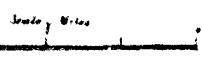


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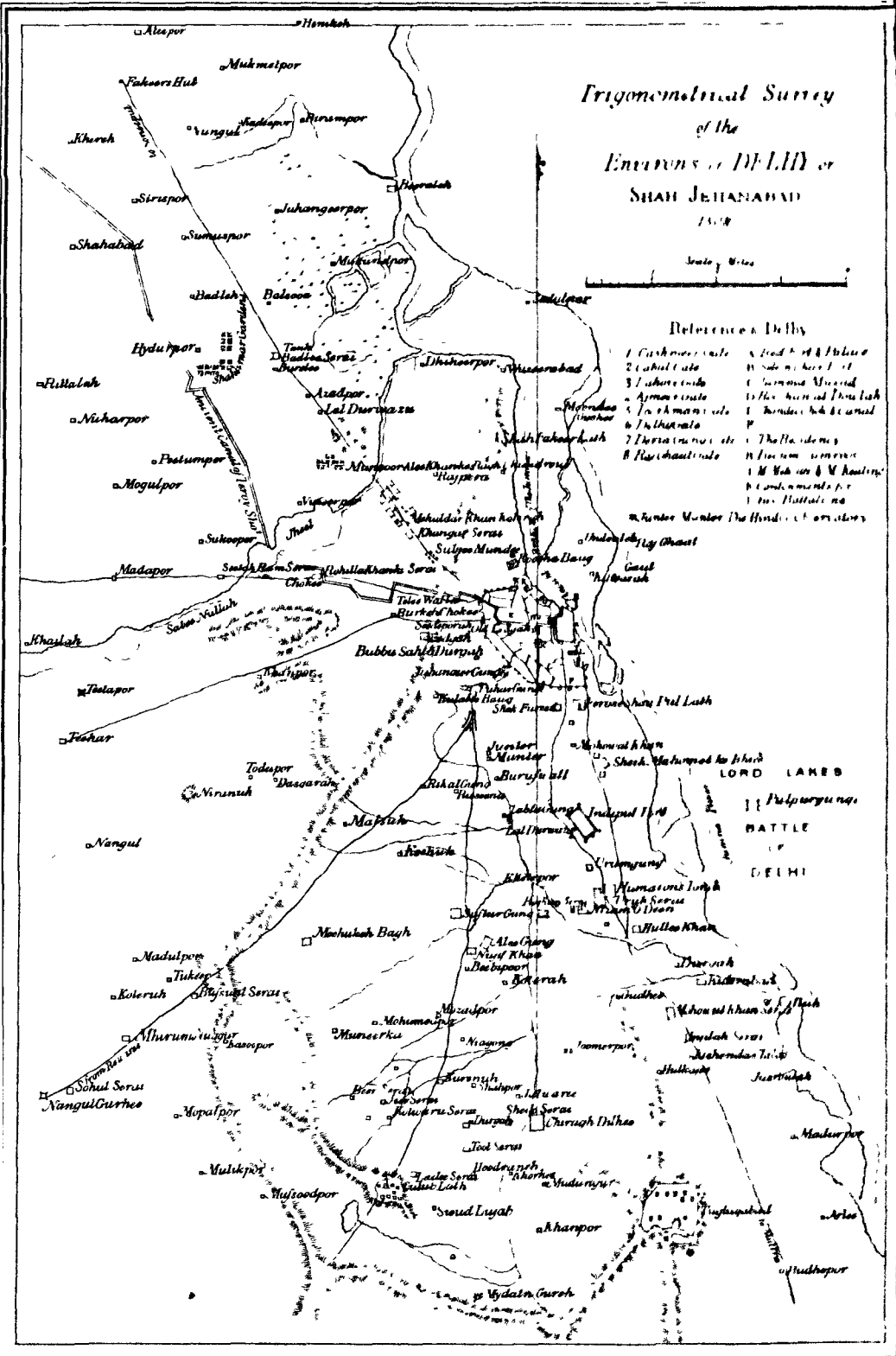
THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI.

Trigonometrical Survey of the Environ of DELHI or SHAH JEHANABAD 1848



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THE CHRONICLES
OF
THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI,

ILLUSTRATED BY

COINS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND OTHER
ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS.

أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ

Legend on Coin No. 198, from Kurán, Súrah v. ver. 62.

BY

EDWARD THOMAS,

LATE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE; MEMBER OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF BENGAL, LONDON, AND PARIS.

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PREFACE.

THE limited edition of my original Monograph on the Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán (London, 1847), has long since been exhausted; the still more restricted impression of a Supplement, chiefly designed to reduce into type a record of perishable materials, in, as it proved, a very unsafe locality (Dehli, 1851), can scarcely be said to have been before the public. Its compilation, however, pointed consistently to a future revision of the general subject, which has been postponed, from time to time, till the accumulation of new and very ample materials has forced me to recognize my obligations to an inquiry I had in a measure made my own. The result appears in the following pages.

The two essays above referred to were essentially technical and limited in their scope to antiquarian objects; an almost identical disadvantage attended a later cognate memoir, "On the Initial Coinage

of Bengal," which was devoted to the description of selections from the 13,000 coins of the very instructive Kooch Bahár *trouvaille*.

In the present work I have asserted my freedom from conventional trammels, and endeavoured to make Numismatics applicable in their larger and better sense to the many collateral questions they chance to touch, equally pressing into the service all available external aids to history, for which the laxity of Oriental tradition gives even too many openings.

It would not become me to say anything in favour of my own production; indeed, I am fully alive to its imperfections; but I may frankly say I have learnt many things, which I did not know previously, during the course of its composition. On the other hand, I have to meet, by anticipation, two objections which may strike an English reader. The first of these is the still open contest as to how Oriental words should be reproduced in Roman type. At one time I was disposed to be pedantic on the subject, and even went so far as to devise an elaborate scheme for the discriminative representation of Semitic and Aryan alphabets; but the difficulties attending the innovation seemed far to outbalance any advantages that might possibly be gained by the public, and the

author himself thoroughly appreciated the benefit of being in the hands of a printer whose resources enabled him to reproduce Sanskrit or Arabic in their proper characters, with equal, if not greater facility than the anomalous dotted and accented hybrids our current type would, at the best, have admitted of.

