexplicable in the examination of the numismatic portion of the question, when confined to the results deducible from its own internal evidence, as developed solely by the medals themselves. Under a general scheme of provincial government by military chiefs, having in their own persons no pretence to the privileges or dignities of even dependant *kings*, it is probable that the local coinage was suspended in favour of *one* uniform imperial issue. The monetary standard of the Indo-Scythians was, without question, gold, as amid the multitude of their coins extant only *one* genuine *silver* piece is known[2]. It has already been remarked by Professor Wilson[3] that their silver currency consisted chiefly of the coins of their Bactrian predecessors, so also we may infer that, in like manner, in the province of Guzerát, the pre-existing silver currency was held to be sufficient for the wants of the community, especially when aided, as it now was, by the introduction of the more valuable and heretofore probably unknown gold coinage, at that period peculiar to these tribes.

If the data now cited, and the deductions drawn from them, are correct, it appears that the Indo-Scythians of Minnagar ruled over Guzerát—that during the time of their sway over this peninsula the issue of local silver money was not sustained; hence, admitting the obvious priority of date of the Sáh silver coins over those of the Guptas—for which indeed they are seen to have furnished the prototype—and rejecting all idea of the intervention between the Scythians and the Guptas of a dynasty whose united reigns can scarcely have

[1] Ma-twan-lin, *Pauthier*, Asiatic Journal, LXXIX. and LXXX., 1836; the same, *Stan. Julien*, Journ. Asiatique, X. 95 (1847); so also Thian Tchu, *Pauthier*, Journ. Asiatique, 1839. "A cette époque [159 A.D.] tous ces royaumes (Kaboul et les divers états de l'Hindoustan) appartenaient aux *Youë Chi*, ou peuple de race Lunaire. Les *Youë Chi* avaient fait mourir leurs rois, et établi à leur place des commandants militaires pour gouverner tous leurs sujets."

[2] Ar. Ant., pl. xi. fig. 9.

[3] Ar. Ant., 348. See also Cunningham, Num. Chron. vi. 7 (1843).

spread over less than a century and a half, it results that the Sáh kings preceded the Indo-Scythians.

It is *now* pretty generally conceded that the Yuë-Chi (Tochares) conquest of Western India should be dated in or about 26 B.C.[1] It is, therefore, anterior to this epoch that the domination of the Sáh kings must be placed.

Having attained this approximate date from comparatively external and subsequent indications, the next step in advance leads to an examination into the intrinsic claims of the coins themselves to date prior to 26 B.C., as well as to a consideration of any testimony specifically applicable to the history of the Sáh kings, whose names are borne on the coins in question.

VI. It may be convenient to commence this section of the enquiry with "The Sáh Kings'" own account of themselves, as preserved in *their* inscription engraved on the rock at Girnar[2],—the monumental record stone of three several dynasties.

The amount of information derivable from this inscription[3] is less

[1] Ma-twan-lin, J. R. A. S., 1836; also Journ. Asiatique, 1839; *Lassen*, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 765 (40 B.C.); *Cunningham*, Num. Chron., viii. 175; Ar. Ant., 301.

[2] "The rock containing the inscriptions is about a mile to the eastward of Junágad, and about four miles from the base of Girnár, which is in the same direction." Rev. J. Wilson, J. A. S. B., vii. 337. See also a subsequent paper in the same volume (p. 865), by Lieut. Postans, giving a full account of the adjacent localities.

[3] On first arranging the materials of the present paper, I was prepared to rely implicitly upon Prinsep's translation of the Girnar Bridge Inscription; but on its subsequently coming to my knowledge that a second more perfect facsimile of the original record had been taken by Major Jacob and Mr. Westergaard, and a lithograph copy of the same made public in the pages of the Journal of the Bombay Branch Asiatic Society, I was induced to apply to this transcript, with a view, at the least, of checking any possible errors in the more prominent names of men and countries that might have crept into the less perfect copy of the inscription furnished to Jas. Prinsep by Dr. Wilson, from which the original decipherment was obtained. In the progress of my examination, I was startled to find very extensive variation, both in the number and value of the letters as given in the two copies; indeed, the mere discovery that the opening name, read by Prinsep as *Ari* Dámá, was in the new transcript clearly and unquestionably *Rudra* Dámá—the identical designation that occurs in the concluding portion of both copies of the inscription—was enough to satisfy me that a complete revision of the entire document was now absolutely requisite. Under these circumstances, I at once applied to Professor Wilson, who readily undertook the task, permitting me, in the most liberal manner, to make full use of his new translation, which I am gratified in being able to announce will shortly be published in a separate form, illustrated by the needful notes and remarks. Such being the case, I have confined my notice of the inscription to such extracts and observations as were indispensable to elucidate the special subject of the coins of the Sáh kings.

complete than might have been anticipated, owing chiefly to the mutilated state of the face of the stone whereon the writing is cut, having created a succession of breaks in the context which it is at times difficult to supply. We learn however, generally, that the repair of the Girnar Bridge or Causeway, which the monumental writing is designed to commemorate, took place during the reign, and under the direct auspices of Rája Mahá Kshatrapa Rudra Dámá, the son of Swámí Chandana. The structure itself would seem to have been originally undertaken by Pushpa Gupta [the son, or officer] of Chandra Gupta Maurya, and subsequently completed under the direction of Tushasya, the superintendent of Asoka Maurya. Thus erected, it may be supposed to have stood until carried away by the flood of the Palesini, which necessitated its reconstruction in the time of Rudra Dámá: what the extent of the interval between these given epochs may have been there is no means of determining, nor is any assistance in fixing the time of the later occurrences to be derived from what still remains of the defaced passage, which must once have conveyed the record of a date. However, from the separate mention of the names of Chandra Gupta, Pushpa Gupta, Asoka, and his subordinate Tushasya, as well as from the circumstantial reference to the progress of the work, as first undertaken, which marks this portion of the inscription, thus much may fairly be inferred, that the record itself cannot well have been endorsed at any period distantly removed from the time of the domination of the Maurya sovereigns therein alluded to.

Among the incidental notices of importance to be found in the inscription is to be cited the reference to the lands ruled over by Rudra Dámá. Of these, the names of Suráshtra and Anartta, as well as the designations of the countries of the Parántas and the Nishadas, are distinctly and unequivocally legible; and from among the doubtful readings, upon which less reliance can be placed, may be quoted Abhira, Khusmara[1], Kukura, and the districts on the confines of Avanti (Ujein).

The sentence, "Having (twice?) conquered without deceit Satakarni, sovereign of the South" (दक्षिणापथ), likewise offers matter for remark, as, from the distinct mention of the name and kingdom of the monarch in question, a legitimate expectation might arise of the

[1] This word is exceedingly doubtful in the Bombay facsimile, the initial letter occurring after a lengthened break in the context caused by the nearly entire loss of a number of letters on the edge of a fissure in the rock. The head lines of both the first and second letters of the word suggested are also only imperfectly visible.

possibility of checking the apparent date of the conqueror by the approximate identification of that of the individual conquered; in point of fact, however, even were it possible to select the king alluded to from among the rest of his race[1], who are all supposed to have borne the dynastic title of Satakarni[2], but little could be gained from this source, as the known history of the dynasty itself affords still less of *certain* epochal data than that of the race whose æra we would test by their contemporaneous existence. It has been remarked, both by Prinsep and Wilson, that perhaps the most trustworthy information we obtain of the probable date of these Southern kings is derived from Pliny, who mentions that the Andhra monarchs were very powerful in India in the beginning of the Christian æra. From the details given of the extent of this power, as evidenced in the numerical strength of their armies, &c.[3], it might reasonably be concluded, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that such extensive supremacy must have taken some time to consolidate[4], and hence that the family of the Satakarnis may well have been co-existent with our Suráshtran monarchs, at all events at some proximate period B.C.

For the purposes of chronological arrangement, it would also be highly desirable to have been able definitively to determine the position Rudra Dámá should occupy among the other members of the Sáh Dynasty. This might possibly have been done, but with the necessary reservation in regard to the additional prefix of Swámí, by identifying the Rája Mahá Kshatrapa Rudra Dámá of the inscription with the individual of the same title and name who figures on the coins as the father of the last monarch of the present list. There is, however, undoubtedly a difficulty[5] in the way of the unreserved ad-

[1] In number 30 kings, supposed to spread over 435 odd years. Wilson, Vishnu Purána.

[2] Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 346; Wilson, Vishnu Purána, 474, note 63.

[3] Validior deinde gens Andaræ, plurimis vicis, xxx oppidis quæ muris turribusque muniuntur, regi præbet peditum CM, equitum MM, elephantos M. Pliny, Hist. Nat., vi. 19.

[4] Wilson, though he says, "According to the computation hazarded above from our text, the race of Andhra kings should not commence till about twenty years B.C., which would agree with Pliny's notice of them," adds the important admission, "but it is possible that they existed earlier in the south of India, although they established their authority in Magadha only in the first centuries of the Christian æra." Vishnu Purána, p. 475.

[5] This objection might certainly be overruled by supposing that Swámí Rudra Sáh, the son of Swámí Rudra Dámá, upon whose coins alone the latter name occurs, finding it advisable to distinguish, by some means or other, his own name —already so common in the family—from the analogous designations of his predecessors, adopted the expedient of carrying out this object by the introduction of

mission of this identity in the use of the extra title of Swámí on the coins, for the insertion of which there was clearly no want of room on the face of the rock whereon the inscription is engraved; and without such a convincing degree of certainty, it would of course be useless to raise up any arguments founded upon what may eventually prove a mere chance coincidence.

In concluding these summary observations on the Sáh Inscription, it will be useful to cite Prinsep's opinion of the internal evidence of the antiquity of the record, as shown by the form of the writing employed; an opinion, it is to be remarked, that possesses peculiar value, as having been adopted at a period, in his successful career of deciphering these monuments of antiquity, when his knowledge of the subject had arrived at its fullest maturity. "The character is only one remove from the Buddhist alphabet of *Girnár*. It has the same mode of applying the vowel marks e, a, and o, in particular to those excellent test letters n, ṇ, and m. The vowel i is still formed of three dots: but I need not more fully dilate upon its peculiarities, as I have already inserted the whole alphabet as No. 3 of the comparative table," to which has been assigned the date of the third century B.C.[1]

Lastly, it remains to be quoted, as a fact of some importance in the elucidation of the general subject of the comparative antiquity of Asiatic tongues, that the inscription is written in the Sanskrit language[2].

It is now time to notice the more prominent characteristics of the coins themselves—viewed as a series—reserving the more extended examination of individual peculiarities for the Detail appended to this Memoir.

the extra title of Swámí, which, in appropriating to himself, he may have thought necessary to apply to his father, though his father himself, in rejoicing in a denomination hitherto unused by any monarch of the dynasty, found no occasion to employ the same distinctive word. This title is seen from the inscription to have pertained to Chandana, the father and grandfather of these Rudras (?)—a honorary prefix by no means necessarily or invariably bestowed upon the fathers of kings. (See Varsha, coin No. 1, Detail of Coins.)

[1] "The *Sanskrit* character of the third century B.C. differs only so much from the original form [the Buddhist alphabet of the fifth century B.C.] as the habits of a class of writers, distinct in religion [?] and more refined in language, might naturally introduce." Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 275.

[2] "All doubt as to the pre-existence of the Sanskrit in its purest state being set aside by the simultaneous production of a monument of Asoka's time, I need not trouble myself to prove the necessity of the existence of a higher and more remote model to account for the marked difference between the dialect of Guzerát and that of Cuttack. * * The dialect of *Girnar*, then [of the *Buddhist Edict*], is intermediate between Sanskrit and Páli." J. A. S. B., vii. 277.

As most readily to be disposed of, it may be convenient to commence with a description of the *Reverse*. The centre symbol of this surface of the coins uniformly consists of a base line surmounted by three semicircles, arranged in the form of a pyramid. This emblem is held—according to the circumstances under which it is employed—to typify indifferently the Buddhist Chaitya or the Mithraic flame[1]. Below this is to be seen a wavy line, which has been supposed to represent a bow[2], but which more probably appears as the ancient type of *water*—a precisely similar line expressing that element in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Above the apex of the centre device is a crescent, generally carefully separated from the lines of the principal figure. On the right side of the upper surface of the field is to be noticed a seeming constellation, usually numbering seven stars, one of which performs the part of centre of the system; but at times this symbol takes the form of a single sun or star, the attendant satellites being transformed into rays[3]. On the corresponding space to the left there is a repetition of the half-moon which crowns the centre ornament. Around these, in finely cut and mostly uniformly fashioned Devanagari letters, are inscribed the name, title, and paternity of the sovereign who struck the piece. These letters assimilate in all needful respects with the corresponding alphabet of the Sáh Inscription at Girnár, though the general coincidence is less striking in consequence of the *die*-characters being so disposed as to make the head-line of the legend nearly touch the circle that forms the margin of the coin, which has led to a very constant omission of all those vowels which should be written *above* their associate consonants.

The necessity of compressing a lengthened inscription into a limited space has also tended to vary the apparent forms of some of the letters themselves, consequent upon an effort to give the requisite definition in less than the needful breadth. This will be seen to have been more particularly the case with the letter ह्, which is at first

[1] This symbol "occurs on the Pantaleon Greek coins—on the Indo-Scythic group—on the Behat Buddhist group—on similar coins dug up in Ceylon—and here at the extremity of India. It is the Buddhist Chaitya, the Mithraic flame—Mount Meru, Mount Aboo!" Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vi. 389.

"In the centre of the reverse is the so-called *Chaitya* symbol ; which, had it only occurred on these descendants of a Mithraic coin, I should now be inclined to designate a symbol of the holy flame, trilingual and pyramidical, of the Sassanian fire-worship." Prinsep, J. A. S. B., iv. 686.

[2] Steuart, J. R. A. S., xviii. 274.

[3] Ar. Ant., pl. xv. fig. 14; also J. A. S. B., vii. pl. xii. fig. 12; infrâ, pl. i. fig. 19.

sight scarcely recognisable as the possible equivalent of the ह of the Lapidary alphabet. Another notable difference existing between the two systems of writing is, that whereas the Inscription alphabet has no tops to the letters, except such as are incidentally added to express an annexed vowel, the coin characters, on the contrary, have invariably a head line, which, though it adds to the uniform appearance of the whole, debars the free definition of these useful distinctive signs.

Reviewing the whole of the symbolic indications to be found on the *reverse* of the medals of the Suráshtran kings, it is to be noticed that, taking the central emblem as neutral ground, common both to Buddhists and Mithraists, there is, with the single exception of the wavy line, a remarkable absence of *other* purely Buddhist signs, in the presence, *too*, of strange symbols. which have hitherto been seen on no acknowledged Buddhist coin: moreover, these identical devices[1], the crescents, and, at times, a completely analogous form[2] of the star, figure as favourite devices on the avowed fire-worship coins of the Sassanians.

These considerations seem to authorise a supposition that—though already largely tinctured with the prevailing and lately dominant religion of Buddha—the Sáh kings avowedly followed the ancient faith of "Sun Worshippers," a creed of which their country to this day bears traces, not only in its name[3], but in the still surviving temples[4] once devoted to the service of the Solar Deity.

[1] See Ar. Ant., pl. xvi. figs. 4, 6, 16, 17; pl. xvii. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., and especially No. 7.

[2] Longperier, Médailles Sassanides, obverse figs. 3, 4, pl. I.; reverse figs. 2, 3, Pl. IX.; see also X., XI., &c.

[3] "Saurashtra, or the region of the *worshippers of the sun*, comprised the whole of the peninsula at present called Kathiawar." Wathen, J. A. S. B., iv. 482.

[4] "The earliest objects of adoration in these regions (Méwar, &c.) were the sun and moon," Tod, ii. 301. "The only temples of the sun I have met with are in Saurashtra," idem.

It is a prominent fact connected with the survival of this form of religion that Dharapattah, the fifth Valabhí, is noticed in the text of Wathen's first Copper-plate Grant as "*the great adorer of the sun.*" J. A. S. B., iv. 485. In corroboration of this also, we learn from Tod that "in the mythology of the Rajpoots, of which we have a better idea from their heroic poetry than from the legends of the Brahmins, the Sun-god is the deity they are most anxious to propitiate; and in his honour they fearlessly expend their blood in battle. * * Their highest heaven is accordingly the Bhan-t'han or Bhánuloca, the region of the sun; and like the Indu-Scythic Gete, the Rajpoot warrior of the early ages sacrificed the horse in his honour, and dedicated to him the first day of the week." (Annals, i. 563.) Hiuen-thsang found a temple of the sun at Multán in the seventh century, which was still in existence when the Arabs first entered India. (Reinaud, Analyse d'un Mémoire Géographique, 14.)

Prinsep's conjecture regarding the Buddhist faith of these monarchs was based upon three separate indications. 1st. The absence of all allusion to recognized Hindú mythology in the Girnár Inscription; 2nd, the reading of one of the names on the coins, as Jina Dámá ("Wearing Buddha as a necklace"); and, 3rd, the Buddhistic leaning to be detected in the abstinence from destruction of life, laudatorily attributed to Rudra Dámá in the Bridge Inscription[1].

The following observations are also illustrative of the general subject:—

"Nous en citons quelques traits dans une traduction fidèle, pour amener le tableau que nous devons faire des éléments qui ont constitué à l'origine le panthéon indien:—

"'Le culte était simple [dit Goerres]: point de temples ou d'images. Les regards s'élevaient de la terre vers le ciel; là était véritablement l'empire du feu; là brûlait perpétuellement le soleil; là étincelaient les étoiles et les planètes comme autant de flammes au sein de l'obscurité; là resplendissaient dans leurs sources intarissables les feux, qui ne projetaient sur la terre que des clartés affaiblies. Le culte du feu est devenu l'adoration du soleil; le soleil, l'armée des cieux, les élémens qui leur obéissent, telles sont les puissances immortelles, et tels sont tout à-la-fois les prêtres du ciel; le monde est un reflet de la divinité; il existe par lui-même, il n'est limité par rien; en ce sens, la religion de cette époque est un panthéism.'

"Ces aperçus, qui sont pour l'histoire religieuse de l'Inde de la plus grande justesse, sont confirmés par les recherches entreprises dans les derniers temps sur les cultes dominans de l'Asie moyenne et antérieure; les débris des fables et des légendes populaires que les sources anciennes rapportent aux Chaldéens, aux Phéniciens, aux Babyloniens, aux Arméniens, aux Phrygiens, ont des caractères analogues et un fonds commun: 'Tout semble se rapporter au culte des astres ou au sabéisme, dans son sens le plus matériel. Le soleil, la lune, quelques planètes, certaines constellations, dans leurs mutuels rapports avec la terre, tels paraissent être les principaux objets d'adoration. * * La Perse, l'Egypte, la Grèce, et l'Italie même n'offrent dans leurs souvenirs antiques aucun fait qui contredise la portée de cette appréciation.'" M. Nève, Mythe des Ribhavas, p. 5.

"Les hommages des indigènes, à cette époque reculée, s'adressaient au soleil, à la lune, au feu, et à ce qui ordinairement frappe le plus vivement les sens et l'imagination. Tel est le culte qui parait avoir dominé jadis, non-seulement dans l'Inde, mais dans la Perse." Reinaud, Analyse d'un Mémoire Géographique, 13 (1846).

See also the Vedic faith, as shown by Sir William Jones' Essays; Colebrooke, As. Res., ix. 273; Wilson, Introd. Vishnu Purána, ii.

[1] "It is remarkable that, in the long string of epithets applied even to Rudra Dámá, the chosen *Satrap*, there is none which bears the slightest allusion to Hindu mythology; while, on the other hand, the coins of the whole dynasty bear an emblem we have hitherto considered either of Mithraic or of Buddhist import. The name of Jina Dámá ('Wearing Buddha as a necklace') is decidedly Buddhistic; and the epithet applied in the inscription to Rudra Dámá—who from right persuasion never put any living creature to death—proves that Rudra's opinions were at any rate influenced by the proximity of the important Buddhist establishment at Girnár."

As it is not proposed to show that the Sáhs were Brahmanical Hindus, the first point requires neither comment nor answer: in respect to the second, as the word Jina can now be proved to have been incorrectly read in the place of Jíwa, the argument founded on the previous interpretation at once falls to the ground: and for the third position, it also is equally based on error, arising from an inaccurate rendering of the original passage in the inscription; notwithstanding all this, there is some reason to concur in the idea itself, that the Sáh kings were "influenced" by the opinions of the Buddhists, though this by no means implies a complete desertion of the old faith.

This is scarcely the place to enter into any speculations on the connexion between these religions; but as illustrative of the subject more immediately under consideration, it may be mentioned that there are numerous instances of a strange association of Buddhistic invocations with the expression of the usual homage to the sun and moon, to be found in many of the Cave Inscriptions in Western India[1].

Reverting to the *Obverse* of these medals, two prominent deficiencies have combined to obstruct any conclusive elucidation of the questions involved in the decipherment of the marginal legends—the one resulting from the use of a relatively broader die for this surface of the coin; the other, from the ignorance of the engravers of the language they endeavoured to imitate. The first of these causes has left us without a single complete *obverse* stamp; the latter has rendered that which has received a due impression—so to speak—illegible.

Before examining the legends, however, the more distinct and simple main device claims a passing notice. The head, which is seen to occupy nearly the entire surface of the coin, is remarkable in itself for a degree of perfection of outline and execution seldom attained by Indian die-cutters; and this superiority alone has been held to evidence either direct instruction in, or close imitation of, Grecian art; though the features of the face, the thin moustache, the ear-rings, and the head-dress, each and all bespeak the hand of a native artist, whose ideal of the form and apparel of a man (for whomsoever intended) was drawn from local associations. There does not seem to

[1] Sykes' Inscription, J. R. A. S., No. VIII., interpreted by Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 566. See also the same, with additional Inscriptions collected by Bird, (Historical Researches, &c., pp. 51, 52, Bombay, 1847); also his notice of the derivation of the Buddhist religion itself, from the old form of Sabean idolatry, Bombay Branch J. A. S., May, 1844, p. 440; and Hist. Res., p. 63, where he states, "I refer them rather to solar and elemental worship, out of which arose Buddhism, and with which it seems to have been intimately associated on its first propagation as a creed."

have been any intentional attempt to vary the profiles, such as under a higher style of art might have been aimed at, with a design of portraying each succeeding king; indeed, the original head is implicitly reproduced throughout, with the exception, of course, of occasional deterioration consequent upon inferiority of workmanship, which extends to the rest of the coin. The same remark applies generally to the entire execution of the die-arrangements, and it is a fact of perhaps more import than has as yet been assigned to it, that the coins of twelve kings should thus continue—throughout the period implied in the natural duration of so many reigns—to run so little changed in aught but the purport of the legends. The inscription that nearly surrounds the head, consists of two diverse, though undivided, legends, the more lengthened one being expressed in a singular imitation of Greek letters; the more brief record of three characters, which occupies the most roomy portion of the field, behind the neck of the figure, being understood to have an Indian origin. It will simplify the examination of these, to consider them each under their separate heads.

As introductory to the former, a few words seem called for on the form of the characters themselves: these have from the first been recognised as imperfect representations of Greek letters[1], and each succeeding[2] observer has concurred in this attribution. Late acquisitions of more perfect materials fully confirm these early impressions; and though up to the present time we are still far removed from any definite and satisfactory solution of the purport the legends may have been intended to convey, nevertheless a few items may be cited as showing progress made towards the elucidation of the enigma.

