CHAPTER – IV
COINAGE AND METROLOGY OF THE KHALJIS

1. Historical Background

The Turki dynasty (1206-1290 A.D.) of Delhi was supplanted by a new one known as the Khalji (1290-1320 A.D.). It was founded by Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji (1290-1296 A.D.) who had served earlier under Balban as army officer and under Kaiqubad as the ariz-i-mamalik (army minister) as well as the governor of Baran. During Kaiqubad when the amirs and maliks were divided into two groups, he led the non-Turki faction of nobles consisting of the Khaljis and the native offices. He frustrated the Turki oligarchy and established the non-Turkey regime. By deposing the last Turki Sultan Kayumars, he occupied the throne and founded his own rule. He ascended the throne at the age of 75 years with the name of Jalaluddin Firuz. His coronation was held in 1290 A.D. at Kulugarhi, a place little away to the south from Delhi. Initially, for some months, he ruled from there and did not dare enter into Delhi. For, the Turki amirs who were the supported of the previous government were still active there. The people of Delhi were also indifferent to him. But within a short time he won over all the people by showing his generosity towards them. The amirs and maliks were also won over by appointing them at various high posts in the administration. Malik Chajju, the nephew of Balban was granted the governorship of Kara. Malik Fakhr uddin was confirmed as the Kotwal. Afterwards when Jalal uddin became sure of his security he entered into Delhi and started to rule from the old capital of the Sultanate.

Jalal uddin Firuz as an army officer had a brilliant career, but as ruler he was an utter failure. Being whimsical in actions he did many follies. He pardoned the rebels like Chajju and Hatim Khan and

* Reign: 689-695 A.H / 1290-19 July 1296 A.D.
entertained them with feats. He released robbers and criminals by simply giving them admonition. While he was so generous towards the undesirable he was cruel toward Sidi Mawla, an innocent saint whom he brutally murdered. These activities made him unpopular even to his own people.

Jalaluddin was against the policy of expansion of the territory at the loss of Muslim life. His own expedition against Ranthambhor in 1290 A.D. was withdrawn for the same reason. Of course his nephew and son-in-law Ala uddin Khalji who was the governor of Kara and Awadh, achieved victory over Malwa and Devagiri, but those were undertaken without the consent of the Sultan. His death was pathetic. When he received the news of Ala uddin’s victory in his southern expedition, the Sultan with a view to giving him a warm welcome came forward to Manikpur in Kara, where he was treacherously murdered by Ala uddin’ on 20 July, 1296 A.D. 917 Ramzan, 695 A.H.).

Jalaluddin during his lifetime had nominated his elder son Arkali Khan as his successor to the throne. But when the news of his death reached Delhi, Arkali was in Multan. So Malika-i-Jahan, the widow of Jalaluddin, consulted the problem with the nobles and put her younger son Rukh uddin Ibrahim on the throne. Ala uddin, on the other hand, after murdering Jalaluddin, marched to Delhi and occupied the throne on 3 October, 1296 A.D. Ibrahim fled to Multan but was imprisoned and blinded. Ibrahim’s reigns lasted only for two and half months.

Ala uddin’s (1296-1326 A.D.) format name was Malik Gurshasp. He ascended the throne with the name of Ala uddin Muhammad Shah. After Muhammad bin Sam he was the first ruler to take initiative for further expansion of the kingdom. The territories which Muhammad bin Sam had conquered, more or less, was the domain of the Sultanate of Delhi during

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* Near Allahabad U.P.
† 20 July-30 October 1296 A.D.
this successors till Ala uddin. Some weak rules even failed to maintain their hold over the whole area and had lost a consider part of it. Ala uddin consolidated the kingdom and annexed Gujarat (in 1294 A.D.), Ranthambhor (in 1301 A.D.). Thus be brought under his sway the whole of northern India except Bihar and Bengal.

He also sent expeditions to the Deccan under the command of this general Malik Kafur and conquered Devagiri (in 1307 A.D.), Telingana (in 1310 A.D.), Dwarasamudra and Madura (in 1311 A.D.). But instead of annexing these far kingdoms to his own territory he showed the wisdom of restoring them to their previous rulers on their acknowledging his suzerainty and paying regular tribute.

During him the Mongols invaded his kingdom several times but were beaten back out of the country. For a protective measure against the Mongols he recruited a huge army on permanent basis. This army was sent from to time for expeditions towards the South which earned for him great victories. For the maintenance of the army he undertook some economic reforms which was beneficial for the citizens of Delhi also. Thus Ala uddin had a peaceful and glorious reign of 20 years. During his last days he became victim of the court intrigues and was poisoned to death by Malik Kafur who was once is trusted general. Ala uddin had four sons by his two wives. Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Mubarak by his first wife and Umar by the second. During this life time he had nominated his eldest son, Khizr Khan, as his heir-apparent, but his naib, Malik Kafur, disliked this nomination. So just before Ala uddin's death he secretly managed to get his signature on a document canceling the previous nomination and declaring 'Umar, the youngest son of six years as his successor.

On Ala uddin's death Malik Kafur installed Umar with the name of Shihab uddin 'Umar on the throne in 1316 A.D. and himself became his regent. He married Shihab uddin's mother, the widow of the Sultan, and became the real ruler. In order to wide out the probable claimant to the throne, he sent agents to blind all the other sons of Ala uddin. All were
blind except Mubarak. When the agents went to him he bribed them and purchased their support. The agents came back, killed Malik Kafur and made Mubarak the regent of Shihab uddin. Two months later Mubarak deposed and blinded Shihab uddin and himself became the Sultan on 14th April, 1316 A.D. 920 Muharram, 716 A.H.). Shihab uddin had a short reign of 3 months only.

