

SILVER COINS HOARD OF THE LATE MUGHALS FROM KOHAT

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A hoard of silver coins of the late Mughals was reported in 2002 from the tribal area Arakhel Payan, some 30km northeast of the Kohat city. Lying in a terracotta pot, it was accidentally dug out by some boys from the nearby fields. Mr Gul Muhammad, inhabitant of the same village, told about this discovery and also helped the author to see the collection and photograph some selected coins for study. For this the author is grateful to him as well as the owners. I also thank KK Maheshwari, IIRNS at Nasik in India, who provided me useful literature on the Mughal coinage. The hoard contained 53 silver coins of the following late Mughal Emperors and one of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

S. No.	Name of the Ruler	Accession Date: AH/AD	Number of coins
	Shah Jahan	(1037/1628)	01
2.	Aurangzeb Alamgir	(1068/1658)	09
3.	Shah Alam I	(1119/1707)	02
4.	Jahandar Shah	(1124/1712)	01
5.	Farrukh Siyar	(1124/1713)	10
6.	Rafi-ud-Darajat	(1131/1719)	01
7.	Muhammad Shah	(1131/1719)	24
8.	Ahmad Shah	(1161/1748)	03
9.	Alamgir II	(1167/1754)	02
10.	Ahmad Shah Durrani	(1160/1747)	01

It seems that the coins were hoarded from the last decade of Aurangzeb, as indicated by dates on them, to the time of Alamgir II. The hoard was buried, probably, after the decline of the Mughal dynasty and establishment of the Durrani's rule to the west of the Indus. The only coin of Shah Jahan in the hoard was struck in AH 1039 and that of Ahmad Shah Durrani in AH 1164, bracketing a period of one and a quarter centuries. Average life of the hoard from Aurangzeb Alamgir to Ahmad Shah Durrani ranges from 50 to 60 years.

1. Shah Jahan (AD 1628-1658)

The coin of Shah Jahan in the hoard struck in the 2nd year of his rule appears to have been in circulation. It belongs to the Thatta mint, a leading one during the time of the Great Mughals. It is a common type: the obverse exhibits *kalima*, mint name *Thatta* and the word *Ilahi* along with the Persian month *Mihr*. The word *Mihr* appears quite new on this series of coins as it is not mentioned in the Lahore Museum Catalogue. The reverse shows full name and titles of the emperor that occupy the whole flan. The *Kalima* on the Mughal coins had been discarded from Akbar's coins after he introduced his new creed *Din-i-Ilahi*. It is rarely seen on Jahangir's coins but it became a prominent feature of Shah Jahan's coins and then completely abandoned by Aurangzeb. Thereafter, except rare types of gold and silver of Shahjahanabad mint of Alamgir II,¹ the *kalima* completely disappeared from the Mughal coins.

2. Aurangzeb Alamgir (AD 1658-1707)

The coins of Aurangzeb Alamgir exhibit on their obverse his favourite Persian distich *Sikkah Zad Dar Jahan Chu Muhar Munir / Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir* and *Hijra* date. The reverse shows his

distinguished Persian formula, which not only became the common feature of the successive Mughal coins, but, it was also retained on the Durrani coins. These coins were issued from different mints: one from Ajmer, Two from Thatta, one from Shahjahanabad, two from Lahore, one from Lucknow, one from Multan and one from Gulkanda. All of them belong to one common type with the above-mentioned Persian distich, used both for gold and silver coins. The only change observed is either in the order of words or in the placement of date, which is usually written in the top but sometimes in the bottom line as well. In rare cases both in gold and silver coins, he used square area for the obverse and reverse. The obverse contains the emperor name in the centre and remaining distich of the same type on the margin and the reverse comprises *Sanah Julus or Sanah Julus Maimnat Manus* in the centre and other components on the margin. In gold these coins were issued from Jahangirnagar and in silver from Junagarh.

As a rule epithet *Muharrar Munir (Mehr-e Munir)* was struck on gold coins and *Badr Munir (Badr-e Munir)* on silver coins. In the beginning this, however, was not a hard and fast rule where the epithets on the gold and silver issues were interchanged. This practice was limited to a few mints like Surat and Kabul where *Badr Munir* was struck on the gold while mints at Akbarnagar, Ilahabad, Kambayat, Lahore and Multan struck *Muharrar Munir* on the silver issues. Coins issued from Akbarnagar are more dominant in number and length of time as they were issued even up to 38th regnal year. It was in the 2nd year of his coronation that he fixed the epithet *Muharrar Munir* for gold and *Badr Munir* for his silver coins. Except Akbarnagar, all other mints followed the same rule invariably. The reverse of his gold and silver coins bear a new legend *Sanah Julus Maimnat Manus* written in various forms—always interwoven with the mint name, regnal year and, sometimes, mint epithet.

In gold there is no more type. In silver some other types like *Abu al Muzaffar Muhiuddin/ Muhammad* (and date)/ *Bahadur Alamgir/ Aurangzeb/ Badshah Ghazi* or its variants from Ahmadnagar, Burhanpur, Thatta, Multan, Patna Akbarabad mints are also known. This type has a square area in the centre; *Badshah Ghazi/ Shah Alamgir* and the remaining parts of the legend are struck at the margin on the obverse, while on the reverse it has the mint name in the centre and the remaining legend at the margin. It is known from the Akbarabad mint only. The third type, a simple one, has a legend *Badshah Ghazi/ Bahadur Alamgir/ Zeb* (date)/ *Muhammad Aurang* on the obverse and the reverse is designed with his usual formula. This type was issued from Gulkanda only and was struck in the 1st year of his reign as many coins of this type from the same mint bears year *Ahad*. This mint was under the control of Abdullah (Qutub Shahi ruler) who had already issued a tributary rupee in the previous design before Aurangzeb ordered a new one with Persian distich *Sikkah Zad Dar Jahan Chu Badr Munir/ Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir* in his 1st regnal year.² Besides this special issue, Gulkanda mint had numerous coins of the common types struck until 31st regnal year of Aurangzeb. After Gulkanda fortress was captured by the emperor in 1687, this mint ceased its operation. Later issues of this mint were merely product of the camp mint of Aurangzeb.³

The tiny *nisars* is a different type merely bearing the legend *Badshah Ghazi/ Alamgir/ Nisar/ Sanah* (date) and reverse has mint name and *Hijra* date only and these coins are known from Akbarabad and Shahjahanabad mints.

