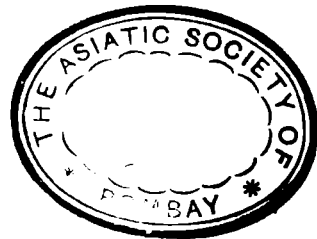


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ART I.—*A new Copper-plate Grant of the Châlukya Dynasty,
found at Navsâri.* By PANDIT BHAGVÂN LÂL INDRAJÎ.

[Read 10th April 1883.]

THE copper-plates which form the subject of this paper were given to me by Dastur Sheriârjî Dâdâbhâi Bharucha of Navsâri, teacher in the Sir Kâvasjî Jahângir Madrassa at that place, and he got them, he told me, for decipherment from a Pârsi gentleman residing there. The plates are two in number, $8\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $4\frac{3}{4}$ " broad. They are written breadthwise on the inner side, and are perforated by holes through which a ring passes. The holes for the ring are below the letters, not in the middle but a little to the left. On the top of the ring is an inscription which I read श्रीभाभय* *i.e.*, abode of wealth, which is the title or *biruda* of Śilâditya Yuvarâja, the donor. The letters of the inscription are of the old Châlukya type, resembling those of the time of Pulikeṣi II. The first plate has ten lines and the second plate ten lines and a half. The language is Sanskrit; the syntax rather bad; and the mistakes such as are common in other grants. The plates are very well preserved.

* श्रीभाभय is incorrectly spelt, probably in the way then locally current. Correct Sanskrit would require भाभय.

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

- [¹] ओं स्वस्ति जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण [व]¹म् दक्षिणोन्नत-
दंष्ट्राग्रवि-
- [²] श्रान्त²भुवनं³ वपुः श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमान[मान]⁴व्यसगोत्राणां⁵म्
- [³] हारितीपुत्राणां समलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभि[:]वर्धितानां⁶कात्तिकेयप-
- [⁴] रिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नाराय[ण]प्रसादसमासादितवराहला-
- [⁵] ङ्छनेक्षणक्षण⁷वशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्व्यानामन्वये⁸निजभुजबलपरा-
जिता-
- [⁶] खिलरिपुमहिपालसमितिविरामयुधिष्ठिरोपमान⁹सत्यविक्रमश्रीपुलकेशि-
वल्लभः तस्य
- [⁷] पुत्रः परममाहेश्वरमातापितृश्रीनायवर्धनपादानुध्यातश्रीविक्रमादित्यसत्य-
- [⁸] श्रयप्रथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरममाहेश्वरभट्टारकेन अनिवारितपौ-
रुषा-
- [⁹] क्रान्त¹⁰पल्लवान्वयेन ज्यायसा भ्रात्रा सम[भि]वर्द्धितविभूतिर्द्द्वाराश्रयश्री-
जयसिंह-
- [¹⁰] वर्म्मा तस्य पुत्रः शरदमलसकलशशधरमरीचिमालावितानविशुद्धकी-
र्त्तिपताका-

Plate II.

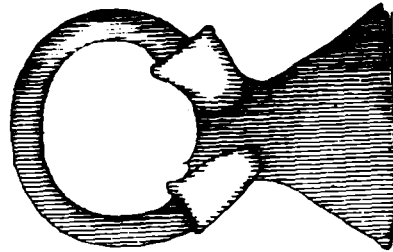
- [¹] विभासितस¹¹मन्तदिगन्तराहः प्रदाता द्विजराजवरलावण्यसौ-
- [²] भाग्यसम्पन्नः कामदेवसकलकलाप्रवी¹²णः पौरुषवान्विद्याधरचक्र-
- [³] वर्त्तीव श्राश्रयश्रीशिलादित्ययुवराज[:]नवसारिकामधिवसत्¹³नवसारि-
- [⁴] कावास्तव्य¹⁴काश्यपसगोत्रागामिस्वामिनः पुत्रः स्वामन्तस्वामी तस्य पुत्रा-

¹ व is omitted in the original. ² The original has श्रान्त² for श्रान्त² which is a mistake. ³ The *anusvāra* on न is omitted in the original. ⁴ The second मान enclosed in parenthesis has been omitted in the original. ⁵ म् is very shallow and indistinctly carved. ⁶ The original has स for न⁶ which I think is a mistake of the engraver. ⁷ The original has लंछनीक्षणरक्षण⁷, a mistake probably of the writer. ⁸ Something like संजातः or संभूतः in the sense of 'produced' should, as is usual in Chālukya plates, come after ंवये, but is omitted here probably by the writer. ⁹ The original has युधिष्ठोपमान which makes no sense, and is probably a mistake of the writer. ¹⁰ The original has क्रत by mistake.

¹¹ स looks like ल through the engraver's mistake. The two letters are very closely alike. ¹² The original has a short ि¹², a mistake of the engraver. ¹³ For वसत् read वसन्. ¹⁴ The original has वस्तव्य¹⁴.

*Châlukya Copper Plate
Seal and Ring.*

Side of ring



Inscription on top of ring



8. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Bhagvānlāl Indrajī fecit.

- [⁵] य मातृस्थविर[:]तस्यानुजभ्राता किक्रस्वामिनः¹⁵ भागिक्रस्वामिने
अध्वर्युर्ब्रह्मचारि-
[⁶] णे ठाहरिकाविषयान्तर्गत कण्डवलाहारविषये आसट्टिग्रामं¹⁶ सोद्रुं
सप-
[⁷] रिकरं उदकोत्सर्गपूर्व्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये दत्तवान्
[⁸] वाताह¹⁷तदीपशिखाचञ्चला¹⁸लक्ष्मीमनुस्मृत्य सव्वैरागामिनृपतिभिर्ध-
र्मदा¹⁹यो-
[⁹] नुमन्तव्यः बहुभिर्ध्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि²⁰[:]सगरादिभि[:]यस्य यस्य
यदा भू-
[¹⁰] मीतस्य तस्य तदा फलं माख²¹शुद्धत्रयोदश्यां लिखितमिदं सन्धिवि-
ग्रहिक²²श्रीधनं²³जयेन
[¹¹] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकविंशत्यधिके ४२१ औं

Translation.

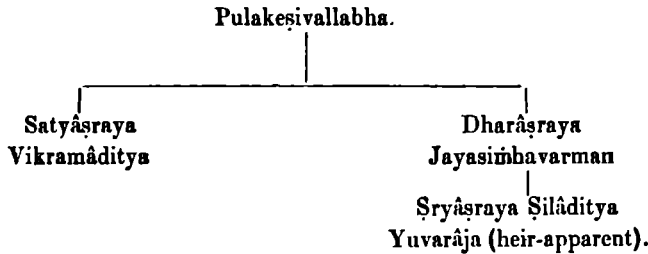
Om Hail! Victorious is the boar-manifestation of Vishnu which troubled the ocean and on the tip of the right raised tusk of which rested the universe. In the dynasty of the illustrious Chalukyas of the Mānavyasa stock (*gotra*), praised throughout the universe, the descendants of Hārītī, nourished by the seven Mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, enjoying a continued succession of prosperity acquired under the protection of Kārtikeya, and who have subdued enemies as soon as (at the very moment) they saw the boar mark obtained by the favour of Nārāyaṇa, was the illustrious Pulakesivallabha whose true glory is as great as that of Yudhisthira in putting to a stop wars with all inimical kings conquered by the might of his arms. His son was Jayasīmhavarmā, whose prosperity had been augmented (brought about) by his elder brother the illustrious Vikramāditya Satyāṅgraya Prathivī Vallabha, a great devotee of Śiva, bowing at the feet of his

¹⁵ As किक्रस्वामिनः in the genitive case has no connection with भागिक्रस्वामिने in the dative, I think some word like अनुजाय has been omitted between the two words. But this is only a conjecture. The exact relationship cannot be made out, as the grammar is hopelessly bad, but without some such word as I have suggested, the two words remain unconnected. ¹⁶ ट्टि may be जि, but as the letter is very large in shape it must very probably be ट्टि. ¹⁷ The right hand curved stroke of °ह° has been doubled probably by a mistake of the engraver. ¹⁸ The *anusvāra* on °लां has been omitted in the original. ¹⁹ The original has धर्मदा. ²⁰ The original has राजाभि. ²¹ For माख read माघ. ²² The original has सन्धिविग्रहक. ²³ The original has no *anusvāra* on न.

mother and father and of Śrī Nāgavardhana, the chief of great kings, the great lord Bhattāraka, who with irresistible might subdued the Pallava dynasty. His son, Śryāśraya (the illustrious) Śilāditya Yuvarāja (heir-apparent), a sun inasmuch as by means of his glory-banners as bright as the canopy of the rows of beams of the autumnal full moon he brightens all the quarters; possessing the excellent beauty and grace of the moon; proficient in all the arts of the God of Love; possessing the energy of the universal monarch of the Vidyādhara (Jīmūtavāhana); residing in Nāvāri, gave with a libation of water the village of Āsatti, situated in the Kandavala sub-division of the Thāharika district, with *udranga* (?) and with all its accompaniments to Bhāgikkasvāmi, an Adhvaryu and Brahmachāri, the son of Svāmantasvāmi, who is the son of Agāmisvāmi of the Kāsyapa stock (*gotra*), being himself the younger brother of Kikkasvāmi, and having for his younger brother Mātristhāvira. And all future kings, believing wealth to be as transient as the jet of a lamp blown by the wind, should continue this meritorious gift. Various kings, Sagara and others, have possessed the earth; the merit of a grant goes to that king who possesses it at any particular time. This has been written by the illustrious Dhanañjaya, minister of peace and war, on the thirteenth of the bright half of Māgha in the year (*saṁvatsara*) four hundred and twenty-one, 421. Om.

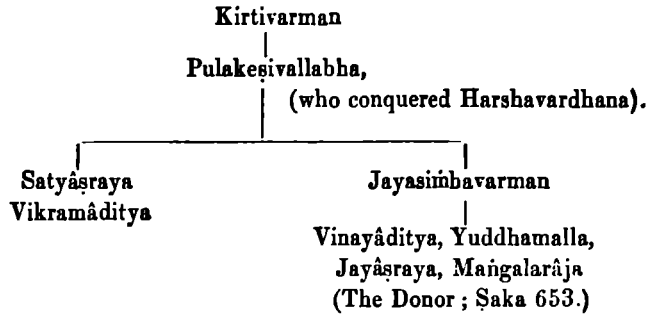
REMARKS.

The genealogical tree of the donor, as far as can be made out from the copperplate, is as follows:—



As we learn from other copper-plates of this dynasty that Vikramāditya Satyāśraya is the son of Pulakeṣivallabha or Pulakeṣi II., and as we find the same here mentioned, there can be no doubt that the Pulakeṣivallabha of this plate is Pulakeṣi II. Vikramāditya Satyāśraya is here called *Mātāpitri Śrī Nāgavaradhanapādānudyāta*. As the attribute *pādānudyāta* is generally used with reference

to the preceding king, it may be that Vikramāditya's immediate predecessor was Nāgavaradhana, the cousin of Pulakeṣivallabha, Vikramāditya* being therefore said to bow at the feet of his mother and father and of Nāgavardhana. But as in a copper-plate translated by Mr. Fleet, even Pulakeṣi II. is described as Nāgavardhanapādānu-dhyāta, I do not see any objection to suppose with Mr. Fleet that Nāgavardhana may be the name of a god or *guru*. Vikramāditya's successor was his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasimhavamā, and after him comes Jayasimhavamā's son, Śryāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) who is the donor of this grant. We find no mention of these two in the Deccan Chālukya plates; and our plate, I believe, shows the reason for this omission. According to this plate, Jayasimhavamā's "glory had been augmented by his elder brother," "ज्यायसा भ्रात्र समभिवर्द्धितविभूतिः" which seems to mean that Vikramāditya gave his younger brother rank and glory probably by giving him the province of Gujarāt, Jayasimhavamā thus being the founder of the Gujarāt Chālukyas. About fifteen years ago I copied a Chālukya copper-plate for the late Dr. Bhāu Daji, which came from a Pārsi gentleman of Balsār. The genealogical tree given in that plate is as follows :—



As Vikramāditya and Jayasimhavamā are mentioned in this plate as his sons, there can be no doubt that the Pulakeṣivallabha of the Balsār plate is identical with the Pulakeṣivallabha of the Navsāri plate. But Jayasimhavamā's son is called in the Balsār plate, Mangalārāja with the titles or *birudas*, Vinayāditya, Yuddhamalla and Jayāśraya, and is the grantor, making the grant from Mangalapuri. There is no

* Another attribute of Vikramāditya is founded on his victory over the Pallavas, a fact to which other Deccan copper-plates also testify.

† *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX., p. 123.

mention, however, of Śilāditya Yuvarāja, though he is stated in our copper-plate to be the son of Jayasimhavarmā. This omission may be explained either by his death while heir-apparent (as he is styled in our copper-plate), before Maṅgalarāja came to the throne, or by his dethronement by his brother Maṅgalarāja.

A difficult point in our copper-plate is its date, 421, which is distinct both in figures and letters. The date of the Balsār copper-plate is Śaka 653 (A.D. 731), and this appears reasonable, as from copper-plates published by Mr. Fleet,* we find that 592-603 Śaka (A.D. 670-681) is the date of Vikramāditya Satyāśraya. Jayasimhavarmā may have been a contemporary of his brother, reigning as his viceroy in Gujarāt about the same time as his brother, or perhaps a little later, at the latest Śaka 615 (A.D. 693). After this, according to the Balsār copper-plate, comes Maṅgalarāja, Śaka 653, with apparently a reign of about thirty-eight years. As this is a rather long period for one king, possibly our Śilāditya comes in the middle, his date being about Śaka 620. But as is mentioned above, his copper-plate has 421 distinct both in figures and letters, which shows that there is a difference of nearly 200 years between the Śaka era and the era in which our copper-plate is dated. The copper-plate has simply *samvatsara* 421, which is the ordinary way of dating the Gupta era. But the date of the copper-plate does not appear to be according to the Gupta era, though that era was current in Gujarāt about this time and was used by the Valabhi kings; as, according to General Cunningham's tables, the Gupta era is almost settled to have begun about A.D. 166, or Śaka 88, which would bring our Śilāditya at Śaka 509, or anterior even to his grandfather, Pulakeṣi II., which is absurd. As the Gupta era must therefore be left out of consideration, and as we know of no other era to which the date in the copper-plate belongs, the question arises whether this is not a forged copper-plate. In favour of the forgery are the following three points:—(1), the date is hard to understand; (2) the name Śilāditya is foreign to the dynasty; and (3), there was a Valabhi king Śilāditya who was reigning about this time, and in imitation of one of whose plates and of a Chālukya plate this grant was forged. Against the forgery are the following three points:—(1) the form of the letters which are of the probable time of the plate, *i.e.*, about 620 A.D., while a forged copper-plate foisting a Valabhi Śilāditya into a Chālukya list implies a long period, about a century or more, of forgotten history, when the style of letters in Gujarāt materially changes, and differs much from the style of the letters

* Dynasties of the Kānaresē Districts, 26—27.

of this copper-plate ; (2), the existence of the name *Ṣilāditya* is not a strong point, as a dynasty reigning in Guzarât might have borrowed a name very common to a contemporary neighbour dynasty ; and (3), a forger so ignorant of the dynasty as to introduce an alien name would not be likely to have given a *biruḍa* like *आभय* which fits so naturally with *जयाभय* and *सत्याभय*, the *biruḍas* of other kings of this dynasty. As the point is doubtful, I do not feel in a position to vouch for the genuineness of this plate, unless another bearing a similar date and the name *Ṣilāditya* is found.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, I have obtained five more copper-plates of this dynasty ; they are very rusty, and the letters indistinct, but I trust after cleaning them to be able to find the era in which they are dated.

ART. II.—*Coins of the Benee Rasool Dynasty of South Arabia.*
By Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. PRIDEAUX.

[Read 10th April 1883.]

IN the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV., p. 339, Dr. Codrington gave an account of a large hoard of coins which was found in March 1882 by some labourers who were digging a tank in the compound of the Jamat Khana building of the Parsi Panchayet at Broach. Amongst the coins in question were included as many as 217 silver pieces, which Dr. Codrington was unable to attribute to their proper dynasty. Dr. Dymock, whom he had consulted on the subject, was of opinion that they were coins of the Sultáns of Baghdád, who enjoyed power after the decadence of the Caliphate. On reading Dr. Codrington's paper, I felt tolerably sure that the coins did not belong to 'Irák, but to South Arabia, where the dynasty of the Benee Rasool held a predominant position from A.D. 1229 to 1454. Through the kind intervention of the Hon'ble J. Gibbs, C.S.I., Dr. Codrington forwarded 28 of the coins for my inspection, and on seeing them my first impressions were resolved into certainty, and I could no longer doubt that the specimens belonged to a dynasty of which the coinage is so rare that, so far as I am aware, only three pieces were known before the discovery of the hoard. Of these there are two dínárs in the British Museum collection, and a dirhem in my own possession.

The Rasool from whom this dynasty took its name is supposed to have been an envoy of the 'Abbásee Khaleefeh of Baghdád, and it is probably for this reason that we find the name of the last unfortunate representative of that dynasty, the Imám El-Mustaaşim B'illah, on all the coinage of the line. The son of Rasool, 'Alee Shems-ed-deen, was appointed governor of Mekkeh by the Ayyoobee El-Mes'ood in 619 A. H., on whose death the son of 'Alee, El-Manşoor Noor-ed-deen 'Omar, made himself master of the Yemen and part of the Hijáz, and firmly established his dynasty. It continued as the dominant power in Southern Arabia until the middle of the ninth century of the Flight,

when the government was seized by the family of the Beneë Tâhir. A list of the princes of the Beneë Rasool will be found at page 122 of Vol. V., *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, and a history of the family is narrated in Ibn-ed-Deyba's chronicle as given in Johannsen's *Historia Jemanaë*, and in the manuscript annals of El-Khazrajee,* of which a very meagre abridgement is given in the fourteenth chapter of Playfair's *History of Yemen* (Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XLIX.)

The Broach hoard contains specimens of the coinage of at least five princes of this dynasty, namely, the second, El-Mudhaffar Yoosuf; the fourth, El-Muäyyad Dáwood; the fifth, El-Mujáhid 'Alee; the sixth, El-Afdal El-'Abbás; and the seventh, El-Ashraf Isma'eel. The British Museum collection contains a dínár of the fourth prince, another of the fifth, while a dirhem of the eighth, En-Náṣir Alḥmad, was sent me by a friend at 'Aden some years ago. Out of the fourteen princes of the dynasty, therefore, two are represented by their gold, and six by their silver, coinage. Both the B. M. coins were struck at 'Aden; the Broach hoard introduces us in addition to four new mints, Ta'izz, Zebeed, El-Mahjam, and Thaábat. 'Aden, Ta'izz, and Zebeed are well-known places, and are in existence at the present day; El-Mahjam is said by Aboo'l-Fidá to have lain at the distance of three days' journey to the north-east of Zebeed, and six days' journey from Šau'à. In the time of Niebuhr, the only vestige of its former glory was an old mosque, which was saved from utter ruin in the year 1762 by the Ameer Farḥán, Dawlah of Loḥein. (*Description de l'Arabie*, tom. II., p. 63.) Thaábat was an ancient fortress† which, according to Ibn-ed-Deyba', was nearly rebuilt by El-Mujáhid in A.H. 734, as he erected walls, laid out beautiful gardens, and in other ways embellished it. An interesting peculiarity of this series of coins is that in many instances the mint-place is represented by the figure of a man or animal. The maritime city of 'Aden, for instance, is personified by a fish; Zebeed by a bird; El-Mahjam by a lion; and Ta'izz (and, in one instance, Thaábat) by a seated man. I will

* It is stated by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, on the authority of Dr. Loth (*Catalogue*, Vol. V., p. xxxiii.), that the MS. of El-Khazrajee in the India Office is unique. I believe however that there is a copy in the Library of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, and I have heard of several others.—W. F. P.

† Johannsen: *Historia Jemanaë*, p. 164. In the geographical list at the end of the work, this city is called *Ta'ábat*, but in the text the orthography which I have used is employed throughout, and is apparently correct.

now proceed to describe the coins which have been sent to me by Dr. Codrington, and which include specimens of the issues of the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh princes of the dynasty.

EL-MUḤAFFAR SHEMS-ED-DEEN YOOSUF, second Sultān.

No. 1 (10*).—'Aden; year 651.

Obv.—Within a circle—

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ
رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ اَرْسَلَهُ
بِالْهٰدِیْ وَدِیْنِ
الْحَقِّ

Margin—

ابوبکر عمر عثمان علي ليظهروا علي
الدين كله الاية رضي الله عنهم

Rev.—Within a circle—

عمر
السلطان الملك
المظفر شمس الدين
يوسف بن الملك
المنصور

Margin—

الاصام المستعصم بالله امير
المومنين ضرب بعدن سنة
احد خمسين ستماه

Another specimen, struck at Zebeed, year 654.

EL-MUĀYYAD HIZEBR-ED-DEEN DAWOOD, fourth Sultān.

No. 2 (9).—Zebeed; year 7* 5.

Obv.—Within an ornamented circle—

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ
رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ اَرْسَلَهُ
بِالْهٰدِیْ وَدِیْنِ
الْحَقِّ

Margin—As in No. 1.

Rev.—Within a circle as on obverse—

يوسف
السلطان الملك
المويد هزبر الدين
داود بن الملك
المظفر

Margin—

الاصام المستعصم | بالله
امير المومنين | ضرب
بزييد سنة | خمس... بعمانه

* The number within brackets is that by which the coin is represented in Dr. Codrington's paper. I do not repeat the sizes and weights, which are given by that gentleman.

EL-MUJÁHID SEYF-EL-ISLÁM 'ALEE, fifth Sultán.

No. 3 (11).—'Aden ; year 733.

Obv.—*Area*, within a circle, inscription as in No. 1.

Rev.—*Area*, within a circle—

داود
السلطان الملك
سيف
المجاهد الاسلام
علي بن الملك
الهويد

Margin—As in No. 1.

Margin—

الامام المستعصم بالله
امير المؤمنين ضرب
بعدن سنة ثلث و سبعمانه

Two specimens ; another date illegible.

No. 4. (14).—'Aden ; year 7*8.

Obv.—Within six foil—

الله
بسم
الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا
الله

Rev.—Within six foil two fishes head to tail.

Inner circle, within plain ring—

Inner circle, within plain ring—

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى
والدين الحق

السلطان الملك المجاهد سيف
الاسلام علي بن داود

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

ابوبكر عمر عندهم علي ليظهره علي
الدين كله الايبة رضى الله عنهم

المستعصم بالله امير المؤمنين ضرب
بعدن سنة ثمان... سبعمانه

Two specimens, on one of which the date is quite illegible.

No. 5 (15).—El-Mahjam ; year 737.

Obv.—Area and inner and outer circles as in No. 4.

Rev.—Within eight foil a lion rampant.

Inner circle, within plain ring, as in No. 4.

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

الإمام المستعصم بالله
اميرالمؤمنين ضرب بالهجم
سنة صبع ثلثين سبعمائه

Six specimens, dates mostly illegible.

No. 6 (16).—Zebeed; year 745.

Obv.—Area, and inner and outer circle as in No. 4.

Rev.—Within six foil a bird with wings extended.

Inner circle, within plain ring, as in No. 4.

Outer circle, within plain and dotted rings—

الإمام المستعصم بالله
اميرالمؤمنين ضرب بزويد سنة
خمس و اربعين و سبعمائه

Three specimens; two dated 745, and one 750.

No. 7 (17).—[Ta'izz]: year illegible.

Obv.—Within eight foil—in-
scriptions in area, and in inner
and outer circles as in No. 4.

Rev.—A man seated in a squat-
ting position.

Inner circle, within plain rings
as in No. 4.

Outer circle, within plain and
dotted rings, the inscription ille-
gible, but the coin doubtless struck
at Ta'izz (cf. No. 13).

EL-AFDAL DIRGHAM-ED-DEEN EL-'ABB'AS, sixth Sulṭān.

No. 8 (8).—Thaabát; year 764.

Obv.—Within a circle; inscrip-
tions as in No. 2, except that
in one specimen the words والدين
والحق occur at the top of the
legend instead of at the bottom.

Rev.—Area, within a circle—

علي
السلطان الملك
الأفضل ضرغام الدين
العباس بن الملك
المجاهد

Margin—As in No. 1.

Margin—

الإمام المستعصم أمير المؤمنين
ضرب بثعبان سنة أربع وستين
و سبعمانه

Three specimens ; two dated 764, and one 765.

No. 9 (4).—'Aden ; year 770.

Obv.—Within a circle—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ارسله بالهدى

Rev.—Area circle with fish in arc at bottom :—

علي
السلطان الملك
الأفضل ضرغام
الدين العباس

Margin—

أبو بكر عمر عذون علي و دين
الْحَقُّ الْآيَةُ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُمْ

Margin—

المستعصم بالله أمير المؤمنين
ضرب بعدن سنة سبعين و سبعمانه

Two specimens, one dated 770, the other 775.

No. 10 (4).—'Aden ; year 773.

Obv.—Area as in No. 1.

Rev.—Circle with fish in arc at top—

السلطان الملك
الأفضل ضرغام
الدين العباس
بن علي

Margin—As in No. 1.

Margin—

الإمام المستعصم بالله
أمير المؤمنين ضرب
بعدن سنة ثلث
وسبعين و سبعمانه

No. 11 (5).—El-Mahjam ; year 775.

Obv.—Within circle, as in No. 9.

Rev.—Circle with lion passant in arc at bottom :—inscription as in No. 9, but علي بن علي instead of علي.

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

المستعصم بالله اميرالمومنين
ضرب بالمهجم سنة خمس و
سبعين و سبعمانه

Two specimens.

No. 12 (3).—Zebeed ; year 775.

Obv.—Area within circle, as
in No. 9.

Rev.—Circle with bird with
wings displayed in arc at top ;
inscription as in No. 10.

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

المستعصم بالله اميرالمومنين
ضرب بزبيد سنة خمس
وسبعين و سبعمانه

No. 13 (2).—Ta'izz ; year 778.

Obv.—Area within circle, as
in No. 9.

Rev.—Circle with figure of
squatting man in arc at top ;
inscription as in No. 10.

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

الامام المستعصم بالله
اميرالمومنين ضرب بتعز سنة
ثمان و سبعين و سبعمانه

EL-ASHRAF MUMEHHD-ED-DEEN ISMA'EL, seventh Sultán.

No. 14 (13).—Mint-place cut off ; year 78*.

Obv.—Within ornamented cir-
cle, as in No. 9.

Rev.—Within ornamental cir-
cle—

السلطان الملك
الاشرف مهدي
لدين اسمعيل
بن العباس

Margin—As in No. 9.

Margin—

المستعصم بالله اميرالمومنين
ضرب.....ثمانين و سبعمانه

I will conclude the series of the legitimate princes of the Beneë Rasool by describing the coin of En-Násir in my possession which I have mentioned above :—

EN-NĀSĪR ṢALĀH-ED-DEEN AḤMAD, eighth Sultān.

Mint-place, Zebeed ; year 824.

Obv.—Within ornamental hexagon— *Rev.*—Area within hexagon—

| | |
|--|--|
| بِسْمِ
اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ اَبَا
بَكْرٍ | السلطان
الملك الناصر
صلاح الدنيا و
الدين احمد |
|--|--|

Margin—(nearly illegible) :—

عمر | عثمان | علي | رضي | الله |
عندهم

Margin—

... | المستعصم | بالله | امير |
المؤمنين | ضرب | يزيد | سنة ٨٢٤ |

In addition to the coins belonging to the regular series of the Benee Rasool Sultāns, the Broach hoard contained a very remarkable piece struck by one of the pretenders who temporarily attained to power under that dynasty. We learn from Ibn-ed-Deybā* that on the 24th Rabi'a-el-Akhir, A. H. 762, Moḥammad ibn Meekā-eel, a chief whose father had received from El-Mujāhid the town of Harraḍ in the district of Aboo-'Areesh in fief, captured the city of El-Mahjam and a third part of the surrounding country, and that he subsequently took possession of Moor and Serdad, and caused public prayers to be read in his name. On the accession of El-Afḍal in A. H. 764, that prince despatched a force under the command of the Ameer Fakhr-ed-Deen Ziyād ibn Aḥmad against the usurper, who lost a large number of his supporters, but contrived himself to escape to Sa'ada. After various vicissitudes Moḥammad died in the second year of the reign of El-Ashraf, A. H. 780. Notwithstanding his frequent revolts against established authority, his virtues are said by the historian to have merited the highest praise. The unique piece of this usurper, which is now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, is especially interesting from the fact that the religious formulæ in the margins are totally different from those employed in the coinage of the legitimate princes of this line. Unfortunately, a segment has been clipped from the margin, and in other places the inscription has been so rubbed as to be hardly legible. It is however possible

* Johansen: *Historia Jemanae*, pp. 164-169.

to see that instead of the Khaleefeh El-Mustaaṣim b'illah, who figures on all the other coins, the spiritual allegiance of the usurper was given to another Imám, of whose title only the words *b'amr-illah*, are decipherable. Can this be the Fátimée El-Hákim? Although the inscription on the obverse margin is nearly illegible, there is no doubt that the names of the first four Khaleefehs of Islám are omitted, and it is possible that a careful reading of the text might show further traces of Fátimée or Zeydeé influence. The *Muḥibút*, who are mentioned on the obverse of the coin, are the two angels, one of the night, the other of the day, who alternately succeed each other, and incessantly cry *sobḥína'lláh* before the throne of God. So far as I am aware, this is the only instance in which they are mentioned in the Mussulmán coinage. The following is a description of this very interesting coin:—

EL-MU'ÁL NOOR-ED-DEEN MOḤAMMAD BIN MEEKÁ-EEL.

No. 15 (12).—El-Mahjam ; year 763.

Obv.—Within ornamental circle—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله محمد
رسول الله ...
من
معقبات

Margin—Illegible.

Rev.—Within ornamental circle—

الحسين
السلطان الملك
المعال نور الدنيا
والدين محمد بن
ميكائل

Margin—

الا امام ال..... بامر الله امير
المومنين ضرب بالهجم سنة
ثلاث و ستين و سبع مائة

ART. III.—*Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics.* [Part 4th.] By J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.A.S.

[Read 12th December 1882.]

THE fourth and last part of this series of papers embraces the period from 1730 A. D. to the present time. The third part ended about the middle of the reign of King D. João V., which reign extended from 1706 to 1750; but as the coinage of this king consists of a large variety of types, I reserved some of them for consideration in this part.

The long interval that has elapsed since the presentation of the third paper, having, however, brought to light several obsolete specimens of inedited designs belonging to times before alluded to, I have been obliged to recede a step to describe them first, attributing them to their proper time and places in chronological sequence, and then resume the course thus interrupted. These frequent additions, often out of order, to the series of coins, indicate once again the many gaps that exist, and the chance one has still by persevering researches of filling them up.

To begin, then, with the coins appertaining to periods already referred to, we have, first of all, a copper piece appropriated to the time of the vicerealty of D. João de Castro, from 1545 to 1548. This is the *bazarucco*, struck at the rate of 25 pardaos a quintal, whereby that viceroy reduced to the market value the abnormal rate of 36 pardaos ordered by his predecessor.

The specimen in my cabinet (see Plate VI., fig. 1,) is considerably worn out, clipped and slightly corroded, having been for years underground, as shown by its state of patination. It weighs now 65 grains Troy, the original weight was 168 Portuguese grains, the proportion between the two metrical systems being 5 Troy grains equal to 6 Portuguese ones. Mr. Aragão, in the appendix to his before-mentioned work,* says of this coin :—“ To the Government of D. João de Castro, by the description given at page 138, ought to be attributed the following coin, which we obtained about fifteen days ago, and now belongs to the royal cabinet of Ajuda.

* *Descripção Geral e Historica das Moedas*, &c. Lisbon: 1880. Vol. iii., p. 607. VOL. XVI. 3

“Y crowned, having on each side four points, and one in the centre. *Reverse*.—St. George’s cross, having in each angle one point. Weight, 168 grains. Æ.—Inedited.”

The author has illustrated this rare coin not only at the page where it is described, but also on the cover of his volume. My specimen was, doubtless, a duplicate of this one when in fine state of preservation. The find of a heap of these coins, mentioned in a book published only a couple of years ago, justifies once more the practice of the keepers of great national collections of coins not consenting to pay more than a fixed sum of money for examples supposed at the time to be unique, as a lot of them often turn up in the course of excavations, as in the present case. The notice of this find, and the description of the coins, although faulty in some respects, is given in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, No. 10, thus:—“During the excavations in making a path round the contour of the great reservoir at Vihar, in Salsette, in January 1855, upwards of a thousand copper coins were dug up in an earthen pot. They were much corroded, but of some of the best of them drawings were made by the Messrs. West. As no notice has been published of these, it may not be uninteresting to have a reproduction of the drawings preserved, which is done in the accompanying plate. Three of them are distinctly Muhammadan, and not of a very early type. Only about half-a-dozen were of this coinage, and most of the others bear a cross on one side with a point between each of the arms; and on the obverse is a small figure like a Maltese cross with a point on each side of it, over which is a line bent down at each end, and the remainder of the field is occupied by a symbol—the intent of which is very doubtful—between two sets of four points. A sixth has a rude outline of a cross on one side of it, the other being plain. Other pieces of copper of similar sizes were quite smooth.”* The figure in the plate of drawings above mentioned is placed in an inverted position, the result being that the crown is described as a Maltese cross having over it a line bent down at each end, and the letter Y as a symbol the intent of which is very doubtful. One other specimen, resembling somewhat the above described, is now in my cabinet. It seems to have been struck at Goa in the reign of D. Sebastião, and is attributable to the vicereignty of D. Constantino da Bragança. It was picked up amongst the ruins of the old city of Bassein, not far from Bombay.

* Bombay, 1881, p. 66.

Obv.—Y crowned, with points and lines on each side.

Rev.—Three arrows crossing, a bow for each arrow. Copper. Weight, 66 grains Troy. Inedited. (Plate VI., fig. 2.)

King D. Sebastian succeeded to the throne of Portugal on the death of D. João III. in 1557. The bazarucco first described having the Y crowned, refers to D. João alone; while the second with the Y crowned on one side, and the arrows on the other, relates to both the kings, D. João and D. Sebastião, the Y to the former and the arrows to the latter, in memory of the martyrdom of the saint whose name he bore. It is clear, then, that this second bazarucco was issued soon after the death of King D. João. III.

With regard to the copper pieces with a sheaf of arrows on one side and the coat-of-arms on the other, I have already described and illustrated two specimens (see Plates II. and III., figs. 3 and 4 respectively). The first of these weighs 155 grains Troy, and the second 305 grains. Since then I have received four more specimens of the same type, of different sizes, and of corresponding difference in weight. It seems, indeed, that there was a graduated series of the bazaruccos of King D. Sebastião, which has but of late come to light. Of this latter series the largest weighs 130 grains Troy, and the smallest 80. (See Plate VI., figs. 3 and 4.)

A coin following the above in chronological order was described as belonging to either one or all of the three Filippes, who from 1580 to 1640 reigned in Portugal. (See Plate III., fig. 3.) It weighed 166 grains Troy, while a second specimen weighed only 125 grains. Of this type, also, a graduated series has of late been discovered, the smallest weighing only 80 grains Troy (see Plate VI., fig. 5), the largest being the one first described and drawn on the plate above-mentioned, viz.—Plate III., fig. 3.

Finally I have to refer to a coin already described. (See Plate II., fig. 5.) It is a copper piece, having on the obverse the value in reis, viz. 15, with a star above and below the number; and what on the reverse once resembled CCC. is now found to be the crown, having under it the figures I * V., i. e., João V., with a star between them. In the exergue one can read the remains of the year 1717, when the piece was most probably struck at Bassein. (See Plate VI., fig. 6.) Weight, 222 grains Troy. Three specimens of this coin, more or less legible, are now in my cabinet, varying slightly in weight. Although no written

document, hitherto known, refers to this kind of copper coinage, the initials of King D. João V., and the figures reading like 1717 in the exergue, appear to indicate the coin to have been struck during the reign of D. João, V. and issued from the Bassein mint, some years before the fall of that once famous "Court of the North" in 1739 into the hands of the Marâthás.

Another coin, resembling the above in some respects, and most probably issued from the same mint, is also in my cabinet. It is inedited also, as far as I know.

Obv.—The number $7\frac{1}{2}$ within an ill-defined circle with points on the left and below the number, representative of the value of the coin in reis.

Rev.—The initial of King D. João V. under the crown, the next figure, which ought to have been V., being badly struck. The year 1711 in the exergue. Copper. Weight, 115 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 7.)

This coin is evidently the half of the one last described.

Having now completed the description of the copper coins, hitherto inedited, belonging to former times, or not all embraced by the period to which the present paper refers, I pass on to describe the two following silver coins:—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the mint mark G-A (*i. e.*, Goa,) on the margin.

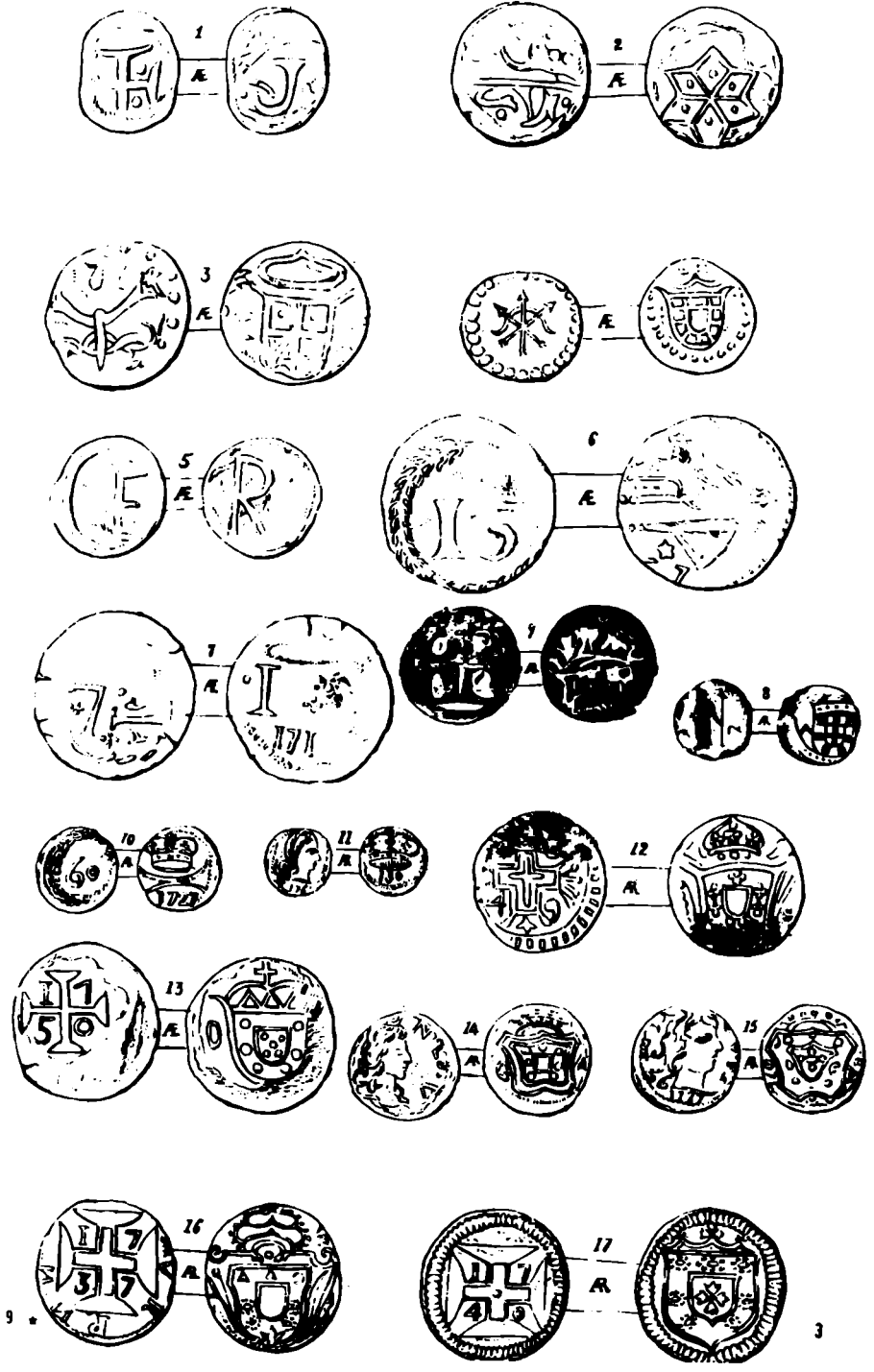
Rev.—The cross of the Order of Christ, with the year 1593 in the angles. Billon. Weight, 80 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 8.)

