CHAPTER – I

THE GHURID INDIAN COINAGE AND ITS METROLOGY

1. Introduction

India is a vast diverse country and has its own history and traditions. Indian coins are of gold, silver and copper similar to western coins, but are usually heavier and thicker, and less perfectly rounded.¹

The coins of India and most of those of Southeast Asia form a distinct field in the numismatic world as they differ in appearance from those of Europe and China. They also differ from the coins issued by the Muslims of Bilgad Al-Sham and Iraq.

Like those of other primitive societies, Indian coinage was a great variety of primitive currencies, such as cowries and cattle. In the early period, gold was measured by the weight of rati" (.0.12 grammes)

From the sixth of the fourth century B.C. the earliest coins circulated in the north-west provinces of India. They are known as punch-marked coins. These coins were small bent bars of silver weighing about 3.5 grammes and were stamped on both ends with separate punches. The punches were used to build up coin designs. The earliest coins seem to be oval and stamped by four round punches with symbolic design.

The Mauryan Empire

By about 300 B.C. the Mauryans who had gradually assumed control over whole of Indian subcontinent except extreme South, struck their own symbolic coins. The absence of legend on these coins leaves us in ignorance of the identity of the issuer. Different symbols were used such as animals, plants, fish and other representation of mountains or the sun. These symbols seems to mark the dynasty ruler mint and perhaps the
issue and moneyer. Maurayan coins are also found in neighbouring countries.

The Greek Influence

The invasion of Alexander the Great brought coinage with Greek designs and in legends into north India and Bactria. The coins showed little sign of Indian influence except for an occasional square type and the representation of Indian deities. These coins are bilingual, bearing Indian translations of the Greek legend. The decentralization of power in northern India took place in the second century B.C. with the collapse of the Mauryan Empire. By the first century, tribal states began to issue their own coins which were mostly in copper with a few silver issues. The legends were mostly inscribed in Brahmi script.

The Greek technique of striking coins between two engraved dies was copied and widely spread, replacing both punch-making and casting methods. The earliest coins produced in North India by dies were the drachmas of Sophytes (Saubhuti) C.300 B.C.

South Indian Kingdoms

Kingdoms of southern India issued distinguished coinage whose pattern remained unchanged up to ninth century A.D. Several silver types were influenced by Greek coins. Other coins were made of lead. The Satvahana kings struck lead coins bearing symbolic sings, such as the elephant, lion and bull, which all had religious significances.

Roman influence

Central and southern India were not subjected to foreign invasion and their coinage developed under more favourable conditions. During the first century A.D., central and southern India maintained direct trade relations with the Roman empire. Roman gold was imported into India mostly in exchange for Chinese silk, spices, cotton and gemstones. The kingdoms of central and southern India imitated the Roman gold coins the
“aurei”, and the silver coins, the “denari”. Later, they produced their own picturesque coins.

The Kushans

The Kushans, central Asian invaders, established their Kingdom in north-west India and part of north India and ruled between the first century A.D. to the third century A.D., The Kushan coins depicted on the obverse the portrait of the Kushan king in full figure sacrificing at an alter or on some issues seated on a throne. The reverse always shoed a god or a goddess. The Kushan Kings were the first to strike gold coins in India and inscribed their coins in Kushan language but written in Greek script.

The Gupta kingdom

The Gupta kings established their kingdom n the third century A.D. These kings the first native dynasty of unite northern India since the down fall of the Mauryans. Their empire extend from the Indus river to the Ganges and endured about three centuries. During this period the Hindu civilization reached its greatest cultural achievements. The Gupta Kings modified the designs of the Kushan coins with great elegance and followed the Kushan practice of stamping coins with the portrait of the king and a divinity on the reverse. The inscription on both sides were written in Brahmi script. The Gupta Kings struck beautiful coins of gold along with silver and bronze. Their coins bear the Hindu divinities such as “Lakshmi” the goddess of wealth, usually enthroned, often holding a lotus flower. Other coins bear the warrior god, “Karttikeya,” and “Shiva” the destructive, riding his bull.

The While Huns

The White Huns, nomadic from Central Asia, arrived in India during the fifth to seventh centuries and captured territory from the Guptas. The Huns had no indigenous coinage and no monetary traditions. They tended to imitate the coins of the people they conquered. In India they imitated the Kushan coins and the coins of the Sassanians.
Islamic Invasion and the Sultanate of Delhi

In the eleventh century, Mahmud Gazanavid (998-1030) A.D. ruler of Afghanistan, invaded India and established his rule in northwestern India. Muhmud brought Islamic types of coins in India similar to types already used in Afghanistan. On some of his issues he inscribed the proclamation of the Islamic faith.

A great change in coinage happened when Muhammad bin Sam (1187-1206) A.D. established the Gharid Muslim dynasty and ruled all over north India, founding the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526 AD). This territory eventually was extended to central to South India.

Because Muslim traditions were directed against making graven images, the coinage bore on both sides, only religious legend. These coins were finely designed with beautiful calligraphy and mostly inscribed in Arabic, Sanskrit was rarely used. The proclamation of faith formed a prominent part of the coin legend. The name and title of the sultan, the mint name and dates are recorded according to the Muslim era.

The issued coins during that period were the gold *dinar*, silver *'adili*, and billon *tankah* in addition to copper pieces.

The Kingdoms of Vijayanagar

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar (City of Victory) had been founded in Southern India in 1336 AD by Harihara. This kingdom produced thick gold *pagodas* and *half-pagodas* inscribed in the local language and bearing Hind deities such as *Shiva* with his consort *Pravati*, the beautiful Lakhsmi and "Preserver". Vishnu, who with *Brahma*, the "Creator", and *Shiva* the "Destroyer" constitutes a Hindi triad.

The Mongols

In 1525 A.D. prince Babur of Central Asia who claimed both Mongol and Turkish descent invaded India. He and his son Humayun overthrew the Delhi Sultan, Ibrahim, and ruled northern India until Humayan was driven out in 1542 AD by new conquers arriving from
Afghanistan. The Sultan Sher Shah Suri introduced a new heavy silver coin, the *rupiya* which weighed at that time 11.5 grams, and the copper dam of 21 gram. These denomination became the standard coins of the country for a very long period. The *rupiya* survives of this date as the basic monetary unit of the Indian Republic, although its value has diminished.

In 1556 AD Akbar the son of Humayun achieved what his grandfather and father and failed to do by establishing a new Muslim Mongol dynasty to rule India.

During his rule (1556-1605 AD), he struck gold and silver square coins called *mohurs* and *rupees*. As a tolerant ruler he ordered the "Shahada" to be omitted from the Mongol coins and replaced in by a new a legend: "Allah akbar Jalla jallalaho" (God is most great eminent in his glory”). It is worth to mention that the word Akbar (most great eminent) was a play on his own name.

Jahangir (1605-1627), the son of Akbar, a lover of the arts had struck coins distinguished by their elegant calligraphy. He resorted "al-Shahada" to his coinage and issued gold coins bearing the signs of the zodiac. Jahangir struck *mohurs* bearing portrait of his father Akbar, and half *mohurs* with animal figures. He also minted half-mohurs with the figures of Rama and Sita.

**Modern India**

India’s transition to "modern" coinage was a complicated process because various colonial powers such as the English, French, Dutch, Danish, and Portuguese had all settled in India. Each colonial power issued European type coins in their respective territories. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a strange mixture of European and native denominations and type circulating throughout India. New mechanical methods for striking coins were introduced by British East Indian company.
The British East India Company produced and guaranteed its own coins. From 1835 until the trading monopoly of the E.I.C. was abolished in 1858 and its property and powers were transferred to the British Crown.

1.1 Historical Background

India, a rich country in culture and wealth, had been a place of attraction for the foreign invaders since long past. The Sassanians, the Greeks, the Hunas, the Sakas and the Partians invaded it successively. They occupied the north-western part of this country and ruled it for a quite considerable period. After them came the Muslims. They conquered its territories one after another and ultimately brought the whole of country under their sway. Their rule continued for a long period till 1858 when it passed into the hands of the British.

The history of Muslim conquest of India may be divided into three phases with long intervals in between. The first phase was initiated by 'Imad Uddin Muhammad bin Qasim who conquered Sindh and Multan in 93 A.H. and 94 A.H./712 A.D. respectively and annexed them to the Muslim empire of Arabia. Then the second phase of the conquest started which was undertaken by the Ghaznavi (also called the Yaminid) ruler Sultan Mahmud (999-1030 A.D.) He had seventeen expeditions towards this country between 1000 and 1030 AD and penetrated into it as far as Gujarat to the south-west and Banaras to the east, but he remained satisfied with the annexation of Punjab only which he conquered in 1021 AD. After Muhamud there was again an interval of about two hundred years. Then the third phase of the conquest took place in the last quarter of eleventh century AD. This time came the Ghauris.