3. Shah Alam Bahadur (AD 1707-1712)

Two coins in the hoard belonging to Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur were issued one each from Azimabad and Chinapattan mints, remotely situated in the east and southeast of the Mughal Empire. They both bear almost the same kind of legend, but their changed order of words constitutes two different types. The coin of Azimabad bears legend *Shah Ghazi* in the first line and *Shah Alam Bad* in the second. Contrary to this the coin of Chinapattan exhibits words *Alam Shah* in the first line and

Badshah Ghazi in the second and *Sikkah* with *Hijra* year in both cases at the bottom line. The Azimabad type, not reported from any other mints of Shah Alam, were issued in his 1st regnal year. Whitehead has reported five such coins.⁴ On the other hand Chinapattan coin type is also known from Shahjahanabad and Karimabad mints. It is worth noting that the reverse of these types has similar and shortened legend: instead of *Sanah Julus Maimnat Manus* of Aurangzeb, they have only the word *Julus* along with the regnal year, *Zarb* and the mint name. Besides these, all other types and varieties of Shah Alam-I and his successors followed the usual formula of Aurangzeb on the reverse of coins as mentioned above.

The legends of most common types in silver of this emperor are: (a) *Ghazi Shah/ Shah Alam Bad/ Sikkah/* (date), and (b) *Badshah Ghazi/ Alam Bahadur/ Shah/ Sikkah Mubarak*; the former being closer to the Chinapattan type. His other types can be distinguished from the variation of name or title of the king like *Bahadur Shah* or *Sikkah Mubarak* or *Sahibqiran Sani* and *Mu'azam*. There are almost five types or varieties in gold and ten types or varieties in silver. Gold coins of this ruler are comparatively rare. Although types were specified to mints, yet, sometimes, they were issued by more mints.

4. Jahandar Shah (AD 1712-1713)

The short ruling period of Emperor Jahandar Shah lasted for nine months, therefore, he was unable to issue a large number of coins. After Shah Jehan II and Rafi-ud-Darajat, the quantity of his coins is much less in line of late Mughals. And so was the case with the number of mints during and after his time. His coins types are generally formed of two Persian distiches: (a) *Sikkah Zad Dar Afaq Chun Mihr-o-Mah/ Abul Fateh Ghazi Jahandar Shah*, and (b) *Ba Zad Sikkah Barma Chu Sahibqiran/ Jahandar Shah Badshah Jahan*. The former is more common on his most of the silver and all gold coins. The latter one is not much common and occurred only on some of his silver coins. Besides these two basic types, these distiches appeared in a variety of forms by changing order of words. The reverse of all these types and varieties, however, follows the formula of Aurangzeb. The single coin of this hoard related to the common type is issued from Lahore mint bears the former distich. All varieties of these types were issued from so many mints, but from the Surat mint only both the types were issued simultaneously. After Shahjahanabad and Burhanpur, the coins of Lahore mint are much common.

5. Farrukh Siyar (AD 1713-1719)

The ten coins of Emperor Farrukh Siyar in the hoard are broadly uniform in having Persian distich on the obverse and usual formula of Aurangzeb on the reverse associated with regnal year and the mint name. These coins were identified belonging to different mints: Azimabad one, Shahjahanabad four, Multan one, Lahore three and unknown mint one. All the coins are monotonous in legend bear the Persian distich *Zad Bar Sim-o-Zar Sikkah Bahr-o-Bar/ az Fazal Haq Badshah Farrukh Siyar*. The three-line legend is written in different ways by changing the order of lines. In silver coins the following three varieties are much common:

- a) *Bahr-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar/ Badshah/ Haq Bar Sim-o-Zar* (date)/ *Fazal/ Sikkah Zad az*
- b) (date) *Haq Farrukh Siyar/ Shah/ az Fazal Bad Bahr-o-Bar/ Sikkah/ Zad Bar Sim-o-Zar*
- c) [*Bahr-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar*]/ *Shah/ az Fazal Haq Bad* (date)/ *Sikkah/ Zad Bar Sim-o-Zar*

The first variety is the most common issued from no less than twelve mints. The next common is the second variety known from many mints, while the third one is reported from few mints. There are twenty varieties of his coins and many mints have struck more than one variety. The reverse of all

these coins exhibit the formula of Aurangzeb, *Sanah Julus Maimnat Manus*. Each of the three mints Shahjahanabad, Ajmer and Azimabad designed three different varieties. Thatta and Lahore mints each had two different varieties. The coins of Lahore exhibit two varieties: a general and a special specified only to this mint.⁵ The special variety carries the legend *az Fazal (Haq)/ Badshah (date)/ Bahr-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar/ Sikkah/ Zad Bar Sim-o-Zar*. Multan mint has also two varieties: a general and a special specified to Multan mint only.⁶ Coins of the special variety are very rare and luckily the present hoard contains this variety with a similar monogram (Mon. no. 47).⁷ During this period the said monogram was prevalent for the Multan mint only. Azimabad mint has also two varieties: common with that of Shahjahanabad mint and another special confined to only this mint.⁸ The special coins of Azimabad don't exhibit mint epithet *Mustaqar-ul Mulk*, which regularly appeared on his general issues after his 2nd regnal year. Here single coin of this mint belongs to the common variety (var. a). Except Azimabad, all the hoard coins of this emperor belonged to his north-western mints. Besides Multan, the other mints have their epithets *Dar-ul Khilafa* for Shahjahanabad, *Dar-ul Sultanat* for Lahore and *Mustaqar-ul Mulk* for Azimabad. All these coins belonged to the middle of his reign.