Mubarak (1316-1320)* ascended the throne with the name of Qutab uddin Mubarak Shah. His accession was highly rejoiced. Titles and honours were conferred on the dignitaries of the state and the reliable officers were promoted to the high posts. The most surprising elevation was that of Hasan who was his slave of the Barvari or Parvari caste of Gujarat. Mubarak bestowed upon him the emoluments and iqta of Malik Naib and raised him to the post of wazir with the title of Khusru Khan.

During his rule Gujarat revolted but was quelled. When the news of rebellions in Davagiri and other dependence of South reached Delhi the Sultan marched there leaving his father-in-law, Shahin, at the capital to look after the administration in his absence. He subjugated the rebellions of Davagiri, Gulbarga, Sugar and Dwarasamudra. Unlike his father he annexed these territories to his kingdom and appointed his own governors there. The Sultan then sent Khusru Khan towards Telingana and himself turned back to Delhi. On his return journey he discovered a plot hatched against his life. Asad uddin, the cousin of his father, was detected as its leader. Sultan massacred all the conspirators. The conspiracy had also its root in the capital. During his absence coins were issued in the name of the one Shams uddin Mahmud. But it is still in mystery who this Shams uddin Mahmud was. Asad uddin, Shahin or a son of Khizr Khan? The fact is still in mystery. But the Sultan suspected all three and murdered them all including Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Shihab uddin who were blinded earlier and were put into imprisonment.

* 716-720 A.H /14 April 1316-26 April
Mubarak's success in the Deccan turned his head, and he began to behave in a most irresponsible manner. He spend all his time in the company of women and buffoons. The court turned to be place fu, and through he did not observe fasts and say prayers, he assumed the title of *Al-imam al-Azam* (or the great leader) and *Khalifatu rabbi'l Alamin* (or the vicegerent of God) and thereby he made the kingdom of Delhi independence of the Islamic *Khalifat*. As he declared himself *Khalifah* he renamed his capital, Delhi as *Darul-Khilafar* or the house of the *Khalifat*.

These activities of Mubarak made him unpopular and his administration became weak. Realizing the weakness of the centre Malik Yaklakhi revolted in Devagiri but he was quelled immediately. Khusru Khan, the *wazir*, who subjugated Telingana, Masulipatnam and Mabar in the south was also thinking to rule there independence, but it was disclosed and he was called back to the capital. When he arrived at Delhi the Sultan welcome him instead of giving him punishment and punished those who disclosed the plot. Thus he lost his reliable men. Khusru Khan's evil deign was still active. He murdered Mubarak on 16 April, 1320 A.D. (= 5 Rabi ul Awwal, 720 A.H.) and usurped the throne. On this accession he assumed the name of Nasir and Khsru Shah. But this usurpation of the throne by Khsru Khan was not accepted the Ghazi Tughlq, the warden of Deopalpur. He with the support of some other governors marched on Delhi and killed Khusru on 6 September, 1320 A.D. (1 Sh'aban, 720 A.H.). The he ascended the throne with the name of Ghiyas uddin Tughlaq and laid the foundation of the Gughlaq dynasty. Thus ended the rule of the Khaljis (1290-1320 A.D.).

2. **Coinage**

The Khaljis opened a new chapter in the numismatic history of India. They rendered a great contribution to the reform of the currency system of the Sultanate of Delhi which was made mainly by Ala uddin Muhammad Khalji, the third ruler of the dynasty. The first two rulers, Jala
uddin Firuz and Rukh uddin Ibrahim, followed the pattern of the earlier coinage in type, fabric and metrology.

2.1 Jala uddin Firuz (A.H. 689-95/AD 1290-96)

Jalal uddin’s coins are the perfect imitations of the coinage of Balban, Kaiqubad and Kayumars with the only change that the previous names were replaced by that of his own. His coins of all the four metals – gold, silver, billon and copper have been discoverer.

His gold and silver tankahas are known of all the years of his reign from 689-695 A.H. with the only exception of the year 692 A.H. of which no gold coin has surfaced so far. Like the prototype his tankah coins (of both gold and silver) bear on the obverse the name of the deceased Khalifah in the legend “Al-imam al-Must’asim amir al-mu’minin” and on the reverse his own name and titles as “Al-Sultan al-‘azam Jalal al-duniya wa al-din abu’l muzaffar Firuz Shah al-Sultan”. These legends are written in the standardized form i.e., in circle on the gold and in double gold and in double square within circle on the silver tankahs as on the prototype. The marginal legend expressing the mint name and date is also seen only on their observe. His gold and silver tankahs are of two varieties each and the variation is noticed only in the line-arrangement of the legend. The earlier variety in both the metals was current from 689-693 A.H. (Cat No. 24, Pl. No. IX, Fig. No.71a&b).

The silver masha coins bear simply “Al-Sultan al-‘azam” on the observe and “Jalal al-duniya wa al-din” on the reverse. These coins are very rare. Only two pieces have been discovered so far. One is in ANS cabinet and the other in the collection of R. Burn (Cat No. 24, Pl. No. X, Fig. No. 72).