Obv.—The figure of St. Philip standing to the left, with a long staff or cross in the right hand, between the letters M and A, the mint mark of Malacca. The date in the exergue is now invisible.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letters G and A. Silver. Weight, grains Troy $28\frac{3}{4}$. (See Plate VI., fig. 9.)

As all the coins are represented of the exact size, I abstain from declaring their diameter in millimètres or in inches and tenths.

The former of these coins is difficult of appropriation to any viceroy with even a tolerable amount of certainty. It all depends upon the correct reading of the date, which is far from distinct. If 1593, the coin must be the silver *meio xerafim* of the Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, who decreed the issue of such a coin with a considerable amount of alloy, and it may have continued to be struck during the vicerealty of his successor, Mathias d'Albuquerque. Manuel de Sousa



Continho, whose rule ended in 1591, ordered the issue of the silver *xerafins* only, with its sub-divisions; while Mathias d'Albuquerque, who governed from the latter date to 1597, commanded the coining of money in four metals. Whether among the latter the *xerafim* of base silver or billon is to be included no document exists to inform us. If the year, instead of 1593, be read 1693, then the coin must be the *meio xerafim*, struck in the reign of D. Pedro II., and during the governorship of a triple provisional commission on the death of the Governor D. Miguel d'Almeida. In that case this coin was issued in accordance with the regulations dated 1681, bearing on one side the coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the mint mark G—A, and the cross of the Order of Christ with the year in its angles on the other.

The second coin is most probably the silver *meia tanga*, said in official papers of the time to have been ordered by the Viceroy Conde de Linhares to be struck at Goa early in 1631, when sending pecuniary help to Malacca, then threatened by the Dutch. The letters M—A on the obverse evidently refer to this fact. It is true that no exergual date is visible; but coins of this type, excepting the letters M—A, they being issued for circulation only in India, exist, bearing the year 1640, perhaps the last issue of that type. The effigy of St. Philip is impressed in honour of the reigning sovereign, D. Filippe III. of Portugal and IV. of Spain. It was often the custom among peninsular people of those days of ostentatious piety, to impress the figure of the saint of the king's name instead of his own portrait.

I have already explained the origin and meanings of the terms *xerafim* and *tanga*; but I have also lately seen somewhere that the kings of Persia used to coin their money at a place called Ashraf, from which mint city the *ashrafi* may have derived its name, so being originally the name of a Persian coin it was subsequently applied to two kinds of Indian coinage, in the same way as the monetary names Venitian and Florin are derived from coins struck in Venice and Florence.

To pass on now to describe in chronological sequence the issues of money in Portuguese India from 1730, I must begin with the sub-divisions of the rupia of D. João V., already described and illustrated along with the *pardao* or *meia rupia*, at the end of Part III. (See Plate V., figs. 26 and 27.)

The sub-divisions of the rupee of D. João V. were *pardao*, or half-a-rupee, *meio pardao*, or quarter-rupee, *tanga* or one-tenth, and *meia tanga*, one-twentieth of a rupee.

We first meet with the word *rupia* in Portuguese Numismatics in an official document dated the 21st of November 1668, not, however, as a denomination of any Portuguese coin, but as that of a foreign one, enumerated along with Persian *abasis*, *sadis*, *apáras*, to which may be added *patacas* or Spanish dollars, and silver in plate and bar, all to be changed into *xerafins* of Goa, in accordance with the resolution dated the 18th February 1650. All this silver in coin and bullion was captured from an Arab fleet by D. Jeronymo Manuel.*

Two years before, *i. e.* in 1666, a silver coin, called *xerafim dobrado* (double xerafim) was struck during the vicereignty of Conde d'Alvor.† This coin was some time later called *rupia*, a designation that has been preserved to the present day; while the words *xerafim* and *pardao* have become synonymous. The inscription of the word *rupia* on the coin, however, began later still, not before the beginning of the reign of King D. José, from 1755.

The use or employment of the word *rupia* or rupee in the annals of Indian coinage in general is of a comparatively modern date. The early Muhammadan rulers used the Arabic designations of *dinar*, *dirhem* and *falus* for the gold, silver and copper coins respectively, words belonging originally to the Greek, Roman and Byzantine systems, until the Pathán Sultans introduced the word *tankás* for both their gold and silver coinage. Shir-Shah, of the family of Sur, was the first to introduce the word *rupia* in substitution of the silver *tanka* between the years 1540 and 1545, a designation which was soon adopted by the Moghul Emperors, by the Portuguese, and the East India Company.‡

The origin of the word rupee has been traced to two sources, *viz.*, Sanskrit *rúpa*, meaning 'figure,' 'image,' and *rúpyam*, which means

* Aragão, *ut supra*, pp. 253 and 546.

† *Ibid.*, p. 264.

‡ Abul Fazel bears witness to the fact of the word *rupiah* (روپية) not being in use before the reign of Shir-Shah. He writes:—"Rupiah is a silver coin of a round form, in weight $11\frac{1}{4}$ *mashas*. It was first introduced in the time of Shir-Shah, and under the present reign (that of Akbar) it has been revised and made more pure." The *Ain Akbari* seems to relate to the year 963 A. H., 1556 of our era.

'silver.' Pāṇini uses the word *rūpya* in the sense of 'struck,' derived from *rūpa* 'form,' 'shape,' &c. (See Vopa-deva. xxii., 2.) The latter origin, *i.e.*, that of *rūpyam* or 'silver,' appears to be the correct one, as no Muhammadan prince would allow any effigy or figure to be impressed on his coinage, with one or two exceptions well known to students of Numismatics. This derivation bears out, also, the argument of analogy from an ancient source. The Greeks, for instance, employed among themselves the generical term 'silver' for money; in like manner the chief silver coin of India has now for more than three centuries received its name from *rūpyam*, or modern vernacular *rupem*, 'silver,' just as the ancient Greek idea of expressing a solemn compact by means of sealing, or placing the stamp or seal upon a piece of metal, guaranteeing the exactness of its weight and purity of the metal, has its counterpart in the Indian *mohur*, a Persian word, originally meaning 'a seal.'

Some of the foreign writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, when describing the Indian coinage, especially of the Moghul Empire, often mention the gold and silver rupees of India, and the East India Company had, not long ago, a gold rupee current in this Presidency. The meaning to be attached to the phrase 'gold rupee' ought evidently to be the value of the gold coin in silver; for, literally speaking, it comes to mean simply 'gold silver coin,' which is absurd.

Mr. E. Thomas, an eminent authority on Oriental Numismatics, says that the origin of the Indian rupee, not with reference to its name, but as far as its weight is concerned, "may be traced up to the very early times, in the Āryan *Sataraktika* or *Sátakrishnala*, the *even* one hundred *rati* weight, which formed the basis of the standard gold and silver pieces of the early Páthan kings of Delhi (A. D. 1228), each of which weighed 100 *ratis*, or 175 *grains*, and were conventionally termed *Tankas*."*

Of the reign of D. João V., I will now describe the issues of money and the alterations made from time to time, under each of his viceroys, illustrating only the typical specimens of each period, and omitting the sub-divisions or fractions of monetary units, which details one may well dispense with unless these fractions bear a different design.

* The *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1882, Vol. XI., p. 318.

D. RODRIGO DA COSTA.

Viceroy of India from 1707 to 1712.

During the viceroyalty of D. Rodrigo da Costa it was resolved on the 12th of August 1710 that a mark of silver in dollars should have the value fixed at 30 xerafins, individuals carrying to the mint a mark in dollars receiving in exchange 30 xerafins, 1 tanga, and 15 reis. At this rate a xerafim weighed 153 Portuguese grains.

VASCO FERNANDES CESAR DE MENEZES.

From 1712 to 1717.

In 1713 this viceroy determined, by his decree of the 9th of September, that private persons should receive from the mint for each mark of gold, of the kind known as *pão da China* of 23 carats, 96 *S. Thomés* of 56½ grs. each, of the value of 5 xerafins, while the old *S. Thomés*, weighing 68 grs., should circulate for 6 xerafins and 15 reis. This gave origin to the denomination of *novos* and *velhos S. Thomés*, the old ones being those struck before 1713. The excess of 816 grains in the China gold was due to the coined gold being reduced to 18 carats, and the object of the decree was to facilitate the issue of colonial money, which was getting scarce.

In 1716 it was resolved that the *tutenag* coinage, called *bazaruccos*, should contain one-fourth of tin, such an amalgam rendering the falsification of the coin more difficult.

The above viceroy was succeeded by the Archbishop D. Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha, pending the arrival of the viceroy. During his rule, from 16th January to 16th October 1717, no alteration was made in the monetary affairs of Portuguese India. He was followed by the Viceroy Conde da Ericeira, from 1717 to 1720. During this time the only mint regulation published was that the coins of 10 *bazaruccos* should weigh 369 grains, and its fractions proportionately.

FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE SAMPAIO E CASTRO.

1720—1723.

During this period a silver rupee of the type already illustrated was issued. (See Plate V., fig. 26.) Also the *tutenag* series of coins, viz., 10, 7½, 5, and 2½ *bazaruccos*, some of which have been represented at the same plate. This viceroy was succeeded by D. Christovão de Mello only for two months, and then by a commission

presided over by the Archbishop D. Ignacio de Santa Thereza, from 1723 to 1725. All this time no change appears to have been recorded in the numismatic annals of Portuguese India.

JOÃO DE SALDANHA DA GAMA.

1725—1732.

In 1726 it was resolved that rupees and their fractions, viz., *pardao*, *meio pardao*, *tanga*, and *meia tanga* should be issued. Specimens of this coinage, although very rare, are extant. The first three are of the type already illustrated. The type, however, often varied at short intervals in obedience to the whim or at the dictation of the officers of the mint, as will be shown more at length hereafter. The *tanga* and *meia tanga* of this period bear designs entirely distinct from the three coins above mentioned.

Obv.—Two palm leaves joined, the royal crown above, the date 1727 beneath.

Rev.—A laurel crown with 60, representing the value in *reis*, in the centre. Silver. *Tanga*. Weight, 16 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 10.)

Obv.—The laureate bust of the king to the right between two palms. 1750 in the exergue.

Rev.—30, indicative of the value in *reis*, the royal crown above. Silver. *Meia tanga*. Weight, 10 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 11.) Both the specimens are in my collection.

There are three other types of the *tanga*, viz.—the bust of the king, name round the margin, and date below on the obverse, and 60 beneath the royal crown on the reverse;—bust and date without a legend on the obverse, and 60 under the royal crown on the reverse; and lastly, the cross of the Order of Christ with the date in its angles on the obverse, and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the reverse.

Of the *meia tanga* there is one other design, that of two palms united about the middle, the royal crown above, the year below, on the obverse, and the numeral 30, indicative of its value, within a circle of *grânetis* on the reverse. Mr. Aragão describes, at p. 290 of his work, a *meio pardao*, struck during this viceroyalty, weighing 52 Portuguese grains, and bearing the design similar to the *tanga* last mentioned. At Diu, the coinage of this period bore the following type:—Coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letter D—O, the mint mark of Diu, on the obverse; and the cross of St. Thomas in the field, with the year in the angles, on the reverse.

The only gold coin issued during this viceroyalty was the S. Thomé, bearing, on one side, the coat-of-arms of the kingdom, and the cross of that Saint with 12 and X, indicative of the value of the coin in 12 xerafins, in the two upper angles, and the date in the lower ones, on the other.

The Provisional Commission, which governed from January to November 1732, did not alter the coinage as was established in Goa and other Settlements by former governors. It was followed by

D. PEDRO MASCARENHAS.

From 1732 to 1741.

During this time gold and silver coins were issued, gold and silver from the Goa mint, and silver alone from that of Diu. The silver coinage of Goa did not differ in type from the one above described; the gold one, however, which is illustrated by Mr. Aragão at p. 296, from a unique example, bears on the obverse the legend IH. CR. V. S. P. S. (*IHesus ChRistus Venit Salvare Populum Suum*) round the margin, the cross of St. Thomas in the middle, having the date 1737 in the lower angles; while the reverse has the usual coat-of-arms of the kingdom. It weighs 112 Portuguese grains.

This viceroy ordered the coining of 30,000 xerafins in silver into *cruzados* and their fractions at Goa for circulation at Mozambique. His successor, D. Luiz de Menezes, from 1741 to 1742, continued the issue of money as before. He appointed a committee of four learned financiers to report upon the causes of the depreciation of the *bazaruccos* in the market, and to indicate means to remedy the evil. They sent in a report replete with Latin quotations, but did not come to any practical conclusion. When economists and Latinists as these work to so poor a result, one may infer that the whole thing, from beginning to end, was *une affaire flambée*, not unlike many of the transactions of that Government.

This viceroy was followed by another Provisional Commission, who governed from 1742 to 1744, and while almost continuously fighting against the Marâthâs, had time enough to attend to the affairs of the mint, from which issued money in gold, silver, and tutenag. The coining of the latter metal or alloy into *rodas* caused considerable trouble in adjusting and readjusting their value to that of *reis*. They not only issued the *rodas* already described and illustrated, but fixed the proportion to *reis* and *bazaruccos* as follows:— 1 roda = $1\frac{1}{2}$ reis = $1\frac{2}{3}$ bazaruccos.

The average price of tin was then 55 xerafins the quintal, which, deducting the expenses of refining the metal, left the balance of 28 xerafins for the coiners to pay the cost of mintage and the seignorage.

D. PEDRO MIGUEL DE ALMEIDA PORTUGAL,

From 1744 to 1750.

During this viceroyalty coins in gold, silver, copper and tutenag were issued both from the Goa and Diu mints. The Goa coinage of the period does not differ from that of the former viceroyalties, the golden *S. Thomás* bearing the cross of the Saint on one side and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the other; while the silver coinage consisted of the *rupia* and its sub-divisions of the type above described. From the Diu mint were issued rupees and their halves, copper *atiás* and tutenag *bazarucos*. The latter two kinds of money will be frequently mentioned hereafter, and their type was for years of an immutable character, which was not the case with the rupee of this period. Its type was peculiar to the time, and has never since then been once repeated.

Obv.—St. George's cross, ornamented, having the figures of the year 1749 in its four angles.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia* of Diu. Weight, 145 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 12.) In my collection. For nearly a decade, it seems, this design was used for the silver coinage of Diu. It resembles somewhat the silver coinage struck at Goa in the reign of D. Pedro II., and the viceroyalty of Francisco de Tavora, from 1681 to 1686. For the resemblance the two rupees bear to each other, although issued at the distance of more than half a century, see Plate IV., fig. 19. The *meia rupia* of Diu, bearing the same design and the year 1749, and weighing 43 grains Troy, is also in my collection. Both the above coins were sent to me from Diu by Mr. L. L. Flores, Advocate General in that old Portuguese Settlement. Of the copper pieces struck at Diu, the following example, out of a large number of specimens, bearing diverse dates, will be sufficient:—

Obv.—Cross of the Order of Christ with the date 1750 in its angles.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letters D—O, the mint mark of Diu. Copper. *Atiá*. Weight, 140 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 13.)

Of the tutenag coinage I have already described some examples, and given a photograph at Plate I., fig. 7.

The year 1750 not only closes the reign of D. João V., but also the most uncertain, vacillating period of the numismatic history of Portuguese India. All those persons who have devoted their time and attention to the study of colonial numismatology of the Portuguese—and their number is unfortunately very limited—have found the subject extremely difficult. One must be groping in the dark, getting light only when, in the absence of genuine specimens, positive data can be patiently extracted from written records preserved in the archives of the Government at the metropolis or in the colonies, or when amongst the ruins of their once numerous settlements one can be so fortunate as to meet with the extremely rare chance of making discoveries of hoards or *trouvaille*. It is only from the end of the reign of D. João V. that one can steer clear from amidst a multitude of numismatic documents in four metals, all, unlike the early coins, dated and bearing perceptible legends. In fact we have hitherto had paucity of materials and scarcity of examples, supplemented as they were by written official documents. Now there is abundance of both, and the difficulty lies in what to choose and what to reject, in order to ensure a methodical arrangement of the subject. All coins, however, both early and late, are remarkable alike for the rudeness of execution and barbarous shape of the characters stamped upon them.

The coins of D. João V., struck at the beginning of his reign, are not only rare, but many of them bear types suggested entirely by the fancy of the minters, without any sanction from a higher authority, or guarantee based on similar designs at home or amongst the neighbouring native princes. The coinage from 1750 onwards was all this time current in the country, until the Monetary Convention of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty caused it entirely to cease to pass as circulating medium since a couple of years ago, and is now so very scarce as to be found only in the trays of collectors of coins.

The monetary nomenclature of the Portuguese in India has, with the exception of the first issues from Albuquerque and his early successors, who had *manues*, *esphas*, *S. Thom's* and *patações*, been derived from a wholly Oriental source, viz.:—*xerafin*, (Persian), *pardao*, *tanga*, *rupia*, (Indian), *bazaruccos*, (Perso-Indian), *rub* or quarter of a *tanga*, (Arabic). But in the matter of designs they have, contrary to the habit of the English, French, Dutch and Danes, always abstained from imitating native prototypes, and from inscribing any Indian character.

In the matter of types, then, the Portuguese coins at home have always furnished the prototypes, being mostly crosses of several heraldic orders, such as of Christ, St. Benedict of Aviz, St. George, besides the Christian symbols of the cross of St. Thomas, the arrows of St. Sebastian, and the wheel of St. Catherine—struck exclusively for India in general, and Goa in particular;—the figures of the patron saints, instead of their own portraits, of the kings bearing the names of Sebastian, Philip, and John; and finally the everlasting coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Even the legends relating to the name and title of reigning sovereigns were more or less similar, as they ought to have been, to those on the coins of Portugal, as was also almost necessarily the usual royal crown. And in one instance, during the reign of D. Filippe II., the silver coin had inscribed round the margin the old Christian legend of *In hoc signo vinces*.

It was in the reign of D. Manuel "the Fortunate," from 1495 to 1521, that this motto first made its appearance in Portugal, but it was not introduced into India until a century later, during the reign of D. Filippe II. of Portugal and III. of Spain. A coin of D. Manuel, now in the collection of His Majesty King D. Luis I. of Portugal, has on the obverse the following legend:—*Primus Emanuel R. Portugalie Aly. Citra Ultra in Africa Dominus Guinee, In Commercii, Navigatione Ethiopiae, Arabiae, Persiae India*, and on the reverse:—*In Hoc Signo Vincet*.* This coin was issued soon after the discovery of India, by the route of the Cape of Good Hope, by the Admiral Vasco da Gama, and commemorates two important facts, viz.:—The discovery itself and the subjection of both Africa and Asia in spiritual matters to the Priory Major of the Order of Christ, attached to the Vicariate of Thomar, by the Bull *pro excellenti* of Pope Leo X.

The lordship or dominion of the conquests of Africa and Asia, and the subsequent nomination of one of his subjects to the spiritual supremacy of the Christianity of the two continents, naturally made D. Manuel "the Fortunate" persuade himself that he was entitled to have inscribed on his coins the motto of the first Christian Roman Emperor, which his successors almost steadily continued to claim as their inheritance.

* *Memoria das Moedas Cunhadas em Portugal*; por M. B. Lopes Fernandes. Lisbon: 1856. Vol. i., p. 113.

Apropos of this legend on the Indo-Portuguese coin, one does not know what amount of credit to attach to the tale or tradition about the origin of the motto, but it runs thus:—Constantine, determined to stop the tyranny of Maxentius, who had possession of Italy, judged it to be folly to worship those who were not gods, and thought it incumbent on him to honour the god of his father Constantine, surnamed Chlorus, “the Pale,” one of the two Cæsars, appointed by Maximilian and Diocletian, who died at Eboracum (York) in Britain, on an expedition against the Picts in July 306. Having some Christian principles, Constantine is said to have prayed, and, while praying, seen about midday the luminous trophy of the cross in the sky, with the inscription “In hoc signo vinces.” The army are said to have witnessed it. But Constantine, doubting the import of the apparition, continued to meditate on it till night, which was the night before the last and decisive battle with Maxentius at the village of Saxa Rubra near Rome. During sleep Christ appeared with the sign he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a standard resembling the sign, and to use it as a safeguard against his enemies. He then ordered the shields of his soldiers to be inscribed with the figure of the sacred monogram of the name of Christ, and the same device to be worked in gold and precious stones on his own standard, or *labarum* (from Bretanic *lab* ‘to raise’ or Basque *labarva* ‘standard’ or ‘*labor*’). With this he advanced against Maxentius, defeated him, and Constantine became the sole master of the West.*

He had now his mind turned to the East, and what the Great Alighieri says regarding this, of Constantine ‘the Great’—

Posciachè Costantin l’ aquila volse
 Contra il corso del ciel, ch’ella seguio
 Dietro all’ antico che Lavinia tolse,

(Paradiso, c. 6, v. 1-3.)

may one fairly apply, with respect at least to the tendency of his policy, to D. Manuel ‘the Fortunate’ and his successors. There is this difference however, that whatever may have been the motives of Constantine in his encouragement of the propagation of Christianity, and in his love of the East, D. Manuel was truly sincere, the copying of Constantine’s motto on his coins being but the outcome of his deep faith in Christianity, a faith, moreover, raised to that pitch of

* Cf. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* i., c. 28-29.

fanaticism which embodied the genuine religious spirit of the times in which he lived.

I have alluded above to the capricious manner in which the moneyers in Goa changed the type of coins, not only during the same reign, but also and often during one short vicereignty or governorship. In elucidation of this fact are adduced below the description and illustration of some of the unpublished designs during the reign of D. João V.

Obv.—Laureled bust of the king to the right, dividing the legend P.ET.A.R.—IOA.V. (Portugalix et Algarbiorum Rex—Joannes V.) In the exergue the year 1709.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Pardao*. In the collection of Mr. J. M. do Carmo Nazareth, of Pangim. Weight, unknown.

Obv.—Laureled bust of the king to the right, dividing the legend IOAN—NES. V. Date illegible.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, having on the sides G-A. (Goa). Silver. *Meio pardao*. Weight, 43 grains Troy. In my collection. (See Plate VI., fig. 14.)

Obv.—Bust as above—IOANNE—S. V. R. P. (Joannes V., Rex. Portugalix). In the exergue the year 1727.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, having on the left 150, the value of the coin in *reis*, and G.A. (Goa) on the right. Silver. *Meio pardao*. Weight, 43 grains Troy. In my collection also. (See Plate VI., fig. 15.)

There are multiples also of the two coins last described in one or two collections; but the examples given above are representative of the series.

The late Felipe Neri Xavier, whose little *Memoria*, before referred to, although incomplete, is an aid to the study of Indo-Portuguese coins, affording valuable information, especially for the later years of the Portuguese rule in India, regarding the fineness, weight, type and changes in the value of coins hitherto issued, states that he once saw a rupee bearing on one side the coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the mint mark G—A., and the cross of the Order of Christ with the year 1735 in its angles, and the legend Joannes V. R. P. on the other.* Weight, as given by the writer, is 3 drachms and 19 Portuguese grains.

* P. 87.

Now this coin and the two following, belonging to the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, show plainly how the short interval of six years, included in the viceroyalty of Conde de Sandomil, who ruled in India from 1732 to 1741, was fruitful among the master-coiners of Goa in the issue of three different types. Those of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society are as follows :—

Obv.—The cross of the Order of Christ in the field with the year 1737 in its angles. The legend round the margin is indistinct, the character NNE—V.R.P only being visible, and these stamped in a manner different from that of the other coins.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 180 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 16.)

Obv.—The cross of the Order of Christ as above, with the year 1740. No legend, except V., close to the right arm of the cross. The whole within a beaded circle.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, differently impressed from the above. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 185 grains Troy. (See Plate VI., fig. 17.)

It is indeed almost phenomenal in the history of coinages of the world to see so rapid and so repeated alterations in the types of money. Another circumstance not less remarkable in the currency of Portuguese India, was the haste with which the old designs were withdrawn from circulation the moment a new one was introduced. The foreign travellers, Italian, French, English, and Dutch, who visited Goa during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, and whose most important statements relating to the subject I have already quoted, appear, however, to have been struck by the multiplicity of types, some of which must have been concurrent. It is strange, for instance, to hear Jean-Albert de Mandelslo, ambassador of the Duke of Holstein, who visited Goa in January 1639, informing us that he saw at Goa at that time coins of the reign of D. Sebastian, viz., 1557—1578, which were in circulation. However, as his reference to the Goa currency is an interesting one, and his authority, perhaps, not less trustworthy than that of other travellers, here is what he says :—“ In Goa there are various kinds of coins, the smallest of which are the *bazarucques*, with a sphere on one, and two arrows crossing each other on the other side ; they are made of a metal formed of pewter and tin mixed together. Eight of these *bazarucques* make one *vintem*,

5 of which make one *tanghe*, and 5 *tanghes* one silver *serafin*, which is according to a royal order worth 300 *reis*, and six *tanghes* make one *pardai*. The *serafin* has on one side the effigy of St. Sebastian and on the other a bundle of arrows. There are also golden *serafins*, formerly coined at Ormus, but of so high a value that it is not approached by that of any other Indian coin, wherefore also the goldsmiths work up in their business all those which fall into their hands. They have also *Santomes* of 16 *tanghes*, and *pagodas* of 14, 15, and 16 *tanghes*. Foreign merchants entering the town, pay 8 per cent. on all wares, and as much when they depart, but the custom house revenue farmers are so reasonable in their estimates of the goods, that the merchants have not much occasion to complain on this subject. They also observe a rule, that when a merchant has paid entrance dues and does not sell all his goods, he may carry them away without paying export dues, so that likewise a foreign merchant who has bought spices or other goods of Malacca, or of China, from a Portuguese, a citizen of Goa, may charge them to the name of the vendor, and exempt himself by this means from paying the export dues.*

The *bazarucques* of the writer who describes them as "made of a metal formed of pewter and tin mixed together" are the *tutenag* and tin *bazarucos* first coined by the Portuguese at Goa. The question of the introduction and coinage of this amalgam has already been discussed. Further inquiries into the matter have, however, forced the conviction that this kind of low and debased currency was first noticed by the Portuguese at Malacca, where, and in the whole of the Malay Peninsula, perhaps also in the adjacent islands of the Archipelago, this amalgam was used for the purpose of coinage, from time immemorial, under their native princes.† The Portuguese, observing its usefulness in their new settlement of Malacca, gradually introduced it into Western India, and also into Eastern Africa, giving it the generic name of *bazaruccos*, which the English, in their new Dependency of Bombay, changed into *budgrooks*; but of this more hereafter.

The Portuguese called these *tutenag* and tin coins *bazaruccos* generally, the design on them was a cross of one pattern or another on one side, and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the other. But then out

* See p. 259 of the Amsterdam Edition in French of Jean-Albert de Mandelslo's Travels. In this work reference is also made to the Gujarát currency.

† Cf. "Tin-money in the trading ports of the Burman Empire," in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VII., pp. 27, et seq. Lond. 1844-45.

of the same alloy they struck another kind of a serial coinage, which bore on the obverse a wheel, and this coin with its sub-divisions went by the name of 'roda.' I have already referred to this coin, and explained its origin as having been issued in honour of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr, the patron Saint of Goa.

The 'roda' was symbolical of the conquest or recapture of Goa by the Portuguese on the 25th of November 1510, the day consecrated in the Christian calendar to St. Catherine of Alexandria, who is said to have been broken upon a wheel under Maximianus, *circa* 306 A. D.

In heraldry her wheel has 8 spokes, and a corresponding number of hook-like iron spikes, on the outer side. The wheel of the coins does not count so many spokes, but on the arms of the Senate or Municipal Chamber of Goa, and of its Metropolitan See, of both of which ancient civic and ecclesiastical institutions of the city it constitutes a leading emblem in their respective coats, it does plainly exhibit that number. As an illustration of the fact I append below a facsimile of the oval seal of the Metropolitan Chapter of the See of Goa, which bears round the wheel the following legend, beginning, next to a cross of the Order of Christ:—CAPIT. METROP. GOANVM, and closing with another cross of the same kind. The devotion to this saint and her feast day are of traditional importance and magnificence. The Government and the people vie with each other in celebrating the 25th of November with great solemnity. The national epic poet has not forgotten to duly commemorate the eventful day, saying:—

“ Irão soldados inclytos fazendo
Mais que leões famelicos e touros
Na luz que sempre celebrada e dina
Será da Egypcia Sancta Catharina.”*

O Lusíadas, C. X. e st. XLIII.

* This beautiful verse has been translated into English thus:—

“ His gallant *soldiers* in more blood shall wade
Then *Lyons* pin'd, *Bulls* prickt with love and Ire;
Upon the *Feast* (as pat as by designe)
Of *Egypt's Virgin Martyr*, Katherine.”

Fanshaw.

“ His inclyt sold'ery more of fury shows
than rampant *Bulls*, or *Lyons* hunger-bold,
that Day for ever celebrate and digne
of *Egypt's Martyr-maid*, Saint Catherine.”

Burton.

Both the translations are perfectly correct, and yet how different.

Besides Camões, the *Roman Breviary* contains, in honour of the patron saint of Goa, two hymns in Latin, said to have been composed by the *Congregados*, a religious association of Bráhmaṇ priests, members of distinguished families in Goa, who giving up their faith in Bráhmaṇism, did not pledge themselves to abandon the privileges of their high caste. The *Congregados*, priests of the religious order of St. Philip Nery, and the *Theatins*, of that of St. Cajetan of Theana, both of the Bráhmaṇ caste, were missionaries in Southern India and in Ceylon, where they made a considerable number of conversions to the Roman Catholic Church.*

These Nerysts wrote two hymns in honour of St. Catherine, which begin thus:—

- (1) "Claram trophæis virginem,
Urbis Goensis præsidem,
Trino decoram stemmate
Laudemus omnes principem.
- (2) "Virginis magnæ triplici corona
Sanguinis claræ sophiæ pudoris,
Quam dedit Nili Pharos alta, palmas,
Pangimus ore."

The second hymn ends in the following manner:—

"Laus Deo, virtus, decus ac potestas,
Qui Goæ tale mtribuit patronam,
Taleque auroræ jubar et refulgens,
Sidus olympo."

Brev. Roman. Olissiponi, 1876, O. P. D., pp. 2 and 4.

These curious Latin compositions of the Goa Bráhmaṇ missionaries will, doubtless, be a novelty to Orientalists; but they show how often insignificant coins and their not seldom apparently unmeaning impressions have attached to them some interesting historical facts. The verses may not perhaps merit the approval of critics, and I have heard it stated that in Rome the hymns were said to have been written in the "Asiatic" style.

But to return once more to the *bazaruccos*, the remarkably long reign of D. João V. was fruitful of complaints and trouble regarding

* Regarding the vital question of Christianity in India, in a review of Mr. Kaye's work (1860), it is remarked that the Rev. Mr. Long had urged strongly the necessity for native missionaries. The Calcutta reviewer writes:—"We believe that if Christianity is ever to take hold on the people of India it will be by native agency." The above case is in favour of this assertion.

the fluctuating character of the value of this low ready money. Although the care and charge of coining was everywhere entrusted to the kings, or their representatives and delegates, the royal prerogative was often not jealously guarded. Goldsmiths, dealers in bullion, *chitin*, (merchants) were authorized by prescriptive right to fabricate money, subject of course to control on the part of the governing power. This right of coining then was in Goa vested in particular individuals or farmers, who strove hard to keep the monopoly as long as they could, and make it within that time as lucrative as possible.

The evil was begun long before this period, the most notable instance being in 1687, during the first governorship of D Rodrigo da Costa, when it was resolved that one *bazarucco* should go to its half, *i. e.*, should suffer in exchange the loss of 50 per cent. To add to the complaint of the trader, who was defrauded by the deterioration of the former standard, a lot of the *bazaruccos* struck at Goa and sent to Mozambique and Mombaça to circulate there, had been returned as unnecessary. But to make matters worse, this very low money often became scarce, when the value of the metal not only rose above that of the metal coined,—for it could never descend below that of the metal sold by weight as mere bullion,—but, not unlike the precious metals, became one of the measures of value, being for a time less subject to variation. This was certainly one of those paradoxes to be met with only in the extremely faulty financial system of the Portuguese in India.

There must have been, however, some reasons to induce the much more practical and far-seeing English people to adopt the tutenag and tin coinage in their new Dependency of Bombay. It seems that it was an aim of the English in India to assimilate their issues of money as closely as possible to those of their neighbours in diverse parts of the country; for many different coinages were current in India, whilst currencies of different provinces were of unequal values, hence arose the office of shroffage. The English in the early days of Bombay imitated the Portuguese currency, most probably to meet the facilities of commerce. Bruce tells us that the coinage of money was commenced on its own account by the East India Company in Bombay, which was held in independence. In 1671 the Court of Directors gave instructions to have a mint established upon the island, and a few years afterwards the measure was sanctioned by the Crown. A clause in the Charter, granted on the 26th year of the reign of Charles II., dated the 5th of October 1677, empowers the E. I. Company to coin money at Bombay,

to be current wherever the privilege of trade in the East Indies extended, to be called by the name of rupees, pices and budgrooks, and that such money should not resemble British money.*

There was, it is true, no need for the English to go far to find a precedent for the issue of a tin coinage, when they had it at home. Coins were struck in tin in Ireland as well as in England. The English coinage of James II. of half-pence and farthings was in this metal. There was also tin coinage of Charles II., which was not extended to Ireland, and tin coins were issued for Ireland by William and Mary.†

But in Bombay the existence of similar coinage in the surrounding territory, which was then in the possession of the Portuguese, must have suggested their issue, which should be current not only "in the island, but in all the dependencies of the Company in the East Indies," which in the time referred to were, indeed, very limited.

Tavernier, whom I have already quoted elsewhere, says:—"Since the present King of England married the Princess of Portugal, who had in part of her portion the famous port of Bombeye, where the English are very hard at work to build a strong fort, they coin both silver, copper and tin. But that money will not go to Surat.....only it passes among the English in their fort, and some 2 or 3 leagues up in the country, and in the villages along the coast."‡ From this statement of Tavernier, Mr. Thomas, the eminent Oriental Numismatologist, concludes—"It would seem that the Portuguese and Dutch had already introduced a system of imitating the native currencies."§ Of the Dutch system of coining money I have not yet completed my studies, and consequently abstain from giving an opinion; but as far as the Portuguese are concerned, I am quite certain that they never once from the day they first rounded the Cape of Good Hope to the present, imitated any kind of native currency, which was moreover against the Christian principles animating their governmental policy. What they did was simply to allow native coins, shroff-marked, denoting their genuineness in weight and touch, to circulate in their settlements at full value—a necessity of the trade relations with the natives of the country—and also to adopt some of the Eastern names of coins for their own coinage,

* *Annals of the East India Company*, II. 278. Also, *Caspar Moreau's East India Company's Records*. Lond. 1825, p. 3.

† See the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series. Lond. 1863. Vol. III., p. 9.

‡ *Opus cit.*, p. 141.

§ *The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay. 1862. Vol. XI., p. 316.

as I have already said. Tavernier himself writes :—“Portugals had got beyond mere local issues and coined fine gold, with European devices, for the dependencies of Goa.”* Then in the same place Mr. Thomas takes *pardaos* to be *patacas*. *Patacas* were and are still dollars; what *pardao* is I have fully explained elsewhere in one or more of the numbers of this series.

With regard to the tin currency of Bombay, Mr. Richard Sainthill writes :—“Ruding in his Supplement, Plate V., and in his second Supplement, Plate 15, gives engravings of some silver and copper coins of Charles II. and James II. of Bombay currency; also a large lead piece of Bombay, which has no date, but from the letters on it (G. R.) he assigns it with every probability to George I. I have a similar coin, with the date 1741, weight 1 ounce 6 grains; and another with the date 1771, weighing 15 dwts. 15 grains; and I have seen two pieces of similar type and metal, half their size. The coin of 1741 came to me from Dublin; that of 1771 was found a few years since at Kinsale, in repairing a house. These three specimens in lead, being of the reigns of George I., II., and III. from their succession would seem to indicate some established and continuous purpose. It is unlikely that anything honorary would be struck in so worthless and easily injured a metal as lead; yet, as they all bear the authoritative inscription, ‘Auspice Regis et Senatus Angliæ,’ we may presume, in the absence of any information, that they were current coins.”†

This extract, interesting in many points, as it gives not only weights of the coins, but also a successive series of issues and their divisions during three reigns, commits the error, notwithstanding, of calling lead what is but tutenag and tin mixed in a given proportion, on the Portuguese plan, whose imitation it is in metal, though not in type.

It is, doubtless, a worthless metal, and that was the characteristic quality of the ‘material’ which made it so acceptable to the Portuguese in their settlements for petty transactions, the earliest tutenag moneys coined for circulation by the Portuguese in India for this purpose being the pieces called ‘roda’ and ‘bazarucco.’

The *bazaruccada*, as the lot of this worthless coinage was called then, held in all affairs of traffic the same position that *damri* did amongst the natives of Southern India. This *damri* has a curious deri-

* The *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay. 1882. Vol. XI., p. 13.

† The *Numismatic Chronicle*, Lond. 1855-56. Vol. XVIII., p. 77.

vation, being traced up to a Greek source. *Damri* (*Hindustani* دَمْرِي) is derived from the Hindu द्रम्म (dramma), worth $\frac{1}{8}$ of a paisa, and the latter is said to be equivalent to the Greek δραχμη, which it does in reality much resemble. But what is the origin of the term *bazarucco*? Mr. H. H. Wilson writes, speaking of *budgrooks*, the English equivalent of the Portuguese *bazarucco*, thus:—"This name has never found a place in any of the accounts of the Indian coins published by the traders to the East Indies, and its meaning and origin are entirely unknown."*

Mr. J. A. Mandelslo, referring to Persia, writes:—"They have a copper coin named *besorg*, 10 of which make 1 *peys*, and again 10 of the latter make one *chay*, the value of which is five *sols* of French money."† To the word *besorg*, then, one may trace the Portuguese *bazarucco*, just as the *xerafim* has already been to *ashrafi*. *Besorg* is most probably a mutilation or a corruption in the mouth of foreign travellers, of the Persian *bāzār* (بازار) 'the market,' and *rok* (روك) small money, 'change,' the compound word meaning 'small money for *bāzār*,' just what the word *bazarucco* would be applied to. With regard to the first component part of the term, *rokra paisā*, or ready money, small change, is still used in our Indian markets. Could this be the surviving equivalent of *bāzārrok*, or at least of *rok*?

The end of the reign of D. João V. also marks another important historical fact—the complete decadence of the Portuguese power in the East, and under a numismatic point of view, the extinction of most of their mints.

