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THE COINS

OF

THE GUJARĀT SALTANAT.

BY

GEO. P. TAYLOR, M.A., DD.

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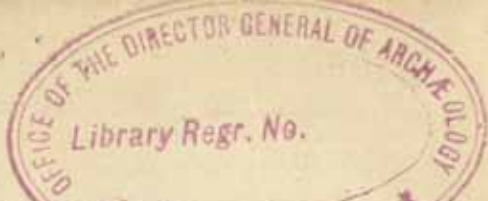
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The Coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat.
By REV. GEO. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., Ahmedābād.

[Communicated, May 1902.]

- I. Historical Setting.
- II. Chronological List of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
- III. Genealogical Table of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
- IV. Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Saltanat.
- V. Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat.
- VI. Mint-towns.
- VII. Weights and Standards.
- VIII. "Cumulative" Coin-legends.
- IX. Catalogue of the Coins on Plates I—VI.

I.—HISTORICAL SETTING.

Authorities for the History of the Gujarāt Saltanat, A.H. 806-980 ; A.D. 1403-1573.

1. The *Tārīkh i Firishṭa* by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, surnamed *Firishṭa*, circa A.D. 1606-1611; translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, 4 vols., A.D. 1829.

2. The *Mir'āt i Sikandari* by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, A.D. 1611; translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, A.D. 1886.*

3. The *Mir'āt i Aḥmadi* by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, A.D. 1756-1761;

(a) translated in James Bird's *History of Gujarāt*, A. D. 1835,

(b) also translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, A.D. 1886.

4. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part I., A.D. 1896, containing the History of Gujarāt, Musalmān Period, by Colonel J. W. Watson.

Throughout this article the following abbreviations will be employed:—

Br.-F.=Briggs's *Firishṭa*; Ba.-S=Bayley's *Mir'āt i Sikandari*;

Bi.-A.=Bird's *Mir'āt i Aḥmadi*; Ba.-A=Bayley's *Mir'āt i Aḥmadi*;

*A copy of the recently published complete translation of the *Mir'āt i Sikandari* by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi reached me too late to be of service in the preparation of this article.

W.-B.G. = Watson's History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer.

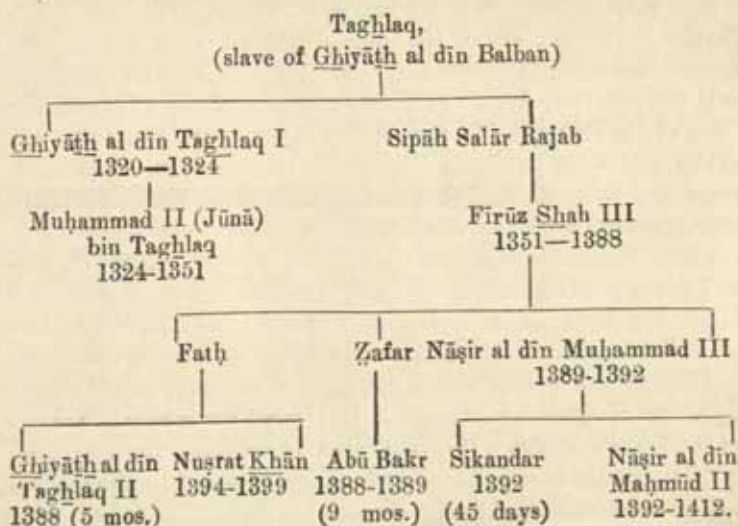
A flavour of romance attaches to the history that has come down to us of the father of the founder of the Gujarāt Saltānat. In the days of the eccentric Sultān of Dehli, Muḥammad bin Taghlaq (A.H. 725-752 ; A.D. 1324-1351), his cousin Fīrūz, while on a hunting expedition in the Kheḍā district of Gujarāt, wandered from his attendants and lost his way. Wearied with the chase, he turned his horse at eventide in the direction of the village of Thāsra,* and on the stranger's arrival there the village headmen, two brothers of the Tānka family of Rājput, Sādhū and Sadhūran by name, cordially invited him to partake of their hospitality. Soon an ample board was spread, and Sādhū's sister, a maiden "peerless in beauty and loveliness," filling a goblet, presented it to the unknown guest. He received the vessel from her hand with a pleasure he was at no pains to conceal. After he had quaffed three cups, "the rosebud of his disposition unfolded," and now the talk grew confidential. The stranger ere long revealed himself to be the Sultān's cousin and his acknowledged heir. Sādhū straightway gave his sister, "more lovely than a ḥūrī of light," in nikāḥ marriage to the prince, and thereafter the two brothers, linking their fortunes with his, accompanied him to Dehli, the capital of the kingdom. It was not long before both of them, in the phrase of Sikandar bin Muḥammad, "obtained the honour of Islām," and on this change of his faith Sadhūran received the title of Wajī' al Mulk, "the Support of the State." With the proselyte's proverbial zeal, the brothers became disciples of a much revered Muslim saint,† and soon gained a high reputation for piety. Of Zafar Khān, the more famous son of Wajī' al Mulk, it is related that this saint, in return for a timely kindness, promised him prophetically the whole country of Gujarāt, and later, giving him a handful of dates, said, "Zafar Khān, thy seed like unto these in number shall rule over Gujarāt." The historian adds, "Some say there were twelve, some thirteen dates, others say eleven: God knows which story is true."