The system I have now attempted to follow has been to recognize and retain all fixed Anglicized forms, and at the same time to embody the more definite sounds of local speech, in preference to any critical adherence to the occasionally divergent alphabets of Devanágari and Arabic. Dealing with Turanian Persian, redolent of the atmosphere of Dehli, which severe Continental Professors somewhat needlessly disparage, I have, permitted myself a latitude which would neither stand the test of Iranian Persian, nor, in the adapted words, the criticism of an Arabic grammarian. I have further necessarily discarded uniformity, by frequently adhering, in my quotations, to the method of spelling favoured by the original author ; so that there is, perhaps, no one of my narrow list of seeming innovations for which I could not cite, from my own extracts, previous and competent authority.

The second question refers to the general absence of translations of coin legends and illustrative texts.

It has been generally confessed from the first day "Aladdin" appeared in a European dress, that Oriental names would not bear translation, and the inflated titles of the East, rendered in the subdued language of the West, would jar even more harshly upon English ideas. My leading object in this work has been to collect materials for history, in the form of documents, which it was primarily desirable to retain in their most authentic form, or in the nearest possible approach to their original integrity,—translations in such cases would be, in effect, mere repetitions; but wherever these documents have any reference to the immediate subject of discussion, free illustrations of the context are given.

The compiler of a record like the present is more than ordinarily dependent upon the aid of his fellow-labourers: it will be seen that the number of my disinterested contributors, though necessarily inconsiderable, has been compensated by the fullness and freeness of their gifts. My obligations are due to the many collectors of coins whose names are indicated, in more detail, in the body of the work and in the subjoined note upon the depositories of existing cabinets. I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson for the use of the effective architectural engravings

which illustrate the text. The woodcuts of coins, as may be gathered from their treatment, are the work of different hands, and vary in their execution to a marked degree. The best shaded examples are by Mr. J. Schnorr of Stuttgart; the engravings of Mr. Adeney are next in merit; but it is confessedly difficult to get first-class artists to undertake such complicated, and to them unintelligible subjects. So that I can scarcely bring myself to reproach the authors of my numerous disappointments in this direction.

The ground plan of Dehli, which figures as the frontispiece, is itself a curious "Old Mortality" style of document, commemorative of the earliest English survey of the environs of the ancient capital of the Patháns, as we received it from the hands of the Mahrattas after Lord Lake's action in 1803. It has been reduced in photography, by Dr. Forbes Watson's establishment, from the original Survey Map now in the Mackenzie Collection in the India Office.

LONDON,

February 25, 1871.

NOTE ON THE OWNERSHIP AND PRESENT DEPOSITORIES OF THE
VARIOUS COLLECTIONS OF COINS QUOTED IN THIS WORK.

1. Marsden Collection, in the British Museum, fully described in his work entitled *Numismata Orientalia*. (London, 1823.)

2. The collection in the India Office, many specimens of which are noticed and engraved in Professor Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. (London, 1841.)

3. My own original collection, comprising the coins figured in plates I.-V. of this volume, now in the British Museum. A limited but select cabinet of my later acquisitions in my own possession.

4. Mr. Edward Clive Bayley's collection, which formed the ground-work of my Supplement, printed at Dehli in 1851. In the owner's possession. (In England.)

5. Colonel Stacy's collection in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (In Calcutta.)

6. Mr. George Freeling's collection, partly in the Bodleian at Oxford, with the Bardoe Elliot bequest, and partly in the hands of his widow.

7. Colonel Guthrie's collection, comprising selected specimens of the Kooch Bahár *trouvaille* (plate VI.); and the choice Pathán series, so often quoted in these pages, which now embraces the accumulated treasures of General Cunningham and Major Stubbs's most successful gleanings of the last few years. (In England.)

8. Sir Walter Elliot has some curious specimens of the local series of the Dakhan, and Sir Bartle Frere has a large collection of Indian coins, which I have not yet had an opportunity of examining.

9. There are a few Pathán coins in Russia, descriptions of which will be found in Fræhn's "*Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum*," and M. Dorn's Supplement to that work. Many dispersed specimens are also quoted, from continental cabinets, in the posthumous collection of M. Soret's Essays.

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CORRIGENDA.

Since the completion of this work, the author has finally satisfied himself that the true value of the *dám* (or money of account of the Mughal financiers), is $\frac{1}{40}$ and not $\frac{1}{60}$ of a rupee. Under these conditions the table at page 445 may be modified and amended as follows. But in adopting these results, it will be necessary to enlarge Richard Hawkins's ambiguous definition of "crown land" (No. 6), and admit that he designed to refer to the State revenues derived from *all* sources.

| | Land Revenue. | Total Revenue from all sources. |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Fírúz Sháh, A.D. 1351-1388... | | £6,850,000 |
| 2. Bábar, A.D. 1526-1530..... | £2,600,000 | |
| 3. Akbar, A.D. 1593 | | 32,000,000 |
| 4. Akbar, A.D. 1594 | 16,574,388 | |
| 5. Akbar, A.D. 1605 | 17,450,000 | |
| 6. Jahángír, A.D. 1609-1611..... | | 50,000,000 |
| 7. Jahángír, A.D. 1628 | 17,500,000 | |
| 8. Sháh Jahán, 1st return | 22,000,000 | |
| 9. Sháh Jahán, later return | 36,000,000 | |
| 10. Aurangzéb, A D. 1697 | 38,719,400 | 77,438,800 |

The original design of the *tughrá*, or Cipher Monogram, which ornaments the cover of this volume, was cut by the Author in 1842, as a centre-piece for the panels of a Coin Cabinet. The bookbinder's reproduction in metal has failed to give effect to some of the minor details, but the initiated may still trace the name of ادورد تامس ٤٢ (Edward Thomas, 42) in the interwoven lines.

APPENDIX.