Not the least in order among these is the fact of the specimens of the earlier coins displaying far more correctly formed Greek letters than the pieces which succeed them, justifying thereby, not only the inference that the higher we advance in point of antiquity, the nearer we approach the level of the intelligible alphabet in which the earliest legends must needs have been written; but also the more important deduction therefrom, that the errors of later copyists were beyond the reach of authoritative correction, and hence, that subsequent to the establishment of the Sáh dynasty, there was, in the one case, either a general absence of Greek interference with the provinces wherein these coins were current, and that the crude imitations of their characters were considered as evincing in themselves sufficient

[1] Steuart, J. R. A. S., Feb. 1837, p. 273; also Prinsep, May, 1837, J. A. S. B.

[2] Wilson, J. R. A. S., 1837, p. 398; also Ar. Ant., 411; Stevenson, Bombay Asiatic Journal, 1847.

compliance with the demands implied in the recognition of Greek supremacy; or, on the other hand—supposing the complete independence of the Sáhs of Guzerát—we must conclude that a mere mechanical semblance of the original inscription was sufficient for the purposes of the later members of the family, who perpetuated it for uniformity sake, without thinking it necessary to render intelligible a record couched in a language at best but in partial use.

That these obverse legends were mainly the work of Indian artists might be held to be sufficiently established by the simple circumstance of the Devanágari alphabet on the reverse retaining its fixed identity throughout the series, in the presence of a progressive debasement of the associate Greek characters on the opposite surface; but beyond this, the inference in question is strikingly confirmed by the detection—at an early period—of a tendency on the part of the engraver unduly to assimilate the general features of certain Greek letters to Devanágari characters possessed of a somewhat analogous outline. This leaning towards the local model occurs in an unusually marked degree on certain specimens of the money of the second monarch of our list, many of his coins, at the same time, showing the Greek alphabet in its initial transition state between the more correctly shaped letters of his predecessor Iswara-datta's coins, and the less and less distinctly expressed characters to be found on the pieces of his successors. Aided by the hint derived from the latter fact, the former seems in itself to furnish a satisfactory clue to the explanation of the real history of the deteriorating process whereby the obverse legends of the major portion of the entire group of these medals have reached a state of imperfection amounting to a complete loss of the distinctive character of the Hellenic alphabet. A native die-sinker, who might happen to discover the similarity that may really be said to have existed between the occasional form of his own म and the Greek Υ[1], would naturally—were the idea of their correspondence once adopted, and he himself left unchecked by needful correction—go on to endue each succeeding Υ with more and more of the identity of his own Devanágari letter, and less and less of the required features of the—to him—foreign character; the same course applied to the A, Δ, and Λ, each of which might be made to coincide with an inverted म, would readily account for the number of such outlines to be found in these inscriptions. Erroneous forms once introduced, and subsequent imitators possessing in turn less and less knowledge of

[1] See Pl. I. figs. 3 and 5.

the alphabet to be engraved, may well have produced the curious characters which now defy decipherment.

This may be a fit place to remark, that the earliest specimen of the coins of the Sáh kings at present known has one uniform Greek legend from beginning to end, and is entirely wanting in the Indian figures which are found on the pieces of the succeeding kings. The innovation of introducing *Sanskrit* numerals into the body of a Greek inscription seems to have originated with Rudra Sáh, the son of Swámí Jíwa Dámá. Another position is also gained from our latest numismatic contributions, resulting from the discovery, on a coin of Iswara datta, of a well-cut Greek sigma (Σ) of the old form, which began to be locally barbarized in India, towards the commencement of the century before Christ[1], and which is found in permanent use in its new shape (C) on the coins of Kadphises[2] and Kanerki. This, it is true, is but a small matter, but it should be sufficient to prove, even if there were no other evidence to the point, that the Sáh kings *preceded* the Kanerkis (Yuë Chi).

Regarding the intent and meaning of the legends, it is worse than useless to speculate upon probabilities founded upon such utterly insufficient materials as those now available[3]. It may be as well, therefore, to avoid all conjecture on the subject, confining the present remarks to what may be fairly affirmed as capable of obvious demonstration. Even the mutilated and clumsy attempts at Greek letters on these coins suffice to prove not only that the legends are *not* uniform, but that they vary *irregularly;* and allowing, even to the full, for incapacity and want of knowledge on the part of designers and engravers, this variation is *marked,* and apparently *purposed.* Thus, on the one hand, we find a certain given series of Greek letters reproduced on the coins of two different kings—as in the case of Vijaya Sáh, the son of Dámá Sáh, and Rudra Sáh, son of Víra Dámá[4]; on the other hand, again, are to be seen dissimilar Greek legends on different coins of one and the same Sah king[5]. These facts may be held to establish two distinct points:—1st. That the obverse inscription is *not* a Grecianized equivalent of the Indian name on the reverse,

[1] Wilson, Ar. Ant., p. 316, 318, &c.

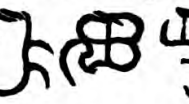
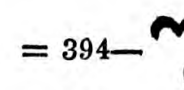
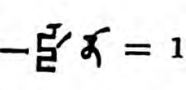
[2] First century A.D.: Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 765; Ar. Ant., 353; Cunningham, Num. Chron. viii. 175.

[3] As it may possibly contribute something towards the eventual elucidation of the purport of these legends, it will be useful to mention that the only coin I have yet seen with the Greek legend perfect at the termination has the concluding letters distinctly .... IYO [Rudra, son of Vira, 8th king (Sykes)].

[4] See Detail of Coins.

[5] Rudra Sáh, son of Jíwa Dámá. Pl. I. figs. 3, 5.

otherwise two kings of *different* Sanskrit appellations would not use the *same* Greek denomination[1]: 2nd. That a *given* set of Grecian characters being interchangeable for a *different* assortment on the coins of one king, and another set remaining unchanged on the coins of two kings in succession, it is clear that, supposing the Greek legends to purport the name of any existing being, the life of the individual so named must have been independent of the duration of the lives or reigns of the Sáh princes; and hence, that the name, if name it be—and its constituent letters do not designate a Greek equivalent of the title of any of the members of the Local Pantheon—should, under each alteration, refer to some one of a succession of potentates whom it was necessary or useful for the local princes of Guzerát to acknowledge.

It remains to notice the last and most important indication afforded by these coins, namely, the dates inserted near the commencement of the Greek legend. James Prinsep was indebted, for the original discovery of the fact of the characters in question being susceptible of interpretation as *dates*, to the identification of certain numerals similar to many of the figures of the coins, detected on some Guzerát Copper-plate Grants of the fourth century [Saka?], whereon the dates were written at length in words, and repeated in figures. The ciphers supplied by these inscriptions were  = 394—  = 380— = 15, and  = 385[2]. Prinsep had, therefore, as he supposed, the decimal num-

[1] Dr. Stevenson, in his account of the late discovery of Suráshtran coins at Junír (Púnah Collectorate), published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society, July, 1847, acting upon the supposition that the Greek inscription might be a mere translate adaptation of the native name on the reverse surface of the coin, has endeavoured to show that the obverse legend on a piece (infrâ, Pl. I. 5) of Rudra Sáh, the son of Swámí Jíwa Dámá, is to be read as Διολυπιϐ for *Deva Rudra*. Setting aside the unsatisfactory nature of both reading and rendering in this particular case, the rule itself is shown to be entirely inapplicable in its details to the later coins, and equally inconsistent with the facts developed by the change of inscription on Rudra Sáh's own coins as above noticed. I transcribe Dr. S.'s words:—"The first eight of these letters I read Διολυπιϐ. The last with two fragments I suppose to belong to a new word of which too little remains to found any conjecture upon. If I am right in reference to the first word, it will be a tolerable translation into Greek of *Rudra*, or even of Rudra Saha, supposing Dio, as in Dionysius, &c., to be the name of Jupiter, and the other element meaning, like Rudra, the causer of grief."

[2] The first, second, and fourth of these sets of numerals are facsimiles taken from the original copper-plates now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

bers 1, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9 represented by their equivalent figures. In the progress of his enquiry, he was enabled to collect no less than fifteen different symbols; the superfluous five, which remained over and above the requisite set of decimals, were imagined to be merely modifications of the correct form of the original ciphers. This excess, however, was felt and acknowledged to be a difficulty, for the solution of which it was imagined[1] there existed no sufficient data.

An extended collation of the old[2] and many newly acquired specimens[3] of the Sáh coins has now distinctly proved that there were a separate set of symbols used to denote units, tens, and hundreds, and hence that the figures employed were incapable of acquiring local value, or attaining any accession of power from relative position; so that each by itself expressed in full its own corresponding number, independent of any numerals that might precede or follow it. Of the hundreds, the coins show but one example = 300. Of the tens they disclose the = 80, and or = 90, whose values are verified by the copper-plates, and the unidentified forms of [4] or also , , or also , or , and . The = 10 has been found solely on the copper-plates.

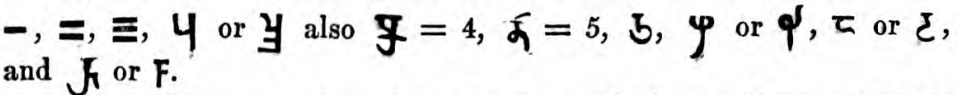
[1] Prinsep's suspicions as to the possibility of these figures being independent symbolical numerals—each representing in itself a given number, irrespective of their relative collocation—were naturally excited at finding a character, differing obviously from his own assumed figure *one*, used—in combination with a distinct unit, possessing its own separate power—to represent the value of *ten* (J. A. S. B., vii. 353). Had he seen the original Copper-plate Grant dated 380, he would probably have been confirmed in the opinion that the series of figures in question must be wanting in local value, as the symbol which expresses 80 is here seen to stand without the succeeding dot, reproduced—we must infer—from the inaccurate facsimile furnished by Dr. Burns, as No. 2, Pl. XX., Vol. VII. If the symbol stood merely for 8, and not for 80, and the in like manner represented 3 instead of 300, the want of this dot in the *figured* date would obviously have made the combined ciphers equivalent to 38, instead of the sum of 380, as required by the context of the *written* date.

An error that must also have seriously tended to mislead Prinsep's decision of the debated question, was his mistaken reading of the figured date on one of his own coins (J. A. S. B., vii. 350, and fig. 12, pl. xii. re-engraved in the accompanying plate I. as fig. 19), wherein the symbol , which is in effect never found except in the third or hundred place of the date, has been quoted as occupying the second or decimal place of the date, leading naturally to the supposition that the figure was moveable, and therefore, inferentially, that the other numerals were in like manner transferable, and, as such, capable of acquiring relative value.

[2] Steuart's collection, James Prinsep's Cabinet, British Museum, &c.

[3] Colonel Sykes, Colonel Wynch, Baron de Berh, &c.

[4] See also Wathen's Guzerát Copper-plate, *figured* date . J. A. S. B., iv. pl. XL.

The unit numerals to be traced on the coins are nine in number—  , and .

As it will be seen that there is no conclusive evidence whereby to determine the correct order of succession[1] of the several princes of the Sáh family, and as it is upon such data alone that the principal conclusions regarding the numerical value of the different figures would have to depend, it may be as well to reserve any attempt at a detail verification of the import of the more doubtful symbols, and to rest content with certain palpable general inferences, which, however, will be found fully sufficient for all purposes of Dynastical *emplacement.* An additional difficulty in the way of a comprehensive assignment of the order and powers of this series of figures is found in the circumstance, that, inasmuch as they are now shown to be symbolic numerals, not only is it incumbent to determine the value of the larger number of nineteen figures, at the least, instead of the anticipated ten; but in the recognition of the fact that a separate set of numerals stood for units, tens, and hundreds respectively, we are deprived of much of the advantage which might otherwise have been derived from the identification of the *ancient* as compared with the possibly assimilate *modern* form of the same ciphers, had the

[1] For instance, although the several kings are placed in a certain order, and numbered for facility of reference, there is but little authority for the distribution, which has been adopted simply as Prinsep's final arrangement (J. A. S. B., vii. 358), without any critical examination of the value of the arrangement itself, with the means of testing which we are still unprovided, as there exists neither any written list whereby to determine the relative precedence of each monarch, nor any scale completely applicable to the decision of the question of individual priority in the possibly imperfect order of succession conveyed by the coins themselves.

To show how arbitrary the collocation hitherto received may perchance prove to be, it may be noticed that, in addition to the uncertainty attendant upon the position each head of a family ought to hold in the general list, there is not only the difficulty attaching to the succession of several brothers, but the still greater obstruction existing in the fact that our list contains the names of no less than five individuals designated as sons of Rudra Sáh, and this last denomination recurs no less than three times as indicating a reigning king, each having a different progenitor. The information to be gathered from the Sanskrit superscriptions on the medals does not suffice to show to which of the three Rudras any one of the five sons of Rudra Sáh owed his birth.

It is true there are certain minor and incidental items which tend to satisfy us with portions of the entire distribution, such as the coincidence of the use of a given date on the money of father and son; but far more definite data are requisite before it would be safe to take the serial order of the monarchs as a basis for the determination of a complicated numerical system.

number of the former been confined to the ten decimal figures at present in use.

If these symbols are admitted to be figures importing dates—and in truth there is but little reason to say they are not—thirteen kings out of the entire fourteen in the present list reigned *in* the fourth century of a given era[1]. This assertion may be considered as some-

[1] A consideration that undoubtedly tends to cause distrust in the conclusiveness of the decision, which assigns the value of 300 to all the known forms of the symbol , arises from the circumstance of its appearing as the unvarying representative of *the* hundreds on both the coins and inscriptions [the Multye plates, J. A. S. B., vi. 370, may possibly prove an exception to this rule], and the singular coincidence which results from the facts that, among the many dated coins now capable of citation, and the fair proportion of *figure-dated* copper-plate grants at present known, not only must each and all, under this view of the case, be dated in 300 and odd; but likewise, strange to say, the same identical hundreds as found on these different monuments must of necessity be referred to totally distinct cycles, whose initial epochs are removed from each other by an interval of some centuries at the very least.

These observations lead naturally to the inquiry, whether, in the early stages of progressive improvement in notation, it may not have been possible that, whereas we find a striking want of variety in the outlines, and a marked absence of ingenuity in the expression of the distinctive forms, of the decimal ciphers, that so, in like manner, the changes in the definition of the different hundreds may have been in part effected by minor and subsidiary additions to a fixed symbol, as is still practised in the entire Tibetan numerical system. It will be seen that there is a palpable variation in the form and numbers of the side *spur* strokes in different examples of the figure , passing from the occasional entire omission of the mark to the use of one or two of these lines, and in some instances (No. 6, Pl. XX., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.) the simple lower stroke is changed into a complete subjunctive curve, making in itself a second character, similar to the body of the old alphabetical letter N. But, on the other hand, it will not fail to be remarked that there is much latitude discoverable in the expression of many of the unit figures, whose complete identity of value there is but little reason to discredit, and hence that it would be unsafe to assume a difference of power to be conveyed in the one case, by what is possibly a mere flourish, which could not be similarly claimed for a like modification in another.

In continuation of these remarks, this may be a fit place to examine—somewhat more at large than the patience of the general reader would probably have submitted to in the text—the various coincidencies tending to throw light upon the powers of the different symbols we are at present in possession of.

Passing on from the single hundred as yet found, the decimal numbers next claim attention.

The is a fixed quantity, whose value is determined by its use in two distinct instances in the context of the Guzerát Copper-plate Inscriptions as the corresponding equivalent of the written number *ten* (Dr. Burns' Copper-plates, Nos. 2 and 3, J. A. S. B., vii. 349): no such complicated form, or any sign at all

what startling in referring to the well ascertained average of the length of Indian reigns[1], thirteen of which should, under ordinary

approaching a Sanskrit double ट्ट *tt* or ड्ड *dd*, with a vowel attached, has as yet been discovered among the series of numerals developed by the coins.

The power of the sign 𑁫 = 80 has also been settled definitively by the Copper-plates, on which it is seen to undergo certain alterations of outline (p. 32, suprâ), though its integral character is subjected to no change sufficiently decided to authorize a supposition that the many similar, though slightly varied, symbols to be found on the medals, are only modifications of the regular form of the original numeral: hence, though it may be necessary to admit the sign 𑁪 as possibly a cursive delineation of the more formal 𑁫, yet the figures 𑁭 and 𑁬 clearly claim a separate identity: it is a singular fact in regard to the shapes of the two former symbols, that on the leaden coins (27, 28, 30, 31) the sign almost invariably (29) takes the same squarely-based outline which it assumes on the Copper-plates, whereas, on the silver money, it never appears except as 𑁪.

To dispose of the proved numerals, before proceeding to the consideration of those whose value is as yet unascertained, it remains to refer to the form 𑁮 = 90, which, when analyzed, seems to offer nothing more than a duplication of the crude symbol used for the 𑁫 = 80; in like manner, the improved 𑁪 is readily convertible into the higher number by the simple addition of a central cross-stroke.

What the values of 𑁭 and 𑁬, supposing them to be independent numbers, may chance to be, there are no present means of deciding. The former, as most clearly developed on the better preserved coins, assumes the appearance of a Greek θ; on some of the less perfect specimens, however, it takes the form of the old ख *kh* of the fifth century B.C., and at times that of the modern Tibetan ๅ *one*. Again, on Wathen's Guzerát Plate (J. A. S. B., iv. 481), what may be assumed to be an identical cipher also displays much of the likeness of a cursive ख—a letter which will be seen to have undergone but little change during the interval which elapsed between the epoch of the Sáhs and that of the Valabhis.

Were the sign 𑁬 written perpendicularly, instead of horizontally, there would be little hesitation in pointing to its identity with the oldest known form of the letter म: the fact of the म of the more modern legends on the coins themselves appearing in a different shape to that retained by the *figure* letter, would offer no obstacle to the admission of the original derivation of the symbol from the alphabets of earlier times, as this may well have kept its fixed integrity of

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[1] Tod, i. 52, "Average rate of reigns of the chief dynasties of Rajast'han," extending over 119 kings, gives "an average of 22 years for each reign;" see also Wathen, J. R. A. S., v. 346, whose original documents show rather more than 25 years for the average reign of each prince during a period of 535 years; and Elliot's Inscriptions, J. R. A. S., iv. 5, prove an average length of reign of each sovereign, during the rule of two dynasties, numbering in all 21 kings, as 17·7 years.

circumstances, be represented by a sum of more than two centuries ($13 \times 17 = 221$), instead of being compressed into less than one; but there are other circumstances that lend support to the deduction necessitated by the admission of the proposed purport of the coin dates. Among these may be classed the consideration—to which attention has already been drawn—of the almost unvarying similitude that pervades the entire suite of the Sáh coins, which, in its simple outline quite independent of any progressive modifications the general Devanágari alphabet may in the mean time have undergone.

Prinsep was inclined to consider this letter—the ancient स *s*—as the representative of the modern figure ७ 7, the idea being advanced simply on the strength of the letter in question constituting the initial consonant of the word *sapta* (seven). The attribution is, however, clearly inadmissible, as the figure never appears in the unit place in the dates, the several series of figures composing which are now clearly seen to be wanting in local value. Its identification as the representative of 70 would be satisfactory enough were there any more certain grounds whereon to base a decisive assignment of this kind; but a degree of difficulty exists in the apparently anomalous position held by the on certain coins (No. 7, &c.), as compared with its seeming import on the copper-plates. If the relative priority of the coins, *inter se*, as at present arranged, is correct, and the is in all cases to be held to express 300, the symbol , as it appears on these medals, must needs refer to some of the decimal numbers of the first half—if not to the earlier part of that moiety—of the century; whereas, when tested by the comparative dates on the two Guzerát *Valabhi* Plates (J. A. S. B., iv. 481, and vii. 966, and *ante* note, p. 5), and the period which it seems necessary to suppose to have elapsed between the execution of the one and the other, there is great reason to conclude that the in the later of these documents represents some of the higher decimals, or at least one of those that should fall into the second half of a century. Looking to these facts, I am induced to distrust the entire arrangement of the list of kings as heretofore adopted, though in the present insufficiency of materials to justify any new collocation, I hesitate to propose any alteration in the order of succession hitherto received, further than drawing attention to the principle involved in the explanation of the difficulties of the case, suggested in the text at p. 39.

The figure , as seen on the less perfect coins, frequently assumes the appearance of the lower portion of a modern त *t*. At first sight, this might possibly be looked upon as a different sign; but it will be seen that the mode of writing the in use on the coins occasionally admitted of the complete omission of the first down-stroke of the letter, though its place was in a measure supplied by the due expression of the mark which should otherwise have formed the head line of the missing stroke (See fig. 3, reverse). There is a single instance of an addition to the original type of the figure, in the continuation of the second perpendicular line of the in the shape of the lower limb of an ज, similar to that

mechanical indication, implies a comparatively speedy sequence of fabrication, as well as the fact, also confirmatory of an inference admitting the brief duration of the series of reigns made known by our medals, developed in the occurrence, amid so limited a list of kings, of two distinct instances of a succession of three brothers. Moreover, in adverting to this last point, it is to be remembered that coins alone, in the absence of any full list of sovereigns, only prove their own case, and the medals now available by no means show that in this given

already noticed as occurring on the ৭. Subjoined is a copy of the date containing this symbol, taken from a mutilated coin of one of the sons of Dámá Sáh—

This symbol is seen to occupy the second place in the figured date on the leaden coins Nos. 33, 34; it occurs on the silver money of Dámá Sáh, and has also been found, in a slightly varied shape, in the same relative position, on the Bhilsa Inscription (J. A. S. B., vi. pl. XXVI.). In neither case, however, is any collateral assistance afforded in the ascertainment of the numerical value of the cipher itself. In one case, the figure may be likened to an inverted ८ 8; in the other, it partakes more of the character of the ल *l* of the Gupta alphabet.

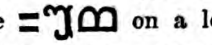
The accompanying figure is put forward without any degree of confidence in the accuracy of the form, owing to the imperfection of the date on the coins (fig. 9, and a coin of the E. I. C.), from whence the outline has had to be copied; the more perfect medals of Dr. Bird's, whence the extra references are cited, not being at hand to aid in correcting the type now adopted. On one of Dr. Bird's specimens this figure has the extra subjunctive curve already remarked upon as occasionally seen on the ৭ and ৯. It will be seen that this is the only figure in the *series* of *tens* that could by any possibility be confounded with any of the unit ciphers, which fact in itself adds to the already expressed distrust in the completeness of the prefixed facsimile.

I have also some misgivings as to the normal shape of the symbol represented as closely as circumstances will admit of in the type figure at the commencement of this sentence. The form occurs but seldom, and, when found, has hitherto happened to prove unusually indistinct. As now given, the outline closely approximates to the curious character employed in modern Guzeráti to represent the number *six*.

Having thus cursorily referred to the decimal numerals, it is time to detail the unit ciphers. It will be convenient to commence with the ☰ or ☲ (coins 33, 34, &c.; see also copper-plate date quoted p. 4), which, amid a set of seven, if not eight, symbols already known out of the required nine, and as the only figure of the series that displays any identity with the probably purely original form of a ३, can scarcely be objected to as the equivalent of that number, especially as the three simple lines thus arranged to this day constitute the regular representative of ३. To give consistency to this attribution, it would be necessary to prove that the same system of equivalent numbers of simple lines, applied equally well to the definition of

interval there were not many Kshatrapa kings over and above those whose names have been handed down by these metallic records.

