CHAPTER – II

COINAGE OF THE TURKS

1. Historical Background

Before Ilutmish, two Turki Sultans ascended the throne of Delhi. They are Qutb uddin Aibak and Aram Shah. Though their rule has no bearing on the numismatic history of India, yet their activities should be discussed here in a nutshell to remove confusions of some scholars.

1.1 Qutab uddin Aibak (1206-1210 A.D.)

Muhmmmad Ghauri had no male issue. So, after his death his vast empire splitted into three parts each one of which took the form of an independence kingdom. Mahmud, his nephew as well as the son of his elder brother, Ghiyas uddin Muhammad, could have his sway only over his original ancestral territory of Ghaur with which he remained content. Taj uddin Yalduz, one of his eminent slaves, whom he had appointed as governor of Kuraman, occupied the entire territory that was within his governorship and added to it the province of Gazni. The Indian conquered territories fell to his regal title more than "malik" or "sipersalar". We are told by the author of Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh that Qutab uddin issued coins and read Khutbah in his own name, but no coin bearing his name so far been discovered that can be definitely attributed to him. If he had issued any coin it would have been in his master's name.

Sultan however, some scholars have tried to attribute a few coins to him. In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Minhaj has startd that Muhumd, the nephew of Muhammad bin Sam, conferred on Qutab uddin Aibak the title of Sultan. Here its translator Reverty has added a footnote as follows:
"It is stated in another work, Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, that Qutb uddin ascended the throne at Lahore on the 11th of Rab‘l Ul-awwal, 603 AH. and that he read the Khutbah, for himself, and coined money in his own name, and yet, although the coins of others are, comparatively, so plentiful, it is stated that not one bearing the name of Qutab uddin has ever been found. A work in my possession, however, which contains specimen of the different coins of the Sultans of Hind, with the legend they are said to have borne, gives the following as a specimen of Qutab uddin’s coin.

Sikhah waris mulk wan akin Sultan Qutab uddin Aibak fi sanah 603 zarb dar ul-khilafat Delhi julus."

Qutab uddin may or may not have assumed the title of Sultan but it is almost certain that the unnamed book which Raverty has referred to, as mentioning the text of the legend of Qutb uddin’s coins, is on the very face absurd. The "Dar-ul-Khilafat" for Delhi was first used only by Mubarak Khalji in 7173 A.H. and the term "julus" was applied first by the Mughal emperor Jahangir.4 The other content of the alleged text is not in the conformity with the text known the contemporary or even later coinage of India. The date of Qutab uddin’s accession mentioned in this work is different from what we know from contemporary sources. So, it is entirely the imagination of the author. No coin with such legend can be conceived for Qutab uddin.

Jagannath Agrawal5 has tried to attribute some bull and horseman type silver coins of Qutab uddin Aibak which had been earlier attributed to Khudavayaka of the Hindu Sahi dynasty. He has pointed out that in the Palam Baoli inscription, a Delhi king is mentioned as Khuduvadin after Shihab uddin. He takes that Shihab uddin here must be Muhammad bin Sam and the next king Qutab uddin Aibank is referred to in this inscription as Khudivadin. He suggests that like-wise in Khudavayaka of these coins "Khuduva". Thus, according to him "Khuduvayaka’ is the contraction of Qutab uddin Aibak. This suggestion undoubtedly an indigenous one and could have been taken seriously, had there not been the fact before us
that after Sultan Muhmud of Ghazni no ruler of north western India including Muhammad bin Sam had issued any coin in silver. All the coins are known only billon. Moreover, the motif of horseman and bull during all these periods were in outline, while on Khudavayaka coin it is in realistic form which is seen only on the coins of the Shahi Kings like Spalpatideva, Samantadeva and others. So, if the coin in reference was issued by a Muslim ruler it would have been only in their proximity. So it is not possible in any manner to say that these coins have any relation with Qutab uddin Aibak.

H.N. Wright had listed in his corpus a few copper coins which have on the obverse standing bull to let and on the reverse the Arabic word "Al-Qutbi" written within a rayed circle. On the basis of the word (i.e., al-Qutbi) he attributed these coins to Qutab uddin Aibak.

Here it is to be noticed that Qutab uddin had a reign of 4 years, yet we do not get any of his coin in billon while the billon coins were the normal currency of this period and rulers having much shorter reign than him had issued coins in this metal. The absence of this coins in billon by itself raised doubt as to be the very existence of this own coin. Now, for whatsoever reason, when he did not issue any coin in the higher metal like billon, which was more in demand, it is difficult to think that he would have issued any coin in still baser metal like copper whose circulations was limited. Thus, the coins which H.N. Wright attributes to Qutab uddin Aibak do not appear to have been issued by him.

Again, the tradition of standing bull motif on coins was prevalent only in the province of Peshwar since the time of the later Ghaznavid rulers. In other places it was recumbent. Muhammad Ghauri strictly followed the old tradition. On his Delhi, Badaun and Lahore coins the bull was recumbent, and only on is Peshwar and Kuraman coins, it was standing. This area (i.e., Peshwar and Kuraman) during the period under review was under the control of Taj uddin Yalduz and not of Qutab uddin Aibak. If Qutab uddin would have issued any coin he could have
undoubtedly copies the coins that his master had issued from Delhi and Lahore, and would not have gone far off to find out a prototype of his coins in a territory that was not within this control. So, it is extremely doubtful that these coins were issued by Qutab uddin Aibak. The mention of the word “Al-Qutbi” does not necessarily mean that it was issued only by Qutab Uddin Aibak and no one else. Here it may be pointed out that “Al-Qutbi” as a title was used for ltutmish on his coins issued from Bengal. Most likely these coins belonged to him.