6. Rafi-ud-Darajat (AD 1719-1719)

The coins of Rafi-ud-Darajat are not very common as he ruled just for four months and could not establish many mints. The coins of this emperor are known from about one dozen mints, among which Shahjahanabad appeared the leading one. Mints under his authority were only in the north and northwest and not those in central, south and southeast India. The number of coins of this monarch is few as W. Irvine reported total 23 coins from various collections at London, Calcutta and Lahore museums.⁹ All his gold and silver coins are generally inscribed with the Persian distich which constitutes a common type, but always appears in different varieties because of placing the legend in different orders. The distich is *Sikkah Zad Bahind Bahazaran Barkat/ Shahansha Bahr-o-Bar Rafi-ud-Darajat*. The reverse of these coins usually carries the formula of Aurangzeb, the mint name and regnal year of the emperor. In silver coins the common variety depicts legend (1131) *Rafi-ud-Darajat/ Barkat Shahansha Bahr-o-Bar/ Zad Sikkah Bahind Bahazaran* that issued from many mints. The reverse of this type has usually formula of Aurangzeb and one of the coins issued from Burhanpur bears epithet of the mint *Daru-s-Surur* (abode of the pleasure).¹⁰ There is a rare coin in silver having the same legend like the previous type, but exhibits letter *Dadagar* in place of *Bahr-o-Bar* and the reverse is with the same formula of Aurangzeb. The said type was struck in Murshidabad mint.¹¹

Lahore is the only mint having two varieties: the common one and the special one. Besides this, there is a second type which was used only for Multan coins, without distich having the name and titles of the emperor, i.e., *Rafi-ud-Darajat/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak* 1131. This type was designed both for gold and silver coins of the Multan mint with different mint marks. Moreover, coins of the common variety were also struck at Multan. The coin found in this hoard belongs to the common variety of Shahjahanabad mint.

7. Muhammad Shah (AD 1719-1748)

Great part of the hoard associated with Emperor Muhammad Shah comprises twenty-four coins of which twenty-one belong to the Shahjahanabad, two to Lahore and one to Bareilly mint. It is very interesting that the coins don't exhibit the Persian distich as had been a common tradition of the Mughal coinage. The coins usually bear *Hijra* date, name of the ruler, Muhammad Shah, and his title *Badshah Ghazi* and *Sikkah Mubarak* on the obverse and Aurangzeb formula along with mint name and regnal year on the reverse. The coins of this ruler appear to be third in abundance after those of Akbar and Aurangzeb.¹² Similarly, he is third among the Mughal emperors after Shah Alam

II and Aurangzeb Alamgir in the number of mints, more than hundred in his case.¹³ The most common of his coin types are as follow:

- a. (Date) *Muhammad Shah/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak* (or date), both for gold and silver coins issued from many mints.
- b. *Muhammad shah Badshah Ghazi/ Sahibqiran Sani/ Sikkah Mubarak*, but it was applied in few mints like Akbarabad and Aurangabad for gold and Farrukhabad for silver, while in Shahjahanabad both for gold and silver coins.

The coins of Akbarabad mint were usually issued in the common type (a, above) that were struck only in the second year of his reign and then ceased. Only one gold coin of Aurangabad mint is found in this type, which is associated with the 8th year of his reign. Farrukhabad mint struck this type at the later part of his reign, 25th and 29th regnal years. Specified to Shahjahanabad mint, all silver coins of the emperor from the 2nd to the last year of his reign were issued in this type only. In this connection a few coins of type-a, issued in the 1st and 2nd years of his reign, belonged to Shahjahanabad mint and not after this date. It clearly demonstrates that Muhammad Shah began his coinage with single type (type-a) that issued from many mints simultaneously and then soon re-organized his coinage in the second year of his reign. In new scheme the type-b was specified to only Akbarabad and Shahjahanabad mints and type-a then to all other mints. Subsequent to this in the same regal year-two (RY 02), the Akbarabad mint also stopped issuing type-b coins and reverted to type-a. In this way all his Shahjahanabad coins from the 2nd regnal year onwards were struck in type-b. Later on this type was also used for gold coins of Aurangabad (Khujista Banyad) and for few silver coins of Farrukhabad mints.

The common type (type-a) appears sometimes in different varieties but this was not a usual practice as seen on the coins of other emperors. Besides the above two types some other types were also designed by this emperor such as:

- a. *Balataf Ilah Muhammad/ Shah/ Badshah Zaman/ Sikkah/ Zad Dar Jahan* (date) was made from the distich: *Sikkah Zad Dar Jahan Balataf Ilah/ Badshah Zaman Muhammad Shah*. This type was prevailed for the 1st regnal year in Surat and 6th regnal year in Azamnagar mint.
- b. *Balataf Ilah/ Badshah/ Zaman Muhammad Shah/ Sikkah Zad/ za Fazal* (date) was designed from the distich: *Sikkah Zad za Fazal Ilah/ Badshah Zaman Muhammad Shah* and was used for the Bhakkar mint only and this type was issued in the 22nd regnal year after the repulsion of Nadir Shah invasion to India.
- c. *Muhammad Shah Bahadur/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak* was confined to Lahore mint only and employed just for the 2nd year of his reign. All other coins of the common type-a of Lahore mint range from 1st to the last year of his reign.

Besides the above series, there are some rare and novel coins of this emperor reported in gold and silver having different legends and some of them bear name *Nasir-ud-Din* and their reverse bears the formula of Aurangzeb. They are:

- d. *Muhammad Shah/ Badshah/ Nasir-ud-Din Ghazi/ Abul-Fateh* (1031), it belonged to the 1st year of his reign and was issued from the Murshidabad mint.¹⁴
- e. *Muhammad Shah/ Badshah Ghazi/ Nasir/ Abul Fateh*, like the previous issue, this coin also belonged to the 1st year of the emperor and known from the Burhanpur mint. Interestingly the reverse shows an additional word *Daru-s-Surur* (abode of the pleasure as on the above mentioned type of Rafi-ud-Darajat) with the usual reverse formula of Aurangzeb.¹⁵

- f. *Az Fazal Ilah Bad/ Shah* (1131)/ *Jahan Muhammad Shah/ Sikkah/ Zad Dar Jahan*, the legend is based on the Persian distich *Zad Sikkah Dar Jahan az Fazal-e-Ilah Bad Shah-i-Jahan Muhammad Shah*. Like the previous two, this type also was issued in the 1st regnal year from the Multan mint.¹⁶

It is generally believed that after the invasion of Nadir Shah the trans-Indus western territory of his empire was given to Nadir Shah as the Peshawar mint ceased to strike coins in the name of Muhammad Shah after 21st regnal year. On the other hand, the coins present a different situation that Dera (probably Dera Ghazi Khan) and Derajat (Dera Ismail Khan) mints continued to issue coins in the name of Muhammad Shah after the invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani, as his coins of the 30th regnal year (AH 1160) are reported from there.¹⁷

The hoard has two types, type-a and b, of coins. Out of the four of type-a coins, one belongs to Bareli (RY 06), two to Lahore (RY 12, 27) and one to Shahjahanabad mint (RY 01). The 21 remaining type-b coins belong to Shahjahanabad mint ranging from 2nd to 29th year of his reign.