The most obvious method of explaining the difficulty, as it now presents itself, would be to suppose the existence of a republican form of government as that under which the Sáh family held sway; and that in the history of the nation, there were, on certain occasions, either two or more rájas simultaneously invested with a share in the conduct of the state, or, if elected as sole rulers for the time being, the

the *one* and the *two*. This may probably be shown to have been the fact, inasmuch as there is one decided instance of the use of an isolated dot or short square line after the on one of the leaden coins, and there are several apparent examples of the occurrence of double lines in the requisite position on the silver coins, though these are not definitively quoted, as it is possible they may either be the remaining lines of a *three*, or the imperfectly defined representatives of the Greek I, or that portion of any initial letter of the succeeding legend. With all this evidence in favour of the proposed value of the double lines, it is to be noted, on the other hand, that they are frequently prefixed to the entire date, as in fig. 30, where, to all appearance, they could otherwise serve no possible purpose but that of an ornamental filling in of vacant space, unless, indeed, they are here to be understood as an imperfect rendering of the corresponding opening mark, which invariably precedes the date in the form of a Greek I on the silver coins, and that introduced originally upon the leaden pieces, in uniformity with the practice on the silver series, they were arbitrarily supplied or omitted at the will of the die-sinkers. There are no less than five very clear examples of the use of these prefix dots, and were it not for the knowledge gained from fig. 30, where it is impossible the sign could import *two*, a supposition might have arisen that, in the case of the *very* legible date  on a leaden coin of Colonel Sykes', the figures employed might be intended to convey the number 382; but it will be seen in this, as in every other example of the use of these symbols, that, although wanting in local value, they are uniformly placed in the order in which they should be read.

Weighing the whole evidence on the subject, and the fact of the *one* and the *three* having been found in the needfully corresponding forms, there can be but little objection to adopting the *two* as designed by the two lines, when clearly defined, which succeed any decimal figure, notwithstanding the occasional appearance of a similar form as an, at present, inexplicable prefix to dates counting by hundreds.

The , , of the coins, or = 4 of the copper-plates, may be fairly admitted to a common identity, and, as such, may each and all be invested with the value assigned to the last by the formal testimony of the Copper-plate *Grantt* in the body of which it occurs.

The coin characters are seen to vary in some of the subsidiary and minor details, such as has already formed the subject of remark in the cases of the and . In the present instance, the additions would seem to have been fanciful in the extreme, and to have been added or withheld in the most arbitrary and undetermined manner.

The *five* of the copper-plates, which themselves prove its value, may

periods of retention of authority were limited directly and definitively by law, or terminable irregularly at the will of the majority: in either case it will be necessary to allow for the influence of a degree of prestige or direct power attaching to the particular family for the moment most prominent, which has led to the election of so many sons of rájas.

possibly be the more modern correspondent of the ञ of the coins: the latter symbol occurs but rarely, and the accuracy of its form, as at present given, cannot be altogether relied upon, as the only examples of its use within reach (two coins of Atri Dámá, severally the property of Colonel Sykes and Dr. Swiney) offer the figure in its probably incomplete shape, deprived of any upper line that may perchance have constituted an important portion of the integral form. The Guzeráti *four* of the present day bears a close resemblance to the coin figure; but as the Guzeráti modern numeral series does not tally with any possible assimilate system as applicable to the units of the more ancient epoch, it is but little use citing these coincidences, though as it is possible that literal identities may be of more import in their bearings upon the general inquiry, it may be noted that the same character as that now found on the coins is in current use as the च of the modern Sindhí alphabet.

This sign offers an accurate model of the Bengáli ড *d*. Among the earlier alphabets it might answer for a Gupta ह. The Tibetan 6 corresponds in many respects with the outline of this figure.

These two symbols—the one from a silver, the other from a leaden coin—have been classed together for the present, owing to the uncertainty which of necessity remains of the true form of the single example that presents itself on the silver money, from its being apparently deficient in the upper part of the character.

This symbol is an exact counterpart of the ङ *ng* of the Sáh Inscriptions; whether from its striking similitude to the common modern Sanskrit ८ 8, it may be judged to have any claim to be considered as the ancient equivalent of that number must for the present remain an open question.

This cipher may be likened to a ट *ṭ*, or possibly to a ढ *ḍh*. There is but one instance of its use (fig. 31, pl. II.), and this occurs on an extensively oxydised leaden coin; so that there may be some doubt about its correct outline, as well as whether it may not be a variety of the preceding symbol.

There is no question as to the accuracy of these forms *per se*, as they are found clearly defined on several well-preserved coins. Whether they are correctly classed as varieties of the same figure may be permitted for the present to remain an open question, as the correct ascertainment of their shape can scarcely be said to assist in the identification of their value and import. The figure placed first in order is a very close counterpart of a Sanskrit रु *ru* of the type in use in the Sáh alphabet; the second figure is also fairly recognisable as a crudely-shaped compound of similar value.

It must be admitted, however, that though there are numerous instances capable of citation[1] as proving generally the prevalence of republican systems of government among the people of India in these ancient days, there is at this moment but insufficient evidence[2] to authorise the application of any theory, implying popular government, to the peninsula of Guzerát during the time of the Sáhs.

It is now necessary to determine to what æra these dates should be held to refer. J. Prinsep, in his latest paper on the subject, after discussing the claims of several possible æras[3], goes on to say—"If,

[1] There is evidence sufficient to the fact of the existence of republics in India in early times, though but few distinct details are extant as to their exact forms of constitution. The republic of which most frequent mention is made is that of Vais'álí, which is repeatedly referred to in the Dulva, and casual indications are afforded of the powers possessed by the citizens in the time of Shakya (Csoma de Koros, As. Res., xx. 66, 72). Some curious information on the general subject is also conveyed in the following passage from Csoma de Koros' Analysis of this work (As. Res., xx. 69):—

"The story of Dumbu, a Minister (of State), and his King, Hphags-skyes-po, in Lus-Hp'hags (*Sanskrit* Vidèha). Dumbu escapes to Yangs-pa-chan [Vaisàlí], and settles there. He first declines to give his advice in the assembly of the people there, but afterwards renders them great service by his prudent counsel." * * * "The before mentioned Dumbu is made chief tribune there, and after his death his second son. His elder son retires to Rájagriha, in Magadha."

Further notices of the republic of Vaisálí are to be found in "Foe Koue Ki," from which the following may be cited as throwing light on the interesting question of the government of these bodies—"Il s'agit ici des habitants de la ville de *Phi che li* (Vais'âli), lesquels formaient une république, et s'appelaient en Sanscrit *Litchtchiwi*, ou *Litchhe* dans la transcription Chinoise. *Tchu Li tchhe* signifie donc tous les Litchtchiwi, ou la réunion des Li tchhe" (Klaproth, p. 240). Again (Klaproth, note 8, *Les deux rois*, p. 251), "Il paraît que quoique les habitants de Vaïs'ali eussent une forme de gouvernement républicaine, ils avaient pourtant aussi un roi. Les deux rois de notre texte sont donc *A tche chi* de Magadha, et celui qui était le chef de l'état des Li tchhe ou *Litchtchiwi* de Vaïs'ali."

Arrian may likewise be quoted to show that self-government was by no means unusual in India in his day, as the *Episcopi* are mentioned as bound to report "to the king in those places where the Indians are under regal rule; or to the *Magistrates*, where they govern themselves." (Indicæ, cap. xii., cited by Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 449).

[2] It may be requisite perhaps to notice that the following passage in Prinsep's Translation of the Bridge Inscription is not borne out by the more perfect copy of the original in the Bombay Journal:—" * * * by him [Swami Rudra dama] who, being predestined from the womb to the unceasing and increasing possessions of the fortunes of royalty, was *invited* by all classes waiting upon him for the security of their property—*to be their king*."

[3] The claims of the Seleucidan Æra (1st Sept., 312 B.C.) to be considered as the cycle in use under the government of the Sáh kings, are by no means to be lightly passed over, if we bear in mind on the one hand the possible subjection to Greek supremacy implied by the superscription of that language on the local coins,

lastly, out of deference to Asoka's temporary supremacy in the Gu-

and on the other the care with which the recognition of this æra was enforced in the provinces more directly subject to the Seleucidan rule, as we learn that it was "used all over the East by the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The Jews still style it the *Æra of Contracts*, because they were obliged, when subject to the Syro-Macedonian princes, to express it in all their contracts and civil writings," Gough, Seleu., 3. "In Maccabees, i. 10, it is called the *Æra of the Kingdom* of the Greeks," Gough, 4.

In connexion with this subject, some further items suggest themselves, bearing upon the interesting question, as to how much of the Indian system of cipher notation was derived from, or improved by communication with the Greeks. Although so debatable a point requires more examination and argument to serve to justify a definite opinion, than either the materials or the space at command will at present afford, still the subjoined remarks may not be inappropriate as introducing the matter to the attention of others.

In the first place, it has already been noticed as singular that these Indian dates should be found on the coins in direct conjunction with, perhaps absolute insertion in a Greek legend, instead of taking their place in their more natural position, among the Sanskrit legends and local devices, on the reverse surface of the pieces.

Next is to be observed the complete absence of any previous example of the use of figures to express numbers on any known Indian inscription, or on any coins of that country which there is reason to assign to an earlier epoch.

And, lastly, there is the less negative argument, against the probability of any general anterior use of ciphers, in the fact, only lately brought to light, that whatever means of representing quantities by symbols may have been in associate use with the Indian Palí alphabet, the Bactrian Palí of Asoka's time, as seen on the Kapúr di Gíri Rock Inscription, possessed no figure equivalents of numbers, but the required sum was first *written*, and then numerically expressed by a corresponding succession of simple perpendicular strokes. It is true that this position may have to be somewhat qualified, inasmuch as up to this time we are able to cite only the early number *four;* and it is possible that the higher numerical equivalents may, in the necessity of the case, have been subjected to a more perfect system, as is seen to have occurred in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, where the low numbers were often defined by little more than rude combinations of the equivalent number of simple strokes, while the decimals and hundreds were far less crudely rendered. Rawlinson, J. R. A. S., x. 172; Hincks, idem, ix. 423.

In addition to this, were any faith to be placed in similarity of characters, many of the numerical symbols might be identified as possibly of Greek derivation; for instance, the ⊕ is the exact form of the Greek Θ of the Sigean (500 and odd B.C.) and Apollonian (a few years B.C.) alphabets; but so also is the Indian cipher ϴ recognizable as a Greek Θ, as indeed the Palí ⊙ *th* itself is absolutely identical with the Θ of the Nemean and Athenian forms of the same letter. The Indian ≡ approaches closely to the outline of the Greek Ξ of Cadmus, and of the Sigean characters. The coin figure ᗝ is likewise a perfect rendering of the Attic Ω (400 B.C.). (See Fry's Pantographia.)

Amid all this, on the other hand it is amply manifest that whatever of enlarged ideas of arrangement and distribution of numerals the Indians may perchance have owed to the Greeks, they did not generally adopt their letters, or even their literal equivalent system, as modified to suit their own alphabet; and judging

zerát peninsula, we take the Buddhist æra, then 543 — 390[1] will leave 153 B.C., about a century after Asoka, and in every respect the period I should like to adopt, were it possible to establish any more certain grounds for its preference[2]." In addition to the limited confidence in the value of his theory expressed by the proposer himself, there are further objections to its reception that appear to have escaped his observation. In the first place, as regards any probable deference to Asoka's supremacy, Prinsep himself had already remarked, in his comments upon the Sáh Inscription, which formed the main subject of the article, whence the above extract is taken, that "the brahmanical population of the distant province of Suráshtra probably had but little affection for the Buddhist monarch, who is not even honoured in the inscription with the title of rája—being simply styled *Asoka the Maurya*[3]!" This passage in itself seems to refute sufficiently any notion which would imply needless adoption or continued use of a strange æra, introduced, as assumed, in the first instance, by a monarch whose memory is here seen to be treated with such scant respect. In the second place, whatever may have been the amount of actual currency of the Buddhist Æra itself, the probability of its *monumental* employment on the coins of the Sáh king is weightily controverted by the fact, that it was not *so* used on the monuments of the Buddhist kings themselves—(*Piyadasi*[4]) Asoka's own inscriptions being invariably dated in *the* years of *his* reign[5] (or "after *his* consecration").

The æra it is now proposed to apply to the coin dates, in supercession of the Buddhist cycle, is entitled the Srí Harsha, the very existence of which, as a cycle, has only lately been made known to Orientalists, through the medium of the publication of a portion

from the strictly Indian forms retained by some of the *literal* figures, now seen to have been in use under the Sáhs of Guzerát, it is almost necessary to infer that the original outlines of the figures themselves were either drawn from an anterior Sanskrit or else from a more purely Páli alphabet than that concurrently employed in ordinary writing, the admission of which fact in itself goes far to demand a consequent concession that the Indians were not indebted to the Greeks for any assistance in the matter.

[1] Date on a coin of Swámí Rudra Sáh, the 14th prince in the *present* list.

[2] J. A. S. B., vii. 354.

[3] J. A. S. B., vii. 343.

[4] It is necessary to state that the identity of Piyadasí and Asoka has not remained unquestioned (see Wilson, J. R. A. S., viii. 309; Troyer, Radja Tarangini, ii. 313), though the arguments as yet adduced to shake faith in the fact are scarcely sufficient to meet the various concurring proofs to which they are opposed (see, on the other hand, Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 751).

[5] J. A. S. B., vii. 220.

of the valuable works of Albírúní relating to India. The extracts appended below[1] sufficiently detail the history of the Srí Harsha Æra; all that need be said in this place is, that as its commencement dates 457 B.C., the epoch of the Sáhs at present constituting our list,

[1] "On emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri Harscha, de Vikramaditya, de Saca, de Ballaba, et des Gouptas."

"Les Indiens croirent que Sri-Harscha faisait fouiller la terre, et cherchait ce qui pouvait se trouver dans le sol, en fait d'anciens trésors et de richesses enfouies; il faisait enlever ces richesses, et pouvait, par ce moyen, s'abstenir de fouler ses sujets. Son ère est mise en usage à Mahourah, et dans la province de Canoge. J'ai entendu dire à un homme du pays que, de cette ère à celle de Vikramaditya, on comptait quatre cents ans; mais j'ai vu, dans l'almanach de Cachemire, cette ère reculée après celle de Vikramaditya de 664 ans. Il m'est donc venu des doutes que je n'ai pas trouvé moyen de résoudre * * *." Albírúní, Reinaud, p. 139.

Again—"L'ère des astronomes commence l'an 587 de l'ère de Saca (665 A.D.). C'est à cette ère qu'ont été rapportées les tables Kanda khâtaca, de Brahmagupta. Cet ouvrage porte chez nous le titre de Arcand. D'après cela, en s'en tenant à l'an 400 de l'ère de Yezderdjed, on se trouve sous l'année 1488 de l'ère de Sri-Harscha" [457 B.C.]. Ibid, 143, 144.

The difficulty noticed in the first of these extracts seems capable of explanation by the fact that in the year 607 A.D., or 664 Vikramaditya, an important revolution occurred on the occasion of the death of *Harsha Vardhana*, of Kanouj, which may possibly have given rise to the *second* Srí Harsha Æra of the Kashmír Almanack. M. Reinaud has the following remarks upon the changes which took place on the decease of Harsha Vardhana:—

"L'an 607 de notre ère, une révolution fit déchoir la ville de Canoge du haut rang qu'elle occupait. Cette révolution eut lieu à la mort du roi Harcha-Vardhana, dont le père se nommait Prakara-Vardhana, et dont on avait jusqu'ici fait descendre le règne jusqu'au XI^{e} siècle. La population de l'Hindostan actuel se partageait en brahmanistes et bouddhistes. Harcha, partisan zélé des bouddhistes, suscita des embarras aux brahmanistes; en même temps il fut forcé, par suite de ses profusions, d'augmenter les impôts, ce qui mécontenta le reste de ses sujets. Harcha, étant mort, son fils aîné, Karadja-Vardhana, fut attaqué par un prince ami des brahmanistes, et tué par trahison. Le frère de Karadja, nommé Siladitya, eut beaucoup de peine à se mettre en possession du trône de ses ancêtres; les princes feudataires se soulevèrent; Siladitya fut obligé de renoncer au titre de maha-radja ou grand-radja, et l'unité politique fut à jamais rompue." Analyse d'un Mem. Géog., p. 20; also Géog. d'Aboulféda (Traduction), i. 337.

This solution of the difficulty—in making a second Srí Harsha Æra—also removes an important objection to the application of the first Srí Harsha Cycle—as confounded in Albírúní's observations—to *Guzerát* dates: inasmuch as the local use of the æra noticed in the Arabic text must now be held to refer to the epoch derived from that one of the two Harshas who lived nearest to Albírúní's own time. This latter cycle would moreover possess peculiar claims to local currency in Kanouj, &c., which could hardly have been demanded for an æra, even then so much a matter of antiquity, and so little known its details, as *the* original Srí Harsha, commencing 457 B.C.

reduced by this test, may be broadly stated to fall from about 180 or 170 to 60 or 50 B.C.[1]

Beyond this evidence, there is little left but conjecture, though it is satisfactory to find that there is *no* direct testimony or admitted inference in any way adverse to the reception of the epoch now assigned to the Sáh princes.

It is known that Asoka's empire of Magadha did not survive in its pristine glory any very lengthened period beyond his decease[2]; and the tenor of the Sáh Inscription, while it clearly recognises Asoka's bygone supremacy in the province of Guzerát, claims for its own kings no very remote succession to this local power—with the requirements of this portion of the question the coin dates, explained as referring to Anno Harshæ, in all respects coincide.

It is generally held that Demetrius[3] invaded India some time closely anterior to, if not contemporaneously with, the date above suggested as that of the establishment of the Sáh Dynasty in Guzerát; but it is nowhere shown to what limit either his arms or his permanent dominion extended: the fact of his possession of supremacy on the lower Indus, if decided upon, would lead readily to the suspicion that the Greek upon the Sáh coins might in some measure be due to this influence, and that in attaining their leading position in the Western Peninsula, these princes affected a Greek alliance, and perhaps accepted subjection, nominal or real, as a set-off against the still considerable power of their former Indian masters. Be this as it may, the historical evidence bearing upon the point in question, if it will not explain any of our present difficulties, can in no way be said to augment them.

The trenching upon the limits of the sovereignty assigned to Menander[4]—who must now be viewed as contemporary with the earlier Sáhs—is perhaps more open to objection, as Prinsep and Lassen both determine that he possessed Surashtra[5]; the appropriation, how-

[1] Dated coins of eleven princes, proving the existence of thirteen kings all within 300 to 400 Ann. Harshæ (= 157 to 57 B.C.), and one, if not more than one king preceding them.

[2] 219 B.C., Buddhist Annals; Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, 752; 232 B.C., Cunningham, Num. Chr., viii. 175.

[3] Lassen, 185 B.C., J. A. S. B., 1840; Wilson, 190 B.C., Ar. Ant., 227; H. T. Prinsep, 190 B.C., Historical Results, p. 54.

[4] Lassen, 160 B.C., J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 765; Wilson, 126 B.C., Ar. Ant., 280; Cunningham, 160 B.C. to 136 B.C., Num. Chr., viii. 175.

[5] J. A. S. B., vi. 290; Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 733. Cunningham, (Num. Chr., viii. 193,) has the following observations on the subject of Apollodotus' possessions in these parts. It is to be premised that Capt. Cunningham places

ever, rests upon a doubtful text and an amended reading, and the inference has not been altogether concurred in by Professor Wilson[1]. The supposition of a recognition of Greek suzerainty by the local rulers of Guzerát perhaps sufficiently meets the wants of either one case or the other; but if we are to admit to the full the claims to Indian sovereignty advanced by Rudra Dámá, in his Girnár Inscription, and to hold him to have reigned towards the conclusion of the third century Anno Harshæ, he, or some of the preceding members of the Sáh family, must have shared with the *Su* Sakas[2] the succession to the dominions heretofore assigned to Menander, to an extent much beyond the bounds of the bare peninsula of Guzerát.

More importance than seems justly its due has been attributed to the fact of Menander's coins having been found current at Baroach[3] on the occasion of the visit of the second Arrian. Had the epoch spoken to been nearer the date of the rule of the Greek king, the locality, to which the observation refers, less remote from the seat[4] of his government, Baroach less important as the western emporium of the trade of Central India, or the produce of Menander's prolific mints less abundant in other quarters, more credit might have been conceded to the deduction attempted to be established from the circumstance. As it is, it proves nothing as to the local sovereignty of Guzerát of two centuries before[5], more especially as its real origin has now been ex-

Apollodotus' accession in 165 B.C., and makes Menander succeed to certain portions of his dominions in 160 B.C.

"This monogram I have found only upon a single coin of Apollodotus. It forms the syllable OYZ, possibly OYZHNH, the city of Ujain, which we know has existed from a very early period. I believe that Patalene and Syrastrene formed part of the dominions of Demetrius, which were wrested from him by Eucratides during his Indian campaign. It is possible also that some part of the province of Lariké was subdued by the Greeks; and I should certainly not be surprised to find this monogram on the coins of Demetrius and Eucratides. Apollodotus may very probably have succeeded to the possession of these southern conquests, but he could only have held them for a very short time."

[1] "Upon examining the coins, however, of this prince, we have every reason to believe that he never was king of Bactria, but that he reigned over an extensive tract, from the foot of the Paropamisan Mountains to the sea. How far he held sovereignty on the east of the Indus, or even in the delta of that river, is somewhat doubtful, as his coins have not been found in those directions." Ar. Ant., 281.

[2] Cunningham, Num. Chr., viii. (Table); Ar. Ant., 313; Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, 765.

[3] Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 733; Wilson, Ar. Ant., 280.

[4] "Kabul, and here was in all probability the royal capital of Menander." Ar. Ant., 281.

[5] Vincent had already shown the real value of the fact in his observations to

plained by Professor Wilson[1], viz., that the Greek silver money was [intentionally] retained in circulation by the Indo-Scythians, in concurrent association with their own gold coinage.

In bringing these observations to a close, it may be expedient to recapitulate in a tabular summary the principal dates proposed for adoption; and, while quoting definitively the more prominent fixed epochs, to avoid any aim at exactitude of subordinate detail, and rest content with indicating generally the relative position the various races, dominant in Guzerát during the several intervals, are supposed to have occupied.

the following effect:—"That the coins of these princes should pass current at Barugáza is no more uncommon than that the Venetian sequin and the Imperial dollar should be at this day current in Arabia, or that the Spanish piastre should pass in every part of India and the East; that is, round the world, from Mexico to Manilla, and in some instances, perhaps from Manilla to Mexico again." Vincent, Commerce, &c., ii. 204.

[1] Ar. Ant., p. 348.

LIST OF DATES REFERRING TO GUZERAT,

WITH THE DYNASTIES INTERVENING BETWEEN THE SEVERAL FIXED EPOCHS.

CHANDRA GUPTA MAURYA . . .		315 B.C.[1]
ASOKA		247 B.C.[2]
One or more SAH KINGS.		
Thirteen SAH KINGS. All date in the fourth century of what may be assumed to refer to the Srí Harsha Æra, 457 B.C.	*from* . .	157 B.C.
	to . . .	57 B.C.
INDO-SCYTHIC CONQUEST . . .		26 B.C.
GUPTAS.		
VALABHI ÆRA commences		319 A.D.

[1] Wilson, Vishnu Purána, pp. 468, 469, note 21; see also Introd., Hindu Theatre, iii.

[2] Turnour, "Mahawanso;" but taking Wilson's fixed date of 315 B.C. for Chandra Gupta's accession, and accepting the Puránic evidence of the length of Chandra Gupta's and Vindusara's reigns at 24 and 25 years respectively, Asoka's accession will fall in 266 B.C.: the Puránas give him a reign of 36 years.

LIST OF KINGS.

1 ISWARA DATTA, Son of Varsha.

2 RUDRA SAH (SINHA?) I., Son of Swámí Jíwa Dámá.

3 AṢA DAMA, Son of Rudra Sáh. (No. 2.)

4 DAMA SAH, Ditto.

5 VIJAYA SAH, Son of Dámá Sáh.

6 VIRA DAMA, Ditto.

7 DAMA JATA SRIYAH, Ditto.

8 RUDRA SAH II., Son of Víra Dámá. (No. 6.)

9 VISWA SINHA, Son of Rudra Sáh. (No. 8.)

10 RUDRA SAH III., Ditto.

11 ATRI DAMA, Ditto.

12 VISWA SAH, Son of Atri Dámá. (No. 11.)

13 Swami RUDRA DAMA. (No Coins.)

14 Swami RUDRA SAH IV., Son of Swámí Rudra Dámá.

DETAIL OF THE COINS.