When their star was in the ascendant, and consequently they in the zenith of their energy and vitality, the Portuguese held dominion over the Eastern Coast of Africa, the Persian Gulf, the Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula to the confines of China. The *quinas* then floated over the following fortified towns:—Ormuz, Diu, Damão, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Hanowar, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin, Coriate, Calaiate, Colombo, Malacca, Ternate, Tidore, Amboina, Macao, Solor and Timor. Out of these towns, eight had established in them mints, which issued money more or less regularly, in gold, silver, copper and tutenag, but two of them in the last two metals only, until

* Rev. R. Euding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain, &c.*, Lond. 1840. Vol. II., p. 418.

† *Ut supra*, p. 32.

the forcible abolition through their capture by the Dutch. The following were the mint marks of six of these towns :—

| | |
|---------------|----------|
| B | Bassein. |
| C—Lo | Ceylon. |
| D | Damão. |
| D, or D—O... | Diu. |
| G, or G—A ... | Goa. |
| M, or M—A... | Malacca. |

No mark of the Chaul and Cochin mints has yet been made out, although the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* contains authentic documents relating to their foundation and their operations, besides preserving for posterity interesting decrees and proclamations referring to various coinages and changes in the value of money. At the time these eight mints were striking money, bearing on one of their sides the cross of the Order of Christ, and circulating throughout their Eastern settlements, the Portuguese sovereigns were proclaiming to the world their title of “Lords of the Commerce, Navigation and Conquests of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India,” which title their successors have not yet ceased to use.*

In course of time the Portuguese Empire in the East began to disintegrate. The first to get loose was Ormus, that famous city, of which, when describing the devil’s throne in Pandemonium, Milton writes :—

“Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,”

And about which a Russian proverb says :—

“Whatever is produced on earth you find at Ormus.”

Ormus was followed by Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin and other places to the south of Goa, about the middle of the XVIIth century, some places about ten years before, and some as many years after the middle of that century. And lastly, in 1739 and 1740, during the reign of D. João V., were Bassein and Chaul lost. The last coin we have of this “Province of the North,” as it was called, is a tutenag piece of 1723, with the

* To lovers of historical parallels or analogies it may be of interest to learn that the ceremonial with which this title was proclaimed more than three centuries ago did not fall short in *eclat* and grandeur of that of the Delhi Assembly of our own time which proclaimed Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria “Empress of India.” And the tenacity with which the Portuguese monarchs hold fast to it is not less remarkable than that with which the English sovereigns from Henry VIII. downwards lay claim to the two letters F. D. (Fidei Defensor) after their names.

mint marks D—B (Damão and Bassein). (See Plate V., fig. 25.) Goa was, indeed, the capital city of all these settlements. King D. Manuel was right when, by his *alvará*, dated the 1st of March 1518, he declared that Goa was “*Realenga e nunca seja apartada da Coroa dos nossos reinos*,” the English equivalent being “royal and never be separated from the crown of our kingdom.”* Goa then may be named the metropolitan mint, while the others were provincial ones of this old colonial empire of the Portuguese in the East. I need not mention the African Coasts, although Mozambique, Mombaça, rios de Senna were all supplied with money coined at Goa and Diu, until their separation, in the last century, from the supreme authority at Goa. Now the Portuguese in India were reduced to only two mints, Goa and Diu, that of Damão being temporarily suspended, and then revived again for a short time for issuing copper coinage only, and where the Goa money was uncurrent,—another absurdity of the financial system of the Portuguese in the East! But in their mint towns the Portuguese did not confine themselves to their own coinage; they allowed the approved coinage of the neighbouring princes to circulate in all their settlements, although the names of coins were considerably mangled and altered to the extent of not being easily recognised. An instance of this is to be found in a Gujarati gold piece, which was current at Diu in the early days of the conquest, and was by the Portuguese called *Madráfazão*. Such a term has all the appearance of a foreign origin and import, and it was indeed the corruption of a gold-mohur of Muzafar Shah, one of the kings of Gujarat, whose coin was in his honour called *Muzafarshahi*, just as the gold mohur of Akbar is still called *Akbari*. To this *Muzafarshahi*, then, has the Portuguese *madráfazão* been traced back, not without spending some useful time. Besides, wherever the Portuguese got a footing, there they introduced foreign coins. In Ceylon in 1517 they introduced pagodes, pardaos, xerafins and larins.†

* *O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*. Nova Goa, 1846; Vol. I., p. 22. This letter was confirmed by D. João III., the immediate successor of D. Manuel.

† With regard to the word *pagode*, I have already alluded to all the origins possible of this name, but, as an illustration of how fanciful etymologies are sometimes invented by ingenious writers, I give below a few of them:—

“Amongst the names they have given to the Planets that of Mercury is *Pout*, a Persian word, which signifies an *Idol*, from whence comes *Pout-gheda*, a temple of false gods, and *Pagoda* comes from *Pout-gheda*.”—*New Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, by Mons. de La Lorbere, Lond. 1693, p. 18. “On n’appelle un temple *Indian Pagode*, que par corruption de *Podghed*, où le mot *Pod* or *Bod* signifie l’object du culte, la divinité. Le nom de *Bud-tan* donné

KING D. JOSÉ I.

D. FRANCISCO DE ASSIS DE TAVORA,

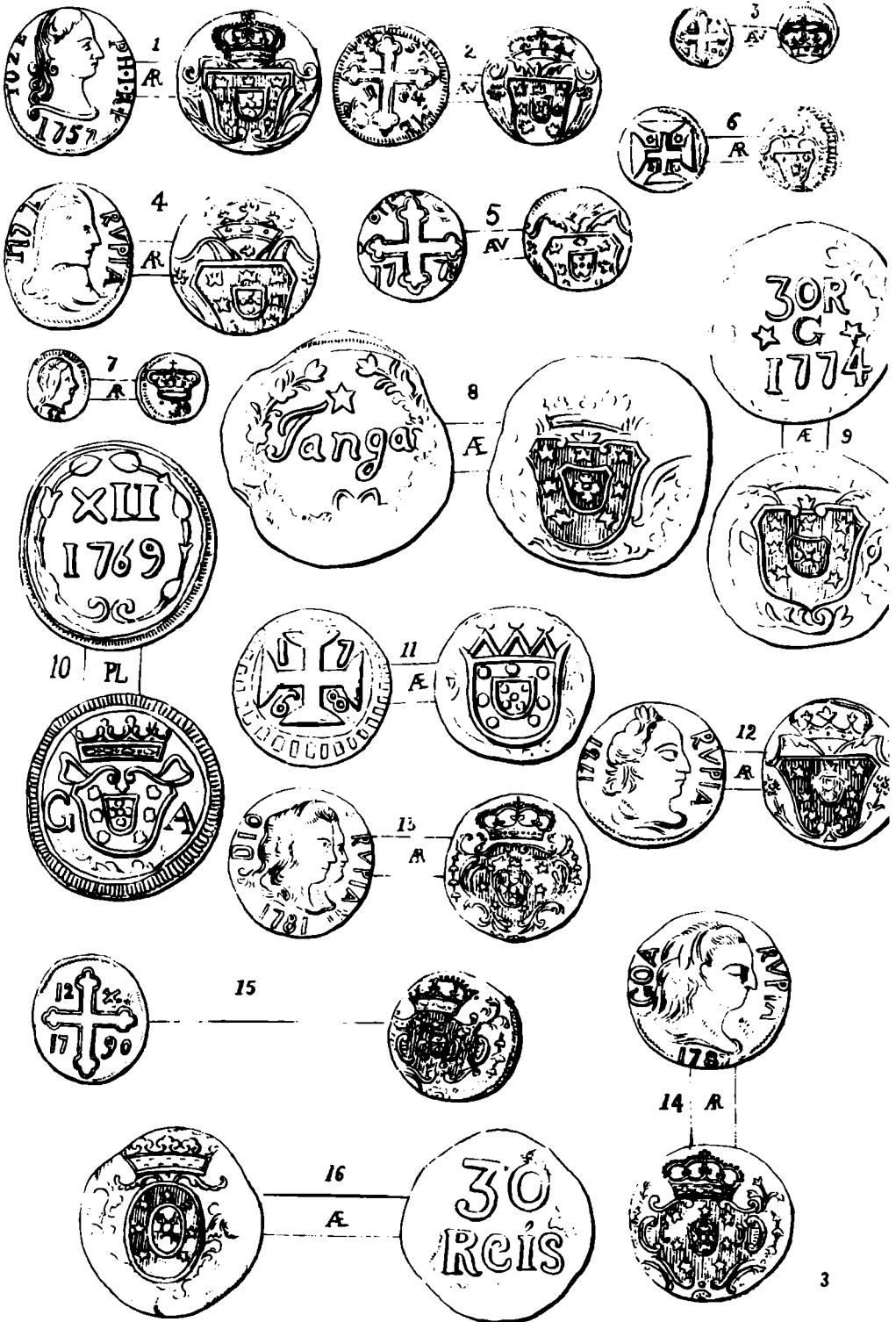
Viceroy from 1750 to 1754.

The first viceroy of king D. José came to India in 1750, when D. João V. was yet alive. But a royal letter, dated the 5th of August 1750, announcing the death of D. João V., and the proclamation of D. José I., reached Goa on the 24th September 1751. On the 19th of November following solemn funeral obsequies were performed at the Cathedral, and José I. was proclaimed king on the 1st of December. The official mourning continued after the four days spent in rejoicing and festivities of the occasion, and the viceroy closed the proceedings by his reply to the king on the 23rd of January 1752. It would seem now-a-days very strange that what is done at present in a couple of months should only a little more than a century ago occupy the long time from August 1750 to January 1752. These long delays in transmission of despatches from Lisbon to Goa, and *vice versa*, account for the silver coinage of 1751 bearing the busts and legends of both D. João V. and D. José I., although D. João V. had ceased to live in the year 1750. One of the first measures relating to the East of the ministry of D. José I., after his accession to the throne, was the separation of Mozambique and its dependencies in Eastern Africa from the Government of India, by the royal letter dated the 9th of May 1752.

The viceroy caused no alteration to be made in the coinage current in the time of his predecessor, money in gold and silver was continuously issued from the Goa and Diu mints of the same standard as that of the former governors, the only difference being in designs, due to the proclamation of a new king.

Of the gold coins of the period, S. Thomés and their fractions, only one specimen of the former, issued from the mint at Diu, is known to be extant. It bears on one side the cross of St. Thomas with the year

an Tibet, veut précisément dire le pays de Dien, par rapport à la résidence du Dalaï-Lama, en qui l'esprit de Toë est censé résider, et où une grande partie de la Tartarie adore par cette raison."—D' Anville's *Eclaircissemens Géographiques*, &c., Paris, 1763, pp. 75—76. "The word pagoda is a corruption of *Bhaga-vati*, 'holy house,' one of the several names by which Hindu temples are known."—The *Penny Magazine*, June 30th, 1832, p. 122. The derivation of the *pagoda*, given by Bartolomeo, who lived in India from 1776 to 1789, and whose MSS. I saw preserved at the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele in Rome, is also from *Bhaga-vati*, and the one adopted by Dr. Bidie of Madras in his paper on the *pagodas* to the Bengal Asiatic Society.



divided into two parts by the lower limb of the cross, and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the other.

The silver coinage consisted of rupees and their sub-divisions.

Obv.—Laureate bust of the king with the legend IOZEPH. I. R. P. (Josephus I., Rex Portugalizæ) round the margin. The year 1752 in the exergue.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 184 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 1.)

The sub-divisions of the rupee, *pardao* and *meio pardao* did not differ in type from the rupee; while the *tanga* and *meia tanga* bore designs similar to those of the corresponding coins of the reign of D. João V. Indeed, some of these pieces give no indication at all, except when they bear in the exergue the date,—and to which pieces I shall have to refer hereafter,—of the reign or governorship during which they were struck, as was once the case with the silver *vintem* at Lisbon, which bore one invariable design from the time of D. João V. to that of D. João VI., more than a century.

In the archives of the mint at Lisbon, a list is preserved of the coins in gold, silver, copper, and tutenag current in Portuguese India and at Mozambique, issued from the mints of Goa and Diu, with their nomenclature, designs, standard, &c., which is very interesting for the numismatic history of the time. It is dated 1753.

D. LUIZ MASCARENHAS.

1754—1756.

During this short period coins in gold and silver were issued both from the Goa and the Diu mints. They did not differ in any way from those of his predecessor. On the death of this viceroy, a triple provisional commission, presided over by the archbishop of the time, governed the country from 1756 to 1758, but made no change in the contemporary money.

MANUEL DE SALDANHA DE ALBUQUERQUE,

1758—1765.

This viceroy commanded during his time the issue of money in gold, silver, copper and tutenag. Of the gold coinage the S. Thomés of the value of 12 xerafins, with the sub-divisions of eight, four, and two xerafins were struck,

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—The cross of St. Thomas in the field, with the legend CR DE-ST-ME round the margin. (CRus De S. ThoME.) The lower limb of the cross divides the year 1764 into two parts. *Grênetis*. Gold. *S. Thomé*. Weight, 75 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 2.) This specimen is in my collection. The fractional specimens of the *S. Thomé* are not obtainable. I remember having seen one of the value of four xerafins in the collection of the Hon'ble Mr. J. Gibbs, with a design resembling somewhat one kind of the silver tangas published during this period.

Of the silver coinage issued from 1756 to 1765, there were *rupia*, *pardao*, *meio pardao*, *tanga*, and *meia tanga*. The designs of the first three did not differ in any essential point from those of the former governors, except that the legend in 1761 was changed into Portuguese IOZE-PRIM (EIRO) instead of the Latin one of 1751. Two specimens of the *meio pardao* of this type are extant, as far as hitherto known.

The *tangas* bore three different designs, and the *meias tangas* two. In fact these designs appear to have been common to several more or less interrupted periods, with very slight variations. Of the present ruler we have the examples of a *tanga* with the bust of the king and the date in the exergue on one side, and the numeral 60, value in reis, under a crown on the other; and of the *meia tanga*, exactly the same type, except the numeral 30 on the reverse, representative of its value in reis. The copper and *tutenag* coinages were varied and numerous in design, size and standard, to which may be added the novelty of the issue of bronze pieces with the addition of tin in a certain proportion; but this subject does not offer any great interest to the numismatist, as it perhaps did to the merchant of the period, for the innovation suffered such an opposition from the public that the viceroy was at last obliged to give up the bronze pieces and return to the old *tutenag* ones. It is, however, worth mentioning that of the copper coinage there were ten kinds of pieces, viz.:—2 *tangas*, *tanga*, *meia tanga*, *vintem*, 15 reis, 12, 10, 6, 5, and $2\frac{1}{2}$; while of the *tutenag* one there were only three, 15 reis, 10, and 5.

1765—1768.

On the departure of the viceroy Manuel de Saldanha to Lisbon, a triple provisional commission was nominated to govern the country,

their rule being extended beyond one's expectation, owing to the coming viceroy, Conde da Louzã, having died on his voyage to India.

During this government gold, silver, copper and tutenag were coined into S. Thomés, rupias, meia tangas and bazaruccos, with their subdivisions. Of the first there were pieces of 12 xerafins, 8, 4, and 2. Of this series the following specimen is a good example :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—The cross of St. Thomas in the field, having in its upper angles 2—x (indicative of its value in xerafins), and the year 1766 in the lower ones. Gold. Weight, 12 grains Troy. In my collection. (See Plate VII., fig. 3.) Of the copper and tutenag coinage, as well as of the silver ones, I reserve to speak at the end of the reign of D. José 1., as they do not appear to differ much from the types already described.

D. JOAO JOSE' DE MELLO,

1768—1774.

Although money in gold, silver, copper, and tutenag was struck in the Goa mint as well as in that of Diu, it did not present any new type, nor was the standard altered. The tutenag bazaruccos were issued in greater quantity than before, as they were a source of profit to the Government. To the copper pieces bearing the date 1774 I shall refer further on.

On the death of the governor, D. João José de Mello, which took place on the 10th of January 1774, Filippe de Valladares Soutomaior was appointed Governor of Portuguese India, who laid down the reins of the Government on the 24th of September 1774. Of his very short rule we have but a copper coinage of meia tanga, vintem, and meio vintem, of which more hereafter. If gold and silver as well as tutenag were continued to be coined into current money or not there are no available documents to confirm one's supposition either way.

D. JOSE' PEDRO DA CAMARA,

1774—1779.

This is an important period under a numismatic point of view. We have a series of coins in gold, silver, and tutenag, the latter two struck both at Goa and at Diu. The copper coinage was not issued anew, as that of the former governor's time was enough.

Of the gold pieces there were *S. Thomés* of 12 xerafins, of 8, 4 and 2 of a new type.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—Cross of St. Thomas, the lower limb shorter than usual. Round the margin the legend OTTO XERAFINS, with a star between the two words. The year 1778 on the sides of the lower limb of the cross. Gold. *S. Thomé*. Weight, 74 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 5.)

Of the silver coinage there were the rupia and its fractions, except perhaps the *meia tanga*, of which minute coinage there was a sufficient quantity issued by former governors. The type of the rupee was altered, the sub-divisions of the rupee following suit.

Obv.—The bust of the king to the right, having before him the word RUPIA, and behind the year 1777. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 162 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 4.)

The year 1777 was the last of the memorable reign of D. José I., more remarkable for the very useful, although violent, measures of his great minister, the Marquis de Pombal, than for any high and estimable quality in the king himself.

Of the tangas and meias tangas of this reign here are two specimens.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—A cross of the Order of Christ, having a star in each angle. Silver. *Tanga*. Weight, 15 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 6.)

The other types of the tanga of this reign were, first, the laureate bust of the king between two palms, with the year in the exergue on one side, and the royal crown with the value of the piece on the other; second, the same obverse, the reverse being an ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom; third, the value of the coin below the royal crown on one side, and the cross of the Order of Christ with the stars in its angles on the other.

Of the *meia tanga*, the following piece is a fine specimen:—

Obv.—Bust of the king to the right, and the year (17)64 in the exergue.

Rev.—30, the value in reis of the coin, above it the royal crown. Silver. *Meia tanga*. Weight, 10 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 7.)

The other variety of this kind of silver piece is the bust of the king to the right, without the date of issue, the reverse being the same as above.

The copper coinage of this reign is also varied in type, numerous in the serial order of fractional pieces, some pieces being voluminous in size, with a corresponding heaviness in weight.

The largest copper piece of this reign is the *tanga*, which had its sub-divisions of *meia tanga*, 20 reis and 10 reis.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—*Tanga* in the field, surrounded by a laurel wreath, having on the top a star. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 10 drachms 30 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 8.)

The other type of the copper coinage is the one dated 1774. It consists of 30, 20, 12, 10 and 6 reis.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—G (Goa) between two stars in the field, having 30 R. (representative of the value in reis) above, and the year 1774 below, all encircled by a laurel crown. Copper. *Meia tanga*. Weight, 5 drachms Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 9.)

Of the *tutenag* coinage of the reign, of which there was also a graduated series of 15, 12, 10, 6, 5, 4, and 2 reis, perhaps even 1 real. The following example will be sufficient :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letters G—A (Goa).

Rev.—The numeral XII., indicative of its value in reis, with the year 1769 below it, all within a wreath. *Tutenag*. 12 *Reis*. Weight, 3 drachms 30 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 10.)

Some years the numeral was represented in Roman figures, and other in Arabic ones.

From the Diu mint were issued copper pieces of graduated value in reis, of which the following specimen is a typical example :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between the letter D—O (Dio).

Rev.—Cross of the Order of Christ, having in the angles the figures 1768 of the year of its issue. Copper., 5 *Reis*. Weight, 2 drachms 15 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 11.)

From the same mint were also issued *tutenag* pieces, the largest of which is already illustrated at Plate I., fig. 7. All the specimens above described and illustrated are in my collection.

About the middle of 1777 arrived at Goa the sad news of the death of D. José I., and the accession to the Portuguese throne of D. Maria I., his daughter.

D. MARIA I.,

1777—1799.

D. José Pedro da Camara continued to govern the country until the 26th of May 1779, during which time he commanded the issue of some copper pieces, to be considered in the government of his successor, who was

D. FREDERICO GUILRERME DE SOUSA,

1779—1786.

During this time, money was coined in gold, silver and copper. The gold *S. Thomés* and their sub-divisions bore the same designs as those to be described hereafter, for, from this date until the cessation of the gold coinage, they were not altered at all. The fractions of the *S. Thomés* of 12 *xerafins* were those of 8, 4 and 2 *xerafins*.

With regard to the silver coinage, the *rupia* and its sub-divisions of *pardao*, and *meio pardao* were issued. Of the issue of the *tanga* and *meia tanga* there is still some uncertainty.

Obv.—The laureate bust of the queen to the right in the centre, with 1781 on one side and *RUPIA* on the other.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 12.)

In the same year the Diu mint issued rupees with two busts.

Obv.—The laureate busts of the queen and her husband to the right in the middle, having *DIO* behind and *RUPIA* in front. 1781 in the exergue.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia de Diu*. Weight, 161 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 13.)

The whole of the early silver coinage of Queen D. Maria I., issued from the Goa mint, bore the rupee type, changing only the designation of the coin as *pardao* and *meio pardao*, and, perhaps, as 60 and 30 *reis* for the *tanga* and *meia tanga*. It was from 1782 that the two busts

began to make their appearance on the silver coinage struck in the Goa mint, bearing on the obverse the words Goa and Rupia in front and behind the profiles; while the date of the issue was placed in the exergue.

The double busts, first struck at Diu, represent the Queen, D. Maria I. and her husband, who was also her uncle, D. Pedro III. These double bust coins bear no inconsiderable resemblance in this respect to those of William and Mary of England, issued just a century before. Although the same style of coinage in its general appearance, fineness and weight as when the queen was unmarried, the difference now consisted only in the profiles of the king and queen being shown one over the other, without any legend relating to the two personages, as was also the case with the coins of William and Mary.

These double bust coins were continued issuing even more than a year after the death of D. Pedro III., which took place on the 25th of May 1786. After the death of her husband, the queen's bust appears alone, from 1788, and was so continued for about one year after her decease.

The copper coinage of this period consisted of tanga, meia tanga, vintem, 12, 6, $4\frac{1}{2}$, 3, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ reis. These coins bore on one side the ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom, and their value, as $\frac{60}{\text{Reis}}$ one above the other in the field of the reverse, encircled by a laurel wreath.

During this Government Goa was afflicted with heaps of false money in copper and tutenag introduced from abroad, which compelled the governor, as well as his predecessor from 1774, to reform the standard of coins, to order the recoinage of this coinage, and alter frequently the designs, which accounts for the varied types still extant, attributable often to the same year.

FRANCISCO DA CUNHA E MENEZES.

1786—1794.

Of this governor we have S. Thomés and some sub-divisions as above, rupees with the same fractions, and copper pieces of tanga, meia tanga, and vintem.

The style of S. Thomés was not altered in any way, but the silver coinage, represented by the rupee, was as follows:—

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Obv.—Bust of the queen in the middle to the right, with a widows' veil. GOA behind, and RVPIA in front of the bust. The year 1787 in the exergue.

Rev.—The ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 14.)

The gold coinage, represented by the S. Thomé, had only one type for nearly half a century, or until its abolition in the Goa mint, and it may be illustrated by the following specimen:—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the shield, ornamented all round.

Rev.—Cross of S. Thomé, having in its upper angles 12-x, indicative of its value, as 12 xerafins, and below the four numerals 1790. Gold. *S. Thomé*. Weight, 75 grains Troy. (See Plate VII., fig. 15.)

Of the copper coinage, there is nothing remarkable to notice, except that the reverse bears the full designation of the coin, for instance, *Tanga*, and below it the date 1787, while the obverse has the usual coat-of-arms of the kingdom. There may have been issued other fractions of the tanga, besides the two above mentioned; as also tutenag pieces might have been struck during the time of this governor, but no specimens are found which may be appropriated to this period.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO DA VEIGA CABRAL,

1794—1807.

During this period the Goa mint was active in coining money in gold, silver and copper of the kind already described, with the addition of S. Thomés of the value of 1 xerafim; while the Diu mint struck silver rupees, its halves and quarters, copper *atiás* and tutenag bazaruccos, in a series of 20, 10, 5, and 3 bazaruccos. These latter have been sufficiently illustrated, the silver coinage alone requires a short notice here.

Obv.—The ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—Cross of St. Thomas in the middle, the four numerals 1806 in the angles, having 600, indicative of the value in reis, in the top, and Dio at the bottom, ornamentation round the margin. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 115 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 1.)

Of the copper coinage issued from the Goa mint, the following specimen of *meia tanga* is typical.

Obv.—The ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—In the field in two lines 30-Reis. Copper. *Meia tanga*.
Weight, 4 drachms 25 grains Troy (See Plate VII., fig. 16.)

During this Government, Queen D. Maria I. was declared *non compos mentis*, and her son D. João *principe regente* by the decree dated the 15th of July 1799. The latter ruled the kingdom as a reigning prince until the demise of his queen-mother, which took place on the 20th of March 1816, was proclaimed king on the 16th of February 1818, and died in 1826. He had before this held the reins of the kingdom in the name of the queen from the 10th of February 1792 to the 15th of July 1799. This was the most unfortunate time for Portugal and her colonies.

When everything was neglected, it is not to be expected that the mints of Goa and Diu, the only remnants of a once large array of colonial monetary establishments, should merit any special attention to the rulers or authorities of the time. The queen, always surrounded by an *entourage* of dangerously irresponsible mystics, who had fattened on the carcass of the old Portugal, and who, according to a national historian, were like the Termites eating to the bone that once noble people, had been by them declared a *beata*, literally 'blessed,' but truly a fanatic. She eventually became mad; for from fanaticism to madness there is but one step. Her son, the only son of a mad woman, was imbecile, as was very natural; in 1809 he sought safety from the Napoleonic invasion of the peninsula in the flight to Brazil.* If from Lisbon the government of the colonies was far from satisfactory, one can easily imagine what the state of these new settlements must have been now that the court and ministry were at Rio de Janeiro. But to return to the chronicle of the issues of money.

D. JOAO VI.,

As regent from 1799 to 1818.

As king from 1818 to 1826.

The first governor of the regency was the one above mentioned, but he was succeeded in 1807 by

BERNARDO JOSE MARIA DE LORENA.

1807—1816.

This viceroy issued the same kind of coins as his predecessor, only his silver coinage showed a new design, well represented by the Rupia.

* Cf. *Historia de Portugal*; by J. P. Oliveira Martins. Lisbon: 1879. Vol. 11., pp. 158, *et seq.*

Obv.—The laureate bust of the prince regent to the right, RVPIA D GOA around, and 1807 in the exergue.

Rev.—Ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the oval shield. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 2 drachms 45 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 2.)

This type of the silver coinage is said to date from the time of the governor Veiga Cabral, omitting the letter D.

Of the gold coinage, the following is a good example:—

Obv.—The reverse of the coin last described.

Rev.—Cross of St. Thomas, having in the lower angles 18-12, and in the upper 12-x, the value of the coin. Gold. *S. Thomé*. Weight, 75 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig 3.)

A peculiarity of the numismatic history of this time is the irregularity not only in the often unsystematic arrangement of the coins regarding their designs and standard, but also the simultaneous issue of coins bearing busts or profiles of both the mother and son separately.

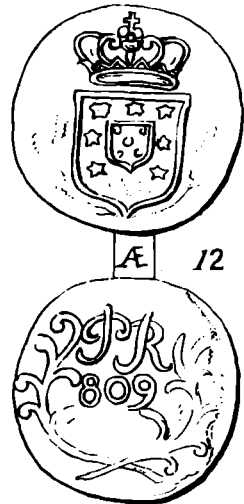
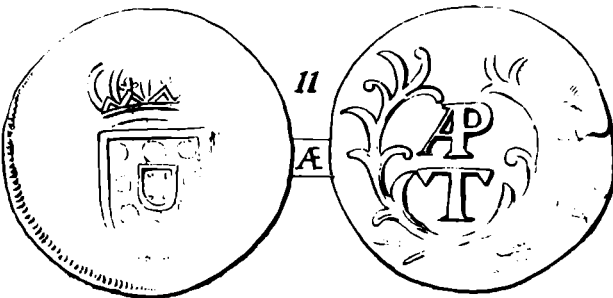
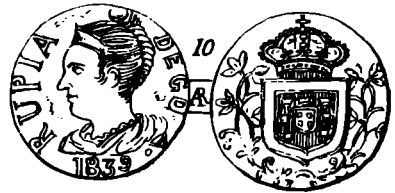
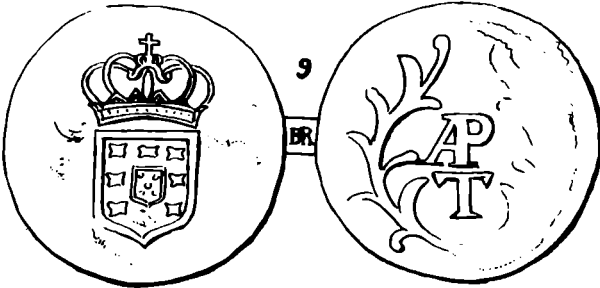
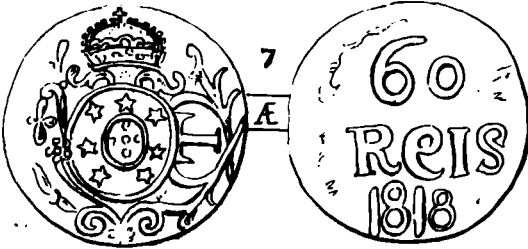
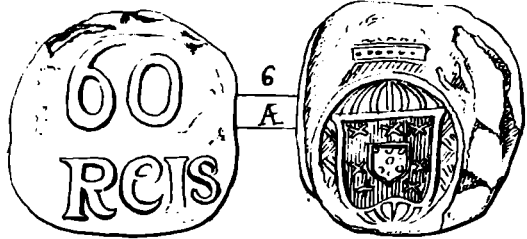
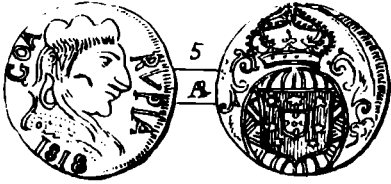
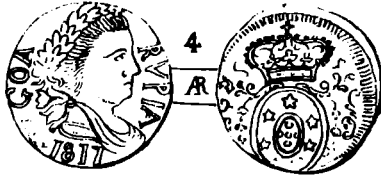
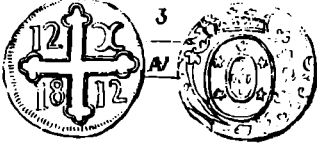
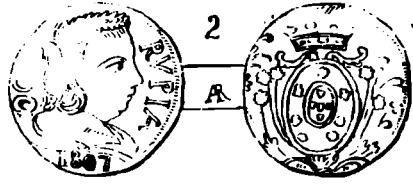
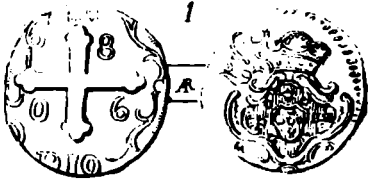
Although coins bearing the bust of the mad queen were struck and issued until about a year after her death, those of the prince regent were also current. A rupee and a *meia tanga* are extant which bear on the obverse not only the laureate bust of the prince but also the legend D. IOAO P. G. D. P. R. on the silver piece, while on the copper one it runs JOANNES. D. G. PORT. ET. ALG. P. REGENS and the year 1814 in the exergue. But these were most probably not current coins but mere patterns; for it is very strange that from so recent a time there should exist only two specimens in two metals.

D. DIAGO DE SOUZA,

1817—1821.

During this time money in gold, silver, and copper was coined of all the varieties already mentioned, except the silver *meia tanga*, which had ceased to be struck for some time previous to the present government. The gold *S. Thomé*s and their fractions bore the same type above described; but the silver coinage presented a new design, which is represented by the rupee, as follows:—

Obv.—Bust of the prince regent to the right, the legend GOA—RVPIA behind and in the front of the bust, respectively, and the year 1817 in the exergue.



Rev.—The arms of the United Kingdom, *i. e.* the coat-of-arms of Portugal with the sphere of Brazil. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 170 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig 4.)

This was the type of the last coinage of the regency, to be followed by that of the reign of D. João VI., who from the condition of prince regent was solemnly proclaimed king on the 16th of February 1818. Now his profile appears considerably altered for the worse, but whether it is the defect of workmanship, or that the physiognomy of D. João VI. had in the interim become idiotic since his flight to Brazil, one cannot say. Here is, however, his coin of the time :—

Obv.—Bust of the king to the right with the legend as in the coin last described, and the year 1818 in the exergue.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the United Kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 5.)

Of the copper coinage of the period, the following specimen of the *tangas*, representative of two series of copper coins issued about this time, will give a correct idea.

Obv.—Ornamented coat-of-arms of the United Kingdom.

Rev.—In the field, in two lines, 60-Reis. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 45 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 6.)

Obv.—The ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom with the oval shield.

Rev.—In the field, in three lines, 60-Reis-1818. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 8 drachms 37½ grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 7.)

The Diu mint does not show us during this period any product of its activity except the *tutenag bazaruccos* of the type and standard already described. It is said that the copper coinage bearing in the field the year 1818 was struck at Diu ; but this is doubtful.

On account of a revolt at Goa, both before and after the departure of the viceroy D. Diogo de Souza to Rio de Janeiro on the 4th of March 1822, a first provisional commission, composed of four persons, governed Portuguese India from September to December 1821, and a second, consisting of six individuals, from the latter date to November 1823, when the president of the second commission was nominated viceroy. During this revolutionary period, on account of changes in the Home Government from absolutism to constitutional regimen, the mints both at Goa and Diu were nearly closed.

D. MANUEL DA CAMARA,

1823—1825.

During the three years gold, silver and copper coins were issued from the mint at Goa, but the standard type and module were the same as of the preceding years.

This viceroy died at Goa on the 16th of November 1825, when a provisional commission, composed of three gentlemen, held the reins of the Government until the arrival of the newly-appointed viceroy, which took place on the 9th of October 1826. During this short interval no change took place in the monetary matters of Portuguese India.

In the last year of the rule of this commission, King D. João VI. died, being succeeded by

D. PEDRO IV.,

1826—1828.

Viceroy D. MANUEL DE PORTUGAL E CASTRO.

1826—1835.

This was a period fruitful of political changes, and of considerable activity in the improvement of the colonial coinage, which had now exceeded all measure of rudeness in workmanship. Among political changes was the proclamation of the Constitutional Charter in the city of Goa on the 18th of October 1827, and of D. Pedro IV., king of Portugal, who had succeeded his father, D. João VI., on the 10th of March 1826. This distinguished prince abdicated the crown on behalf of his daughter, D. Maria, on the 2nd of May 1826, which abdication was ratified on the 2nd of March 1828. He then declared himself regent of the kingdom on the 3rd of March 1832 until the 19th of September 1834, or until the pretender to the throne, D. Miguel de Bragança, was completely defeated.

Money was coined in Goa and Diu, gold, silver, bronze and copper in the former place, and tutenag in the latter. The gold specimens of the period are extremely rare. Of silver the following example is typical:—

Obv.—Laureate bust of the monarch to the right, having the year 1831 in the exergue.

Rev.—Coat-of-arms of the United Kingdom. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 170 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 8.)

Of the bronze coinage there were only tangas and half tangas.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom in the field.

Rev.—Within a crown AP. (Asia Portuguese) and T under it (Tanga). Bronze. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 55½ grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 9.)

The *meia tanga* bears the same design, there being the addition of ½ between the letters AP. and T. to indicate its value. The type of the copper coinage did not differ at all from that of the bronze one, except that portion of it which was ordered to be countermarked, on account of the false copper money introduced from abroad into the country.

Obv.—The same as of the coin last described.

Rev.—Also the same, the countermarks being PR. and 809 below it. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 35 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 12.)

There being scantiness of copper pieces in Diu, some of the half tangas struck and current at Goa at this time were marked with the word Dio to the left of the letters abovementioned for circulation at that place. Two specimens of this currency, as well as the specimens above described and illustrated, are in my collection.

With regard to the countermark PR. and 809, it appears that PR. stands for Principe Regente, while 809 is perhaps the year 1809, when the countermarks were first used in Goa.

The viceroy D. Manuel de Portugal, observing the extreme irregularity in the execution of the mintage in Goa, which is evident to any one who may have cursorily examined the colonial coinage of the Portuguese in India, appointed a committee of learned persons, by his decree dated the 30th of July 1828, to report on those irregularities, and to indicate means to improve the condition of the mintage. A report was naturally presented in course of time to the Government, who in 1834 approved the new mint regulations, and commanded the issue of money with designs recommended by the committee. The coins with new designs, however, turned out to be mere patterns, for they were never current. But of this aborted effect of the labours of the committee, and of the causes that led to it, I shall speak more at length hereafter.

D. MARIA II.,

1834—1853.

The first viceroys of Queen D. Maria II. was the last of her great father; but his coinage of this period was confined to the issue of silver

rupees and copper tangas with their respective sub-divisions, which had, however, the misfortune of never forming part of the currency. They were no sooner struck than both the silver and copper pieces were, from political reasons, ordered to be kept in the mint, as mere patterns, of which, as above said, I shall speak further on.

This viceroy was in 1835 followed by Bernardo Peres da Silva, whose extremely short and revolutionary rule made no change in the coinage, and was followed by the first viceroy of the queen again, and then by Marshal Correa, and finally by a Provisional Government from 1835 to 1837. The only monetary document relating to the time of this Government is the order to withdraw from circulation the silver and copper money minted in 1834, and the issue of others instead, bearing the bust of the queen; while the copper coinage, which was now depreciated, was commanded to be struck with the designs of 1832. It was prohibited to receive into the Government Treasury more than one-third of the copper money in payment of the State revenues. This Government was followed by Barão de Sabroso, from 1837 to 1838, who did nothing more than appoint a committee to investigate the causes of the scantiness of the silver money, the depreciation of the copper one, as false coinage in the latter metal was introduced into the country, and to propose measures to facilitate the circulation of gold and silver money. He also ordered the sale of silver plate belonging to the now extinguished convents, except the sacred vessels, and of the product to issue silver coin in rupees and their fractions, and later on the reducing of the plate itself to currency. This governor was succeeded by another Provisional Commission, who ruled from 1838 to 1839, during which short time were issued the following coins in silver and copper:—

Obv.—Bust of the queen to the left, with the legend RUPIA DE GOA around, and the year 1839 in the exergue between two stars.

Rev.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between two laurel branches linked below. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 10.)

Of the sub-divisions of the rupee there were *pardao* and *meio pardao*.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom,

Rev.—60-T. in two lines within two palms wreath, or A P above and T below. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 45 grains Troy. (See Plate VIII., fig. 11.)

The *Tanga* had issued along with it the fractions of half, quarter, 12, $7\frac{1}{2}$, 6, and 3 reis.

This last Government was followed also provisionally by Colonel Vieira, until November 1839, who did not alter the coinage, and was succeeded by the governor Manuel José Mendes, who ruled until 1840, and who also did not interfere with the coinage established by former Governments. Then came another Provisional Government until 1840, who ordered both gold and silver ornaments belonging to convents of Goa and Damão, *inclusive* the sacred vessels which had been profaned, to be coined into gold and silver money.

JOSE JOAQUIM LOPES DE LIMA,

1840—1842.

During this Government gold, silver, and copper were coined, the first into *S. Thomés*, the second into *rupias*, halves and quarters, and the third into *tangas* and halves.

The *S. Thomé*, bearing the date 1841, was the last gold coin ever struck at Goa, the type being nearly similar to the one last described of the value of 12 xerafins.

The silver rupee of Diu bore the same design and date as above mentioned; while the Goa copper tanga was as follows:—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between two laurel branches and the year 1840 in the exergue.

Rev.—60-R. in two lines inside a laurel crown. Copper. *Tanga* Weight, 10 drachms 5 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 1.)