* Some historians are of opinion that the scene of this incident lay not at Thāsra in Gujarāt, but at Thānesar in the Sirhind division of the Panjāb.

† This saint was known as Quṭb al aqṭāb Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm i Jahāniyān, 'the pole-star of pole-stars, His Highness the Lord of Mortals.' As the quṭb al aqṭāb, he was held to have attained that supreme stage of sanctity wherein is reflected the heart of the Prophet himself.

The death of the Sultān Muḥammad bin Taghlaq was in keeping with a life marked by projects magnificent in conception but abortive, at times ludicrously abortive, in achievement. In 1351 he set off from Gujarāt in order to chastise Lower Sindh for harbouring insurgents. Though accompanied by an army "as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts," he did not live to annihilate the refractory Sūmra Rājput̃s of Thatta, but himself died on the banks of the Indus from fever induced by a surfeit of fish. The Sultān had left no son,* but Firūz, his cousin and legatee, on the third day ascended the throne, and for the next thirty-seven years swayed, and on the whole beneficently, the destinies, of the Empire. Zafar Khān and his brother Shams Khān, as nephews of the queen, were now advanced to high honours, and to them were entrusted the responsible duties pertaining to the office of Chief Butler, *ʾōhda i sharābdārī*. On the death of Firūz Shāh in 1388, a grandson, Ghiyāth al dīn Taghlaq Shāh II, succeeding to the Saltānat, spent his brief reign of five months in an unbroken round of debauchery. Another grandson, Abū Bakr, next held the throne for some nine months, at the end of which time he was deposed by the late

* The following Genealogical Table shows the relationship of the Taghlaqid Sultāns of Dehlī :—



Firūz Shāh's son, Nāṣir al dīn Muḥammad Shāh III, who for the three years 1389-1392 managed to retain the sovereign power. It was during the reign of this Sultān, Muḥammad III., that Zafar Khān was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujarāt. Ugly rumours had reached the Court that the then viceroy, Mufarrreh Sultānī, more commonly known by his title of Farhūt al Mulk Rāstī Khān, had been encouraging the Hindū religion, so as to gain the goodwill of the populace, and by their aid establish a kingdom of Gujarāt entirely independent of the paramount power at Dehli. Accordingly in 1391 the Sultān Muḥammad selected Zafar Khān, the son, it will be remembered, of Sadhāran the zealous apostate from Hindūism, for the viceroyalty, in supersession of Mufarrreh Khān. The governor-designate had a royal send off. Firishta records that he was given the title of Muzaḥfar Khān and honoured with a dress of instalment. He was further presented with the white canopy and scarlet pavilion "such as are exclusively used by kings" — a fitting presage of Zafar's future assumption of regal power. Mufarrreh gave battle to Zafar at the village of Kāmbhū in the district of Anhilwāḍa Pattan, but the unruly ruler (Nāṣim be-niṣām) was slain, and Zafar, to commemorate his victory, founded on the site of the battle the town of Jītpur. Thereafter the whole of Gujarāt acknowledged his authority, and under his strong administration the country prospered.

But very different ran the course of affairs at the seat of the Empire. On the death of Muḥammad III. in 1392, his son Sikandar succeeded to the throne, but suddenly died after a reign of only five and forty days. In the resultant confusion, his brother Nāṣir al dīn Maḥmūd II. was chosen king by one faction of the nobles, and a cousin Nuṣrat Khān by a rival faction. For many years thereafter the kingdom was sore distracted by internal strife. War between the claimants was still proceeding when Timūr Lang, the lame Timūr (Tamerlane), crossing the Indus, led the hordes of Tartary on that terrible invasion which for a time converted Hindūstān into shambles. It was in 1398 that he marched rapidly upon Dehli, on his way thither slaughtering in cold blood the hundred thousand captives in his camp; and early in 1399, after defeating Maḥmūd at Firūzābād, he entered the capital. For five days the ill-fated city was given over to pillage, the conqueror feasting, while his brutal soldiery in the general and indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants perpetrated indescribable atrocities.