1.2 Aram Shah (1210 A.D.)

On the sudden death of Qutab uddin Aibak, the amirs and maliks of Lahore put Aram Shah on the throne. His relationship with the deceased Sultan is controversial. * Under such circumstances the nobles of Delhi invited Shams uddin ltutmish, the son-in-law of Qutab uddin Aibak as well as the governor of Badaun, to take over the throne. The readily accepted the invitation and marched on Delhi. Aram Shah advanced from Lahore for resistance but was defeated and killed. His rule lasted only for eight months. like his predecessor no coins of Aram Shah has come to light as yet. It may be that he also issued coins in the name of Mu’iz uddin Muhammad bin Sam posthumously.

1.3 Shamsuddin ltutmish (1211-1235 A.D.)

On this access in to the throne ltutmish found that during the weak rule of his predecessor, Aram Shah, most of the distance was areas of empire had gone out of control. Nasir uddin Qubacha, the governor of Multan revolted and captured a large area including Lahore and Bhatinda upto Sursuti. Govindaraja, the Chauhan king of Ranthambhor, defied the Delhi vassalage and become independent. The Pratiharas (or Pariharas) occupied Gwalior, Jhansi, and Narwar. The Chauhans of Jalor captured a large area of South-West Rajputana. The Vaduvamsi or Jadonvattis

* According to some historians he was the son of Qutb uddin Aibak, but to others, he was not.
established their control over Alwar, Thankir (Bayana), and Ajmer. 'Ali Mardan Khalji revolted in Bengal. Besides, Taj uddin Yalduz of Ghazni, as a successor of Muhammad Ghuri, was claiming suzerainty over the Indian territories. Thus, towards the end of Aram Shah's reign, the Sultanate was reduced to a small principality consisting of Delhi, Meerut, Badaun, Kol (modern Aligarh), part of Kanauj and its surroundings. So on his accession, Ilutmish got possession of this small principality under his control.

At the beginning Ilutmish's position has in secured and he was unable to take action at once against the rebels. So, for the time being he thought it wise to make a agreement with Nasir uddin Qubacha and to acknowledged the suzerainty of Taj uddin Yalduz of Ghazni. But when he found his position consolidated and secured he shook off his allegiance to Taj uddin Yalduz and in combat in 612 AH/1215 AD, he captured him and put him into the prison of Badaun where the later dies. Thus Ilutmish became his own master at Delhi. In 614 AH/1217 AD Nasir uddin Qabacha violated the agreement and tried to occupy Sirhind. Ilutmish got a plea. He marched against Qubacha and snatched Lahore from him, but he could not retain it for long. In 617 AH/1220 AD, Jalal uddin Mangbarni, the crown price of Khawariz, occupied Lahore. It was only after three years that Ilutmish could annex Lahore to his kingdom in 612 AH/1224 AD Next year (i.e., 1225 AD) he occupied Multan and Sindh brought an end to Qubacha.

In Bengal 'Ali Mardan Khalji, who had revolted under Arab Shah, was killed by the Khalji amirs, and Husamuddin Iwaz was put on the throne in about 611 AH/1213 AD. In 614 AH/1217 AD Ilutmish asserted his over lordship over Bengal and Iwaz readily submitted to him. But two years later, he became independent on 12 Zulaq'ad, 616 AH/December, 1219 AD. He remained independent for about three years and Ilutmish could not take any action against him till 619 AH/1222 AD. In 619 AH/1222

* This is established from his issuing gold coins in 614 AH in the name of Ilutmish.
AD. Iltutmish marched against Iwaz. The latter humbly accepted his subordination and agreed to pay an indemnity. But as soon as the Delhi forces retire he again asserted his independence. In 624 AH/1226-27 AD, Iltutmish sent his son Nasir uddin Mahmud to Bengal against Iwaz. This time Iwaz was killed and Nasir uddin Mahmud was appointed as governor. After Nasir uddin's death towards the close of 627 AH/1229 AD Dawlat Shah bin Maudud became the governor. During him one Balka Khalji occupied Bengal. He was soon trounced. Now the province of Bengal was bifurcated and governor was appointed in Lakhnauti and another in Bihar.

After this, Iltutmish turned his attention towards the south. His expeditions towards this direction brought him back the lost territories of Ranthambhor, Jhalhor, Bayana (Tangir) and Gwalior. Thus Iltutmish not only reconquered all the lost territories of the Sultanate but also added to it lower Sindh. However, after consolidating his kingdom Iltutmish most likely represented to the Khalifah of Baghdad for an investiture from him. A representative from the Khalifah arrived at Delhi on 22nd Rab’l I, 626 A.H / February 1229 AD and brought robe of honour and letter of investiture confirming him in the sovereignty of Hindustan with the title of “Sultan al’azam” (the great Sultan).

For the convenience of administration Iltutmish had formed a group of forty amirs of his own clan to look after the state of affairs. This group was known in history as “Bandagane Chehalgan” or “The members of the Forty”, shortly “The Forty”. This body exercised great influence in the later history of the Sultanate.

After a long reign of 25 yeas Iltutmish died in 1235 A.D.

2. Coinage

The successor of Mu’iz uddin Muhmmad Ghuri at Delhi, Qutab uddin Aibak and Aram Shah, did not issue any coin in their own names as stated above. As such their rule had no impact on the numismatic history
of the country. After Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri, Ilutmish was the first Delhi Sultan to reorganize the coinage. His coins from Delhi, Lahore, Kuraman, Badaun and Bengal have been discovered. The earliest coins were issued in billon and copper. In later days he also struck some gold and silver coins. His gold coins were issued only from Gauda (Bengal) and silver coins from Gauda (Bengal) and Delhi mints.

2.1 Billon

The billon coins were of great demand in North India during the period under review. Ilutmish issued most of this coins in this metal which had varieties of types and design. They were issued mainly from Delhi and Lahore and a few from Badaun and Kurman. None was struck in Bengal as the coins of this metal were not in vogue there. His billon coins issued from the above mints, so far discovered, are discussed below.