As the subject of Indian finance is just now attracting the serious attention of the English public, I have thought it advisable to reproduce in full the information summarized at pp. 433-7, regarding the revenues of Akbar and Aurangzéb; and, further, to test my own deductions by some new data, which I have obtained since the previous pages were set up by the printer.

The general list of addenda includes the following:—

I. A brief but curious passage from De Laët,¹ which furnishes a fresh and independent test of the values of the various currencies in which the revenue returns of Akbar were framed.

II. The summarized return of Sháh Jahán's revenues, for his twentieth year, from the "Bádsháh Námah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, *Láhori*, a contemporary statement, which was adopted in all its integrity by another living witness, Áshná Ináyat Khán, in his *Sháh Jahán Námah*, and finally incorporated in Kháfi Khán's work on the history of the house of Tímúr.

III. The original text *in extenso* of Catron's comprehensive account of the land revenues of Aurangzéb, including his specification of other fiscal demands, raising the average burthen

¹ *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera*, Joannes de Laët. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631. The section of the work from which the extract, now reprinted, is taken constitutes the tenth or supplementary chapter on Indian history, derived from contemporary national and other testimony, and translated into Latin from the Dutch. The dates of events are carried down to A.D. 1628.

upon the country at large, to a second moiety or full equivalent of the sum obtained from the ordinary land-tax.¹

IV. The statistics furnished by the traveller Bernier, which, though less full and complete than the associate return, are of considerable value, as being clearly derived from independent sources, and as confirming or correcting, as the case may be, the parallel figures preserved by Catron.

The first statistical return hereunto appended is contributed by De Laët from immediately contemporaneous information, and refers to a third or final phase of Akbar's revenue accounts, when his successor came to take stock of his father's accumulated treasures and current rent-roll. The document itself, which has only lately been brought to my notice,² furnishes a severe critical test of the soundness of the deductions previously arrived at from other sources: curiously enough, it confirms in the most definite manner my determination of the intrinsic value of the Sikandari Tankah (pp. 369, 384, 388), and upholds, what I felt at the moment to be almost a *tour de force*, in the suggested substitution of *six* for *three* in the "hundred millions" of Akbar's revenue entered in the corrupt Persian text of Abúl Fazl (pp. 388*n*, 437); but, on the other hand, the context of the Latin passage raises a doubt as to my justification in substituting double for single *dáms* in the reduction of the given total into other currencies. There need be no reserve in confessing that *all* commentators upon the revenue returns of the *Áin-i-Akbari* have hitherto

¹ Catron, *Histoire de l'Empire Mogol*. Paris, 1716.

² My attention was first attracted to this curious and very rare work by an excellent article in the *Calcutta Review* (October, 1870, January, 1871), on the "Topography of the Mogul Empire," by Mr. E. Lethbridge, which traces, with equal patience and ability, the geographical details furnished by the opening chapter entitled "*Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topographica Descriptio*."

concurrent¹ in accepting the *dám* as $\frac{1}{6}$ part of a rupee; it is so defined in unmistakable terms in the table of coins (pp. 360 n, 421); but, singularly enough, there is no such parallel declaration of its value when it is entered under the generic name in the section of the work devoted to the revenue details. We have seen how frequently, in the Indian system, a nominal coin of a fixed denomination possessed no tangible representative, but was left to be made up in practice of two half pieces (pp. 361-2). So that if the archaic *Karsha* was so far a money of account as to be represented by two pieces of copper, and the Buhlóli in like manner remained an uncoined penny payable by two half-pence, we may readily admit their successor the *dám* to a similar theoretical and practical condition.

If we look to the origin of Akbar's revenue tables, there is much to support the view that the old Sikandari or *double dám* continued to hold its place in the State ledgers. Akbar, following Bábar's example, clearly took over Sikandar's original field measurements, even to the irrepressible *unit* of his yard measure (p. 373). We have no knowledge of the precise currency in which Shír Sháh's accounts were kept, but to judge by the ultimate retention of so much of Sikandar's system, there was probably no needless interference with established money values. In regard to De Laët's definitions, in as far as they conflict with probabilities, I should infer that the process by which he obtained his alternative totals was the application of the coin values entered in other sections of his work,² to the grand total of 6,98,00,00,000 *dáms* furnished to

¹ Myself among the number. Erskine was the first to propose, with much hesitation, the possibility of the alternative I now contend for.

² Especially from a notice on Akbar's treasures, p. 143, which, however, does not exhibit any profound knowledge of the subject. I may add, in connexion with

him by his informants. This is the process, as we have already seen, adopted by our own commentators, and in no way renders it obligatory upon us to accept any thing but the leading figures pure and simple; to test, therefore, the consistency of the results he arrives at, we must compare prior and subsequent statistics.

The true amount of Bábar's revenue is now completely demonstrated and established by the new definition of the "Tanga" as $\frac{1}{8}$ of a rupee. The gradual increment upon Akbar's early return of the thirty-ninth year (viz., £32,000,000) to £33,148,771 in later periods, and to £34,900,000 in the fifty-first year, is consistent in the several gradational sums, and leads naturally up to Aurangzéb's improved revenues of £38,719,400.¹ The question we have now to decide is, can the second and third of these totals be reduced with any seeming reason to one half, or the sums represented by a computation of the original totals at $\frac{1}{8}$ of a rupee?

If Nizám-ud-dín's total of £32,000,000, expressed in now positively ascertained values, refers to Akbar's land revenue alone (in 1593 A.D.), as it would seem to do, and Aurangzéb's unquestioned modern currency (or rupee) income of £38,719,400 represents the parallel increase in the charge upon the land incident to the enhanced wealth of the country and irregularly extended boundaries, the reduction of Akbar's 6,98,00,00,000 *dáms*, the sum returned for A.D. 1605, into £17,450,000, seems to be altogether inadmissible. It is true that Akbar professes to have abandoned taxes in amount "equal to the quit-rent of Hindústán" (p. 432), but that rent-charge throughout remained unaffected; these cesses were

the notes at pp. 422, 433, *anté*, that De Laët's grand total of the contents of Akbar's treasure chamber, reduced into rupees, is defined at 19,83,46,666½, or £19,834,666.