The Sultān Maḥmūd II., however, had effected an escape, and eventually, after many wanderings in remote parts of his dominions, arrived a fugitive before the gates of Pattan. Zafar Khān at once went out to meet him, and escorted him to the palace with every mark of honour. The Sultān had hoped to secure Zafar Khān's alliance and march immediately upon Dehlī, where Nuṣrat Khān was still a source of danger. Zafar, however, did not think this enterprise advisable, so the Sultān, aggrieved, departed for Mālwa. Here, too, he was doomed to disappointment, but, having in the meantime heard that his wazīr Iqbāl Khān had expelled the rival ruler Nuṣrat, Maḥmūd returned to Dehlī in 1402—"a very shadow of a king." His authority extended to only a few districts beyond the city walls, and even that only because his wazīr amiably bestowed on him countenance and protection.

The utter anarchy that now reigned in Hindūstān naturally issued in the dismemberment of the Empire. Embracing twenty-three provinces, all held in full subjection by Muḥammad bin Tagh̄laq in the early part of his reign, it became from the very number of its satrapies essentially incoherent. After the catastrophe of Tīmūr's invasion, several independent kingdoms were carved out of the dominions of Dehlī, and the Empire was thus despoiled of its fairest provinces. How large a number became at this time independent under their several governors, all of whom styled themselves 'kings,' is shown in the following list, quoted in Thomas' "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings of Dehlī" from the *Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhī* MS.

Zafar Khān ...	... Gujarāt.
Khizr Khān...	... Multān, Daibālpūr, Sindh.
Maḥmūd Khān	... Mahobah, Kālpī.
Khwājāh i Jahān	... Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dalāmau, Sundalah, Bahraich, Bahār, Jaunpūr.
Dilāwar Khān	... Dhār (Mālwa).
Ghālib Khān	... Samānah.
Shams Khān	... Bīāna.

Strange to relate, not Zafar Khān himself but his son was the first to assume an independent authority over Gujarāt. This son, by name Tūtār Khān, had, on his father's departure as viceroy-designate of Gujarāt, been detained in Dehlī, not improbably as a pledge for the father's fidelity. In the disorders that followed upon the death

of Sultan Muḥammad III (A. D. 1392), Tātār Khān, as well as others of the more ambitious nobles, aspired to the imperial throne, and thus came into collision with the powerful wazīr Iqbāl Khān. Tātār was, however, worsted in this unequal struggle, and found safety only in flight to Gujarāt, where on his arrival his father accorded him a gracious reception. But Tātār harboured in his heart an ardent desire for revenge on Iqbāl Khān, and frequently sought to win his father over to his own ambitious designs. Zafar Khān, however, was not to be moved from the conviction that any attempt on Dehlī would be fraught with disaster. From the various conflicting accounts it is difficult to ascertain what precisely was the subsequent course of events, but the version favoured by several writers is that Tātār, finding his father thus intractable, basely had him seized and placed in confinement in the village of Asāwal, near the site of the future city of Aḥmadābād. He next won over to himself the army and the chief Government officials. Thus secure, he at once assumed royal rank, and, setting up a throne, made himself king with a title variously given as Nāṣir al dunyā wa al din, Muḥammad Shāh or Ghīyāth al dunyā wa al din Muḥammad Shāh. This *coup d'état* would seem to have been struck in the year 1403 (A. H. 806). The imprisoned Zafar Khān, however, through one of his confidants, and afterwards by a letter secretly conveyed, prevailed upon his brother, Shams Khān, whom Tātār had appointed wazīr, to devise measures for his release. Accordingly one night, when Tātār with his army, in furtherance of his long-cherished design, was already on the march towards Dehlī, Shams Khān administered poison to his nephew, who thus, little more than two months after his accession to the throne, "drank the draught of death, and went to the city of non-existence." Liberated from his prison, Zafar Khān, with the cordial concurrence of the nobles, now resumed the governorship. He did not, however, affect a royal style or dignity, but, on the contrary, he seems to have found the cares of office so burdensome that he desired to demit them to his brother and himself retire into private life. Shams Khān, however, refused the proffered honour, and Zafar Khān was then content to nominate as his successor his grandson, Aḥmad Khān, son of the late Sultan Muḥammad, a youth then but fourteen years of age. Some three uneventful years passed away before Zafar was finally constrained to accept the rôle of an independent sovereign. The circumstances

under which this change was effected, a change so fraught with consequence for Gujarāt, are thus recorded in the *Mir'āt i Sikandari*.

"When the striking of coin and supreme authority were no longer exercised by the House of Dehlī, the nobles and officers represented to Zafar Khān, at an auspicious time and favourable moment, that the government of the country of Gujarāt could not be maintained without the signs and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself: he was, therefore, indicated by public opinion as the person who ought, for the maintenance of Muḥammadan religion and tradition, to unfold the royal umbrella over his head, and to delight the eyes of those who longed for that beautiful display. In compliance with this requisition in the year H. 810 (A. D. 1407), three years and seven months after the death of Sultān Muḥammad, the victorious Zafar Khān raised the umbrella of royalty, and took to himself the title of Muẓaffar Shāh at Birpur" (Ba.-S. pp. 83, 84). The *laqab*, or surname, adopted on his acceptance of the throne was *Shams al dunyā wa al dīn*, 'the Sun of the World and of the Faith.'