Jalal uddin’s billon coins are of a single type. They have on the observe the Arabic legend “Al-Sultan al-‘azam Jalal al-duniya wa al-din” and on the reverse “Firuz Shah” in Arabic at the centre within a square and “Sri Sultan Jalaludin” n Nagari around it (Cat No. 25, Pl. No. X, Fig.
This bilingual reverse type in billon was first introduced by Balban and was followed by his successors. But here on the these coins it is slightly modified. The Arabic part is written in a square instead of a circular area. Thakkur Pheru called these coins “Jalali”. They followed the standard weight of one tanka (3.68 gms/56.67 gns) and contained 2023 gms/ 3.116 gns of silver. Their value was 1¼ dam or jital; 48 of them went for a silver tankah.

Some of the Copper coins of Jaluddin are as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Observes Reverse</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Name and denom.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>In circle the Arabic legend “Al-Sultan al-azam”</td>
<td>4.285-3.831 gms/66-59 gns.</td>
<td>Paika; ⅛ of a jital</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Do Do 2.259 gms/34.8 gns</td>
<td>Adhwa (2½ viswa) 1/8 of a jital</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>In interesting squares “Adi Shah Firuz”</td>
<td>2.272 gms/35 gns.</td>
<td>Do</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>As on Sl. No. 3 but without “Adi”.</td>
<td>2.1948 gms/33.8 gns</td>
<td>Do</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>As on Sl. No. 3, (parts of)</td>
<td>1.461 gms /22.5 gns</td>
<td>Sawaya Viswa (1¼ viswa); 1/16 of a jital</td>
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2.2 Rukh uddin Ibrahim (AH 695/AD 1296)

Jala uddin's son and successor, Rukh uddin Ibrahim, as on the throne only for a short period of two and half months. No gold coin of this Sultan found so far. His silver, billon and copper coins are known to us.

It has already been stated that this selection was an alternative arrangement and his position was insecure due to rebellion of Ala uddin Muhammad, the murdered of his father. So with a view to strengthening his

* Converted silver content per coin.
cause he invoked his father's name on his coins. On one side of the silver tankah he wrote his own name and title, and on the other his father's name and religious epithet. These two names including the titles occupied the whole space of both the faces of the coin, so he dropped the name of the Khalifah which had been conventionally written on the coins of his predecessors. The elimination of Khalifah's name from his coin, therefore, was not for his disrespect to the Khalifah but for the shortage of space. That he acknowledged the Khalifah is clearly shown by the religious epithet "nasir amir al-mu'minin" on the reverse. This coin may be compared to the coins of Rukh uddin Firuz (1235 A.D.) and Raziyah (1236-1240 A.D.) who before him had invoked their father's name Ilutmish, on their coins and dropped the Khalifah's name for shortage of space. However, Ibrahim's silver tankahas have "Al-Sultan al-'azam Rukh al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar ibrahim Shah al-Sultan bin" on the obverse and "Al-Sultan al-'azam Jala al-Duniya wa al-din Firuz Shah nasir amir al-mu'minin" on the reverse. The marginal legend bearing the mint-name and date is written on the reverse instead of obverse (Cat No. 25, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.74).

Rukh uddi's billon coins are also of a single type and they slightly differ from those of his predecessors in type. He discarded the bilingual reverse type and wrote only Arabic legends on both the faces. His coins bear on the obverse "Al-Sultan al-'azam Rukh al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "Ibrahim Shah bin Firuz shah". Thakkur Pheru called these coins as "Rukni". According to him their weight, metal content and value were the same as of "Jalali" coins of his father (Cat No. 25, Pl. No. X, Fig No.75).

The cooper coins of this Sultan are Paika and Adhwa. The former weights 3.83 gms / 59 gns and bear on the obverse Al-Sultan al-'azam" and on the reverse "Ibrahim Shah bin Firuz Shah" (Cat No. 26, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.). The Adhawa weights 2.46 gms / 38 gns and contains the legend
"Adi Ibrahim Sham" on the obverse and "bin Firuz Shah" on the reverse (Cat No. 26, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.77).

2.3 Ala uddin Muhamamd Khalji and his successors (AH 695 715/AD 1296-1316)

2.3.1 Gold Coins

About the coinage of Al uddin' Muhmmad Khalji and his successors, Shihab uddin Umar and Mubarak, we have detailed information from Thakkur Pheru, the mint-master of their Delhi mint. He has described them elaborately in his treaties, the Dravya Pariksha. According to Thakkur Pheru, the unit gold coins of all these three kings, viz., Ala uddin', Umar and Mubarak were one tola i.e., 11.04 gms / 170 gns and were called Hema tankah (gold tankah). The first and the third ruler had issued them in two shapes, round and square. The coins in square shape is the innovation of these Khalji rulers.

In this period of the reference of the Khalifah was eliminated. The gold coins of Ala uddin and Umar both have on their reverse the same legend "Sikandar al-Sani Yamin al-Khilafat nasir amir al-mu'minin", while on the obverse their name and titles. On Ala uddin's coins it is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Ala al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Muhammad Shah al-Sultan" (Cat No. 26, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.78). On Umar's coins it is "Al-Sultan al-'azam Shihab al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar 'Umar Shah al-Sultan al-Sultan. Ala uddin's gold coins are known of all the years of his reign from 695-715 A.H./1296-1316 A.D. with the only exception of the year 700 A.H. / 1301 A.D. They were issued from three mints viz., Delhi (Cat No.27, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.79), Dar ul-Islam (Cat No.27, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.80) and Deogir (Cat No.27, Pl. No. X, Fig. No.81). Umar's coins were issued in 715 A.H. / 1316 A.D. only from Delhi mint.