8. Ahmad Shah (AD 1748-1754)

The hoard contains three coins of Emperor Ahmad Shah one each from the Dera, Shahjahanabad and Multan mints. Two of them were issued in the regnal year 3 and one in 5. All the coins are similar in their characteristics having almost uniform legend on the obverse:

- a. *Ahmad shah Bahadur/ Badshah Ghazi* (date)/ *Sikkah Mubarak* is found on coins of the Multan and Shahjahanabad mints.
- b. *Ahmad shah/ Badshah Ghazi* (date)/ *Sikkah Mubarak* on Dera coins.

The reverse exhibits the usually formula of Aurangzeb along with mint name and regnal year. The type-b variant, *Ahmad Shah/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak* (date), was used by the western mints, Dera and Bhakkar.

The most common type of this ruler exhibits a legend *Ahmad Shah Bahadur/ Badshah Ghazi* (date)/ *Sikkah Mubarak* both for gold and silver coins. Sometimes the type variants are shown in the style of legend order. Some mints used distinguished styles like *Ahmad Shah/ Bahadur/ Badshah Ghazi/ 1144*, specific only to Azimabad. The legend was equally used for its gold and silver issues. Besides this, other types were also used either for a certain area or a particular mint.

Some more varieties of these types attributed to other mints are also known. Dera is the only mint which had two different varieties types: type-a with the word *Bahadur*, and type-b without the word *Bahadur*. The second type is more common and one of our coins belongs to this type.

- c. The type with legend *Ilah Ahmad/ Shah/ Shah Alam Panah/ Bafazal Sanah* (date)/ *Sikkah Bar Zad Zar*, composed from the Persian distich *Sikkah Zad Bar Zar Bafazal Ilah/ Shah Alam Panah Ahmad Shah*, was merely used for the Kashmir mint.

The territory west of the Indus was ceded to Nadir Shah and then passed to Ahmad Shah Durrani.¹⁸ If so, why and how the Mughal emperors Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II could issue their coins from the Dera (or Derajat) mint¹⁹ is not clear. On the other hand Dera was the major and important mint of the Durrani, particularly Ahmad Shah, who issued numerous coins from here.²⁰ It is also evident from the coins of Timur Shah, *Nizam* (governor) of Dera for three years AH 1170-1172, who issued some coins in gold, silver and copper in his name bearing the word *Nizam*.²¹ Moreover, coins of the Dera mint of Timur Shah as a king and his successors are also found in a good number.

9. Alamgir, Aziz-ud-Din (AD 1754-1759)

The Emperor Alamgir Aziz-ud-Din (Alamgir II) is represented by two coins in the hoard one each of the Shahjahanabad and Lahore mint. The first coin was issued in the 1st and the second in the 3rd year of his reign. His coins are rich in types and varieties.

Common Issues

- a. His most common type depicts his name and title *Alamgir/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak* along with *Hijra* date on the obverse, and on the reverse the usual formula of Aurangzeb. This type known from more than two dozen mints was also retained by the East India Company to issue their coins in the name of Alamgir II. The present coins belong to the same type, equally used for his gold issues. Different varieties of this type are also known from various mints. Other types usually identified for specific mints are:

Gold Issues

- b. Obv. The Kalima in square area and names of *Khalifa* on the margin, Rev. *Muhammad Alamgir/ Aziz-ud-Din Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak Abul' Adl* and the margin bears mint name and *Sanah Julus Maimnat Manus* (the usual formula of Alamgir.).
- c. Obv. *Khalad Allah Mulkahu-o-Sultanahu/Muhammad/ Alamgir Badshah Ghazi/ Abul' Adl Aziz-ud-Din/ Sikkah Mubarak*, Rev. *Manus/ Zarb/ Shahjahanabad*.
- d. Obv. *Alamgir .../ Aziz-ud-Din .../ Chu Taban Mihr-o-/,...*, Rev. usual formula of Alamgir/ *Shahjahanabad*.

Silver Issues

- e. Obv. *Aziz-ud-Din Muhammad Alamgir/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak* Rev. usual formula of Alamgir/ *Arkat*.
- f. Obv. *Badshah/ Sikkah/ Alamgir*, Rv. *Sanah Arkat*.
- g. Obv. *Aziz-ud-Din Sani/ Sahibqiran Alamgir/ Zad Sikkah*, Rev. usual formual of Alamgir/ *Balwantnagar*; the obverse legend is after the Persian distich *Sikkah Ba Zar Zad Chun Sahibqirani/ Aziz-ud-Din Alamgir Sani*.
- h. Obv. *Alamgir Ghazi Badshah/ Aziz uddin/ Shah/ Hamchur Taban Mihr-o-Mah/ Sikkah/ Zad Bar Haft Kishor*, Rev. *Khalad Allah Mulkahu-o-Sultanahu/ Dar-ul Khilafa Shahjahanabad/ Zarb/* usual formula of Alamgir/ *Sanah*.
- i. Obv. *Almgir/ Shah/ Shahjahanabad/ Na../ Zad Chu Muhar Munir/ Sikkah/ Yaft Ronaq az*, Rev. *Dar-ul Khilafa Shahjahanabad/ Zarb/* usual formula of Alamgir/ *Sanah*.
- j. Obv. *Alamgir Sani/ Aziz-ud-Din Ba Zad Zar/ Sikkah Chun Sahibqiran*, Rev. *Julus Maimnat/ Manus Zarb/ Nagor*.