Delhi

Ilutmish issued his earliest coins from Delhi, and they were in billon. They followed the bull and horseman type in the continued traditions that had earlier been copied by Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri. As on Mu'iz uddin's coins, here too Ilutmish name placed on the bull side as Surifana Sri Samasadina and on the horseman side the title “Sri Hamirah” both Nagari. Suritana Sri Samasadina is the Sanskrit rendition of “Sultan Sri Shams uddin”. It may be mentioned here that the 'alam (proper name) of the Sultan was Ilutmish and his laqab (title) was Shams uddin'. Here only his laqab is written and not the 'alam. The reasons for the exclusion of his 'alam on these coins seems to be nothing except the shortage of space.

These coins may be distinguished into two series by a minor distinction which is noticed on rump of the bull. On one series trishula (trident) is seen in several forms with slight variations. This trishula (trident) is not exclusive on Ilutmish's coins. It is also seen on a large number of earlier coins issued in the name of Spalapatideva and
Samantadeva. On the second series we have the Nagari numerals replacing the trishula (trident). The numerals, so far noticed on his coins are 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 89 and 90. These numerals too are not exclusive on his coins. They were also noticed earlier on the coins of the Tomara ruler Anagapala, the previous ruler of Delhi. So, both the series have no innovation of Ilutmish of his own. But it is difficult to postulate as to why he followed the old tradition and issued two distinct series from one and the same mint?

As regards, the numeral series it is suggested by Nelson Wright that they possibly indicate the year of issue. According to him the figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 may be the unit figures of the Samvat eras 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287 and 1289 and 1290. These years undoubtedly fall in the reign of Ilutmish. So, to this extent his suggestion is very much attractive. It held its grounds so long the coins of Anagapala were unknown. But the figures found on his (i.e., Anagapala's) coins can not be interpreted as representing any Samvat years that fall during this reign.

Ilutmish also issued a another variety of his bull and horseman type of billon from this Delhi mint. They have similarity with the first variety (series) on the device of trishula (trident) on the hump of the bull. The only noticeable change is that the legend "Suritana Sri Samsadina on the bull side is replaced here by his 'alam (proper name), Ilutmish, spelt in Nagari as "Iltititmas", which is not seen in full on any of the known specimens.

Thereafter he issued a reformed type of billon coins on which the bull motif was eliminated and instead of the Arabic legend “Al-Sultan al-'azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din" was written at the centre within a single square and the mint-name, “Delhi" also in Arabic, in the upper segment. On the horseman side the Nagari “Sri Hamirah" is replaced by a short Arabic legend bearing his name “Ilutmish al-Sultan" written to right and above the horse. On a still different variety of this type of the mint-name Dehli was written in the left marginal segment instead of upper one.
On, the other variety of this type the reverse was retained intact, but some minor changes were made on the obverse. Here the central area, unlike the former variety, was enclosed by three concentric single circles with gaps in between creating two successive marginal spaces around. In the central area the name "Iltutmish" was retained and the regal title "Al-Sultan" was shifted to the inner margin around it where a new legend was written including this title which was "Al-Sultan al-‘azam abu'l muzaffar..." in the other margin there were also some inscriptions which seemed to have been the name of the mint and date of issues as seen on the first variety, but here they were cut off.

After receiving the investiture from the Khalifah of Baghdad in 626 AH/1229 AD. Iltutmish issued some commemorative coins in the name of the Khalifah. They followed the "bull and horseman type' and were distinguished into two varieties. One had the Nagari legend "Sri Shalifah" (=Sri Khalifah) on the bull side and "Sri Hamirah" on the horseman side. There was a sub-variety of these coins where a "plus mark" was put under the hump of the bull.

On the second variety of this type the name and title of the Khalifah "Mustansr amir li mu'minin" was written in Nagari on the bull side replacing "Sri Shalifah" and "Sri Shalifah" was shifted to the horseman side where it was put in place of "Sri Hamirah". There were two sub-varieties of these coins.

He also issued some copper and silver coins from this (Delhi) mint which will be discussed in the proper place.

Before we moved to this other coinage issued other places, it is necessary to discuss two types of coins that were attributed to this king by Princep, Edward Thomas, A. Cunningham and H.N. Wright. Of course two types one had the motif of recumbent bull with the legend "Asavari Sri Samasoraladivi" on the side (Obverse) and the horseman with "Sri Chahadadiva" on the side (reverse). The other type had the same legend
"Asavari Sri Samasoraladivi" on the bull side (Obverse) and "Sri hamirah" on the horseman side (reverse) instead of "Chahadadiva'. The legend "Samasoraladivi" on these coins was taken by the above scholars as imperfect spelling of Shams uddin thereby they attributed these coins to Iltutmish. But here it should be realized that Iltutmish's other coins do not have similarly outlined name in the sense of "Asavari Sri Samsoraladivi". Of 29 varieties of his coins listed in Wright's corpus, 25 varieties record his name as "Suritana Sri Samasadin". It is, therefore, unconceivable why should his name be spelt in this peculiar way only on these two coins. This by itself makes the attribution of these coins to Iltutmish extremely doubtful.

Above scholars remarked that the first coins indicated to the fact that the suzerainty of the Delhi Sultan was acknowledged by the local Hindu Raja named Chahadadeva. But no attempt was ever made to locate properly who Chahadadeva was. Recently John, S. Deyell in his thesis entitled "Living without Silver, The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India" has made an attempt in this direction. It would be no better than to summarize what he has said about the identification of this Hindu ruler, Chahadadeva that "through examination of a broad range of evidence brings to light the existence of Chahadadeva, Chauhan ruler of Delhi, Dhilika or Indraprastha from C.AD 1170-1191. Specific elements in this identification are the following.

Statistical analysis of the relative quantitative composition of coin hoards indicates that the Chahadadeva "bull and horseman' coins were issued previous to those of Muhammad bin Sam. Since these later are known from a mule to have commenced immediately on the conquest of Delhi in A.D. 1193, Chahada reigned before that date.