The three years of Muẓaffar's reign witnessed no events of general interest, being occupied mainly with a successful expedition against Dhār (Mālwa), and another "against the infidels of Kambh-Kot." To aid his former master, the Sultān Maḥmūd, he marched an army towards Dehlī, thus preventing the meditated attack on that city by Sultān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpūr.

"As commonly reported and believed," Muẓaffar's death took place under the following tragic circumstances. Some Kolis near Asāwal having risen in rebellion, Aḥmad Khān was placed in command of an army to quell the insurrection. After completing a single march from Pattan, he convened an assembly of divines, learned in the law, to whom he propounded the question, 'If one person kills the father of another unjustly, ought the son of the murdered man to exact retribution?' All replied in the affirmative, and gave in their answers in writing. Armed with this authoritative decision, Aḥmad suddenly returned with the troops to Pattan, there overpowered his grandfather, and forthwith handed him a cup of poison to drink. The old King in mild remonstrance exclaimed, 'Why so hasty my boy? A little patience, and power would have come to you of itself, for all I

have is intended for you.' After words of advice to punish the evil counsellors who had plotted this nefarious scheme and to abstain from wine, "for such abstinence is proper for kings," the Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh raised to his lips, and drained, the bitter cup of death. Remorse for this unnatural crime is said to have so embittered Aḥmad's after-life that, like our own King Henry I., he was never known to smile again.

It is true that some historians state that in the fourth year of his reign Sultan Muẓaffar, falling ill, abdicated in favour of his grandson Aḥmad, but that the disease did not terminate fatally till five months and sixteen days later. The circumstantial and detailed narrative of Sikandar can, however, hardly be a fabrication pure and simple, whereas a Muḥammadan historian, writing of a Muḥammadan king eminent for orthodoxy, would be sore tempted to suppress the record of a deed so infamous. The scrupulous observance of religious ritual that marked the after years of Aḥmad's life finds perhaps its best explanation in the assumption that, profoundly penitent, he was seeking thus to expiate his terrible crime. In the Jāmē' Masjid of Aḥmadābād is still shown in the Royal Gallery—the Mulūk Khāna—a low dais with its marble surface worn away by Aḥmad's feet, attesting his so frequent prayer-prostrations. Tradition also tells that his home-life was severely simple, his personal expenses being restricted to the sum received from the sale of caps made by his own hands. It is further significant that his after-death title is Khudāyagān i Maghfūr, 'The Great Lord forgiven,' thus betokening that "Allah the Pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Aḥmad's youth." (W.-B. G. p. 240.)

On his grandfather's death Aḥmad succeeded to the throne with the title of Nāṣir al dunyā wa al dīn Abu'l Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh. Though thus the third Sultan of the dynasty, his long and brilliant reign of thirty-three years (A. H. 813-846; A.D. 1410-1443), his introduction of an admirable system of civil and military administration, his successful expeditions against Jūnāgaḍh, Chāmpānir, Idar, and Mālwa, his building of Aḥmadābād as his capital, all combined in the process of years to invest him with eponymic honours, so that from him the Saltanat is known to-day by the name of Aḥmad Shāhī. He may with justice be held the virtual founder of that dynasty "which was to maintain in Gujarāt for nearly two hundred years

sway brilliant in its military enterprises and in the architecture with which it adorned its capital, but precarious, ever disputed at lavish cost in blood and treasure, and never effectually established throughout the province." *

Having now traced in some detail the rise of the Gujarāt Sultānat, it will suffice for the purpose of this article to indicate little more than the succession of rulers till the close of the dynasty in 1573. Two events, however, in Aḥmad's reign demand special notice by reason of their connexion with the coins of the period, to wit, the founding of the two cities named after the Sultān himself, Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar (Īlār). According to the *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī* it was in the year H. 813 (A. D. 1411) that Aḥmad Shāh, having received "the assent and leave of that Moon of the Faithful and Sun of the Righteous, Shāikh Aḥmad Ganj Bakhsh," began to build and establish the Shahr i Mu'azzam, 'the Great City,' Aḥmadābād, in the immediate vicinity of Asāwal. The Sultān had always professed himself partial to the air and soil of that town, but tradition assigns two further reasons for the founding of the city on its present site. Asāwal was the hold of the famous robber chief ain Asā Bhil, whose daughter's charms and beauty had won the heart of Aḥmad Shāh. Then, too, at this spot, while the King was one day hunting, a hare had turned on the hounds and fiercely assailed them. To commemorate a courage so phenomenal, Aḥmad desired a city should be built, and among the local peasantry the saying still is heard, "When a hare attacked a dog, the king founded the city." It is on record that the four boundaries of the city were lined out by four Aḥmads who had never missed the afternoon prayer (ẓōhr). The first was that Pole-Star of Shāikhs and Holy Men, the Shāikh Aḥmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh; the second the king himself; the third another Shāikh Aḥmad; and the fourth a Mullā Aḥmad; these last two being high-born connexions of the Sultān. The city walls, some six miles in circumference, formed a semicircle facing the river Sābarmatī and throwing down on it in imposing ramparts, fifty feet high. Sir Theodore Hope has thus graphically pictured the wonderful development of the work then begun. "In three years the city was sufficiently advanced for habitation, but the great buildings rose only by degrees, and for upwards of a century the work of population and adornment was carried on with unremitting energy, till archi-