1st King.

ISWARA-DATTA.

Figures—1 (E. I. C.), 2 (Wynch), Plate I.; and No. 1, Plate II.[1]

Obv. *Bust* of a man, facing to the right, with a flat cap or helmet[2]; the hair is arranged in flowing curls over the back of the neck, a long thin mustache decorates the upper lip, and a curiously-formed ornament depends from the ear; around the neck is seen the border of the robe, and towards the margin of the piece, encircling the entire head, is inscribed a legend, which in the coins of this prince is *exclusively* composed of Greek letters. Prominent among those on fig. 1 is to be noticed the lower portion of a clear well-cut sigma.

It will be seen, from the specimens of the coins of the succeeding rulers, that an innovation was almost immediately effected in the contents and arrangement of the obverse legend, as found on the money of Iswara-datta, inasmuch as towards the commencement of the Greek legend a set of three ciphers are hereafter invariably inserted, which are supposed to convey the record of an Indian date.

Rev. The central symbol consists of a series of three semicircles arranged in the form of a pyramid; this emblem is recognisable either as the Buddhist Chaitya, or the Mithraic flame; below is a wavy line, which it is not unreasonable to identify with a similar Egyptian hieroglyphic symbol employed to denote *water;* above the central device is a figure, in the shape of a half moon, which is repeated on the left of the field, and in the corresponding space to the right is found a cluster of stars, usually seven in number, one of which occupies the centre of the constellation; at times this stellar assemblage is resolved into a single rayed star or sun. Nearly touching the marginal line, which forms the outer circle of the field—expressed in admirably designed Devanágarí letters—is inscribed the following legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस ईश्वर दत्तस वर्ष पुथ—

*Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Iswara-dattasa Varsha putha**

[1] The average weight obtained from forty-seven specimens of these silver coins, taken at random from the entire series, gives a return of 30·4 grains. There are several examples of a full weight of 35 grains.

[2] Possibly a native adaptation of the Macedonian *Kausia*, which is seen to have been a favourite head-dress among the Bactrian Greeks; but judging from the rest of the subsidiary indications, it is likely to have had a more local origin.

Dr. Stevenson proposed to read the name of the father of this prince as *Bala*—a guess that was hardly justified by the characters remaining on the piece he quotes in support of his assumption (fig. 2); but the clear letters on Colonel Wynch's coin completely set the question at rest that the true designation is *Varsha*.

Among the peculiarities to be noted in the legend is the use of the long vowel ॠ in the initial or complete form of the letter; the initial long ॡ J. has not been found on the associate Girnar Rock Inscription, or among any of the anterior Palí alphabets; but a letter identical with the coin character is seen in full currency both on the Gupta Girnar monument, and on the succeeding Guzerát dated plates it would perhaps be inferred from these data, that a more modern epoch should be assigned to the coins bearing this letter than to the Bridge Inscription, which has hitherto been assumed as nearly contemporary. It would not, however, be safe to rely upon this argument, except as auxiliary to more distinct proofs, as at best it is but based on a negative fact, which may merely imply absence of occasion to use such a character in the Rock Records; moreover, there has already been reason to notice the general superiority and at times important changes that mark the mint letters in reference to their Lapidary equivalents—a distinction that has also been the subject of remark in respect to a sister alphabet—the Bactrian Palí[1]—wherein much greater perfection of outline was attained in the monumental writing in use on medals than in the corresponding engraving on Rocks.

But as the sovereign, by whose command the Girnar Bridge Inscription was executed, is still unidentified with any individual of whom we possess money, any detailed discussion of this subject would be comparatively useless, until it is determined whether it is desirable to place the king named in the inscription *before*, *among*, or *after* the series of princes known only from coins.

It will be observed that the word Putha differs from the term employed on the coins of the other monarchs, in the use of the Zend *th* instead of the usual Sanskrit *tr*.

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[1] Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, 368; Cunningham, J. A. S. B., 1840, 430.

2ND KING.

RUDRA SAH, SON OF JIWA DAMA.

Figures—3 (Prinsep), 4 (R. A. S.), 5 (E. I. C.), Plate I.; No. 2, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. No. 3, figures ꟾ ϴ ?; imperfect legend ιλΥΟ)ΥΛι.. No. 4, ꟾ ᴎ ꟻ. No. 5, figures illegible; imperfect Greek legend ΛΙΟΛΥΙΣΙΥΙιιΛ.. (a possible corruption of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ[1]).

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस रुद्र सहस स्वामी जीव दामा पुत्रस

Rájnah Kshatrapasa Rudra sahasa Swámí Jíwa Dámá putrasa.

The initial letter of Swámí is sometimes written श्व instead of स्व, and the short ु is used in both Swámí and Jíwa in place of the long one, ू. This last name has hitherto been read as Jina जिन, but the more perfect coins now engraved prove clearly that the word is *Jíwa* जीव.

On one coin of this king (Prinsep) is to be seen a very distinct ु inscribed over the first स, of what has hitherto been read as साह Sáha, but which should probably now be received as सिंह Sinha.

3RD KING.

AṢA DAMA.

Figures—6 (E. I. C.), 7 (Steuart), 8 (Steuart), Plate I.; No. 3, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 6, legend illegible. Fig. 7, ꟾ ᴎ. Dr. Bird has three of this king's coins with the decimal ᴎ after the ꟾ.

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस आशा दाम्नः राज्ञः क्षत्रपस रुद्र साह पुत्रस

Rájnah Kshatrapasa Aṣá Dámnah Rajnah Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáha putrasa.

[1] There is a king of this name among the Bactrian Greeks, made known to us by his coins, which in their types seem to connect him with Apollodotus.

The name of this monarch has heretofore been rendered as अग दामा Aga Dámá, the small central stroke in the second letter of the king's name having escaped the eye of Mr. Steuart's Italian engraver, from whose plates alone Prinsep deciphered the legends on the coins of this prince. The reading now proposed—involving the acceptance of the character ग as the equivalent of the modern ग्र *g*—may be readily justified by a reference to the current forms of the old letter, either on the coins, or on inscriptions of a closely subsequent date, though it is freely to be admitted that the outline of the letter itself was by no means fixed or immutable, inasmuch as it is seen to occur as ग (coins of 1st and 7th kings), ग (figs. 15, 16, and 23), and as ग (fig. 22, &c.) in the different combinations it enters into on the coins; and as ग (Sáh Inscription), ग (Gupta Girnar Inscription, Jour. Bombay Branch As. Soc.), and ग (Guzerát Plates) on the various inscriptions of a proximate æra.

4TH KING.

DAMA SAH.

(Communicated by Dr. Bird.)

OBV. Head as usual. Legends and date ı ꝟ ꝟ ꝟ. This date recurs on several coins of this prince.

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस दामा साहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस रुद्र साहस पुत्रस

Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa putrasa.

5TH KING.

VIJAYA SAH, SON OF DAMA SAH.

Figures—9 (R. A. S.), 10 (Prinsep), Plate I.; No. 4, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 9, legend illegible, date ꠇ꠱ Other dates: East India Company's coin, ꠇ꠱꠹; Dr. Bird's, ꠇ꠵ ꠇ꠱꠽ and ꠇ꠱ꠇ Imperfect legend from a coin of Colonel Wynch's, commencing after the date, ꠸꠹꠸꠸꠷ꠇꠉ.

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस विजय साहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस दामा साहस पुत्रस

Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Vijaya Sáhasa Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa putrasa.

In the coin No. 9, and uniformly in those of the 6th and 10th kings of the present list, is to be noticed the use of the superfluous genitive termination **स** affixed to the penultimate word **साह**, making **साहस पुत्रस** instead of **साह पुत्रस**, as it is expressed in the generality of instances. The name **विजय** is usually, though not invariably written with the long **ई** instead of the short **इ** required by correct orthography. It will be seen, on a reference to the various Sanskrit legends arranged in Plate III., that much license was admitted among the Suráshtran die-cutters in the interchange of the long and short superscribed vowels **ई इ** (see **स्वामी** and **जीव** Pl. III. fig. 2; **विश्व** III. 8, 11; and **सिंह** III. 8, &c., &c.). Any rectification of these and such like errors will be accepted with the more confidence when it is borne in mind that the particular inaccuracy now noted has, in effect, been set right by the mint engravers themselves, in their occasional employment of the regular form of the short **इ** in the same word **विजय**.

6TH KING.

VIRA DAMA, SON OF DAMA SAH.

Figures—11 (Steuart), 12 (Steuart), Plate I.; No. 5, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. No. 11, legend illegible; date, doubtful, ૪ : ૫.

REV. Symbols as usual.

राज्ञः क्षत्रप वीर दाम्नः राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप दामा साहस पुत्रस

Rájnah Kshatrapasa Vira Dámnah Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa putrasa.

7TH KING.

DAMA JATA SRIYAH, SON OF DAMA SAH.

Figures—13 (E. I. C.), Plate I.; No. 6, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual; date, illegible; imperfect legend . . YIIOII . . Colonel Sykes's coin has the imperfect date ૪૯ (the second figure is probably a ૭), and the following portion of the legend, IYIOIC . . .

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप दामा जट श्रीय राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप दामा साह पुत्रस

Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Dámá Jata Sríyah Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Dámá Sáha putrasa.

The facsimile of the reverse inscription, from whence the lithographed legend in Plate III. has been copied, was taken from the imperfect coin in the Library at the India House engraved as fig. 13, Pl. I. Dr. Stevenson had already given the above reading of the king's name from a second better-preserved coin also found at Junír, which did not form part of the collection sent to the Court of Directors. This interpretation has since received a degree of confirmation from a

coin of Colonel Sykes', which was placed in my hands after the completion of the plates which accompany this Memoir.

Subjoined is a correct copy of the letters of the king's name taken from the coin in question.

8TH KING.

RUDRA SAH, SON OF VIRA DAMA.

Figure—14 (E. I. C.), Plate I.; No. 7, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 14, date ꠰꠰Φ꠳; commencement o egend ꠰꠰ϒ꠰꠰—— There are no less than three clear examples of this same date on different coins of Rudra, the son of Vira. Imperfect legend, after the date, ꠰꠰ϒ꠰꠰Ο꠰꠰‹ (Wynch).

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस रुद्र साहस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस वीर दामा पुत्रस

Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa Rájnah Kshatrapasa Víra Dámá putrasa.

9TH KING.

VISWA SINHA, SON OF RUDRA SAH.

Figures—15 (R. A. S.), 16 (Dr Swiney), 17 (Prinsep), Plate I.; No. 8, Plate II.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 16, date ꠰꠰Φ꠸, possibly ꠰꠰⊕. Fig. 17, date ꠰꠰9꠹. Legends illegible. Other dates—coin in British Museum, ꠰꠰θΞ. Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 351), ꠰꠰θ⊏.

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस विश्व सिंहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस रुद्र साह पुत्रस

Rájnah Kshatrapasa Visw·a Sinhasa Rajno Mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáha putrasa.

The second name of this Rája has hitherto been supposed to be the familiar Sáha; but the clear impressions of the legend on many of the coins now available disclose obviously the vowel *ī* ई (possibly used for *ĭ* इ) above the first down-stroke of the initial *s* स, and conclusively determine that Sĭnha is the proper reading of the word. The inscriptions on the coins of this prince vary occasionally in the introduction of the prefix महा Mahá before the क्षत्रप Kshatrapa, as applied to the sovereign's own name.

Dr. Stevenson, in his paper on the Junír Coins, in the Bombay Asiatic Journal, in noticing a medal of this prince, expresses an opinion that "this is a new coin" * * * "and this sovereign is not to be confounded with his predecessor or successor of the same name." Dr. Stevenson appears to have been led into the error of imagining this to be a novel discovery by a misprint in Prinsep's last list (J. A. S. B., vii. 351), wherein this very Viswa is made to appear as the son of *Víra Dámá*, instead of what was seemingly intended to be said, and what is shown to be the real fact by the illustrative coin thereunto annexed (J. A. S. B., fig. 6, Pl. xii., and p. 355), that he was the son of *Rudra Sáh*, Prinsep's 6th king.

10TH KING.

RUDRA SAH, SON OF RUDRA SAH.

Figures—18 (Sykes), 19 (Prinsep), Plate I.; No. 9, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. { Fig. 18, ı [illegible]
" 19, ı [illegible]

REV. Fig. 18, symbols as usual.

Fig. 19, general symbols as usual, but the constellation is transformed into a radiated sun?

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस रुद्र साहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस रुद्र साहस पुत्रस

Rájnah Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa putrasa.

Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 355) proposed—with but a doubtful degree of confidence in his own suggestion—to read *from the coin* (J. A. S. B., Pl. XII. 12) the name of this prince's father as Rudra *Dámá* Sáh, the appellation of the Repairer of the Girnar Bridge, as then supposed to be recorded on the Rock Inscription near Junagarh. Prinsep's own coin, now in the British Museum (reproduced in Pl. I. as fig. 19), does not by any means bear out the identification in question; indeed, it definitively proves that it was erroneous, as the father's name is here distinctly seen to stand as रुद्र साहस, without any appearance of the additional name of Dámá.

11TH KING.

ATRI DAMA.

Figures—20 (Sykes), 21 (Sykes), Plate I.; No. 10, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual; date and inscription entirely wanting. Dr. Bird's coin, ꠇ θ

REV. The usual symbols, but imperfectly executed. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप अत्रि दाम्नः राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप रुद्र साह पुत्रस

Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Atri Dámnah Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáha putrasa.

Dr. Stevenson has ventured to alter the old reading of the name of this prince, by substituting a भ for the initial अ, making the word Bhatri instead of Atri; in this he is merely following Prinsep, who had already applied a similar emendation to the same name, as found on the coins of the son, Viswa Sáh, the 12th of our list. (J. A. S. B., vii. 355.)

A collation of a number of specimens of the coins of both father and son, with a special view to the verification of the initial letter of the doubtful name—even allowing for a slight variation to be seen in the form of the present letter अ, distinguishing it from the earlier अ on the coins of Aṣá Dámá—leaves no doubt but that Atri is the correct

interpretation. Dr. Stevenson has apparently been misled—as probably was Prinsep himself—by the imperfect expression given to the upper part of the first perpendicular line of the old form of the letter ञ as seen on many of the coins. Now, as this additional upper stroke constitutes the only difference between the due form of the letter ञ of the Sáh alphabet, and one of the accepted representatives of the भ on the *Gupta* Surashtran coins, the mistake may be said to have been very natural, though, subjected to a critical examination, there were from the very first, decided palæographic objections to the new reading, in the facts that the भ of the corresponding Sáh Inscription was obviously a very differently formed character, and the Gupta भ, which was to be assumed as a fixed exemplar of its predecessors, was in itself of a very unsettled and undetermined shape (Pl. III., a, b, c, d, e). In regard to Dr. Stevenson's case, in the very coin he publishes—it is to be supposed to prove his position—the upper stroke of the old ञ, though certainly not so prominent as the other lines of the letter, is palpable enough to have decided the real value of the character in question. (Bombay Journal, 1847, Pl. XXIV. fig. 9.)

In the legends of the coins of Atri Dámá, the visarga is occasionally inserted after the दाम.

12TH KING.

VISWA SAH, SON OF ATRI DAMA.

Figures—22 (Sykes), 23 (Steuart), Plate I.; No. 11, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual; fig. 22, 𐨟 𐨠 fig. 23, 𐨟 𐨠 𐨡, 𐨪𐨫 . . . . . Dr. Bird's coins, 𐨟 𐨠 and 𐨟 𐨢

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः क्षत्रप विश्व साहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप अत्रि दामा पुत्रस

Rájnah Kshatrapasa Viswa Sáhasa Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Atri Dámá putrasa.

The legends on these coins call for no remark beyond a reference to the irregular use of the visarga after the opening राज्ञ. It will be seen that the visarga has been uniformly added in these modern transcripts of the legends, according to the requirements of the language, without reference to its omission in the original superscriptions on the coins. A similar liberty has been taken in the rejection of the final vowel ō (ो) in the same word, where it appears to have been unduly inserted.

13TH KING.

SWAMI RUDRA DAMA.

(No Coins.)

14TH KING.

SWAMI RUDRA SAH, SON OF SWAMI RUDRA DAMA.

Figures—24 (Prinsep), 25 (Prinsep), Plate I.; No. 12, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 24, date ꠇ꠰꠴ Fig. 25, date ꠇ꠸꠸ Other dates:—two coins in the British Museum, and one of Dr. Bird's, ꠇ꠵

REV. Symbols as usual, but imperfectly expressed. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप स्वामी रुद्र साहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रप स्वामी रुद्र दामा पुत्रस

Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Swámí Rudra Sáhasa Rájno Mahá Kshatrapasa Swámí Rudra Dámá putrasa.

The legends on the coins of this prince, which are usually expressed in very imperfect letters, vary in the occasional omission of the final स of साहस.

Figure 26 (Prinsep) is the obverse of an unidentified coin, the monarch's name on the reverse being completely obliterated, though the portion of the legend, which affirms that the king in question was the *Son* of *Rudra Sáh*, still remains.

The sketch of this piece has been introduced into the plate for the purpose of showing the curious form of the second numerical symbol ᘜ, which occurs on no other coin in such entire distinctness of outline. Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 351) gave this piece to Atri Dámá, but the remaining letters of the legend scarcely authorize this or any definite assignment, though otherwise I am inclined to concur in the attribution itself, in consequence of the detection of traces of a similar figure, similarly placed, on an undoubted coin of Atri Dámá, and the confirmatory fact of such a symbol appearing in full distinctness on the money of the son [and successor?], Viswa, the 12th king.

Square LEADEN COINS.

The series of square leaden coins delineated in the commencement of Plate II. may be supposed, from identity of the principal emblems of the reverse device, and the general coincidence of the accompanying ciphers, to have formed the lower circulating medium, concurrently with the more valuable silver money just described. The obverse face of these coins displays the standing figure of the humped Bull, facing to the right, above which is seen a curiously elongated star, or diamond-shaped double arrow-head. The reverse bears the usual pyramidical emblem, surmounted, as in the associate series of silver money, by the crescents and stars. The accustomed wavy line is here, however, opened out towards the centre, and below this occur the figures it is proposed to accept as representing dates.

These pieces possess value, in the elucidation of the general inquiry, beyond the useful affirmation of the correct and complete outlines of many of the numerical symbols imperfectly retained by the silver coins, in the fact that the occurrence of the different sets of figures, as isolated impressions—here also varying in themselves irregularly as dates would do—lends support to the previous identification of the intention attending the use of the like figures as found in anomalous juxtaposition with the Greek legend on the obverse of the silver coins.

Fig. 27, Pl. II., date 𑀘𑁆𑀩

Fig. 28, 𑀘𑁆𑀩𑀍

Fig. 29, 𑀘𑁆𑀩𑀏

Fig. 30, 𑀘𑁆𑀩𑀎 [𑀑?]

Fig. 31, 𑀘𑁆𑀩𑀑

Fig. 32 is a *reversed* die, which should properly express 𑀘𑁆𑀧𑀍

Extra dates from other coins—[𑀘𑁆] 𑀩 - 𑀘𑁆𑀩𑀒

Round LEADEN COINS.

Obv. An elephant, facing to the right.

Rev. The usual pyramidical symbol, crescents, and stars. Figs. 33, 34, date 𑀘𑁆 𑀓𑀒

These leaden coins are *all* from the Cabinet of Colonel Sykes.

Prinsep has published one of these coins (which he, however, notices as composed of *copper*), dated 𑀘𑁆 𑀦 See No. 22, Pl. XII., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.

Before taking leave of the pure Sáh Suráshtran coins, it is necessary to mention that there are certain specimens of a copper coinage completely analogous with the silver series, and apparently running much about the same size and shape. (See Fig. 27, Pl. XII., J. A. S. B. vii.; the original coin weighs 22½ gr.)

But beyond this is to be noticed the unique copper coin engraved as No. 14, Pl. XII., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.[1], which is remarkable—though assimilating in many respects with the silver money—in the rejection of the obverse Sáh head, which is replaced by a figure of a Bull, nearly identical with the animal on the square leaden pieces, around which is traced an unintelligible succession of the usual Greek-looking letters. The reverse legend appears, from the intervals between the letters, to have been more brief than the inscriptions on the silver coins, and the characters themselves are perhaps of a slightly modernized form. Of the entire legend, the words राज्ञो महा क्षत्र alone are visible.

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[1] Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 356) mentions that this coin had been presented to him by Lieutenant Conolly, who had obtained it at Ujein. I have not been able to find the piece in question in the Prinsep Cabinet in the British Museum.

1st Sub-Species. (Silver.)

This group of coins—as yet unattributed—has been placed immediately after the identified Sáh series, on the strength chiefly of the forms of the Devanágari letters, which will be seen in the few legible characters traceable on the two best specimens (Figs. 35, 36), to approximate closely to the most correct outlines of the letters of the assumed prototypes, especially in the expression given to those admirable test letters which serve to form the word राज्ञो.

Looking to the limited supply and the imperfect condition of the originally well-executed coins, the utter barbarization of the more plentiful imitations, as well as to the want of definite data for fixing the *locale* of their fabrication and circulation, it would be hazardous to speculate on the detail history of the series; and though their derivation from the Suráshtran stock may be admitted as palpably obvious, the general mechanical indications disclosed are insufficient to justify any decision either in the one case, as to their issue *contemporaneously* with their exemplars as money of a once subject but momentarily disjoined and independent monarchy; or, on the other hand, when viewed as the *sequent* imitation of the Sáh currency constituting the coinage of a distinct dynasty, it would be difficult to say whether that dynasty reigned in Guzerát or some proximate country once in subordination to or in intimate correspondence with the Suráshtran peninsula.

The obverse surface of these medals offers but little to remark upon beyond the general coincidence of the form of the head with the more perfectly executed representations to be seen in the preceding series. In the better finished specimens of the present class[1], this face of the coin has suffered so much from the action of time and from oxidation, that the more exact details, which might have served the purposes of a close comparison, are altogether wanting; and in the later examples of the coinage—as has been before observed—there is such a striking absence of the *artist's* hand, that but slender faith can be placed in the evidences conveyed by the work. One single item seems safely deducible from the unoccupied margin, to be found around the bust in the broader coins, viz., that the use of Greek or its attempted representation was here discontinued.

[1] Figures 35, 36.

The reverse face displays a Sanskrit marginal legend, at first very similarly outlined to the inscriptions on the Sáh coins, and occupying, as of old, a considerable portion of the entire field; the central symbol is, however, altogether changed, and in place of the pyramid and stars, we have the unquestioned *Buddhist* device, the figure of a man —the appropriate sign of the Buddhist layman[1], the counterpart of which is found on the Behat, and many other classes of early Buddhist Coins[2].

Plate II. Figure—35 (Prinsep collection, to which it was contributed by the late Captain Conolly; found at Ujein), weight 28·5 gr.

Obv. Head, similar in character to those found on the Sah series of coins, but apparently unaccompanied by any legend.

Rev. The lower portion of a crude outline figure of a man. More entire specimens show that it usually has the right arm upraised. (See also engravings of a similar but less finely-finished coin, delineated as fig. 21, Pl. XVIII., Vol. III., and fig. 9, Pl. XLIX., Vol. IV., J. A. S. B.)

The major part of the legend is illegible, though many isolated letters are readily identifiable, and the entire word राज्ञो is plainly discernible, to which may fairly be added, on the confirmation afforded by other analogous coins, the highly important words महा क्षत्रप[3], which establish still more conclusively the connexion existing between this and the preceding class of pure Sáh money.

Plate II. Figures—36, weight 23 gr.; 37, weight 28 gr.; and 38, weight 31 gr. (Sykes).