From a consideration of his coin legends we find that Chahada was a Chauhan. Further his coins circulated in the Northern Rajasthan-Western Uttar Pradesh region which was congruent with the area of Chauhan political authority. Comparison of the metrology of these coins
confirms that they were issued before those of Muhammad bin Sam. A careful comparison of coins fabric and metrology establishes that some of Chahada's coins were contemporary with the Chauhan ruler Someswara deva (c. 1170-1178 A.D.), while others were contemporary with the Chauhan ruler Prithviraja III (c. 178-1192 A.D.). The Rathaul plate inscriptions and its circumstances of find indicate that Chahada was an heir-apparent, the Chauhan governor or tributary kind of Delhi region, in the time of his suzerain, Prithviraja III. The Dravya Pariksha makes him a rule of Delhi in succession to Prithviraja. The narrowest time-parameters for Chahada's reign as king of Delhi, on the basis of Ratual plate, would then the 1178-1191 A.D. This may be extended back to 1170 A.D. (commencement of Somesvara's reign) on the strength of numismatic evidence. It may be extended forward to 1193 A.D. Chahada was succeeded by Govinda Rai in the government of Delhi before 1192 A.D. He accompanied prithviraja II in both the battles of Terain fought against Muhammad Ghuri in 1191 and 1192 A.D. respectively and in the last one he was slain.

Thus it is clear that no Chahadadeva existed during the time of ltutmish. So, this coin has nothing to do with ltutmish.

The same may be said about the other coins which is known by a single specimen reported to have been in the collection of Princep. Edward Thomas and H.N. Wright referred to the same coin but none of them including Princep illustrated it. The coins even does not exist in the British Museum collection with the reminder of Princep's 'bull and horseman' coin from the India office collection. So its very existence is doubtful. Even if it existed it might be a mule and the con should be placed in the period earlier or contemporary with Muhammad bin Sam when the title "Sri hamirah" in the horseman side also existed.
Kuraman

Kuraman was out of Iltutmish's control for a long time in the early years of his reign. It was only after 621 A.H./1220 A.D. that the place came under his control when Lahore was permanently occupied. A few coins with the name of Iltutmish having traditional Kuraman (Peshawar) type of horseman leaves no doubts that they were issued from this mint. These coins bear on one side the horseman to left with spear at charge, and on the other, four lines of Arabic legend disclosing the name and title of the sultan as "Al-Sultan al-azam Iltutmish Al-Sultan". E. Thomas and H.N. Wright identified them as of billon while John S. Deyell called them as of copper. The coins might have contained very small percentage of silver which during long war and tear disappeared and looked coppery. The extreme rarity of these coins indicates to the short-time operation of this mint.

Badaun

Besides, the above coins from Delhi, Lahore and Kuraman, Iltutmish also issued some billon coins from Badaun. These coins are easily distinguishable from those of other mints by the very peculiar pattern of the horseman that was the traditional type of Badaun as was noticed earlier on the coins of Amritapala and followed by Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Gauri. They adopted on their coins bull on one side and the horseman on the other. But unlike them Iltutmish copies has only the horseman, and instead of bull he put on this side the Arabic legend in formula that we see on his Lahore coins. This shows, on the one hand, the influence of Lahore coins on them, and on the other hand, the late opening of the Badaun mint. It is quite possible that after the loss of Lahore in 617 A.H. / 1220 A.D. Iltutmish might have continued the issuance of "horseman and Arab legend type" from Badaun mint.
It is surprising that Ilutmish issued coins from Badaun at such a very late date, while he was closely associated with that place from the very beginning.\textsuperscript{25} It would have been natural for him to issue coins from this place along with those of Delhi. However, it would be difficult to assign these coins to Badaun merely on the form of the horse, had there not been the testimony of Thakkur Pheru that Raziyah, the daughter of Shams uddin (Ilutmish), also issued one variety of coins from this place and her those coins are similar to these issues of Ilutmish.

However, Ilutmish’s Badaun coins bear the motif of horseman on one side (reverse) and the Arabic legend on the other (obverse) which is close to the legends that is seen on the coins of Lahore, as told earlier. These coins may be distinguished into several variety by their minor differences in the legend. On one variety the legends is \textit{Sham al-duniya wa al-din abu'l-muzaffar Ilutmish at-Sultan}. On a third variety of the type the legends is more squeezed. It is \textit{“Al-Sultan Al-azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din.”}

\subsection*{2.2 Gold and Silver}

\begin{itemize}
\item No gold or silver coin of Ilutmish was known during the first seven years of his reign. It was only in 614 AH/1217 AD that some coins in these two metals were issued for the first time in his name from Gauda in Bengal.
\end{itemize}

Of gold only two coins of this sultan have so far been discovered. One of them is acquired by the American Numismatic society (ANS, Washington D.C.) it was issued in 614 AH/1217 AD. The other specimen discovered possibly from the fort of Bihar in a hoard of 37 coins in the lat quarter of 19\textsuperscript{th} century AD. The coin along with the other specimens of the hoard came into the hands of Colonel Guthrie through Major Stubbs and ultimately found its way into the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (KFM). Berlin, it issued in 616 AH/1219 AD. Both the coins followed the pattern of

\textsuperscript{*} He was the governor of this province before his becoming Sultan.
Muhammad bin Sam's Guada Vijoya commemorative gold tankahs which were issued earlier by his general Ikhtiyar uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji.

Like their prototype these two coins of Ilutmish have on their one side (reverse) the mostif of horseman to left in the centre within a circle. The rider holds of a mane in his right hand brandishing aloft and in is left hand the reign of horse. He wears a turban on his head hanging its long sirt backward. The horse is in galloping pose. In the marginal space around it, is the date of issue in Arabic words. Besides, the date, there is also the Kalimah (La ilaha illa allah Muhammedurasul Allah) in Arabic which is not seen on the prototype. On the prototype a smaller part of the marginal legends is written in Nagari which is dropped here.