Besides the gold tankah of one tola weight (i.e., 11.04 gms / 170 gns), according to Thakkur Pheru Ala uddin had also issued another gold coin named "dinar." It was 1/3 of the gold tankah and weighed 4 mashas (or one tankah, i.e., 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns.) But no specimen of this coin

129
has surfaced so far. However, it seems to have been well-known to Abu'l Fazl, as he has referred to the dinars of Ala uddin Khilji while discussing the purity of the metal of various coins under the title "Wormen of the mint".

While Ala uddin had ignored the Khalifah, his son Mubarak claimed Khilafat for himself. He assumed the title of “Al-imam al-'azam Khalifatu rabbi’l Alamin” and with this title his name “Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu’l muzaffar Mubarak Shah” is seen on the obverse of his coins. The reverse has "Al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al-wasiz billah amir al-mu'tminin". He gold tankahs of all the years from 716-720 A.H / 1316-1320 A.D. are well known. They were issued from two mints viz., Hazarat Dar ul-Khalifat Delhi (Cat No.28, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No. 82) and Qutababab Fort.

Besides, the gold tankahs of one tola weight according to Thakkur Pheru there were coins of three smaller denominations weighing 1 masha (igamasiya), 2 mashas (dumasiya) and 4 mashas (chaumasiya). They were respectively 1/12, 1/6 and 1/3 of a tankah. The 4 masha coins are also known. They bear the legend "Khalifat rabbi al-Alamin Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu’l muzaffar" on one side and “Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan’ on the other (Cat No.28, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.83). The coins of other two denominations i.e., igamasiya (1 masha) and dumasiya (2 mashas) mentioned by Thakkur Pheru have not yet come to light.

Besides, these coins Thakkur Pheru mentions another gold coin of Mubarak weighing 13 1/3 mashas (12.256 gms / 188.75 gns), i.e., a little heavier than the tankah coin. But no specimen of this coin is known so far.

2.3.2 Silver Coins

The silver coins (tankahs) of Ala uddin’, Umar and Mubarak are well known and Thakkur Pheru has called them Rupaya. Ala uddin and ‘Umar’s rupaya coins bear the same inscriptions as seen on their gold tankahs (Hema tankahs). Like gold Ala uddin issues his silver coins from Delhi, Dar ul-Islam and Deogir mints while Umar issued them only from Delhi. On
Mubarak's coins three types of legends are seen. On his earliest coins issues in 716 A.H., while he did not declare himself Khalifah, he wrote the legend in the pattern of the coins of his father. The legend seen on these coins is "Al-Sultan al 'azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah al-Sultan bin al-Sultan" on the observe and "Iskindar al-zaman yamin al-Khalifat nasir amair al-mu'minin" on the reverse (Cat No.28, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.84). The marginal legend bearing the mint-name and date is written on the reverse only a system which was introduced first by Rukh uddin Ibrahim. On this type of coins the name of Delhi mint is seen as "Hazaat Dehli" which was introduced long back by Iltutmish and was followed by all his successors till this reign.

In the early part of 717 A.H. he seems to have declared himself "Khalifah" and the coins issues at that time bear another type of legend. On the observe of these coins is it. "Al-imam al-azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Khalifatullah", while on the reverse "Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al-wasiz billah amir al-mu'-minim" in the centre and mint and date in words in the margin around. The Delhi mint has been renamed on these coins as "Hazarat darul mulk" (Cat No.29, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.85). Soon he issued some other coins where the legend is seen as this second type but the name of Delhi mint is again changed from "Hazarat Darul mulk" to "Hazrat Darul Khalifa" (Cat No.29, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.86). This type of coins are also known from Qutbad (Cat No.29, Pl. No. XI, Fig. No.87). In the last part of this year 717 A.H. we have some new coins where a third type of legend is seen. It is "Al-imam al-azam Khalifatu rabbi'l Alamin Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah" on the obverse and "Al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al-Wasiq billah amir al-mu'minin" on the reverse. Coins with this legend are known from mints of Hazarat dar ul-Khalifat (Cat No.30, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.88) and Dar ul-Islam (Cat No.30, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.89). This type of legend is commonly seen on his gold and silver coins and was exclusively used from this time down to end of this reign in 720 A.H. On all these latest coins mint of Delhi is mentioned as "Hazarat dar ul. Khalifat. Ala uddin, 'Umar and
Mubrak issued their silver coins year by year during the period of their reigns.

Thakkur Pheru does not mention any other silver coin of Ala uddin Khalji, Nelson Wright informs the existence of ½ tankah coin weighing 5.29 gms / 81.5 gns, one in the Delhi Museum and another in a private collection of W.S. Talbot. According to him these coins have one and the same legend "Sikandar al-Sani Yamin al-Khilafat nasir amir al-mu’minin" on both the faces. It is not known why Pheru did not notice it. This may be that it was commemorative token issued struck at the time of his assuming this title. As it was not a regular currency, Pheru might have left it.