This governor was followed by another Provisional Government from April to September 1842, when the Governor Conde das Antas took possession of the place, which he occupied till April 1843. The only thing he did with reference to the coinage was to order the closing of the mint, sending the materials to the arsenal, to be there kept until the time when they would again be required for coining purposes. He was succeeded by the governor Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha, from April 1843 to May 1844, during which time the Damão mint, which had remained closed for nearly a century, was opened again to mint copper money, consisting of tangas, meias tangas and 15 reis. The description of this last coin is thus:—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom between two flowery embellishments, and the year in the exergue.

Rev.—15-R—D. in two lines within a beaded circle. Copper. 15 *Reis*. Weight, 160 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 5.)

JOSE FERREIRA PESTANA,
1844—1851.

The mint of Goa, which had been closed from the 19th of November 1842, was re-opened in 1845 for the minting of silver and copper money, whose types were as follows :—

Obv.—The bust of the queen to the left; the legend MARIA II. PORTUG : ET : ALGARB : REGINA around; in the exergue the year 1845.

Rev.—Inside a laurel crown RUPIA. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 168 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 2.)

Of the silver coinage, besides the rupee, there were issued its half and quarter. The copper pieces consisted of 10, 7½, 6, 4½ and 3 reis. Some of the old tangas, meias tangas, and 15 reis were also recoined with the dies of 1839, on account of the designs having been worn out.

JOSE JOAQUIM JANUARIO LAPA,
1851—1855.

During this period, in the middle of which Queen D. Maria II. died, being succeeded by her son D. Pedro V., the only coins struck in the Goa mint were *rupia* and *pardao*, whose designs were thus :—

Obv.—Diademed bust of the queen to the left, MARIA II. PORTUG : ET : ALGARB : REGINA round the margin; and the year 1851 in the exergue.

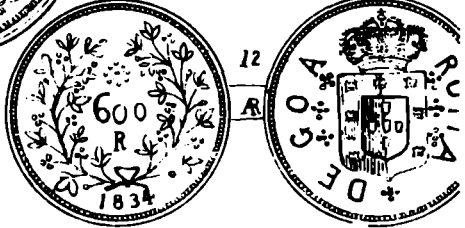
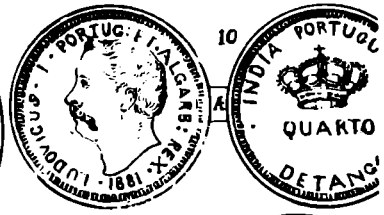
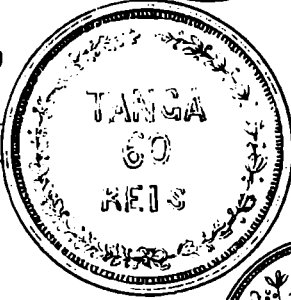
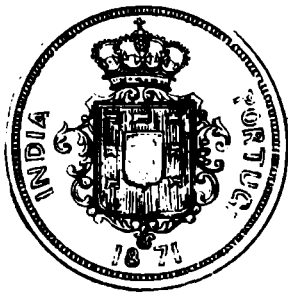
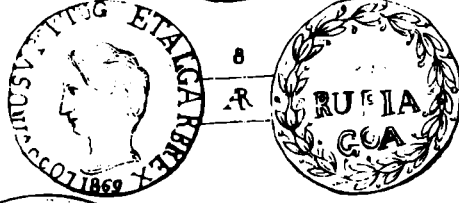
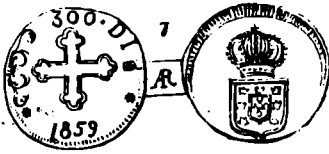
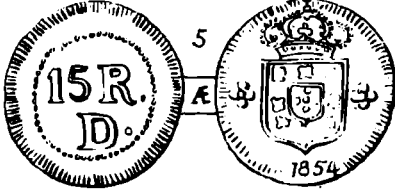
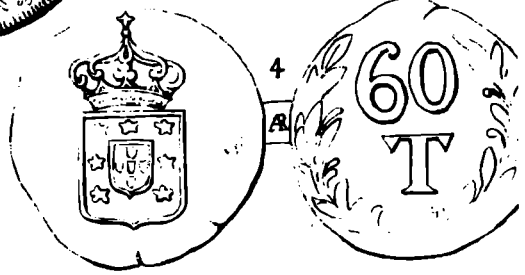
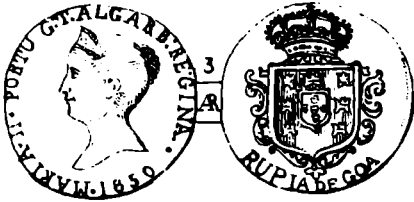
Rev.—Ornamented coat-of-arms of the kingdom, the legend RUPIA DE GOA below. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 170 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 3.)

D. PEDRO V.,
1853—1861.

The Governor left India in 1855, being succeeded in the government of the country by a Council composed of four persons, who made no alteration in any of the coinages, and handed over the reins of the Government on the 3rd of November 1855 to

ANTONIO CESAR DE VARCONCELLOS CORREA.
1855—1864.

During this Government silver coins were issued from both the Goa and Diu mints. From the former, rupee, half, quarter, and tanga or



60 reis; from the latter half a rupee and the quarter. Their types were as follows :—

Obv.—The bust of the young king to the right; the year 1856 in the exergue.

Rev.—RUPIA—GOA in two lines in the field inside a laurel crown. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 168 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 6.)

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom.

Rev.—St. Thomas's cross, an ornament to the left, Dio to the right. 300, indicative of its value in reis, in the top, and the year 1859 between two stars below. Silver. *Pardao de Diu*. Weight, 60 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 7.)

This coinage appears to have been the last ever issued from the mint at Diu. In the meantime D. Pedro V. died, being succeeded by his brother, the present monarch, His Most Faithful Majesty

D. LUIZ I.

1861.

On the accession to the throne of the present sovereign of Portugal; the last governor of D. Pedro V. continuing to be the governor of Portuguese India, it was proposed to issue a new type of the rupee, which was struck, but never became current. Of this pattern piece I shall again have to speak further on.

JOSE FERREIRA PESTANA,

1864—1870.

During the second governorship of the above gentleman, the only coinage issued from the Goa mint, and the last ever struck there, was a rupee and its half, the last date being 1869, when the mint was closed. The type of this coinage was as follows :—

Obv.—Bust of the king to the left, and the year 1869 in the exergue.

Rev.—Within a laurel crown the legend RUPIA—GOA in two lines. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 165 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 8.)

JANUARIO CORREA DE ALMEIDA.

1870—1871.

This gentleman ordered the issue of copper money for Portuguese India from the Bombay mint. The *tanga*, with its fractions of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and 10, 5, 3 reis were sent in circulation, the type being as follows :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom in the field dividing the marginal legend INDIA PORTUG : and the year 1871 in the exergue.

Rev.—Inside a laurel crown the legend in three lines, TANGA—60—REIS in the field. Copper. *Tanga*. Weight, 9 drachms 35 grains Troy. (See Plate IX., fig. 9.)

This governor was in 1871 succeeded by Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto, who ruled till 1875. Then came João Tavares de Almeida, who died in July 1877, being followed by a Government Council until the arrival of the Governor Antonio Sergio de Souza, who ruled from November 1877 and died in May 1878, being succeeded in his turn by another Council, pending the arrival of the next Governor, who was

CAETANO ALEXANDRE DE ALMEIDA E ALBUQUERQUE,
1878—1882.

This, the most remarkable of governments in a numismatic point of view, caused all the Portuguese coinage, even the most recent one, to become absolutely obsolete, by withdrawing it from circulation, and substituting for it the silver and copper coinage first struck at Calcutta and then at Bombay, in consequence of the Monetary Convention of the new Anglo-Portuguese Treaty. General Pearse, a distinguished authority on Indian numismatics, having suggested the publication of the text of the Convention in the body of this paper, and being convinced of the importance of this document for the history of Indo-Portuguese coinages, I have much pleasure in quoting it here as follows :—

CONVENTION.

Whereas, by the fifth article of a Treaty of Commerce and Extradition executed at Lisbon on the twenty-sixth day of December 1878, and ratified on the sixth day of August 1879, between His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, it is provided that the High Contracting Parties shall use their best endeavours to establish between their respective systems of moneys, weights, and measures the harmony desirable for the development of commercial relations between their respective dominions; and whereas by the same article it is further provided that the detailed measures to be adopted shall form the subject of a separate Convention between the Governors General of British India and Portuguese India, to be executed within two years from the date when the said Treaty comes into force; and whereas the said Treaty came into force on the fifteenth day of January 1880 :

In pursuance of the said article, the following Convention has been made :—

1. The Governor General of Portuguese India shall adopt, in the Portuguese possessions in India, the monetary system of British India, for the time being in force, provided that the coins shall have on one side the effigy of the King

of Portugal, with the legend *Ludovicus I, Portugaliæ et Algarbiorum Rex*, around it, or such other effigy and legend as the said Governor General may from time to time desire, and on the other side the value of each coin, the year of the Christian era, and the words *India Portugueza*.

2. Subject to the provisions of clause 7, so long as this Convention remains in force, the following coins and no others shall be struck for Portuguese India :—

- Silver*.—Rupee, weighing 180 grains troy ;
- Half-rupee, weighing 90 grains troy ;
- Quarter-rupee weighing 45 grains troy ;
- Eighth of a rupee, weighing 22½ grains troy ;

The standard fineness of the said silver coins shall be eleven-twelfths of the fine silver and one-twelfth of alloy, subject to a remedy not exceeding the following :—

| | Remedy in weight. | Remedy in fineness. |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Rupee | Five thousandths ... | Two thousandths. |
| Half-rupee | | |
| Quarter-rupee | Seven thousandths ... | Three thousandths. |
| Eighth of a rupee ... | Ten thousandths ... | |

Copper.—Half *tanga*, weighing 200 grains troy, and corresponding with the double pice or half-anna of British India ;

Quarter *tanga*, weighing 100 grains troy, and corresponding with the pice of British India ;

Eighth of a *tanga*, weighing 50 grains troy, and corresponding with the half-pice of British India ;

Real, or twelfth of a *tanga*, corresponding with the pic of British India.

In the making of copper coins, a remedy shall be allowed not exceeding one-fortieth in weight.

The value in copper of one Portuguese rupee will be sixteen Portuguese *tangas*, sixty-four quarter *tangas* or pices, or one hundred and ninety-two *rees* or pices.

3. The Portuguese silver and copper coins established by this Convention shall be issued by the authority of the Government of Portuguese India, and shall be coined on behalf of the said Government by the Government of British India, and by no other agency whatever.

The Governor General of Portuguese India engages that, while this Convention continues in force, no coins other than those established by this Convention shall be coined in or imported into Portuguese India.

4. With the view of obtaining in the shortest possible time the desired uniformity of coinage throughout the respective Indian possessions of the High

Contracting Parties, the Governor General of British India engages that the Government of British India shall—

- (a) forego, for the period of three years from the date on which this Convention comes into force, all duty or other charge for melting, cutting, refining or recoining any coin of the existing Portuguese Indian silver currency tendered for recoinage into Portuguese Indian coin ;
- (b) deliver, for the period of five years from the date of this Convention, copper coins of the Portuguese copper currency established by this Convention in exchange for copper coins of the existing Portuguese Indian copper currency which may be brought to the said mint for the purpose of such exchange, at the value represented by such last-mentioned coins in the existing Portuguese currency. The relative representative value of the old and new coin to be thus exchanged on equal terms and without charge for manufacture, shall, if the Governor General of Portuguese India so desires, be determined, once for all, by a mixed commission appointed in the manner provided in the sixteenth article of the above-cited Treaty.
- (c) advance to the Governor General of Portuguese India, in the Portuguese currency established by this Convention, such sums in such denominations of coin and in such instalments (if any), as the said Governor General of Portuguese India may require ; provided

1stly.—That the amount of such advances outstanding at any time shall not exceed in the whole ten lakhs of rupees.

2ndly.—That an interval of two months shall be allowed for compliance with any such requisition, and that no such advance shall be made after the expiration of eighteen months from the date on which this Convention comes into force.

3rdly.—That every such advance shall be, within two months, repaid in coin of the existing Portuguese Indian currency, equivalent thereto in intrinsic value ascertained upon assay at Her Majesty's Mint, or in copper coin of the existing Portuguese Indian currency valued as prescribed in clause (b).

5. The Governor General of British India engages that the Government of British India shall—

- (a) on presentation by or on behalf of the Governor General of Portuguese India of any silver bullion or coin at the Mint at Bombay, or at such other Mint as the said Government from time to time appoints, deliver to the said Governor General or his agent, after such interval as in the judgment of the Mint Master is necessary for the process of coinage, the produce of such silver bullion or coin, in the silver coin established by this Convention, subject, always, to the same duty, charges, fees and regulations as are for the time being in force for the conversion into British Indian currency of bullion and coin presented at the said Mint: provided that, save as provided in clause 4, the said Government shall not be bound thus to deliver more than four lakhs of rupees in any one year ;

- (b) coin for the Governor General of Portuguese India the copper coins established by this Convention, to such amounts and in such denominations as the said Governor General may require, upon payment of the value inscribed upon such coins in the silver coin established by this Convention or in British Indian rupees: provided that, saving as engaged in clause 4, the said Government shall not be bound thus to coin more than twenty thousand rupees worth of such coin in any one year.

In lieu of any seigniorage or profits which the Portuguese Government might otherwise claim on account of the coinage on their behalf provided by this clause, the Governor General of British India engages to pay the Governor General of Portuguese India an indemnity of four thousand rupees per annum, commencing from the first day of November, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, and continuing as long as this Convention remains in force.

6. All silver and copper Portuguese coins, coined under the provisions of this Convention, shall, while this Convention remains in force, be legal tender in payment or on account throughout British India to the same extent, and subject to the same exceptions in the case of coin which has been called in, or is under weight, or has been clipped, filed or defaced, as in the case of the corresponding silver and copper coins issued by the authority of the Government of British India for the time being in British India.

All silver and copper coin which has been issued by the authority of the Government of British India shall, to the said same extent and subject to the same exceptions, be a legal tender in payment or on account, throughout Portuguese India.

7. The Governor General of Portuguese India agrees that, if at any time while this Convention continues in force, the Government of British India should recall the whole body of British Indian coin corresponding to any description of Portuguese coin issued under this Convention, or change the monetary system of British India, he will, if requested by such Government so to do, recall all Portuguese coin of that description, or change in like manner as the case may be, the monetary system of Portuguese India: provided that the expense incurred in recalling such coin or making such change shall be defrayed by the Government of British India.

8. When any silver coin, purporting to have been issued under the provisions of this Convention, is tendered to any officer of the Government of British India, authorized by that Government to act under this clause, and is deemed by such officer to be counterfeit, or to have been reduced in weight otherwise than by reasonable wearing, he may, by himself or another (subject to the rules which the said Government prescribes in this behalf), cut or break such coin and return the pieces to the person tendering the same, and the loss caused by such cutting and breaking shall be borne by such person.

9. When any such silver coin which has been called in is tendered to any officer of the Government of British India authorized by that Government to act under this clause, he may cut or break such coin, and shall receive it at the rate of one rupee per tola: but the expense thus incurred shall, except

when such coin has been recalled under clause 7, be borne by the Portuguese Government.

10. In like manner, when any British Indian coin which has been called in is tendered to any officer of the Government of Portuguese India authorized by that Government to act under this clause, he may cut or break such coin, and shall receive it at the rate of one rupee per tola, and the expense so incurred shall be borne by the Government of British India.

11. The Governor General of Portuguese India engages to appoint an officer who will receive, while this Convention continues in force, from any person tendering the coin next hereinafter mentioned, all silver coin issued under this Convention which may have lost, by reasonable wearing, more than two per cent., and shall pay for the same at the rate of one rupee per tola.

12. Nothing in this Convention shall be held to limit the powers of His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves to establish at any time such system of paper currency as he may deem fit.

The Governor General of Portuguese India has the power for the present to issue the following paper money :—

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Five-rupee notes, payable in copper. | | |
| Ten-rupee notes, payable in silver. | | |
| Twenty | do. | do. |
| Fifty | do. | do. |
| One hundred | do. | do. |
| Five hundred | do. | do. |

The amount of paper money issued will never be above four per cent. of the value of the money in circulation, the Portuguese India Government notes being guaranteed by the Portuguese Government and payable to the bearer.

13. The Governor General of Portuguese India engages that, whenever the Government of British India exercises in respect of British India generally, or of all the territories adjacent to Portuguese India, the powers conferred on it under a certain Act of the Governor General of British India in Council, called 'The Indian Weights and Measures of Capacity Act, 1871,' then he the said Governor General of Portuguese India will enforce throughout Portuguese India provisions similar to those of that Act.

14. This Convention shall come into force on the first day of November, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and shall remain in force until the expiration of a year counting from the day on which one or other of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to put an end to it; provided that no such notice shall be given until four years after the date on which the Convention comes into force.

15. The Governor General of Portuguese India undertakes that, in the event of this Convention being put an end to under clause 14 or otherwise, no coins resembling any of the coins struck under this Convention shall be struck in or imported into Portuguese India, or shall be struck under the authority of, or with the sanction of, His Most Faithful Majesty in any other place.

Done at Pangim on the twelfth day of April one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

(Sd.) CAETANO ALBEE. D'ALMEIDA ALBUQUERQUE,
Governor General of Portuguese India.

Done at Calcutta on the eighteenth day March one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

(Sd.) LYTTON,
Viceroy and Governor General of British India.

I need not describe, after this, the two following specimens of this new silver and copper coinage. (See Plate IX., figs. 10 and 11.) I may add, however, that the dies for small silver pieces of the new device intended for circulation in the Portuguese territories in India, prepared at the Calcutta mint, in conformity with the provision of the new treaty, were eventually sent to the Bombay mint, where the coins have since then been struck off. Another circumstance worth noting is that the Goa rupees and other new Indo-Portuguese coins were directed to be treated as legal tender in British India, in pursuance of the article six of the above cited Convention, which acquired the force of law within British India by Act XVII. of 1881.

The new coinage was not issued without opposition. Some thought it more patriotic to have the colonial coinage struck in the National mint at Lisbon, instead of striking it in the foreign mints of Calcutta and Bombay; others said that it would be preferable to do away with the colonial coinage altogether, and to send the Portuguese money current throughout the kingdom, to be put in circulation in the settlements abroad. But both economically and politically the system now adopted,—for at last good sense prevailed—is the most profitable to the country. I do not really know how one's patriotism lay dormant, while for years the little settlement of Damão allowed the coinage of the native princes around to circulate freely in its territory, but forbade the Goa money to pass current. Even after the new Convention money was in circulation, a clamour was raised on account of the loss entailed on the withdrawal and recoinage of worn-out and uncurrent coins; while this loss I believe did not amount to more than the usual expense of mintage everywhere, the bulk of receipts being the seignorage duty of 2 per cent on the coinage of rupees. But the greatest gain one

ever extracted from this Convention is the substitution of a beautiful piece of money as a work of art, for the barbarous, irregular, ill-impressed coinage of former years.

But to return to the new coinage, it appears that 4 lacs of rupees were coined at the Calcutta mint in 1880-81 under this Monetary Convention with the Government of Portuguese India, the rest being coined at Bombay. I am indebted to Dr. Graham of the Bombay Mint for the following extract:—"The old Portuguese Indian coin, valued at Rs. 9,97,034, was received at the Bombay mint for coinage under the Monetary Convention with the Government of Portuguese India, and the value of the silver coin struck for the Goa Government during the year was Rs. 9,61,786, which is included in the total coinage of the Bombay mint."*

With regard to the copper money coined in the Bombay mint during the government of Viscount of S. Januario, or in the year 1871, the following is the catalogue of coins, with their nomenclature, number and value:—

| | | |
|----------------------|--------|--|
| Tangas..... | 51,114 | } The value of this coinage in xerafins was:—
20,837 : 1 : 47, or in Provincial reis 6,251,207. |
| Half Tangas | 50,063 | |
| Quarter Tangas | 50,664 | |
| Ten Reis..... | 51,175 | |
| Five Reis..... | 50,900 | |
| Three Reis..... | 52,189 | |

This coinage was sent in circulation by the Resolution of the Board of Public Finance, dated the 29th of September 1871, to begin from the 1st of December following.†

To the above list I may add the two following tables of money in gold, silver, and copper, issued from the Goa mint from 1775 to 1856. It is indeed very interesting; and my only regret is that I could not succeed in getting a similar list from the day of conquest of Goa in 1510 to 1775. The two lists are as follows:—

* Proceedings of the Government of India, Department of Finance and Commerce—Accounts and Finance (Mint). Resolution No. 401, dated the 22nd of January 1882.

† For the above note I am indebted to Mr. J. Gracias of the Secretariat, and to Mr. J. M. do Carmo Nazareth of the Board of Public Finance of Goa. Cf. *Boletim do Governo*, No. 93 of 1871.)

| Years. | Gold. | Silver. | Copper. | Seignorage. |
|--------|--------|---------|-----------------------|-------------|
| | Marks. | Marks. | Arrobas of
32 lbs. | |
| 1773 | 145 | 223 | 3,564 | 696 |
| 1776 | 261 | 4,098 | 74,434 | 12,193 |
| 1777 | 602 | 661 | 23,278 | 4,106 |
| 1778 | 62 | 70 | ..... | 69 |
| 1779 | 641 | 5,382 | ..... | 1,589 |
| 1780 | 156 | 2,210 | ..... | 567 |
| 1781 | 593 | 5,547 | ..... | 1,584 |
| 1782 | 235 | 3,444 | ..... | 879 |
| 1783 | 433 | 5,744 | ..... | 1,495 |
| 1784 | 434 | 6,326 | ..... | 1,612 |
| 1785 | 405 | 4,246 | ..... | 1,173 |
| 1786 | 243 | 12,016 | 8,429 | 2,598 |
| 1787 | 393 | 12,514 | ..... | 3,781 |
| 1788 | 90 | 983 | ..... | 268 |
| 1789 | 290 | 1,301 | 6,667 | 492 |
| 1790 | 135 | 1,413 | ..... | 1,391 |
| 1791 | 452 | 9,531 | ..... | 2,288 |
| 1792 | 426 | 7,556 | ..... | 1,852 |
| 1793 | 759 | 2,749 | ..... | 1,159 |
| 1794 | 274 | 1,757 | ..... | 570 |
| 1795 | 441 | 442 | ..... | 450 |
| 1796 | 432 | 1,196 | 25,600 | 585 |
| 1797 | 75 | 1,993 | ..... | 4,299 |
| 1798 | 29 | 6,907 | ..... | 1,582 |
| 1799 | 256 | 11,733 | ..... | 2,552 |
| 1800 | 140 | 10,275 | 19,200 | 2,167 |
| 1801 | 12 | 2,937 | 6,420 | 3,477 |
| 1802 | 163 | 1,099 | ..... | 1,503 |

| Years. | GOLD. | | | | SILVER. | | | | COPPER. | | | |
|--------|---------|---------------|----------------------|--------|---------------|----------------------|--------|---------------|----------------------|----------|---------------|----------------------|
| | Weight. | | Value. | | Weight. | | Value. | | Weight. | | Value. | |
| | Marks. | oz. drs. grs. | xerafins. tgs. reis. | Marks. | oz. drs. grs. | xerafins. tgs. reis. | Marks. | oz. drs. grs. | xerafins. tgs. reis. | Arrobas. | lbs. oz. drs. | xerafins. tgs. reis. |
| 1803 | 196 | 4 8 45 | 111,838 3 35 | 3,571 | 8 7 06 | 150,487 2 43 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1804 | 580 | 2 6 02 | 330,489 2 54 | 10,638 | 2 7 00 | 393,810 0 45 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1805 | 342 | 4 1 32 | 117,230 3 39 | 11,165 | 2 4 00 | 470,469 1 45 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1806 | 158 | 2 1 16 | 89,758 1 33 | 7,231 | 0 2 00 | 299,970 4 34 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1807 | 76 | 3 4 47 | 42,487 2 11 | 10,290 | 5 6 24 | 371,758 3 28 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1808 | 132 | 2 4 11 | 72,473 4 05 | 3,363 | 7 2 60 | 140,702 1 26 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1809 | 124 | 0 1 55 | 71,615 3 35 | 1,487 | 3 1 12 | 52,526 4 54 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1810 | 72 | 7 1 29 | 41,417 1 09 | 513 | 4 2 00 | 21,605 4 29 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1811 | 94 | 6 1 25 | 52,693 3 44 | 4,492 | 1 0 00 | 186,330 0 20 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1812 | 105 | 7 7 34 | 60,222 0 06 | 2,413 | 5 2 48 | 101,182 0 49 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1813 | 172 | 3 4 44 | 80,053 0 35 | 356 | 6 2 60 | 14,065 0 16 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1814 | 243 | 3 0 44 | 138,762 4 54 | 1,015 | 0 6 63 | 43,248 0 46 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1815 | 152 | 0 6 41 | 86,344 2 00 | 562 | 3 0 60 | 23,571 2 06 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1816 | 83 | 2 0 39 | 47,199 4 25 | 4,027 | 2 2 36 | 168,684 1 43 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1817 | 176 | 1 0 14 | 71,075 1 14 | 1,403 | 1 6 60 | 62,641 2 49 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1818 | 96 | 2 5 34 | 53,099 2 02 | 1,527 | 2 6 24 | 66,028 2 46 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1819 | 60 | 2 0 12 | 35,044 2 57 | 1,461 | 6 6 48 | 61,590 2 24 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1820 | 31 | 2 3 16 | 17,738 3 03 | 1,369 | 1 5 12 | 58,078 1 25 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1821 | 43 | 7 1 41 | 24,864 0 41 | 269 | 2 7 24 | 12,129 1 07 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1822 | 24 | 5 7 20 | 12,927 4 23 | 529 | 1 6 48 | 22,192 4 05 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1823 | 15 | 1 7 40 | 8,999 3 12 | 1,217 | 5 6 60 | 50,920 2 20 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1824 | 24 | 5 0 36 | 14,010 3 04 | 1,098 | 3 6 30 | 46,941 4 00 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1825 | 29 | 1 4 06 | 15,723 2 34 | 4,891 | 3 3 24 | 201,508 0 49 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1826 | 61 | 0 4 36 | 34,734 2 29 | 992 | 5 1 18 | 36,776 2 38 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1827 | 10 | 4 0 00 | 6,114 2 05 | 1,458 | 4 0 37 | 61,155 2 01 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1828 | 4 | 6 4 00 | 2,737 1 28 | 2,927 | 5 4 56 | 125,961 3 01 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1829 | 1 | 1 0 00 | 640 4 24 | 979 | 0 7 00 | 35,179 2 37 | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|--------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|-----|---------|-------------|
| 1890 | 11 | 2 2 00 | 6,416 2 39 | 671 | 5 4 12 | 24,987 1 24 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1891 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 757 | 5 3 00 | 31,768 3 45 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1892 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 200 | 1 0 00 | 8,635 3 31 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1893 | 3 | 1 4 00 | 1,812 2 43 | 257 | 4 0 00 | 7,087 4 13 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1894 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 54 | 6 4 00 | 2,306 4 22 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1898 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 123 | 2 5 00 | 4,180 0 46 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1899 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3,470 | 0 4 36 | 157,455 3 28 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1840 | 29 | 0 6 12 | 16,669 3 12 | 905 | 1 0 36 | 36,700 0 37 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1841 | 20 | 3 1 00 | 11,742 1 35 | 195 | 5 3 00 | 8,189 0 16 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1845 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 9,937 | 0 3 20 | 436,220 0 36 | 42 | 15 11 5 | 2,889 2 35 |
| 1846 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 9,101 | 6 0 00 | 400,474 3 16 | 28 | 24 00 0 | 1,876 0 00 |
| 1847 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 54 | 6 3 36 | 2,306 1 08 | 10 | 11 1 0 | 873 2 30 |
| 1848 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 8,251 | 3 5 62 | 334,175 2 34 | 5 | 00 12 0 | 337 1 18 |
| 1849 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1,635 | 0 5 40 | 66,217 4 27 | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1850 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 52 | 5 7 00 | 2,109 1 55 | 59 | 21 8 0 | 3,989 3 42 |
| 1851 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 395 | 0 0 43 | 3,272 2 36 | 70 | 31 6 0 | 4,770 2 28 |
| 1852 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 199 | 3 00 2 | 13,418 3 00 |
| 1853 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 54 | 00 00 4 | 3,639 4 15 |
| 1854 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 45 | 24 12 2 | 3,064 1 12 |
| 1855 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ... | ..... | ..... |
| 1856 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 9 | 20 7 0 | 775 2 45 |

INDO-PORTUGUESE NUMISMATICS.

Lastly we have the following short list of money coined at Goa and at Diu from the 13th of August 1856 to the end of December 1869, when the mint was for ever closed.

| | Marks. | oz. | drms. | grs. | Xerafins. | Value. | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-----|-------|------|-----------|--------|-------|
| | | | | | | Tanga. | Reis. |
| Money coined for the State of Goa .. | 1,185 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 52,743 | 3 | 22 |
| Do. for the Settlement of Diu. | 119 | 5 | 1 | 58½ | 7,254 | 3 | 56 |
| Do. for private persons | 58,038 | 1 | 4 | 36 | 2,488 | 097 | 2-09 |

It is evident from the above that for some years the Diu mint remained closed, money for that place being coined at Goa.

Private individuals had the privilege to send bullion to the mint, receiving in return coin, after paying the cost of mintage and the seignorage.

The tables and the lists above given show clearly that the mint of Goa was in active operation continuously from 1775 to 1802, then from that year to 1856, with only two short interruptions—from 1835 to 1837, and from 1842 to 1844. Then again it was in uninterrupted activity from 1856 to the end of 1869, when the mint, which was first opened in 1510, was declared extinct. Now the Bombay mint in 1871 issued copper coin for the territories of Portuguese India, and finally both Calcutta and Bombay mints from 1880 to 1882 under the Monetary Convention quoted above. The amount of the copper money coined under the Convention is not yet known, as the withdrawal of the old copper coin from circulation is not yet completed.*

CARLOS EUGENIO DE ALMEIDA.

This Governor General of Portuguese India, whose number is 128th in the catalogue from D. Francisco de Almeida, the first viceroy of India, who was appointed on the 24th of October 1505, assumed charge of his office in April 1882. He has published some resolutions relating to the withdrawal of old coin and distribution of the new. The time allowed for withdrawing old copper coin ends in October 1883, but it may be prolonged, as was the case with old silver coins.

It remains now to describe two pattern pieces, one dated 1834, and the other 1862.

* For the proportion or ratio between the old and now reis, see Supp. No. 115 of the *Del. Off. do Gov. do Estado da India*, of the 16th of October 1880.

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, having on each side three series of points in the form of a cross, and the legend **RUPIA DE GOA** round the margin.

Rev.—A star, 600, and R. in three lines in the field inside a wreath of oak and laurel, and the year 1834 in the exergue. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 171 grains Troy. (See Plate IX, fig. 12.)

Of this coinage there were also struck the sub-divisions of xerafim, of two different types, and meio xerafim also of two different designs. There was also a copper coinage of one of these types, consisting of the tanga and its fractions of half, 10, 5, and 3 reis. The other pattern piece was as follows :—

Obv.—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom, the marginal legend **LUDOVICUS I. PORTUG. ET ALGAR. REX.**, and the year 1862.

Rev.—**RUPIA-GOA-600 REIS** in three lines within a crown of laurel. Silver. *Rupia*. Weight, 167 grains Troy. (See Plate IX, fig. 13.)

Only the rupee was issued. None of these coins, although of far better workmanship, were sent in circulation, on account of objections raised against their weight, and their not conforming with the standard and fractional system of the old coinage. In short it was the spirit of conservatism in opposition to all innovation. The two specimens above described, as well the two drawn at Plate VI., figs. 8 and 9, belong to the collection of Mr. J. M. de Souza Brito, ex-factor of the now extinct Factory of Surat.

Having concluded the subject of coinages, I pass on to sketch a short history of the Portuguese mints in the East. I have already mentioned that the mints of Malacca, Colombo, and Cochin, established soon after the conquest, were forcibly abolished on the capture of those settlements by the Dutch. Those to the north of Goa, viz. :—Diu, Daman, Bassein and Chaul had a different fate. The Chaul mint was probably established in 1664, and in 1667, by a resolution of the Government in Council, foreign copper and tutenag money was prohibited circulation there, as well as at Daman and Bassein with their dependencies. It was closed on its cession to the Marâthâs in 1740. The Daman and Bassein mints, opened between 1609 and 1612 for the issue of copper bazaruccos, and later on of the tutenag ones, were closed in 1739, on the capture of Bassein. The Daman Mint was however, opened again in 1842 for the issue of copper tangas and their

sub-divisions, and was closed again within a decade. It has since then been abolished.

The Diu mint was, from its foundation about the middle of the seventeenth century, kept open until perhaps 1856, when it seems its materials and machinery were transferred to Goa, where money was struck for circulation in that settlement.

The Goa mint-house, situated at a street behind the bishop's palace in the early days of the conquest, was in 1552 placed inside the Fort, and in 1589 was transferred to the Gunpowder Factory at Panelim, where it remained for a short time, and was eventually removed to the *Ribeira Grande* in the city. It was again carried back to Panelim, and from this place to Pangim in 1834. In 1842 the whole establishment was sent to the arsenal in the old city, where it remained until the extinction of the arsenal, decreed on the 25th of November 1869. Such are the vicissitudes undergone by the Goa mint from its foundation in 1510 to its extinction in 1869.

It is a matter for reflection that the Portuguese, who only about a hundred and fifty years ago were still powerful to the extent of Lord Clive using the Portuguese language as his only medium of communication with the native princes,* and of the Bombay Government imitating the Portuguese currency, as shown above, should now in their turn adopt the British system of coinage, and even have their money struck in the British mints. This change of fortune reminds me of that learned Goa financier and Latinist, who having been requested by the viceroy to express his opinion on the exchange of *bazaruccos*, and its variable character, a subject I have already alluded to, replied, among other quotations, with the following :—" *Quisquis habet nummos securo naviget aura, Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio.*" The poverty of Portugal and of her colonies, it seems, has more than anything else contributed to the closing of all her mints in India, and signing a Monetary Convention whereby Portugal has certainly lost one of those privileges, which all nations highly appreciate, viz., striking their own money. But this has been a necessity of her economical position in the world, and the best solution of the financial problem the Portuguese Government had for years strived in vain to solve.

Of the once vast dominion of the Portuguese in the East, all monuments, whether edifices, or archives, are rapidly disappearing. The

* Life of Lord Clive. See *Academy* of the 10th of September 1881.

only documents that will longer defy the action of time are coins. To them I have devoted my attention, which has resulted in this first attempt in a foreign language, to write the history of the Portuguese in India by means of coins ; for in the case of the Portuguese, more perhaps than in that of any other modern nation, one may safely apply the trite saying of Ovid, the motto of some Numismatic Societies—*Factum abiit—monumenta manent*. In conclusion, I append below the words of Swift on the usefulness and authenticity of coins as historical documents :—“ of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable by time, nor confined to any certain place ; properties not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings or any other monuments of illustrious actions.”

ART. IV.—*Neryôsangh's Sanskrit Translation of the Khordak-Avestâ.* By ROV. A. FÜHRER, Ph. D.

[Read 16th January 1883].

It is just a century ago that Anquetil du Perron published his French translation of the *Zand-Avestâ*,* or “the theological, physical, and moral ideas of the law-giver Zarathustra, the ceremonies of the divine service which he established, and several important traits respecting the ancient history of the Persians.” His translation had the only merit of introducing the literary world to the chief contents of the sacred books of the Zarathustrians, and furnishing Europe with all the materials necessary for eager researches in this important field. This work, although utterly incorrect and inaccurate, nevertheless became thus a powerful stimulus to future studies of the *Zand-Avestâ* in a critical and philological way. Burnouf, Spiegel, Haug, and Kossowicz, who inquired, in a scientific way, into the meaning of the *Zand-Avestâ*,

* The term *Avestâ* is only applied to the sacred writings of the Parsis when written in their original language, which may be familiarly described as a sister, or first-cousin of the Vedic Sanskrit, and one of the great grandmothers of modern Persian. With regard to the meaning of the term, Haug ('An Old Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary,' pp. 78-81.) traces it—after considering several proposed etymologies—to *Zand Avista* (pass. part. of $\hat{a} + vid$, to 'know') in the sense of 'what is announced, information, knowledge'; it may therefore be considered as analogous to the Sanskrit term *veda*, in its comprehensive sense of 'knowledge, or code of knowledge.'

Zand signifies 'an explanation, commentary, meaning,' *Zand âzaiñti* (from *zan*, to 'understand'); it appears to have been first applied to notes in the original language of the *Avestâ*, mingled with the text, but afterwards it was specially applied to the Pahlavi translation and explanation of the sacred texts, which in later times has been considered equally sacred. In either case, the usual term for the sacred writings, *Avestâ* and *Zand*, means 'the learning (or text) and commentary,' and it does not appear to have been converted into *Zand-Avestâ* till recent times. The application of the word 'Zand,' as the name of the language in which the *Avestâ* is written, is a modern blunder which cannot now be conveniently rectified, as we are ignorant of the real name; in the mediæval Parsi books, the term 'Zand' is applied to the Pahlavi writings only.

would never have succeeded in laying a foundation of Zand philology without Anquetil's labours. Among the MSS. brought by him from India to Paris, there were three copies of Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation of the Yasna, or the prayer-book of the Parsî priesthood, which translation has been published by Spiegel, in 1861, at Leipzig. Of a Sanskrit translation of the Khordah-Avestâ, and especially of the Yashts by the same author, nothing was known.* Some time ago I discovered in the libraries of our fellow-citizens, Jamaspjî Dastur Minocheherjî Jamaspâsana and Peshotun Dastur Behramjî Sanjâna, three MSS. containing the Pahlavî, Pâzand,† and Sanskrit translations of the Khordah-Avestâ, or the prayer book for the daily use of the Zarathustrian laity. I intend to give to-day a brief outline of the scientific value of this translation for the right understanding of the original Zand text.

* I saw also in the library of Dastur Peshotun different MSS. containing Sanskrit translations of the III.—IX. Fargards of the Vendidad, which translations have not yet been known since. Haug knew only Sanskrit translations of Fargards VIII., 79-80, and IX., 1-4 (ed. Westergaard), see *Essays*, II. ed., page 46. There exists still another work by Neryôsangh, namely, a Sanskrit translation of the Shikand-gumânî, the Pâzand, Pahlavî and Sanskrit translations of which are being prepared for editing by Dastur Hoshangjî Jamaspjî of Poona.

† When the Pahlavî translation, or Zand, of the Avestâ became obsolete, it was necessary to underline it with a more modern explanation, which was called *Pâzand*, probably from being usually written beneath, or at the foot (pâ) of the Zand. This Pâzand would be sometimes written in the Pahlavî character, but as that was very ambiguous and difficult to read correctly, the Pâzand was usually written in the well-defined characters used for the Avestâ; and, in recent times, it has often been written in the modern Perso-Arabic character. The language of the Pâzand may be called mediæval Persian, to distinguish it both from the modern language, which is a medley of Persian and Arabic, and from the ancient Persian of the Achæmenian cuneiform inscriptions, which was only a dialect of the language of the Avestâ. It appears to have been the language current in Persia between the fifth and tenth centuries A. D., with some admixture of words derived directly from the text of the Avestâ.

Pahlavî is the only term which can be in any way regarded as the name of a language. Haug 'Essey on the Pahlavî Language,' pp. 33-37, considers Pahlavî to be equivalent to *Parthian*, but applied, after the downfall of the Parthian power, to anything ancient in Persia. The Pahlavî language, in which the Zand of the Avestâ is written, is identical with the mediæval Persian or language of the Pâzand, when it is read by the Parsis; but in writing it they use the *Huzedânish* logograms, so far as they go, and the remaining words are written as they are pronounced.