The conquests made during the above first two phases had little bearing on India history as Sindh and Punjab, conquered during these phases, situated at the out-skirt of the country and they were not empires but small principalities. The Ghauris were the first Muslim rulers who conquered a large area of northern India and laid the foundation of Muslim
rule in this subcontinent on a permanent footing. They are, therefore, regarded as the real founder of the Muslim empire in India.

1.1.1 The Ghauri Dynasty

Ghauri is the title ‘a family’ as well as ‘dynasty’ of Afghanistan which ruled from 725 AD to 1215 AD. The title was derived from a place called “Ghar”, a mountainous region, situated to the east of Hirat where one Shansab, the ancestor of the family had settled in the second quarter of the seventh century AD. It is stated that he was familiar with Hazrat Ali (656-661 AD), the fourth Khalifah of Islam. His son Fulad was destined to carve out a principality there in about 725 A.D. and thereby established a dynasty which, later on, came to be known as ‘Ghauri’. The dynasty, is also called “the Shansabani” after its progenitor ‘Shansab’.

Fulad, the founder of this dynasty, was a farsighted man. When Abu Muslim of Khurasan started the Abbasid movement against the Umayyad Khilafat in Arabia he assisted him and thereby, came in close contact with the Abbasids who, on their ascendancy, favoured him to built up his power in Afghanistan. After Fulad’s death his successors flourished and expanded the Kingdom in all the four directions. They retained their suzerainty with some ups and down in between until Sultan Mahmud (998-1030 A.D.), the Yaminid ruler of Ghazni, invaded it in 400 AH/1009 AD and made it a tributary. After Mahmud, it continued and remain as a subordinate kingdom to the Yaminid/Ghaznavid kings till the time of Bahram Shah (1118-1152 AD) during his period the Ghaurid ruler Saifuddin severed relation with the Yaminids and became independent. He even attacked Ghazni, the Yaminid capital, to revenge the murder of his elder brother, Qutb Uddin, whom Barham had slain. He occupied the town and forced Bahram to flee to Lahore. In the following winter Bahram returned back, killed Saif uddin and recovered his lost capital Ghazni.

Saif uddin was succeeded by his brother, Baha uddin Sam, the father of Ghaiyas uddins and Mu'iz uddin. Like his predecessors, Baha
uddin also continued their hereditary fight with the Yaminids. While he was marching towards Ghazni he fell sick and died on the way in 544 AH/1150 AD. After him his brother Alau uddin ascended the throne of Ghaur. On his accession he imprisoned his two nephews, i.e., Ghiyas uddin Mu'iz uddin, the sons of threat to his power their partisans. It is said that these two princes were born sometimes during 1130's AD with the gap of slightly more than three years in between. They both were given the same name (ism) Muhamamd at birth but their mother nicknamed them 'Habshi' and 'Zangi' respectively. On coming a age probably in the 1150's AD, the elder of two brothers was given the laqab Shams uddin' and the younger. 'Shahab uddin' by their uncle Sultan Ala uddin Hussain.

Following the hereditary hostility with the Yaminid rulers Sultan Ala uddin, Hussain invaded Gazni in 550 A.H./ 1155 AD. He occupied the city and put it to fire so the people nicknamed him "Jahansoz" or 'the world burner'. Ala uddin Hussain could not retain Ghazni for long. After a short while it was conquered by Ghauri Turks. Ala uddin Hussain died in 556 A.H. / 1161 AD and was succeeded by his son Saif uddin Muhmmad.

The young Sultan Saif uddin Muhmmad took pity on his cousins. He released them from their twelve years confinement and appointed them on high posts. The elder Sham uddin was called to attend the Sultan at this court while the younger Shahab uddin was called to attend the Sultan at this court while the younger Shibah uddin was posted with his paternal uncle, the Sultan of Bamina. On Saif uddin's death in 558 AH/1163 AD. the Amirs and Maliks placed Shams uddin on the throne of Ghaur. After his accession he changed his former laqab (title) of "Sham uddin" for "Ghiyas uddin". On receiving the news of Ghiyas uddin's accession, the younger brother Shihab uddin came back to Firuzkuh, the Ghaurid capital. Ghiyas uddin received him warmly and appointed him to the office of Sar-i-Jandar (Chief armour bearer). Shaihab uddin was not satisfied with his lower post. After one year he being despair of getting a higher post, deserted his brother. He went to Sijistan and attended the court of one his
relatives. Malik Shams uddin. Now Ghiyas udin came to sense. He realizes his unfavourably behaviour toward his younger brother. He tried to pacify him and brought him back to his court.

1.1.2 Mu'iz Uddin Muhammad bin Sam alias Muhammad Ghuri

On Shihab uddin's return from Sijistan to Firuzkuh, Ghiyas udin bestowed upon him the governorship of Istiah and Kanjuran and permitted him to issue coins in his name. Meanwhile Shihab uddin displayed his chivalry in certain military action in Khurasan. In recognition to that, Ghiyas uddin awarded him a new laqab (title) of 'Muiz uddin' replacing that of “Shihab uddin”. This new laqab he retained till his last day. In 569 A.H /1173 A.D., Ghazini was conquered from the ghauri Turks and Mu'iz uddin was transferred its governor. He was now permitted to use permitted to use the title of 'Al Sultan's of coins. It was during this time that Mu'iz Muddin directed his expeditions towards India.

1.1.3 Northern India on the eve of Ghurid Invasion

On the eve Ghauri invasion northern India was divided into many small kingdoms and there was no unity among them. The important kingdoms of this period here were Sindh and Multan in the north west, Kashmir in the north, to its South was Punjab, in the central part were Delhi and Ajmer, on the west side was Gujarat, on the south Gwalior and Jejakbhukti (Bundelkhand), on the east Kanauj, Badaun, Bihar and Bengal.

Sindh and Multan

Sindh and Multan were two independent Muslim amirates (principalities) before the Ghaurid invasion of India. As to their early history, it is known that before their Muslim occupation in 712 AD and 713 AD, respectively, they had been untied and formed one kingdom known as Sindh which was ruled a Hindu king named dahir. His capital was at Alor. It was during the Umayyad Khalifah Al-Walid I (705-715 AD) that his general Imad uddin Muhammad bin Qasim conquered it in 712 AD and annexed it to the Muslim Khilfat (empire) of Arabia. The early Umayyad
Khalifahs made it a part of the province of Iraq and ruled it through a deputy governor under the control of the Iraqi viceroy. During the time of the later Umayyad Khalifahs, it was made a separate province under an amir (governor). This system was continued till 871 A.D. when the seventeenth Abbasid Khalifah Al-Mu'tamid Aliah (870-892 AD) handed it over to Y'aqab bin Lais al-Suffar, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty (872-903 AD) in Perisa. After the fall of the Saffarids, the Samanids of Bukhara came into power in 904 AD Sind automatically went into their hands.

From the very beginning to its Muslim occupation, Sindh had always been a troublesome area. Its amirs (governors) superficially showed allegiance to their masters but practically enjoyed independence in their internal affairs. With a view to having effective control over the administration of this area, the Samanids divided it into two provinces which ultimately facilitated to create two independent Muslim principalities, one in the other in the north with its headquarters at Multan. Before the Ghaurid invasion Sumra amirs were ruling over Sindh and the Qaramathian amirs over Multan. The names of the amirs of these two principalities, contemporaries of Muiz uddin Muhammad Ghauri, are not known.

Gujarat

Gujarat was the kingdom of the Chalukyas. By the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. they had firmly established their authority over there. It was the strongest state of western India comprising Gujarat, Saurashtra, Malwa, Abu, Nadola dn Konkan. Anhillapatka (modern Anhilwara) was the capital. Mularaja II (1176-1178 AD) and Bhima II (1178-1239 A.D.) were the two successive Chalukya rulers of the kingdom who were contemporaries of Muhammad Ghauri.
Kashmir

In the third quarter of the twelfth century AD Kashmir was being ruled by the kings of the second Lahora dynasty (1101-1172 AD) founded by Uchachla (1101-1111 AD). Then the people elected one Vuppdeva as their king. He was succeeded by his brother Jassaka in 1181 A.D. and the latter by his son Jagadeva in 1199 AD. After the death of Jagadeva in 1213 AD the descendants of this family were ruling over there.

Punjab

Punjab including Peshwar with its centre at Lahore was a kingdom of a Muslim dynasty called the Yaminid (or the Gaznavid). This dynasty was established at Ghazni in Afghanistan by Alpatagin in 962 AD. The seventh ruler of this dynasty Sultan Mahmud (998-1030 AD) ousted the Shahi kings from the Punjab and conquered it. He made it a province of his own kingdom which as administered by a governor. This system continued till the time of Bahram Shah (1118-1152 AD), the twentieth Sultan. During his rule Ghazni was lost to the Ghaurid Sultan Ala uddin Husain Jahansoz in 550 AH/1155 AD and later it was occupied by the Ghuzz Turks. Bahram fled to Lahore and started to rule only the Punjab. After him his successors continued to rule there will the invasion of Muhammad Ghauri. The last ruler of this dynasty was Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD).