* Hope and Fergusson's *Architecture of Amadābād*, p. 26.

ecture could proceed no further, having satisfied the æsthetic and social wants of above two millions of souls. For materials the finest edifices of Anhilwāḍa, Chandrāvati, and other cities were ruthlessly plundered; but their delicate sculptures appear with few exceptions to have been scornfully thrown into walls and foundations, where they are now constantly found, while for their own works the conquerors resorted to the sand-stone quarries of Aḥmadnagar and Dhraṅgada, or the marble hills of the Ajmīr district. As to style it was the singular fortune of the Muḥammadans to find themselves among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution, and whose tastes had been refined by centuries of cultivation. While moulding them, they were moulded by them, and, though insisting on the bold features of their own minaret and pointed arch, they were fain to borrow the pillared hall, the delicate traceries and rich surface ornaments of their despised and prostrate foe."* In Aḥmad's own reign the chief buildings erected were, in addition to the triple gateway and the walls surrounding the city and the inner citadel (Bhadra), the Jāmē' Masjid or Cathedral Mosque, the Sultān's private chapel, and the mosques of Haibat Khūn, Saiyid 'Ālam, Malik 'Ālam, and Sidī Saiyid, the last with glorious windows of pierced stone. With so noble a city as his creation, it is not without reason that historians have delighted to link with Aḥmad's name the proud title of Bānī Aḥmadābād, 'Founder of Aḥmadābād.'

The chief of Īdar long proved a troublesome neighbour to Aḥmad Shāh, who on more than one occasion led an army against that State, only to find that its ruler had retired to the safe covert of its hills. To overawe the Rāv Pūnjā, and permanently check his movements, Aḥmad constructed, eighteen miles south-west of Īdar, on the banks of the Hāthmatī River, a fort, and to the city that sprang up round it he gave the name of Aḥmadnagar. So beautiful is the natural scenery of that district—maiden-hair fern still grows in rich profusion beside the river's limpid waters—that no visitor to the spot to-day will feel surprised that Aḥmad made choice of it for a residence, and thought for a time of transferring thither the headquarters of Government. The date of the founding of Aḥmadnagar is given by Firishṭa as H. 829, but by Sikandar as H. 830. Frequently have I come across coins from the Aḥmadnagar mint

* Hope and Fergusson's *Architecture of Aḥmadābād*, pp. 27, 28.

bearing as date of issue the later year (compare Plate I, Nos. 4, 5, 6); but it was a special pleasure to receive a few months ago from my friend Mr. Frāmji Jāmaspji Thānāwālā of Bombay the present of a copper coin of Aḥmad's from this mint, dated quite clearly H. 829.

On his death in H. 846, Aḥmad was succeeded on the throne by his son Muḥammad Shāh (II), who, taking the title of *Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn*, 'Aid of the World and of the Faith,' reigned during the next nine years. Some of the coins struck by this king were, as we shall afterwards see, of an unusual type (Plate I, 8a, 8b), but the events of his reign do not merit special record. The mildness of his disposition, contrasting with his father's forceful character, gained him the appellation of *Karīm*, 'Merciful'; while his lavish liberality procured him the epithet *Zar Bakhsh*, 'the Gold-giver.' Sikandar writes, "He gave himself up to pleasure and ease, and had no care for the affairs of Government, or rather the capacity of his understanding did not attain unto the lofty heights of the concerns of State" (Ba.-S. p. 129). When Maḥmūd Khaljī advanced with a large army to annex Gujarāt to his own kingdom of Mālwa, Sultan Muḥammad with a craven timidity took to flight, whereupon the Gujarāt officers, "feeling for their character," compassed his destruction. According to one account, at their instance the Sultān's queen herself administered poison to him (Br.-F. IV. 36); whereas, according to another, it was his son and successor Jalāl Khān who "dropped the medicine of death into the cup of the Sultān's life" (Ba.-S. p. 134).