Neryôsangh tells us in his introduction to the Khordah-Avestâ that his Sanskrit translation is founded upon the Pahlavi version, and not upon the original Zand text. He begins thus :—

नाम्ना सर्वाङ्ग-वृत्तया च साहायेन च स्वामिनो अहुरमज्दस्य महाज्ञानिनः सिद्धिः
शुभा भूयात् । प्रवृत्तिः प्रसिद्धिश्च उत्तमरीनेश्च माज्दर्द्दअस्त्या वपुषि च पादवं दीर्घं
जीवितं च सर्वेषां उत्तमानां उत्तममनसां । इदं परामर्द्दअस्तिनामपुस्तकं *मया नैरीओ-
संधेन धवलसुतेन पहलवीजन्वान् संस्कृतभाषायाम् अवतारितं विषमपारसीकाक्षरेभ्य-
श्च अविस्ताक्षरैर्लिखितं । सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिक्षाभोतृणां सत्यचेतसां । प्रणाम
उत्तमेभ्यश्च शुद्धमतेभ्यः सत्यजिह्वेभ्यः सत्यसमाचारेभ्यः ॥

“In the name, and through the omnipotence and assistance of the Lord Ahurô-mazdâo, the greatly-wise, may there be prosperity, welfare, success, and propagation of the good Mazdayasnian religion, bodily health and long life of all virtuous, right-minded men. This work, called the book of Yashts, has been translated by me, Neryôsangh, son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi commentary into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Pâzand letters with the Avestâ characters for the proper understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded. Salutation to the good men whose thoughts are

Huzvânash has been shown by Haug ('Essay on the Pahlavi Language,' pp. 37-43) to be a term applied to the writing of Pahlavi by means of logograms, each logogram being the synonym of the intended word, in some obsolete language; as in English we write *viz.* for 'namely.' About five hundred of such logograms are used in Pahlavi writings, and the remaining words are written as they are pronounced. One-fifth of these logograms are merely obsolete, but the remaining four-fifths are foreign synonyms in a Semitic dialect, and are probably a remnant of the vernacular Assyrian language, into which the Avestâ was, no doubt, translated during the Assyrian rule over Iran.

Another term applied to the religious writings, preserved by the Parsis, is *Pârsî*. It merely means Persian, and is sometimes applied to the language of the Pâzand, while *Fârsî* is more especially the modern Persian. It would be convenient to use the name *Pârsî* when the writing is in the Perso-Arabic character, and the name *Pâzand* when it is in the so-called Zand character; but the usual practice of the Parsis is to use the term *Pâzand* in both cases.

It appears that Pâzand is not the name of a language, but is merely the explanation, in mediæval Persian, of an obsolete commentary. The application of the term, however, has become extended to all writings in the same dialect of mediæval Persian, whether in Pahlavi, Zand, or Perso-Arabic characters.

* This is merely a transcription of the Zand *paôirgô-kaeshô* "an adherent of the old creed," the meaning of the name "Khordah-Avestâ."

pure, whose language is true, and whose conduct follows the path of justice!"*

Neryôsangh himself has shown us here the way of judging his translation. It is not a new translation of the original text, but only a version of the Pahlavi translation. Neryôsangh's work does not give us new means for the right understanding of the Zand text, but an important clue to the Pahlavi translation. Therefore we have to look at the latter, being the older and more independent source, as to the more important and more original one, whilst the Sanskrit translation is to be considered as the derived and dependent one. There are also many reasons for stating—without depreciating Neryôsangh's exactness and accuracy—that he committed a good many mistakes regarding the grammatical forms and etymologies, so that it is always necessary to behold the Pahlavi translation in using Neryôsangh's versions. Comparing the Pahlavi translation with Neryôsangh's version, we find that Neryôsangh has generally given the same traditional explanation which also the Pahlavi translation contains, and as it exists in our editions. In many, if not in most of the cases, both translations agree together word for word, in many other cases the differences are unimportant and of no great moment. But if we enter more deeply into the details, we discover many discrepancies which evidently prove that Neryôsangh's copy of the Pahlavi translation differed widely from ours. The division of the text and translation in paragraphs is in Neryôsangh's work and in the Pahlavi translation the same, whilst the sub-divisions, at first sight, seem to be rather different, but generally they are only so in appearance. For Neryôsangh has divided the longer paragraphs of the Pahlavi translation into two or more, but for the most part the division is the same in both translations. Although regarding the division the identity in general is to be found, there are many alterations in some particulars; sometimes, though not very often, the traditional translation is varied to some extent. Not seldom Neryôsangh uses a concrete noun, where the older translation gives an abstract one. Sometimes he renders *kshathra* and *asha* as proper nouns, whilst the

* This form of introduction seems to have been adopted by Neryôsangh in all his Sanskrit translations, see *e. g.*, Burnouf's 'Commentaire sur le Yaçna,' avant-propos, page XV., West's 'The Book of Mainyô-i-khard,' page 61; Spiegel's 'Neriosengh's Sanskrit-Uebersetzung des Yaçna,' page 2; and the Introduction to the 'Pâzand and Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi Ardâ-Virâf-Nâmah,' MS. 18 of Dr. Haug's Collection at Munich.

Pahlavī translation considers them to be common nouns, or *vice versâ*. In some instances the construction of the words does not exactly correspond to that of the Pahlavī translation, but follows the original Zand text. All that shows that Neryôsangh either has altered in some respects the text, or that the original of the Pahlavī translation which he used, differed in some way from the translation as we possess it now. The younger Gujarâthī translations seem to prove the first part of my premises, as they are in some parts more original treatises of the traditional explanation, and therefore illustrate the fact that such essays are not strange to the ideas of the Parsis. But not only the abovementioned averment of Neryôsangh himself argues against this opinion, so also does the scrupulous closeness with which he adheres to his original. Some of his mistakes are of such a kind that it is difficult to imagine how Neryôsangh could have committed them if he had consulted the original. Therefore 'we are forced, unless we have stronger proofs for it, to maintain the supposition that Neryôsangh has translated into Sanskrit a copy of the Pahlavī translation which differs in many but not in essential points from that which we know.

This much I have had to notice on Neryôsangh's copy of the Pahlavī version which he translated into Sanskrit ; now I shall try to show how he executed his task. Therefore we have to look at his work from two different points of view ; we have to see, firstly, what knowledge he possessed regarding the right understanding of the original text which he wished to translate ; and, secondly, whether he was sufficiently master of the language into which he intended to translate his original. Before discussing what knowledge Neryôsangh possessed of the Pahlavī dialect, I must notice a peculiar circumstance which deserves attention, and which tends to render probable the supposition of those who are not well acquainted with the literary peculiarities of the Parsis, namely, that Neryôsangh could not have translated at all from the Pahlavī, and that he understood the word "Pahlavī" in some different way from the one employed by us. It is this the manner of reading the proper nouns which Neryôsangh only transcribes. They are most generally not the old Bactrian, not the Pahlavī forms, but throughout the Pâzand forms. He writes अहूर्मेज्द (Pâzand *ahurmez-d*), or हूर्मेज्द (Pâz. *hîrmez-d*), not Huzvânash 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 (*anhômâ*), or Pahlavī 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 (*âharmaz-d*) ; मिहिर (Pâz. *mihir*), not Pahl. 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 (*metrô*) ; सहरेवर (Pâz. *sahrêvar*), and not Pahl. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 (*shatvêrô*, or *shatvairô*) ;

अशवाहिस्त (Pāz. *ashvahist*), and not Huzv. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (artavahesht), and so on. But this is not surprising, since Westergaard* has proved that Pāzand is nothing else but Pahlavī transcribed in later times, with the removal of all Semitic words. The Parsis must have been a long time accustomed to read the Pahlavī texts in Pāzand characters, without caring about the value of the different Pahlavī signs. If they found in the text, e. g. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (anhōmā), they read it *hōrmezd*; instead of 𐬀𐬀𐬀 (metrō) they read *mihir* and so on. Therefore it is not at all surprising that Neryōsangh gave in his translation the Pāzand forms, although he translated from the Pahlavī.

Proceeding to the principal part of my inquiry, namely, as to what knowledge Neryōsangh possessed of the Pahlavī dialect, and how far he was acquainted with the traditional literature of his co-religionists, I have to remark that another work of his, namely, his translation of the Mainyō-i-khard,† from the Pāzand dialect, has already gained our highest respect. There is not the slightest doubt that Neryōsangh well understood the Mainyō-i-khard, and that, according to his qualifications, he has translated it quite correctly. To this translation of the Mainyō-i-khard that of the Khordah-Avestā is closely related. Everywhere we see that Neryōsangh applies to each word a special meaning, and that he does not in translating alter the sense of the original. I have not the least hesitation in saying that Neryōsangh was a well learned man in his way, and that he possessed the traditional knowledge of his class in an uncommonly high degree.

For purposes of translation not only is there required the knowledge of the language from which the translation is to be made, but it is also necessary to be master, in the same or a higher degree, of that language into which the original is to be translated. Whether Neryōsangh mastered the Sanskrit language in a sufficient degree or not, is hard to say at first sight. It is true that his style seems to argue against such a knowledge, as many have often called the Sanskrit that he has written a barbarous one, and there can be no doubt that such is the case. But we ought not to be too ready to deduce consequences from that fact. We find an explanation of this barbarous Sanskrit in the

* Zand-Avestā, Vol. I., Preface, page 20.

† The book of the Mainyō-i-khard. The Pāzand and Sanskrit texts, edited by Dr. E. W. West. London, 1871.

abovementioned remarks. Neryôsangh was a learned Parsî, who during his life was occupied with the study of the traditional translations of the holy writings of Zarathustra, receiving from them not only the subject of his essays, but also his manner of translating. The first principle of all translators of this school was to translate as literally as possible, taking care that not a single word of the text was omitted, and not caring at all whether thereby the language into which the translation was to be made, was wrongly interpreted. It is not difficult to show that the Pahlavî translators have also often done injustice to the language; there exist, besides, such barbarous translations of several parts of the Avestâ in the new Persian, although the educated Parsîs under the reign of the Moguls well knew how to write the new Persian. The same is still the case in our times; for the Gujarâthî translation of the Yasna by Aspendiarjî Framjî, published here in 1843, is so closely translated that natives themselves who speak Gujarâthî as their mother language find the translation in some parts quite difficult to understand. The cause of these errors in translating can be neither ignorance on the part of the translators nor of the readers; they are due to the notion concerning translating which prevailed in those days. To this school of translators Neryôsangh also belonged; he therefore cared little, whether the expressions and the figures of speech which he used answered exactly the rules of the Sanskrit grammar or not, when he was persuaded that he had translated his text as closely as possible. He is bound by this principle to follow the exact construction of his original; he observes this rule even if it be contrary to the rules of the Sanskrit syntax. Of course, the Sanskrit which Neryôsangh writes is, owing to the principle which guides the translator, difficult to understand, and it is very often necessary to re-translate it into the Pahlavî, or the Old Bactrian, in order to arrive at the proper sense.

But all this does not yet prove that Neryôsangh did not understand Sanskrit. Also in another point Neryôsangh is to be excused by his principle, namely, for his great neglect of the Indian rules of Sandhi. The Sanskrit and the Old Bactrian are herein quite contrary to each other. Whilst the Sanskrit intends to join together to one all the words within a sentence as completely as possible, the Old Bactrian separates them even exteriorly by a separating stroke. The Pahlavî, however, has no more this separating stroke, and the influence of one word upon the other is here also not allowed. According to the

rules of this language, Neryôsangh has also treated the Sanskrit. In my opinion, we ought therefore, as a general rule, to regard each word being not influenced by a following one, and the rules of Sandhi being not at all attended to. It seems therefore to me that notwithstanding the many defects of the translation which cannot be denied, Neryôsangh knew Sanskrit rather well, and that he could read Sanskrit writings without great difficulty. Particulars seem to prove that Neryôsangh was well versed in the literature of the *Jainas*, as there are to be found in his style some resemblances to the *Satruñjayamâhâtmya*. We read, e. g. अनन्धर, शकिनी, अर्ह and उद्वास which are only found in *Hemachandra*. I am inclined to limit Neryôsangh's learning in this respect to a certain ability to read Sanskrit writings; a deeper knowledge of the laws of this language is not to be attributed to him. Many of his new formations which he tried are failures, comp. उत्तमतर, बलिष्ठतर, उत्तमिनी; he is very liberal with denominatives, e. g. साधनय, समाधनयति, भनुरूपय, and so on. Neryôsangh uses the Sanskrit words generally only in one sense, and puts each Sanskrit word for a special Iranian one, it is only rare that he does not observe this rule. The meaning of the words which he chooses is not always the most common one, in some cases it is quite proper to him. Some examples out of many which are easy to collect will be sufficient to prove it. We find निर्घह in the meaning of Pahl. 𐭥𐭧𐭥𐭧𐭥𐭧 (pâdefrâs), "punishment awarded to a soul after death"; स्वाधीन = Pahl. 𐭮𐭥𐭮 (napshman or nafshman) "one's self"; प्राण = Pahl. 𐭥𐭮𐭥 (zôr), Pers. زور; means "strength, power, force," as well as Zand zaothra; देव is not "god," but Pahl. 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 (shahakâ, more correct shaâdâ) "demon, devil"; कोमल Pahl. 𐭥𐭮𐭥 (narm) Pers. نرم "smooth, fine"; प्रतियत्न = Pahl. 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 (pânak) "protection"; प्रकृति signifies "fargard," section, sometimes paragraph; जीव Pahl. 𐭮𐭥𐭮 (jân), Pers. جان "soul, vital spirit."

Here also Neryôsangh is not very scrupulous about the rules of Sanskrit, e. g. किञ्चित् is used as a substantive, because it corresponds to the Pahlavi 𐭮𐭥𐭮 (mandûm, mendum) "things, goods"; प्रवृत्ति has the place of Pahlavi 𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥 (robashna) "walking, going," and therefore of the termination tû in the Old Bactrian. It even seems that he does not always draw from the stock of Sanskrit words, as some of the

by him, on account of his insufficient knowledge of the Sanskrit grammar, there are also many which prove his insufficient understanding of the original text.

Neryôsangh, *e. g.*, is unable to distinguish the 3rd person singular present from the 2nd person plural present and imperative. Of course, these persons are written in Pahlavî (𐬨) in the same way, but not read; the termination of the former is read *ît*, that of the latter *êt*, Neryôsangh knows only the former, and translates it, he even furnishes us with an absurd rendering. For we are mistaken, if we think that Neryôsangh considered it necessary that his translation had to give always a proper sense. In Pahlavî abstract nouns as well as verbal substantives are formed by the termination of 𐬨 (ishn) or 𐬨 (ishno). Neryôsangh is well aware of this, but he has not always observed these two possibilities as he ought to have done.

After all it is not saying too much when we state that Neryôsangh's language is a jargon. Yet it is not an unlimited jargon, but one regulated by fixed rules, which it is therefore easy to understand, possessing the clue to it through the Pahlavî translation, and the laws of the Iranian language, by which it is to be understood.

The knowledge of the laws of the Sanskrit language is not sufficient for understanding Neryôsangh's writings, and a critic of his work regarding only these, and not the other deciding factors, is partial as well as unjust.

Finally I have to say some words about the three MSS. upon which my essay is founded. The oldest and best MS. (A) belongs to Dastur Jamaspjî, the date is given in the *Nikûh*, or marriage-prayer *संवत्सरेषु चतुर्विंशत्तरेषु*, *i. e.*, in Samvat 1400=1342-43 A. D. In order to show the high antiquity of the MS., and the peculiarity of the Zand characters which are not to be found elsewhere, I subjoin here a photograph of the last part of the *Patet Âderbât*, or a formulary of confession, which answers exactly the Buddhist *Pâtimokkha*, or "the words of disburdenment." The MS. contains the *ashem vohû*, the *yathâ akû vairyo*, the *Hôma*, *Hormazd*, *Haptân*, *Ardibahist*, *Khordâd*, *Âbûn*, *Khurshéd*, *Mûh*, *Tîr*, *Gosht*, *Mihir*, *Srôsh Hádôkht*, *Rashnu*, *Fravardîn*, *Behrâm*, *Râm*, *Dîn*, *Ashi*, *Ashtûd*, *Zamyûd*, *Vanant*, *Afrîn-i-Paighambar Zaratusht*, and *Vistûsp-yashts*, the *Patet Âderbât*, the *Nikûh*, or marriage-prayer, and some small fragments of different prayers. Of the other

two remaining MSS., one (B) belongs again to Dastur Jamaspji; it is dated Yazdagird 1142=A. D. 1773, and the other (C) belonging to Dastur Peshotun is, according to the Persian colophon at the end, a copy of Dastur Jamaspji's MS. B., and is dated Yazdagird 1152=A. D. 1783, therefore ten years younger than MS. B. In consulting these MSS. I arrived at the conviction that the case is the same with Neryôsangh's MSS. as with other Pâzand MSS., namely, that all contain essentially the same text. More important modifications are seldom met with, but striking similarities of special mistakes. Several erroneous forms of writing are found in all the MSS. that, *e. g.*, *r* is joined to *g*, when *r* precedes it immediately, comp. बुर्मति, निर्ममिन्, मार्ध, and that स and श are changed most indistinctly, comp. सीघ्रं and शीघ्रं, तेजस्विन् and तेजस्विन् and सीक्षापित and शीक्षापित, and सुभं and शुभं, and so on.

Regarding the life and times of Neryôsangh little is known. According to the generally accepted tradition of the Parsis, Neryôsangh was the leader of the Parsis emigrating from Persia to India, and the learned Dastur who explained to king Jâdê Râna of Sañjâna* the Mazdayasnian religion in fifteen (so-called) ślokas,† and who consecrated the

* This may have been *Jayadeva* or *Vanarāja* of *Ānahallavādā-Paṭṭan*, who ruled in Gujarāt A. D. 745—806.

† These 15 (so-called) ślokas form the oldest documents relating to the Parsis in India, and it is much to be regretted that the Sanskrit text as found in all the MSS. at my disposal is very corrupt. The Sanskrit text published in Gujarāṭhī characters by Aspandīrjī Kāmdīnī of Bharoch in his "Kāṭm Tārīkh Pārshionī Kasār," Surat, 1826, pp. 129—146, is not worthy of being looked at. I give at present only the first śloka, as I, expecting better MSS., hope to be able to publish the whole very soon.

सूर्ये ध्यायन्ति ये वै हुतवहमनिलं भूमिमाकाशमायं तोयेषां पञ्चत्वं विभुवनसदनं न्यायि-
ष्यन्त्रैस्त्रिसन्ध्यां श्रीहोमैर्ज्दं सुरेशं बहुगुणगदिमाणं तमेकं कृपालुं गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबल-
निलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥ १ ॥

"They who thrice a day worship the sun, the elemental five—fire, wind, earth ether, water,—the three worlds through the *Nāyish mantras*, and the divine *Ahurē mazdāo*, the chief of the *suras* (or angels), the highly endowed, the exalted, the merciful one, are we, the fair, the bold, the valiant, the athletic, the Parsis."

The five *Nāyish mantras* or praises are devoted to the Sun (*Khurshēd*), the Angel of the Sun (*Mithra, mihir*), the Moon (*Māh*), Waters (*Ābān*), and Fire (*Ātash*). The prayers addressed to the Sun and Mithra, are to be repeated thrice a day by every pious Parsi. Habitual neglect prevents the soul from passing the bridge *Chinvad* after death. Thrice every month the praise addressed to the Moon is absolutely necessary. The repetition of the praise of the Waters and Fire is meritorious, but not so indispensable as that of the three other *Nāyish mantras*.

II.

(a) Chīgûn akhvû kâmak va chīgûn Aûharzmazd kâmak aêtûnō ratyîsh va aêtûnō frârûnyîsh min yasbrâîsh kâr va karpak chikâmchêi kâr va karpak aêtûnō frârûnyîsh kartanō chīgûn Aûharzmazd kâmak.

(b) Zakîh Vohûman daheshnō âigh zak muzd-pâtdaheshnōi vohûman yehabûnêd az valman yehabûnêd mûn yin akhvânō kûneshnō i Aûharzmazd âigh zak vâdûnyen Aûharzmazd avâtō. Aitō mûn aêtûnō yemalelûnêd âi zakîh avu Vohûman daheshnō âigh zak muzd [va] pâtdaheshnō avu Vohûman yehabûnd az valman ghu yehabûnd. Aitō mûn aêtûnō yemalelûnêd âi zakîh pavan Vohûmano daheshnō âigh zak muzd-pâtdaheshnō pavan Vohûman barâ yehabûnd az valman yehabûnd. Ai Atrôpâti Zartoshtânu gûft âigh min akhvânō kûnashn-par yin khavîtûnd.

(c) Khutâê avu Aûharzmazd âighash khutâih aêtûnō pavan sût i Aûharzmazd dâst yehevûnêd mûn val daryôshân yehabûnêd vâstar âighshân dâtakgûbih vâdûnyen. Nipistō chasrûsh-âmrtîk gûbeshnō.

III.

यथा स्वामिनः कामः । किल यथा अहूर्मेज्ज्वाभिलाषः । एवं आदेशः¹ पुण्यात् यस्मात् कस्माच्चित् । किल यत् किञ्चित् कार्यं पुण्यं तस्य तथा आदेशः² कर्तुम् । यथा अहूर्मेज्ज्दस्य रोचते नाऽन्यथा किं विशिष्टात् पुण्यात् ॥ a

उत्तमस्य दाता³ मनसः कर्मणां अन्तर्भुवने अहूर्मेज्ज्दस्य । किल तं पुण्यं प्रसादं उत्तममनः । इति शुद्धमनः आमिषस्य अंहः । नो ददाति तेभ्यो ये अन्तस्तस्मिन् कर्मणि स्वामित्वं च यत् अहूर्मेज्ज्दस्य रोचते ॥ b

राज्यं च अहूर्मेज्जात् तस्य । किल तेन अहूर्मेज्ज्दः स्वतनो राजा कृतो भवति । यः दुर्बलेभ्यो ददाति पालनम् । किल दुर्बलानां साहाय्यं च करोति ॥ c

My translation of this prayer is as follows :

“ As he (*Zarathustra*) is the best Ruler, so also justly (*the best*) spiritual guide,

Being the commander of the works of the pious* in (*this*) life according to Mazda's order :

The power, however, remains to Ahura, who has given him (*Zarathustra*) as a protector for the poor.”

¹ आदेशः B. C. ² दाते B. C.

* i. e. of the works which the pious have to do; literally, “ of the works done out of pious devotion.”

The sense is : Zarathustra is the best spiritual guide, as he has established the moral laws for mankind, acting according to the divine commandment, for all power comes from Ahuramazda, and Zarathustra is merely his servant upon earth. This interpretation of the text explains fully the eminent importance which the *Ahuna-vairya* formula has in the religious as well as in the social life of the Parsis from the earliest times till now, as it contains in short and clear words the foundation of the whole Mazdayasnian doctrine, namely, the divine mission of its founder, and Mazda's kingdom upon earth.

ART. V.—*New Copper-plate Grants of the Râshtrakûta Dynasty.*

By PAṆḌIT BHAGWÂN LÂL INDEBJÎ.

No. I.

THE present inscription is from some copper-plates that were in the late Dr: Bhau Dâji's collection, and were kindly placed at my disposal for publication by his son, Mr. Viṭhal Bhau, District Judge of Nausâri. There is no information as to where the original plates were found. They are three in number, each about 5½' long by 2½' broad. As usual, the writing begins on the inner side of the first plate, and ends on the inner side of the third plate. The plates are strung on a ring which passes through a hole in the middle of the margin lengthwise. The ring is about 1½' in diameter. It has a flat oval top, on which there is engraved a rude figure of a lion, facing to the proper right. The ring had been cut before the grant came into my hands. The letters are like those of the fifth century A. D.; and they resemble those of the Valabhî plates. The language is Sanskr̥it throughout,—partly prose, and partly verse.

This set of plates records the grant of the village of Uṇḍikavâtikâ, to a recluse named Jaṭâbhâra, on behalf of the god Dakshina-Śiva of Pethapaṅgaraka. The name Dakshina-Śiva was probably given to the god on account of the temple being on the south side of Pethapaṅgaraka. The grantee, Jaṭâbhâra, must have been a *Pâsupata* recluse in charge of the temple; and his name was probably given to him on account of the great quantity of his matted hair.

The grantor is a Râshtrakûta king named Abhimanyu. And it is recorded that he made the grant in the presence of a certain Jayasiṅgha or Jayasimha, the chastiser of Harivatsa-Koṭṭa. Jayasimha appears to have been some high officer of Abhimanyu, raised in position on account of his having chastised a Koṭṭa chief named Harivatsa,—an opponent, it would seem, of Abhimanyu. This shows that there were Koṭṭa chiefs at least as late as about the fifth century A. D.¹

¹ See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 290.

complete and continuous list of Râshtrakûta kings of Mânṅkhêta from Dhruva I. to Karka III., i. e. from about Śaka 570 (A. D. 648-9) to Śaka 895 (A. D. 973-4),—a list in which it seems hardly possible to insert any fresh names. And this fact, coupled with the early standard of the characters, forces us to the conclusion that the kings mentioned in this inscription must have been anterior to any of the Râshtrakûtas spoken of above. It is to be regretted that nothing is known as to the place where this grant was found; as such information might have helped us materially in elucidating the surroundings of these kings as well as in identifying the places referred to in the grant. These kings may either be ancestors of the Râshtrakûtas of Mânṅyakhêta, or may belong to some hitherto unknown branch of the same dynasty. But, in either case, these kings were certainly earlier than the Râshtrakûtas of Mânṅyakhêta.

One point in which the present grant differs from all the previously known Râshtrakûta grants remains to be noticed. The usual Râshtrakûta seal has a Garuḍa on it; while the seal of the present grant has a lion. But this appears to me capable of explanation. In some of the later grants the Râshtrakûtas are represented as being descendants of the Yâdava stock, and thus as belonging to the Vishṅuvaiśa or lineage of Vishṅu. This, however, appears to me to be a comparatively late invention. And it is quite possible that the original emblem of a lion was altered into the emblem of Garuḍa; the mark of the Vishṅuvaiśa, simply to suit this invention. It is also noticeable that this inscription does not open with the usual verse in praise of Brahmâ, Vishṅu, and Śiva, with which almost all the Râshtrakûta copper-plate grants hitherto published do open. But this point, again, is not of sufficient force to show that the Râshtrakûtas of this inscription had no connection whatever with the other Râshtrakûtas, but were of an entirely different branch.

TRANSCRIPTION.

First Plate.

- [¹] Ôm Svasti Anêka-guṇo-guṇ-alakṛita-yaśasâ
 [²] Râshtrakû(kû)ṭanâ[m*] tilaka-bhûtô Mânâṅka iti râjâ
 [³] babbhûva [||*] Tasya vighrahavân=iva dêva-râjâ(jô) Dêva-
 [⁴] râj=ô(ja i)ti sūnuḥ [||*] Yasy=ânya-bhûmipatibbir=vvijit-âbhi-³
 [⁵] mânair=uchchhrâyi-vaiśa-nihitâ ssva(sva)-yaśaḥ-pa-

³ This is rather a nondescript letter, more like *nî* than *bhi*. Probably *nî* was engraved and then corrected into *bhi*.

Second Plate ; first side.

- [⁶] tākā dri(dṛi)shṭā chiram pratidinam nanu dṛīsyatē cha
 [⁷] Gaṅg=ēva punya(nya)-salilā purataḥ=pravṛiddhāḥ³ [||*|
 Tasy=âtma-
 [⁸] jā jita-ripôr=vvijita-tṛi(tri)varggā jâtās=trayas=sakala-
 [⁹] rājaka-bhûminâthâḥ yais=saingarôshu samupâtta-ma-
 [¹⁰] dâ[n*] sapatnâ[n*] jivâ bṛitâ saha bhuvâ vipula-nṛipa-
 śri[h*] [||*|
 [¹¹] Têshâ[m*] Bhavishyasya sutô=Bhimanyuḥ

Second Plate ; second side.

- [¹²] śauryy-ô(au)ja-rûpais=sadṛisô=Bhimanyôḥ⁴ [||*| Tēna Mâna-
 [¹³] puram=adhyâsanēn=âlanūkurvvatâ mâtâpitṛôḥ=pu-
 [¹⁴] nya-nimitt-âbhivṛiddhayô Pethapaigarakiya-Dakshina-
 [¹⁵] Śivasya Uṇḍikavâṭikâ-nâma-grâmakô Jaṭâbhâra-
 [¹⁶] pravrajitasya udaka-pûrvvakô dattaḥ [||*| Atra na kêna-
 [¹⁷] chin=[n*]irvyâjah karttavayah [||*|

Third Plate.

- [¹⁸] Hari(ri)vatsa-Koṭṭa-nigraha(hi)-Jayasiṅgha-samaksham [||*|
 [¹⁹] Aniyach=cha [r*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ rajabhiḥ Sagar-
 âdibhi[h*]
 [²⁰] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||*|
 sha-
 [²¹] shṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-dah
 [²²] âchchhôtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=ēva narakê vase[t*] [||*|

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! There was a king named Mânûka, an ornament of the Râshṭrakûṭas by reason of his glory which was adorned with numberless good qualities.

(L. 3.)—His son was named Dêvarâja, a very king of the gods⁵ incarnate. The banner of his glory, resting on a high staff which is his lofty lineage, has been long observed and is (*still*) day by day observed,—as if it were the (*river*) Gaṅgâ, with its pure stream, increasing in its onward course,—by other kings, shorn of their vanity.

³ This *visarga* is a mistake.

⁴ This is a verse of only two *pâdas*.

⁵ Indra.

(L. 7.)—To him, who had conquered his enemies, there were born three sons, the masters of the *trivarga*, (*and*) the lords of all kings,—who, having conquered in battle their haughty enemies, became possessed of great royal fortune and of the earth.

(L. 11.)—The son of Bhavishya, among them, (*was*) Abhimanyu, who was equal to Abhimanyu on account of his valour and might and beauty.

(L. 12.)—By him, adorning Māuapura by his residence (*therein*), there is given, with libations of water, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, the village named Uṇḍikavātikā, to the recluse Jātūbhāra, (*on behalf*) of (*the god*) Dakṣiṇa-Śiva of Pethapaṅgaraka. No one should object without reason to this.*

(L. 18.)—(*This grant has been made*) in the presence of Jayasiṅgha, the chastiser of the Koṭṭa Harivatsa.

(L. 19.)—Moreover :—The earth has been possessed by many kings, Sagara and others ; he who possesses it at any particular time, to him accrues the fruit (*of the grant*) ! The giver of laud lives happily in heaven for sixty thousand years ; he who revokes a grant, or advises the revocation, lives in hell for the same number of years.

* *Niryāja* appears to be used here in the sense of 'an objection without cause.' Compare the usual construction *aniryājan ābāditaḥ na kartavyaḥ*.

ART. VI.—*Some Rare Coins of Amawcc Khaleefhs.* By
 Surgeon-Major O. CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S.

[Read 10th April 1883.]

AN interesting discovery of coins and some other ancient remains was made by Colonel Sturt, 7th Bombay N. I., in August last, at the hill of "Nadir Shah," the site of a city of that name, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Thull Chotiali, in Beluchistan, of which he gives the following account:—"The hill, which is on the site of the ancient city of Nadir Shah, is about 100 feet in height, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile in circumference at the base, and about 100×60 yards at the top. It is generally conical in form, but there are several spurs and fissures; one of the latter on the south side is of considerable depth, the sides being perpendicular and full of holes and caves formed by the action of water. The sides of these fissures show no defined strata, but are earth mixed with quantities of broken pottery, bones of various animals and broken bricks. As the hill rises abruptly from a stony plain, and consists of soil (which has apparently been burnt), bones which are not only strewn over the surface but are embedded in the hill, together with great quantities of broken pottery, I am inclined to believe, as the natives assert, that it was made at some distant period. Others state that the city of Nadir Shah was overthrown by an earthquake, and this hill appeared on the site, but the city must have been much larger, as is evidenced by the quantity of broken pottery and bricks extending for a considerable distance from the hill. It is possible that the hill was made in the first instance, and substantial buildings erected on the top, and that these were destroyed by an earthquake and never rebuilt, otherwise it would be difficult to account for the stones, which are of a considerable size, and must have been brought from some distance, found scattered about the hill and in the nullahs.

"After a heavy shower of rain I went to examine the hill, and found a place from which an earthen jar had recently been taken out, but it was broken to pieces, and the contents, if any, were taken away. On searching the west side I found two similar jars, but they were both empty and so cracked that it was impossible to get them away

whole. The next day I went again, and at the bottom of a hole and close to one of these large jars I found the bottom of a small earthen gurrah or pot, and in it were massed together the coins, 215 in number. We dug out the large jar, but it was empty, as were several others we dug up. I however found the small earthen pot, the two pieces of bracelets I now send, and two pieces of copper or brass, one round, about 3 inches in diameter and cup-shaped, probably the boss of a shield, and the other probably the inside handle of a shield. No coins have ever before been found in the hill, but there were some gold rings and ornaments, it is said, found some time ago, and a large number of coins (2 lakhs, so the story goes,) were found in a similar hill about 14 miles up the valley, but they were melted down, so there is no record of what they were like.

“That both the coins and the large jars are very old there can be no doubt, for the inhabitants have lost the art of making the latter, and there are now none in use here; they were all, with one exception, in an upright position, which might indicate that they were put there.”

124 of the coins were sent to me for examination, all of them, excepting one 'Abbássee of Samarkand, dated 201, were dirhems of Amawec Khalecfels, of dates from 80 to 132, and as will be seen by the following list, from 19 mints.

ABRASHAIR.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----------------------|
| Year 106. | | | | | بابر شهر سنة ست و صم |
| Annulets | oo | oo | oo | oo | oo |
| | | | | | Weight 44. |

ARDESHEER-KHURRAH.

Year 91. A broken coin similar to No. 44 of Brit. Mus. Cat.* of the year 90.

ISTAKHR.


| | | | | |
|---|------|-------|--|------------|
| Year 98. A broken coin similar to No. 53 of Brit. Mus. Cat. | | | | |
| Point. | Rev. | الصمد | | Weight 44. |

BASRAH.

Years 80, 81, 82, and 100. Similar to Nos. 63, 64, 65, 66 of Brit. Mus. Cat., but also with point on reverse. الصمد

* Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. I.

BALK.

- Year 115. (Fig. 9.) ببلغ سنة خمس عشرة ومئة
 Annulets  with the monogram $\frac{1}{2}$ between each.
 Point Rev. الصدد
 Pellet beneath reverse area. Weight 44.

TEYMERAH.

- Year 90. Similar to No. 69, Brit. Mus. Cat. Weight 43.5.

JEEEREH.

- Year 131. (Fig 8.) Similar to No. 72, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 129.
 The annulets being between the 2nd and 3rd serrate circle. Weight 43.

JAYY.

- Year 94. Similar to No. 79, Brit. Mus. Cat., but with points
 obverse وحدد and reverse الصدد Weight 44.

DESTUWA.

- Year 98. Similar to No. 83, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 96. Weight 42.

DIMASHK.

- Years 83, 86, 89, 94, 95, 98. Similar to Nos. 88, 91, 94, 99, 100,
 103 of Brit. Mus. Cat.

- Year 104. Similar to No. 108. Brit. Mus. Cat.
 but points Obv. ضرب Rev. الصدد Weight 44.

RAMHURMUZ.

- Year 93. (Fig. 7.) Similar to No. 118, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 80,
 but the Conj. و in its usual position at the end of second line of reverse
 area. Weight 43.5.

RAYY.

- Year 97. (Fig. 6.) Similar to No. 120, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 90,
 but with point Rev. area. بولد Weight 43.

SIJISTAN.

- Year 91. (Fig. 5.) ببجستان في سنة احدى وتسعين
 Annulets very small and indistinct.

A coil of four rings on obverse and of two rings on reverse instead of distinct circles. Many of the letters ill-shaped and badly cut.

Weight 42.

Year 127. (Fig. 4). سچستان سنه سبع وعشرين و عه

Annulets 

Two circles within and two outside of the annulets.

Point الصد. Letters clearer and better shaped [than on the coin of year 91, but yet inferior to those of any others of this series.

Weight 42.5.

Year 130. (Fig. 3.) سچستان سنه ثلثين و مة

Annulets 

A coil of three rings on obverse with the annulets on the rings, and a circle outside. Some of the letters ill-formed. Weight 42.

I have noticed this inferiority in workmanship in coins of other years of this mint. Every letter, line and point is usually so very exact in this series that this is more remarkable.

KARMÁN.

Year 92. Similar to No. 142, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 90.

Point Rev. لم in second line.

Weight 44.

MÁHEE.

Year 98. Similar to No. 154, Brit. Mus. Cat. of year 96.

Point Obv. لاله

Weight 44.5.

MUDÁBAKEH.

Year 108. Similar to No. 155, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Point Rev. لم

Weight 44.

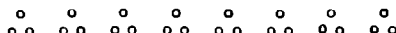
MARW.

Year 92. Similar to No. 158, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Point Rev. الصد

Weight 44.

Year 132. (Fig. 2.) بمر سنة اثنين و ثلثين و مة

Annulets 

Points Obv. حده, Rev. لم in second line.

Weight 43.

MENÁDHIR.

Year 93. (Fig. 2.) Similar to No. 163, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Point Rev. **الصمد**

Weight 45.

WÁSIR.

Year 85. As No. 171, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Seven specimens struck from at least three different dies. One kind having Points Rev. **لم** and **يكن** one point Rev. **الصمد** the third with no points.

Year 86. As No. 172, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Five specimens struck from two dies. On one point Rev. **لم** on other points Rev. **الصمد**

Year 87. As No. 173, Brit. Mus. Cat.

Two specimens struck from two dies, one having points Obv. **و** and Rev. **لم** the other no points.


Years 89, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 111. All similar to the coins of those years in Brit. Mus. Cat., but on each is a point Rev. **الصمد**

Years 101, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121. Similar to coins of these years in Brit. Mus. Cat., but with point **لم** in second line of reverse.

Years 112, 118, 122, 124, 130. Quite similar to Brit. Mus. Cat., of corresponding years.

Year 114. Four specimens similar to No. 196, Brit. Mus. Cat., but without the points at **عشرة**

Year 120.

Two specimens with annulets  .

Circles on obverse in the usual position, three within and one outside of the annulets. Point Rev. second line **لم**

Three specimens similar to No. 202, Brit. Mus. Cat., that is with five annulets placed between the second and third circles.

In addition to the above coins found at Thull Chotiali, I have two other Amawee Khaleefeh dirhems to describe, viz.,

MEYSÁN.

Year 79. بميسان في سنة تسع و سبعين

The following كفوا يولد on Rev. area commences the third line.

Points. Rev. كفوا يولد

Annulets o o o o o. AR 1·0. Weight 40.

KOOMIS.

Year 92. (Fig. 1.) بقومسي في سنة اثنتين وتسعين

Point. Rev. Area. يولد

Annulets o o o o o.

(Pierced.) AR 1·05. Weight 43·5.

I am indebted to Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Prideaux for information of both of these mints. Meysán is a place situated between El-Basrah and El-Koofeh, mentioned in Yákut's Geographical Dictionary, tom. IV. p. ۷۱۴. Koomis is a place near Baghdad mentioned in the same work, tom. IV., p. ۲۰۳. The dirhem of Meysán is in the collection of Dr. DaCunha, and I believe Mr. Leggett of Karachi has another. That of Koomis I got from a money-changer in Bombay; I think Mr. Rodgers has another specimen.

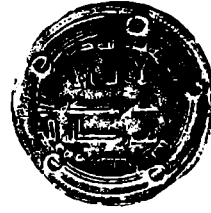
Rare Coins of Amawee Khalifehs



1



2



3



4



5



6



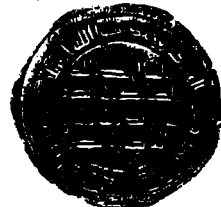
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8



9



ART. VII.—*On Copper Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty.* By
Surgeon-Major O. CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S.