Delhi and Ajmer

Delhi and Amjer at the time formed the Kingdom of the Chauhans (or the Chahamanas). This dynasty was founded by Vasudeva about the middle of the seventh century AD in the regions around the lake

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* He was originally a Turkish slave at Abdul Malik, the fifth Samanid King of Bukhara, who appointed him first as Hajib ul-Hujjab (Head of the body-guard) and thin a Governor of Khurasana in 956 AD.
* The Chahamana or Chauhan was a branch of the Rajput caste of the Hindus. According to their bardic tradition they were "agni-kula" or (fire-born) races. They are called "Chauhan" after the Title because he sprang up from the fire altar at the sage Vasisthan on Mount Abu and was quadriform (Chaturanga) whence his name Chauhan or because he was like his creator Vishnu "form armed".
Sakambhari in Rajasthan. Initially they were the feudatories of the Gurjara pratiharas of Kanauj. Vigraharaja II was the first among them to become independent in c. 973 AD Ajayaraja alias Sahana of this dynasty founded the city of Ajayameru, later called Ajmer, and shifted his capital there. Earlier, Delhi (Dhillika or Indraprastha) was the capital of the kingdom of the Tomora dynasty. The Chauhan king Vigraharaja IV or Bisal (1153-1163 AD) of Amjer had conquered and annexed it to his kingdom and made it (i.e., Delhi) the provincial capital. At the time of Ghaurid invasion Prithviraja III (1178-1192 AD) was the Chauhan ruler of Ajmer and Govindaraja his governor at Delhi.

**Bayana**

Modern Bayana to the south-west of Delhi, was called in ancient times variously, such as Srpatha, Tribhuvanagiri and Thangarh. It was a small kingdom of the Yadu (or Yadava) dynasty, founded in the first half of the eleventh century AD. It comprised of the old Bharatpur State and the Mathura district. Kamarapala was the ruler of this kingdom at the time of the Ghaurid invasion.

**Kanauj**

Kanayakubja, which later come to be known as Kanauj was the kingdom of the Gahadavala dynasty (1080-1200 AD) founded by Chadradeva (c. 1980-1100 AD). He conquered Kanuaj in abut 1080 AD from the Rashtrakuta king Gopala established his rule there. Later in 1090 AD he also conquered Allahabad, Banaras, and the rest part of the country which had been held by the Kalachuri Kings of Tripuri (Dahala) and reunited them with Kanuaj. Govinda Chandra (1114-1155 AD) was the greatest king of the Gahadavala dynasty. He seems to have shifted his capital from Kanauj to Banaras and made the former second capital.

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* Kanyakubja, The Capital of city of Panchala, came to be known in later as Kanauj.
* This is reason in the Muslim chronicles and Kalachuri epigraphs the Gahadavalas were mentioned as the kings of "Banaras".

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Before the Ghaurid invasion his grandson Jayachandra (1170-1193 AD) was ruling there.

Badaun

Vodamayuta, modern Badaun, was a small kingdom of the later Rashtrakutas. They were originally rulers of the Deccan where Danntidurga founded his dynasty in 753 AD supplanting the Chalukyas. In later days they flourished and extended their kingdom to the north. They became so powerful that they involved themselves into the famous tripartite war for the supremacy over Kanauj. Their two other rivals were the Gurajara Pratiharas in the west and the Palas in the east. Though they failed in the beginning they later succeeded to have hold over it in the second decade of the eleventh century AD. In about 1080 AD the Gahadavala king Chandradeva occupied Kanauj by expelling the Rashtrakuta king Gopala who then retired to Badaun and continued to rule there for generations. Amritapala was one of the famous rulers of this dynasty. His younger brother as well as successor, Kakhanapala was the king of Badaun at the time of Mu'iz uddin's invasion.20

Gwalior

Gwalior, was ruled in the last quarter of the twelfth century AD by one of the three branches of the Kachchapaghata dynasty. The rule of this branch was established there by one Vajradamana, son of Lakshmana in or before 977 AD. His successors were ruling there before the Gharid invasion of the country.

Jejakabhukti (Bundelkhand)

The kingdom of Jejakabhukti, modern Bundelkhand, comprising Kalinjar, Mahoba and Khajuraho was under the Chandella dynasty, established by Dhanga towards the closing the tenth century AD. Before the Ghurid invasion Paramardideva (1165-1201 AD) was ruling there.
Bihar

Bihar during the period under review was divided into four small principalities which were ruled by the kings of different dynasties. Mithila was ruled by the Karnatakas, Pithi by the Senas, Japila by the Khayaravalas and Jayapura (modern Jayanagar in the Monghyr District) by the Guptas.

Bengal

Bengal was then under the rule of the Sena Kings. Samanta Sena, originally a native of Karnataka in South India, was the founder of the dynasty. His son Hemanta Sena carved out a principality in western Bengal during the decline of the Pala rule. This kingdom was expanded by his son Vijaya Sena (c. 1905-1158 AD) who ousted the Palas from Gauda and conquered nearly the whole of Bengal. His capital was Vikrampur to the east of Dhaka and a second capital at Nadia. At the time of the Muslim invasion Lakshmana Sena (1179-1210 AD), the fourth ruler of the dynasty was ruling there.

From the above statement it is found that before the Ghaurid invasion of India only three kingdoms viz., Sindh, Multan and Lahore, which were situated at the western and north-western borders, were under three Muslim rulers, whereas rest of India was ruled by Hindu kings of different dynasties. They were always at feud with each other and could not unite even against the foreign invaders.

1.1.4 Causes of Invasion

After consolidating his position of Ghazni as a governor Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghauri turned his attention towards India. The main cause of his invasion of India was his imperialistic attitude. Preaching of Islam does not seem to have been his main goal. His expeditions against the Sumras of Sindh and the Yaminios of Lahore, who were his coreligionists bear witness of this effect.
When the Ghauris came into prominence as an imperial power in Afghanistan they found two more competitors existing at their northern border. One was the Shah of Khawarizm (modern Khiva in USSR) and the other, the Ghuzz Turk. They were equally powerful and flourishing kings. Due to their strong resistance on the north-west border it was not possible for the Ghauris to expand their kingdom to that direction.\textsuperscript{22} On the contrary, India being divided into so many kingdoms and its rulers being disunited, created an easy access to them. So, it appears that the selection of India by the Ghauris for the expansion of their kingdom was for strategic reason.

1.1.5 Conquests

Multan and Singh

Muhmmad Ghauri directed his first expedition towards Multan in 571 AH/1175 AD against the Qaramathian rulers whose name is not known. The Qaramathians had established their rule in this area long back. Earlier Sultan Mahmud (998-1030 A.D.), the Ghaznavid King who was also an antagonist to this sect, had led Jihad against Abu'l Fath Daud,\textsuperscript{23} the then Qarmathian ruler of the place. For the same reason Muhmmad Ghauri, who was a Sunni, invaded Multan and defeated its ruler. After conquering the territory, he marched towards Uch in Upper Sindh and occupied it. He annexed these territories to his kingdom and appointed ‘Ali Kirmani’ or ‘ali Karmakh’ as his governor there.

In 578 A.H. 1182 AD he marched towards Debal in Sindh and overran the whole country as far as the sea-coast. He compelled the Sumra ruler of the place to acknowledge his suzerainty.

Gujarat

Later, in 574 AH/178 AD he marched towards Gujarat. He entered into its interior and reached the capital Anhillpataka, modern anhilwada. The King Mularaja II (1176-1178 A.D.) was a minor boy. His mother Nakadevi led the army against the Muslims. In the battle fought at
Gadaraghatta near the foot of Mt. Abu, Muhammad Ghauri was defeated and he had to retreat.

**Peshwar**

Having been defeated at Gujarat, Muhammad Ghauri realized his folly that he should not have gone to the west but should have tried his luck in the nearly territory of Punjab. This was necessary for him for the strategic reason. At that time the Gaznavid, Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD) was the ruling king of Punjab and his capital was at Lahore. Peshwar was province of his kingdom which was then under a governor.

Muhammad Ghauri got an opportunity to invade this kingdom when Chakradeva, the ruler of Jammu, asked for his assistance against Khusru Malik who had shielded the rebellious Khokars. Muhammad Ghauri most gladly accepted the invitation and attacked Peshawar in 575 AH/1179 AD. He occupied the place and drove out the Gaznavid governor. Thus, he annexed it to the Ghaurid kingdom and garrisoned it properly.

**Lahore**

Now Muhammad Ghauri aimed at Lahore. But it was not easy for him to get his say over it. He made three successive attempts to occupy the place. He made his first attempt in 577 AH/1181 AD. A battle was fought in which Khusru Malik was defeated and obliged to sue for a treaty and present an elephant. He was also compelled to send his son Malik Shah as a hostage in the court of Muhammad Ghauri.