Coins of similar type to the last, but of imperfect execution, arranged in the order of their comparative deterioration.

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[1] Csoma De Koros, "Dulva," xx., As. Res., p. 86, sec. 11.

[2] Ar. Ant., Pl. XV. figs. 23, 24, 25; also J. A. S. B., iv., Pl. X., fig. 16; Pl. XXXV., figs. 45, 47; and vii., Pl. XXXII., figs. 12, 13, 14, &c., &c.

[3] J. A. S. B., iv. Pl. XLIX., fig. 8.

COINS OF KUMARA GUPTA.

Plate II. Figures—39 (R. A. S.), weight 33 gr.; 40 (Prinsep), weight 33 gr.; 41 (Prinsep), weight 33·3 gr.; 42 (Prinsep), weight 32 gr. Legend, Pl. iii., *a*.

Obv. Head but little changed from the Sáh type; legend, at the back of the head, NANO, and at times ϱAO NANo. On some specimens of this class of coins the legend is placed in front of the profile.

Rev. A symbol, the meaning of which has not been hitherto decided on by modern numismatists; it is not impossible that it may be intended for a peacock: the legends are at times doubtful in the second word, which has been also read भानुवीर् Bhánuvíra[1]; but the generality of specimens disclose the following inscription:—

परम भगवत राजाधिराज श्री कुमार गुप्त महेन्द्रस्य

Parama Bhagavata Rájádhirája Srí Kumára Gupta Mahendrasya.

N.B. The facsimile legend, given as *a*, Pl. iii., has been taken from the original coins engraved as figs. 40, 41. The coins under notice are not always complete in the Sanskrit legends; as instances, an otherwise very perfect piece in the cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society has the word राजाधिराज abbreviated into राजाध; and No. 39 has the same word contracted to राजाधिर.

COINS OF SKANDA GUPTA.

1*st. Money having for the reverse device the same symbol as is found on the coins of Kumára Gupta.*

Figures—43 (R. A. S.), weight 27 gr.; 44 (Prinsep), weight 23 gr.

Obv. Head very much barbarized, but still retaining sufficient character to make it readily identifiable as a derivative from the old Sáh type. On some specimens is to be seen the word NANO to the front of the profile.

[1] Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 356. See also variant *a*, Pl. III.

Rev. A very debased imitation of the (Peacock?) symbol which characterises the silver coins of Skanda's predecessor, Kumára Gupta. Restored legend—

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

Parama Bhagavata Srí Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.

Prinsep, in his collated reading of the legends on these coins (J. A. S. B., vii. 356), adopted the letter म (for महा) as occurring after the word भगवत (or भगदत as he made it), which he found to be followed by the title of राज, which precedes the name of the monarch. This rendering he would seem to have drawn from fig. 29, Pl. II., Steuart (J. R. A. S., 1837); but as the like letters do not generally recur, I have marked this as the exception rather than the rule. Other specimens of this class of coin will be found engraved as figs. 18, 19, 20, and 21, pl. xii., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.

2nd. Coins with the reverse device of a Bull.

Figures—45 (R. A. S.), weight 30 gr.; 46 (R. A. S.), weight 21 gr.

Obv. Coarsely designed head, with traces of the word NANO in front of the profile.

Rev. Figure of a Bull (Nandí) recumbent, identical in every respect with the seal symbol of the Valabhi family, as found on their Copper-plate Grants. (See J. A. S. B., iv. pl. xl., and p. 487.) Restored legend—

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

Parama Bhagavata Srí Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.

These legends are often imperfect, and very constantly of unequal length, an irregularity resulting apparently from the amount of room the die-sinker happened to find himself possessed of as he proceeded with his engraving. Thus in one coin (Wilson, Ar. Ant., pl. XV. fig. 19) the second word appears to have been contracted into its initial letter, and the three letters that should have succeeded are replaced by the two letters serving to express the word राज. In

other instances, where there has been a superabundance of space, an र in one case, and an रज in another, have been inserted over and above the words and letters adopted in the detail above.

Plate II. Figures—47 (*Mihi*), weight 23 gr.; 47 (*Mihi*), weight 29 gr.
Found in the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna.

Obv. Crudely executed head.
Rev. Bull *couchant.*

The inscriptions on these coins, though partially legible, do not afford any trustworthy reading of the purport designed to be conveyed, as the letters of the legends, though clear at different points, are in general much abraided, and have originally been but imperfectly defined. These sister coins have been placed in their present position as palpably connected with the Bull series of Skanda Gupta, and though the name inscribed may be for the present unrecognisable, enough remains of the different characters of the inscriptions to prove that they do *not* bear the name of that monarch: as such, they raise an important historical question as to who their producer, this imitator of Skanda Gupta, was. Their insertion among the present engravings may serve to introduce their claims to the notice of possessors of more perfect specimens of the same class of coins, through whose means light may possibly be thrown on this branch of the enquiry.

3rd. Coins having the Túlsí device.

Plate III. Figures—49 (Prinsep), weight 22·5 gr.; 50 (Prinsep), weight 28 gr.; 51 (Prinsep), weight 33 gr.; and legends *d*, *e*, Pl. III.

Obv. The usual head, generally ill defined, but still identical in many respects with the original type on the obverse of the Sáh medals, occasionally accompanied also by distinct traces of the word NANO.

Rev. Central symbol in the form of an altar, which is taken to represent the common altar-shaped receptacle of the sacred Túlsí tree of the Hindús. Legends restored—

Fig. 49, II., and *d*, III.

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

Parama Bhagavata Srí Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.

Fig. 50, II., and *d*, *variant*, III.

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त परमादित्य

Parama Bhagavata Srí Skanda Gupta Paramáditya.

Fig. 51, II., and *e*, III.

परम भगवत श्री विक्रमादित्य स्कन्द गुप्त

Parama Bhagavata Srí Vikramáditya Skanda Gupta.

There are between seventy and eighty specimens of these various Túlsí device Skanda Gupta coins in the Prinsep collection. They are commonly but carelessly fashioned, and unevenly struck. The letters of the legends, however, are in high relief, and unusually well preserved, though there is at the same time a decided absence of uniformity in the expression of many characters of analogous value, and their general outline is remarkable for a degree of rudeness, similar to that already noticed by Prinsep[1] as existing in the coeval alphabet of the 3rd or Skanda Gupta Inscription on the Girnar Rock.

The irregularity in the completion of the legend cited as occurring on Skanda Gupta's coins with the Bull reverse, appears in a still greater degree in those of the present class.

PEACOCK COINS.

Plate II. Figures—52 (*Mihi*), weight 30 gr.; 53 (Swiney), weight 36 gr.; 54 (Swiney), weight 32 gr.; 55 (Swiney), weight 32 gr.; 56 (Prinsep), weight 35·8 gr.; 57, engraved from the cast of a coin—the original in the possession of Mr. Vincent Tregear—communicated by Dr. Swiney.

The facsimiles of these coins have been added to the engravings of the different series of medals which illustrate the more especial subject of the present memoir, with a view to show another—perhaps the final—ramification of the imitations of the old Sáh model. It is to be remarked that, judging from the localities in which they are now chiefly discovered, the point of their original issue should be referred

[1] See remarks quoted in note 2, page 10, *suprâ*, and the facsimile of the inscription itself in the Journal Bombay Branch Asiatic Society for April, 1812.

to some spot in Central[1] rather than in Western India. This attribution—though claiming for these pieces a site somewhat removed from the more immediate *locale* of the circulation of their prototypes—does not in any way militate against the probabilities resulting from the previous history of the series, whence the standard of this money is supposed to have been derived. The possession of both the country upon the Ganges, and the entire land up to and including the peninsula of Guzerát, by one and the same supreme ruler—as is seen to have been the case under Kumára and Skanda, if not under others of the family of the Guptas—would naturally induce a more than usually free inter-circulation of the local currencies of each. The Eastern provinces being deficient—as the Indo-Scythic and Gupta coinages severally teach us—in any sustained silver currency, would unhesitatingly adopt the useful intermediate circulating medium of a Western state, which bore the impress of their mutual paramount sovereign. Having thus found its way into the bazars of the upper Gangetic districts, there would be little hesitation in a succeeding dynasty—even of so far purely Eastern origin—adopting it as its model type for a new coinage, in preference to the Greek silver pieces supposed to have been, to a certain extent, in associate circulation with the Indo-Scythic and Gupta gold, or the more crude specimens of the ancient local mintages that may still have kept their place among their more modern substitutes.

In regard to the superscriptions on the reverse of these coins, it will be seen that it is somewhat difficult to discriminate satisfactorily the true value of many of the letters, as there is not only a general want of due definition in the better outlined characters, and a confused agglomeration of the distinctive lines of each, but there is likewise, in the majority of instances, a palpable bungling and incomplete formation of the letters which leads to a necessary distrust in any mere tentative reading, unsupported by such leading hints or collateral evidence as might suggest or confirm any reasonably admissible decipherment.

A collation of the inscriptions on the best specimens at present procurable, leads to thus much of a definite conclusion, that the superscriptions vary on different coins, which may be taken to prove that the entire class represents the mintages of various members of a dynasty, in contradistinction to the coinage of a single king.

[1] "Figures 10, 11, 12 [Pl. XLIX., Vol. IV., J. A. S. B.] are of a different type, though nearly allied to the former [the Surâshtrans]: they are found not only in Gajerat, but at Kanouj, Ujjain, and generally in Upper India." Prinsep.

It will be seen that the average weight of the specimens cited is slightly over the usual weight of the Sáh and Gupta pieces; the difference is, however, by no means sufficient to invalidate the supposition of a derivation from the last named source.

The coins themselves demand but brief notice. The Head on the obverse will be found to have attained much of the marked character of Indian art, especially in the execution of the eye, which may almost be traced, in the accompanying engravings, step by step through its successive stages of *Indianization*, from the classical form communicated by the Suráshtran artists to the barbarous full front optic on the side face, which so disfigures the heads on these coins. The other details in the execution of the bust have pretty well kept pace in the general degradation of style; but among the minor objects, the attention is attracted to the retention, or rather reproduction, of the exact Sáh collar. In front of the profile are three letters, superposed after the manner of the legends on the Eastern Gupta medals.

The Indian designers make a better display on the reverse than the crudities that disgrace the opposite surface would have led us to anticipate. The central device—the Peacock—is here boldly conceived and creditably executed. The letters, too, to judge from the coin engraved as No. 52, must at times have been well modelled, though there is a failure in the working out of the details, and a confusedness of the inner lines of the characters, even while the external form appears to have been accurately rendered; and to do the engravers full justice, they seem to have proposed to themselves uniformly to express the requisite superscribed vowels, though these have naturally suffered from their exposed position on the edge of the piece, in addition to any faults they may have derived from the imperfection of the dies.

The style of writing employed appears to follow, at but a moderate distance, the alphabet of the Guptas, as in use in their Eastern states, and among the rest, the letters क ग ज ध त द प ब र and न may be cited as nearly identical with the corresponding characters on the Gupta Láts. The व and त—and occasionally the न—on the coins are at times easily confounded, as they are often wanting in the several openings which should give each its distinctive value.

Without attempting to analyse the legends in detail, or to propose any reading for the introductory laudatory titles, supposed to precede the name, I may notice—though distrusting my materials—that the names on Nos. 55, 57, allowing for the obvious malformation of the letters, may readily be taken for श्री बुध गुप्त Srí Budha Gupta, the

very name that is found on the inscription on Bhím Sen's Pillar at Erun, near Ságor. Assuming this designation to be correctly read, the collateral evidence derived from the inscription coincides sufficiently with the indications offered by the coins themselves. From the former we gather that Budha Gupta held the country lying between the Nerbudda and a river it has been proposed to identify as the Jumna[1]; no information is however afforded as to the whereabouts of his seat of government, nor can the geographical boundaries, thus defined, be said to convey any very definite knowledge of the real extent of the dominions adverted to. Prinsep considered that Surashtra should be held to have constituted a portion of this king's possessions, but the expressions in his own translation of the inscription—even admitting it to be an accurate rendering—are far from implying any such condition; the occupation of land touching these two rivers, taking Ságor as anything like its centre, would encircle comparatively narrow limits, and would not by any means of necessity embrace the whole land to the western coast.

If Budha Gupta is to be looked upon as a scion of the ancient family of the Guptas, whose might is chronicled on the Láts of Allahabad and Bhitári, and on the Rock of Junagarh, it is clear by his subjects' own showing, that he possessed a sovereignty much reduced in extent from the empire originally ruled over by his predecessors in the palmy days of the race.

In addition to the Pillar record, there is also an inscription on the temple at Erun, near which the Pillar itself was erected. From the incidental notices to be found in these monumental writings, it would appear that their execution must have been very nearly contemporaneous; the one work having been undertaken "by," the other at the "cost of," a certain Dhanya Vishnu. In the temple inscription, which

[1] Prinsep's translation of this inscription runs—"On Thursday, the 13th lunar day of the month of A'shadha of the year 165, when the King, Budha Gupta * * governed the beautiful country situated between the Kálindî (Jumna) and the Narmada * * in the aforesaid year of his dynasty." J. A. S. B., vii. 634.

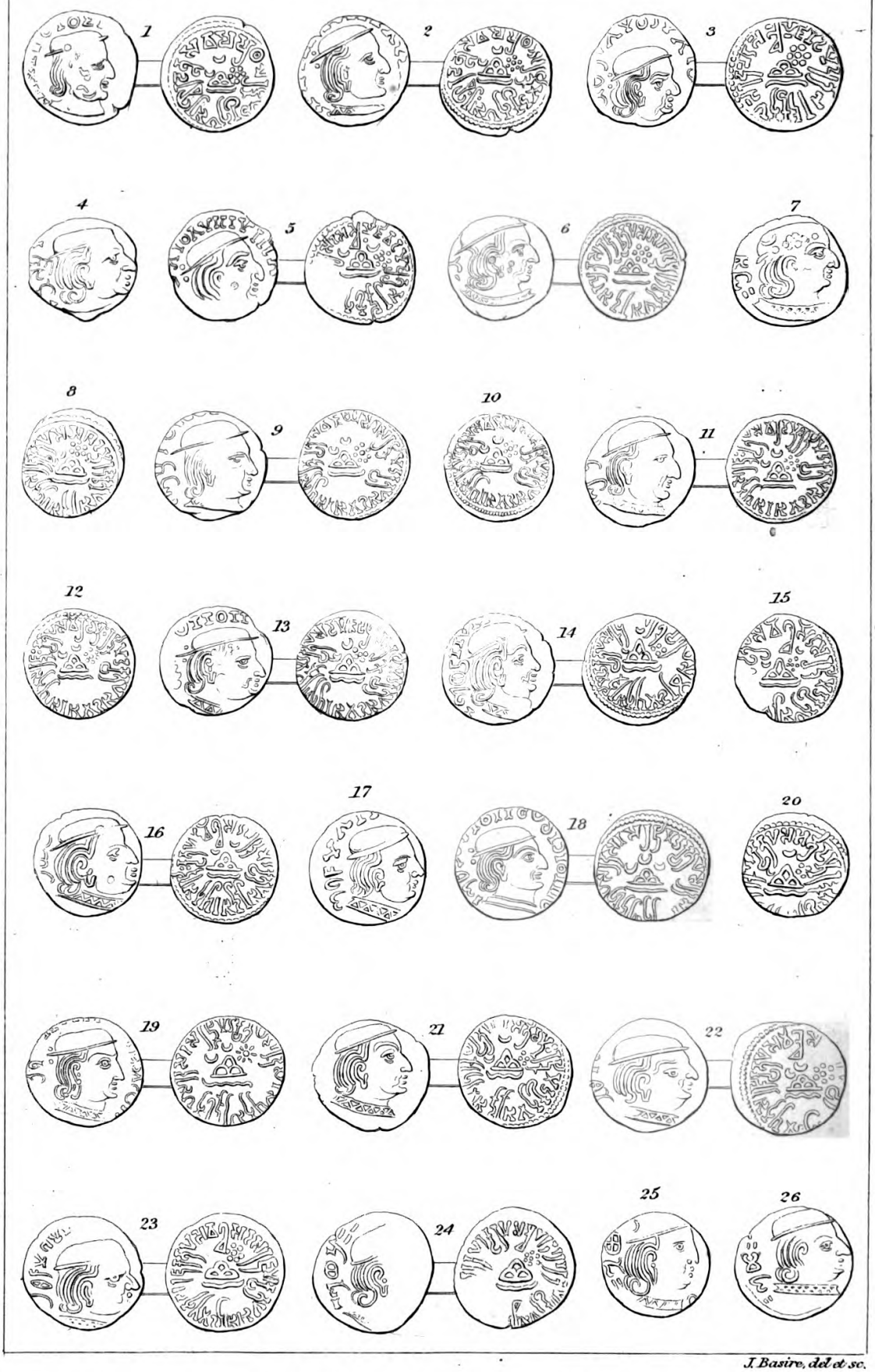
The word transcribed as कालिन्दी, when tested by the facsimile of the inscription itself (Pl. XXXI., Vol. VII.), is by no means a satisfactory rendering, each letter of the entire word—with the single exception of the ई—being open to objection, besides which the very legible र over the concluding compound letter in the original remains altogether unaccounted for in the modern transcript.

is probably the earliest of the two, it is stated that the edifice itself was built in the first year of the reign of Tárapáni, the suzerain then acknowledged in this part of the country[1]. The writing on the pillar, on the other hand, informs us, as has been already stated, that, at the time of its endorsement, Budha Gupta was the lord paramount.

This change in the *Suzerainеté*, at all events, suffices to show that Budha Gupta, though he may have obtained, or even regained, possession of the country about Ságor, was far from being sole unopposed inheritor of the lands once acknowledging *Gupta* sway; and as such, his title to the nearly entire north-west of India may well be questioned, and his dominions reduced to much more moderate bounds than Prinsep was inclined to award him.

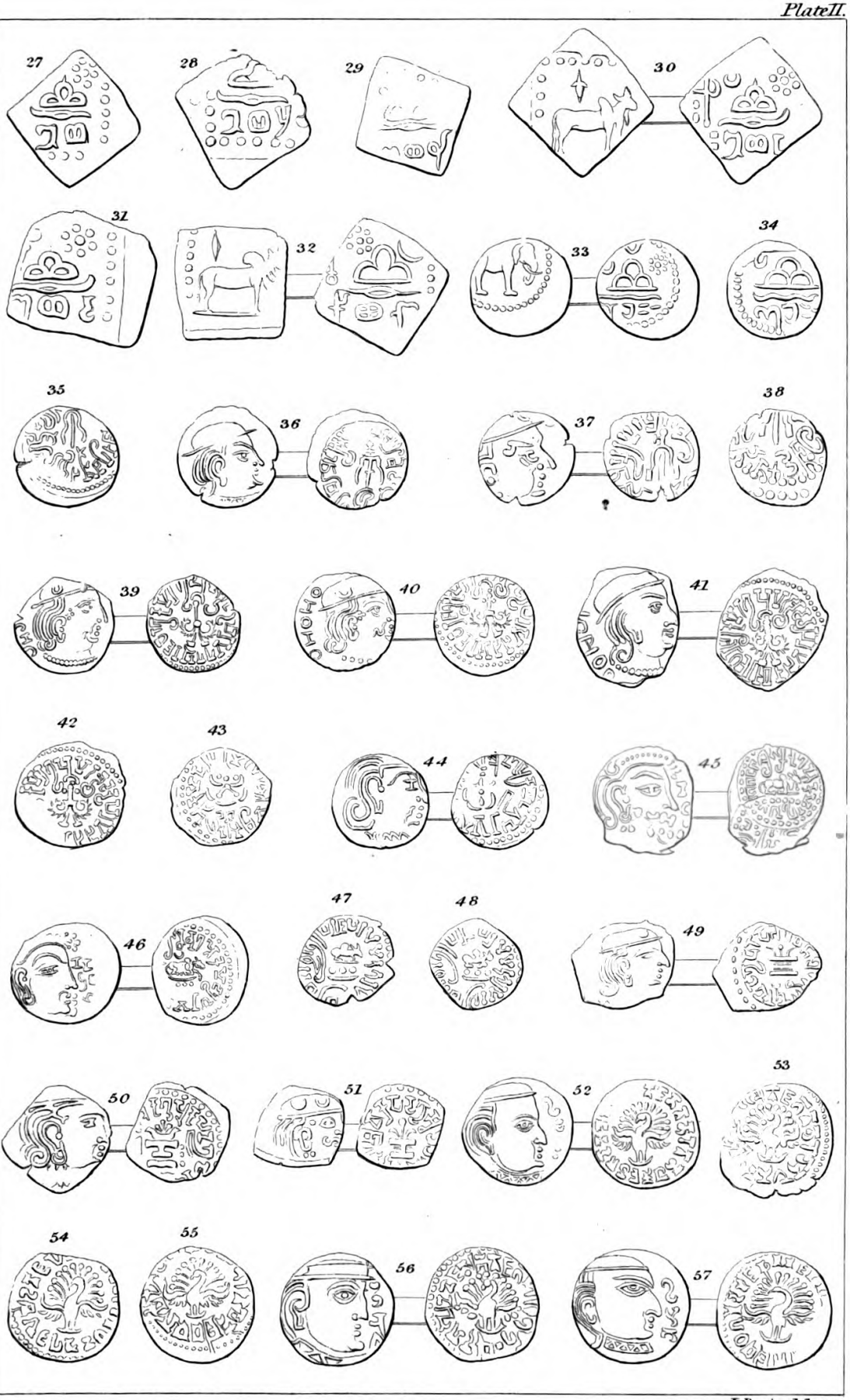
It need scarcely be noticed that in the present incomplete state of our information on the subject, the date of 163, as avowedly a dynastical date, adds nothing to our knowledge or power of determining the real corresponding epoch.

[1] "When the great rája Tárapáni, the very famous and beautiful, the King of Kings, governed the earth; in the first year of his reign," &c., &c., J. A. S. B., vii. 633.



J. Basire, del et sc.

COINS OF THE SAH KINGS OF SURÁSHTRA.



J. Basire, del et sc.

MISCELLANEOUS COINS OF SURÁSHTRA &c.

SAH'S

GUPTAS

E. Thomas, del.

J. Basire, lith.

LEGENDS FROM THE SURASHTRAN COINS.

APPENDIX.

With a view to illustrate more fully and satisfactorily, by a direct reference to facsimiles of the medals themselves, the important connection existing between the Indo-Scythians and the Guptas, which forms a prominent point in the general question of the dates of Indian Dynasties, and in itself constitutes a subject of special reference in the above paper, advantage has been taken of the ready permission accorded by Mr. H. T. Prinsep to republish in this place the admirable engravings, prepared by the late Jas. Prinsep in the express design of establishing this particular fact, and originally inserted in the Fourth and Fifth Volumes of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Were these engravings less perfect in themselves, less exact in their rendering of the nice distinguishing shades in the forms of the old Devanágarí, Bactrian Páli, and corrupt Greek letters, or less aptly conceived to prove the precise link upon which much of the argument of the preceding memoir has been based, more apology might be due for their republication in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; but, in addition to the value now claimed for them, the limited European circulation of the Bengal Journal renders it probable that they may still prove new to a large majority of Western Orientalists; and their intrinsic merits and ample comprehensiveness will doubtless overrule any remaining objection to their reappearance.

It is not proposed to enter into any lengthened description of the coins depicted in these plates; at the same time it may be necessary to indicate generally the class to which they severally belong, and to note the legends deciphered on the more important specimens.

No. 1. KADPHISES.

OBV. BAϹIΛEYϹ OOHMO KAΔΦIϹHϹ.