Jalāl Khān, on his accession to the throne, assumed the title and style of *Qutb al dunyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh II*, 'the Pole-star of the world and of the Faith.' Over this reign also, extending from H. 855 to 863, we need not linger. The Mālwa Sultān was defeated near Kapaḍwanj, and later on in the reign tribute was exacted from the Rānā of Chitor. His personal valour gained this Aḥmad the appellation of *Ghāzī*, or Champion of the Faith, but he was of a violent and capricious temper, and frequently abandoned himself to disgraceful debauches. When angry, or under the influence of liquor, he was absolutely reckless as to the shedding of blood. A terrible tragedy attended his sudden death. A rumour spread that his wife had poisoned him at the instance of her father, who hoped thus to clear a path for himself to the throne. The Sultān's mother,

giving credence to this story, handed the unsuspecting queen over to the vengeance of her eunuchs, who literally tore her in pieces, and the nobles of the court killed her father. Ere long, however, ample evidence was forthcoming to establish the absolute innocence of the murdered father and daughter.

The next occupant of the throne was Dā'ūd Shāh, uncle of the preceding king, and brother of *his* predecessor, Muḥammad II. He had hardly assumed the sovereign power when he ennobled one of the common sweepers of the household. This and "other acts of imbecility" led to his deposition after a reign of only seven days. He sought refuge in the friendly shelter of a monastery, and there spent the short remainder of his life.

His successor, Maḥmūd Shāh, was by far the most celebrated of all the kings of this dynasty, and the prosperity of the kingdom culminated during his glorious reign of over half a century (A. H. 863-917, A. D. 1458-1511). As in the history of the Saltānat it is his figure that bulks largest, and round him most of glory gathers, so also in the numismatic record of the dynasty, it is his coins that are of all the most abundant and distinctly the most beautiful. In the Aḥmadābād bāzār more silver and copper coins of his reign are met with to-day than those of all the other Gujarāt Sultāns together, and of the entire series his are almost the only Maḥmūdīs that can be justly termed effective expressions of the engraver's art. The Muḥammadan historians verge on rhapsody in their high eulogies of Maḥmūd and all his works. "He added glory and lustre to the Kingdom of Gujarāt, and was the best of all the Gujarāt Kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him, and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islām and of Musalmāns, for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood and in old age, for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence" (Ba.-S. p. 161). To this day the glory of his name lives enshrined in native tradition throughout the whole of India as a pious Musalmān and model sovereign. He was eminently successful not in military operations alone, but also in civil administration, and sought to secure to his subjects the sweets of peace. The Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī records that he "built several magnificent caravanserais and lodging-houses for travellers, and founded several colleges and mosques. . . . All the fruit-trees in the open country, as

well as those in the city, towns, and villages, were planted in the reign of this Sultān" (B.-A. p. 205). With all his many excellencies, however, Maḥmūd had at least one quality which must have rendered him as a companion disgusting—no milder adjective will do. He was a huge glutton. His daily allowance of food was one Gujarātī *man* in weight, i.e., 41 lbs. On his retiring to rest, a confection of rice would be placed on either side of his bed, so that, awaking at whatever hour, he might stretch forth his hand and eat. His "little breakfast" consisted of a hundred and fifty plantains, with a cup of honey and another of butter. Uneasy in his consciousness of an appetite transgressing all decent bounds, he often used to say, 'If God had not raised Maḥmūd to the throne of Gujarāt, who would have satisfied his hunger?' Nor, according to the stories of early European travellers, was his diet limited to rice and plantains and honey and butter. "Every day he eats poison," so wrote Ludovico di Varthema* in 1510, and then he proceeds to record how this poison had so saturated Maḥmūd's system that his spittle was fatal to any upon whom His Majesty might choose to eject it. Duarte Barbosa, who visited Gujarāt shortly after Maḥmūd's death, states that the Sultān was brought up from a child, and nourished, with poison. "This king began to eat it in such a small quantity that it could not do him any harm, and from that he went on increasing this kind of food in such manner that he could eat a great quantity of it; for which cause he became so poisonous that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately fell dead."† From such travellers' tales as these Maḥmūd gained in Europe an unenviable notoriety as the Blue Beard of Indian History, and it is to him that Butler referred in the well-known lines from *Hudibras*,

"The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp and basilisk and toad" (Part II., Canto I).

This "Prince of Cambay" was but thirteen years of age when called to the throne, and even thus early he showed his mettle in the fearless suppression of a conspiracy designed to effect the downfall of the chief minister 'Imād al mulk. Quiver on back and bow in

* The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 149.

† A Description of the Coasts of East India and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 57.

hand, the young king, attended by only three hundred horsemen, marched from his palace in the Bhadra to oppose the rebel force, assembled in far superior numbers. Having first secured the various approaches to the palace, he gave orders that his elephants, some five hundred in number, should charge all at once. Panic seized the enemy. Their soldiers cast away their arms, and slunk into hiding in the neighbouring houses, while the amīrs fled precipitately from the city. A detailed account of the reign of Maḥmūd, or of his successes in the Deccan and Kāthiāwād and Sindh would here be out of place. We need for our present purpose only narrate his founding of the two mint-towns of Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād.