Another silver coin 9.085 gms / 141 gns in weight and 31.25 mm in size has also been discovered. Its obverse has the border of triple circle, of which middle one is of dots. Within the circle is the Arabic legend inscribed around a small interesting double square at the centre. The Arabic legend reads as "Sikandar al-Sani naris amir al-mu’minin yamin al-Khilafat." In the central intersecting double square is a small winged Nepali type of lion below which is an elephant facing right. The reverse has also the similar border as on the observe and the Arabic legend around a small circle at the centre. The legend here reads as ‘Al-‘azam al-Sultan abu’l muzaffar Muhamamd Shah Ala al-duniya a al-din” with a small conch shell (Shankha) in the margin. Within the central small circle is the Nagari legend “Shri Shri with two crescents and starts above each and a floral design below.

The title “Shri Shri” and the two crescents with small dots representing starts, the trifoliate, the Shankha (conch) and the circle of dots, all have similarity with those in the later silver coins of Prithvi Narayan Shah Deva and Shri Gurvan Yudha Viram Shah Deva of Nepal. Observing these characteristics one scholar has remarked that according to the custom in Nepal the name of the ruling Shri Shri Gaja Simha or Gajendra Narasimha of the period is depicted by the figures of an elephant and a lion’ and thereby he attributed the mintage of his coin in Nepal.
According to him any of these two kings might have issued it in the name of Sultan Ala uddin Muhammad Khaljis of Delhi whose name is clearly written in the Arabic legend on the coin. This attribution seems to be correct. As the reason behind the issuance of this coin he says, “Although there is no mention of Ala uddin’s conquest of Nepal or its territories in the histories, it is possible that the Sultan may have turned his eyes towards that country and compelled the then ruling Raja to acknowledge his suzerainty and strike coins in his name in the Nepal style. But this assumption does not seem to be correct. Because, if any such step was taken by Ala uddin it would have been recorded in the contemporary chronicles, but we have no such statement in them. The most probably reason may be that when the king of Nepal heard of Ala uddin’s triumphant expeditions one after another in far off Deccan, he presumed that the Sultan may send his army to that direction too. So he issued a few coins in the name of the Sultan to avert the impeding danger. Ala uddin possibly had no active role in their issuance. However, the Raja was successful. Ala uddin never sent his army to that direction.

Umar did not issued smaller denominational coin, but his successor Mubarak had issued coins of 5 smaller (rupaya) denominations as are known from the statement of Thakkur Pheru. They were 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 *masha* in weight. Of these, only the coins of 2 and 6 *masha* are known. The 6 *masha* coins bear “Al-Sultan al-‘azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din” on one side and ‘Abu’l muzaffar Mubarak Shah al-Sultan bin al-Sultan” on the other (Cat No.30, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.90). The 2 *masha* coins have simply the name “Mubarak Shah” on one side and “Al-Sultan bin al-Sultan” on the other (Cat No.31, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.91).

Besides these common gold and silver coins Ala uddin and Mubarak had issued some coins of higher denominations. Ala uddin had issued 5, 10, 50 and 100 *tola* coins in gold only. His son Qutb uddin Mubarak issued coins of 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 150 and 200 *tolas* in both the metals, gold and silver, round as well as square. This
is the first occasion when we hear of the coins of higher denomination coins were known earlier in Arabia during the ‘Abbasid period. The gold coin of 101 *misqals* (429.25 gms) were struck for Jafar, the Brmakid Wazir of Harun al-Rashid (A.H. 170-93 / A.D. 786-809). In central Asia Taimur had got all his silver and gold, which he had acquired as booty at Damascus in 803 A.H., coined into pieces of 100, 50, and 10 *misqals*.15

No specimen of higher denominational coins of the Khaljis are known to day, but they had existed at least at the time of Babur in the Delhi treasury. There is a passage in Humayun Namah of Babur’s daughter Gulbadan Begum, where she has mentioned that the emperor (i.e., Babur) sent for Asas, an aged relative of his own, a large “ashrafi”, which weighed three imperial seers, i.e., more than 100 *tolas*. This coins Babur, undoubtedly, would have found in the Delhi treasury when he occupied the throne after defeating the Lodis and possibly some of them existed even in the time of Akbar which inspired him to issue his own higher denominational coins that Abul Fazl has elaborately described in his ‘Abin-i-akbari’.

The reference of these massive metallic pieces has led to a controversy whether these were actually coins or not. Hodivala while discussing the massive pieces of the Mughal period regarded them as merely massive ingots of artistically stamped billon, which were hoarded as stores of values and were occasionally given to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons were occasionally given to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons as complimentary gifts or souvenirs of the imperial favour and munificence, but were not cons of higher denominations.16 He argued that they are mentioned in the contemporary chronicles only as being presented to ambassadors etc. as special mark of imperial favour and there is not a single statement or allusion showing that these gold and silver pieces of big size passed into Bazar during any exchange transaction or in course of commercial dealings. Against this P.L. Gupta has pointed out that what
Hodivala has said is true not only to these massive pieces but also to the common gold mohars (tankahs) which are taken to be the coins by all numismatists. He has quoted Travernier who taken to be the coins by all numismatists. He has quoted Travernier who has said that the golden rupees were not current among the merchants; they were scarcely ever to be met with, save in the houses of the great nobles. He also quoted Theveot who testifies to the same fact that they pass not commonly in trade and were only coined for the most part, to be made present of. He has further observed that it is no wonder if Prof. Hodivala did not find any direct statement or allusion showing that gold and silver pieces of great size passed from hand to hand in the market. If the gold muhars were not in common use in the market and were meant for presentation, the coins of higher denominations, would naturally have been much more scarce. And this should not deprive the massive pieces of their titles as coins, or they may be considered anything else than the metallic substitute or counterparts of the present day currency notes of high denominations. These pieces have been called coins by those who had issued them. Abu'l Fazl described them under the chapter "Coins of the Glorious Empire." Thakkur Pheru has explicitly referred to them amongst the coins of Ala uddin Khalji as Hema Tankah and those of Qutb uddin Mubarak as the varieties of his gold and silver coins. So we have no reasons to disbelieve what they have said about these pieces.