REV. Ariano-Pálí legend, incomplete: the general legends on these coins have been given by Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 646) as *Maharajasa rajadhirajasa sabatrahca ihacha Mahi harasa dhi Mokadphisasa Nandata*, "Of the great sovereign, the king of kings both here and everywhere seizing the earth, &c., Mokadphises the saviour." Cunningham's reading is an improvement upon this; it is as follows—*Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Sabatugahi-Surasa Mahi-Surasa Hima Kaphisasa Tatasa*, "(Coin) of the great king, the king of kings, the everywhere-destroying-hero, the hero-of-the-world (of the tribe of) Hieu-mi Kadphises, the preserver." J. A. S. B., 1845, p. 434.

Nos. 2, 3. OBV. Greek legends, as No. 1.
REV. Ariano-Pálí legends, imperfect.

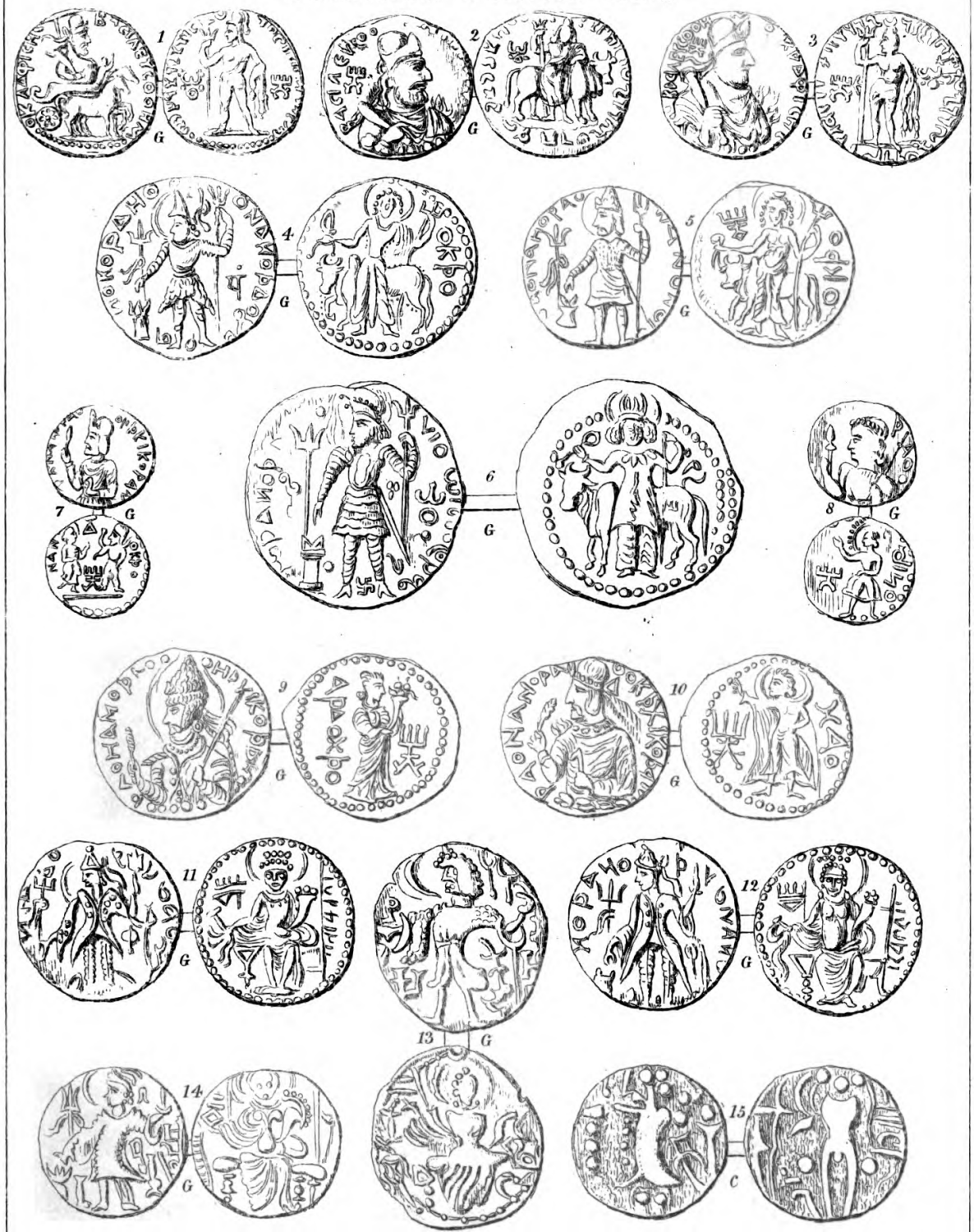
Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Specimens of the Indo-Scythic Kanerki group, having usually the legend PAO NANO PAO OHPKI KOPANO on the Obverse, with various Reverse devices, and the several words OKPO, APΔOKPO, MAO, &c., &c.

Figs. 11, 12, 14 offer slightly-changed devices, and show considerable deterioration in execution, which increases in a marked degree on Figs. 13 and 15.

Fig. 16. A coin of Samudra Gupta, having on the Obverse margin the Sanskrit legend *Srí Parajita davaja?* (Prinsep), and below the left arm, in a line with the spear, the letters being super-posed, as is usual in this series of coins, is to be seen the name *Samudra*. Reverse, Parakrama.

Fig. 17. OBV. Marginal legend doubtful, * * samaragatapa? Below the arm, *Samudra*.
REV. As in No. 16.

INDOSCYTHIC & CANOUJ COINS



Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.

J. Prinsep sc.

Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.

Fig. 18. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Chandra.*
REV. *Srí Vikrama.*

Fig. 19. OBV. *Samudra?*
REV. *Apratiratha,* "The unsurpassed warrior."

Fig. 20. Legends doubtful.

Fig. 21. Marginal writing illegible. Under the arm, *Kra.*

Fig. 22. OBV. *Skanda?*
REV. *Kramaditya.*

Fig. 23. OBV. Margin, *Kragipta paragu ja?* Under the arm, *Samudra.*
REV. Kragipta paragu? This reading is very doubtful, the *gu* of the second word being invariably written *ṣu* in the best specimens.

Fig. 24. OBV. No letters visible.
REV. *Srí Skanda Gupta.*

Fig. 25. OBV. *Mahá Rájádhirája Srí.*
REV. *Srí Sinha Vikrama.*

Fig. 26. OBV. *Mahá rájádhirája Srí* Samudra *Gupta.*
REV. *Samudra Gupta.*

Fig. 27. OBV. *Vikrama* Naráma?
REV. *Sinha Vikrama.*

Fig. 28. OBV. Legend doubtful.
REV. Kumara Gupta.

Fig. 29. OBV. } Illegible.
REV. }

Fig. 30. OBV. * * *Mahendra Gupta.*
REV. *Ajita Mahendra.*

Some of these Horseman Coins have—
OBV. Parama * * Srí *Chandra Gupta.*
REV. Ajita Vikrama[1]. See also fig. 6, Pl. VII.

Figs. 31, 32. OBV. Under the horse, the letters *Se.*
REV. *Asvamedha Parakrama,* The paramount hero of the Asvamedha.

Fig. 33. REV. *Mahá rája Srí Ganpati.*

[1] British Museum.

Fig. 1. OBV. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.
REV. APΔAΓNO.

Fig. 2. OBV. As above, but with OOHPKI in place of Kaнerki.
REV. ΦAPO.

Fig. 3. OBV. As No. 2. REV. MIIPO.

Fig. 4. OBV. Legend as in No. 1. REV. NANA PAO.

Fig. 5. OBV. As in No. 2. REV. NANA.

Fig. 6. OBV. As in No. 2.
REV. AΘPO. Atars, *Zend*, fire (Prinsep).

Fig. 7. OBV. No inscription. REV. Doubtful.

Fig. 8. OBV. As No. 2.
REV. MANAOBAΓO, "Lord of the months" (Prinsep).

Fig. 9. OBV. As No. 1.

REV. APΔOKPO (आर्य्यक), "The great sun" (Prinsep, J. A. S. B., v. 643). *Ard*, "half;" *Okro*, "Siva:" hence, Wife of Siva (Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 455.

Fig. 10. OBV. Corrupt Greek legend, similar in tenor to that on No. 1; below the right arm, between the small altar and the leg of the figure, is seen the compound Sanskrit letter र्व *rv;* between the legs is a second letter, which is not clearly identifiable; and on the left of the field is a character which may either be a Greek Φ, or, what is more probable, a compound Sanskrit छु *chhu.*

REV. APΔOKPO.

This coin is cited by Prinsep as the very "link of connection" between the two series of Indo-Scythic and Gupta coins.

Fig. 11. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Samudra.*
REV. *Kragipta paragu*, or, as Prinsep here proposes, *Kubhávu paragu*-(-ja being taken from the Obverse)? (See Wilson, Ar. Ant., p. 424 and fig. 23, pl. V., supra.)

Fig. 12. OBV. *Káma-naruttama-ja* GHA(TOT), and under the left arm KACHA, "Son-of-an-excellent-man resembling-KAMA GHATOT KACHA.
REV. *Sarvarájochhatra*, "The overshadower of all the Rájas."

Fig. 13. OBV. Margin, *Rája Srí Chandra* * * Under the arm, *Chandra.*
REV. *Srí Vikrama.*

Fig. 14. OBV. Margin, *Samara Satamataga(ja)*, "Having the strength of one hundred wild elephants" (Prinsep); and on the opposite portion of the margin, Vijayajatara. Under the arm, *Samudra.*

Fig. 15. OBV. Margin illegible. Below the arm, portions on each side of the spear, *Chandra* | *Gupta.*
REV. *Panch Chhavayas?* "The five excellencies" (Prinsep); *Pachchawaya* (Wilson).

Fig. 16. OBV. *Kumara.* REV. No letters visible.

Fig. 17. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Skanda.*
REV. *Kramaditya.*

Fig. 18. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Skanda.*
REV. *Srí Skanda Gupta.*

Fig. 19. OBV. *Parama, &c.?* REV. *Srí Mahendra.*

Fig. 20. OBV. *Jayatí Mahendra.* Under the arm, *Ku?*
REV. *Srí Mahendra.*

MITHRAIC & HINDU COINS.

Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.
with Ardokro
reverse.

Canouj Coins. Continued.

Copper Coins of Chandragupta.

Second Series of imitations from the 'Ardokro' type.

Fig. 1. OBV. Illegible.
REV. *Sinha Vikrama*, "The lion hero."

Fig. 2. OBV. Illegible.
REV. As No. 1 Reverse.

Figs. 3, 4, 5. OBV. Inscriptions doubtful.
REV. *Ajita Mahendra.*

Fig. 6. OBV. *Parama* * * * (Chan)*dra Gupta.*
REV. *Ajita Vikrama.* See extra notice under fig. 30, Pl. V.

Fig. 7. OBV. Illegible.
REV. *Vikramaditya.*

Fig. 8. OBV. Margin, *Srí* * * * *ta Mahendra jaya.*
REV. (Srí) *Mahendra Sinha.*

Fig. 9. OBV. Margin, *Srí Chandra Gupta* * *. Under the arm, *Chandra.*
REV. *Srí Vikrama.*

Fig. 10. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Skanda?*
REV. *Srí Ska*(nda)?

Figs. 12 to 15. Copper Coins of Chandra Gupta.

Figs. 16 to 20. Debased imitations from the Ardokro type.

ART. II.—*Summary of the Geology of Southern India. By* CAPTAIN NEWBOLD, F.R.S., &c., *Assistant Commissioner for Kurnool.*

[*Concluded from* Vol. ix., p. 42.]

WITH CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE STRATIFIED ROCKS OF SOUTHERN INDIA, ACCOMPANIED BY TABLE SHOWING ORDER OF SUPERPOSITION.

PART XI.

AGES OF THE PLUTONIC AND VOLCANIC ROCKS.

MUCH difficulty will always exist in determining the age of granite, since no petrographical distinction, sufficiently decisive to warrant us dividing it into classes, exists. The opinion of some geologists that the ordinary syenite, or, indeed, any other variety of syenite hitherto discovered in Southern India, is more modern than the usual ternary granite of felspar, quartz, and mica, is unsupported by any of the usual proofs required by geologists to establish a fact of this nature; viz., superposition; included fragments of rocks of a determined age; intrusion into other rocks, with or without alteration.

Dr. Christie[1], a distinguished observer in the field of Indian geology, states that "at the falls of Garsipa there is a variety of granite, which differs from the common granite of India. It is not so old a granite as the latter; is composed of small grains of white felspar, quartz, and mica; has, in some instances, a slaty appearance; and is associated with gneiss and hornblende schists." By this passage, mineral character appears to have been the only test to which this rock was put; but why the small-grained granite should be more recent than the other granites of India is not explained.

The granites of India are doubtless of two or more epochs; since we see the usual granite penetrated by granitic dykes, not only of a smaller-grained, but also of a coarser or more porphyritic granite; and nothing is more common than to witness the ordinary granite pass, by insensible gradations, into the fine-grained and porphyritic varieties.

In speaking of granite, I have alluded to the insufficiency of

[1] Madras Journal, Lit. and Sc., October, 1836, p. 457. Extract from the New Edinburgh Phil. Journal.

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On the Epoch of the GUPTA *Dynasty.—By* E. THOMAS, *Esq., B. C. S.*

In the year 1848, I submitted to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, a Memoir on the Dynasty of the Sáh kings of Sauráshtra. The object I therein proposed to myself, was to test—through the medium of coins, inscriptions and written history—the definite epoch at which the rule of these Princes might most fitly be fixed. In approaching the more specific aim of my enquiry, I had necessarily to examine the dates seemingly most appropriate to certain other races of kings, whose history bore directly or indirectly on the subject under review.

Prominent among these was the family of the Guptas, whose monumental records are extant from the Northward of the Ganges to Guzrát, and whose coins alike indicate a well sustained supremacy, spreading from the Himálayas to the Western coast.

Of the various works put under contribution to elucidate my theme, the most valuable, perhaps, was the "Fragmens Arabes et Persans relatifs a l'Inde" then but newly published by M. Reinaud.

This volume supplied me with several interesting extracts from the original Arabic MS. of Abú Rihán Al Birúní, an author, who had visited India during the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazni. One of the deductions I arrived at on the testimony of the Arabic text was, that the rule of the Guptas, preceded that of the Valabhis—the era of the latter dating from 319 A. D.

This position has been contested by Major A. Cunningham in his book on "the Bhilsa Topes." Now, as the Gupta era, forms a highly important time-mark in the general scheme of Indian history, I may, I think, fairly claim a hearing while examining the question somewhat in detail.

It is a frequent and often deserved reproach against the more determined of the class "Antiquary," that the tendency of such researches is to enlarge the faculty of ingenuity at the expence of comprehensive intelligence. Seldom has been seen a more apt illustration of the justice of this popular accusation, than is afforded in the work just cited. My critic, after a very elaborate collation of minute coincidences—most of them more seeming than real—and an accumulation of a mass of materials, he imagines to be suitable for his purpose—succeeds in raising up a most imposing superstructure, the single fault of which consists in its foundations resting on the veriest sand. Neither can I compliment Major Cunningham on the candour with which he has conducted his cause; he states the bare conclusions I have come to, but usually abstains from informing his readers of the grounds whereon I base my inferences, while his own arguments are paraded in all their exparte advantage.

I must premise, before I proceed to test the value of the criticisms passed on one of my earliest essays, that I neither then was, nor am I now wedded to any particular theory, I should have sincerely rejoiced, if, out of my errors, the truth could have been developed; my speculations—avowedly conjectural in themselves—were put forward with sufficient humility, and therefore I should not consider myself in any way compromised by the subsequent enunciation of any more plausible theory—but, having been attacked, I feel bound to justify myself—with what success it will be for others to decide.

Major Cunningham* opens his argument by objecting to the authority I quote; he first impugns the validity of the statement in

* I reprint almost entire Major Cunningham's case against me, arranging it in detached portions, with a view to bring its various headings, as nearly as may be, into juxta-position with the opening portions of my replies. I commence my quotations at Ch. XII. par. 1, page 138.

the original text of Al Birúní, and then proceeds to the somewhat bold expedient of proposing a translation, that is to supersede that of M. Reinaud, the Professor of Arabic in the Oriental College of Paris! The latter I shall leave to defend himself, but it is necessary for me to state at once, that *the* amended version is pronounced erroneous by all the Arabic scholars, European and Native to whom I have submitted the passage in question.* But the most unaccount-

"Abu Rihán who in his account of Indian eras, identifies the GUPTA KÁL, or Gupta era, with the BALLABA KÁL, or era of *Balabhi*, which commenced in A. D. 319. These eras are mentioned no less than three times by Abu Rihán; and each time he has identified them as starting from the same date. But it appears to me that the most important of these passages must either be corrupt or obscure, for the translation given by M. Reinaud makes the epoch of the Guptas commence from the date of their extermination! If this is a correct translation, there can be little doubt that the text of Abu Rihán must be erroneous; for we know positively that the Guptas were reigning during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. But I will venture to suggest a different translation of this important passage, by which the error is got rid of, without any alteration of the text:—[here follows the Arabic text introduced with M. Reinaud's French Translation, page 332]. "With regard to the *Gupta kál* (or era of the Guptas) the name was that of a wicked and powerful family; *whose epoch became extinct with themselves;* and truly Ballaba was after them; for the beginning of their era is the same as (that of) the last (namely) 241 of the SÁKA KÁL."

The underlined passage in the original text is thus translated by M. Reinaud: "et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination;" but the literal translation appears to be, "and then became extinct along with their epoch," which agrees with the version that I have given above.

The statement made in M. Reinaud's version is so extraordinary that, even without any direct proofs of its inaccuracy, I would have set it aside as erroneous. The era of the Seleukidæ *began* with the foundation of the Syrian empire by Seleukos; the Christian era is dated from the *establishment* of Christianity;× and the era of the Guptas without doubt commenced with the *settlement* of their own dynasty. For the Guptas, as I have mentioned before, date their inscriptions in an era of their own; which, though not so named by them, was actually a *Gupta kál*, and must, therefore, have been called such by the people.—Bhilsa Topes, p. 140.

* In order to put my readers in possession of the statements of Al Birúní in all their integrity, I append the French Translation of all that refers to the Gupta era, inserting likewise the original Arabic of the disputed passage.

"On emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri-Harscha, de Vikramaditya, de Saca, de Ballaba et des Gouptas. * * L'ére de Saca, nommée par les Indiens Saca-

× How about the Saka Era? E.

able portion of the ratiocination advocated by Major Cunningham is that even taking his improved reading, he, in effect, concedes to me all I demand; I assumed from the original passage, that the

kâla, est postérieure à celle de Vikramaditya de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d' un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l' Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha * * Vikramaditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute et le tua * * Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que leu peuples ressentirent de la mort de Saca, et on la choisit pour ère, principalement chez les astronomes.

Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à une ère, était prince de la ville de Ballaba, au midi de Anhalouara, à environ trente yodjanas de distance. L'ère de Ballaba est postérieure à celle de Saca de 241 ans. Pour s'en servir, on pose l'ère de Saca et l'on en ôte à la fois le cube de 6 (216) et le carré de 5, (25). Ce qui reste est l'ère de Ballaba. Il sera question de cette ère eu son lieu."

Before continuing the French translation, I insert the Arabic text of the disputed passage.

واما تاريخ بلب وهو صاحب مدينة بلبة وهي جنوبية عن مدينة انهلوارة بقريب من ثلثين جوزن فان اوله متاخر عن تاريخ شق بمائتى واحدى واربعين سنة ومستعملوة يضعون شككال وينقصون منه مجموع مكعب الستة ومربع الخمسة فبقى تاريخ بلب وخبرة آت في موضعة واما كوبت كال فكان كما قيل قوما اشرارا اقوياء فلما انقرضوا ارخ بهم وكان اخيرهم فان اول تاريخهم ايضا متاخر عن شككال ٣٩١

M. Reinaud's rendering is as follows:—

" Quant au Goupta kàla (ère des Gouptas), ou entend par le mot *goupta* des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination. Apparemment, Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas; car l'ère des Gouptas commence aussi l'an 241 de l'ère de Saca. * * D'après cela, en s'en tenant à l'an 400 de l'ère de Zezderdjed, on se trouve sous l'année 1488 de l'ère de Sri-Harscha, l'an 1088 de l'ère de Vikramaditya, l'an 953 de l'ère de Saca, l'au 712 de l' ère de Ballaba et celle des Gouptas. * *

Déjà je me suis excusé sur l'imperfection de ce qui est dit ici, et j'ai averti que les résultats que je présente offraient quelque incertitude, vu les nombres qui excèdent celui de cent. Je ferai remarquer de plus que j'ai vu les Indiens, lorsqu'ils veulent marquer l'année de la prise de Soumenat (par Mahmoud le Ghaznévide), événement qui eut lieu l'an 416 de l'hégire (Janvier 1026 de J. C.), et l'an 947 de

Valabhi era commenced in 319 A. D. and that "the Gupta rule preceded it." [J. R. A. S. xii. 4.]

The amended translation contains these words "*and truly Ballaba was after them,*" [the Guptas]. What greater support does my argument require than the admission I have italicised? And yet, will it be credited?—on the strength of a sentence admitted to contain the substance of these words, it is unintentionally, but in effect—attempted to establish that the Guptas and the Valabhis were contemporaneous.

Major Cunningham next enters upon certain remarks about eras in general—designing to show that all eras necessarily begin with the rise and not with the fall of a race! and therefore that the era of the Guptas "commenced with the settlement of their own Dynasty." It is a pity, for the consistency of this view, that regard was not had to the era of Yesdegird, which might well have been brought to the writer's notice in the very pages of Al Birúní himself, or that, when speaking of Valabhi eras, it was not borne in mind, that the *first* Mahárája of that race did not initiate the family cycle.* But to let this pass, in whatever era the Guptas may date their inscriptions, I should still claim to place the period embraced in all its integrity and completeness before A. D. 319.

Major Cunningham after assuming the employment of a *Special* Gupta Kál goes on to apply it in its details, by constructing a chro-

l'ère de Saca, je les ai vus écrire 242, puis au-dessous 606, puis encore an-dessous 99, enfin additionner le tout ensemble; ce qui donne l'ére de Saca. Ou peut induire de là que le nombre 242 indique les années qui précèdent l'époque où les Indiens commencèrent à se servir d'un cycle de cent, et que cet usage commença avec l'ère des Gouptas. D'après cela, le nombre 606 indiquerait les samvatsaras de cent complets, ce qui porterait chaque samvatsara à 101. Quant au nombre 99, ce seraient les années qui se sont écoulées du samvatsara non encore révolu. C'est ce qui est en effet. J'ai trouvé la confirmation et l'éclaircissement de cela dans les tables astronomiques de Durlab le moultanien; ou y lit: E'cris 848 et ajoute le Loka-kâla, c'est-à-dire le comput du vulgaire; le produit marquera l'année de l'ère de Saca." En effet, si nous écirvons l'année de l'ère de Saca qui correspond à l'année actuelle, et qui est l'année 953, et que nous retranchions de ce nombre la quantité 848, il restera 105 pour le Loka-kâla, et l'année de la ruine de Soumenat tombera sur le nombre 98.