Most of the types and their variants issued from the Shahjahanabad mint. There are three different types in gold and two in silver. His Shahjahanabad coins were not issued in common but always in special types with their variants with Persian distich, and most of them exhibit his name Aziz-ud-Din. It is remarkable that he was the first among the late Mughal emperors who like Shah Jehan-I used Kalima on the gold coins of Shahjahanabad mint. Reverse of his coins shows his name and titles along with the mint name, regnal year and the usual formula of Aurangzeb. Similarly after

Akbar and Jahangir he was the last Mughal emperor who reverted to the old titles of the sultans of Delhi, i.e., *Khalada-Allah Mulka-hu-o-Sultanahu*. On the gold coins these titles appear on the obverse and on the silver they appear on the reverse. All these renovations and changes including the Kalima and other titles are executed on his Shahjahanabad coins. In silver, besides the common one, specific types are known on Balwantnagar and Arkat coins. The latter style and same mint were retained on the coins issued by the East India Company. It clearly indicates that the coins belonged to two different classes: general types of all mints excluding Shahjahanabad; and variety of types only specific to the Shahjahanabad mint. In this way, Shahjahanabad coins richer in variety and novelty can easily be distinguished from coins of other mints.

10. Ahmad Shah Durrani (AD 1747-1772)

There is single coin of Ahmad Shah Durrani struck in his 11th regnal year from the Dera mint (probably modern Dera Ghazi Khan²²), which was one of the most common mints of this king both for gold and silver coins. His coins are monotonous in character having one kind of legend formed of the Persian distich containing name and title of the ruler, *Hijra* date on the obverse and the reverse displays the usual formula of Aurangzeb. The Persian distich reads *Hukam Shud az Qadir Bichun ba Ahmad Badshah/ Sikkah Bar Sim-o-Zar az Oaj Mahi ta Bamah*. This type has diverse varieties, acquired by changing position of the words. At one time a line written in one position is changed at another. The most common variety carries on obverse the legend *Az Qadir Bichun/ Shud/ ba Ahmad Badshah/ Hukam/ Zan Bar Sim-o-Zar az/ Sikkah/ Oaj Mahi ta Bamah* and the reverse shows usual formula of Aurangzeb along with the mint name and regnal year.

This pattern was uniformly used both for gold and silver coins issued from more than two dozen mints. In gold, the Attock coins are shown slightly in a different variety, Shahjahanabad coins are known both in common and special varieties. Similarly the Kashmir coins both in gold and silver are known in a different variety and then silver coins further in sub-varieties. The silver coins of Bhakkar mint are known in two varieties, one special variety (RY 3-7) and another common (RY 7-24). Hence early coins of this mint were struck in one pattern and later on after 7th year of his coronation the said pattern was changed to a common type. There is another type which is known only from Peshawar mint bearing name and family epithet, i.e., *Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran* on the obverse and *Zarb Peshawar* with regnal year on the reverse. This type belongs to his 7th regnal year only. In silver the Sarhind coins were struck in various styles of the common type.

The leading operated mints by this ruler were Dera, Bhakkar, Kabul and Multan. On his Dera coins, in the beginning of his reign he used two mintmarks and Aurangzeb's reverse formula *Sanah Julus Maimnat Manus*. But in the 8th regnal year he changed both the things. The mint marks²³ developed into another form and the Mughal formula was dropped from the Dera coins. Afterwards, the coins simply bear *Zarb Dera* and his regnal year and sometimes accompanied with his new monogram. This king also issued a variety of copper coins from different mints but not worthy to mention them here.

The single coin of Ahmad Shah in this hoard belong to the 11th year of his reign. It exhibits *Zarb*, mint name Dera and the regnal year on the reverse. But the monogram is designed in different form, however, similar to his early one (M11)²⁴.

Moreover Ahmad Shah struck some of his coins from eastern mints established under the Mughal administration like Shahjahanabad, Bareli, Anola, Farrukhabad and Najibabad. These mints were occasionally used whenever he was there during his Indian expedition. Thus the coins of these mints were issued temporary for one or two years like Shahjahanabad for 11, 14-15, Bareli 14, Anola 14, Farrukhabad 14-15 and Najibabad 21 regnal years.

Mint Marks

By studying the present hoard, the author has noted some novelties in the mint marks of the Mughal coins that are not new but have never been described properly before. The mint mark— usually identified as one symbol for one mint or common with other mints like circle of dots with a dot in the centre—is sometimes found individual or sometimes associated with other symbols either on the obverse or reverse of Mughal coins. It is observed that certain symbols treated as a mint-mark, but when they appear with other symbols then priority is given to the new one rather than the old ones (such as the circle of dots.). Here the author has tried to analyse them with a new approach. All the principal and secondary symbols are, therefore, collected both from the obverse and reverse and placed them together for comparison (see mint mark chart).

The Shahjahanabad mintmarks described in the Yeola²⁵ and Niphad²⁶ hoards are not identical with one another. It is found that Yeola hoard²⁷ has a main circle of five dots with a dot in the centre and Niphad hoard²⁸ has a main circle of six dots with a dot in the centre. Moreover, the mark in the former hoard is shown with two curves (or strokes) at the top of the dotted circle one curve each on both sides, while the latter one illustrates four curves (or strokes) such that a set of two curves on both sides of equal lengths. Actually the mintmark appearing in this form containing five dots in the main circle with a dot in the centre and the top is surmounted by two curves like spread-wings of a bird seems to be a flower. The left hand curve has two short strokes with pointed bough at the end like a flower, and the right one is slightly shorter having one stroke only (see Chart, marks 12, 17). On one of the coin (no. 39) of Muhammad Shah the left curve further branches off like a palm-leaf (see Chart, mark no.20). On the coins of Muhammad Shah it is regularly found till the invasion of Delhi by Nadir Shah in his 21st regnal year (AH 1151).²⁹ But just after the departure of Nadir Shah, Muhammad Shah resumed his coinage from Shahjahanabad with the same type but modified mintmark (mark no. 22). This time the single stroke on the right is removed and similarly to the end of left side a set of two vertical dots added between the pointed bough and v-shaped strokes of a curve, while still retaining the lower part—a circle of five dots with a dot in the centre. Along with these changes on the reverse, a new floral symbol appeared at the bottom below *Sanah*, it looks like outstretched wings of a bird spread equally on either side and detached strokes (or boughs) extended to their ends. This new pattern for the Shahjahanabad coins was then regularly used till the end of his reign and followed by his successors Ahmad Shah (coin no.51) and Alamgir II (coin no.52). It was again modified as found on the coins of Shah Alam II and Muhammad Akbar II.³⁰ Parallel to this the obverse of Shahjahanabad coins of Aurangzeb (coin no. 5), Farrukh Siyar (coin nos. 14, 16, 17) and Muhammad Shah (coin nos. 28-47) bore a circle of five dots, or a circle of five petals of a flower, or circle of five arrows each with a dot in the centre.