What might be the function of these massive coins one thing is certain that they have one of the economic functions of money as a store of value. Obviously it was more convenient to kept the treasures in the form of a few large coins instead of millions of small ones.

The gold and silver coins of Ala uddin and Qutb uddin are known to have been issued from two more places other than the capital Delhi. They are Dar ul-Islam and Deogir. The last one was rename by Mubarak as qutbabad after his own laqab "Qutb uddin".
Delhi is known for the coins having the epithet "Hazarat" from the time of Itutmish and meant to denote the capital. In the time of Mubarak the epithet "Hazarat" for Delhi was retained only for a short period i.e., 716-717 A.H. In 717 A.H. he discarded this epithet and called Delhi as "Darul Mulk" which was also a temporary one. Towards the end of the same year the again changed the epithet "Darul Mulk" with Daru-I-Khalifat²² probably for declaring himself as Khalifath. The capital is identified with Siri, some miles to the north of old Delhi. It was built by Ala uddin Muhamamd Khalji in 703 A. H / 1303 A.D.²³ Besides the mint of Siri it is believed that there as another mint in Delhi which was called "Darul Islam" and it was situated, according to Nevill, in a Madrasah (college) in old Delhi. The Sultan gave this college the right to strike coins. What was the necessity of having two mint not very far away from each other is not clear. But by the name "Darul "Islam" it appears that it was rally a college or University. Why the Sultan gave the college or University this kind of rights is not known to us. If it was really done then it was unprecedented. Coins of "Darul Islam" mint are known only for the year 717 A.H.

Besides these two mints at Delhi, coins are also known from Deogir in the South. Ala uddin Khalji had invaded this territory first during his uncle, Jalal uddin's reign. During his own reign he had subdued this area area in 707 A.H. but the coins from this mint in his name were issued in the years of value and were occasionally given to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons as complimentary gifts or souvenirs of the imperial favour and munificence, but were not coins of higher denominations.¹⁶ He argued that they are mentioned in the contemporary chronicles only as being presented to ambassadors etc. as a special mark of imperial favour and there is not a single statement or allusion showing that these gold and silver pieces of big size passed into Bazar during any exchange transaction or in course of commercial dealings. Against this P.L. Gupta has pointed out that what Hodivaa had said is true not only to these massive pieces but also to the common gold mohars (tankahs) which are taken to be the coins by all numismatics.¹⁷ He
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2.3.3 Billon Coins

Thakkur Pheru has called the Khalji billon coins as damma i.e., drama. This shows that the term drama, which was the name of a coin of pre-Muslim days, had begun to denote by this time the coins of alloy of silver and copper of which the actual drammas were originally made.
According to the Dravya Pariksha the dammas or the billon coins of Ala uddin Khalji were not only three denominations viz., Iggani (one gani), Dugani (two ganis) and Chahagani (six ganis). All the three uniformly weighed one tanka (3.68 gms / 56.67 gns), but they varied in their silver contents.

The Iggani coins contained 95 tankas of copper and 5 tankas (i.e., 1 tolas 8 mashas) of silver per 100 coins. This means that one Iggani coin contained 0.18 gms / 2.8 gns of silver. Sixty of these coins were equal to one silver tankah (rupaya). In treasury and public transactions everywhere the basis of accounting was this Iggani. So far Ala uddin’s three types of billon coins have been discovered. Two of them are assayed by a Smith and the results show that they are Chhagni and Dugani coins. The third type which has not been assayed by him and which H.N. Wright listed as the last of the billon coins due possibly to its least silver content, seems to be the Iggani coin. It bears the Arabic legend “Ala al-duniya wa al-din” on the obverse and “Muhammad Shah al-Sultan” with date in Arabic numerals on the reverse.

The Dugani (two gani) coins were of two varieties. In one of the silver content was 9¾ tanks (i.e., 3 tolas 3 mashas) per 100 specimens and in the other only 8 tankas (i.e., 2 tolas 8 mashas). But both the varieties were valued at 30 per silver tankah. This value is mentioned by Pheru in the table. According to this statement the first variety contained .358 gms / 5.524 gns of silver and the second variety .294 gms / 4.54 gns. According to Smith’s assay the coins which bear on the obverse the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Ala al-duniya wa al-din", and on the reverse "Muhammad Shah al-Sultan" in Arabic in the centre within double circle with the marginal legend around in Nagari “Sri Sultan Alwadi” and the date in numerals also in Nagari have two different silver contents, (i) 4.95-4.75 grains and (ii) 4.65-4.30 grains. These may be well be identified with the two varieties of the Dugani coins.
According to Thakkur Pheru his Chhagani coins were of two varieties. One contained 25½ tankas and 4½ javas (or 8 tolas, 6 mashas and 4½ javas) of silver per 100 coins. That means a coin had 0.99 gms / 15.39 gns of silver. The second variety contained 24½ tankas 2 javas and 9 viswas (or 8 tolas 3 mashas and 9 viswas) of silver per 100 coins. That means a coin contained 0.91 gms /14.03 gns of silver.