The other side (obverse) of the coins contains the Arabic legend bearing the name and titles of sultan similar to that on the prototype. Although the two coins of Ilutmish look alike outwardly. They differ slightly in the text of their legends. On the ANS specimen the legend is "al-Sultan al-mu‘azzam shams al-duniya wa al-din abu’il muzaffar Ilutmish al-qutbi nasir amir al-mu‘minin" written in four lines'. The KFM specimen contains almost the same legend except the word "nasir" after "al-qutbi" which his replaced here by the word "burhan", and that the text of the legend is written in five lines instead of four.26

On both the coins the sultan assumes the regal title "al-Sultan al-mu‘azzam" (the great sultan) and not "al-Sultan ‘al-azam’ (the greatest Sultan). The reason has already been explained elsewhere in connection with the coins of Muhammad bin Sam. The title "al-mu‘azzam’ is not used here for comparison, so it does not signify his inferior status. Moreover, the formula which was set up by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji for the obverse legend of Mu‘iz uddin’s Gauda vijoye commemorative gold coins,

* The word "nasir" is damaged on this gold coins but it is reconstructed from the Identical silver coin.
has been adopted by his successors in Bengal including Ilutmish without any change. There too the same "al-Sultan al-mu'azzam' was used.

The most striking peculiarity of these coins is that here the Sultan is entitled as "al-qutbi" which may refer to his original position as a freed slave of Qutb uddin Aibak whose son-in-law he subsequently became, or to the fact that he belonged to the "Qub" faction of the court nobles as opposed to the "Mu'izi".27

The mint-name of the KFM specimen written in Arabic in the field below the horse is read by the scholars variously as "ba-Gauda", "Nagore" and "Lakaur", and thereby, it is suggested that the coins were issued from "Gauda" in Bengal of "Lakaur" a place near Lakhnauti or "Nagore in Rajasthan. But in view of Muhammad bin Sam's coins, on which we have exactly at this place, in the margin of the coin. The legend "Gauda Vijoya" in Nagari, there remains no scope of confusion. Since no other coins with this type of horseman motif are known from anywhere else it makes it certain that these coins were struck only in Gauda. These coins were issued by Husam uddin's iwaz Khalji acknowledging the Suzerainty of Ilutmish.

Like gold, the earliest silver coins of Ilutmish were also issued in 614 A.H. / 1217 A.D. from Gauda (Bengal) and these coins have the same obverse and reverse as we see on his gold coins of this date. After two years, the next issues of silver were struck. They were issued from the same mint Gauda. All the coins bearing this date discovered so far may be distinguished into three varieties.^[The coins of the first variety are similar to this gold coins of this date (i.e., 616 A.H.) with regard to their obverse and reverse contents. Those of the second variety are almost similar to the coins of first variety except that the mint name below the horse is dropped here. The coins of the third variety have the same reverse as of the second one but the obverse is slightly different. Here the word "burhan" after "al-qutbi" is replaced by]
“nasir” as we see on the coins of 614 AH / 1217 AD. Another peculiarity of this variety of coins is that a Nagari letter sa” or “si” is seen above the word “Ilutmish” which may represent “sri.”

Like gold, these silver coins were also issued in the name of the Ilutmish by his governor Husan uddin Iwaz Khalji. It is interesting that after the issuance of these coins in 161 AH/1219 AD. Iwaz declared his independence in the very month of Zulq'ad. He assumed a new laqab “Ghiyas uddin” replacing the previous “Husam uddin” and issued some silver coins with this new laqab. It appears that Iwaz discarded that un-Islamic pictorial horseman motif from his coins and followed the patterns of the Ghazni coins of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghuri where we have the Arabic legend on both sides. He wrote on the obverse the Kalimah and the name of the contemporary. Abbasid Khalifah “Al-Nasir Ldinillah” and on the reverse his own name with the laqabs and regal titles.

When Ilutmish subdued Iwaz in 619 AH/1222 A.D., he again started to struck his own coins there. These coins were only in silver and they followed the Islamic pattern introduced by ‘Iwaz the previous ‘horseman and Arabic legend type of Mu'iz uddin and of his own, was not revived Henceforth the tankah coins become free from all kinds of pictorial motifs and took exclusively the Islamic pattern having Arabic legends on both sides, and this style was followed after him by all the sultans of Delhi. From now onward only the silver coins were in use and the issuance of gold coin was stooped until Raziyah revived it.

However, these new coins of Ilutmish form Gauda have on one of these side the Kalimah and the name of the contemporary ‘Abbasid Khalifah of Baghdad, and on the other side, his own name including the regal title, Laqab Kuniyat and religious appellations. Several series of these coins were issued for which the dices had to be changed from time to time and thereby some minor changes occurred in the arrangement of

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* Raziyah's gold coins were also issued from Lakhnauti (Bengal) mint
These coins bear the date in Arabic words. On many coins the unit digits are damaged which creates problem to ascertain the actual date of their issue. The coins of this type have several varieties distinguishable by their minor variations.

On the variety, the reverse legend is “al-sultan al-mu’azzam shams al-duniya wa al-din’ abu’ l muzaffar itutmish al-sultan, yeminu khalifat allah, nasiru amir al-mu’minin” written in seven lines. It is remarkable that the previous title ‘al-qutbi’ has been replaced here by “al-sultani”, this new world also gives the meaning of this humble position i.e., “the little sultan”, but slightly better than the former one. The adoption of this title is also seen on the coins of sultan Firuz shah Tughlaq 913-1351-1388 AD) of Delhi. There too it is used in the same meaning. The use of this new title indicates than earlier when he had assumed “al-qutbi” title. This is corroborated by the actual political history too.

On the second variety of this type the reverse legend is almost the same as on the former, except that the word “abu” (in the nominative case) occurred before the word “al-muzaffar” is replaced here by “aba” (in the objective case) and the number of lines of the legend has been made six instead of seven.