[Read 26th September 1883.]

Vol. I., Third Series, of the *Nunismatic Chronicle*, 1881, contains a paper by Mr. Gibbs on gold and silver coins of the Bahmani kings of Kalbarga, in which a complete list of the kings, and a condensed but sufficient history of their reigns are given; followed by a description of the gold and silver coinage of Hasan Gángo, Muḥammad Shah I., Mujáhid Shah, Muḥmúd Shah, Shams-ud-deen, Fírúz Shah, Aḥmad Shah, 'Alá-ud-din (Aḥmad II.), Humáyún Shah, and Muḥammad Shah II. A short account of the coins of this dynasty is also given in Thomas's Pathan kings, it will not be necessary therefore in this paper to do more than describe such copper coins of the Bahmani kings as I have met with, and which are for the most part in the Society's collection.

DÁUD SHÁH, A.H. 779—780.

No. 1. (Fig. 1.)

Obv.—Area, in circle—

داود
شاہ

Rev.—

الموید
بنصرالله
ابوالمظفر

Margin—* * * سنه * * * | Size, '65; weight, 80.

FÍRUZ SHÁH, A.H. 800—825.

No. 2. (Fig. 2.)

Obv.—Area, in circle—

فیروز
شاہ بہمنی

Rev.—

راجی
رضوان
مہدینی

Margin—* * * سنه خمس * * * | Size, '7; weight, 81

This coin is given in Thomas's Pathan kings, and is not rare

AḤMAD SHĀH, A.H. 825—838.

No. 3. (Fig. 3.)

Obv.—

ابوالمظفر
احمد شاه
السلطان

Rev.—

المطبع
المعّان
بامرالله

Size, .7; weight, 122.

No. 4. (Fig. 4.)

Obv.—

ابوالمغازي
احمد شاه السلطان
۸۲۸

Rev.—

المنصور
بنصرالله
المعّان

Size, .65; weight, 78.

No. 5.

Obv.—

* * *
ابوالمغازي
احمد شاه السلطان
۸۳۶ * * *

Rev.—

المؤيد
بنصرالله

[المملك المعّان]

Other dates ۸۲۶ ۷۲۸

Size, .75; weight, 122.

The inscription in upper part of obverse is illegible, and the last line of reverse is doubtful, but little of the letters being on the coin.

No. 6. (Fig. 6.)

Obv.—

ابوالمظفر
احمد شاه
السلطان

Rev.—

الراجي
الرحمن
بنائيد

[۸] ۲۷

Size, .8; weight, 166.

One coin of this type has the date very distinctly ۸۶۶, but I have no doubt this is a mistake in the figures, the second one being reversed ۲. Errors of this sort in the figures are not at all uncommon on Oriental coins, and none is more often seen than this confusion of ۲ and ۶. The obverse, it will be seen, is almost exactly the same as No. 3, and the character of the letters and form of legend are like those of this dynasty.

'ALÁ-UD-DÍN (AḤMAD II.), A.H. 838—862.

No. 7. (Fig. 5.)

Obv.—

سلطان
احمد شاه بن احمد
بن الحسن البهمني
۸۳۷

Rev.—

المفتوق
بالله الجبار
المنان الغالب

Size, .95 ; weight, 248.

This coin, which is in the collection of Dr. Da Cunha, bears the date quite plainly 837, that is, during the reign of Aḥmad I., for the date of his death is known to have been the 28th day of Rujab, A.H. 838. But the legend on the obverse, Aḥmad, son of Aḥmad, son of Ḥasan, leads me to attribute it to Aḥmad II., for Aḥmad I. was the son of Daud, who never I think was called by the name Aḥmad.

No. 8. (Fig. 7.)

Obv.—

علا الدنيا و
الدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه
شاه السلطان
۸۳۶

Rev.—

* * *
المعتمد
بالله المنان سمي
خليل الرحم
ابوالمظفر

Size, 9 ; weight, 249.

There is a word at the top of reverse, but not enough of the letters on any specimens I have seen to enable me to make it out.

No. 9. (Fig. 8.)

Obv.—

احمد شاه
بن احمد شاه
الولي البهمني
۸۳[۵]

Rev.— Area, in circle—

المقوكل
علي الله الغني

Margin ضرب * * * اباد

Size, .8 ; weight, 153.

Other dates, ۸۵۳ ۸۵۴

No. 10. (Fig. 9.)

Obv.—

احمد
شاه بن احمد
شاه بهمشاه
٨٤٦

Rev.—

الواثق
بنائيد الملك الشاه (?)
ابوالمظفر

Size, .75 ; weight, 123 to 127.

Other dates ٨٣٨ ٨٣٩ ٨٤٠ ٨٤٣ ٨٤٤ ٨٤٧ ٨٥١ ٨٥٢

These seem to be the commonest coins of Alá-ud-dín, and are found in considerable numbers.

No. 11. (Fig. 10.)

Obv.—

احمد شاه
بن احمد شاه
بهمني
٨٤٠*

Rev.—

بالله
المقتنصر
الغني ابو
المظفر

Size, .65 ; weight, 83.

Specimens of the last three coins, (Nos. 9, 10 and 11), are figured in the Society's Journal, Vol. VI., Plate IXb. They were found in a stone pot excavated by Mr. E. W. West in No. 13, Kanheri Cave, and are described as appearing but little worn, and covered on both sides with well-defined Arabic inscriptions, which differ in each coin, though all three bear the date 844. In another pot were found at the same time two Guzerat copper coins of about the same age.

HUMÁYUN SHAH, A.H. 862—865.

No. 12. (Fig. 11.)

Obv.—

* * *
همايون شاه بن احمد
شاه بن احمد شاه
الولي البهمني
٨٦٥

Rev.—

المدوكل
علي الله القوي
الغني ابوالمغازي

There are three sizes of coin of this type weighing respectively 246, 165 and 122 grains. Sizes, .9, .75, .7.

MUHAMMAD SHAH II, A.H. 867—887.

No. 13. (Fig. 12.)

Obv.—

محمد شاه
بن همايون شاه
السلطان
٨٨٥

Rev.—

بالله
المعتصم
شمس الدنيا
والدين

Other dates, ٨٧١ ٨٧٢ ٨٧٣ ٨٧٥ ٨٧٦ ٨٧٧ ٨٧٨ ٨٧٩ ٨٨٠
٨٨٢ and ٨٢٨ (*sic.*) ٨٣٥. (*sic.*).

I have seen four sizes of coin of this kind, weighing 258, 168½,
122½ and 83 grains.

Sizes, .85, .75, .65.

MAHMUD SHAH II, A. H. 887—928.

No. 14.

Obv.—

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه
السلطان
٨٩٠

Rev.—

المنوكل علي
الله الجبار الممان
المغازي

Other dates ٨٨٨ ٨٨٩

Size, 75; weight, 255.

No. 15. (Fig. 13.)

Obv.—

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه
بهمني

Rev.—

المنوكل علي
الله القوي
الغني

There are many varieties of this coin bearing the same inscrip-
tions, without dates. I have seen three sizes, viz. :—

Sizes, .8, .75, .55; weights 232, 168, 85.

KALIM-ULLAH, A.H. 932.

No. 16. (Fig. 14.)

Obv.—

كليم الله
السلطان
بن محمود

Rev.—

النصر
المريد
الغني

Sizes, .85, .75; weights, 255, 170.

Doubtful. (SHAMS-UD-DÍN, A.H. 799—800 ?)

Obv.—

شمس شاه [؟]
بن محمد شاه

Rev.—

بنصرالله
ابوالمظفر [ر]

Size, 65. ; weight, 76.

The name on the obverse of this coin is too indistinct for me to say for certain what it is, but I think it is Shams. The similarity in the character and letters to the coins of Dáud and Fírúz also confirms this. The name of the father of Shams-ud-dín is always written محمد not محمود on his coins.

From the weights of the coins it would appear that the large copper coin, which probably was the same as the tanka of Southern India and tangah of the Portuguese, was sub-divided into 16ths, as was the custom with other coinages of India.

COPPER COINS OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



ART. VIII.—*New Copper-plate Grants of the Rāshtrakūṭa
Dynasty.* By PAṆḌIT BHAGWĀNLĀL INDEJĪ.

NO. II.

THE plates which form the subject of the present paper were brought to me, from a desire to learn their contents, by Dāyābhāi Jagadī Pāṭil of Kārēli in the Ōrpād Tālukā of the Surat District. I was told by him that the plates were found while excavating some foundations at Chhārōli, a village better known as Āntrōli-Chhārōli, about ten miles to the N.E. of Surat.

The plates are two in number, each about 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high by 13" broad ; they are inscribed breadthwise, on the inner sides only. They appear to have had originally two rings, one of which is now not forthcoming. The extant ring has on its seal a figure of Garuḍa, a good deal damaged. The plates are well engraved, and very well preserved. The characters resemble those of the Valabhū and early Chalukya grants. The language is Sanskrit throughout, the genealogical portion being in verse, and the rest in prose.

These plates record the grant of the village of Sthāvarapallikā, in the Kāsakula *vishaya*, to a native of Jāmbūsara (the modern Jambūsar in the Broach District), named Kukkêśvaradīkshita, the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Rēvisara (or Ravīśvara). Sthāvarapallikā is, I consider, the modern Chhārōli itself, where the plates were found. The situation of Sthāvarapallikā is defined in the grant as being to the west, and partly to the south, of Khairōda, to the north of Pippalāchchha, and to the east of Kāshṭapuri and Vaṭṭāra.

The grantor is king Kukka, of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. His genealogy is given thus :—

Kukka.
|
Dhruva.
|
Gōvinda,
m. to a daughter of Nāgavarmā.
|
Kukka,
the grantor. Śaka 679.

The first king Kakka is called "a sun to the illustrious lotus-group-like Râshtrakûta family,"—an epithet which can only be applied to one who belongs by birth to that family. The next king, Dhruva, is distinctly mentioned as his son, born to him from his queen. The third king, Gôvinda, again, is distinctly called the son of Dhruva. And the last king here mentioned, the second Kakka, is specifically described as the son of Gôvinda by his wife, who was the daughter of Nâgavarmâ.¹

The kings mentioned in this grant have the same names as some of the members of the already well-known Râshtrakûta dynasty. But a reference to the published genealogy of that dynasty² will show that these four kings cannot be made to fit into that genealogy,—especially since the date of this grant is only four years subsequent to the date of the Sâmangaḍ grant of Dantidurga or Dantivarmâ II.³—unless, indeed, we assume that Karka or Kakka I. of that genealogy had, in addition to Indra II. and Krishna I., a third son, the Dhruva of the present grant.

At the same time there are no grounds for looking upon the present grant as anything but a genuine one. The characters are of the period to which the grant refers itself. And the item of information about the wife of Gôvinda being a daughter of Nâgavarmâ, is not at all what a forger might be expected to invent.

The probability seems to be that these kings are to be referred to their proper place by identifying the first Kakka of this grant with Karka or Kakka I. of the published genealogy,—and that these kings constituted a separate Gujarât branch of the family earlier than the hitherto known Gujarât branch founded by Indra III. But this can only be put forward as a tentative theory, until we succeed in obtaining some further grants of these kings.

Transcription.

First plate.

[¹] Śrīmân=sadâ jayati siddha-sur-âsur-êndra-vṛind-ôttamânga-
mani-chumbita-pâdapadmaḥ Śambu(mbhu)ḥ samâhita-
guṇa-

¹ There was an early Kâdamba king of this name (Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 86). But it is impossible at present to say who the Nâgavarmâ here mentioned was.

² *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 82; and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI. p. 109. Also see *id.* Vol. XII. p. 179.

³ *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. XI. pp. 108. ff.

- [*] tritayaḥ prajānām sargga-sthiti-pralaya-kāraṇam=ādi-dēvaḥ
 [|| *] Āsīd=anēka-samar-āpta-jayaḥ kshitiśaḥ Śri-
 Rāshṭra-
- [*] kūṭa-kula-pañkaja-shaṇḍa-sūryyaḥ durvvāra-vairi-vanitā-
 vadan-āravinda-hēmantakāla-pavanō bhuvī Kakka-rājaḥ
 [|| *] Tasy=āmalasya
- [*] nripatēr=Dhruva-rāja-dēvō dēvyā babhūva tanayō=tula-
 viryya-dhūmā yēn=ōddhri(ddhṛi)t-āsi ripu-sainya-balaṁ
 nihatya nūnam yaśō=
- [*] dhavalayad=bhuvanaṁ samastam | (||) Nistrimśa-ghāta-
 vidalat-kari-kumbha-mukta-muktāphala-prakara-maṇḍita-
 bhūtalasya āvēdayat=sa-
- [*] mara-mūrdhani yasya chitraṁ līlāyitām mṛigapatēr=iva
 chēshtāni [|| *] Nihppra(pra)śrayatvam=ati-chāpala-
 mugdha-bhāvam sārddham virōdha-
- [*] m=upaśānti-sarasvatibhyām dōshā[n*] samāśraya-vaśād=
 guṇa-ratnak-ābdhēḥ paryatyajat=sahajakān=api yasya
 Lakshmi[ḥ*] [|| *] Saṁtya-
- [*] jya kātara-triṅ-augham=ar-ibha-kumbha-pīṭha-sthal-ōpala-
 śilāḥ śakalī-vidhāya prāptō=pi yasya chatur-abdhi-jal-
 au(ō)rmmi-mā-
- [*] lām jajvāla dagdha-ripu-vaśsa-vanaḥ pratāpaḥ [|| *]
 Lakshmi-sanātha-vapur=abja-suchakra-pāṇir = nirvāchya-
 vikrama-nibaddha-baliḥ.*
- [10] kshitiśaḥ Gōvinda-dēva iva nunna-bhujamga-darppō
 Gōvinda-rāja iti tasya sutō babhūva [||*]
 Yasy=āhavēshu ghana-garjita-nāda-
- [11] dhīram maurvī-ninādam=upakārnya nirasta-dhairyyā[ḥ*]||*
 haśśa bhuvan=gatapa(va)tīr(m)=api jīvit-āśām
 durvvāra-vairiṇa iv=āmumuchuḥ ksha-
- [12] ṇēna [||*] Kalpa-drumaḥ praṇayish=ūdaya-śaila-rājō
 mitrēshu lōka-nayan-ōtpalakēshu chandraḥ yaḥ
 kēsari mada-jal-ārdra-kapō-

* This *visarga* is mistake.

* This mark of punctuation is not wanted.

- [16] la-bhittir=li(li)n^c-āli-nāda-mukharēshu . mataṅgajēshu [||*]
 Saṅgrāma-maddhya(dhya)-jita-saṁyya(ya)ta-bhūbhujēn-
 dra-sīmajā-nināda-mukharīkṛita-ma-
- [17] ndirasyah⁷ nāyāpi yasya Hara-sékhara-chandra-khaṁḍa-
 śubhraṁ yasaḥ strī(tri)-bhuvanāṁ vimalikarōti | (||)
 Tasmāt=parāsta-para-tārakam=ā-
- [18] pta-śaktih(m) Śrī-Kakka-rājam=anurāṁjita-sarvva-lōkaṁ
 Śāmbhōhī Kumāram=iva bhūḍhararāja-putrī
 Śrī-Nāgavarmma-duhitā janayām-chakā-
- [19] ra [||*] Bhūbhṛich-chhikhāmaṇi-karāmbita-pāda-sōbhō bālō=
 pi lōka-nayan-ōtpala-saṅkhyā-hētuhī pradhvasta-vairi-
 timirō gaganāṁ śa-
- [17] ś=iva yaḥ sad-guṇair=nnija-kulaṁ samalaṁchakāra [||*]
 Saṁbhṛānta-Mandara-vilōḍita-dugḍha-sindhu-saṁbhūta-
 phēna-dhava-
- [18] li(li)kṛit-āsaṁ yasya dvishām=achala-kandara-
 garbhha(rbhha)-bhājam=apy=ānanāni charita[m*] .
 ma[linī]chakāra [||*] Satyēna Dharmma-

Second plate.

- [19] tanayāṁ Vidurāṁ cha matyā dānēna bhāskara-sutaṁ
 kshamayā Sumēruṁ Bhīmaṁ balēna charitēna cha
 Vāsudē-
- [20] vaṁ rāpēna saṁrati-patiṁ samamaṁsta lōkaḥ [||*]
 Sō=yam=anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-para-gaja-ghaṭ-ātōpa-vi-
- [21] ghaṭana-prachanḍa-dōrḍḍanḍa-maṇḍita-vigrahō Madana-
 ripu-śirah-śataka-śubhra-yasaḥ-pravāha-dhavalī-
- [22] kṛita-dīn-mukhō=nēka-sāmanā-mauli-lālita-charaṅarāvinda-
 yugalaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ saṁadhigatapañchamahāśa-
- [23] bda-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramōśvaraḥ Śrī-
 Kakka-rājaḥ sarvvaṅ=ēva svān=mahāsāmanā-sōnāpa-
- [24] ti-balādihkṛita-chōrōd-lharaṇika-bhōgika-rājasthānī-ādīn=
 yavā(thā)-niyuktān=anyāś=cha samājūūpayaty=Astu
 vaḥ saṁviditāṁ ya-

° This has to be converted into *bhitti-Itu*, &c.

7 This *visarga* is a mistake.

- [**] thā mayā Kāsakula-vishay-āntarggata-Sthūvarapallik-
ābhidhānō grāmaḥ Khairōdād=aparataḥ Pippalāch-
chhād=uttarataḥ Kāshtapuri(ri)-Vatṭārā-
- [**] bhyām pūrvvataḥ punaḥ Khairōda-sīmdhyā(sc. sīma-
madhyā)d=dakṣiṇataḥ évaṁ chatur-āghāṭana-visuddhō
Jāmbāsara-sthāna-vāstavya-tach-chāturvvidya-sāmā-
- [**] nya-Vachchha(tsa)-sagōtra-Kanva-sabrahmachāri-bhātta-
Rēvisara-putrāya Kukkēsvara-dīkshitāya bali-charu-
vaśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ādi-kriyāyām
- [**] samutsarpan-ārtham mātāpitrōr=ātmanās=cha punya-
phal-āvūpty-arttham=ā-chandr-ārka-ārṇava-sarit-parvvata-
vasundharā-samakāli-
- [**] naḥ putra-pautr-ānvay-ōpabhōgyō=bhyantara-sidhyā(ddhyā)
bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna vishuva-saṁkrāntāv=udak-
ātisarggēṇa pratipādi-
- [**] tō Yatō=sy=ātataḥ prabal-ānila-samīrit-ōdadhi-taramga-
chāūchalam jīva-lōkam=avagamy=ānityās=cha sū(sa)-
rvva-sāmpadaś=ch=ēty=avadhā-
- [**] ryy=āgāmi-bhadra-nri(nri)patibhir=asmad-vaṁśa-jais=cha
sādharāṇām bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagamy=ānumanta-
vyaḥ pratipālaniyās=cha [|| *]
- [**] Yataḥ prōktam=ēva bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna
[|*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattām vā yatnād=raksha
Yudhishṭhira mahi[m*] kshitibhrītām śrē-
- [**] sbṭha dānāch=chhréyō=nupālanaṁ ||-Shasṭi-varsha-
sahasrāṇi svarggō tishṭhati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā
ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva na-
- [**] rakam vasēt || Śaṁkhāḥ siṅghā(hā)sanam chchhatram
v[ā*]ji-vāraṇa-yōshitalḥ bhūmi-dānasya mahataḥ
sarvvaṁ=ētad=vichēsṭitam || Vindhy-ā-
- [**] tavishv=atōyō(yā)su śushka-kōtara-vāsinalḥ kṛishṇa-sarpā
hi jāyāntē brahma-dāy-āpahārakāḥ [||*] Bahubhir=
vvasudhā bhuktā
- [**] rājābhir Sagur-ādibhir yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
tasya tadā phalam || Suka-nri(nri)pa-kāl-ātita-
saṁvatsara-śata-shatke êk-ū(ō)-

[**] n-âsîty-adhikê Âsvayuja-suddh-â[û*]katê(tô)=pi sam 600
 70 9 tithi 7* [||*] Likbitam cha mayâ
 Âdityavarmma-râja-dûtakam balâdhikrita-
 [**] Śrî-Tatta-sûnunâ Śrî-Bhô(?tô)ḍallân=êti [||*]

Translation.

Triumphant always is the first god, the glorious Śambhu,— whose lotus-like feet are kissed by the crown-jewels of the chiefs of the Siddhas and gods and demons ; who possesses all the three qualities (*of sattva, rajas, and tamas*) ; and who is the prime cause of the creation and the preservation and the destruction of all creatures !

(L. 2.)—There was a king on the earth, named Kakkarâja, who had obtained victory in various battles ; and who was a sun to the illustrious lotus-group-like Râshtrakûta dynasty, and a wintry wind to the lotus-like faces of the women of his irresistible foes.

(L. 3.)—To this spotless king there was born from his queen a son, Dhruvarâjadêva, of incomparable might and majesty ; being raised up on his sword, after killing the forces of the enemy, his glory whitened the whole universe. His sport in the battle-field, decorating the ground with the pearls dropped down from the temples of the elephants torn open by the blows of his sword, brought to mind the actions of a lion. By taking refuge with him, who was an ocean of jewel-like qualities, Royal Fortune (Lakshmi) abandoned all her natural faults of impoliteness and fickle silly habits, and hostility with calmness and learning. His majestic fire which had burnt the forest-like dynasty of his enemies, passing, by hosts of weak grasses (poor enemies) and breaking into pieces the strong rock-like backs of the elephants of his enemies, did not cease burning, even though it had reached the limits of the waves of the waters of the four seas.

(L 9.)—He had a son named Gôvindarâja, verily like the god Gôvinda inasmuch he had a body possessing grace (Lakshmi), and

* This symbol might be interpreted as 9, being identical with one form of the Gupta 9. (See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VI. p. 44, col. 4.) But we are barred from this by having a different symbol for 9 in the number of the years. It seems therefore to be a variety of the Gupta or Valabhi symbol for 7.

a lotus-like hand with good *chakra* marks (as *Gōvinda* holds a *discus* and a *lotus* in his hands) and as he had foiled strong kings by blameless heroism (as *Gōvinda* subdued the king, the demon *Bali*, by [three] unobjectionable steps), and as he baffled the pride of (his) boon-companions (as *Govinda* baffled the pride of the serpent [*Kāli*]). On hearing in battle-fields the sound of his bowstring, as deep as the thunder of clouds, swans (really believing it to be thunder) left the earth and their fading hope of life, as his irresistible enemies abandoned their lost lands and (all) hope of life.⁹ He was a wish-fulfilling tree to those that were friendly to him; to friends he was the great mountain of dawn; to the lotus-eyes of people he was the moon; and he was a lion towards intoxicated elephants noisy with the hum of bees sitting on their temples wet with ichor. The glory of him, whose palace resounded with the sound of the chains cast upon enemies taken as captives in the battle field,—(that glory), as pure as the crescent on the forehead of *Hara*, still brightens the three worlds.

(L. 14.)—From him the daughter of *Srī-Nāgavarmā* gave birth to *Srī-Kakkarajā*, who drove back the leaders of his enemies, who was powerful, and who delighted all people,—as *Pārvati* gave birth from *Śambhu* to *Kumāra*, who defeated his enemy (the demon) *Tāraka*, who holds (his weapon) *Śakti*, and who has delighted all the worlds. Young though he was,—having the beauty of his feet mingling with the jewels in the crowns of kings, and giving pleasure to the lotus-eyes of people, and destroying (his) darkness-like enemies,—he adorned his family by his good qualities, as the moon adorns the sky (with its rays falling on the chief mountains; though new, giving delight to lotuses like the eyes of people, and destroying her enemy the darkness). His valour, which while it brightens the quarters by.....white as the foam of the milky ocean churned by the moving *Mandara*, blackened the faces of his enemies who had taken refuge in the caves of mountains.¹⁰ He was regarded by the people as *Yudhishtīra* for his truthfulness, as *Vidura* for his common sense, as *Karṇa* (the son of the Sun) for his gifts, as *Sumēru* for his firmness, as *Vāsudēva* for his heroism, as *Love* on account of his beauty.

⁹ Indian poets believe that, fearing death as soon as they hear the first peal of thunder on the approach of the rains, swans fly away from India and go to the *Mānasa* lake in Tibet. The gist of the verse is to compare the sound of the bowstring to the thunder of the clouds.

¹⁰ This verse is intended to bring out *Vīrōdhātāmāndra*.

(L. 20.)—This same Śrī-Kakkarāja,—whose body is adorned with staff-like arms strong in tearing the hosts of his enemies' elephants ; who has whitened all the quarters by the flow of his glory which is as white as the crescent on the head of Śiva ; whose feet are served by hosts of tributary kings ; the great Śaiva ; who enjoys the five great titles ; the great *Bhaṭṭāraka* ; the supreme king of great kings ; the supreme lord,—commands all his great nobles, commander-in-chief, chief military officer, head of police, equerry, and foreign secretary, and all others as employed :—

(L. 24.)—“ Be it known to you that, for the religious merits of my parents and myself, I have given, at the autumnal equinox, according to the rule of *bhūmichchhīdra*¹¹ and the *abhyantarasi-dhi*, with a libation of water, the village of Sthāvarapallikā in the Kāśakula country, to the west of Khairōda, to the north of Pip-lāchchha, to the east of Kāshṭapurī and Vāṭṭara, and again to the south of the middle of the Khairōda boundary. (*The village*) thus marked with these four boundaries, has been given to Kukkeśvara *Dikshita*, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa Rēvisara* (*Raviśvara*), an inhabitant of Jāmbūsara, learned in the four *Vēdas*, of the *Vatsa gōtra*, and a student of the *Kaṇva* (*Sākhā*), for the purpose of keeping up the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, and other rites, to last so long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, the mountains, and the earth remain, and to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons, and descendants.

(L. 30.)—“ Therefore (*this grant*) is to be assented to and preserved by future good kings and by my descendants, recognising that the reward of a grant of land belongs in common (*to him who makes it and to all who preserve it*), believing this world to be as transient as the waves of the sea driven by a mighty wind, and bearing in mind the inconstancy of riches.”

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vēdas* :—“O Yudhisthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another ; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant ! The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven ; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant of land*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! Conchshells, a throne, an umbrella, horses, elephants, and women, are but mock-

¹¹ This phrase means including the land and the sky belonging to the village granted.

ries in comparison with the great gift of a grant of land! Verily those, who confiscate grants of land made to Brāhmanas, are born as black snakes dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees in the forests of the Vindhya (*mountains*) devoid of water! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, Sagara and others; he who possesses it at any particular time, to him goes the merit of a grant!"

(L. 36.)—The year six hundred, increased by seventy-nine, after the time of the Śaka king; in the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja; or in figures, 679, the 7th day.

(L. 37.)—This grant, which has the king Ādityavarmā as its messenger, has been written by me, Śrī-Bhōdalla, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Śrī-Tatta.

ART. IX.—A *Gôdâvari Copper-Plate Grant of the Râjâ Prithivimûla*. By J. F. FLEET, B.O. C. S., M.R.A.S.

THE original plates¹ containing the inscription now published are in the Office of the Collector of the Gôdâvari District in the Madras Presidency, and were obtained by me, for the purpose of editing, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S.

The plates are five in number, each about $7\frac{3}{8}$ " long by $2\frac{3}{8}$ " broad. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription, however, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout,—hardly any of the letters being much damaged, and not one of them so much so as to be at all doubtful. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is roughly oval, about 1" by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". It had some emblem or other on it, in relief on a countersunk surface; but the surface is so much destroyed by rust, that it is impossible to say what the emblem was. The weight of the five plates is 60 tolas, and of the ring and seal, $17\frac{3}{8}$ tolas,—total, $77\frac{3}{8}$ tolas. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit throughout.

The grant is one of the Râjâ² Prithivimûla, the son of the Mahâ-

¹ No. 78 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate Grants. Noticed by me in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. p. 244, No. 9.

² It is customary to translate this word,—by 'king'; and this translation is quite permissible in the case of classical writings and of inscriptions of really early date. But the large mass of epigraphical records that is now available for examination, shews that, in all except very early inscriptions, such titles as *râjan*, 'king,' *adhirâja*, 'superior or supreme king,' and *mahârâja*, 'great king,' and perhaps even *râjâdhirâja*, 'supreme king of kings,' by no means convey the idea of our English word 'king,' but, unless coupled with other titles indubitably designative of supreme sovereignty, indicate only subordinate, though undoubtedly high, rank and power. They are, in fact, technical titles which, like *Sânanta*, *Mohâsâmanta*, *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, *Maṇḍulêsvara*, *Mahâmaṇḍalêsvara*, *Daṇḍanâyaka*, *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, *Râshtrakûta*, *Vishayapati*, *Balâdhikrita*, *Samâdhivirâhâ*, *Mahâsamâdhivirâhâ*, &c., it is much better, if only for the sake of uniformity and consistency, to use untranslated, than to attempt

rāja Prabhākara, and is issued from (*the city of*) Kāndāli. And it records that, at the request of the *Adhirāja* Indra, he bestowed the village of Chūyipāka, as an *agrahāra*-grant, upon forty-three families of Brāhmaṇas who studied the *Atharva-Vēda*, descendants of *Upādhyāyas*, and belonging to a variety of *gōtras*. The object of the grant was evidently to establish a regular colony of *Ātharvanikas*; the names, *gōtras*, &c., of the individual grantees, however, are not recorded. The village of Chūyipāka is specified as being in the Tālpāka *viśaya*, and in the middle of the four villages of Viḷendi, Reṅguta, Kampāru, and Tukura. But I am not able at present to suggest any identification of these places, or of Kāndāli whence the charter was issued, or of the Maṇalkudi that is mentioned in line 14.

The grant is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the twenty-fifth year of some reign, and, apparently, on the third day of the month Vaiśākha. From the evidently subordinate rank of Pṛthivimūla, as denoted by the title of *Rājā* applied to himself and of *Mahārāja* applied to his father, it is difficult to say whether the date is referred to the commencement of the power of Pṛthivimūla, or to the commencement of the reign of the paramount sovereign to whom he was subordinate. Also, because that paramount sovereign is not mentioned in this inscription, and because no reference is made to the Śaka or any other era, the exact date of the grant cannot be fixed at present. But the period of it can be determined with sufficient certainty. The *Adhirāja* Indra, at whose request the grant was made, is mentioned as having fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Taking into consideration the locality from which this grant comes, and its approximate period as indicated by the palæographical standard of the characters and the use of numerical symbols in the date,—there can be no doubt that this

to render into English by terms which always vary according to the idiosyncrasies of the translators, and which never suffice to give a faithful and literal idea of what the original words mean. The only title that properly and fully corresponds to our idea of 'king,' is *mahārājādhirāja*, 'supreme king of *Mahārājas*'; and it is almost, if not absolutely, always coupled with two other titles,—*paramēśvara*, 'supreme lord,' and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, 'most worshipful one.' The connection of the three titles was so universal, that a Rêwā grant of Trailōkyamalla, dated Śarvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles, and contents itself with describing him as *paramabhaṭṭārak-śty-ādī-rāj-* [*d**] *vali-tray-ōpēta-mahārāja*, 'the *Mahārāja* who is possessed of the three kingly titles (*lit.* succession) commencing with *paramabhaṭṭāraka*.'

Indrabhaṭṭāraka is the Eastern Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha I. (Śaka 549 to 579 or 582), and the father of Vishṇuvardhana II. (Śaka 579 to 586, or Śaka 582 to 591.) All the grants of that dynasty, published and unpublished, that have come to my notice, mention Indrabhaṭṭāraka as not having reigned. And, though a grant of Rājarāja, dated Śaka 944,—another of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva, dated Śaka 1056,—and another of Vīra-Chōḍā or Vishṇuvardhana, dated Śaka 1222,—state that he reigned for *seven days*, the truth seems to be that he did not actually succeed in ascending the throne at all; and the disclosure made by the present inscription explains the circumstances under which this was the case. He was prevented from doing so by the attack of a confederacy of chiefs, of whom the *Adhirāja* Indra mentioned in this inscription was one; and he was probably slain in one of the battles that ensued. And the figurative expression, that the *Adhirāja* Indra mounted upon the elephant Supratika of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the south-west or southern quarter, shews that this attack upon the Eastern Chalukyas was made from the north-east of their kingdom of Veṅgi. It is possible that this *Adhirāja* Indra is identical with the Gāṅga *Mahārāja* Indravarma of Kaliṅganagara, of whom I have two unpublished inscriptions of about the same period with the present grant,² who is described in his inscriptions as having acquired the supreme power over the whole of Kāliṅga by means of the quivering of his sword, and whose territory, therefore, lay just to the north-east of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom.

*Transcription.*⁴

First plate.

- [1] Ōm Svasti Vijaya-Kāndāli-vāsakāt dēva-dvija-
 [2] gura-charaṇa-samārādhan-ādhighata-nirati-
 [3] śaya-puṇya-nichayasya sakaḥ-dīumā (ūma)ṇḍal-ā
 [4] lā(la)ūkāra-bhūta-yaśasaḥ Śrī-Prabhākara-vikhyāta-

Second plate; first side.

- [5] mahārājasya sūnuḥ m[ā*]tāpitṛ-pād-ūnuddhyā-
 (dhyā)tal
 [6] śrī-śrī-vihita-padārth-āvabōdha-janita-pra-

² Notice I by me in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 243, Nos. 2 and 3.

⁴ From the original plates.

1

ॐ शुभं कुरुते यः कुरुते कामस्यै च तद्भिः
 १५ • चरानस्यारोमरिगरस्य
 अथ सुश्रुतिव्यस्य सुश्रुतिव्यस्य
 ४ सुश्रुतिव्यस्य सुश्रुतिव्यस्य

IIa

अथ एतत्सुश्रुतिव्यस्य सुश्रुतिव्यस्य
 १६ • सुश्रुतिव्यस्य सुश्रुतिव्यस्य
 सुश्रुतिव्यस्य सुश्रुतिव्यस्य सुश्रुतिव्यस्य
 ८ सुश्रुतिव्यस्य सुश्रुतिव्यस्य

J. F. Fleet, B. C. S.

Govt. Photozincographic Office, Poona. 1883

From an ink-impression.
Full size.

IIb

12
 12

IIIa

16
 16

IVb

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

29

V

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

35

- [⁷] jñā-vivēka-niravagīt-ānupāli(li)t-[ā*]śēsha-varṇ-āśra-
 [⁸] ma-dharmmaḥ par-ānugraha-mātra-prayōjana-pra-

Second plate ; second side.

- [⁹] tipann-aisva(śva)ryya-guru-bhāra[h*] parama-māhēś-
 varaḥ śrīmān
 [¹⁰] Pri(pri)thivimūla-r[ā*]jaḥ Tāḷupāka-vishaya-nivāsi-
 na[h*]
 [¹¹] sarvvān=ēva rāshṭraku(kū)ṭa-pramukhān=ēvam=ājñāpa-
 [¹²] yati yathā [*] Viditam=astu bhavatām śrutābhija-

Third plate ; first side.

- [¹³] na-vṛitta-sampat-prabhā-bhāsur-ōdāra-purusharatna-nikara-
 prasū-
 [¹⁴] ti-hētu-prakhyaṭa-Manalkudi(? di)-vāstavya-dvijāty-annvaya-
 [¹⁵] payōdhi-sambhūta-śitaraśmēr=asakkṛi(kṛi)rd(d)-avāpta-
 chaturddanta-
 [¹⁶] saṃgrāma-vijayasya Mitavarmmaṇaḥ priya-
 tanayēna

Third plate ; second side.

- [¹⁷] sarabhasam=Indrabhaṭṭāraka-samutpātan-ābhilāsha-samudi-
 [¹⁸] ta-pramudit-āśēsha-nripati-kkṛi(kṛi)ta-tunula-sama-
 [¹⁹] r-ādhiru(rā)ḍa(dha)-Supratik-ānēkap-ābhimukha-samada-
 Kumu-
 [²⁰] da-dvirada-nipātan-ādihigata-bhuvanatala-vi⁶tata-

Fourth plate ; first side.

- [²¹] vipula-viśuddha-yaśasā śrimad-Indr-ādhirājēna sva-
 m[ā*]tā-
 [²²] pitrōḥ puṇy-āvāpti-nimitta[m*] vijñāpitēna mayā Viḷendi-
 [²³] Reṅguta-Kampāru-Tukurāṇām chaturṇā[m*] grāmā-
 nā[m*]
 [²⁴] maddhyē(dhyē) Chāyipākō nāma grāmaḥ upādhyā-
 (dhyā)ya-kula-sambhū-

Fourth plate ; second side.

- [²⁵] tēbhyō nānā-gōtrēbhyas=t[r*]i-chatvārimśad-Ātharvvaṇi-
 ka-kulē-

* The v is imperfect in the bottom stroke.

- [²⁶] bhyô=grahârikkri(kri)tya datta[h*] [||*] Sa sarvvê-
(rvvai)r=êva paripâlani(ni)yô vi-
[²⁷] śêshêna hastikôśa-vîrakôśâbhyâm [||*] Api cha [l*] Sva-
dattâm
[²⁸] para-dattâ[ṛi*] vâ yô harêta vasundharâm gavâm śata-
saha-
[²⁹] srasya hantu[h*] pibati kilbisham [||*] Shashṭi-varsha-
saha-

Fifth plate.

- [³⁰] srâni svarggê môdati bhûmi-da[h*] âchchhêtâ ch=ân-
mantâ cha tâny=êva narakê
[³¹] vasêt [||*] Tâma=êva rakshatâ(tô) yatnât nibôdhal⁶
kkrii(kri)tinali=phalam naika-kalpa-
[³²] sahasrâni divi dêvai[h*] sa di(di)vyati [||*] Bahubhir=
vvasudhâ dattâli⁷ bahubhi-
[³³] ś=ch=ânupâlîtâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[h*] tasya tasya
tadâ phalam [||*]
[³⁴] Âjñapti[h*] sva-mukham [||*] Prava[r*]d[dh*]amâna-
vijaya-râjya-sam(m-)⁸ va(-va)tsarâni pañcha-vi[m*]śa
20 5

- [³⁵] Vâsâka-divasam || 3⁹

Translation.

Ôm ! Hail ! From (*his residence*) situated at the victorious (*city of*) Kândâlî, the glorious Râjâ¹⁰ Prithivimûla, the most devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahêśvara,—who meditates on the feet of his parents ; who in a way quite free from reproach protects the laws of all the classes and stages of life by (*his*) wisdom and discrimination which have been produced by (*his*) perception of the objects enjoined by revelation and tradition ; (*and*) who has undertaken the heavy burden of lordship only for the purpose of conferring benefits upon others,—the son of the famous Mahârûja Śrî-Prabhâkara, who

⁶ This *visarga* is a mistake.

⁷ This *visarga*, again, is a mistake.

⁸ This final *m*, a mistake for an omitted *anusvâra*, is engraved below the line.

⁹ Correct into *divasam* 3 ||

¹⁰ See note 2, p. 114 above.

attained an unsurpassed accumulation of religious merit by propitiating the feet of gods and Brâhmanas and spiritual perceptrs, (*and*) whose fame became the ornament of all the regions,—thus issues his commands to all (*people*), headed by the *Rûshîrakûtas*, dwelling in the Tâjupâka *vishaya* :—

(L. 12.)—“ Be it known to you ! By me, to whom the request has been preferred, in order that his parents may acquire religious merit, by the glorious *Adhirâja* Indra,—who acquired great and pure fame, spread abroad over the surface of the earth, by overthrowing the infuriated elephant Kumuda¹¹ that came against the elephant Supratika¹² which was mounted (*by him*) in the tumultuous combat waged by all the kings who were gladdened by having assembled together in the desire to uproot by force Indrabhattâraka ; (*and*) who is the dear son of Mitavarmâ, who was the moon that arose from the ocean of the twice-born family that inhabited the famous (*town of*) Mañalkudi,¹³ the cause of the production of a multitude of noble jewels of men resplendent with famous ancestors and (*good*) conduct and prosperity and splendour, (*and*) who more than once acquired victory in the contests of elephants that have four tusks,—(*by me*) the village named Chûyipâka, in the middle of the four villages of Viḷendi and Reṅguṭa and Kampârû and Tukura, has been given, as an *agrahâra*, to forty-three families of Brâhmanas who study the *Atharva-Vêda*, born in the families of *Upâdhyâyas* (*and*) belonging to many *gôtras*. It is to be preserved by all,—especially by the *Hastikôsa* and the *Vîrakôsa*.”¹⁴

(L. 27.)—Moreover,—He incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another ! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years ; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! Recognise the reward of the virtuous man who carefully preserves this (*grant*) ;

¹¹ The elephant of the south-west or southern quarter.