After two years Muhammad Ghauri again invaded Lahore in 579 AH/1183 AD and laid a siege around the town, but it proved to be a failure and he had to retreat. On his way back, he captured Sialkot, an old fort. He placed a garrison of his own under a general, Hussian, and returned to Ghazni.

In 582 AD/1186 AD Mu'iz uddin led his third expedition against Lahore. This time Khusru Malik got frightened and sued for peace, when he came out of the fort to discuss the terms of treaty, he was betrayed by
Mu'iz uddin. The latter captured him and send him as a captive to Firuzkoh. There he placed Ali Kirmani or Ali Karmakh as his governor and Siraj uddin Minhaj as the Qazi.

**Delhi and Ajmer**

By so annexing Punjab Mu'iz uddin had now reached close to the Chauhan kingdom which had its capital at Ajmer. King Prithivaraja III (1177-1192 AD), he again invaded, he succeeded. But he did not annex this kingdom to his own. He allowed the successor of Prithviraja to continue his rule in Ajmer and that of Govindaraja in Delhi as his subordinate vassals. At the same time, to keep an watch over them, he placed Qutab uddin aibak with a garrison of Guhram and Samana, a mauza of Indarpat (Indraprastha). When the successor of Govindraja showed his hostility against his suzerain, Qutab uddin Aibak occupied Delhi and turned him out in 589 AH/1193 AD. From now Delhi formed part of the Ghaurid kingdom which was destined later to be the centre of the Muslim Sultanate in India. Qutab uddin then occupied Meerut and Kol and annexed them to it.

For quite sometimes Ajmer was ruled by the son of Prithviraja III, under the subordination of Mu'iz uddin. It was annexed to the Ghaurid kingdom only in 1194 AD when Hariraja, the brother of Prithviraja, showed hostility against Prithviraja's son who was a Gharuid vassals. It became now imperative for Qutab uddin to take the kingdom under his direct control and he did the same.

**Kanauj and Banras**

In 590 AH/1194 AD Mu'iz uddin along with Qutab uddin Aibak invaded the Gahadavala kingdom of Kanauj and Banras and killed its ruler Jayachandra (1170-1194 A.D.) in a battle fought at Chandwari on the banks of Yamuna between Etawah and Kanauj. He ravaged Banaras and Asni and conquered the kingdom. When Mu'iz uddin returned back to his capital, Harishchandra, the son of Jayachandra, regained the north-
eastern part of the kingdom including Banaras and continued to rule there.26

Bayana
In 592 AH/1196 A.D. Mu'iz uddin came again to India. This time he invaded Bayana. The king Mumbarapala for the fear of his life, surrendered his kingdom without any fight. Bayana, thus became part of the Ghaurid empire Baha uddin Tughril was appointed as the governor there.

Gwalior
Next Mu'iz uddin marched towards Gwalior in 592 AH/1196 AD and laid seize around the city. The king Sallakshanapala surrender to Mu'iz uddin and the kingdom was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

Kalinjar
Now in 599 AH/1202 AD Qutab uddin, the Ghaurid viceroy of Delhi, attacked the fort of Kalinjar and laid siege to the city. The Chandel king Paramardi surrendered to the Muslims. He made a treaty with them and promised to pay regular tribute. But this was resisted by his minister Ajayadeva. He killed the king and renewed the fight. Ultimately, he too failed to resist the Muslims and had to surrender. Thus, Kalinjar, Manoba and Khajuraho were annexed and Hazabbar uddin Hasan Arnol was appointed as the governor.

Badaun
After Kalinjan Qutab uddin Aibak marched towards Badaun in 1202 AD. He ousted the Rashtrakuta king Lakhnapala and conquered it. Then he appointed Ilutmish as its governor.

Bihar
While Qutab uddin Aibak was bus in the central Northern India, another general of Mu'iz uddin, Ikhtiyar uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khaji, marched toward the east. In 1202 AD he invaded Jayapura, one of the four principalities of Bihar, and conquered it without any resistance
from its Gupta king Sangramagupta. After this he came to Qutabuddin Aibak, who was then at Badau, to report his achievements.

Bengal

Inspired by his success in Bihar, the young general Ikhitiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar moved towards Bengal. At that time the king Lakshmana Sena was staying at his second capital at Nadia. When he heard of the advancement of the Muslim forces towards his kingdom, he tried to ward off the impending catastrophe by performing a great sacrifice (yajana) called Aidir Mahamapa Sena fled to his capital, Bikrampur, in East Bengal and continued to rule there. Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar conquered Gauda (The western and Northern part of Bengal) in 6101 AH / 1205 AD and established the seat of his government at the old city of Gauda.

Thus by, 1205 AD the Ghauris succeeded to established an empire in India which extended from Ghazni in the West to Gauda in the east and Punjab in the north of Kalinjar in the south.

2. The Coinage

During all the expeditions and consequents it was imperative for Mu'izuddin Muhamamd bin Sam, according to the Islamic traditions, to have khutbah read in his name and to issue his own coins to proclaim his ruling authority.

It has already been stated that while Mu'izuddin was invading India, he was simply the governor of Ghazni under his brother Ghiyasuddin Muhamamd bin Sam, the then sovereign of Ghaur. It is also stated that long before his coming to India Mu'izuddin had been permitted by his brother to issue coins in his name. According he had been issuing coins since he was the governor of Istiah of Kanjurann (566-569 AH/1170-1173 AD). But those coins were irregular issues. The regular issues he started

* At that time his *Laqab* (title) was “Shihabuddin” and the contemporary Abbasid Khatifah of Baghdad was “Al-Mustazibillah” (566-575 AH/1170-1180 AD). Two coins of this period have been noticed. One gold another silver.
to mint, so far known, was when he became the governor of Ghazni (569-599 AH/1173-1202 AD). These Ghazni coins were joint issues bearing his own name as well as that of his brother. They were of gold, silver and copper known as dinar dirham and fals respectively. In issuing these he had before him the coin-types of the Ghaznavid kings who in turns had followed those of the Samanids (874-705 AD), the fifty Umayyad Khalifah of Islam. These coins had the Arabic legends on both sides and were devoid of pictorial motifs.

The earliest coins issued by Mu'iz uddin from Ghazni during his governorship, so far known, were dated in 590 AH/1194 AD. They were silver dirham weighting 4.415 gms / 68 gns, according to the then prevalent weight standard. They had on their one side (obverse) the Arabic legend consisting of the first half of the Kalimah, "la ilaha illa Allah", the name of the contemporary Abbasid Khalifah, "Al Nasir billah" and the name of the title of Ghiyas uddin as "al-Sutlan al-'azam Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din abu'fath Muhammad bin sam." This marginal legend was again encompassed by another single circle. The other side (reverse) of these coins had the Arabic legend bearing the last half of the Kalimah, "Muhammad ur rasul Allah" and the name of and title of Mu'iz uddin as "al-Sultan al-mu'azaam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzzafar Muhamamd bin Sam". Above the first lie of this legend was the word lillah and, like the obverse, this legend was also written in the central area within single circle. In the margin of this side we had the coin-name, dirham, mint-name, Ghazanah and the date of issue, 590 AH (=1194 AD) in Arabic word. These coins imitated the coinage of Abdul Mlik and his

* Al Nasir billah His full name was Al-Nasir lidini Ilah Ahmad Ab'il Abbas. He was the 34th Abbasid Khalifah of Baghdad and reigned from 575-622 AH/1180-1225 AD on the coins of Mu'iz uddin the Khalifah's name was written in the abridged from due to shortage of space.

• Al-Quran al Shareff.
successors and also those of the saffarids and the samanids. In 592 AH (=1196 AD) he issued some gold dinars of the weight of 6.428-6.039 gms / 99-93 gns which were identical with the above silver dirhams in their type and contents.

He also issued some double dirhams of the weight 8.636 gms / 133 gns having the same legends as on the above type, but were arranged in a different manner. Here the Kalimah in full was written on the obverse and the Khalifah's name "Al-Nasir li dini’ illah" on the reverse. The other parts of legends on both the faces was made in a decorative manner. The central areas on both obverse and reverse were very small which were enclosed by four concentric circles with gaps in between creating three successive marginal spaces around. In the central areas on both the faces was written "Muhammad bin Sam" common part of the names of both Ghiyas uddin and Mu’iz uddin, and in the three marginal spaces around, the rest part of the legends. These coins were issued in 596 AH/1199 AD. (Cat No. 1, Pl. No. I, Fig. No.3).

He also issued in the same year some 1½ dirhams in the weight of 5.50-4.805 gms / 84.7-74 gns in the very type of above double dirham. These coins differ only in weight and denominational value.