Among the coins available to-day those bear the legend “Al-Sultan al-'azam Ala al-duniya wa al-din” on one side and ‘abu'l-muzaffar Muhammad Shah” with the dates in Arabic numerals on the other have been assayed by Smith. The results shows that they have two different contents of silver viz. (i) .948 gms / 14.60 gns and (ii) .0925-.85Q gms / 13.90-13.10 gns. These silver contends confirms Thakkur Pheru; so they may well be identified as two varieties of Chhagani coins.

Of Shihab uddin 'Umar Thakuar Pheru mentions Chhagani coins only. It has the same silver content as that in Ala uddin's Chhagani. The only known type of this king must be the Chhagani. They bear on the observe “Al-Sultan al-'azam Shihab al-duniya wa al-din” and on the reverse “abu'l muzaffar 'Umar Shah al-Sultan with the date 714 or 715 A.H. in Arabic numerals (Cat No.31, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.92).

Qutb uddin Mubarak had issued billon coins of seven denominations. Three of them were round and the other four, square. The round coins were Dugani (2 gains), Chaugani (4 ganis), Barahagani (12 ganis), Chaubisagani (24 ganis) and Adatalisagani (48 ganis).The Dugani, Chaugani, Chhagani and Athagani coins all were of one and the same standard weight i.e., one tanka (3.68 gns/ 56.67 gns), but they differ only in their silver contents.

The Dugani and Chhagani coins of Mubarak had similar silver contents as in their counterparts of Ala uddin's Dugani and Chhagani. But no Dugani, coin of Mubarak is known so far. As the Chhagani coins its
The Chaugani, Athagani, Barahagani, Chaubisagani and Adatalisagani coins unprecedented. They were Mubarak's own innovations.

The Chaugani coins contained 16\(\frac{1}{4}\) tankas and 9 javas of silver per 100 coins. That is .603 gms / 9.28 gns of silver in each coin. The assay given by Smith of variety having the legend "Al-Sultan al-'azam Qutb al-Duniya wa al-din" on the obverse and "abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah al-Sultan" with the date in Arabic numerals on the reverse, shows its silver content approximately the same is given by Thakkur Pheru. Moreover, N. Wright has mentioned three more varieties as 1/16\(^{th}\) of a tankah. These four varieties may be identified as the Chaugani coins.

The Athagani coins contained 33 tanka 9 javas and 4 viswas of silver per 100 coins i.e., 1.219 gms / 19.7814 gns in each coin.

The coins having approximately the same silver content (i.e., 1.26-1.09 gms / 19.50-16.80 gns) according to Smith's assay may be identified as Athanagi. They have on the observe "Qutb al-duniya wa al-din" at the centre within a square and "abu'l muzaffar khalifat ullah" on four corners. The reverse bears "Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan" with date in numerals (Cat No.32, Pl. No. XII, Fig. No.94).

The higher denominational billon coins had their own exclusive weights. The Barahagani coins weighed 1½ tanka (5.513 gms / 84.9 gns),
Chaubisagani 3 tanka (11. gms / 170 gns) and Adatalisagani 6 tanka (22 gms / 3.40 gns).

The Barahagani coin had masha 15\% javas (i.e., 1.838 gms / 28.32 gns) of silver. The coins bearing “Al-imam al-‘Azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din abu’l muzaffar’ with dates in Arabic numerals on the obverse and “Khalifat ullah Mubarak Shah” in the centre within a circle with marginal legend “Al-Sultan al-wasiz billah amir al-mu’minin” on the reverse have the weight 5.357 gms / 82.5 gns and silver content 1.94-1.896 gms / 29.87-29.20 gns. They are obviously the Barahagani coins.

The Chaubisagani coins contained 3½ mashes and 15½ javas (3.65 gms / 56.19 gns) of silver. Similarly the Adatalisagani had 7 mashes 15 javas (7.3 gms / 112.38 gns) of silver. But no coins of these two denominations are reported so far.

Besides, the above coins there is one more square type in billon which bears the Arabic legend “Al-imam al-‘azam Qutb al-duniya wa al-din” on the obverse and “Khalifatullah Mubarak Shah al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan” with date in Arabic numerals on the reverse. This type of coins weigh in the neighbourhood of one tanka (i.e., 3.68 gms / 56.67 gns) and according to assay report by S.W. Smith, they have such silver contents which are almost similar to that of Chaugani (dams). But the Chaugani coins are said by Thakkur Pheru to have been of identify then as Chaugani. But it is noticed that they were issued in 719 and 720 A.H. corresponding to 1319 and 1320 A.D. While Pheru’s Dravya Pariksha which was compiled in V.S. Agarwala 1375 corresponding to 1318 A.D. which was earlier than the issuance of these coins. It, therefore, appears that in later period of Mubarak’s reign a few Chaugani, coins were also struck in square shape (Cat No.32, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.95).