¹ I accept Catron's total, though his detailed sums do not quite accord with

confessedly outside the fixed state demand on the land. And Āurangzēb in his turn realized from similar sources, according to Catron, a sum which in like manner doubled the normal (land) revenue of the empire. A still more approximate test of comparative values is furnished by the computed revenues of an intermediate period, under Shāh Jahān, in 1648 A.D., when the accounts were still kept in the conventional *dāms*. These are stated by 'Abd al Hamīd to have amounted in all to the sum of 8,80,00,00,000 *dāms*.

I need not repeat the arguments already advanced in favour of the inference that these were *double dāms*, but the question may be

the aggregate furnished in his text. I have tabulated these returns for facility of reference.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|---------|
| 1. Dehli | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,25,50,000 | rupees. |
| 2. Agrah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,22,03,550 | " |
| 3. Lāhor | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,33,05,000 | " |
| 4. Ajmīr | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,19,00,002 | " |
| 5. Gujarāt | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,33,95,000 | " |
| 6. Mālwah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 99,06,250 | " |
| 7. Bihār | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,21,50,000 | " |
| 8. Multān | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50,25,000 | " |
| 9. Kābul | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 32,07,250 | " |
| 10. Tata | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60,02,000 | " |
| 11. Bakar | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 24,00,000 | " |
| 12. Urecha | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 57,07,500 | " |
| 13. Kashmir | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 35,05,000 | " |
| 14. Allahābād | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 77,38,000 | " |
| 15. Dakhan | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,62,04,750 | " |
| 16. Berār | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,58,07,500 | " |
| 17. Kandés | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,11,05,000 | " |
| 18. Baglana | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 68,85,000 | " |
| 19. Mandú ? | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 72,00,000 | " |
| 20. Bengal | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4,00,00,000 | " |
| 21. Ujain | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,00,00,000 | " |
| 22. Rajmahal | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,00,50,000 | " |
| 23. Bijapūr | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,00,00,000 | " |
| 24. Golconda | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,00,00,000 | " |
| | | | | | | | | <u>38,62,46,802</u> | " |

put broadly on its own merits, and apart from any foregone conclusion—does the sum of £22,000,000 ($8,80,00,00,000 \div 40 \div 10$) or the higher amount of £44,000,000 ($8,10,00,00,000 \div 20 \div 10$) more nearly accord with the clearly defined sum of £38,719,400 realized in A.D. 1697? was there anything in the history of the intervening half century to sanction the idea of an approximate advance of one-third in the revenue during the period, as implied in an increase of nearly seventeen millions, or is it more within the limits of common sense to suppose that the subsequent collections should have fallen off to the extent of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions? Undoubtedly the latter represents a less abrupt transition, and is in some degree accounted for by the loss of Balkh, Kandahár, and Badakshán, which figure for respectable sums in Sháh Jahán's list, and the temporary possession of which may have largely influenced the general trade of India; but otherwise the provincial totals are too little in unison to afford any very safe basis of extended comparison.

Finally, to set the question of approximate values completely at rest, I am able to produce the unofficial but very material testimony of Captain Richard Hawkins, in support of my theory, regarding the system of reckoning by *double dáms*, to the effect that in A.D. 1609–1611 Jahángír's land revenue amounted to "50,00,00,000 rupees" (£50,000,000).¹ Our countryman dealt in round numbers, and refers to no authoritative data, so that his leading figures may

¹ "The king's yearly income of his crown land is 50 crore of rupias, every crore is 100 lack, and every lack is 100 thousand rupias." Side-note—The rupia is two shillings sterling; some say 2s. 3d., some 2s. 6d.—Purchas, i. 216.

Sir Thomas 'Roe, writing from Ajmir, in A.D. 1615, adverts incidentally to Jahángír's revenues in the following terms:—"In revenue he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian or any Eastern Prince, the sums I dare not name."—Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury, in Churchill's Voyages, i. p. 659.

be open to canvass; but the fact of rupee estimates being found intruding thus early upon the domain of the normal *dám*, enables us to check anew the relative values of the *dám* currency by the contemporaneous test of *rupee* equivalents. Under this aspect, my case may be said to be fully made out; no explanation, within the range of probabilities, would suffice to reduce the land revenues of 1605 A.D. to the single *dám* estimate of £17,450,000, in the face of a total of anything like an ordinary annual income of £50,000,000 in 1609–1611 A.D.

In conclusion, I recapitulate the contrasted returns of the nine periods.

| | Silver Tankahs (or Rupees). | £ sterling at 2s. per rupee. |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Fírúz Sháh, A.D. 1351–1388 | 6,08,50,000. | 6,085,000 |
| Bábar, A.D. 1526–1530 | 2,60,00,000. | 2,600,000 |
| Akbar, A.D. 1593..... | 32,00,00,000. | 32,000,000 |
| Akbar, <i>estimated</i> later returns | 33,14,87,772. | 33,148,777 |
| Akbar, A.D. 1605..... | 34,90,00,000. | 34,900,000 |
| Jahángír, A.D. 1609–1611 ... | 50,00,00,000. | 50,000,000 |
| Jahángír, A.D. 1628 | 35,00,00,000. | 35,000,000 |
| Sháh Jahán, A.D. 1648 | 44,00,00,000. | 44,000,000 |
| Aurangzéb, A.D. 1697 | 38,71,94,000. | 38,719,400 |

Aurangzéb's total revenue from various sources, 77,43,88,000 silver tankahs (or rupees), at 2s. per rupee=£77,438,800 sterling.

I. Parebant tum ipsi hæ provinciæ *Kandahaer, Kabul, Kassamier, Ghassenie, & Benazaed, Guzaratta, Sinde, sive Tatta, Gandhees, Brampor, Barar, Bengala, Oriza, Ode, Malowu, Agra, Delly*, cum suis limitibus: è quibus annuus census colligitur, uti constat è rationali Regis Achabar; VI Areb & XCVIII Caror, Dam, id est, si ad tangas exigas III Areb and XLIX Caror tangarum; sive secundum monetam regni, XX tangas in singulas rupias computando; aut I Caror tangarum in V lack rupiar. XVII Caror. & XLV Lack rupiarum: atque universus hic annuus census in Magnates, Ducesque & stipendia militum effunditur. De Thesauris à Rege Achabare relictis alibi diximus.