* Wathen, J. A. S. B. IV. 481.

nological list of the entire succession. In this he places *Srí Gupta* under Anno Gupta—thereby, in effect, making this individual the prominent founder of the Royal race of Guptas, a position scarcely in accord with the terms in which this person is spoken of in the family records on the Allahabad and Bhitárí columns,* or altogether in unison with the modest titles assumed by himself and his immediate successor.† The dynastic inscriptions concede but scant honor to these members of the race and only elevate Chandra Gupta 1st to the dignity of *Mahárájadhirája.*

I now approach the arguments mainly relied on, which are thus urged against me. "The direct evidence of the period when the Guptas flourished is derived from the Chinese. In A. D. 428, the king of Kapila, was named YUE-GAI or *moon-beloved* which is a synonyme of CHANDRA GUPTA, or *moon-cherished.*"‡ I am disposed to

* The Rev. W. H. Mill in commenting on the Allahabad Column Inscription, expresses himself as follows. * * But the inscription gives us the *names* also of the prince and his immediate progenitors: and in accordance with the above-mentioned account, while we find his * * * ancestors, his grandfather and great-grandfather designated only by the honorific epithet *Mahárája*, which would characterize their royal descent and rights—the king himself (SAMUDRA GUPTA) and his father are distinguished by the title of *Mahárája Adhirája*, which indicates actual sovereignty. And the last mentioned circumstance might lead some to conjecture, that the restoration of royalty in the house began with the father named Chandra Gupta. J. A. S. B. III. p. 266 [see also Bhitárí Lát Inscription, J. A. S., B. VI. p. 6, and Revised Allahabad Inscription, VI. 969.

† Prinsep, [J. A. S., B. V. 645], speaking of a coin of GHATOT KACHA, observes in regard to the style of legend adopted by these sovereigns; "to whom, whether from their extra-Indian, or their low origin, or their limited sway, the panegyrist seems to have avoided applying the usual epithets of royalty, *Mahárájadhirája.*"

‡ "Para 3. The direct evidence of the period when the Guptas flourished is derived from the Chinese. In A. D. 428 the king of Kapila was named *Yue gai*, or 'moon-beloved,' which is a synonyme of *Chandra Gupta* or 'moon-cherished.'"

In A. D. 502, the king of India was named *Keu-to* that is *Gutto*, the Páli form of the Sanskrit *Gupta.*

Lastly, Hwán-Thsáng (*Fo-kue-ki*, Appendix) names five princes of Magadha, who flourished previous to the conquest of the country by Síladitya, in the following order:—Lo-kia-lo a-yi-to or *Lagraditya*, Fo-tho-kiu-to or *Buddha Gupta*, Tha-ka-ta-kiu-to or *Takta Gupta*, Pho-lo-a-yi-to or *Baladitya*, Fa-che-lo or *Vajra.*

attach no value whatever to this evidence. The statement referred to runs to the following effect—the kingdom of Kapila is mentioned by *Ma-twan-lin* under the name of *Ka pi li.*—In the article India,

4. Now Síladitya died between 642 and 648 (say in 645) and as he reigned sixty years, his accession must have taken place in A. D. 585; and his conquest of Magadha may be dated about A. D. 600. The chronology of the Guptas as derived from all sources will then stand thus. I. Gupta A. G. 0, A. D. 319. II. Ghatot Kacha A. G., 21, A. D. 340. III. Chandra Gupta 1st, A. G. 41, A. D. 360. IV. Samudra Gupta, *Parakrama*, A. G. 61, A. D. 380. V. Chandra Gupta 2nd, *Vikramaditya*, A. G., 81, A. D. 400. VI. Kumara Gupta, *Mahendra*, A. G. 111, A. D. 430. VII. Skanda Gupta, *Kramaditya*, A. G. 121, A. D. 440. VIII. Skanda Gupta, *Lagraditya* or *Lokaditya*, A. G. 133, A. D. 452. IX. Buddha Gupta, A. G. 161, A. D. 480. X. Takta Gupta, A. G. 191, A. D. 510. XI. Nara Gupta, *Baladitya*, A. G. 221, A. D. 540. XII. Vajra, A. G. 251, A. D. 570. Conquest of Siladitya, A. G. 281, A. D. 600. [Note.] (The dates obtained from various sources are:—for Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, 82 (Udayagiri Inscription) and 93 (Sanchi Inscription), equivalent to A. D. 401 and 412—from Jain Authorities A. D. 409; and from Chinese Authorities A. D. 428—for Skanda Gupta—his death in 133, or A. D. 452 as stated on the Kuhaon Pillar;—for Buddha Gupta 165, or A. D. 484 as given by the Eran Pillar Inscription).

5. The chronological table has been framed upon the following data. 1st, The power of the Indo-Scythians did not begin to decline until the time of the later Hans in China, whose dynasty was only established in A. D. 222. During the latter half of the third century their power was on the decline, and may be supposed to have been finally overthrown by Gupta in A. D. 319. There are great numbers of gold coins of Indo-Scythian type with corrupt Greek and Indian legends which can only be attributed to this dynasty. 2d. A short inscription of Chandra Gupta, at Udayagiri, is dated in the year 82; and a second of the same prince, at Sanchi, is dated in the year 93. These dates of the Gupta era are equivalent to A. D. 401 and 412, which agree with the Chinese date of A. D. 428 for *Yue-gai* (Prinsep, Journal, VI. 665; Des Guignes I. 45, says A. D. 408). But Chandra Gupta on his coins takes the title of *Vikramaditya* and in the Agni Purana (Prinsep, IV. 688) it is said that *Vikrama*, the son of Gadharupa should ascend the throne of Málawa 753 years after the expiation of Chánakya. This event I have already placed in B. C. 325; from which deducting 753 years, we obtain A. D. 428 for the date of Vikrama of Malwa. Col. Tod also quotes a Jain inscription of Chandra Gupta, dated either in 370 or 409. (Trans. R. A. S. 140, 211) in which he is styled *Avantináth*, or "lord of Ujain," which was the capital of Malwa. Here then we have a Vikrama and a Chandra Gupta both kings of Malwa at the same time: two statements which can only be recon-

he says: "In the 5th of the years *Yuan-kia*, in the reign of the Emperor *Wen ti* of the Soung (428 A. D.), *Yu ai*, king of *Kia pi li* in Thian-chu, sent an embassy to the Emperor * * under the Emperor *Ming-ti* of the same dynasty, the second of the years *Thaï-chi* (A. D. 466,) *Kia pi li* again sent an ambassador to China bearing tribute. The *Ly-taï-ki-szu* also mentions an embassy from the king of *Kia pi li* in the year 428 of our era."*

The recognition of the existence of a kingdom of Kapila as one of any mark or prominence whatever at or about the periods indicated in the above—is singularly at variance with the facts supplied by both Fa Hian and Huen Tshang. The former in his itinerary speaks of the capital city in these terms. "In this town there are neither king nor people; it is literally a vast solitude. This is the site of the ancient palace of the king *Pe-tsing*" [Sákya Muni's father] * * "The kingdom of *Kia-'weï-lo-'wei* [identified as Kapila] is a great solitude; the people are scattered, and white elephants and lions are to be apprehended on the roads."†

Two centuries later Huen Tshang reports the result of his observations to the following effect, "Ce royaume a quatre mille li de tour; on y compte dix villes désertes dont le sol est convert de

ciled by supposing them to be the same person under different names or titles, this supposition is confirmed by the coins of Chandra Gupta, on the reverses of which we find, that he took the titles of Vikrama and Vikramáditya. A cave Inscription at Udayagiri of the Samvat year 1093 or A. D. 1036 couples the name of Chandra Gupta with the kingdom of Vikramaditya *(Vikramaditya Rájyam)*. In the Raja Tarangini also it is mentioned that Mátri Gupta was placed on the throne of Kashmir by Vikramaditya, king of Ujain.

According to my corrected chronology of the Raja Tarangini, this happened in A. D. 430. The Satrunjaya Mahatmya (Wilford, Res. As. Soc. IX. 156, and Wilson, ibid. XV. 39 note) also places the 3rd Vikramaditya in Samvat 466, or A. D. 409, From this accumulation of evidence it seems to me certain that a "Chandra Gupta with the title of Vikramaditya was the sovereign of Malwa in the early part of the 5th century of our era."—Bhilsa Topes, pp. 142 to 143.

* I extract this passage from Mr. Laidlay's translation of the Foe Kone Ki. I have not the original at command.

† Laidlay's translation, p. 189.

plantes incultes. La capitale est ruinée à un tel point qu'il est impossible de déterminer quelle était son étendue."*

It is absurd to suppose that this capital and kingdom could have been severally re-edified and re-peopled within so brief a space as intervened between the date of Fa Hian's visit, and the epoch alluded to by *Ma-twan-lin*, nor is it probable, if the kingdom had recovered itself to that point of importance in the scale of nations as the Chinese allusions to 428 A. D. and 466 A. D. respectively would imply, that it should have sunk back into such utter desolation in the second Pilgrim's time; on the contrary the tenor of the expressions made use of in the original *Si-yu-ki* altogether forbids any idea of the kind.† It is far more reasonable to conclude that both the name of the prince, like that of the once flourishing monarchy, should be held to refer to an anterior period to that given by *Ma-touan-lin*, or perhaps with greater justice the whole affair may be put down as an empty and ignorant boast for the honor and glorification of the Chinese monarchs, made in connexion with a site so intimately associated with the early faith of Sákya Muni.

Next in order of Major Cunningham's direct evidences, comes the assertion that "in A. D. 502, the king of India was named *Keu-to* that is Gutto, the Páli form of the Sanskrit Gupta."‡ This statement, be it observed, is also derived from Ma-twan-lin, the author whose evidence I have just shewn such reason to distrust—but, under any circumstances, the information conveyed in this quotation is too vague and indistinct to merit much consideration—to make it of any real service in this discussion, it would be necessary to demonstrate, that the name of *Gupta* was special and exclusive with the GUPTA family; whereas the suffix in question was sufficiently common in the ordinary nomenclature of the country. If it had been proposed to assign the appellation to *Srí Gupta*, there

* Huen-Tshang "Julien," p. 126.

† Sit-yu-ki liv. VI. folio 7. "Comme ce pays est désert et inhabité depuis bien de siècles, 'on ne recontre dans les villages que des rares habitants.' Il n'y a ni prince, ni chef suprême; dans chaque ville, on a établi un maître qui la gouverne." —Documents Géographiques, p. 394.

‡ J. A. S. B. VI. p. 65.

might have been more reason in the association; except, that even Major Cunningham might perhaps be unprepared, either to assert that Sri Gupta was *king of India*, or to modernise his date to so late a period as 502 A. D.!

I now arrive at the crowning point of the Chinese evidence which is thus stated: "lastly Huen Thsang names five princes of Magadha, who flourished previous to the conquest of the country by Siladitya in the following order *Lagraditya*, *Buddha Gupta*, *Takta Gupta*, *Baladitya*, *Vajra*." Major Cunningham then proceeds to tack on this list of princes to an imaginary *second* Skanda Gupta, and to argue, that Siladitya, in or about A. D. 600, conquered and superseded the last of these five monarchs: what justification the original text of *Foe-koue-ki* may have afforded, for placing these kings *immediately* prior to Siladitya, I have no means, at this moment, of ascertaining, but, that it has proved a most infelicitous experiment, the now published translation of Huen Thsang's travels too clearly manifests! So far from the author in question giving any authority for these five monarchs being located in the second half of the 6th century, he absolutely assigns them to a period shortly succeeding the *Nirvana* of Buddha or at about 700 years prior to the date at which he himself visited India! I transcribe this passage entire in order that there may remain no possible doubt of the justice of my somewhat startling rectification!

"Après le *Nirvâna* du *Buddha*, un ancien roi de ce royaume, nommé Cho-kia-lo-o-tie-to *(Çakrâditya)*, rempli de respect et d'amour pour le *Bouddha*, construisit â ses frais ce Kia-lan *(Sâmghârâma)*.

" Ce roi étant mort, eut pour successeur son fils Fo-to-k'io-to *(Buddhagoupta)*, qui, après avoir pris les rênes de ce grand royaume, construisit plus loin, au sud, un autre Kia-lan.

" Un peu plus loin à l'est, son fils, le roi Ta-t'a-kie-to *(Tathâgata)*, bâtit un autre couvent.

" Plus loin au nord-est, son fils Polo'ot'ieto *(Bâlâditya)* bâtit un autre couvent.

" Dans la suite, voyant qu'un saint religieux venait de la Chine, et se dirigeait vers lui pour recevoir de ses mains les provisions nécessaires, il fut transporté de joie, quitta son trône et embrassa la vie religieuse.

" Il eut pour successeur son fils Fa-che-lo (*Vadjra*), qui, plus loin au nord, construisit un autre couvent.

" Quelque temps après, un roi de l' Inde centrale bâtit à côté un autre couvent.

" De cette manière, six rois, qui montèrent successivement sur le trône, se livrèrent chacun à de pieuses constructions. Le dernier de ces rois entoura tous ces couvents d'une enceinte de murs en briques et les réunit en un seul. pp. 149, 150 * * * * * Dans le séjour de tous ces hommes vertueux, régnaient naturellement des habitudes graves et sévères ; aussi, depuis sept cents ans que ce couvent existe, nul homme n'a jamais enfreint les règles de la discipline."—p. 152.

Having now shewn how baseless Major Cunningham's whole fabric is, I need scarcely occupy myself with the adventitious supports with which he designs to give it strength; but it may be instructive to examine his reasoning on these lesser matters, in order that the public may still further judge of the soundness of the conclusions of an antiquarian guide it might otherwise be disposed to rely upon.

First in order of these subordinate aids is placed certain vague information contributed by *Ma-twan-lin*, regarding the power of the Indo-Scythians having survived in India till A. D. 222—even supposing our authority to be trustworthy in the general assertion, we require a much more specific exposition of the geographical limits to be assigned to the Chinese idea of "*India*,"—we have already seen it used somewhat loosely by this same author, and it is quite in accord with probability that successors of Scythians may have continued to reign in various outlying kingdoms of India or even in isolated portions of India Proper until long after the 3rd century A. D.; I freely adverted to these points in my previous essay, and moreover quoted a curious passage from M. Pauthier, which if borne out—would materially shake all hitherto-received opinions as to the connexion between the Guptas and the Indo-Scythians.

I remarked—"It is clear that in some divisions of Northern India, the Tochari, or Yuë-Chi, continued to furnish Scythic opponents for the occasional display of heroism on the part of the indigenous monarchs until at least the early portion of the 3rd century

of our era.* The complete decay of the Indo-Scythic empire, whether due on the one hand to successive losses of frontier provinces, or to the less perceptible fusion† of the races of conquerors and conquered on the other, was manifestly a work of time, and apparent traces of the surviving power of the race were to be detected west of the Indus so late as the end of the 4th century."

But, for reasons already stated—I by no means concur in the supposition that "they were finally overthrown by Gupta," either in A. D. 319 or that at any time this monarch made any great progress against them. The coins of the dynasty in this respect, bear out the general tendency of the inscriptions—and would lead us to conclude that the more important acquisitions of territory were not made by the Gupta family until the reign of Chandra Gupta 1st, or more decisively under the rule of Samudra Gupta—Ghaṭot Kacha, though he imitates Scythian devices in his mintages,‡ does not directly adopt their more special type, with the Parvati APΔOKPO

* Note upon Ma-twan-lin, J. A. S. B., vi. 63; also Pauthier, "Thian-tchu," *extract* from the Journal Asiatique, 1839, note, p. 9.

† M. Pauthier (Thian-tchu, Journal Asiatique, 1839) notices a curious enquiry, suggested by the similarity of meaning existing between the words Youë chi and Chandra Vansa: subjoined are M. Pauthier's translation of the Chinese text and his own notes on this head:—

"Dans la Relation des contrées occidentales (*Si-yu*), le royaume du *Thian-tchu* est nommé par quelques-uns *Chin-thou*; et on le dit situé au sud-est des Youë-chi* ou 'peuple de race lunaire' à la distance de quelque milliers de *li*. Les mœurs de ses habitants sont les mêmes qui celles des Youë-chi."† Page 7.

* "*Youë-chi*, mots éthniques qui signifient *de race lunaire*, absolument comme le terme Sanskrit चन्द्र वंश *tchandra vansa*. Voy. la notice sur ce peuple célèbre (que l'on croit être les Indo-Scythes des historiens occidentaux), que nous avons traduite du Pian-i-tian, liv. LII. art. 2."

† "*Sou yu youë-chi-thoung*: mores cum (*τοῦ*) *Youë-chi* (moribus) iidem. Quelque extraordinaire que cette assertion paraisse, elle confirmerait le soupçon que nous avons déjà émis ailleurs, que les Youë Chi ou hommes de race lunaire pourraient bien avoir la même origine que les rois Indiens, aussi de race lunaire, Tchandra-vansa."

May not these coincidences, conjoined to the curious verbal similarity to be detected between NANAIA and NANO, suggest the possibility of the meaning of the latter referring to the moon, and thus PAO NANO PAO being, the King, the Lunar King, or King of the Lunar Race?

‡ J. A. S. B. Vol. V. pl. xxxvi. fig. 12. Ariana Antiqua, pl. xviii. 14.

Reverse,* which, as far as we at present are able to decide, seems to have been first appropriated by Samudra Gupta. The more extended conquests of the house of Gupta do not indeed appear to have been consolidated till the time of Skanda Gupta himself—when the dynastic power may be supposed to have reached its zenith† and thereafter to have suffered decline. We have no immediate means of determining whether Mahendra Gupta‡ was directly succeeded by Buddha Gupta, but it is clear, that under the latter, the extent of the empire had become sensibly diminished.§

Of the miscellaneous items assembled under the second heading in support of the proposed chronological table, I may pass by the inscription dates. I do not contest the term of years indicated by each but seek to discover the era to which the given numbers apply; hence as these figures can in no wise aid in the solution of the difficulty, they scarcely demand further notice in this place.

I now come to the argument wherein it is sought to prove that Chandra Gupta the II. of our list, is identical with *the* Vikramaditya of Malwa of the early part of the 5th century. I can afford to give Major Cunningham a Chandra Gupta and a Vikramaditya for any

* See J. A. S. B. iv. pl. xxxviii. figs. 16 and 17; pl. xxxix. fig. 19; Vol. V. pl. xxxvi. fig. 14, &c. Ariana Antiqua, pl. xviii. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10.

† J. A. S. B. vii. 37 and 348.

‡ As Major Cunningham has taken some liberties with the Gupta succession, I append, for facility of reference, Professor Mill's authoritative list, as given J. A. S. B. vi. 8.

1. Gupta or Srí Gupta (Mahárája).
2. Ghatot Kacha.
3. Chandra Gupta I. (Mahárájadhirája).
4. Samudra Gupta.
5. Chandra Gupta. II.
6. Kumára Gupta.
7. Skanda Gupta.
8. Mahendra Gupta—noticed as a minor in the Bhitári Lát inscription, the name is contributed by coins.

The Erun pillar furnishes us with the name of a 9th prince of this house—*Buddha Gupta*, but the order of his accession is undetermined. See J. A. S. vii. 634.

§ Bhim Sén's pillar at Erun and inscription on temple at Erun.

period of Indian history that he may desire, subsequent to the date of the prominent individuals who made both name and title common in the land, but I am not prepared to concede that sufficient cause has been shown either to authorize Chandra Gupta II. being brought down to the 5th century—or to justify his being converted into a special Vikramaditya. The former point has been already sufficiently discussed, the latter calls for further remark. In the first place I must observe, that in the whole series of the Gupta inscriptions, in which the name of Chandra Gupta II. occurs—in no one instance is that name associated with any such title as Vikramaditya.*

Indeed, in the Sanchi inscription, he is expressly mentioned as being "known among his subjects" by another designation, that "of *Deva rája!*"†

These very significant facts may have escaped Major Cunningham's notice, but to indicate—apart from these, how much of special pleading is involved in his argument on this head—I may note, that he relies mainly, for his proof of the *exclusive* right of Chandra Gupta to the honorific title of Vikramaditya—on the occurrence of the words *Srí Vikrama*, &c. on the reverses of some of his coins—altogether ignoring the rather damaging incident, that the full title of Vikramaditya is found also upon the coins of Skanda Gupta.‡

After the concession I have offered above, it will be useless for me to follow the attempted identification, as tested either by the pretended prophecies of the Puranas, by Tod's very dubious inscription, by the contributions of Jain authorities, or by the shadowy indications afforded by the Rája Tarangini.

In regard to Major Cunningham's third point,§ i. e. the notice on the Kuhaon pillar of Skanda Gupta's death—this simply proves

* Bhitárí Lát, p. 4, J. A. S. B. vi.; Udayagiri Inscription Bhilsa Topes, p. 151.

† J. A. S. B. vi. p. 456.

‡ J. A. S. B. v. pl. xxxvi. fig. 17 ; Jour. Roy. As. Soc. xii. pl. iii.

§ "3rd. The date of Skanda Gupta's death, which is found on the Kuhaon pillar, is the year 133. No era is stated; but it must of course be that era which was used by the 'royal race of Guptas,' of which he is said to have been born; and which could only have been the *Gupta kál*, or Gupta era.

His death therefore occurred in 319 + 133 = 452 A. D. as given in my Table. p. 144."—Bhilsa Topes, p. 144.

nothing: as I said before, the annual dates need not be contested, it is the cycle to which they belong that continues to be the enigma. But here again the advocate for the modernization of the Guptas seems to have committed himself, inasmuch as he is found assuming Skanda Gupta's death to have taken place in 133 of the year of his dynasty—while the original, from which he quotes, is given by Prinsep as "in the year one hundred and thirty-three *after the decease* of Skanda Gupta!*

The fourth† item of data for the chronological table—the Erun pillar record of 165 is merely as valuable as the third!—Buddha Gupta may, in that year of a particular epoch—have erected the commemorative stone, but this in the absence of other evidence no more supports Major Cunningham's position that 165 is equal to A. D. 484, than any other given number would have done.

I am glad to find that there is one point‡ in which Major Cun-

* I do not wish for a moment to conceal the fact that Prinsep's translation of the passage in question is hardly satisfactory; he himself distrusted it—and if Major Cunningham had made any such observation, I should have concluded that he had obtained a new and improved transcript and translation, but it is probable that if he had done so he would possibly have discovered that the real date is 141 and not 133.

† "4th. The date of Buddha Gupta has been determined by the inscription at Erun, which records the erection of a pillar in the year 165 or A. D. 484. An inspection of the table will show how well this date agrees with the period which must be assigned to Buddha Gupta on the authority of Hwan Thsang; according to whom *Fo-thokiu-to* or *Buddha Gupta* was the fourth prince prior to Siladitya's conquest of Magadha in A. D. 600. The coins of Buddha Gupta may be seen in pl. ii. figs. 55 and 57, of Mr. Thomas's Essay on the Sah kings of Surastra, and I can confirm the reading of the legend, which he gives with some hesitation as Buddha Gupta—I procured five of these silver coins from a traveller at Benares, of which I have given away four; but I still possess sealing-wax impressions of them all, from which I have been able to recognise the engraved specimens."—Bhilsa Topes, p. 144.

‡ "5th. The coins of NARA GUPTA *Báladitya*, are scarce. Of two specimens in gold, that have been in my own possession, I have still impressions; but the type may be seen in fig. 22, pl. xviii. of Wilson's 'Ariana Antiqua.' On the obverse under the Rája's arm is written *Nára* and on the reverse *Báladitya*. The small silver coin fig. 19, pl. xv. of the same work, most probably also belongs to *Nára*. I read the legend:—

ningham is able to support me, that is in the reading of the silver coins of Buddha Gupta.* I could have wished to have been able to compliment him equally on the success of his transcription of the legend of the silver piece, depicted in Ariana Antiqua, pl. xv. fig. 19—which he proposes to assign to Nára Gupta Báladitya; now, as this monarch has proved, as far as the Gupta dynasty are concerned, to be a very ancient myth, I need not seriously contest the point, but I may remark, that I think Major Cunningham would have been wise to have left my reading† of that coin unassailed—I had had the piece under my eye, had transcribed from the original each letter and fragment of a letter—moreover, at the moment of this examination I had before me five other specimens of coins with identical legends, and I then deciphered, as I even now can confirm from my Note-book—the following letters :—

परम भ रज श्रीस्कन्दगुप्त क्रमदित्य

The seven first letters are indubitable, the name of Skanda Gupta is damaged, but quite enough remains of the first and second compound consonants to render their recognition thoroughly satisfactory. The two double letters of the word *Gupta* were only represented by the subjoined त; but, as Major Cunningham also finds Gupta on the coin, I conclude he will not deny me this. The two opening letters of Kramaditya are almost obliterated, but, there can be little doubt about the entire word, which other identical specimens supply in full legibility.‡ The only real difficulties in the conclusive decipherment of the coin were fairly stated by me at the time, to the following effect—"These legends are often imperfect, and very constantly of unequal length, resulting apparently from the amount of room the die-sinker happened to find himself possessed of, as he proceeded with his engraving. Thus in one coin (Wilson A. Art., pl. xv. fig. 19,) the second word [भगवत] appears to have been contracted into its initial letter, and the three letters

Paramadhi Rája Srí NÁRA GUPTA, *Báladitya.*

[This seems to conclude all that Major Cunningham has to say on the subject of the Guptas, the subsequent extracts do not form *continuous* portions of his text.]