In H. 871 (A. D. 1466) Maḥmūd made an expedition against the Maṇḍalik Rājā, or petty king, of Gīrnār, a district in the south-west of Kāthiāwād. On this occasion the Rājā tendered his submission, whereupon Maḥmūd withdrew his troops to Gujarāt. The next year, however, information was received that the Rājā Maṇḍalik had visited a "temple of idolatry," taking with him all the insignia of royalty. Maḥmūd, accordingly, determined to humble the pride of this infidel ruler. His capital was forthwith invested, and its inhabitants were reduced to the utmost straits. In H. 874 the fort of Gīrnār, considered one of the strongest in all India, surrendered to this Gujarāt Sultān, and the Rājā accepted the faith of Islām. Firishṭa adds that Maḥmūd, "being desirous that the tenets of Islām should be propagated throughout the country of Gīrnār, caused a city to be built, which he called Muṣṭafābād, for the purpose of establishing an honorable residence for the venerable personages of the Muḥammadan religion deputed to disseminate its principles. Maḥmūd Shāh also took up his residence in that city" (Br.-F. IV. 56).

Fifteen years elapsed before the founding of the second mint-town, Muḥammadābād, in H. 889 (A. D. 1484). During a season of scarcity one of Sultān Maḥmūd's captains, raiding in Chāmpānīr territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Rāwāl Jayasingh. Thereupon Maḥmūd, refusing all arbitrament except 'the sword and the dagger,' marched with a large army against Chāmpānīr by way of Baroda. The siege of the hill-fort was protracted for more than a year, but Maḥmūd, in token of his fixed resolution not to leave till the fort should be taken, laid in his military lines the foundations of a beautiful mosque. At length finding resistance unavailing, the Rāwāl consigned to the flames the women of his household and all

his valuables, and then sallied forth in a fierce charge. Wounded, he fell into the hands of the Sultān, but, unlike the Maṇḍalik Rājā, he declined to embrace Islām, and bravely paid the forfeit of his life. On the fall of the fort, Maḥmūd changed the name of the city to Muḥammadābād. This name is correctly given in the *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* (Ba.-S. p. 211) and in the *Mō'āṣir* (Blochmann's translation of the *Ain i Akbarī*, I. 507, note). Firishṭā, however, states, "During the time the king was detained by the sick and wounded at Chāmpānīr, he laid the foundation of the city of Maḥmūdābād." (Br.-r. IV. 70); but in at least nine subsequent references to this same place Firishṭā himself calls it Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr.* Discussion on this point, however, is practically foreclosed by the evidence of the beautiful coin No. 34 on Plate III., the margin of which reads not Maḥmūdābād, but very clearly Muḥammadābād 'urī Chāmpānīr. Maḥmūd did found a city named after himself Maḥmūdābād, but this was situated not in the vicinity of Chāmpānīr, but on the bank of the River Wātrak, eighteen miles south-east of Aḥmadābād. It is the city which in A. D. 1546 the Sultān Maḥmūd III., on removing from Aḥmadābād, chose for his residence, and where he "laid out a magnificent palace, which he called the 'Deer Park,' the like of which was never seen upon the earth" (Ba.-S. p. 443). The original name Maḥmūdābād is now corrupted to Meḥmūdābād or Meḥmadābād. This city does not seem to have ever possessed a mint, and should not be confused with the mint town Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr. In the latter "many great buildings were raised and gardens laid out, and, by the skill of a native of Khurāsān, well-fitted with fountains and waterfalls. Its fruits, especially its mangoes, were famous, and its sandal trees grew so freely that their timber was used in house-building. Mechanics and craftsmen thronged its streets, Chāmpānīr sword-blades became noted for their sharpness, and Chāmpānīr silks for their bright colours. Though he by no means deserted Aḥmadābād, Maḥmūd III. continued to the close of his reign to consider Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr his capital" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, III. 305). In 1535, however, this city was pillaged by the Emperor Humāyūn, and soon thereafter the court and capital were transferred back to Aḥmadābād. The almost simultaneous loss of the Gujarāt ascendancy over Mālwa precipitated

* Br.-r. IV. 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 82, 87, 128.

the city's decay. Its subsequent decline was indeed so rapid that only some eighty years later it was held to afford a classical illustration of the truth of the verse, 'All on earth fades, and God does as He wills.'