¹² The elephant of the north-east quarter.

¹³ Or perhaps Mañalkudi ; but the letter *ḍa*, as separate from *da*, occurs very distinctly in line 19.

¹⁴ I do not know of any other mention of these two officials, who evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishment of elephants and heroes who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour

he disports himself with the gods in heaven for many thousands of *kulpas* ! Land has been given by many, and has been preserved (*in grant*) by many ; he who for the time being possesses the land, to him belongs the reward (*of the grant that has been made*) !

(L. 34.)—The specification is (*the command of*) his own¹⁵ month. The twenty-fifth (*of*) the years of the augmenting victorious reign, (*or, in figures,*) 20 (*and*) 5 ; the 3rd day of Vâsâka.¹⁶

¹⁵ *i.e.* Prithivimôla's.

¹⁶ Apparently intended for the month Vaiśākha.

ART. X.—*Note on the Coinage of El-Harar in East Africa.* By
Lientenant-Colonel W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S.

THE town of El-Harar, a place known only by repute until the visit of Captain R. F. Burton in January, 1855, lies, according to that traveller's dead-reckoning, 220° S.W. of, and 175 statute miles from, Zayla'—257° W. of, and 219 miles distant from, Berbera. This would place it in 9° 20' N. lat. and 42° 17' E. long. Its altitude was shown by the thermometer to be about 5,500 feet above the level of the sea.* It is about one mile long by half that breadth, and is surrounded by an irregular wall, pierced with five large gates and supported by oval towers. Its population in 1855 was estimated by Burton at 8,000 souls, of whom 2,500 were Somálees, 3,000 Bedaween, and the remainder natives of the place.† At the time of Burton's visit, El-Harar was under the government of an Ameer, who claimed descent from the Khaleefeh Aboo-Bekr, though, according to Bruce, the family was of Jabartee, or Negro Muslim, extraction. About ten years ago the Khedive of Egypt sent a force to El-Harar, which supplanted the native dynasty, and brought the city and surrounding district under the government at Cairo. The language spoken in the town, which is known by the name of Hararee, appears, so far as can be judged from Capt. Burton's grammatical sketch and vocabulary, to have a very considerable affinity with the Amharic. The points of difference, which are chiefly in pronunciation, are not greater than those which exist between the speech of Devonshire and the speech of Dumfriesshire. It seems probable, from many indications which it is unnecessary here to specify, that the town was founded by a colony of Muslim emigrants from Southern Abyssinia about the middle of the fifteenth century. The Somálee and Galla languages are, in my opinion, radically dissimilar from the Hararee.

Since the visit of Burton, El-Harar has been nearly a *terra clausa* to Europeans. In 1879, the young Italian, G. M. Giulietti, went to El-Harar from Zayla', and gave a good description of the geology, the fauna, the flora, and other characteristics of the country in

* Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*. Lond., 1856, p. 304.

† Burton, *ib.*, pp. 325, 329, 330.

the pages of the *Bolletino* of the Italian Geographical Society.* This enterprising traveller was murdered by the Dankalees in April 1881, whilst on a journey which he subsequently undertook with the view of developing the resources of the Italian colony at Assab. In the present year (1883) Signor Pietro Sacconi, the head of an Italian trading house at El-Harar, communicated some interesting notes on the condition of the place to the editor of *L'Esploratore*. He described it since it had been under the government of the Egyptians in very unfavourable terms. At the commencement of the year small-pox was decimating the population, and hyenas nightly prowled through the streets to feed upon the dead. "Poverty was unknown in Harar whilst it had a Sultan of its own, and the hyenas were kept far away from the city by occasional hunts, in which the whole population took part." The town was occupied by 5,000 Egyptian troops, who lived upon the country, as no remittances to pay them had been received for four years. The Governor, to appease the natural discontent of his troops, levied extra tribute on the tribes, and paid his men in cattle and other things obtained on these occasions. In January last, a military expedition was dispatched from El-Harar against the Geri and Berteri Somâl. This lamentable policy naturally led to reprisals on the part of the tribes, and according to recent accounts the innocent traveller has been one of the first victims. In his last letter he wrote that he intended, on July 8th, to leave El-Harar for the country of the Ogadain Somâl, accompanied by nine servants, and provided with an ample supply of merchandize. The news of his death was communicated by a correspondent at El-Harar to M. Antoine d'Abbadie in the following words:—"On the 21st instant (August 1883), we learned that he had reached the Wigaden (Ogadain) frontier, going towards the Wabi; but after crossing the valley of Sulul, about a day's journey from the Wabi, in a thickly-inhabited place called Kurnagot, he was murdered with three of his followers. I heard the account given before the Divan by one of them who escaped." M. d'Abbadie added that the Government of El-Harar would do nothing because the deed of blood took place two days' journey beyond its frontier.†

* *Studi Biografici e Bibliografici sulla Storia della Geografia in Italia*, 2nda edizione, Roma, 1882, p. 635.

† *Athenæum*, March 17th 1883; May 19th 1883; Sept. 20th 1883; Oct. 13th 1883. Further accounts, received since the above was in print, give August 12th as the date of the murder. The traveller's diary was burnt.—*Ath.*, Nov. 24th, 1883.

On the other hand, a very different description of the existing state of things was given by the Egyptian Governor, Nahdi Pasha, in an address which he delivered before the Société Khédiviale de Géographie at Cairo on March 23, 1883.* Nahdi Pasha gave several particulars of the region from personal knowledge. He described commerce to be carried on by money payments (without, however, specifying the currency) and exchanges in kind, such as Venetian glass, Paris jewelry, and bits of brass or copper. There were now several Europeans in El-Harar, some twenty Greek merchants, four French Jesuits, one French and one Italian mercantile house. Nahdi Pasha concluded his remarks by inviting European travellers to El-Harar and the country of the Gallas, pointing out that they were preferable to the dangerous and unhealthy regions of the Soudan and Central Africa. Security, he added, was to be found there, together with much matter of interesting research,† and he would be delighted to prove personally useful to new-comers as he had been to former visitors and merchants. If the Governor is to be depended on, it is seldom that so fair an opening has been afforded to English travellers in those generally inhospitable regions; and should any officer at Aden feel disposed to avail himself of the favourable opportunity now offered to explorers by the principal authority in the district, it may be hoped that no scruples on the part of Government will stand in the way of those who may wish to follow in the footsteps of Burton and Giulietti, and under more promising auspices, assist in opening out an almost illimitable field of geographical and philological research.

Great uncertainty exists with regard to the monetary system of El-Harar whilst the city was under the government of the Ameers. Burton says:—"The only specie current in Harar is a diminutive brass piece called Mahallak—hand-worked, and almost as artless a medium as a modern Italian coin. It bears on one side the words:—

ضريبة الهرر

(Zaribat el-Harar, the coinage of Harar.)

On the reverse is the date, A.H. 1248. The Amcer pitilessly punishes all those who pass in the city any other coin.‡"

* Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, June 1883, p. 65.

† "M. Bardey, a French merchant residing at Harar, is stated to have discovered there an Arab MS. of the sixteenth century, giving an account of the conquest of Abyssinia. The valuable work has been forwarded by him to the French Institute."—*Athenæum*, March 17th 1883.

‡ Burton, *ib.*, p. 334.

With regard to the word *Mahallak*, Capt. Burton remarks in a note :—"The name and coin are Abyssinian. According to Bruce—

20 Mahallaks are worth 1 Grush.

12 Grush " " 1 Miskal.

4 Miskal " " 1 Wakiyah (ounce).

At Harar twenty-two plantains (the only small change = one Mahallak, twenty-two Mahallaks = one Ashrafi (now a nominal coin), and three Ashrafi = one dollar."

Lieut. Cruttenden remarks :—"The Ashrafi stamped at the Harar mint is a coin peculiar to the place. It is of silver and the twenty-second part of a dollar. The only specimen I have been able to procure bore the date of 910 of the Hagira, with the name of the Ameer on one side, and, on its reverse, 'La Ilaha ill' Allah.' This traveller adds in a note, 'the value of the Ashrafi changes with each successive ruler. In the reign of Emir Abd el Shukoor, some 200 years ago, it was of gold.' At present the Ashrafi, as I have said above, is a fictitious medium used in accounts."

So far Captain Burton. I will merely observe that the word *Mahallak* is not found in any of the modern languages of Abyssinia and that it is probably an old derivative of the Greek *δραχμή*, an ounce. The discrepancy between Burton's statement that the Ashrafi is the third part of a dollar, and Cruttenden's statement that it is the twenty-second part of the same coin, accentuates the difficulties with which the whole question is surrounded.

These difficulties are not cleared up by the only authentic description of a Hararce coin which I have as yet come across. In the *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. V., p. 118, is noted a silver coin of an Ameer of East Africa, as under :—

EL-HARAR. Year 1248.

Obv.—

[ضراب]

[المر]

Rev.—

[بزارجه؟]

۱۲۵۸ A.R. .5; weight, 9.5

This coin, it will be seen, bears Captain Burton's date of 1248, but whilst that traveller says the coinage of the city is confined to brass, it is of silver. The weight of a Maria Theresa dollar of 1780 (the Levant trade-dollar), according to the Calcutta Assay Tables, is 431.7 gr., and if Burton is correct in stating the Mahallak to be the sixty-sixth part of a dollar, this coin cannot be one.

Some time ago, I received from my friend, Major F. M. Hunter, of Aden, two tiny silver pieces of El-Harar, but, unfortunately, instead of throwing light upon the coinage of the place, they only render it more obscure. It is indeed in the hope of receiving, rather than of imparting, information on the subject that I have summarized the knowledge which, as far as I am aware, is up to now available. The legends on the two coins are identical, and the mint place, the name of the prince, and the date are very legible, but there is a word on the obverse which has unfortunately got rubbed, and which I am unable to read. The following is the description of the coins, according to the British Museum classification:—

SULTÁN MOHAMMAD 'ALEE. Year 1288.

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| No. 1. <i>Obv.</i> — | السلطان
محمد علي
مدنه . . . (illegible). |
| <i>Rev.</i> — | مدينة
الحرر
١٢٨٨
سنة |

AR. .4; weight, 2.64.

No. 2. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 1.

Rev.—Similar to No. 1.

AR. .35; weight, 1.52.

The coin No. 2, though only $\frac{5}{100}$ inch smaller than No. 1, is slightly thicker, which causes the difference in weight.* It is obvious, however, that neither of them will fit in with Burton's or Cruttenden's system. The date A.H. 1288 corresponds with March 1871-March 1872, and the coins are interesting as probably belonging to the mintage of the last independent chief of the country. I trust that with the advance of English enterprise in the direction of El-Harar, other specimens may be discovered which will effectually set at rest the intricate questions of the autonomous currency of this little African town.

* I am indebted to Dr. H. E. Busteed, of the Calcutta Mint, for the weight of these diminutive pieces.

ART. XI.—*On the Seals of the late Satara Kingdom.*

By Surgeon-Major O. CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S.

[Read 16th November 1883.]

THESE seals, which had been kept at Satara since the annexation of the Satara kingdom, were deposited in the Society's Museum in 1875 by order of Government, with directions that they should be kept with great care in a permanently closed case, and that they should not be destroyed or alienated to any one.

There are altogether 149 seals, 32 have gold bodies and silver faces, the remainder are altogether silver, except 3 or 4, which have copper or brass faces.

As a rule their shape is pyramidal, with a boss at the top, to which is attached a small looped handle. The face is a tolerably thick plate of metal, the body is a thin case of gold or silver over a mass of lac. They are arranged in pairs, a large one bearing the names, &c., of a person, and a smaller one engraved with one of the following short sentences :—

| | | |
|--------------------|---|------------------------------|
| मोर्तब शुद्. | } | Let it be so ordered. |
| मोर्तब सुध. | | |
| मरतब शुद्. | | |
| मोर्तब शुद्. | | |
| मरताब. | | |
| मोर्तब सुध. | } | Here shines the limit. |
| मर्यादेयं राजते. | | |
| मर्यादेयं राजते. | | |
| मर्यादेयं विराजते. | } | Here shines forth the limit. |
| लेखनसीमा. | | |
| लेखनः सीमा | } | The limit of the writing. |

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| लेखनवधि. | } | The limit of the writing. |
| लेखनावधि. | | |
| लेखनालंकार. | } | The ornament or decoration of the writing. |
| लेखनावधी मुद्रा. | | |
| पञ्चायधिरय भाति | } | The mark of the limit of writing. |
| श्रीपञ्चावधिरयं भाति. | | |
| राज्जने लेखनवधी. | } | Here shines the limit of the document. |
| राज्जते लेखनावधी. | | |
| श्रीमर्यादा शोभते मम. | } | Shines the limit of the writing. |
| श्रीमर्यादेवं धने वर्या. | | |
| | | Shri. Here shines my limit. |
| | | Here is the glorious limit full of wealth. |

Most of the inscriptions are in Marathi, but some are in Sanskrit, and a few in Arabic and Persian.

Except two pairs, one joined with a silver ring and one with a black silk string, all the seals were unconnected when they were sent here, but I have managed to arrange most of them in pairs, guided by their pattern and workmanship, and by the character of the letters.

In use the large seal, or '*Sicca*,' was placed at the top of the writing on documents of importance, such as sunnuds, grants, or treaties. The small one, or '*Mortab*,' was impressed at the end of the same documents to mark the end of the writing, and was also used without the '*Sicca*' on *Yads* and letters of minor importance.

In the case of documents bearing the *Sicca* of the Raja, the seals of the ministers of the departments of the State concerned were added just below the Raja's; for instance, in the Poona Alienation Daftar, I saw documents marked in this way with the seals of the Raja above and of the Peishwa and Pratinidhi below.

The pairs of seals were fastened together by a string, on which were usually little silken caps or covers for each, and a bag to enclose the whole, as may be seen depicted in Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas," Vol. III., page 503.

The seals have a convex face, and as there is on many a projecting edge of metal at the sides, it is not easy to get a clear impression of the whole inscription on some of them. In the usual way of

stamping the seals on paper, ordinary Indian ink and a cloth pad is used, and but a poor impression, generally more or less smudged, is got, but I have succeeded in getting very perfect ones on white blotting paper by using printer's ink and making firm pressure on an Indian-rubber pad.

For very much of the information about the persons named and the genealogies, as well as for special kindness in searching in the Poona Alienation Daftar, I am indebted to Mr. Rámchandra Náráyen, Alienation Assistant. The reading and translating of the Sanskrit and Marathi was done by Mr. S. Y. Bhándáre, whose work has been looked over and approved by the highest authorities. Dr. Dymock was good enough to help me with the Arabic and Persian, and was successful in getting a reading of one seal which several Munshis had not been able to make out.

I have arranged the seals according to families or offices, which in the case of the persons concerned are almost synonymous terms, as the offices were nearly always hereditary.

Of the Rájás themselves, there are no seals in the collection earlier than those of Rám Rájá. The older ones have been sent elsewhere, I suppose. An engraving is given in Grant Duff's book, before referred to, of the seal of Sivájí, taken, it is said, in a note, from the original at Satara, so it would appear that it was there in the time of the author, *i. e.*, of Rájá Pratáp Sing, and probably some more were also. Judging from the number of ministers of whom there are no seals, and from so many being represented in this collection by two or more seals, I conclude that the number must have been very much larger.

I presume it was the custom for the seals of deceased or deposed officials to be returned into the treasury. Certainly it was that new seals were made by order of the Rájá and given by him to the minister on appointment, and on subsequent renewals of appointment, as there are several letters and memos. existing regarding the ordering of new seals by the Rájá for his ministers.

It will be seen that the legend is usually prefaced by the marks of the sun and moon, indicative of perpetuity, and with श्री, the symbol for prosperity, and in many cases it ends with निरंतर, 'constantly,' or 'for ever,' the former invoking prosperity and the latter continuity.

The Satara Rajas.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Born in A.D. 1627.... | } | The great Siváji. | \| |  |
| Crowned do. 1674.... | | | | |
| Died do. 1680.... | | | | |
| Born in A.D. 1657.... | } | Sambháji, Chhatrapati of Satara. | \| |  |
| Crowned do. 1681.... | | | | |
| Slain do. 1688.... | | | | |
| Born in A.D. 1682.... | } | Siváji or Sháhu I. | \| |  |
| Crowned do. 1708.... | | | | |
| Died do. 1749.... | | | | |
| Born in A.D. 1708.... | } | Ram Rájá. (Seals Nos. 1 and 2.) | \| |  |
| Crowned do. 1750.... | | | | |
| Died do. 1777.... | | | | |
| Crowned in A.D. 1778. | } | Sháhu II. (Seal No. 3.) | \| |  |
| Died do. 1808. | | | | |
| Crowned in A.D. 1808. | } | Pratáp Sing. | \| |  |
| Deposed do. 1839. | | | | |
| | | | } | |
| | | Sháháji Rájá. | | Born in A.D. 1802. |
| | | | | Crowned do. 1839. |
| | | | | Died on 5 April 1848. |
| | (Seal No. 4.) | | (Seal No. 5.) | |

Rájárám has been omitted from the list of Rajas. for although Grant Duff states he was formally seated on the throne in 1690, he appears not to have been so seated in his own right as rajah, but as the regent for his nephew, Sháhu. It may be noticed that none of the seals in this collection bear his name.

No. 1.

श्री. ०

गौरीशंभुवरप्रभाम्राज्यसाम्राज्यसंपत्ता ॥

शिवसूनोरियं मुद्रा रामराजस्य राजते ॥

Here shines the seal of king Rám, the son of Shiva(ji), along with (i.e., the seal), the universal empire and prosperity obtained by the blessing of Gauri and Shiva.

मर्यादियं राजते.

Here shines the limit.

This is the seal of Rámrájá, adopted son of Sháhu. He was the grandson of Tárábái, wife of Rájárám.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. 'The holder of universal empire,' &c., is another reading.

A short gold seal, with octagonal face; weight $5\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 2.

ॐ श्री. ०

श्रीशंभोपायकमलसेवाभिरुदयावहा मुद्रैषा
शाहुराजस्य रामसूनोर्विराजते ॥

Here shines forth the seal of King Rám, the son of Sháhu, the seal full of prosperity (*lit.*, bearing prosperity), on account of the services rendered to the feet of the glorious Shiva.

मर्यादियं राजते.

This is another of the same Raja.

The inscription is also in Sanskrit verse. It is much the same as the previous one. but the Raja is called the son of Sháhu in this.

A short gold seal, with octagonal face; weight $6\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The two seals seem much alike, and of about the same date. I therefore describe them both as belonging to Rám Rájá, although it is possible one may be that of Rájárám.

In No. 1 the Rájá is called son of Shiva, but his name is written Rám Ráj; in No. 2 he is called the son of Sháhu.

No. 3.

श्रीमण्डिवामसात्राज्यभियो विरलजन्मनः
शाहूनरेन्द्रसिंहस्य मुद्रिकेयं विराजते. ॥

Here shines forth the (small) seal of Sháhu, the mightiest of (*lit.*, lion amongst) the kings or lords of men, of noble (*lit.*, rare) descent, and who has obtained universal empire and prosperity from (by the favour of) the glorious Shiva.

मर्यादियं राजते.

A gold seal, with octagonal face; weight $6\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

Sháhu Máháráj Dhakley, *alias* Abá Sáheb Máháráj, was the son of Trimbakjí Bhonslay of Wawí, descended from Vitojí, great uncle of Sivájí. He was adopted by Rám Rájá, and enthroned under the title of Sháhu Máháráj, but was a prisoner under the Peishwa all his reign.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. The first word is indistinct.

No. 4.

० श्री ०

गौरीनाथवरप्राप्ता शाहूराजात्मजन्मनः ॥

मुद्रा प्रतापसिंहस्य भद्रा सर्वत्र राजते ॥

Everywhere shines the auspicious seal of Pratáp Sinha, the son of King Sháhu, obtained (*i.e.*, the seal) by the blessing of the Lord of Gauri (*i.e.*, Shiva).

मर्यादेयं विराजते.

Here shines forth the limit.

A gold seal, with octagonal face; weight 8½. Mortab similar; weight 4 tolas.

Pratáp Sinha, the eldest son of Sháhu II., was, like his father, a prisoner of the Peishwa Bájiráo, until he was captured after the battle of Ashteh, 20th February 1818. He was then formally enthroned at Satara by the British Commissioner, and a treaty concluded with him by which he was to hold his territory under certain conditions, and the British were to defend it against external aggressions. Pratáp Sinha having violated this treaty was deposed in 1839.

The inscription is in Sanskrit metre.

No. 5.

० श्री ०

स्वस्तिश्रीशिवसंप्राप्ताभियः श्रीशाहूजन्मनः ॥

श्रीमच्छाहाजीराजस्य श्रीमुद्देयं विराजते ॥

Here shines forth the glorious seal of the illustrious King Sháhájí, the son of the famous Sháhu, who (*i.e.*, Sháhájí), has obtained prosperity from (by the favour of) the blessed Shiva.

मर्यादेयं राजते.

Sháhájí, *alias* Áppá Sáheh, the third son of Sháhu II., succeeded to the *raj* when his brother Pratáp Sinha was deposed.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse.

A tall and large gold seal, with octagonal face; weight 20½. Mortab same pattern; weight 4 tolas.

No. 6.

श्री.०

श्रीराजाशाहाजी छत्रपती स्वामीचरणीतपर
बळवंतराव राजकुवर उमराव बाहावर निरंतर.

The prince Balvántráo Unráo Bahádur, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhájí, the Lord of the Umbrella.

लेखनसीमा.

The limit of the writing.

This is the seal of the boy whom Rájá Sháhájí took under his protection some time before his death, conferring upon him the name of Balvántráo Bhoslay and the title Rájádnya.

A tall gold seal, with round face; weight $12\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortar same pattern; $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

No. 7. ايسوبائي والدہ شاہو راجہ سنہ احد

Yesubái, mother of Sháhu Rája; year one.

Daughter of Pilájí Rájey Sirkey Malleyker, wife of Sambhájí. She was taken prisoner with her son at the fall of Raigadh, A.D. 1707, and carried off to the camp of the Emperor Aurungzeb. She remained with her son there, under the protection of Begum Sáheb, the Emperor's daughter, during many years of captivity, continuing at Delhi as a hostage for her son on his release by Azum Shah.

A small round seal with silver handle and brass face; weight $1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

PEISHWAS.

(Seal of Shámráj..... No. 8.) } Nilkantha Rájekam. The principal minister of the great Siváji was in A.D. 1650 dignified with the title of the Peishwa, but removed from that office in 1659.

1st Line.

Moro Trimal, Pingley. On whom the office of the Peishwa was bestowed in 1659 by the great Siváji. Died in A.D. 1682.

2nd. Nilkantho. Died in A.D. 1708. 3rd. Bahiro Pant was made Peishwa in A.D. 1708, and died in 1716. (Seal No. 9)

2nd Line. Vishwanáth Parashráam.

Appointed Peishwa in A. D. 1713, Died do. 1720.

Baláji Pant.

Appointed Peishwa in A. D. 1720, Died do. 1740.

Bájrío. (a)

Chimnáji Áppá.

Born in 1720 Appointed Peishwa in A. D. 1740, Died do. 1761.

Báláji Pant, alias Nana Sahab.

Raghunáthráo.

Janárdhan Pant.

Extinct.

Sadashivráo Bhaú.

Extinct.

Vishváráo.

Mádhaoráo. Born in A. D. 1744, Appointed Peishwa in A. D. 1761, Died do. 1772. (Seal No. 10.)

Naráyan Ráo. Born in A. D. 1755, Appointed Peishwa in A. D. 1772, Assassinated in A. D. 1773, (Seals Nos. 11 and 12.)

Amrutráo.

Bájrío. Born A. D. 1774, Appointed Peishwa on 4th December 1796. Surrendered himself on 3rd June 1816 on a pension not less than eight lakhs of Rupees a year.

Chimnáji Áppá. (b)

Born in A. D. 1774. Appointed Peishwa do. Threw himself down from terrace in his Palace and died in 1795.

Executed for rebellion in 1857.

Mádhaoráo his widow adopted

Chimnáji Áppá. Born in A. D. 1784-85. Appointed Peishwa in 1795.

Vináyakráo.

Naráyan Ráo. Extinct. Mádhao Ráo. Two Sons.

Náná Sáheb of Bithur. (c) Gangádhár Ráo. Dédá Sáheb. Pindurang Ráo.

(a) Báji Ráo had, by a Mussalman concubine, a son, who, following the religion of his mother, was named Samaher Báhádur. This was the father of Ali Báhádur, who conquered the greater part of Bundelkhand. On the establishment of British authority throughout Bundelkhand, Ali Báhádur's son, Shamsaher Báhádur, was glad to accept a provision of four lakhs a year, with permission to reside at Banda. He was commonly spoken of afterwards as "the Nawab of Banda." His brother, Zulákar Ali, succeeded him. The next Nawab, Ali Bahadur, joined the mutineers in 1857, and forfeited his pension. He was, for the remainder of his life, kept under surveillance at Indore. He died in 1873. His three sons are now at Indore, receiving their education at the Residency (Rajkumar) College.

(b) Executed for rebellion in 1857.

(c) The infamous perpetrator of the Cawnpore atrocities in 1857.

No. 8 श्रीशिवनरपतिहर्षनिधान सामराजमन्त्रिमत् प्रधानः

The wise minister Sámraj, the Receptacle of Delight (*i.e.*, much liked by) of the illustrious Shiva (ji), Lord of Men, (*i.e.* king).

मरतबशुद्ध

Let it be so ordered.

A small seal with silver handle and oval brass face; weight 2½ tolas. Mortab of similar pattern; weight 1 tola.

"A.D. 1656. The principal minister of Sivaji at this period was a Brahmin, named Shamraja Punt, whom he now dignified with the title of Peishwa; and as is common amongst Mahrattas with persons filling such a high civil station, he likewise held a considerable military command." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 150.) "Samraj was sent with a large force to invade the possessions of the Scedee in 1658, but was defeated by Fatehkhán with great slaughter, in consequence of which he was recalled and removed from the office of Peishwa." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 166).

The श is wrongly put for क्ष in the word निधान. The second letter in मन्त्रिमत् is indistinct, and the adjective form is not correctly grammatical. The seals were made by order of the Raja, which may account for the expressions 'wise minister' and 'receptacle of delight' being used, that being the Raja's opinion of the persons named, and not their own (perhaps).

• श्री •

No. 9 शाहनरपति हर्षनिधान मोरेश्वरसुत भैरव प्रधान.

Bhairava, the son of Moreshtar, the Minister of King Shálu, the Receptacle of Compassion.

Bahiro Pant, second son of Moro Trimal Pingley, was appointed Peishwa by King Shálu on the death of his brother Nilkanth A.D. 1708. In 1713 he commanded an expedition sent to protect the Concan and to repel Ángria, but was defeated and made prisoner, and in consequence was deprived of his office in 1714. He was succeeded by Báláji Vishvanáth, the founder of the second line of Peishwa, whose seal unfortunately is not in this collection.

A silver seal with heart-shaped face and hexagonal handle; weight 4½ tolas. Mortab handle same pattern, but no face.

No. 10 श्रीशिव श्रीराजाशाहनरपती हर्षनिधान माधवराव बल्लाळ प्रधान.

(A bow to the) glorious Shiva. Mádhavaráo Ballál, the Minister of the King Sháhu, the Lord of Men, the Receptacle of Delight.

लेखनसिमा.

Mádhavaráo Ballál was invested as Peishwa by Rám Rájá in 1761, and enjoyed that office until his death in 1772, during the reign of the same Raja. As it appears he was but five years old at the time of the death of Sháhu I., and died six years before the accession of Shahu II., the description of him as minister of king Sháhu seems inexplicable. "Although the military talents of Mahdoo Ráo were very considerable, his character as a sovereign is entitled to far higher praise, and to much greater respect, than that of any of his predecessors." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 228.)

The letters underlined are erroneously put long.

A silver seal with heart-shaped face and round handle; weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 11.

ॐ श्री ०

नारायण नरपति हर्षनिधान नारायणराव बल्लाळ मुख्यप्रधान.

Náráyanráo Ballál, the Chief Minister of H. H. Raja Rám, the Lord of Men, the Receptacle of Delight.

लेखनसीमा.

Náráyanráo succeeded on the death of his brother Mádhavaráo, and held the office of Peishwa only one year, when he was assassinated at the instigation of his uncle Raghunáth, as narrated in Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 216. He was then only eighteen years old.

A gold seal with round face and fluted handle; weight 11 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The last letter is reversed न. There is a story about this, viz.:— The seal was brought by the maker of it into the Rájá's presence and an impression made of it on paper, when this error was discovered. But as the letter न represents adversity it was allowed to remain reverted, and thus express prosperity.

No. 12.

ॐ श्री ०

श्रीनारायण नरपति हर्षनिधान नारायणराव बल्लाळ मुख्यप्रधान.

Náráyanráo Ballál, the Chief Minister of the illustrious Rájá Rám, the Lord of Men, the Receptacle of Delight.

लेखनसीमा.

A gold seal with oval face; weight 6 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

The legend is the same as on the last seal, except that अ is added before the king's name. The final letter is reversed as on the last seal.

THE PANT SACHIV FAMILY.

One of the eight hereditary ministers of the old Mahratta Empire.

The first Pant Sachiv, appointed by Sivájí in 1674, was Anájí Dattu, whom Sambhájí Maharaja executed at Pratabghur in 1680. He was succeeded by Rámchandra Nilkantha, who afterwards resigned the office, which then remained vacant for some time, until the appointment of Sankrájí Pant, after whose time the office became hereditary in the family.

Náro Pant.

(Seal No. 14.) | Shankrájí Pant.

A.D. 1697 to 1707.

(Seal No. 15.) | Náro Pant.

A.D. 1707 to 1737.

Adopted his nephew.

Chimnájí Pant.

A.D. 1737 to 1757.

Sadáshivaráo.

A.D. 1757 to 1787.

Ragunathráo.

A.D. 1787 to 1791.

Shankrájí Pant.

A.D. 1791 to 1798.

Adopted.

Chimnájí.

A.D. 1798 to 1827.

Adopted.

(Seal No. 16.) | Raghunáth.

A.D. 1827 to 1839.

Adopted.

(Seal No. 17.) | Chimnájí.

A.D. 1839 to 1871.

Shankar Ráo.

No. 13. श्री० हु० तपासनि जील्हा भोर०

The royal or Government revision or inquiry, (i.e., the audit of the revenue accounts), Zillah Bhere.

This seal appears to belong to the office of the Pant Sachiv. हु० is the contraction of हुजुर royal.

The letter underlined is wrongly put long.

A short silver seal, with heart-shaped face; weight 4½ tolas.

श्री. शंकराजी नारायण

Shri Shankarají Náráyan.

No. 14. पन्नायधिरयनाति

Here shines the limit of the document.

Shankarají Náráyan was appointed Pant Sachiv in 1697. He committed suicide in 1707, from remorse, it is said, in consequence of having taken a solemn oath to maintain the cause of Tárábái against his lawful prince.

A small silver seal, with oval face pointed at the side; weight 2½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 2¼ tolas.

No. 15. श्रीमच्छंकरसुत नारायण

Náráyan, the son of the illustrious Shankar.

मोर्तेबसुर

This is Náo Pant of the genealogy, third son of Shankarají Náráyan. He succeeded his father in the office.

A small silver seal with oval face and foliated handle; weight 2½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1 tola.

No. 16.

श्रीराजाप्रतापसिंह छत्रपती चरणीतत्पर रघुनाथराव त्रिमणाजी सचिव निरंतर.

The Minister Rāgunāthráo Chinnájí, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Pratáp Sinha, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

श्रीपत्रावधिरय भाति.

Here shines the limit of the document.

He was appointed Pant Sachiv in 1827 and died in 1839.

The long ती is wrongly put for the short ति.

A silver seal with heart-shaped face and plain round body; weight 7½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 2½ tolas.

Joined together by silver ring.

No. 17.

० श्री ०

श्रीराजाशाहाजि छत्रपती चरणी तत्पर त्रिमणाजीरघुनाथ सचिव निरंतर.

The Minister Chinnájí Rāgunáth, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhájí, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

श्री. पत्रावधिरयं माति.

The adopted son of Rāgunāthráo Chinnájí. Appointed in the year 1839.

ती of छत्रपति is written long here also. On the small seal म is engraved instead of न in भाति.

A silver seal, with heart-shaped face; weight 8½ tolas. Mortab of the same pattern; weight 3½ tolas.

THE PANDITRAO FAMILY.

One of the eight ministers of the Raja of Satara.

Sivájí bestowed this office in 1661 on Rāghunáth Bhata.

Sambhájí in 1683 appointed Kalájí Kalusha, who was killed in 1688, after which the office remained for some time vacant, Sháhu I. appointed his family priest.

Mudgalbhat,
A.D. 1715.

(Seal No. 18.) | Raghunáth,
A.D. 1754.

Rámchandra.

(Seal No. 19.) | Raghunáth,
A.D. 1796.

No. 18. श्रीमुद्गलव्यावामशाहुराजप्रसादजा
मुद्रापंडितरायस्य रघुनाथस्य राजते.

(Here) shines the seal of Raghunáth, the Chief or Prince of the Learned, obtained by the favour of King Sháhu,—(the royal favour itself) being gained through the mercy of the illustrious Sage Mudgal.

लेखनवधि.

The limit of the writing.

Raghunáth, son of Mudgalbhat, was appointed by Sháhu I.

A small seal with oval face and foliated body; weight $3\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The second letter of the word मद्गल appears more like द्र. "Mudgal is said to be the name of a Rishi said to be the author of the Rig-Veda." (M. Williams.) "A sage of this name is recorded in the Mahabharata to have lived a life of poverty, piety and self-restraint," &c. (Dowson's Classical Dictionary.) It is also said to be a name of the god Ganpati.

No. 19. श्रीमुद्गलव्यावामशाहुराजप्रसादजा
मुद्रा पंडितराजस्य रघुनाथस्य राजते.

Here shines the seal of Raghunáth, the Prince (*i.e.*, the best) of the Learned—the seal obtained by the favour of King Sháhu, which (*i.e.*, the king's favour) itself was gained by the grace of the illustrious Sage Mudgal.

लेखनालंकारः

The ornament or decoration of the writing.

This is believed to be the seal of Ragunáth, son of Rámchandra, who was Panditráo in the time of Sháhu II., but there is nothing in the legend to show that it is not another seal of Raghunáth of the time of Sháhu I.

The inscription is similar to the last, except that the word is पंडितराज instead of पंडितराय.

A silver seal with oval face ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern, but round face ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

THE CHITNIS* FAMILY.

Jiváji, *alias* Malharáo,
died in A.D. 1742.

↓
Rámráo,
died in A.D. 1805.

(Seal No. 20.) | Malharráo,
died in A.D. 1823.

(Seal No. 21.) | Narharráo,
alias Balvantráo,
died in A.D. 1843.

No. 20.

श्री

श्रीराजा शाहु छत्रपती चरणी तत्पर मल्लारी रामराव चीटनिरीस निरंतर.

The Secretary Mallári Rámráo, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

~ लेखनसीमा

He was appointed during the reign of Sháhu II.

छत्रपति is again engraved with long ती.

A silver seal with octagonal face and ornamented body ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 21.

श्रीराजा प्रतापसिंह चरणी तत्पर मल्लारसुत बळवंतराव चिटणीस निरंतर.

The Secretary Balvantráo, the son of Mallar, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Pratáp Sinha.

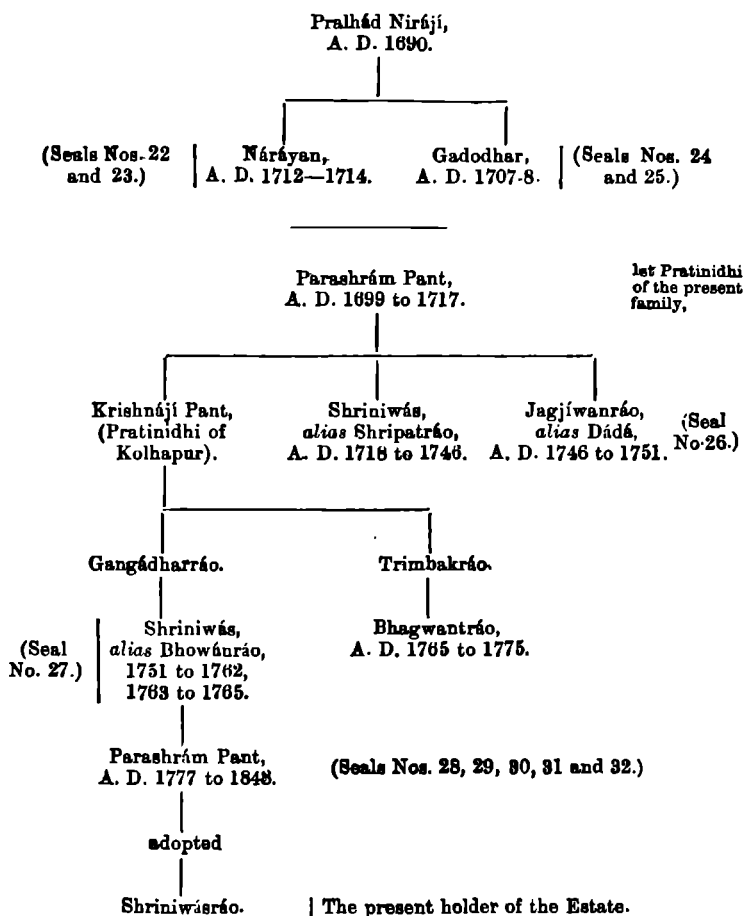
~ लेखनसीमा

Balvantráo succeeded his father in office during the reign of Pratáp Sinha.

A tall silver seal with octagonal face ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

* Clerk of Correspondence appointed by the great Siváji.—Grant Duff, Chapter VII., page 237.

THE PRATINIDHI.



The present family is descended from Trimbak Krishna Kulkarni of Mouje Kinhai in the Koregaon Taluka. His son, Parashrá́m Pant, was appointed Pratinidhi by Rájá Rám in 1698, but in the following year was made Peishwa instead. In 1700 he was again appointed Pratinidhi by Tírábái, widow of Rájárám, whose chief general he was in the civil war of that time. He was taken prisoner by Sháhu in 1707, and the office of Pratinidhi confirmed on Gadodhar Pralhád, the son of the Pralhád Náráyan. On the death

of Gadodhar in 1710, Parashráam Pant was restored, but the office was again taken from him the following year and conferred on Náráyan Pralhád. The office was however again restored to him in 1713-14, and made hereditary in his family.

No. 22.

ॐ श्री ०

शाहभूपविश्वासनिधि प्रल्हादजन्मनः

नारायणस्य मुद्रेयं बाळेंदुरिव राजते.

Here shines, like the newly-risen moon (*lit.*, the young moon), the seal of Náráyan, the son of Pralháda, the Receptacle of the Confidence of King Sháhu.

राजते लेखनावधी

Náráyan was appointed Pratinidhi A.D. 1712.