II. General revenue return for the twentieth year of the reign of Sháh Jahán (A.D. 1648), from the "Bádsháh Námah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, *Láhor*. The text adds, that at the death of Jahángír, in A.D. 1628, the Land Revenue of the State only amounted to 700,00,00,000 *dáms*, or £35,000,000. Various satisfactory causes are enumerated to explain the increase under Sháh Jahán.¹

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------------|---------------|
| 1. | Dehli | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,00,00,00,000 | <i>dáms</i> . |
| 2. | Agrah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 90,00,00,000 | „ |
| 3. | Láhor | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 90,00,00,000 | „ |
| 4. | Ajmír | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60,00,00,000 | „ |
| 5. | Daulatábád | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55,00,00,000 | „ |
| 6. | Berár | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55,00,00,000 | „ |
| 7. | Ahmadábád | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 53,00,00,000 | „ |
| 8. | Bengal | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50,00,00,000 | „ |
| 9. | Allahábád | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000 | „ |
| 10. | Bihár | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000 | „ |
| 11. | Málwah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000 | „ |
| 12. | Khandés | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000 | „ |
| 13. | Oude | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30,00,00,000 | „ |
| 14. | Telingánah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30,00,00,000 | „ |
| 15. | Multán | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 28,00,00,000 | „ |
| 16. | Orissa | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20,00,00,000 | „ |
| 17. | Kábul | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16,00,00,000 | „ |
| 18. | Kashmír | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15,00,00,000 | „ |
| 19. | Tatah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8,00,00,000 | „ |
| 20. | Balkh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8,00,00,000 | „ |
| 21. | Kandahár | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,00,00,000 | „ |
| 22. | Badakhshán | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4,00,00,000 | „ |
| 23. | Baglánah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,00,00,000 | „ |
| | | | | | | | 8,80,00,00,000 | „ |

Or at $\frac{1}{8}$ per rupee, 44,00,00,000 rupees, £44,000,000.

¹ This is avowedly a summary average, and not an absolute or formal return; but it is fully trustworthy, as the alternative rate at the commencement of the reign shows that the author (writing in the twenty-first year) had access to official documents for both periods.—Calcutta Persian text, ii. 710.

III. "Ce que nous avons dit jusqu'icy, est un préjugé favorable pour rendre croiable ce que nous allons dire. Sans doute on ne sera plus surpris des immenses revenus que le Mogol recueille de ses Etats. En voici la liste tirée des archives de l'Empire. L'état du produit de ce grand Domaine, que l'Empereur possède lui seul dans toute l'étenduë de sa Souveraineté, étoit, en l'année 1697, tel que nous l'allons représenter. Pour en avoir l'intelligence, il faut supposer deux choses. Premièrement, que tous les Roïaumes de l'Empire se divisent en *Sarcas*, qui veut dire, *provinces*; que les *Sarcas* se divisent encore en *Parganas*, c'est-à-dire, en *Gouvernemens dans l'étenduë d'une Province*. Ce sont, à proprement parler, des soufermes. Secondement, il faut supposer, que selon la manière de compter dans l'Indoustan, un *carol* vaut cent *laqs*, c'est-à-dire, dix millions; & qu'un *laq* vaut cent mille *roupies*: Enfin que les *roupies* valent à peu près *trente sols*, monnoye de France. Le Roïaume de Dely a dans son Gouvernement huit *Sarcas*, & deux cens vingt *Parganas*, qui rendent un *carol*, *vingt-cinq laqs & cinquante mille roupies* (1,25,50,000 rupees). Le Roïaume d'AGRA compte dans son enceinte quatorze *Sarcas*, & deux cens soixante & dix-huit *Parganas*. Ils rendent à l'Empereur, *deux carols, vingt-deux laqs & trois mille cinq cens cinquante roupies* (2,22,03,550 rupees). Ou trouve dans l'étenduë du Roïaume de Labor, cinq *Sarcas*, & trois cens quatorze *Parganas*, qui rendent *deux carols, trente-trois laqs & cinq mille roupies* (2,33,05,000 rupees). Le Roïaume d'Asmir, ses *Sarcas* & *Parganas* paient, *deux carols, dix-neuf laqs & deux roupies* (2,19,00,002 rupees). Celui de Guzurate, qui dans son enceinte renferme neuf *Sarcas* & dix-neuf *Parganas*, donne à l'Empereur *deux carols, trente-trois laqs & quatre-vingt quinze mille roupies* (2,33,95,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de Malua, divisé en onze *Sarcas* & en deux cens cinquante petits *Parganas*, ne rend que *quatre-vingt dix-neuf laqs, six mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (99,06,250 rupees). On compte dans le Roïaume de Bear huit *Sarcas* & deux cens quarante-cinq petits *Parganas*. L'Empereur en tire un *carol, vingt-&-un laqs & cinquante mille roupies* (1,21,50,000 rupees). Les quatorze *Sarcas* partagez en quatre-vingt seize *Parganas* du Roïaume de Multan, ne donnent à l'Empereur que *cinquante laqs & vingt-cinq mille roupies* (50,25,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de