A notable point in the marks of Lahore mint is their three different forms: five petals in a circle; five dots with curves to the left in a circle; and five arrows inwards in a circle. The first variety appears on the reverse of Aurangzeb coins (coin nos. 6-7), the second and third on the reverse of Farrukh Siyar (coin no. 19-21), while the first and third one on the coins of Muhammad Shah (coin nos. 47-48). Normally one or two mintmarks occur together on the reverse and none on the obverse. But the coins of Farrukh Siyar, so far the largest in number from the Lahore mint, exhibit three mintmarks together (as cited above) as clearly seen on the reverse of coin no. 21. The obverse has a new symbol (coin nos. 19-21) composed of a vertical arrow flanked by a group of three dots in a triangle on either side normally shown below *Siyar* of *Farrukh Siyar*. In other decorative marks the obverse has three circles each of five dots placed in separate points.

In addition, the reverse of Farrukh Siyar coins has also groups of five-dot circles and three-dot triangles. Dotted triangles appear as well on the obverse and reverse of coins of the Lahore mints of other rulers such as Aurangzeb (coin nos. 6, 7) and Muhammad Shah (coin nos. 47-48). Sometimes,

a group of three dots is also found on the coins of Shahjahanabad (coin nos. 5, 10, 14, 23, 30; and many coins of Muhammad Shah), Dera (coin no. 50) and Multan mints (coin no. 51). The later coins of Alamgir II from Lahore mint show new mint marks (mark no. 26) on the obverse and reverse as well.

In this collection, Multan mint has two kinds of marks—nos. 8 and 14, the former appeared on the coins of Aurangzeb (coin no. 9) and latter on the coins of Farrukh Siyar (coin no. 22) and Ahmad Shah (coin no. 51). Many mints like Thatta (mark no. 1), Ajmer (mark no. 2), Lakhnau (mark no. 7), Lahore (mark nos. 6, 7 and 11), Azimabad (mark no. 6) have usually dots, pellets or a flower or arrow heads in circle with sometimes a dot in the centre. Similarly a coin of Bareilly mint (mark no. 17) has a group of five dots arranged in a circle. Other mints such as Chinapattan (mark no. 10) has a star, Gulkanda (mark no. 9) dots round a circle or a circle of arrowheads and a six rayed star with floral motif above it and Dera (mark no. 27) depicts a flower motif of lily.

Burial of the Hoard

Regarding production, concentration and find spots of coins, the Mughal hoards recovered from different localities reveal an interesting story of hoarding, burying and financial matters of that time. Most of these hoards are reported from the Indian province Maharashtra and the features of their coins are not much dissimilar despite the fact that they belonged to different periods.















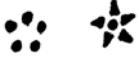
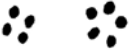


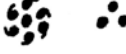
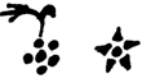





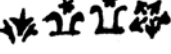


The Mangra hoard³¹ contains a large number of coins of Bengal origin (Patna and Murshidabad mints, 55+13/296, 23%) as it was found in Bihar. The Panki hoard³² comprising the greatest number of coins of Bengal and Banaras constituency (Patna & Banaras mints, 43+474/547, 94%) as it is reported from Bihar. Similarly the Niphad hoard³³ represents immense number of coins of Maharashtra origin (Surat mint, 204/471, 43%) as it was found in Nasik. The Yeola hoard³⁴ contains greater number of coins of Maharashtra area (Surat mint, 199/435 [74?], 55%) as it was recovered from Nasik. The Chawali Mashaikh (Borewala) hoard³⁵ represents large number of coins of western territory (Lahore and Multan mints, 62+4/108 [09?] of Mughals, 66.6%) as it was found in the Punjab. The nine hoards of Mughal coins also present the same picture as Kopergaon (Ahmednagar) {44/125 [25?], 44%}, Parner (Ahmednagar) {88/180 [09?], 51%}, Sheogaon (Ahmednagar) {28/84 [06?], 36%}, Chopda (Jalgaon) {5/14 [02], 42%}, Dhulia {24/49 [08], 59%}, Dhulia {31/57 [01?], 55%}, Nandurbar (Dhulia) {129/174 [?], 81%}, Sinnar (Nasik) {21/50 [10?], 52%} and Junnar (Poona) {50/76 [01?], 67%}³⁶. In addition to this all these hoards represent good number of coins of Shahjahanabad mint after the leading mint of the local area, as it played a key role of the capital mint.

In the Kohat hoard the predominant mint is Shahjahanabad contributing 29 coins and Lahore is the second major having 9 out of the total 54 coins. Even coins produced by all the four mints situated in the now Pakistani territory are altogether 16 Mughal period coins, still less in number than the Shahjahanabad coins alone. It is the only hoard of its kind, as compared to the above-mentioned hoards, found at one place and containing coins of other mints of different rulers. It could not certainly be claimed at this stage that the hoarding was made in the same area from where it was recovered. However, this hoard has some aspects common with that of Chawali Mashaikhs, also found in Pakistan, such as both of them contain a large number of coins from mints now located in Pakistan and represent Post-Mughal (Durrani) coins, of which there is no evidence in the Mughal hoards found in the Indian territory.