These coins show that Mu’iz uddin issued them as the subordinate of his brother and at the same time acknowledging the authority of the Abbasid Khalifah of Baghdad. It is remarkable that in order to indicate the differences of status between the two brothers he used, on these coins, the regular title Sultan al-‘Azam (i.e., “the great Sultan” in the positive degree) with the name of Ghiyas uddin and “Sultan al-mu’azzam” (i.e., “the great Sultan” in the positive degree) with his own name. It is also noticed that so long his brother was alive he never adopted the former title (i.e., Sultan al-‘azam) for himself.

On the death of Ghiyas uddin in 599 AH/1201 AD, when Mu’iz uddin himself became the sovereign of the Ghaurid empire, he issued new
type of gold and silver coins in only his name with slightly different legends.

The gold dinars contained the Kalimah and the Khalifah's name on the obverse in the central area enclosed by the double square. The Quranic verse was written around it in the four segments and was encompassed by the double circles of which the outer one was of dots. On the reverse Mu'iz uddin's name and title as “Al-Sultan al-'azam Muii'z al-duniya wa al-din abu‘l muzaffar Mujmamad bin sam” was written in the central area, the mint-name and the date in Arabic words in the four segments. These gold dinars weighed 8.7597-7.6818 gms / 134.8-118.3 gns. The earliest known coins of this type was dated in 600 AH/1202 AD.

His silver dirhams of this period had almost the same contents and area-liens with the exception that the double circle enclosing the segments were both of lines and none of dots, and that the coin-name here was mentioned as dirham because of their being of silver.

However, these coins of Ghazni remained local and had no effect on the coinage that Mu'iz uddin issued from the various places during his conquests in Indian territories. Wherever he went he imitated the local coinage that were current there.

It is known that all the coinages of Indian kingdoms before his invasion had pictorial motifs on both sides or at least on side, and Mu'iz uddin as shrewd politician did not hesitate to adopt them on his own coins issued in those territories after their conquest.

2.1 Peshwar

Coming to India when Mu'iz uddin occupied Peshwar in 575 AH/1179 AD he found there the coinage of the Ghaznavid ruler Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD) with the bull motif in the pattern of the Shahi bull and horsman type which had been introduced by Hindu Shahi King Spalpatideva of Kabula nd Gandhara in the middle of the ninth century AD.29
The Shah rulers had adopted on their coins the devices of the recumbent bull on one side and the horseman on the other. The recumbent bull was facing left and the name of the issuer was written over it in Sarada script. The horseman on the other side was facing right, the rider holding a lance in his right hand and the rein in the left. On this side there was again the name of the issuer written in the cursive Bactrian character. This type had a very wide diffusion. In India it was used for quite time by the rulers of a number of dynasties and kingdoms, such as the Tomaras, the Chauhans (or Chahamnas), the Rashtrakuttas (or Badaun) and others. It has also extended towards the west. There the Samanids of Bukhra issued a few coins in this type in the name of the Abbasid Khalifah, Al-Muatadir billah* (295-320 AH/907-932 AD) and Al-Muti billah (334-365 A.H./ 946-974 AD. which were found as far as Iraq. Apparently the use of the pictorial motif adopted on these Khalifat coins on the Shahi rulers appears to be against the Islamic injunction laid down in the Hadith (traditions) forbidding the making of any kind of pictorial motif, but here it is to be noted that conservatism in the coinage was prevalent everywhere in the world and the issuers adopted or followed the pattern that were current in the territory before them.

We know that before the advent of Islam in Arabia the Byzantine gold solidius and copper fals as well as the Sassanian silver drachms were current there. They had the portrait / bust of the kind on one side and the cross / fire alter on the other; and the same were copied when the earliest Islamic coins were issued. Muhammad the Prophet as well as the founder of the Islamic state in Arabia, had let the continuance of these coins. The earlier Khalifahs also followed the same pattern and only inscribed the Arabic world “bismillah” (i.e., in the name of Allah) in Kufic style on them. Afterwards quotations from the Holy Quran were also inscribed. This system continued down to

Several pieces of the bull and horsemen type silver dirahams (wt. 4.17 gms / 64.5 gns), in the name of Khalifah Al-Mugtadir billah have been discoverer. Some of them were found at Baghdad-Iraq.
the fifth Ummyad Khalifah Abdul Malik (65-86 A.H. / 684-705 AD) who also issued coins with his own portrait in the early part of his reign (i.e., between 65 and 77 AH), although afterwards he reformed and Arabicized them. This makes it clear that the use of pictorial motif on coins was never abhorred by the Muslim rulers. That it why except Sultan Mahmud all the other Ghaznavid rulers including Khusru Malik had no hesitation in adopting the pictorial motifs of the coinage of the Hindu Shahis on their own coins. And in their follow when Muhammad Ghauri entered into Peshawar he issued his coins in the same way with some medications to suit his own environments.

Khusru Malik's coins of Peshwar mint weighed 3-3½ gms / 46.2-2.53i gns and were of a single type distinguished into two varieties. On one variety the obverse had a standing bull to left with "Sri Sama (nta deva)" in Sarada script over it and on the reverse was the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-'Azam Taj-al-Dawlah Khusru Malik" in favour lines. On the other variety, the obverse had the same device as on the above coin except that the bull here facing right instead of left. The reverse had the similar Arabic legend but of different formula which was "Malik al-Sultan al-'azam abu muluk khusru" in five lines.

Following these coins-types of Khusru Malik, Mu'iz uddin issued his own coins there with some medications. His coins were identical with those of Khusru Malik in metal and weight as well as in recording of Arabic legend on one side. On the other side he also copied one motif of the Shahi coins, while Khusru Malik copied only the bull, he copied both, on some coins he adopted the horseman and on others, the bull. The horseman is seen on his early coins where it faced left unlike that on the Shahi coins where it faces right. The bull appears on his later coins where it is placed standing as on the coins of Khusru Malik and not recumbent as on the Shahi coins.

In issuing his earliest coins at Peshwar Mu'iz uddin preferred to remain anonymous and placed the name of his brother Ghiyas uddin in
four lines as “Al-Sultan al-mu’azzam Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din abul’l fah Muhammmad bin Sam”. This shows that he was acting on behalf of his brother, and he had no regal status. But this coin appears to have been issued just for a very short period. This is borne out from the fact that it is known from a solitary specimen in the American Numismatic Society, New York.

Soon another type of coins was issued. There we have the name of the Sultan as “Muhammad bin Sam”. Since the name “Muhamamd bin Sam” was common to both the brothers, Ghiyas uddin and Mu’iz uddin, as stated earlier, it is difficult to postulate that the coin indicate the suzerainty of Ghiyasuddin or is claim of sovereignty for himself by Mu’iz uddin. Most likely this was tactful device that Mu’iz uddin adopt to avoid his brother as well as not to annoy him be openly claiming suzerainty.

The earliest coin with this name (i.e., Muhammad bin Sam) was issued, as it appears, not from Peshwar but from Karaman32 where the headquarters of the province was shifted and governorship was entrusted to Taj uddin Yalduz. This type of coins have on the one side (reverse) the horseman to left with spear at charge pointing downwards and on the other (obverse) the Arabic legend "Malik al-Sultan al’-azam abu’l muzaffar Muhammad bin Sam". They seem to be issued after 582 AH/1186 AD when on the conquest of Lahore some other coins with he identical legend were simultaneously issued from there following the model of the current coins of Khussru Malik. However, the type was soon discarded. Its Arabic legend was simplified and reduced to three lines as “al-Sultan al’-azam Muhammad bin Sam”. With this legend another type of coins were issued which for minor differences in their contents may be distinguished into three varieties. One, the horseman on the reveres facing left holds a spear at charge above the horses head and both the obverse and reverse have dotted borders. Two, the horse appears to be lean and thin on the reverse and the last letter “nun” of “al-Sultan” is put above the legend on the obverse.
The use of the common name "Muhamamd bin Sam" on these coins without distinguishable titles (laqabs) of Ghiyas uddin and Mu'iz uddin indicates that they were issued by Mu'iz uddin during the life time of this brother under who he was serving as the governor of Ghazni including the new conquest of India territories.

Besides, these coins with camouflage name, "Muhamamd bin Sam," Mu'iz uddin also issued from here another type of coins where he placed his name as "Al-Sultan al-'azam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din Muhamamd (bin) sam" in four lines. These coins may reasonably be attributed to the period when Ghiyas uddin was more in this world i.e., after his death in 599 AH/1202 AD when Mu'iz uddin himself became the sovereign. This type closely imitates the coins of the Ghazanavid Khusru in its obverse motif. Here the bull is seen standing left on one variety and to right on another as it is seen on the two varieties of the prototype.

However, the main features of the Ghaurid, Peshwar and Kuraman type coins are as follows:

(a) The pictorial motifs (bull or horseman) on them are degraded than those of the Shahi and the Ghaznavid coins. The bull and horseman here look barbarous.

(b) The bull is always standing unlike those on the other coins where it is recumbent.