Cabul, divisé en trente-cinq Parganas, ne rend que *trente-deux laqs, & sept mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (32,07,250 rupees). Le Roïaume de Tata paye *soixante laqs, & deux mille roupies* (60,02,000 rupees); & celui de Bacar, seulement *vingt-quatre laqs* (24,00,000 rupees). Dans de Roïaume d'Urecha, quoiqu'on compte onze Sarcas & un assez grand nombre de Parganas, on ne paye que *cinquante-sept laqs, & sept mille cinq cens roupies* (57,07,500 rupees). Les quarante-six Parganas du Roïaume Cachemire, ne rendent que *trente-cinq laqs, & cinq mille roupies* (35,05,000 rupees). Le Roïaume d'Ilavas avec ses dépendances rend *soixante & dix-sept laqs, & trente-huit mille roupies* (77,38,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de Decan, qu'on divise en huit Sarcas & en soixante & dix-neuf Parganas, paie un *carol, soixante-&-deux laqs, & quatre mille sept cens cinquante roupies* (1,62,04,750 rupees). Au Roïaume de Barar, on compte dix Sarcas & cent quatre-vingt-onze petits Parganas. L'Empereur en tire un *carol, cinquante-huit laqs, & sept mille cinq cens roupies* (1,58,07,500 rupees). Le grande province de Candis, que nous mettons icy sur le pied des Roïaumes, rend au Mogol un *carol, onze laqs & cinq mille roupies* (1,11,05,000 rupees). Le Roïaume de Baglana a quarante-trois Parganas. L'Empereur en tire *soixante-&-huit laqs, & quatre-vingt-cinq mille roupies* (68,85,000 rupees). On ne paye au Roïaume de Nande que *soixante-&-douze laqs* (72,00,000 rupees). Dans celui de Bengale on donne à l'Empereur *quatre carols* (4,00,00,000 rupees). Le Roïaume d'Ugen rend *deux carols* (2,00,00,000 rupees). Celui de Ragemahal un *carol, & cinquante mille roupies* (1,00,50,000 rupees). L'Empereur exige du Roïaume de Visapour & d'une partie de la Province de Carnatte *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Enfin le Roïaume de Golconde & une autre partie de Carnatte rend aussi *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Le tout supputé fait *trois cens quatre-vingt-sept millions de roupies & cent quatre-vingt-quatorze mille* (38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400). Ainsi à prendre les roupies des Indes pour trente sols ou environ de nôtre monnoye de France, le Domaine de l'Empereur Mogol lui produit tous les ans, *cinq cens quatre-vingt millions, sept cens quatre-vingt onze mille livres*. Outre ces revenus fixes du Domaine, qu'on tire seulement des fruits de la terre, le casuel de l'Empire est une autre source de richesses pour l'Empereur. 1°. On exige tous les ans un

tribut par tête de tous les Indiens idolâtres. Comme la mort, les voyages, & les fuites de ces anciens habitans de l'Indoustan, en rendent le nombre incertain, on le diminuë beaucoup à l'Empereur. Les gouverneurs profitent de leur déguisement. 2°. Toutes les marchandises, que les Négocians Idolâtres font transporter, payent aux Douïannes cinq pour cent de leur valeur. Orangzeb a exempté les Mahométans de ces sortes d'impôts. 3°. Le blanchissage de cette multitude infinie de toiles qu'on travaille aux Indes, est encore la matière d'un tribut. 4°. La mine de diamans paye à l'Empereur une grosse somme. Il exige pour lui les plus beaux & les plus parfaits; c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui sont au-dessus de *trois huit*. 5°. Les ports de mer, & particulièrement ceux de Sindi, de Barocha, de Suratte, & de Cambaye, sont taxez à de grosses sommes. Suratte seul rend ordinairement *trente laqs* pour les droits d'entrées, & *onze laqs* pour le profit des monnoyes qu'on y fait battre. 6°. Toute la côte de Coromandel, et les Ports situez sur les bords du Gange, produisent de gros revenus au Souverain. 7°. Ce qui les augmente infiniment c'est l'héritage qu'il perçoit universellement de tous ses Sujets Mahométans qui sont à sa solde; tous les meubles, tout l'argent, & tous les effets de celui qui meurt, appartiennent de droit à l'Empereur. Par là les femmes des Gouverneurs de Provinces & des Généraux d'armées, sont souvent réduites à une pension modique, & leurs enfans, s'ils sont sans mérite, sont réduits à la mendicite. 8°. Les tributs des Rajas sont assez considérables, pour tenir place parmi les principaux revenus du Mogol. Tout ce casuel de l'Empire, égale, à peu près, ou surpasse même les immenses richesses que l'Empereur perçoit des seuls fonds de terre de son Domaine. On est étonné sans doute d'une si prodigieuse opulence; mais il faut considérer que tant de richesses n'entre dans les trésors du Mogol, que pour en sortir tous les ans, du moins en partie, & pour couler une autre fois sur ses terres. La moitié de l'Empire subsiste par les libéralitez du Prince, ou du moins elle est à ses gages. Outre ce grand nombre d'Officiers & de Soldats qui ne vivent que de la paye, tous les Paisans de la campagne, qui ne labourent que pour le Souverain, sont nourris à ses frais, & presque tous les Artisans des villes, qu'on fait travailler pour le Mogol, sont payez du Trésor

Impérial. On conjecture assez quelle est la dépendance des Sujets, & par conséquent quelle est leur déférence pour leur Maître.

IV. "Memoire oublié à inserer dans mon premier Ouvrage pour perfectionner la Carte de l'Indoustan, et savoir les Revenus du Grand Mogol."

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Dehli | 1,95,25,000 |
| 2. Agra | 2,52,25,000 |
| 3. Lâhor | 2,46,95,000 |
| 4. Hasmir ¹ | 2,19,70,000 |
| 5. Gujarât (Ahmadabâd) ... | 1,33,95,000 |
| 6. Kandahar ² | 19,92,500 |
| 7. Málwah | 91,62,500 |
| 8. Patna or Bihâr | 95,80,000 |
| 9. Allahâbâd | 94,70,000 |
| 10. Onde | 68,30,000 |
| 11. Multân | 1,18,40,500 |
| 12. "Jagannat" | 72,70,000 |
| 13. Kashmîr | 3,50,000 |
| 14. Kâbul | 32,72,500 |
| 15. Tata | 23,20,000 |
| 16. Aurangâbâd | 1,72,27,500 |
| 17. "Varada" | 1,58,75,000 |
| 18. Khandés | 1,85,50,000 |
| 19. Tilingana ³ | 68,85,000 |
| 20. Bagnala ⁴ | 5,00,000 |

Rs. 22,59,14,500 or £22,591,450.

—Bernier's *Voyages*, Amsterdam, 1724, vol. ii, p. 354.