* J. R. A. S. B. XII. 70.

† J. R. A. S. XII. 66.

‡ A. A. XV. 16; J. A. S. B. XII. pl. ii. 45 and 46.

that should have succeeded are replaced by two letters serving to express the word राज." Had I not shewn, in entering into all this detail, that I had fairly examined the *original* piece, there might have been more excuse for Major Cunningham's venturing to correct me on the strength of a mere engraving; which, however well executed—as it certainly is—in its main devices, must necessarily have been expected to prove somewhat imperfect in the expression of the fragmentary letters of a legend, the alphabet of which was unknown to the artist.

I need scarcely advert to the attribution claimed for the gold coin No. 22, pl. xviii. Ariana Antiqua.

As I do not, at this moment, propose to do more than notice the Gupta portion of the question as it stands between myself and Major Cunningham, I shall reserve, for a future opportunity, my reply to his proposed rectification of the earlier or Sáh epoch; but, there are two points noticed in the Bhilsa Topes as apropos to that period which may properly be disposed of in this place.

The Gupta inscription on the Allahabad column, in enumerating the conquered and tributary states of Samudra Gupta makes mention of "precious metals brought as tribute by the heaven-descended monarch, the *Sháhán Sháhi*, the Scythians, the Huns, &c."* Upon this Major Cunningham proceeds to argue,† that if the Guptas are to date, as Al Birúní would make them, that this reference of Samudra Gupta must be taken to allude to the "Sassanians!" I think the author would have done well to have followed Prinsep in this matter, and to have confined himself to the inference that in this "we have a limit to the *modernicity* of our inscription," as suggested by that most excellent archæologist, but I am prepared to contend, that the title of Sháhán Sháh is not *peculiar* to the Sassanians, and that if

* J. A. S. B. VI. 979.

† Major Cunningham's words are—"Samudra Gupta according to the Allahabad and Bhitári inscriptions was the fourth prince of the Gupta dynasty; and if we allow twenty years to each reign, Samudra will date from 60 to 80 of the Gupta era, or from 138 to 158 A. D., but in the Allahabad pillar inscription Samudra mentions the *Sháhán Sháh* (that is one of the Sessanian kings of Persia) as his contemporary, whose dynasty did not attain the throne until A. D. 223," * * page 147.

any thing (apart from the present issue) it is more appropriate to the Mulúk-i-Towaif, whose head was essentially a king of kings,—the constitution of the Parthian system of government was, that there were "kings in each city,"* and one Suzerain over the whole: who entitled himself ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠ Satrap of Satraps,† ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ,‡ or the Semitic מלכיןמלכא *Malkín Malká*,§ as the case might be. The Sassanians imitatively adopted the latter title, without however, continuing the political constitution, which had rendered the designation so peculiarly appropriate. From *Malkán Malká*, the later members of the Sassanian dynasty proceeded to خدا Khuda,‖ the then current term for King—but neither Sháh nor Sháhán Sháh is ever found on their coins, though that the term existed, we have of course evidence in the name of

* *Tabari*, Persian MS. همهٔ بدست ملوك طوايف بود و هر شهري را بادشاهي بود.

† Gotarges' Greek inscription at Behistun, quoted by Rawlinson, J. R. A. S. XI. 118.

‡ Coins, J. A. S. B. II. p. 34, &c.

The following early Parthian Monarchs adopt the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ on their coins!

1st. Arsaces, VI. Mithridates I. 173 to 136 B.C.
2nd. Ditto, XII. Phrahates III. 70 to 60 B.C.
3rd. Ditto, XIII. Mithridates III. 60 to 54 B.C.
4th. Ditto, XIV. Orodes I. 54 to 37 B.C.
5th. Ditto, XV. Phrahates IV. 37 B.C. to 4 A.D.
6th. Ditto, XIX. Artabanus III. 13 to 42 A.D.

The first and second Kings of this list continue however to employ the simple ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Arsaces XII. likewise styles himself ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. *Ruler of Kings.*

The three Princes noted below take the title of ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ

1st. Arsaces, IV. Phraapatius 196 to 181 B.C.
2nd. Ditto, VII. Phrahates II. 136 to 126 B.C.
3rd. Ditto, IX. Mithridates II. 123 to 87 B.C.

"View of the coinage of the Parthians," by John Lindsay, *Cork*, 1852.

§ Coins Num. Chron. XII. 68.

‖ See Longperier "Essai sur les Medailles des Rois Perses" coin 47, page 52, coin 48, &c. See also Hamzah Isfahání, p. 47, خداة كشان Regis interfectores Journal Asiatique 1841, pp. 145, 278, خدا نامهٔ Livre des rois et Khodaï boum le maître de la terre!

Shahpuhuri (شهپو هري otherwise written سهي پوهر)* and the word is likewise found upon gems, in a position that clearly indicates its *kingly* meaning.†

It is possible that the term had somewhat of a local currency in Kermán, Seistán, &c. as distinguished from the Semitic *Malká*. I must add, however, that the Indo-Sassanian coins still retain the *Malká* in their Pehlaví legends, though the Sanskrit षहि or षाहि *Sháhi*‡ is also found, in various shades of alphabetical development, on some types of this mixed coinage.§

The only other point I have now to advert to, also very closely concerns the Guptas. Major Cunningham remarks:—"The alphabetical characters of the Saurashtra coins are so widely different from those of the pillar and rock inscriptions, and at the same

* Inscriptions at Nakshi Rustam, and Kermán Sháh. De Sacy and Journal Asiatique, XI. 653.

† Ouseley Medals and Gems (Lon. 1801) J. R. A. S. XIII. 418. J. A. S. B. III. Pl. XXI. 10 and 11. Pl. XXV. 6. A. A. XXI. 22, XXVII. 9.

‡ Had Major Cunningham been better up in his subject, he would have found a tempting argument, in the *Daiva putra Sháhi*, of the Allahabad inscription; which Prinsep erroneously supposed to refer to the Parthians on the strength of the term ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΩΝ, as found in the triple inscriptions at Naksh-i-Rustam (De Sacy Mémoires sur Div. Ant. de la Perse, p. 62, Ker Porter 548); but, Prinsep might have seen from the text itself, that these terms are applied to the Sassanian monarchs *Bábek*, *Ardeshir* and *Sapor*, and have no reference whatever to the *Ardevan*—the last of the Arsacidæ—whose prostrate figure appears in the sculptured group the inscription serves to illustrate. I am not however in a position at this moment, to determine how much of this assumption of godlike descent, by the early Sassanians, may have been derived from their predecessors' style of imperial glorification.

But all discussion on this head is rendered illusory, in the fact, that Prinsep himself confesses, that "the two first letters [दैव] are slightly obliterated, and might be read either *Dábha* or *Dára-putra*. To judge, however, from the author's own facsimile the second letter is far more like a भ *Bh*, than a व *V*; indeed, it differs materially in form from other well ascertained V's in the same line. Nor do I think the proposal to read the second letter as र R, one whit more admissible. As for his diphthong, it seems, from his own alphabet, attached to the plate, that this can only be rendered as the vowel o—making the word दोभ, *Dobha*. See J. A. S. B. VI. p. 974.

§ A. A. XVI. 18, XVII. 11, XXI. 20; J. A. S. B. V. pl. iii. 3; J. R. A. S. XII. p. 89.

time are so much similar to those of the Guptas, that it is impossible not to conclude, that there must have been a long interval between Asoka and the independent Sáh kings and an almost immediate succession of the Sáh kings by the Guptas."*

In reply to this, I have only to re-quote in this place, my original authority for an inference to a different effect, leaving my readers to elect the author of the Bhilsa Topes to a higher position as a palæographer than JAS. PRINSEP, if they so will it. The following extracts from the J. A. S. B. were printed in my paper on the Sáh kings.† "The character [of the Sáh inscription] is only one remove from the Buddhist alphabet of *Girnár*."‡ * * * "The *Sanskrit* character of the third century B. C. differs only so much from the original form [the Buddhist alphabet of the 5th century B. C.] as the habits of a class of writers distinct in religion and more refined in language, might naturally introduce."§

Prinsep goes on to say "The ASOKA alphabet‖ (the Sanskrit one) agrees very closely with that of our *Saurashtra* coins, which may thence be pronounced to be anterior to the Gupta series. The *Gujerat* plates dated in the third century of the Samvat era [?], differ but little from the *Allahabad* pillar or *Samudra-Gupta* inscription, but that little is all in favour of their superior antiquity."¶

I conclude that Major Cunningham does not wish to date the Sáh coins at any later epoch than the Sáh inscription, as he must be

* P. 148. † J. R. A. S. XII. 24. ‡ J. A. S. B. VII. 337.

§ J. A. S. B. V. 275. Prinsep, J. A. S. B. VII. 275. The words are as follows: the Sanskrit character of the 3rd century B. C. &c. differs only so much "from the original form as the habits of a class of writers distinct in religion and more refined in language might naturally introduce."

Major Cunningham himself undesignedly concedes much towards this argument in the fact he notices of "the extremely rare use of compound letters" in the Buddhist legends engraved on the Bhilsa Topes. He remarks "only three instances occur throughout all these inscriptions; and they are certainly exceptions to the common practice of Asoka's age, which adhered to the simplest Páli forms." B. F. 268.

‖ It may be necessary to remind my readers that Asoka's name occurs in the Sáh inscription—this is the sole instance of its use in inscriptions. In his own edicts he calls himself *Devánampya Piyadasí*, J. A. S. B. VII. 219 et seq.

¶ Ibid, 276.

well aware how much the Numismatic characters of one and the same alphabet are liable to differ from their lapidary equivalents! So, I will simplify the question by confining myself to the style of writing used upon rocks, stone pillars and copper-plates.

Major Cunningham seems disposed to admit of but one single element, as liable to affect the march of alphabetical development—that of time—but to show how fallacious any notion of a *necessarily* progressive change would be, I may call attention to the very slight modification, that is seen to have taken place in the local alphabets of Guzrát, &c. during ten or eleven centuries—and I would enquire, if his argument is to hold good, how much of difference ought we to be able to detect between the alphabet of the Vallabhi copper-plates, which he would date in the 6th century A. D. and the style of writing in use in the Western Caves, which is almost identical with the characters of the Buddhists of the 5th century B. C. And yet, a reference to Prinsep's facsimiles* will show how essentially limited the alterations effected by this lapse of ages really were! Jas. Prinsep, as we have seen, was prepared—with his usual frankness—to concede that there were other causes likely to influence these alphabetical mutations—though his original idea had clearly been to assign all impulse in this direction to the effect of time. Had he lived to perfect his theory, I doubt not, that he would have accepted other agencies as playing an important part in the results to be accounted for; prominent among these would, I think, have to be placed the advance or retardation due to nationality or other *local* influences; otherwise it would be difficult indeed to account for the various separate alphabets that we find in all their independent diversity at a later period of Indian progress.†

* J. A. S. B. VII. pl. xiii.

† As my readers may be glad to learn what Al-Birúní says on the state of the varieties of writing current in his day, I append the passage entire.

"On compte plusieurs écritures dans l' Inde. La plus répandue est celle qui porte le nom de *siddha-matraca* (سد ماترك) ou substance parfaite; elle est usitée dans le Cachemire et à Benarès, qui sont maintenant les deux principaux foyers scientifiques du pays. On se sert également de cette écriture dans le Madhya-Deça, appelé aussi du nom d' Aryavartta. Dans le Malva, on fait usage d'une écriture appelée *nagara* (ناكر): celle-ci est disposée de la même manière que la première; mais les formes en sont différentes. Une troisième écriture, nommée

Prinsep's own impression, above quoted, will display how little reliance could be placed on a judgment, which did not take this element into consideration, for he assigns, on the mere ground of forms of letters, a higher antiquity to the Guzrát copper-plates, than he does to the Gupta inscriptions; whereas, we now know, that the Guptas preceded the Vallabhis!

Had he confined himself to tracing the alphabetical advances made by these different sections of Indian races, instead of comparing two series of literal signs that had been thus far matured by different hands, he would have worked upon surer ground. To support my assertion, I would beg attention to the varieties of types of letters to be found on the nearly contemporaneous Gupta inscriptions. If we examine the Allahabad writing* and contrast it with that on the Bhitari lât,† we discover considerable difference between the general configurations of the majority of the characters in each —varying from scarcely perceptible modifications, to an absolute difference of form in others; for instance, the ख, ग, घ, प and भ are virtually the same characters in both inscriptions, but their outlines are by no means identical, while the signs ण, म, ह and स are, so to speak, different letters. To carry out the contrast, let us refer to the Bhilsa‡ inscription. Here again we find a general change in the aspect of the letters and most distinct modification or absolute divergence from the Allahabad type in the following characters— ख, ङ, ण, घ, प, भ, म, र, ह, भ, ष and स. I need not, I imagine, pursue

arddha-nagary (اردن كوري), c'est-à-dire à moitié nagari, et qui participe des deux premières, est usitée dans le Bhatia (بهاتيه) et dans une partie du Sind. Parmi les autres écritures, on peut citer le malcâry (ملقاري), usité dans Malcascheva (ملقشوا), au midi du Sind, près de la côte; le besandiba (بسندب), employé à Bahmanava, ville appelée aussi Mansoura; le karnâta (كرناث), usité dans le Karnate, pays qui donne naissance aux personnes appelée, dans les armées, du nom de Kannara (كنره); l'andri, employé dans l'Andra-Deça ou pays d'Andra (انتر ديش); le dravidi, usité dans le Dravida ou Dravira; le lari, dans le Lar-Deça ou pays de Lar; le gaura (كوري), dans le Purab-Deça (پورب ديش) ou région orientale (le Bengale); et le bikchaka (بيكشک) dans le Oudan-Pourahanâka (اودنپورهناك). La dernière écriture est celle dont se servent les bouddhistes (البد)." *M. Rienaud*, Mémoire sur l' Inde p. 298.

* J. A. S. B. VI. 969. † VI. 1. ‡ VI. 455.

this dry subject in greater detail; but, I have some further observations, that I am desirous of offering on the general topic of the early status of Indian systems of writing.

Prinsep has himself suggested the enquiry as to how much of change of alphabetical symbols might be incident upon the use of a more perfect language, as compared with the requirements of the local Páli. Another point of important bearing on the main question, is the probable modification the written or cursive literal signs were subjected to as opposed to the stiff and formal outlines of the characters of the rock inscriptions?

Up to this time, it has been usual to consider the old Páli writing as the basis of all Sanskrit alphabets, we need not contest this inference, but we may fairly enquire, if we have reached the date of the first use of that character, in the epoch assigned to the early Buddhist inscriptions? the reply would reasonably be in the negative! This system of writing, in its sufficiency for all purposes of its own proper linguistic expression, may well have continued for a lengthened period unchanged, as far as inscriptions were concerned, at the same time, that there may have been a progressive advance in the cursive hand, of which we have no immediate record.

We have evidence, in sufficient abundance, to prove that the Eastern nations often availed themselves of a cursive hand, in common with the more formal character reserved for inscriptions. These would each be naturally affected, in the ultimate determination of forms—by the material which had to receive the writing.

Thus the straight wedge-shaped elements of the cuneiform alphabet* were singularly well fitted for easy expression on tablets of Babylonian Clay, and equally suited to rock inscriptions, while the written hand executed only on a smooth surface, presented no difficulties to any series of curves or complicated lines. In addition to leather† and other materials, the ancient Persians, we also learn wrote upon *Túst* (Birch-bark). The Indians we know adapted this

* Layard "Discoveries," &c. 346 and 601, &c. J. B. A. S. XVI. 215.

† Assyria—P. H. Gosse, London, 1832, p. 546.

‡ Hamzæ Ispahání تاريخ كتاب الامم, p. 961 and xxv. "Libri inventi sunt, in quibus depositæ erant variæ eorum disciplinæ, omnes lingua Persica antiqua scripti in cortice tûz." See also Ayín i Akberi, II. 125.

substance to the same uses,* and possibly the Indian Vedas are indebted for their preservation to this very material; whether its employment was limited to the population whose dialects were expressed in the Arian character we have no means of saying, but in all probability, if the Northern Indian races knew of its use, the Magadhis would not have remained long deprived of it or some suitable substitute; that they also wrote with *ink* is amply established by the discovery of letters so written on the relic caskets at Sanchi.†

I imagine it must be conceded, whether on the indications afforded by inscriptions, coins or Buddhist relics, that the ancient Páli or *Magadhi* alphabet had once a very extended currency, and likewise that for a lengthened period it retained its separate identity. It occurs in Asoka's edicts at Delhi,‡ Allahabad, Matia, Bakra, Dhauli and Girnar, its appearance in these several localities§ would, *prima facie*, imply, either that it was intelligible to the people at large throughout the circle embraced within these geographical boundaries, or that it was the recognised sacred alphabet of Buddhism: opposed entirely to the latter supposition is the departure from its use, in the Kapurdigiri text of *the* edict itself, and the modification the language is seen to have been subjected to in some of the *Páli*

* Masson in A. A. p. 60 and 84. See also fig. 11, pl. iii. Ibid. Masson continues his remarks on substances used to receive writing: "In one or two instances I have met with inscriptions; one scratched with a stylet or sharp-pointed implement around a steatite vase extracted from a Tope at Darunta; another written in ink around an earthen vessel found in a Tope at Hidda; and a third dotted on a brass vessel." See also Reinaud Memo. sur l' Inde, p. 305.

† J. R. A. S. XIII. 110. Bhilsa Topes, 299.

‡ Of the two stone pillars at Delhi, one was moved down from near Khizrabad, at the foot of the Himalayas—the other was taken from Mirat—Jour. Arch. Soc. Delhi, 70, 1850.

§ Other inscriptions in this character occur at—

1. *Sanchi*—J. A. S. B. VI. pl. xxvii. page 461 and VII. pl. lxxiii. 562.

2. *Gya*—Caves, ditto VI. pl. xxxv. Nos. 2 and 3, page 676, these are of the epoch of Dasaratha who followed Suyasa the immediate successor of Asoka!

3. *Cuttack*—Udayagiri Caves, J. A. S. B. VI. pl. liv. p. 1072.

4. *Ibid*—Khandagiri Rock, J. A. S. B. VI. pl. lviii. p. 1080. And we may now add a but slightly modified form of writing as discovered in the Mehentélé inscription in Ceylon. J. R. A. S. XIII. 175.

transcripts to meet apparently the local dialects of each site.* On coins, it can scarcely be thought to hold any religious signification, but, the available medallic testimony contributes largely to the inference, that these characters formed the ordinary medium of record in the majority of the states included within the limits above adverted to. In this alphabet exclusively are expressed the legends of numerous series of coins of purely local type,† its characters are found associated on the one part with the Greek of Agathocles and Pantaleon‡ and its phonetic signs are conjoined with counterpart Arian legends on certain classes of the *Behat* coins.§ The Buddhist relics do little towards elucidating the expansive spread of this style of writing,‖ but—if rightly interpreted—they illustrate in a striking manner the antiquity of its ordinary employment in its even then fixed form.

Another point of view from which this Palæographic enquiry has to be regarded, is the influence exercised by the conterminous alphabet of Semitic origin—that equally served to express modified forms of the same speech. This character—also claiming the highest antiquity—existed as indigenous South of the Hindú Kush¶ and extended over the Southern base of the Himalaya as far as the Doáb of the Jumna and Ganges. This style of writing, though defective in its Semitic organization, would seem to have found full favour in its day and to have been very extensively employed, as is proved by its extant remains in inscriptions,* on coins, strips of copper, relic cylinders, &c.†

Its currency in India proper is shewn in the legends discovered

* Prinsep towards the conclusion of his review of the various lât inscriptions observes, "The vernacular language of India at that period, then, varied in different provinces:—it approached more to the Sanskrit in the North-west; diverged from it in *Magadha* and Kalinga:—but it was in both places essentially what is now called *Páli*. * * There is no trace of genuine prákrit in either of the dialects." VII. 280.

† J. A. S. B. IV. pl. x. and xxxv. and VII. pl. lx. and lxi.

‡ J. A. S. B. V. pl. xxxv. 8 and 9; A. A. VI. 7, 8, 9 and 11.

§ J. A. S. B. VII. pl. xxxii.

‖ J. R. A. S. XIII. p. 108. "Bhilsa Topes," p. 299, &c.

¶ A. A. p. 243. * J. R. A. S. XII. p. 153. † A. A. pl. ii.

in the Tope at Manikyala,* its uniform appearance on the money of the Greek and Scythian dynasties of the Punjab, and its limit Eastward is established by the bilingual Buddhist coins of Behat,† and, if the attribution may be held to stand, by the satrap coins of Hustinapore on the Ganges.‡

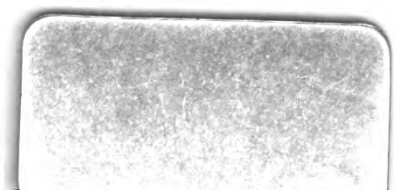
Major Cunningham, I understand, proposes to assign these bilingual Behat coins of Kunanda to the period of the nine Nandas: § if this be correct, the Páli alphabet of Northern India must have improved upon the Southern type, and my supposition of an independent advance upon the original form of the alphabet, while the old character was still generally retained, is in a measure confirmed. But, whatever of influence this Bactrian style of writing may once have had upon its contemporary at the point of contact, it was certainly doomed to give way before its more efficient competitor and in but brief space to be no more seen !‖

* J. A. S. B. III. 559—Ibid, pls. xxii. and xxxiii.

† J. A. S. B. IV. pl. x. fig. 16 and VII. pl. xxxii. figs. 2, 3 and 4.; A. A. XV. p. 23.

‡ J. A. S. B. new series No. lxx. No. vii. of 1854, page 681.

§ The nine Nandas reigned one hundred years (415 B. C. to 315 B. C. Prinsep, U. T. page 99!

‖ Hwen Thsang who usually gives us very precise information about the language and alphabets of the countries he visited, is silent on the subject of the limit of the Indian alphabet to the Northward. He however, notices that in Oudyâna "Quoiqu'ils parlent une langue particulière, elle ressemble cependant, eu grande partie, à celle de l' Inde. Les caractères de leur écriture et les usages de la politesse offrent aussi beaucoup de ressemblance (Documens Géographiques, 426). In Bannian, L' écriture, &c. ressemblent à ceux du royaume de Toukhâra;" (p. 373). Kapissa is represented [it is not clear whether *by* Hwen Thsang] likewise as using a form of writing but little differing from that of the Tokhári, but it is added, "mais les mœurs, la langue parlée et les lois sont fort différentes." (p. 392). The account of the Tokhári language given, apparently on the authority of Huen Thsang, though it is to be remarked that he did not visit the capital (p. 464)—is to the following effect! "Leur langue parlée diffère peu de celle des autres royaumes; les caractères primitifs de leur écriture se composent de vingt-cinq signes qui se multiplient eu se combinant ensemble et servent à exprimer toutes choses. Ils ecrivent horizontalement de gauche à droite." (p. 455).

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