2.2 Lahore

At Lahore the coins that were current at this period were issued by the Gaznavid ruler Khusru Malik (1160-1186 AD). His coins were of two types. One followed the Islamic tradition with Arabic legends on both the faces. The other followed the Indian tradition that had been introduced earlier by the Hindu Shahi kings and was adopted by the Ghazanavid rulers including Khusru Malik with minor modifications having the bull motif on one side (obverse) and the Arabic legend on the other (reverse) as he
had issued earlier at Peshawar. Besides, those of Khusru Malik, some coins of this predecessor which were issued only in the latter type, were also current.

When Muhammad Ghauri came to Lahore he issued his initial coins adopting the Ghaznavid current issues of the above mentioned latter type having recumbent bull with the Nagari legends on the other (reverse). The Arabic legend on these coins was “Malik al-Sultan al-‘azam abu’l muzaffar Muhammad (bin) Sam” in five lines, the same as had been on is coins of Kuraman mint. The bull was placed here facing left.

He also issued a second variety of this type where the Arabic legend was retained intact but the facing direction of the bull was changed from left to right. The word i.e., “Khair” was not exclusive on Mu’izuddin’s coins, it was used earlier by the Ghaznavid ruler, Khusru Malik and Mu’iz uddin, simply imitated it.

Soon he discarded it and issued a second type with the horseman and the Nagari legend “Sri hamirah” on one side (reverse) and the Arabic legend on the other (obverse) in the pattern of this own coins that he had introduced earlier at Peshawar and Kuraman. But unlike those, the horseman here is more in outline resembling that the Chauhans. This very pattern of horseman and the Nagari legend “Sri hamirah” made this side of the coin identical with his Delhi issued and thereby indicates t be of a period later than 589 AH/1193 AD, a date when Delhi was annexed. The obverse legend on these coins is “Al-Sultan al-‘azam Muhamamd bin Sam”. Similar to that on his Kuraman coins.

Still later, the issued a third type where the reintroduced the bull motif on the obverse as had been on his earlier type of this kind but adopted a different legend on the reverses. The bull here faced left and an Arabic word “Khair” is written on its hump. The reverse legend is “Adl al-Sultan al-‘azam’ Mu’iz al-duniya Muhammad (bin) Sam” in five lines. The word “adl” at the beginning of the legend is new on these coins of Mu’iz uddin. But it can be traced back in Indian numismatist first on the coins of
Khudavyaka, the Hindu Shahi governor of Kabul under the Saffarids. Later, many of the Gazanvid rulers copied it on their Lahore coins. Mu'izzuddin simply imitated it and continued the traditions. It may be mentioned here that Muhammad Ghauri must have issued this type of coins with his personal laqab "Mu'izzuddin" only after the death of his brother Ghiyasuddin in 599 AH/1202 AD.

A second variety of this type was issued where the word "adl" is eliminated from the reverse legend, but clearly mentioned the word bin" between "Muhammad" and "Sam". With this reverse legend he issued a third variety of this type where the bull faces right instead of left. Like all the above coins this type also bears on the obverse some writings above the bull. These writings in all the other cases have been unanimously read the incomplete name of "Sri Samantadeva" in Sarada scripts. But here they being more illegible have become difficult to be deciphered and hence it is a matter of controversy among the scholars. According to John S. Deyell they are Arabic numerals representing 1215, which seems to be incorrect. It is likely that they are also the same incomplete name of "Sri Samantadeva" in Bacterian character as had been on the coins of Khudavayaka.

Besides, these there was another type of coin of Muhammad Ghauri which followed purely Islamic tradition with Arabic legends on both the faces. This was a new type of Muhammad Ghuri coin in India. It also imitated the similar coin-type of Khusru Malik whose coins of this type were known only in billon and had the Arabic legends on both the sides as stated above. Muhammad Ghauri's coins of this type have on the obverse the legend "al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din" in four lines and on the reverse "Muhammad bin Sam" in two lines. The notable feature of these coins is a six pointed star at the top of the reverse legend which is exactly the same as it seen on Khusru Malik's coins of this type. There is a variety of this type where, the reverse, the name "Muhammad bin Sam" is preceded by an epithet "abu'l muzaffar". This epithet is found earlier on his
coin Kuraman. Here the six-pointed star above the reverse legend is replaced by a small circle. This circle is also eliminated, a little later, on another variety of this type.

2.3 Ajmer

After Lahore, Muhammad Ghuri moved towards Ajmer, the capital of the Chauhan ruler Prithviraja III (1177-1192 AD) whom he had defeated. The coins issued by him from this Chauhan capital followed the pattern of the local current coins of Preithviraja III with only modification that the Nagari legend “Asavari Sri amantadeva” around the bull on the obverse was replaced by the conqueror’s name “Muhamamd sam” but in the same Nagari script. The reverse was retained unchanged which bears the horseman motif with the name “Sri Prithvirajadeva”. The coins on the coins the names of the conqueror together which is peculiar. But this peculiarity is not unknown in numismatic history of India. In the ancient history of the north-western part of India there are many instances of coins which bear the name of the over-lord or the senior partner in kingship on the obverse and that of the feudatory, viceroy or junior partner on the reverse. The same may be true here also, but there is a gap of about a millennium between the ancient issues and the present one. Not a single instance is known in between. So this coins has led to several speculations.

Edward Thomas was the first published coins of the this type. He observed the appearance of the joint names of Muhamamd bin sam and Prithviraja on one and the same coin is certainly startling, but there is nothing in the fact that need militate against local probabilities. We find that the son of the Rai Prithviraja, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime curt, was left in charge of Ajmer, in which case a numismatic confession of fealty would be quite appropriate, or this coinage may even have been struck in his name, under authority at headquarters, for special circulation on his government.
In Edward Thomas's view this coin did not draw any serious attention of the scholars until the coin was incorporated by H.N. Wright in his *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*. There he has remarked that the coin shows the transition stage, the obverse bearing the name of the conqueror and the reverse that of the conquered — Prithvirajaja.

This mention of the coin led Kunwar Devi Singh to speculate that Muhammad bin Sam thought it wise to retain the name of the Chauhan king Prithviraja to make the coin popular in the newly conquered territory.

Commenting on Dev Singh's observation P.L. Gupta pointed out that the imitation of the coin-type was already adopted earlier and the same was done now in Prithviraja's own coin. The side with horseman has the legend "Sri Prithvirajadeva" while that with the bull has "Asavari Sri Samantadeva". The coin under discussion resembles the issue of the Chauhan king, in as much as the horseman, side is similar in both the cases, although the bull side has the name of the Ghurid ruler "Sri Muhammad Sam' instead of that of the Shahi king "Sri Samantadeva". On similar other issues of Muhammad bin Sam, the name of Prithviraja is replaced on the horseman side by the legend "hamirah". It is clear that Mu'iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam continued the old process of imitation in issuing his own coins in India, but that, owing to a mistake of his mint officers. Prithviraja's name was put on the side that should have properly borne the Sultan's name while the later was used to replace the traditional handed name of the Samantadeva on the other side of the coins. As soon, however, the mistake was noticed, the mint officers replaced Prithviraja's name by the Sultan's title. Though Gupta does not say explicitly but what he says amounts to suggest that the coins were mule, where the dies of two different, coins are coupled accidentally at the mint which sometimes had happened in the past and the instances are also known in the present times. A.S. Altekar also believes in the mule theory of these coins. This suggestions given by Gupta and supported by Altekar is within the
plausibility but here it does not appear to be so. Their opinion appears to be based on the belief that only or two coins of this type are known. But actually the coins that we know were struck not by a single but at least by two different dies. All the coins are not exactly of the same weight and size which would have been the case had the coins been muled.

This makes it almost certain that the coins were struck at the mint deliberately in this form as the joint issues of Muhammad bin Sam and Prithviraja.

D.C. Sircar, D. Sharma and P.C. Roy believes these coins to be the joint issues of these two rulers and they have tried to visualize the circumstances in which they would have been issued.

The opinioned of D.C. Sircar is that these coins would been issued by Prithviraja as a subordinate of Muhammad bin Sam or by the latter as a subordinate of the former. But at the same time he also pointed out that ‘the known facts of the relations between the said two rulers do not speak of any period when one of them could have issued coins as subordinate to the other. So he presumes that these coins were issued not during the time of Prithviraja but of his son who is well known as the subordinate of Muhammad bin Sam.

But to us it seems unlikely that any subordinate would put he name of his deceased father and not his own name. If he did so there would be some cogent legend of which we are not aware of so far.

Another scholars Dasrat Sharma also believes that these coins were the joint issues of Muhammad Ghauri and Prithviraja. He maintains that Prithviraja was not killed at the battlefield of Tarain as many historians belief. He points out that the contemporary chronicler Hasan Nizami has categorically said that Prithviraja was taken prisoner and led t this capital Ajmer. It is sated in the Prabandhachintamani that Muhammad Ghauri had some intention of restating him on throne. He was beheaded only when Muhammad Ghauri discovered that his picture gallery contained paintings
representing Muslim soldiers being killed by pigs. He sees carnal of truth in these coins of Prithviraja’s reinstatement.