¹ Qui appartient à un Raja, donne au roi de tribut, etc.

² Chiefly under Persia; Pergunnahs remaining to India pay as above.

³ Talengand, qui confine au Royaume de Golkonda du côté de Massipatan, a quarante-trois Pragnas."

⁴ Bagnala qui confine aux terres des Portugais et aux montagnes de Sevagi, ce Raja qui a saccagé Sourate, a deux Serkars, huit Pragnas."

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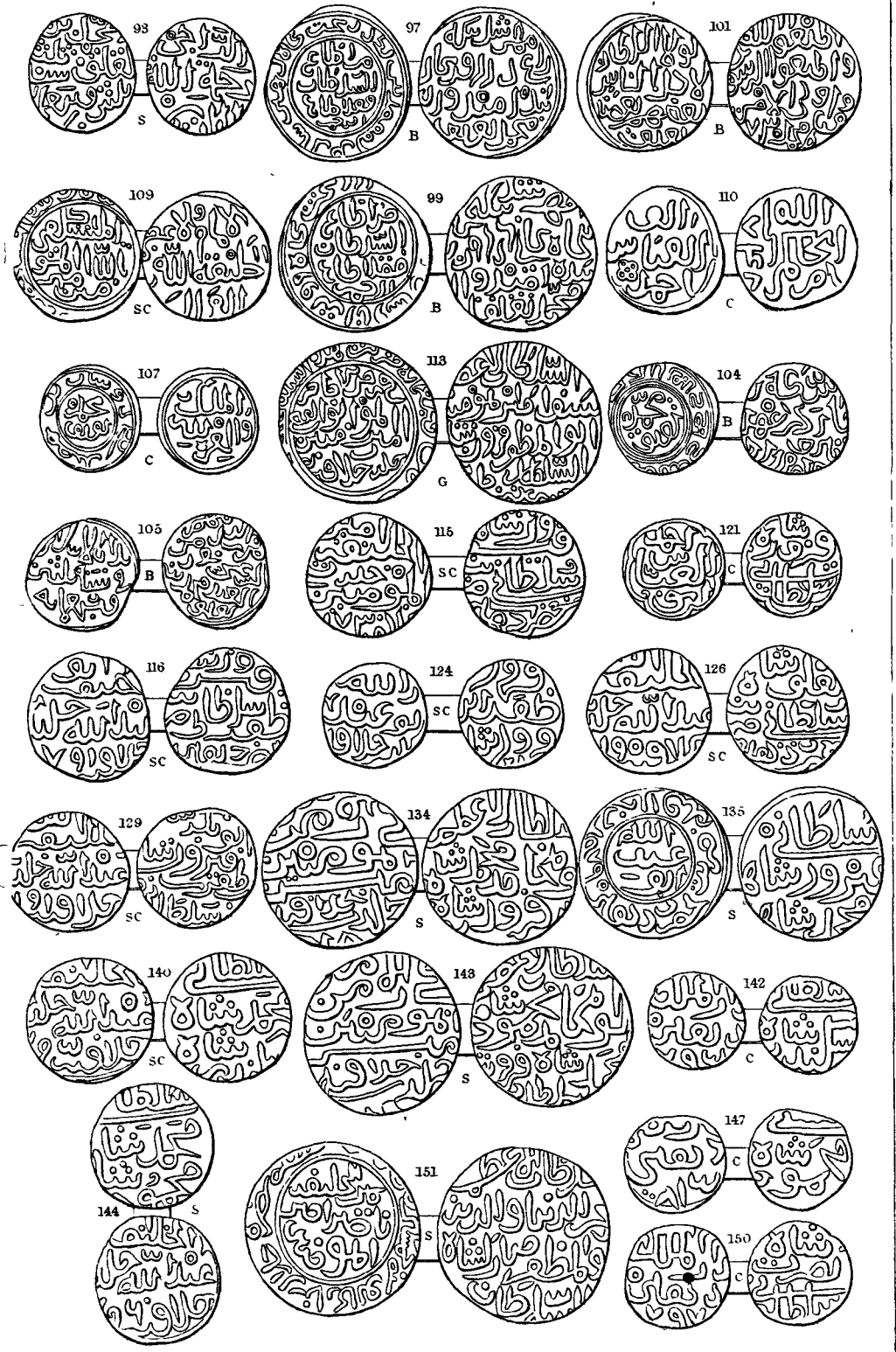