On a third variety the reverse legend is slightly different. Here the word “al-mu’azzam” after “al-Sultan” is replaced by “al-‘azam’, and the word “abu” (in the nominative case) occurred before the word “al-muzaffar” is replaced here by “aba” (in the objective case) and the number of lines of the legend has been squeezed into five only.

On a fourth variety the reverse legend is slightly different. Here the word “al-amu’azzam” after “al-Sultan” is replaced by “al-‘azam”, and the word “al-Sultani” after Itutmish by “al-Sultan”. Moreover, the religious epithet “Yaminu Khalifat Allah” is dropped here, and the number of lines of the legend has been squeezed into five only. The most striking feature of
his variety of coin is the replacement of “al-mu’azzam” and “al-Sultan” by ‘al-azzam” and “al-Sultan” respectively. It is significant. Now he is no more weak. He is most secured and powerful; and this improved statement of the contemporary chroniclers we know that Iltutmish achieved this position in Bengal only in 624 AH/1226 AD, when rebel "Iwaz was finally defeated and killed by his son Nasir uddin Mahmud. These coins seem to have been issued by the latter when he took the charge of the governship of Bengal after Iwaz.

The above coins bear the name of the ‘Abbasid Khalifah, Al-Nasir li dinillah who was reigning then. This Khalifah died in 622 AH/1225 AD and was succeeded by Al-Zahir bi amriliah. The news reached Bengal late. So, Iltutmish's coins with the name of this new Khalifah were struck in 624 AH/1227 AD when Zahir was no more in this world. He had died in 623 AH/1226 AD and was succeeded by Al-Mushtansir billah (623-640 AH / 1226-1242 AD).

However, the coins with the name of Zahir have the same obverse and reverse contents as on the above mentioned third variety of coins with the only change in the Khalifah’s name on the obverse where Zahir’s name is written as Al-Zahir bi amriliah. On a second variety of this type of coins with Zahir’s name we have the last line the reverse legend as “Al-Sultan nasir” in the centre while the rest part of the legend which is "amir al-mu‘minin" is written on top, left and right segments.

The above coins do not bear mint-name on them, but from the circumstantial evidence it appears that till 625 AH/1228 AD all the silver coins were issued only from Bengal.

The year 626 AH/1229 AD was a remarkable one in the reign of Iltutmish. In that year he received the investiture from the Abbasid Khalifah, Al-Mustansir billah. This investiture was very much needed for him to legalize his Sultanship here in India. Minhaj informs us that the representative of the Khalifah carrying this diploma arrived at Delhi on 22
"amir al-mu'minin" in five lines. In the margin on this side we have the mint-name and date in words which are mostly cut off. The date portion is doubtfully read as 632 A.H. on the reverse the legend is "Al-Sultan al-mu 'azzam Shams al-duniya wa al-din Abu'l Muzaffar Ilutmish at-Sultan nasir amir al-mu-minin".

On the second variety of this type and obverse legend is written in four lines instead of five and the Khalifah's name is seen as "Al-Mustansir billah". In the margin there is no legend but a circle of dots. Its reverse is almost similar to that of the first variety except some minor differences in the spelling of the Sultan's name and the shape of the letter "nun", and also in the ornamental marks in the segments.

The third variety is the same as the first one with the exceptions that here "al-mu'azzam" is replaced by "al azam" on the reverse and the name of the Sultan is written in a different spelling. On the fourth variety the reverse is identical with the third one. On its obverse the Khalifah's name is written as "Al-Mustansir billah" not "bi-amrillah". There is a fifth variety of this type where we have the same obverse and reverse on the third variety. Here the obverse marginal legend is more clear which is "Zuriba nazhi'l-shrufah bi-Lakhnauti fi shuhur sanah salasa wa salasina wa sitta miayn".

Besides, the above varieties we have a new type of coins issues from Lakhnauti mint which bear the joint names of the Sultan and the governor together on the one and the same coin. It was issued in 629 AH/1232 AD. This coin is the only source from which we came to know that after the death of prince Nasir uddin, one Ala uddin Daulat Shah son of Maudud held the charge of the governship of Bengal. He issued this joint coin where he wrote on the obverse the names of the Khalifah and of the Sultan as "Al-Mustansir billah amir al-mu minin al-Sultan an-azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din abu'l fah Ilutmish al-Sultan burhan amir al-mu 'minin" and on the reverse "Al-Sultan al-adil Shahan Shah-i-bazil Ala al-duniya wa al-din abul ghazi Daulat Shah bin Maudud 'azadu Khalifat Allah"
zahir-u-amir al-muminin" within a single circle. In the margin around it, is also Arabic legend which is partly damaged. The date is read as 629 AH.32

Delhi

After the issuance of the Khalifah type commemorative silver coins from Delhi mint in 626 AH, the usual Kalimah type coins were regularly issued from there. Some of these coins have been discovered. They may be distinguished into several type. On one type the obverse central legend is identical with that on the Lakhnauti coin on the reverse the legend is "Al-Sultan al-azam Shams al-duniya wa al-din abul muzaffar Ilutmish al-Sultan" (Cat No. 3, Pl. No. II, Fig. No.10) in four lines. The mint-name Delhi is written in the top segments of both the obverse and reverse. The marginal legends are seen on both the faces. In the obverse margin the legend is the same Quranic verse as we see on Mu'iz uddi's Ghazni coin. In the reverse margin we have the date of issue in Arabic words which was normally on the obverse margin in other varieties of both Delhi and Lakhnauti coins.

Ilutmish also issued another type of tankah coins from Delhi mint which is different from the above Kalimah type coins. It bears on the obverse "Fi ahd al-imam Al-Mustanisri amir al-mu minin", a legend which we see on the reverse of the Khalifah type commemorative coins issued earlier in 626 A.H. The marginal legend on this side is "zuriba haza al-fiddah fi balad-il-Hind bi-hazarat Delhi." On the reverse Shams al-duniya wa al-din abul muzaffar Ilutmish al-Sultan". The marginal legend of this side is "Min Khiraj-i-Kanauj wa kaol shuhur sanah isnai wa salasina wa sitta miayh." From this marginal legend it is known that this type of coins were issued out of the land tax collected from Kanauj and Kol (Aligarh).