Table showing distribution of coins to different mints

Emperor Name	Ajmer	Bareli	Thatta	Chinapattan	Dera	Shahjahanabad	Azimabad	Gulkanda	Lahore	Lucknow	Multan	unknown	Total
Shah Jahan			1										1
Aurangzeb	1		2			1		1	2	1	1		9
Shah Alam I				1			1						2
Jahandar Shah									1				1
Farrukh Siyar						4	1		3		1	1	9
Rafi-ud-Darajat						1							1
Muhammad Shah		1				21			2				24
Ahmad Shah					1	1					1		3
Alamgir II						1			1				2
Ahmad Shah Durrani					1								1
Total	1	1	3	1	2	29	2	1	9	1	3	1	54

Chart showing Mintmarks on the Hoard Coins

 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		

CATALOGUE OF COINS

Shah Jahan

Mint: **Thatta**

Obv. Kalima in three lines and 2/ Zarb Tatta Ilahi/ Mihr-o-Mah

Rev. Badshah Ghazi/ Shahjahan/ Muhammad/ Shahab-ud Din 1039/ Sahib Qiransani

S. No.	AH/R.Y	Size (mm)	Mark #
1.	1039/2	23.7x2.9	M 01

Aurangzeb Alamgir

Mint: **Ajmer *Dar-ul Khair***

Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir 1114/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Dar-ul Khair Ajmer / Zarb/ Maimnat Manus Julus Sanah 46

2.	1114/46	22.8x3.0	M 02
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Mint: **Tatta**

Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir 1097/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 29 Julus/ Zarb Thatta

3.	1097/29	19.5x4.0	M 03
4.	---- /----	20.5x3.5	M 04

Mint: **Shahjahanabad, *Dar-ul Khilafah***

Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir 1107/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Jahanabad Dar-ul Khilafah Shah/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 40

5.	1107/40	23.0x3.1	M 05
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Mint: **Lahore, *Dar-ul Sultanat***

Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir 1104/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Lahore/ Dar-ul Sultanat/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 36

6.	1104/36	21.3x3.4	M 06
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Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir 1116/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Lahore/ Dar-ul Sultanat/ Zarb/ Sanah 48/ Maimnat/ Julus Manus

7.	1116/48	22.2x3.0	M 06
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Mint: **Lakhnau**

Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir x104/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 36 Julus/ Zarb/ Lakhnau

8. x104/36 23.5x2.8 M 07

Mint: **Multan**

Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir 1076/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Manus/ Maimnat/ Sanah 8 Julus/ Zarb/ Multan

9. 1076/8 22.6x3.2 M 08

Mint: **Gulkandah**

Obv. Aurangzeb Alamgir/ Shah/ Zad Chu Badr Munir/ Sikkah/ Dar Jahan

Rev. Manus/ Maimnat/ Sanah 28 Julus/ Zarb Gulkandah

10. ----/28 22.0x3.0 M 09

Shah Alam II

Mint: **Chinapattan**

Obv. Shah Ghazi/ Shah Alam Bad/ Sikkah 1123

Rev. Julus/ Zarb Sanah 5/ Chinapattan

11. 1123/5 22.7x3.0 M 10

Mint: **Azimabad**

Obv. Alam/ Shah/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah 1121

Rev. Azimabad/ Sanah 3 Julus/ Zarb

12. 1121/3 23.5x2.7 M 06

Jahandar Shah

Mint: **Lahore, Dar-ul Sultanat**

Obv. [Abul Fat]eh [Jah]andar Shah/ [Chu]n Mihr-o-Mah/ Sikkah/ [Dar Afaq] Zad

Rev. [Lahore]/ Dar-ul Sultanat/ Zarb/ Sanah Ahad/ Maimnat/ Julus Manus

13. ----/01 22.3x3.6 M 11

Farrukh Siyar

Mint: **Shahjahanabad, Dar-ul Khilafah**

Obv. Bahar-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar/ Shah/ Bad Haq bar Sim-o-Zar/ Fazal/ Sikkah Zad 1127

Rev. Jahanabad Dar-ul Khilafah Shah/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 4

14. 1127/4 22.0x3.0 M 12

15. 1128/5 21.4x3.4 not clear

Obv. Bahar-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar/ Badshah/ Fazal-i-Haq bar Sim-o-Zar/ Sikkah 1130 Zad az

Rev. Jaha/ Dar-ul Khilafah Shan/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 6

16. 1130/6 23.5x2.8 M 12
Obv. [Haq Farrukh]/ Badshah 11xx/ A[z] Fazal Bahar-o-Bar/ Sikkah/ bar Sim-o-Zar
Rev. Jaha/ Dar-ul Khilafah Shan/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 7 (or 4)

17. 11xx/7 (or 4) 23.2x2.6 M 28

Mint: Aimabad, Mustaqar-ul Mulk

Obv. Bahar-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar/ Badshah/ Fazal-i-Haq bar Sim-o-Zar/ Sikkah Zad

Rev. [Azimabad]/ Mustaqar-ul Mulk/ Zar/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 3

18. ----/3 23.2x2.8 M 06

Mint: Lahore, Dar-ul Sultanat

Obv. Az Fazal-i-Haq/ Badshah 1127/ Bahar-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar/ Sikkah/ Zad bar Sim-o-Zar

Rev. La[hore]/ Dar-ul Sultanat/ Zarb/ Sanah 4/ Maimnat/ Julus Manus

19. 1127/4 22.2x3.4 M 13
20. 1127/4 21.0x3.8 M 13
21. 1128/5 22.5x3.4 M 13

Mint: Multan

Obv. Haq/ Badshah/ Bahar-o-Bar Farrukh Siyar/ Shah 1126/ Fazal bar Sim-o-Zar

Rev. Manus/ Maimnat/ Sanah 3 Julus/ Zarb Multan

22. 1126/3 22.5x3.0 M 14

Mint: Unknown

Obv. Bahar-o-Bar Farrukh[Siyar]/ Badshah/ Haq bar Sim[-o-Zar]/ [az] Fazal 1126

Rev. Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 3 Julus/ Zarb

23. 1126/3 21.0x3.4 not clear

Rafi-ud-Darajat

Mint: Shahjahanabad, Dar-ul Khilafah

Obv. Rafi-ud-Darajat/ [Bar]kat Shahinshah Bahar-o-Bar/ [Zad]Sikkah ba Hazaran [Bahind]

Rev. Jahanabad/ Dar-ul Khilafah Shah/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Ahad

24. ---- /01 23.7x2.8 M 15

Muhammad Shah

Mint: Bareli

Obv. Muhammad Shah/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Manus/ Maimnat/ Julus Sanah 6/ [Bar]eli/ Zarb

25. -----/6 22.2x3.2 M 16

Mint: Shahjahanabad, Dar-ul Khilafah

Obv. [xx30] Muhammad Shah/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Jahanabad/ Dar-ul Khilafah Shah/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/Ahad

26. -----/01 22.7x3.2 M 17

Obv. (date) Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi/ Sahib Qiran-i-Sani/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Jahanabad/ Dar-ul Khilafah Shah/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 2