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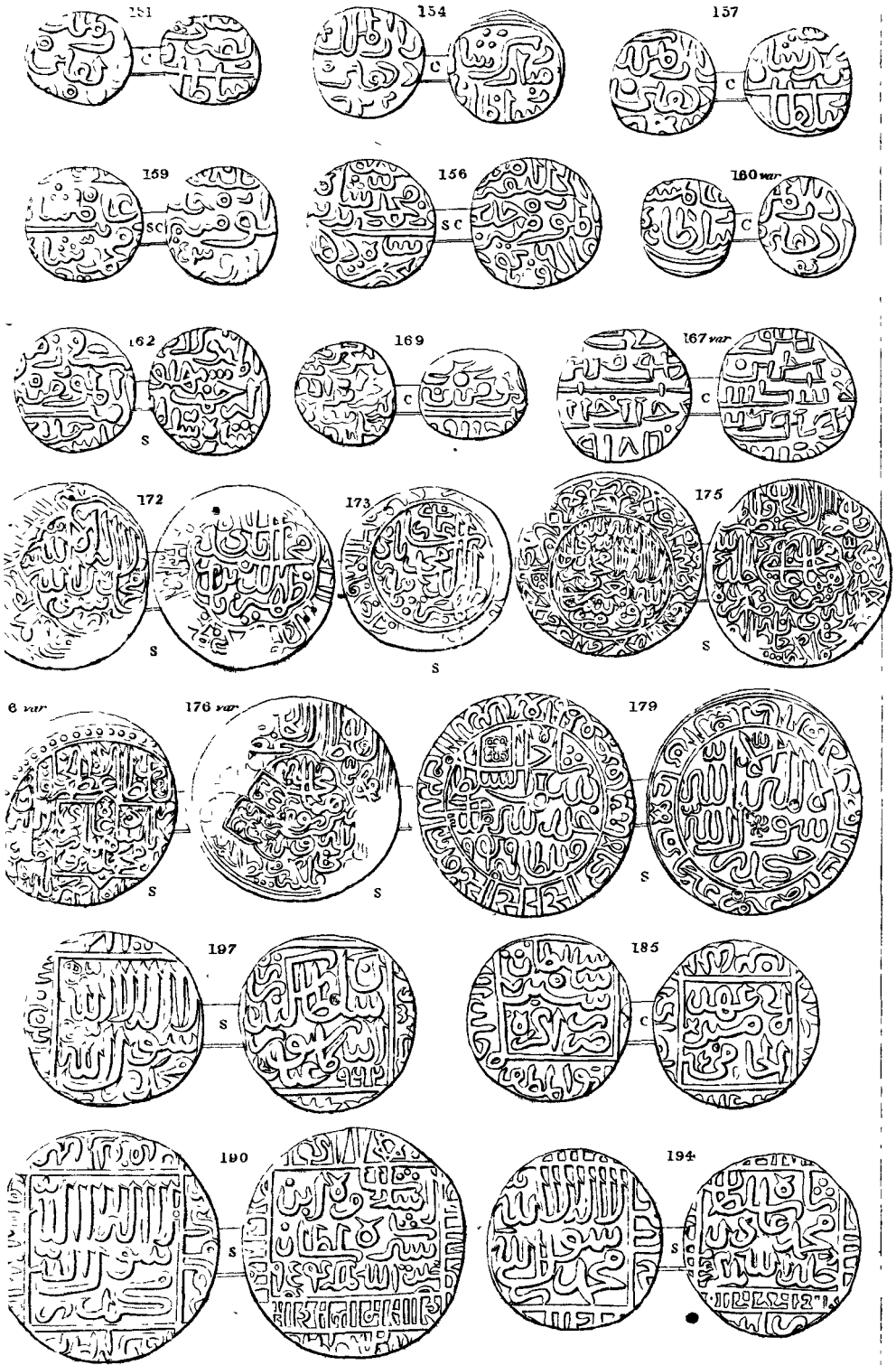


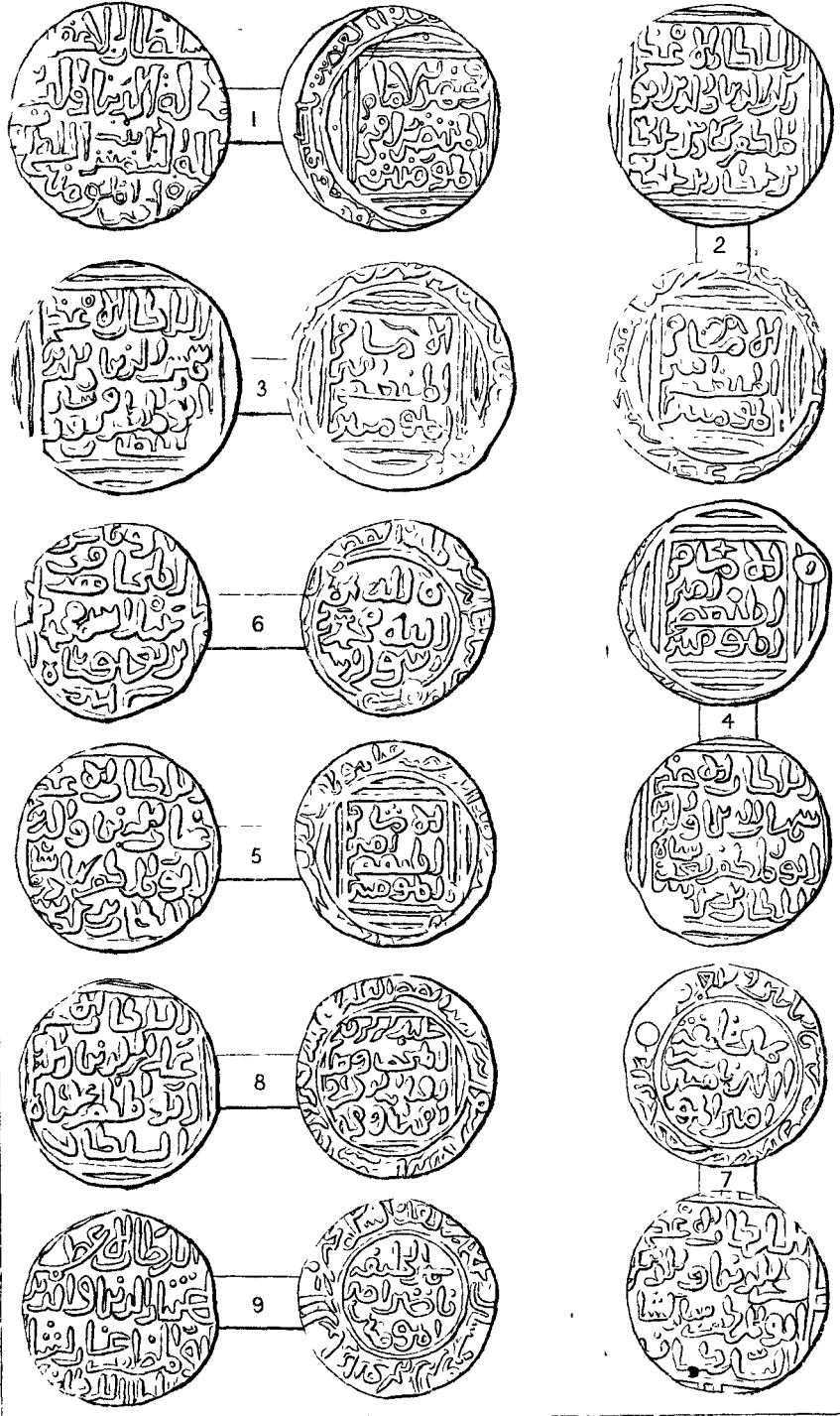
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