2.3.4 Copper Coins

Coming to the copper coins we do not find any mention of these coins of Ala uddin Khalji in the Dravya Pariksha. But Nelson Wright has
described a few coins as copper and three coins of the type of billon issues were found to be of pure copper without any traces of silver. These suggest that Ala uddin Khalji did issue coins in copper and at least one type of these coins was issued from Delhi mint of which he was himself the mint master. As such the silence of Thakkur Pheru is inexplicable. The known copper coins of this king are paika, adhawa and salwaya-viswa.

Mubarak's copper coins are of four denominations as stated by Thakkur Pheru. They were Biswa, sawaya-viswa (1¼ viswa), Adhawa (2½ viswas) and Paka (5 Viswa). They weighed 1 masha (0.91 gms / 14.16 gns), 1¼ mashas (1.14 gms / 17.7 gns), 2½ mashas (2.298 gms / 35.4 gns) and 5 mashas (4.60 gms / 70.8 gns). They all were square in shape of these only three denomination viz., Paika, Adhawa and Viswa are known. They have the legends and weights as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Name and deno. Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>In square “Al-imam al-’azam”</td>
<td>In square “Qutb al-duniya wa al-din”</td>
<td>4.61 gms/71 gns</td>
<td>Paika, ¼ of Iggani (dam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>In square “Adi Mubarak”</td>
<td>In square “bi-hazarat Dar ul-Khilafat.”</td>
<td>2.13 gms/32.8 gns</td>
<td>Adhawa (2½ viswa) 1/8 of Iggani (dam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>In square “Mubarak Shah”</td>
<td>In square “Al-Sultan”</td>
<td>.78 gms/12 gns</td>
<td>Viswa 1/20 of Iggani (dam)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Shams uddin Mahmud (718 A.H./1318 A.D.)

Shams uddin Mahmud who had tried to usurp the Delhi throne during the time of Qutb uddin Mubarak Khalji in 718 A.H. / 1318 A.D. as told earlier, is known from two types of billon coins. Of them one is Dugani and the other Chhagani. Both the coins follow the pattern of Ala uddin’s coins of similar denominations.

As the mint-name “bi-hazarat Delhi is clearly written on it
The Dugani coins known from a single specimen in the British Museum which weighs 3.20 gms / 49.2 gns and bears on the obverse “al-Sultan al-‘azam shams al-dunya wa al-din” and on the reverse “Mahmud Shah” in circle with the Nagari legend around “Sultan Samas(di)” (partly visible).

The Chhagani coin weighs 3.616gms / 55.7 gns and bears on the obverse the same legend as the Dugani, but the reverse has “abu’l muzaffar Mahmud Shah (al-Sultan) and the date in Arabic numerals27 (Cat No.32, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.96).

No assay of these coins is available. The attribution to their denominations, however, is suggested only on the basis of their similarity with the two coins of Ala uddin Khalji in their type and fabric.

**Nasir uddin Khusru (720 A.H./ 1320 A.D.)**

The last ruler Khusru’s coins are known of all the four metals—gold, silver, billon and copper.28

The gold and silver coins are the tankahs of the weight of 11.04 gms / 170 gns and have the identical legend. On the obverse it is “Al-Sultan al-‘azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din abu’l muzaffar” and on the reverse “Khusru Shah al-Sultan al Wasiz bi-nasr al-Rahman walliu amir al-mu’minin” with the mint name. The gold coin so far discovered was minted at Hazrat Delhi (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.97) and the silver coin at Deogir (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.98). This shows that that he discarded the names of “Darul Khalifat” and “Mubarakbad” given by his predecessor, Qutb uddin Mubarak, to these two places, and reintroduced their original names.

No assay of the billon coins of Khusru is available. So nothing can be said about their silver contents. But only in the basis of their weight and style their the coins may be identified as Barahagani, Chhagani and Dugani.
The Barahagani coin weighs 4.45 gms / 94 gns the same as that of Mubarak Khalji. It bears on the obverse "Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din abu'l mu'zaffar" and on the reverse "Khusru Shah al-Sultan waliu amir al-mu 'minin" with the date in Arabic numerals (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.99).

The identification of Dugani coins rests on the similarity of its type and fabric with the coins of Ala uddin Dugani. It weighs 3.616-3.422 gms / 55.7-52.7 gns and bears on the obverse "Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din" and on the reverse "Khusru Shah". In the centre within single circle and around it the marginal legend "Al-Sultan waliu amir al—mu'minin". This reverse marginal legend on Ala uddin's coins was in Nagari but here it is changed into Arabic (Cat No.34, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.100).

The third type which has the same weight as the Dugani coin and bear 'Al-Sultan al-'azam Nasir al-duniya wa al-din” on the obverse and "abu'l muzaffar Khusru Shah al-Sultan" with the date in Arabic numerals on the reverse, is assumed here in absence on any positive data as Chhagani coin he merely on the assumption that the denomination of this coin would be in between Barahagani and Dugani. Since Chhagani was the coin in between these two denominations it may be that coin (Cat No.33, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.101).

The copper coins of Khursu shah are of two denominations. One is Paika of 4.54 gms /170 gns weight (Cat No.34, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.102). The other weigh 1.62 gms / 25 gns (Cat No.35, Pl. No. XIII, Fig. No.103) which is less than the Adhawa coin but more than the Sawaya-viswa. So it may be coin of 2 viswas. But no of 2 viswas is known to have been issued by Ala uddin and Mubarak before him. If the assumption is correct then it would have been a new denomination introduced by this ruler who had a very short reign.
CHAPTER – IV

COINAGE AND METROLOGY OF THE KHALJIS

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