27. -----/2 22.0x3.0 M 18

28. xx32/2 22.7x3.0 M 17

29. 1133/3 22.6x3.2 M 17

30. ----- /12 21.6x3.2 M 17

31. 114x/12 21.4x3.4 M 19

32. 1142/13 22.1x3.0 M 17

33. 1142/14 21.3x3.4 M 17

34. 114x/17 21.8x3.2 M 20

35. 114x/17 22.6x3.6 M 17

36. 1148/18 21.6x3.2 M 21

37. 1148/18 22.5x3.0 M 17

38. -----/19 22.5x3.0 M 17

39. 11xx/19 22.5x3.1 M 17

40. 11xx/20 22.0x3.0 M 17

41. 1152/22 23.8x2.6 M 22

42. 1152/22 24.4x2.4 M 22

43. 115x/22 23.8x3.6 M 22

44. 1152/22 24.4x2.6 M 22

45. 115x/23 23.8x3.7 M 22

46. 11xx/29 23.3x3.0 M 22

Mint: Lahore, Dar-ul Sultanat

Obv. 11xx Muhammad Shah/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Dar-ul Sultanat Lahore/ Zarb/ Maimnat Sanah 12/ [Julu]s Manus

47. 11xx/12 19.0x4.0 M 23

48. 11xx/27 21.0x3.5 M 24

Ahmad Shah

Mint: Dera

Obv. Ahmad Shah/ Badshah 1164 Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Manus/ Maimnat/ Sanah 4 Julus/ Zarb Dera

49. 1164/3 21.0x3.8 M 25

Mint: Shahjahanabad, Dar-ul Khilafah

Obv. Ahmad Shah Bahadur/ Badshah Ghazi 1163/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Jahanabad/ Zarb Dar-ul Khilafah Shah/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah 3

50. 1163/3 23.8x3.8 M 22

Mint: Multan

Obv. Ahmad Shah Baha[dur]/ Badshah 1165 Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Manus/ Maimnat/ Sanah 5 Julus/ Zarb/ Multan

51. 1165/5 22.1x3.5 M 14

Alamgir II

Mint: Shahjahanabad, Dar-ul Khilafah

Obv. 1xxx Alamgir/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Jahanabad/ Dar-ul Khilafah Shah/ Zarb/ Julus Maimnat Manus/ Sanah Ahad

52. 1xxx/01 21.0x3.4 M 22

Mint: Lahore, Dar-ul Sultanat

Obv. 116[8] Alamgir/ Badshah Ghazi/ Sikkah Mubarak

Rev. Lahore Dar-ul Sultanat/ Zarb Sanah 3/ Maimnat/ Julus Manus

53. 116[8]/3 19.8x3.8 M 26

Ahmad Shah Durrani

Mint: Dera

Obv. / Ahmad Badshah [11]74/1[4] bar Sim-o-Zar/

Rev. Sanah 11/ Zarb Dera

54. [11]74/1[4] 22.0x3.4 M 27

Notes

- ¹ Whitehead, R.B., Vol. II, 1977 (repr.): pp. xxiii, 331 & 370, coin nos. 2733 & 2783.
- ² Brening, J., 1978: 53-59.
- ³ Ibid., pp.57-59.
- ⁴ Whitehead, R.B., Vol. II, 1977 (repr.): pp. 281-282, coin nos. 2062-2066.
- ⁵ Ibid., pp. 307-308, coin nos. 2256-59 & 2248-55
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 309, coin nos. 2268-70 & 2267.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 441, Table of Marks on Mughal Coins.
- ⁸ Ibid., p. 305, coin nos. 2230-35 & 2227-29.
- ⁹ Irvine, W., Vol. II (1710-1739): 418-19.
- ¹⁰ Longworth M. Dames., 1902: 275-309.
- ¹¹ White King, L & William Vost, 1896: 173-174.
- ¹² Whitehead, R.B., Vol. II, 1977 (repr.).
- ¹³ Bhatt R.D & Bhatt, S., 1997: 133-148.
- ¹⁴ Singhal, C.R., 1964: 59.
- ¹⁵ Whitehead, R.B., 1930: 214-215.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Whitehead, R.B., Vol. II, 1977 (repr.): p. 331, coin no. 2420.
- ¹⁸ "Guzetteer of Dera Ismail Khan District 1883-84", 1884, Lahore, p.29; Singh, G., 1977 (repr.): p. 79 & Ibrahim Shah, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, p. 81.
- ¹⁹ Whitehead, R.B., Vol. II, 1977 (repr.), pp. 331, 355, 370, coin nos. 2420, 2665-2669, 2780.
- ²⁰ Whitehead, R.B., Vol. III, 1977 (repr.), pp. xlvi-xxlvii, 30-33, coin no. 126-156.
- ²¹ Ibid., pp. xlvii, 49, 52 & 56, coin no. 278-79,296-300, 342.
- ²² Longworth, M. Dames., 1888: pp. 328-332.
- ²³ Whitehead, R.B., Vol. III, 1977 (repr.): p. 195, monogram no. 12.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 195, monogram no. 11.
- ²⁵ Moin, D. & Balsekar, D.P., 1994: 145-209.
- ²⁶ Naim, S. & Baleskar, D. P., 1992: 146-226.
- ²⁷ Moin, D. & Balsekar, D.P., 1994: p. 207, mark no. 21.
- ²⁸ Naim, S. & Baleskar, D.P., 1992: p. 223, mark no. 13.
- ²⁹ Jan Lingen, 1997-98, pp. 94-101. The author mentions that regnal year of this monarch began from the deposition of Farrukh Siyar i.e., 18th February 1790 while his accession date is 19th September 1719. Due to this miscalculation the regnal year is 7 months advanced from the date of his actual accession.
- ³⁰ Mitchiner, M., 1998/2000: p. 104, coin nos. 3361-3362a & 3367-3369.
- ³¹ Gupta, P.L., 1966-67: 18-27.
- ³² Ibid., pp. 27-31.
- ³³ Naim, S. & Baleskar, D.P., 1992: 146-226.
- ³⁴ Moin, D. & Balsekar, D.P., 1994: 145-209.
- ³⁵ Hasan, M. & Khan, B., 1992: pp. 101-113.
- ³⁶ Moin, D. & Balsekar, D.P., 1994: 152.

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