Here the attribute विश्वासनिधि by the strict rules of Sanskrit grammar qualifies Pralháda, but it is no doubt meant to apply to Náráyan. The cerebral ङ is wrongly put for the dental ण.

A silver seal, with octagonal face and handle, rudely ornamented ; weight $4\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2 tolas.

No. 23.

श्रीमत्र्यंबकभक्तस्य शाहप्रतिनीधेर्मता

नारायणस्य मुद्रेयं प्रल्हादतनुजन्मनः ॥

This is the honoured seal of Náráyan, the son of Pralháda, the Vicegerent of Sháhu, the devotee (*i. e.*, devotee attached to) of the glorious Tryambak (*i. e.* Shiva).

लेखनावधि

The limit of the writing.

According to Grant Duff, Náráyan was killed by Zulfikar Khan in 1698 ; but these seals would show that this was not so, as Sháhu, whose vicegerent he is here said to be, was not released from captivity until after the death of Aurangzib in 1707, and not formally seated on the throne until 1707-8, and really he held the office of Pratinidhi under Sháhu from 1712 to 1714, during a time when Parashráam Pant was deprived of it.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. The long नी in प्रतिनिधि is in defiance of grammar and meter put for the short नि.

A short silver seal, with eight-foil face ; weight $3\frac{1}{4}$. Mortab same pattern ; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 24.

श्रीशंकर ॥ श्रीशाहु छत्रपति कृपानिधी ॥ प्रल्हादसुत गदाधर प्रतिनिधी.

(A bow to) Shri Shunkar (*i.e.* Shiva) Gadodhar, the son of Pralhád, the Vicegerent (of) the illustrious Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

लेखनः सीमा.

The limit of the writing.

Was appointed Pratinidhi by Shahu on his obtaining possession of Satara and formally seating himself on the throne (Grant Duff, Vol I., page 418), but was soon after deprived of the office, which was then given to Parashráam Pant.

The final vowels in two words are wrongly put long धी instead of short धि.

A silver seal with oval face, octagonal handle ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2¼ tolas.

No. 25. श्रीशंकर श्रीशाहु छत्रपती कृपानिधी प्रल्हादसुत गदाधर प्रतिनिधी.

(A bow to) Shri Shankar (*i.e.* Shiva) Gadodhar, the son of Pralháda, the Vicegerent of the illustrious Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

मोर्त्तबगुद.

The same Pratinidhi.

This is quite the same legend as the last, but the final vowel of छत्रपति is here wrongly put long, and that of the last word rightly short.

A short silver seal, with octagonal handle, rudely ornamented ; weight 4½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 1½ tolas.

No. 26.

० श्री ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजा शाहुछत्रपतिस्वामि
कृपानिधि तस्य जगजीवन परशुराम प्रतिनिधी

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Jagajivan Parashurám, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious King Shahu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

The youngest son of Parashráam Trimbak succeeded his brother Shrinivas in 1746-47. (Grant Duff, Vol. II., page 32-41.)

The final vowel of the last word is here again long instead of short.

A gold seal with round face and handle, ornamented with flowers, &c.; weight $4\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. No Mortab.

No. 27. श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजारामछत्रपति स्वामि कृपानिधि
तस्य श्रीनिवासगंगाधर प्रतिनिधी.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Shrinivás Gangádhar, the Vicegerent of King Ríjā Rám, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

मोर्तबसुद्ध.

Shrinivás Gangádhar, or Bhowánráo, succeeded his great uncle Jagjivan. Peishwa Raghunáthráo displaced him, and raised his own infant son to the dignity of Pratinidhi. (Grant Duff, Vol. II., page 169.) On the very day he died a son was born to him, who was named Parashráam.

The same mistake is again to be noticed on this seal.

A silver seal with octagonal face and handle, of rough workmanship; weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 28.

~ श्री ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजा बाहुछत्रपति
स्वामि कृपानिधी तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधी

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Parashráam Shrinivás, the Vicegerent of H. H. the King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

This is the seal of Parashráam Shrinivás under Sháhu II., and would be better placed after No. 30.

The account of his quarrel with his mother and the Peishwa, his confinement and deliverance by his Telin mistress, his subsequent rebellion, capture and imprisonment are narrated in Grant Duff, Vol. III., pages 339-342.

All the the seals of the Pant Pratinidhi begin with श्रीआई आदि पुरुष. The first part आई is the shortened form of Ambai, i.e., the goddess Amba or Bhawáni, the special family deity of the Pratinidhi, and still held in great veneration by their descendants at Oundha. The second part आदिपुरुष 'the original person or the supreme soul' is generally applied to Shiva or Vishnu. The final vowels of two words ending in दि are wrongly put long.

A short gold seal with octagonal face ; weight 5½ tolas. Mortab, handle without face.

No. 29.

ॐ श्री ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजाराम छत्रपति स्वामि
कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul ! Parashráam Shrinívás, the Vicegerent of H. H. Rájá Rám, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधि

(Here) shines the limit of the writing.

Parashráam Shrinívás was born the same year as Rám Ráj died, *i. e.*, 1777. This was therefore his seal when only a few months old.

The errors noted on the last seal are not found here, but on the small seal the common mistake is seen.

A gold seal very like the last, with octagonal face ; weight 4½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2 tolas.

No. 30.

ॐ श्री. ०

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजाराम छत्रपति स्वामि
कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul ! Parashráam Shrinívás, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious Rájá Rám, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधि

It is strange that two seals should have been required for this infant, during the short time between his birth and the death of Rám Ráj.

The legend is identical with the previous one. The error on the small seal is corrected.

A gold seal with octagonal face and handle ; weight 6½ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2½ tolas.

No. 31.

० श्री. ॐ

श्रीआई आदिपुरुष श्रीराजाप्रतापसिंह छत्रपति
स्वामि कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि.

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul ! Parashráam

Shrínivás, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious King Pratáp Sinha, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधि.

(Here) shines the limit of the writing.

Parashram remained in the hands of the Peishwa and was deprived of his jaghir until the reduction of the Peishwa and re-settlement of the country in 1818.

This again is the same person under Pratáp Singh.

A gold seal with octagonal face and handle; weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 32.

० श्री

श्रीआई आविपुरुष श्रीराजा शाहाजि छत्रपति
स्वामि कृपानिधि तस्य परशराम श्रीनिवास प्रतिनिधि

(A bow to the divine) Mother and the Supreme Soul! Parashram Shrínivás, the Vicegerent of H. H. the illustrious King Sháhájí, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Receptacle of Compassion.

राजते लेखनावधि

This is the Pratinidhi's seal under Sháhájí, the last Raja. He died in 1848.

क्षि for धि is again seen on the small seal.

A gold seal, with octagonal face and handle; weight 6 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

THE MUTÁLIK* FAMILY.

Shevdeo Pant.

↓
Emájí Pant.

↓
Shevdeo Pant.

↓
Antájí Pant.

↓
Vísudeo, *alias*
Bává Sáheb,
died in A.D. 1783.

⋮
adopted.
⋮

* Mutálik, or duty of the Pratinidhi.

(Seal No. 33.)
 Antájí, *alias*
 Dádá Sáheb,
 died in A.D. 1822.
 |
 Náryanráo, *alias*
 Tátia Sáheb,
 died in A.D. 1834.
 ⋮
 adopted
 ⋮
 Antájí, *alias*
 Dádá Sáheb.
 |
 Náráyanráo.

No. 33. श्रीभवानीप्रसन्न. श्रीराजाशाहुछत्रपती महिपालकतस्व
 आताजी वासुदेव आज्ञाधारक,

May the glorious Bhawání be propitiated! Atájí Vásudeo, obedient (*lit.*, the holder of orders) to the illustrious Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella, the Protector of the World (*lit.*, the earth).

मोर्तबसुदर.

This appears to be the seal of Antájí, the adopted son of Vásudeo, who was Mutálik during the reign of Sháhu II.

The क in महिपालक is wrongly written.

A silver seal, face with eight-leaved margin and round body ; weight $4\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

THE SOMAVANSHI FAMILY.

Devji.
 |
 (Seal No. 34.) Dáwáljí, Trimbakráo (Seal No. 35.)
 AD. 1737.
 |
 (Seal No. 36.) Anandráo,
 A.D. 1728.

No. 34.

श्रीराजाशाह(हु) छत्रपति स्वामिचरणितस्वर दावलजी
 सोमोसी सरलस्कर नीरतर.

Dáwáljí Somoshi (*i.e.*, of the lunar race), the Chief of the Army, devoted to the feet of H. H. the illustrious king Sháh(n), the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

लेखनसीमा

This is the person on whom Sháhu conferred the rank of Sur Lashkar in 1715. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 439.)

Here शाह is wrongly put for शाहु जि should be long सोमोशी is a corrupt form of सोमवंशी. The last word should be निरंतर.

A silver seal, with octagonal face and handle; weight $4\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No 35.

श्रीराजाशाहुचरणीतत्पर श्रीबकराव सोमवंशी सरलस्कर.

Trimbakráo Somavanshí (*i.e.* born of the lunar race or family), the Chief or Commander of the Army, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu.

मोर्तबसुध

The first syllable of the name is written long by mistake, and the nasal sign is omitted.

A small silver seal, octagonal face and handle; weight 4 tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight 2 tolas.

No. 36.

श्रीराजाशाह चरणि तत्पर आनंदराव सोमवंशि सरलस्कर.

Anandráo Somevanshi (*i.e.*, of the lunar race), the Chief of the Army, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháh(u).

मोर्तबसुध.

Here शाह is again written instead of शाहु and जि and शि should be long

Silver seal, octagonal face and body; weight $3\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

THE NIMBÁLKAR FAMILY.

Another principal chief, under the Bijapur government, was the Naik of Phultan, whose title was Rao Naik Nimbálkar, or Phultan Rao. The original name of this family is said to have been Powar, the name Nimbalkar is derived from the village of Nimbalik, now called Nimluk, where his ancestor resided. The origin of his Deshmukhee claims, on Phultan Desh, is unknown. The family is considered one of the most ancient in Maharashtra.

Nimbálkar was made Sur-Deshmukh of Phultan before the middle of the seventeenth century, by the king of Bijapur, as appears by original sunnuds of that date. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., Chapter II., pages 85-86.)

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| (Seal No. 37.) | Vángojí Naik.
 A.D. 1570 to 1630. |
| (Seal No. 38.) | Mudhájí Naik.
 A.D. 1630 to 1644.
 Killed by the King of Bija-
 pur. |
| (Seals Nos. 39 and 40.) | Bajáji Naik.
Prisoner at Bijapur until A.D. 1651
to 1676. |
| (Seal No. 41.) | Vángojí Naik.
 A.D. 1676 to 1693.
His nephew,
Jánojí Naik.
 A.D. 1693 to 1748. |
| (Seals Nos. 42, 43, and 44.) | Mudhájí Naik.
A.D. 1748 to 1765.
His widow Sagunábái.
 A.D. 1765 to 1774.
adopted
Málojí Naik.
 A.D. 1774 to 1777.
adopted |
| (Seals Nos. 45 and 46.) | Jánráo Naik.
 A.D. 1777 to 1825.
adopted
Bajáji Naik (or Bánají).
A.D. 1827 to 1828.
His mother Sáhebbi

adopted |
| (The present Jaghirdar.) | Mudhájí Naik
A.D. 1841. |

No. 37. वण्णागोजि नाईक.
Vanágoji Náik.

This is the oldest seal in the collection, being that of the "Wangojee Naik, better known by the name of Jugpal, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century, and was notorious for his restless and predatory habits. The sister of Jugpal was the grandmother of the famous Sivajee." (Grant Duff, Vol. I. p., 86.)

A figure of a plough is under the inscription. The letters underlined are in the Modi character.

Small silver seal with square face and body; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 38.

मुधोजी वसुगोजी नईक

Mudhojí Vanúgojí Naik,

मरताब.

Son of Vanagojí.

The letters underlined are in Modi character and न is used instead of ना in the last word.

Small silver seal with square face and sides; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same general pattern but with heart-shaped face and round body; weight 1 tola.

No. 39.

बजाजी महाराजी नाईक.

Bajājí Mahádáji Náik.

मोतबसुद.

The son of Mudhojí, contemporary of Sivájí.

A letter is in Modi character on this seal also.

The reading of the second name is doubtful to me, the first letter seeming to be more like क but the Pundits have given महाराजी.

Small silver seal, square face and octagonal body; weight 2 tolas. Mortab same pattern, one heart-shaped face and round body; weight $\frac{3}{4}$ tola.

No. 40.

श्री. बजाजी मुधोजी नाईक.

Shri Bajájí Mudhojí Náik.

मोतबसुद.

The same Náik.

On this seal the second name is undoubtedly मुधोजी.

Small silver seal with square face and eight-sided body, carved and ornamented; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern but face heart-shaped; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 41. श्रीरामचरणी तत्पर जानाजी वणगाजी नाईक नींबाळकर.

Jánájí Vanagájí Náik Nimbálkar, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám.

Jánojí Nimbálkar is mentioned in Grant Duff, Vol. II., p. 95, as fighting for the Peishwa in 1756.

By Shri Rám, probably the deity of that name is meant.

Silver seal, square face, eight-sided body, rudely ornamented ; weight 3 tolas. Mortab heart-shaped face and rounded body ; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 42.

श्रीमाहाराजचरणी तत्पर मुधोजी नारक नीरतर.

Mudhojí Náik, devoted to the feet of His Highness (*lit.* the great king).

लेखनसीमा

Mudhojí, son of Janojí.

The name of the king is not given. The र underlined is used instead of ह and the नी ought to be short.

Silver, eight-sided body, rudely carved, face square and brass ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab same pattern, face heart-shaped, brass ; weight 1 tola.

No. 43.

मुधोजी जानोजी नार्छिक

Mudhojí Jánojí Náik.

This is the same man.

The letters underlined are in Modi.

Silver, square face, round ornamented body ; weight $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

No. 44.

श्रीरामचरणी तत्पर मुधोजी जानोजी नार्छिक देशमुख नीबाळकर.

Mudhojí Jánojí Náik Deshmukh Ni(m)balkar, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám.

श्रीमर्यादा शोभते मम.

Shri. Here shines my limit.

This again is the same, the name is given in full. A plough is engraved on this seal.

Silver, of rude workmanship, face square, body round and thin ; weight 3 tolas.

Mortab of same pattern, with heart-shaped face ; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tola.
No. 45.

श्रीरामचण्डी मालोजीसुत जानाजी नाइक नीबालकर देशमुख

Jánojí Náik Ní(m)balkar Deshmuk, the son of Málojí, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám (*i.e.* the deity).

मोर्तबसुद.

This is supposed to be the same as Jánráo on the next seal.

The इ of नाइक should be long. नीबालकर is written instead of निबालकर with sometimes क and sometimes ल.

Silver, square face, eight-sided body, rudely ornamented ; weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab, heart-shaped face, rounded body ; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tola.

No. 46.

श्रीनान्मचरणि तत्पर मालोजीसुत जानराव नाइक नीबाळकर.

Jánráo Náik Nimbáلكar, the son of Málojí, devoted to the feet of Shri Rám.

मोर्तब सुद.

Jánráo son of Maloji.

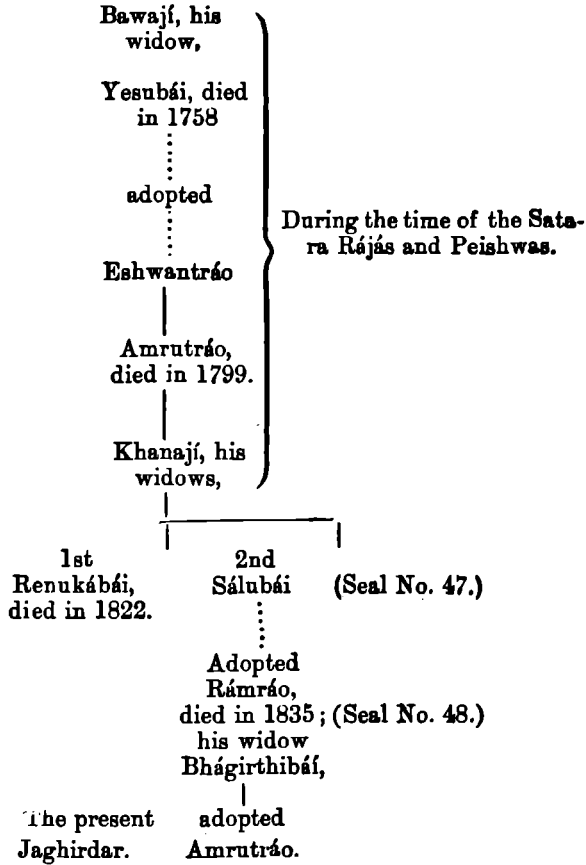
Silver, square face, eight-sided ornamented handle ; weight $5\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

Mortab same pattern, heart-shaped face, six-sided handle ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

THE DUFLAY FAMILY.

"The Duflays were Deshmookhs of the Pergunna of Jhutt, not far from Beejapoor ; their original name was Chowan, and they acquired the surname of Duflay from their village of Dnflapoor, of which they were hereditary Patels. They held a munsub, but no title from the Beejapoor kings." (Grant Duff, Vol. I., pp. 87, 88.)

| | | |
|----------|---|--|
| Lakhmojí | } | During the time of the
Mahomedan kings of
Bijapur. |
| Shetiají | | |



No. 47. श्रीरामलिंग चरणि तत्पर साळुबाई उफळे देशमुख प्राच्यार प्रांत
विजापुर. नीरतर.

Sálubái Daffe Deshmukha (of) the four districts of the province (of) Bijapur, devoted to the feet of the glorious Rámaling. For ever.

Sálubái, widow of Khánájí.

This lady held the Deshmukhi of the four districts, named जत, Jat, करजगी Karajgi, बारडोल Bardol, होनवाड Honwad. प्रा is a contraction for the word pargana or district; according to another reading of the inscription the word प्राच्यार is taken as meaning 'Eastern.' The first syllable of निरंतर is wrongly written long.

Large silver seal, heart-shaped face, plain round body; weight 5½ tolas.

No. 48. श्रीरामलिंग. श्रीराजा प्रतापसिंह छत्रपती चरणी तस्वर रामराव
डफळे देवमुख पो। जत करजगी. नीरतर.

(A bow to) Shri Rāmling. Rāmrao Daffe Deshmukha pargana Jat and Karajgi, devoted to the feet of the illustrious king Pratāp Sinha, the Lord of the Umbrella.

Rāmrao was the adopted son of Sālubāi.

पो is here taken to stand for pargana, but it may be a contraction for पैवस्ती 'inhabitant.' The final syllable of छत्रपति is written long.

Large silver seal, with heart-shaped face, eight sided, with ornamented body; weight 8½ tolas.

AKALKOTE.

On the return of Shāhu to the Deccan after his release from captivity by the Emperor of Delhi, he was attacked at the village of Parud by the partisans of Tūrābāi, under Syājī Lakhanday, the patel. Syājī was killed and his followers defeated. His widow threw herself and her three boys at the feet of Shāhu, imploring his forgiveness and protection. The king told the mother that if she would give up the oldest son, Ranojī, a boy of about 10 years old, he would provide for him. The mother gave her son up, and he being a good looking lad, grew in favour with the Rājā; the name of Faté Sing was given to him on the occasion of his first success in the field, and in 1712 Shāhu took him into his family, gave him the family name of Bhonslay, and afterwards bestowed on him the Akalkote State in hereditary jaghir.

Faté Sing died in 1760.

Faté Sing, *alias* Bāwā Sāheb,
A. D. 1749 to 1760,
Adopted his nephew,
|
Shāhajī, *alias* Bābā Sāheb,
A. D. 1760 to 1789.
|
Faté Sing, *alias* Abbā Sāheb.
A. D. 1789 to 1822.
|

Málojí, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1822 to 1828.

Shúhají, *alias* Appá Sáheb,
A. D. 1828 to 1857.

Málojí, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1857 to 1870.

Shúhají, *alias* Bábá Sáheb,
A. D. 1870.

No. 49.

श्रीशिवशंभुस्वामिनि शाहभूपे (च) पार्थिवोत्तसे ॥
परिपनुचेतोदृतः फतेसिहस्य मुद्रेयं ॥
(परिसर्पनुचेतोदृतः)

May this seal of Fattesinha (the favourite) (serve or go to the feet of the best of kings Shivájí, Sambhájí and Sháhu. or, This (is) the seal of Fattesinha, whose mind bows to the glorious Shiva, Shambu and the head ornament of princes, King Sháhu.

लेखनावधी मुद्रा

The mark of the limit of the writing.

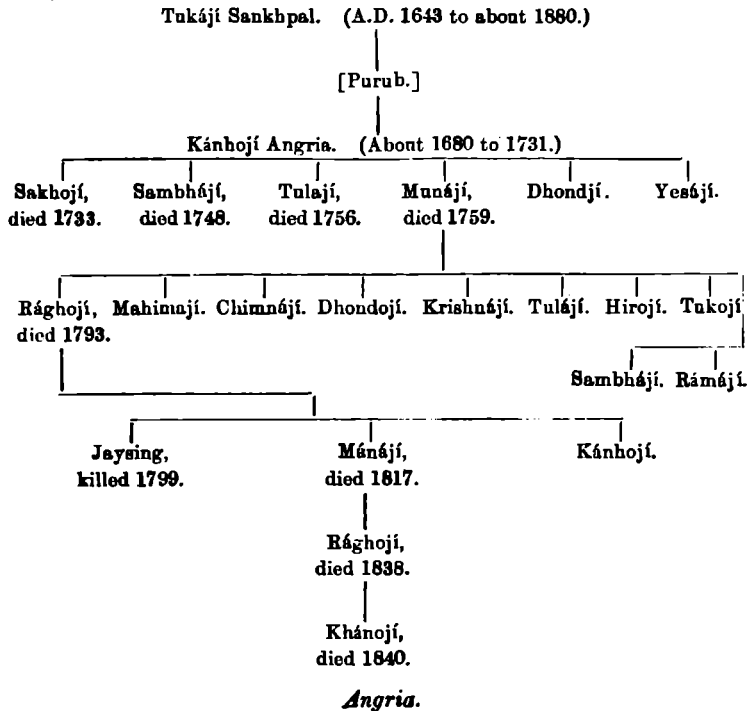
Silver seal with oval face and rounded plain body ; weight 5 tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight 2 tolas.

This is the Sanskrit Áryá metre. In the first part some such letter as च is wanted to make up the metrical feet. In the second part the expression underlined is quite wrong ; it gives no sense, letters being omitted and some transposed. That written in brackets is, as suggested by Prof. Bhandárkar, the expression probably meant.

ANGRIA.

The founder of the family was Tukájí Sankhpál. According to Goose, a well-informed writer, Tukájí was a negro born in an island in the Gulf of Ormuz, a Musalmán by religion, who in 1643 was shipwrecked near Cheul. He helped Sháhji in his war with the Moghals, married the daughter of Shahji's minister, and had a son named Purab, who was the father of Kánhojí. Kánhojí, who is said to have got his name Angria from Angarvádi, a village near Harnai in Ratnágiri, was in 1690 appointed second in command of Rájárán's fleet. In 1698, on the death of Sidojí Gujár, the admiral of the

fleet, Kánhojí, succeeded to the command. He soon showed himself a most daring and enterprising leader, plundering the ships of all nations, and sacking all undefended towns from Trávankor to Bombay. He made Kolába, the small island fort close to Alibág, his head-quarters, and established stations at Swarndurg and Vijaydurg in Ratnágiri. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI., pp. 145-6.) According to other accounts, Kánhojí was the son instead of grandson of Tukájí. He was for about 30 years the terror of all shipping on the coast, and successfully resisted all attacks made on him by Moghals, Marathas, Dutch, Portuguese and English, and defeated the united forces of two and three of these Powers on more than one or two occasions.



No. 50.

श्रीराज्जयस्य चरनी सादर तुकोजीस्य कानाजी आगरे नीरतर

Kánáji Á(n)gare, the son of Tukojí, devoted to the feet of the illustrious Rájá Rám. For ever.

श्रीमयदिये धने दर्या

Here is the glorious limit full of wealth. (Stream of wealth.)

Kánají Angria, the son of Tukají, sat on the *gadi* of the Kolaba State in A.D. 1698, and died in 1729. He was second in command of the fleet of Rajaram in 1690. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 368.)

राज is wrongly written for राजा, नी for नी in चरणी. The nasal n of आंगरे is omitted.

The last word of the small seal is very peculiar.

Small silver seal, with oval face and eight-sided body, alternate sides ornamented; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab, oval face and rounded body; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

BHONSLE.

No. 51. मका बाई भां.

Maká Bai Bhonsle.

In the middle of the seal is the figure of a plough, above it being the sun and moon and मका बाई, and below it भां, probably a contraction for Bhonsle.

Silver, the face oval on a ring; weight $1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

No. 52. श्रीरामराजे भोंसले देशमुख प्रांत वार्द.

Shri Rámráje Bhonsle, Deshmukha Prant (province) Vai.

मोर्तेब सुद.

There is a figure of a plough beneath the inscription.

Silver, octagonal face and body, no carving; weight 3 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{4}$ tola.

No. 53. श्रीरामराजे भोंसले देशमुख प्रांत कनाड.

Shri Rámráje Bhonsle, Deshmukha Prant, (i.e., province) Karad.

मोर्तेब सुद

These three seals belonged to the Deshmukhs of Prant Vai, an office belonging to the Rájás of Satara. As the Rájás attached great importance to these Deshmukhi Watans, they chose to affirm these seals to certain documents, although they had their proper seals as Rájás of Satara.

This seal is quite like the last one, except that another province is named.

Silver seal, with octagonal face and body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 54.

०श्री०

नृज्जा शाह चरणी द्रुढभाव माहदेवसुत यशवंतराव.

Yeshwantráo, the son of Mábadev, firmly attached to the feet of King Sháhu.

मोर्तब सुव.

This person held the offices of Khasnavis (Private Secretary) and Potnavis (Private Accountant).

Here द्रु is wrongly put in the word द्रुढभाव

Well-made silver seal, with round face and body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1 tola.

No. 55.

श्रीराजा शाह चरणी तत्पर आ देशमुख पा वई माहाराजी
गणेश नीरंतर

Máhádájí Ganesh, Deputy Deshmukh of Pergana Vai, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu. For ever.

लेखनावधी.

Máhádájí Ganesh was Deputy Deshmukh of Prant Wai.

In this शाह is again written instead of शाहु ण of चरणी is in Modi character, आ is an abbreviation for अजाहत which means 'deputy,' पा is abbreviation for pergana; the नीरंतर is a common error in these seals.

Silver seal, octagonal face and body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 56.

۴۹ — شاهي گنس سرى شہاڻي Mahádájí Gunesh.

This is probably a private seal of the same person.

Silver, ring handle, face oval, brass; weight 1 tola.

No. 57. श्रीस्वामिनो हस्तकस्थेयं देशमुख्याधिकरिण

बाबासुत मरीयस्य मुद्रा वैरटिकेकवा.

This is the seal of me, the son of Baba, the attendant of his illustrious Highness, who has been invested with the authority of a Deshmukha (i.e., Revenue Collector).

This is in Sanskrit shloka metre; it is curious that neither the name of the Deshmukh, nor that of the illustrious Highness, is mentioned as far as can be made out. It is supposed to be the seal of a Deputy Deshmukh.

The meaning of the last six letters cannot be made out, although the most learned have been consulted. There is probably some transposition of letters, as they are very distinctly engraved as here given.

Handsome silver seal, with round face and well carved body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 58. श्रीशिवचरणी तत्पर प्रयाग आनृत नीरंतर.

Prayúga Ana(n)ta, devoted to the feet of the glorious Shiva.

मोर्तब सुद.

This man was appointed commandant of the Fort of Satara during the reign of Sháhu I. His descendants now enjoy in inam the village of Kalamba, Taraf Parali, in the Satara Collectorate.

The ग in प्रयाग is ill-shaped.

Silver seal, oval face, rounded rudely carved body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

Mortab of same pattern; $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 59.

°श्री°

राजाशाहु छत्रपति स्वामी चराणि तत्पर पंताजी शिवडे नीरंतर.

Pantáji Shivade, devoted to the feet of H. H. the illustrious King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella.

मोर्तब सुद.

The dignity of Ráj Adnya was conferred upon this person by a royal mandate, dated 1st Rabi-ul-Awal, A.D. 1727-28.

Silver seal, octagonal face and body; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 60.

श्रीभवानीदांकर प्रसन्न. श्रीराजाशाहु स्वामी छत्रपती चरसुणी तत्पर

हरी मोरेस्वर नीरंतर.

May the glorious Bhawáni and Shankar (Shiva) be propitiated! Harí Mores(h)war devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháhu, the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

लेखनसीमा.

No royal mandate has been found conferring the dignity of Ráj Adnya on this person, but in a memo. prepared under the orders of Pratáp Singh, now lying among the records at Poona, Harí Moreswar is shown to be one of the Ráj Adnyas.

स्व is written in error for श्व and there are the usual errors in quantity also.

Silver seal, oval face, round body ; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern ; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 61.

श्रीहरी. माधवराव चरणी तस्वर बाबुराव कृष्ण(ण) निरंतर.

(A bow to) Shri Hari! Báburáo Krishna, devoted to the feet of Mádhavráo. For ever.

This man was Mamlatdar of the Fort of Satara. By a *sanad*, dated 10 Saban, A. D. 1797, he was dismissed from his appointment. He is spoken of as the agent of Nana Furniweis in the account of this in Grant Duff, Vol. III., p. 157.

The name after बाबुराव is written clumsily as above, but that Krishna was intended is evident from the next seal.

Silver, heart-shaped face, rounded body, roughly carved ; weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 62. श्रीहरि. बाजीराव चरणी तस्वर बाबुराव कृष्ण निरंतर.

(A bow to) Shri Hari (a deity). Báburáo Krishna, devoted to the feet of Bájiráo. For ever.

This seal appears to have been his when he was devoted to the Peishwa.

A silver seal of similar shape and pattern to No. 61 ; weight 6 tolas.

The 'shna' in Krishna is written in an archaic form, and is not very legible at first sight. It is however much more distinct than on the preceding seal. निरंतर is as usual written with the first syllable long.

No. 63. श्रीविजयते. श्रीमदंबापद्वंद्वभजनावामसंपदः

मुद्रानंतारमपुत्रस्व वासुदेवस्व राजते.

The Fortune prospers. Here shines the seal of Vásudeo, the son of Anantáram, who has obtained prosperity by the worship of the two feet of the glorious Ambá (*i.e.*, the goddess Bhawani).

I have not been able to identify Vasudeo, son of Anantarám.

A silver seal, well ornamented, face oval, with 10-leaved edge, rounded body ; weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of same pattern, but wanting face.

As the inscription stands the name of Vasudeo's father is Anantáram, but such a name is not known. It is probable that the r put after त properly belongs to the र, the name would in that case read अनंतराम Anantarám, a name which though not common is analogous to other ordinary names as Dhurgarám, Shantarám, &c.

No. 64. श्रीराजारामचरणी तत्पर धावजीसुत बाबाजीपारठ नीरंतर.

Báwá(bá)ji Párata, the son of Dháwají, devoted to the feet of the illustrious Rájá Rám. For ever.

This person is unknown also.

बाबाजी is no doubt a mistake for बाबाजी, पारठ Párata is an unusual surname.

A silver seal, round face and plain body; weight 2 tolas.

No. 65. श्रीपांडुरंग चरणिद्वभान चागोजीसुतपीळाजी जाधव.

Pílájí Jád hava, the son of Chá(u)gojí, firmly attached to the feet of Shri Pándurang (*i.e.* the deity).

मोर्तब सुर.

A Sillidar of this name is mentioned in Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 427, as assisting to save Balaji Vishvanath from the Senapati Chunder Sen Jadao.

The णि should be नी in चरणी, पिळाजी should be spelt with ल.

A silver seal, octagonal face and body, roughly carved in pattern; weight 3 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1½ tola.

No. 66. श्रीमार्तंड चरणी चित खंडोजी विन दमाजी योनात.

Khandojí Thorat, the son of Damájí entirely (*lit.*, fully, wholly,) at the feet of the glorious Marta(n)d (*i.e.*, the Sun) or Khandobá.

मोर्तब सुर.

Unknown.

The letter underlined is indistinct, and the word चित is unusual.

Silver seal, oval face, body round and well ornamented in leaf pattern; weight 3 tolas. Mortab of same pattern; weight 1½ tola.

No. 67. श्रीराजा शाह छत्रपती चरणी तत्पर यशवतराव पालकर

हावालदार नीरतर.

The Hawáldár (*i.e.*, the head officer under a Subhedar or Revenue Collector) Yashwa(n)tráo Pálkar, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Sháh(n), the Lord of the Umbrella. For ever.

मोर्तेब सुद.

It seems doubtful whether this was the seal of Yashvantráo Dábháde, who was appointed Senápati when a child on the death of his father Trimbakráo, A. D. 1731. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 510.)

Here Shah is again put for Sháhu, and the usual errors in quantities are made. ष is a mistake for श in यशवंतराव.

Silver seal, round face and plain round body; weight $3\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 68. श्रीशाह नृपवर्य चरुणी आतिसादर सेवक आनदराव
जाधव नीरतर.

The servant Ána(n)drao Jádhav, most respectful to the feet of the best of kings, the illustrious King Sháh(u). For ever.

मोर्तेब सुद.

Unknown.

Silver, round face, body well carved in leaf ornament; weight $3\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

The letters underlined are miswritten as on other seals.

No. 69. श्रीमार्तंड चरुणि चीतः खडाजीसुत सटीयाजी धारत.

Satiyáji Thárat (for Thorat), the son of Khadáji (Khandojí,) entirely devoted to the feet of the glorious Mártand (*i.e.*, the Sun).

मोर्तेब सुद.

चीत is the same word as on seal No. 67. The last word should be योरात.

Silver seal, of rude workmanship, oval face, and eight-sided plain body; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab of like pattern; weight 1 tola.

No. 70. فتح افضل خان محمد شاهى بنده درگاه الهى سنه ۱۰۶۳

Fath Afzal Khán Muhammad Sháhi, 'the servant of God; year 1063.

This is probably the seal of Afzal Khan, the commander of the Bijapur army, who was so treacherously murdered by Siváji in October 1659, *i.e.*, A. H. 1070. Grant Duff, in his account of this, Vol. I., p. 175, says that Afzal Khan's sword was still a valued trophy in the armoury of Sivaji's descendant.

The workmanship and form of letters on this seal are far superior to the others in the Persian character in the collection.

Silver seal, round body, and heart-shaped copper face, beautifully cut; weight $4\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

No. 71. ۱۰۵۹ شمس را روشني از نور محمد باشد

The sun has his light from the rays of Muhammad. Year 1059.

Small seal, silver body and oval agate face; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

Probably this was the seal of a man named Shams, whose patron was named Muhammad as well as his Prophet.

No. 72. | ۴۳ مدننگ خانه زاد بادشاه عالم گیر غازی

1111

Madan Sing, slave child of King Alamgir the Brave; Year 43.

Year 1111.

Madan Sing, illegitimate son of Sambhaji, was together with Shahu and Yesubai captured at Raigurh in 1690, and kept a prisoner in the camp of Aurungzib. (Grant Duff, Vol. I., p. 414.)

A. H. 1111 was the 43rd year of Alamgir's reign.

Silver ring, body round, brass foil; weight 2 tolas.

No. 73. ۱/۲/ ۷۱ شيخ قیلان غلام غوث

The fortunate Shaik Ghulam Ghose.

Silver seal, oval face, plain round body; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 74. دانجي بن گوندراو

Danji, son of Govindráo.

Small silver seal, round face, and eight-sided body; weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola.

No. 75. हुजूर अवालत.

The Royal or Government Court.

Silver ring, round face.

No. 76. जसो सरसुभा.

The Sar Subhá (*i. e.* the principal province) Japti.

Silver ring, round face.

This seal may have been impressed upon certain accounts of the management of some land and villages under attachment by the Sar Subhá.

- No. 77. श्रीखजीना लस्कर.
Shri. The Treasury-Guard.
Silver ring, heart-shaped face.
- No. 78. श्री मोर्तेब सुध.
Shri. With the seal.
Heart-shaped face and silver wire handle.
ध is here written in error instead of इ.
- No. 79. लेखनाळंकरण भाति.
(Here) shines the ornament or decoration of the writing.
Silver, oval face, rounded handle.
ळ is an error for ल.
- No. 80. पत्रावधिरयं भाति.
Here shines the limit of the writing.
- No. 81. मर्यादेयं विराजते.
Here shines the limit.
- No. 82. लेखनाळंकरण भाति.
(Here) shines the decoration of the writing.
- No. 83. श्रीमर्यादेयं विराजते.
Here shines forth the glorious limit.
Gold handle and heart-shaped silver face; weight 4½ tolas.
- No. 84. श्रीमर्यादेयं.
Here is the glorious limit.
Gold handle and heart-shaped face; weight 3½ tolas.
- No. 85. مرتب شد
Silver, oval face, round handle; weight 1½ tola.
- Area—*
- No. 86. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بادشاه شاه محمد معين الدين غازی
شاه عالم بهادر شاه غازی
There is but one God and Muhammad is the Prophet of God.
The King is Shah Muhammad Muayan-ud-deen Ghazi Shah Alum Bahadur Shah Ghazi.
Note.—The first phrase is written لا الا الله ل is omitted from رسول and ا from بهادر

Inner circle—

صاحب قرآني ملكة و سلطنتم پادشاه بحكم الله و خدا محمد رسول
الله

A Fortunate Prince, he possessed and reigned king by the grace of God and the Lord Muhammad the Prophet of God.

Note.—صاحب is misspelt ساهب , r is put for ح in بحكم and ل is omitted from رسول

Outer circle—

خليفة رهنمائي زله الحاجي ساهنسي و عبادت اراي حقا آنا
الله شفا لاربيبي سفير رحيم

Khalif, Prophet, Protector of the Needy (Pilgrims), King of Kings, the ornament of Religion, verily like the Lord God, an undoubted Physician (cure), a kind Mediator.

Note.—There are many misspellings and some doubtful words in this part.

Very large silver seal, with oval handle and copper face; weight 15 tolas.

This seal is very puzzling, being extremely difficult to read, owing to misspellings and misshaped letters. Dr. Dymock is the only person who has made anything of the whole legend. Besides this there is the difficulty, whose seal was it? There can be no doubt, I think, that it is not a real one of any king, nor was it made by nor probably intended for use amongst persons having much knowledge of the language or character in which it is written, such errors as those in spelling the words Allah and Sahib for instance being so very gross. I am inclined to think it an imitation of the seal of one of the Mogal emperors or princes. The name is given as Shah Muhammad Muayan-ud-deen, but I know of no such person. Aurangzib's name was Muhi-ud-deen محي الدين, which seems nearest to this phonetically, but he had not the name Muhammad, and was generally known from quite early in his reign as Aurangzib, and certainly was so known in the Deccan. His son, afterwards Bahadur Shah, was named Muhammad Mauzam محمد معظم and he was for a long time Viceroy in the Deccan, under the name of Sultan Mauzam. His son, again, Jehándúr Shah, had the name Mauz-ud-deen معزالدين.

The impression of no seal like it could be found in the Poona Daftar, but there are some of that of Sultan Mauzam with this legend.

محمد معظم شاه عالم بن المگیر پادشاه غازی (بن) شاه اکبر
۱۰۸۷ سنہ ۱۹

I think that probably Sultan Mauzam is the king or prince intended to be named on this seal, as he was so long in these parts viceroy of the Emperor, his father, and on the whole his name and titles are nearer to what is here given than those of the others, but at the same time it must be admitted that although there are many errors in the spelling, yet phonetically each word is tolerably correct, and that Muayan-ud-deen is perhaps in sound more like to Muhi-ud-deen than to Mauzam.