A close scrutiny of these coins shows that the depiction of the horseman is exactly the same as seen on Prithviraja’s own coins. This leaves no doubt that some dies were made at the Ajmer mint with the name of Muhammad bin Sam following the pattern of Prithviraja’s coins. It is possible only at the time of his arrival at Ajmer after defeating Prithviraja and not at any time earlier. As such the coin should be visualized and interpreted accordingly. It may be well agreed with Dasarat Sharma in accepting the statement of Hasan Nizami that Prithviraja was not killed at the battle-field, but he was made captive. It is normally seen that the defeated king when made prisoner was taken to the capital of the conqueror and never to that conquered. If he was taken to Ajmer it means that he was not actually made prisoner, but was led to this capital under some agreement to treaty between the conqueror and the conquered. What the author of the Prabandhachintamani says amounts to suggest this fact. If any treaty was made between the two, there would have been some conditions that Prithviraja had to accept the suzerainty of Muhammad Ghauri and to issue coins in his name along with this own. This permission of putting Prithviraja’s name on the coins might well have meant to restore confidence amongst his people about his being reinstated to his kingdoms.

Whatever might be the fact behind the issue of the coins, it undoubtedly indicated that Prithviraja was alive for sometimes after his defeat at the battle of Tarain and that he had accepted the over-lordship of Muhammad Ghuri. And Muhammad Ghauri as shrewd politicians would have thought it wise to restore Prithviraja as his tributary in the distant west of Rajasthan, the tract full sans. This step he might have taken in view of his defeat at he hand of Mularaja II, the Chaulukya king of Gujarat.

Muhammad Ghauri himself followed this practice when the imprisoned Khusru Malik the Ghazaniv ruler of Lahore.
This also led him to realize that it would not be possible for him to control that area by himself. He contented himself by annexing a part of Prithviraja as territory which lied in the plans to the border Punjab and was easily accessible to him.

Recently, Johns S. Deyell supporting the mule theory has remarked on this coin that whatever the circumstances of issue, the coins could not have been intended as a regular currency issued, their numbers were too small. If intentionally issued they were mules or mint errors. Finally they may have been the product of mint port, the unauthorized but intentional muling of old dies by mint personnel for private purpose. He seems to have formed this opinion on the ground that the number of these coins, so far discovered, is small and that the coins were made, in his opinion, by a single pair die. He, therefore, says, "It is impossible to establish the existence of more than one die for each face."

But we should not forget the circumstances in which these coins were issued. It was a transition stage and the tenure of Prithviraja's reinstatement was very short. The coins issues during this period were obviously very few. In that consideration, after the lapse of a long seven hundred years, their representation by four specimens is not enough. The opinion of Deyell that they were made by a single pair of die, does not seem likely. From the statement of E Thomas, A. Cunningham and H.N. Wright it is revealed that these coins were of different weights and sizes. The two photographs of these coins supplied by E. Thomas and A. Cunningham clearly shows that at least two sets of dies were used to strike these coins. Besides the differences in sizes, E. Thomas's coin record the name of the Ghaurid ruler as "Mahamad Sam" while that of A. Cunningham, as "Mahamad Same".

Four coins of this type have so far been noticed. One was in the cabinet of E. Thomas and three in that of A. Cunningham. From Cunningham's collection two were, later, donated to the British Museum. All the coins are of billon but they wary in their weights and sizes. E
Thomas's coin weighs 2.34 gms / 36 gns, its size is not mentioned. Of the two coins in the British Museum from Cunningham's collection one has the weight 2.858 gms / 44 gns and the other 3.507 gms / 54 gns, their sizes are 1.5 and 1.38 respectively. The measurement of Cunningham's third coin which remained in his own collection, is not known.

P.C. Roy visualized the coins in the real perspective of the fact to a greater extent, but he made mistake when the identified the mint as of Delhi and their issuing authority as Muhamamd bin Sam. According to him Muhamamd bin Sam struck these coins after the death of Prithviraja but he put the name of the deceased king on the coins only to popularize them.

E. Thomas and A. Cunningham also think that this type of coins were issued from Delhi mint, but the circumstantial evidence speak in favour of Ajmer which explained above on the authority of Taj ul-Ma' sir and Prabhandhachintamani. The date of their issues seems to be the very year of Muhammad Ghauri's victory in the second battle of Tarain in 588 A.H. / 1192 A.D. after which it is stated that he marched to Ajmer carrying the defeated king and on reaching there he reinstated Prithviraja as his vassal who seemed to have issued these coins, but for the reason stated above he (i.e., Prithviraja) was killed and his son was put to the throne.

2.4 Delhi

Delhi was finally annexed to the Ghaurid empire in 1193 A.D. and the Ghaurid coins were struck there as was one earlier at Peshawar and Lahore. The coins issued from Delhi followed the pattern of the Ajmer (i.e., the joint issues) with only eliminating the name of Prithviraja from the horseman side and substituting it by the Sultan's title “Sri hamirah”, the Sankritized from of Arabic “amir”.

* Ajmer was the capital city of the Chauhan kings. So there must have been a Mint. Delhi was previously the capital of the Tomara Kings, where also had been a mint of their own after conquest by the Chauhan kings it was reduced to a provincial capital but the mint have been continued.
The word “amir” means “a commander” or “a leader”. But, as the designation of an administrative post in Islam owes its origins in the time of Prophet Muhammad who bestowed it on his military commander. Later, Muawiyah, the Ummyad Khalifah, designed his viceroy with this name. Since then the title was invoked for the viceroys / governors under the Khalifahs. Some of the independent rulers like the Saffarids and the Samanids expressed their allegiance to the Khalifah by using this title.

In the background of these fact the title “amir” used by Muhammad ghauri reminds us of this coins that he had issued at Ghazni and placed on them the name of the Khalifah “Al-Nasir li dinillah”. We do not know if he had obtained any investiture from the Khalifah. But the use of this title leaves no doubt that he thought himself subordinate, in some way, to him. Unlike the Ghazni coins, his Indian issues had short spaces to record long legends on them as most part of the spaces were occupied by pictorial motifs. It is likely that for this reason he adopted this device in lieu of writing the long legend expressing his allegiance to the Khalifah.

Some of the coins minted there bear his name as "Muhamamd Same" instead "Muhamamd Sarrf. This is dies variation without any significance. These coins have dotted border on both the faces. They may be treated as the second variety of this type.

There is a third variety of this type where the dotted circles are elimination from both the faces. No trident mark is seen on the hump of the bull on the obverse, but a crescent is additionally placed under the horse on the reverse.

A fourth variety of this type is also seen which is similar to the second variety of the above coin with the only exception that the Sanskrit word “Sri” in Nagari is replaced by the Arabic word “Sikandar” on the bull side (obverse).
2.5 Kanauj and Bayana

At Kanauj and Bayana the rulers had their coins in gold which had Lakhsmi on one side (obverse) and the legend in bold Nagari letters on the other (reverse). These coins were related to a different tradition which was introduced first by Gangeyadeva (1015-1040 AD) the Kalachuri King of Tripuri (Dahala). His coins are found in large quantities with many variety of obverse motifs. It is believed by the scholars that his coinage continued even after his death and were issued posthumously for quite a long time.45

Like some other Rajput rulers of Northern India this very type was followed by Govindachandra (1114-1154 AD), the Gahadavala king of Kanauj and also by Kumarapala, the Yadu (or Yadava) king of Bayana.46 The coins of the two may, apart from their legends, be distinguished by themselves by certain differences in the depiction of the goddess Lakhsmi. The most prominent one is the presence of a beaded garland on the coins of Kumarapala and it is conspicuously absent on those of Govindachandra. There is also a marked differences in delineating the hands, while on the former the hands are naturally places, they appear detached on the coins of the latter. In metallic composition and weight they also differ. The Kanauj coins are of trimetallic being composed of gold, silver and copper and they weigh 4.13 gms / 63.72 gns, but those of Bayana are bimetallic having a mixture of gold and silver and they weigh 3.90 gms / 60.18 gns.

When Muhammad Ghauri occupied these two territories he issued gold coins in the follow of their local coinage. On them the same differences are very well marked.