Ilutmish also issued a half tankah denomination is silver. It has no marginal space. Its obverse and reverse legends have similarity with the central legends of their counterparts on the above mentioned Delhi and therefore, it seems to have issued from this mint.
2.3 Copper

Copper coins of the Sultani period are very small in sizes. Their flans are too small to accommodate the long legends bearing the name and title of a sultan. Only a few words may be seen on these coins which sometimes create confusion in their attribution to their real issuers. Because, many titles of the Sultans of Delhi are such that they are commonly seen on the coins which are not sufficient for their proper identification. Some coins of Ilutmish also bear such common titles.

The copper coins, so far attributed to Ilutmish, may be divided into two groups viz. (a) those which bear his name, and (b) those which do not bear his name distinctly, but from the legends they appear to have been issued by him. These coins are of several denominations and each denomination has several types and varieties. They are listed below stating their types, names and denominational values.

(a) Coins bearing the distinct name of the Sultan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Name and denomination</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>In dotted circle &quot;Adi al-Sultan&quot;</td>
<td>In dotted circle &quot;Shams al-duniya wa al-din&quot;</td>
<td>3.83 gms</td>
<td>Paika' ka of a jital</td>
<td>Cat No. 4, Pl No. II, Fig No. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;Adi&quot; star above and below</td>
<td>&quot;Shams&quot; Arabique above and below</td>
<td>2.957 gms/44 gns</td>
<td>Char viswa, 1/5 jital</td>
<td>Cat No. 4, Pl No. II, Fig. No. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In dotted circle &quot;Adi&quot; without stars</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>3.06 gms/47 gns</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Cat No. 4, Pl No. II, Fig. No. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;Adi&quot;</td>
<td>In dotted circle &quot;Shams&quot;,</td>
<td>2.954 gms/45.5 gns</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Cat No. 5, Pl No. II, Fig. No. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>In dotted circle &quot;Shams&quot; star above and below</td>
<td>1.902 gms/29.3 gns</td>
<td>Du-viswa; 1/10 jital</td>
<td>Cat No. 5, Pl No. II, Fig. No. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>&quot;Ilutmish&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Al-Sultan&quot;</td>
<td>1.156 gms/17.8 gns</td>
<td>Sawaya viswa; 1/16 jital</td>
<td>Cat No. 5, Pl No. II, Fig. No. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>&quot;Shams&quot;</td>
<td>Rude horsemam to right</td>
<td>844 gms/13 gns.</td>
<td>Viswa; 1/20 jitals</td>
<td>Cat No. 6, Pl. No. III, Fig. No. 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# 3. Currency reform, metal and Metrology

The currency system of the Sultanate of Delhi before Ilutmish was not well-defined. It is known that before the conquest of north India by Muiz uddin Muhammad Ghauri it was divided into many small kingdoms, each one of which had its own coinage. Mu'iz uddin conquered these kingdoms and merged them into one empire, but he did not disturb their currency system. He allowed the continuance of the local character of the currency and issued his own coinage in each territory in the continued traditions and metrology. He issued gold coins from Kanauj and Bayana; and billon and copper coins from Delhi, Badaun, Lahor and Kuraman. In Gauda (Bengal) we did not get any coin, there cowries were the currency. Mu'iz uddin introduced gold coins there. Silver coins were not in vogue in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Name and denomination</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>In double circle, outer one of dots- &quot;Adi-Sultan al-mu' azzam&quot;,</td>
<td>In double circle, outer one of dots -&quot;Zuriba bi hazarat Delhi&quot;.</td>
<td>4.318- 3.669 gms / 55.5-56.5 gns</td>
<td>Paika; ½ jital</td>
<td>Cat No 6, PI No III, Fig No.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do, but without &quot;al&quot; with &quot;mu' azzam&quot;</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Cat No 6, PI. No. III, Fig No.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In double circle, outer one of dots - &quot;Adi&quot;.</td>
<td>In double circle, outer one of dots - &quot;Mulk&quot;.</td>
<td>2.857 gms / 44 gns</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Cat No. 7, PI. No., Fig. No.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>In dotted circle &quot;Adi&quot;.</td>
<td>In dotted, circle - &quot;Muiki&quot;.</td>
<td>2.663 gms / 41 gns</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Cat No. 7, PI. No., Fig. No.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Within single circle &quot;Adi&quot;.</td>
<td>In double circle, outer one of dots &quot;Dehli&quot;</td>
<td>1.98 gms / 30.5 gns</td>
<td>Adhwa, (2½ viswa; ½ jital</td>
<td>Cat No 7, PI. No III, Fig No 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>In square with loops on each side, &quot;Al-Sultan&quot;.</td>
<td>Enclosed as on obverse &quot;Adl.&quot;</td>
<td>.7142-.558gms/1 1-8.6gns.</td>
<td>Viswa ½ Jittal</td>
<td>Cat No 7, PI. No III, Fig No.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
north India at that time; so, he did not issue any coin in this metal in his Indian territories.

These coins of Mu'iz uddin which he issued in different territories seemed to have been called by the pre-Muslim names. He is not seen to have given them any new name. The name of Dehliwal mentioned by Hasan Nizami is, of course, an Islamic term to indicate “the bull and horseman type coins of Delhi,” but this too does not appear to have been an official name given by the Sultan. Most probably it was an unofficial name coined by the early Muslim trader.

While the above territories were independent kingdoms, before the Gharid occupation, their different coinage were commendable, but when they were merged into one empire, their separate currency created trouble in national integration. One coinage was necessary for the whole empire. But the reform of the diverse currencies and making them on coinage, required a reasonable period which was not covered by the short reign of Mu'iz uddin. So, he left the currency in a disorganized manner. His successors Qutab uddin Aibak and Aram shah did not make any attempt to improve the situation. It was Iltutmish who was the first among the Sultans of Delhi to undertake an affective scheme for the reform of the currency.