In Kanauj the ruler of the Gahadavala dynasty whom Muhammad Ghauri defeated, was Jayachandra (1174-1194 AD). He seemed not have issued any coin on his own name but in the name of his grandfather Govindachandra posthumously. They were the current coins of country which seemed to be issued from Banaras (Kasi). Muhammad Ghuri's coins here followed these coins of Govindachandra. Of the four varieties of
Govindachandra's coins one was “large in size but the legs of the seated goddess Lakshmi on its was not visible”. This variety seemed to be the prototype of Muhammad Ghuri's coin. Like it his coins have on one side (obverse) the stylized representation of the seated goddess Lakshmi. The deity sits frontally, she has four arms. Her two lower arms look natural and are spread out at her sides, the upper two arms seemed to be detached from the body and are represented by two bow-like curbed lines with points outward. There are two big dots at the two sides of the deity. The mouth and chin mixed together and shaped like crescent. The tikka (brow-mark), eyes and nose form a cluster or cross of dots. Two ears shown by two short vertical lines have two big dots at their lower and representing ear-rings. The abdomen is represented by a long crescent and the belly by a circle, the hole within the circle indicates the navel. Her breasts are prominent. She wears on her head a nimbus (i.e., probhamadala), the dots forming the hole are twelve in number and are placed in arch-shape, but its parts are out of flan; beneath the dots in an arched-line which spans in the end. The girdle (biccha) round her waist has seven beads. On the other side (reverse) of the prototype Govindachandra's name in three lines with the similar squarish and bold letters. On Govindachandra's coin the legend is followed by a symbol of trisul (trident) or a padma (lotus flower) which has been replaced here by two vertical strokes.

In Bayana the prototype of Muhammad Ghauri's coins were those of Kumarapala whom he had defeated there. The four arms of the seated goddess Lakshmi on these coins of Muhammad Ghauri, like the prototype, are attached to the body of the deity but are spread out straight to the outside. She wears a beaded necklace which we do not see on the Kanauj coins. The two dots indicating the ear-rings are smaller. The forehead is represented by a horizontal curve line with the points downwards and touching the lines for ears. The eyes are represented by two dots, and nose by a very small vertical line. The mouth and chin mixed together and shaped like a short horizontal line. The nimbus is mostly out of flan. The other details of the deity are same as on the Kanauj coins. On the other
The Kanauj coins of Muhammad Ghauri, discovered so far, all belong to a single variety. This shows that they were issued once and by one set of dies only. This is indicative of the short-period operation of this mint and therefore, corroborates the contemporary history of the place. It is stated that when Muhammad Ghuri left Kanauj, Harishchandra, the successor Jayachandra, reoccupied the eastern part of the kingdom including Banaras. This certainly caused to discontinue the Ghaurid mint there. Afterwards, though Aibak reconquered it, he did not reopen the mint.

The Bayana coins of Muhammad Ghauri are of these varieties distinguishable from the depiction of the beaded necklace seen variously on different coins, such as three, four of five and hence the varieties showing three beads.

### 2.6 Badaun

Muhammad Ghuri retired to Ghazni in 592 AH/1196 AD after the invasion of Gwalior leaving Qutab uddin Aibak, a slave of his own as well as his army general, to act as his viceroy at Delhi and to control the conquered Indian territories. From now the military expeditions, that were undertaken in India were guided by this viceroy and not by Muhammad
Ghauri himself. It was by him that Badaun was conquered in 597 AH/1196 AD and Ittinish was appointed governor there. Lakhanapala, the last Rashtrakuti ruler of the place did not issued any coin in his own name. There, the current coins were those issued in the name of this predecessor Amritapala. His coins though are in the tradition of the bull and horseman type of the Shahis, had some characteristics of their own. Here we have an additional ladder like device on the bull side above the king's name at the top and the name is written in a straight line much different from the coins of other places. The horseman on the other side is also very much different in its depiction. It has become a complex geometric pattern which may well be distinguished by its stylistic form from those seen on the coins of Delhi, Ajmer and Lahore. It has similarity only with the that seen in the Narwar coins of a different type.

Muhammad Ghauri's coins issued from Badaun followed the pattern of Amritapala's coinage. Like the prototype his coins have on the observers the ladder-like device at the top, beneath which is the name of the Sultan as "Muhammad Sam" in Nagari in straight line. Under it, we have the recumbent bull facing left. On the reverse is the stylized horseman to right depicted in the same pattern as on the coins of amritapala. The Delhi coins of Muhammad Ghauri have on the side his title "Sri hamirah" (Cat No. 2, Pl. No. I, Fig. No. 6), which we do not see on these Badaun coins.

His Badaun coins, so far discovered, are all of a single type, but they may be distinguished into five varieties by some minor variations on their obverse. The first variety has a sword with two dots, to right of the hump of the bull. On the second, we have only the sword without dot. On the third variety the sword is eliminated and replaced by a circle. The fourth variety is almost similar to the first one except that the last part of the king's name "Sam" is written in the top line. On the fifth variety the word "Sam" is written to right of the hump of the bull replacing the sword / circle.
All the Badaun coins of Muhammad bin Sam, known so far, are only in billon.

### 2.7 Bengal

The Ghaurid conquest of Bengal was made by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bhaktiyar Khalji, a young general of Muhammad Ghuari, in the month of Ramza, 601 AH/1205 AD. Before this invasion Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar had met Qutab uddin Aibak, the Ghaurid viceroy of India, while the latter was busy with the Badaun campaign. Afterwards, he marched towards Bengal and conquered its north-west part called Gauda.

The Sena kings ruling in Bengal at that time had no coin of their own. Some local coins are reported to have been issued in southern and eastern part of the country, but none in Gauda areas. Cowrie-shells were the sole currency there which were used in all kinds of transactions. This is attested by the statement of the 9th century, Arab Geographer Sulaiman who says, "Trade is carried on by means of cowries, which are the current money of the country". Minhaj also speaks in the same language. This statement is also proved by the fact that not a single coin of any king of his dynasty has come to light so far.

After the conquest of Gauda Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar issued coins there in the name of his master Sultan Mu’iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam. A few gold coins of these issues have been discovered. They supply us some valuable information which we do not get in the contemporary chronicles. The date of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar’s conquest of Gauda is one of them. Minhaj is the only chronicler who narrated this campaign, but did not mention its precise date. He stated that the following year after that (i.e., meeting with Aibak), Muhammad-e-Bakhityar caused a force to be prepared, pressed on from Bihar and suddenly appeared before the city of Nadia. His vague statement led the modern historian to assume different dates for the event. Charles Steward and E. Thomas suggested the date as 1203-4 AD, Raverty, 1194 AD, Blockman, 1198/1199 AD,
However, the more reliable information is supplied by an inscription of Lakshmana Sena dated 1203 AD (600 AH) which speaks of a great sacrifice (Yajna) called Aidri Mahasanti to propitiate the gods for help in averting an impending catastrophe. This impending catastrophe on Lakshmana Sena could not have been anything else than the invasion of Muhammad bin Bakhityar Khalji over Nadia. The circle is the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan al-mu'azzam Mu'iz al-duniya wa al-din abu'l muzaffar Muhammad bin sam" (Cat No. 2, Pl. No. I, Fig. No. 7).

This type of coins, known so far, are only three. The first that came to be known earliest, is now in the Delhi Museum. It is recorded by H.N. Wright in his corpus. The second one is in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. and is noticed by P.L. Gupta. These are the commemorative coins issued in the event of the conquest of Gauda (Bengal) which is borne out from the Nagari legend "Gauda Vijoye".

2.8 Technology of Indian Coinage

Information about the technical aspects of minting during Sultanate period is supplied by the surviving coins and a few minting implements, some documents and writing including the Dravyapariksha by Thakkur Pheru. The source indicate die striking technique.53

1) Purifying (sodhana) silver and mixed metal or alloys (constituting of silver, lead and copper).
2) Testing (chasamya = chasanika) the (degree of purity of) metals. Gentally firing of the required quantity of the metal concerned together with other prescribed materials was necessary for this purification. In this process of firing at a low temperature wind was blewed into fire through a blowpipe (vamkanali, the name of which literally meaning ‘curved pipe’). Apparently the impure metals at the mints of the Delhi Sultans were purified and their purity tested following the methods described in the Dravyapariksha. It appears from the evidence of other sources, that the
purified metal ingots were then cast in moulds of the size of the intended coins or into sheets to be cut into pieces confirming to the size of the required coins. The blanks were latter placed one after another on an placed the punch – die and the latter was truck with a hammer. As a result each blank received the impressions of the devices engraved in negative on the dies and was transformed into a coin.

The techniques adopted in far scattered Sultanate mints for the minting of coins was almost the same. Thus, the technique basically involved purification of metal ingots melted together with prescribed quantities of alloy material. The extracted molten metal was than cast into mould of the size of the intended coins or into the sheets that were cut into pieces confirming to the size of the required coins. The acquired blanks punch having another die and struck hard with a hammer. Eventually, the blank receiving the impression of the devices engraved in negative on the die got transformed into a coin.

It is obvious from forgoing discussion on the method of minting in early medieval that the practice of producing coins with the help of two dies and a striking of material (like hammer) once introduced became increasingly popular and the most effective mode of manufacture. The basic idea and method has remained the same through centuries, though the details have changed with increasing degree of sophistication and exactitude.
CHAPTER – I
THE GHAURID INDIAN COINAGE AND ITS METROLOGY

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