Among his reforms one was the assigning of names to the coins of different metals. He gave the name of tankah to the gold as well as silver coins, and jital to the billon coins. What name he assigned to the copper coins is not known. He also prescribed standard weights for different coins. One tola (=11.04 gms / 170 gns) weight for a tankah, and one tanka (3.68 gms / 56.666 gns) weight for a jittal. The tankahas and copper coins of different denominations varies in weights according to their values, but the jital of all denominations had the same weight (of one tanka); their values were assessed on the basis of silver contents.
Iltutmish's coins of all the four metals viz., gold, silver, billon and copper, have been discovered. Only two specimen of his gold coins are known so far. They are \( ^{2}/_5 \) tankhas. Their weights are in the neighbourhood of 4.4156 gms / 68 gms. They were issued from Gauda in Bengal in 614 and 616 A.H., respectively. It seemed that after 616 A.H. He stopped the issuance of gold coins and continued to struck only the silver tankahs from Delhi and Bengal mints. The gold coins were not reintroduced until Raziyah came to the power.

From the extant specimens it appears that Iltutmish issued his silver coins in two denominations viz., one tankah and half tankah. His early tankah coins issued upto 616 A.H. from Gauda (Bengal) had horseman motif on them in imitation of Mu'iz uddin Muhammad Ghauri's gold coins of that place; but his later tankahs issued from Delhi and Lakhnauti, which were only in silver, were devoid of pectoral motifs. It observed that the silver coin on Iwaz Khalji struck in Bengal, in which he had incorporated the one tola standard weight from Muiz uddin's Gauda vijoye commemorative gold coins and the Islamic pattern from his Ghazi issues, served as the model for Iltutmish's later coins of Bengal and this very type ultimately received the status of the imperial coinage of the Sultanate of Delhi known as tankah. This silver tankah was the first issue in the imperial coinage of the Sultanate of Dehli which was treated as the common currency all over the Sultanate of Delhi. Except it the other coins during his regime were local currencies varied from province to province.

Iltutmish's billon jitals of one tanka (3.68 gms / 56.666 gns) standard weight were of two denominations viz., one jital and two jitals. They had several types and varieties. Thakkur Pheru assigns individual names to each of these types / varieties. He mentions one type / variety of coins by the name of "Sataka Samasiya" which I think a type of Iltutmish's billon cons, named after the first word of his laqab "Shams (uddin)". According to Pheru this type of coins 'contain 1 tola 5 mashas of silver per 100 specimens, and their rate is 61 per one silver tankah. This calculation
of Pheru is most likely an approximation. The silver content of this coin is almost the same as we see in the Iggani billon damma of 'Al uddin Khalji which contains according to Pheru 1 tola 8 mashas of silver per 100 specimens (which in later days was slightly reduced); 60 of this Iggani dammas were equal to one silver per 100 specimens (which is later days was slightly reduced); 60 of this Iggani dammas were equal to one silver rupaya / tankah. From this statement of Pheru it appears that the “Sataka Samasya” coins on jitals of Iltutmish and it was the unit jital used in accounting. 60 of these coins seem to have been equal to one silver tankah as the Iggani dammas of 'Ala uddin Khalji were. This view also gets support from the Ghiyasi daugani (jital) and Mauzi tigani (jital) issued by Ghiyas uddin Balban and Mu'iz uddin Kaiqubad respectively. This shows that Ala uddin Khalji only renamed the jital as damma (or dam) without changing its denominational that 60 jitals were equal to one silver tankah, falsifies the assumptions of Edward Thomas and H.N. Wright. According to Thomas 64 jitals were equal to one silver tankah while according to H.N. Wright 48 jitals were equal to one silver tankah.

In another Gagha of Dravya Pariksha Pheru cites five names of the same denominational billon coins which seem to have been five varieties of Iltutmish’s billon jitals. Pheru says, “The coins called titimist, Kuwwakhani, Khalifati, Adhachanda and Sikandari, which are all Samsi coins, contain 3 tolas of silver (Per 100 specimens).” It shows that the coins of this denomination contain almost double the silver content of one jital. So, this may be identified a the two jitals denomination, 30 of which coins were equal one silver tankah. Five names were of the five varieties of this two jitals denomination. Some of these coins of Iltutmish cited by Pheru may be identified from among this extant specimens.

One variety of his coins bearing the Arabic legend "Al-Sultan Iltutmish" with the mint-name and date on the obverse and the Nagari legend "Sri Sultan Iltitimist" with date 1283 V.S. on the reverse seems to be the “Titimist” coin mentioned by Pheru. This name might have been
given to these coins after the Nagari word “Titimisi” found on the coin.
This variety of coins was issued by Iltutmish in 624 A.H./1283 V.S./1227 A.D. from Delhi.

After receiving the investiture from the Khalifah of Baghdad in 626 A.H., Iltutmish issued two varieties of his billon coins in the name of the Khalifah, Al-Mustansir billah. These coins were in the “bull and horseman type”. One variety bears the legend “Sri Shalifah (= Khalifah)” in Nagari on the bull side and “Sri hamiah” on the horseman side. The other variety has the name of the Khalifah “Mustansiri amir li mumina” on the bull side and “Sri Shalifah (=Khalifah)” on the horseman side. These coins with the legend “Sri Shalifah (=Khalifah)” might have been called by Pheru as “Khalifati”.

Another variety of Iltutmish’s billon coins having Arabic legend “Shams al-duniya wa al-din Iltutmish al-Sultan” on the obverse and the motif of horseman to right on the reverse. The today of the rider on the horse is replaced here, on this particular variety of coins, by a large crescent called “Ardhachandra”. It may be that of this crescent mark this variety of coins is given the name of “Ardhachandra”.

73
CHAPTER – II

COINAGE OF THE TURKS

References

3. Epigrapia Indo Muslimica 1911-12, p.2.