The subjection of the "two forts" (in Gujarātī બે ગઢ, *be gaḍh*) of Gīrnār and Chānpānī is held by some historians to supply the key to Maḥmūd's etymologically perplexing title of Begadā (બેગડા). Another suggested derivation is that the term Bīgarha (بیگرہ), meaning, so it is said, 'a billock whose horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace,' was applied to Sultān Maḥmūd, inasmuch as the said Sultān "has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses."¹

Maḥmūd Shah died in 1511, just a hundred (so'ar) years after the founding of Aḥmadābād. It had been a century of large growth and prosperity, thanks mainly to the strong administrations of Aḥmad and Maḥmūd, whose combined reigns covered no less than eighty-five years. But now began that period of national decline which was to issue in the final subjugation of the province by the imperial troops of Akbar (A. D. 1573). Maḥmūd Begadī's son, Khalīl Khān, succeeded to the throne under the name of Muḥaffar II. For piety and learning, liberality and bravery, he was held unequalled in his age, and on account of his many merciful acts he was entitled Muḥaffar the Clement. Notwithstanding his many admirable traits, he was as a king fatally weak, and incapable of controlling his nobles. Their influence, thus unchecked, grew into a power which was eventually to subvert the dynasty. Lacking the sternness and energy that those rough times demanded, Muḥaffar's clemency often interposed to save the guilty from merited punishment, and "such conduct was, on the whole, the cause of disturbances" (Bi.-A. p. 229). Troubles in Mālwa and wars with the Īdar chief occupied much of the fifteen years of his reign (A. H. 917-932, A. D. 1511-1525), but these need not detain us. In connexion with this king's last illness, Sikandar relates several anecdotes illustrating a singularly unselfish and amiable disposition. A sore famine was afflicting the land, so Muḥaffar lifted up his hands in prayer to God, and said, "O Lord, if for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and

¹ The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought." For the Sultān was tender-hearted, and could not bear the sight of the poor and wretched. Moreover, since the prayers of a Sultān are entitled to acceptance, so the arrow of his prayers reached its mark, and the rain of mercy fell from the heavens. One day he was listening to the commentary of a reader of the Qōr'ān, and observed, "I read more of the Qōr'ān now, in the days of my sovereignty, than I did before I came to the throne. This morning I have heard half of the reader's commentary: I trust to hear the other half in heaven." He died on a Friday, the Muslim Sabbath. Hearing that morning the call to prayer, he said, 'I have not strength to go to the masjīd myself,' but he sent one of his attendants. After a short time he performed his ablutions, and said the prayers: then he put up humble and earnest supplications for pardon. After that he stretched himself out on the couch, repeated the Confession of Faith three times, and rendered up his soul to heaven, leaving behind him a good and righteous name (Ba.-S., pp. 279-281).

Muzaffar's eldest son, Sikandar, ascended the throne on his father's death, but, slighting the older ministers of the crown, and showering honours on the companions of his youthful follies, he soon became extremely unpopular. The defeat of his troops by the Rānā of Chitor served to intensify the general odium against him. 'Imād al mulk, a great favourite of the late king, being informed that Sikandar had designs upon his life, determined to be beforehand with him, and, forthwith entering into a conspiracy, caused the Sultān to be assassinated in his bedchamber.

After Sikandar's reign of less than seven weeks, his brother, Naṣīr Khān, a child of six, was raised to the throne under the title of Maḥmūd Shāh II., this being effected through the influence of 'Imād al mulk. The complete ascendancy now obtained by this minister excited the envy of the rest of the nobles, who sent secret messages to the late Sultān Muzaffar's second son, Bahādur Khān, then at Jaunpūr, apprising him of the turn events had taken, and promising him, if he would assert his claim to the throne, their hearty assistance. This prince accepted the invitation to return, and, meeting with but little opposition on the way, advanced to Aḥmadābād. 'Imād al mulk was at once seized, and ignominiously executed at

Chāmpānūr, and a few months later by Bahādūr's order his infant brother Maḥmūd II was poisoned.

The eleven years of Sultān Bahādūr's reign (A. H. 932-943; A.D. 1526—1536) were years full of stirring incidents, for during them he entered into conflict not only with the rulers of Mālwa, Jhālāwār, and the Deccan, but also with Humāyūn, who at Delhi was already carving out for his descendants the great Mughal Empire, and with the Portuguese, then so formidable as a naval power. Humāyūn, inflicting upon Bahādūr defeat after defeat, drove him from Mandāsar to Māndū, thence to Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānūr, and thence to Cambay, all which towns were successively given up to plunder by the conquerors. Thus the Sultān Bahādūr, who had but recently compelled obedience from the Kings of the Deccan, Khāndesh, and Birār, who had overthrown the powerful rule of Maḥmūd Khālījī of Mālwa, and had stormed the strong fortress of Chitor, found himself in the short space of six months a fugitive craving protection from the Portuguese at Diu. His overthrow had been complete and final had only the Emperor Humāyūn been able to follow up his victories and march against Sorāṭh. Fortunately for the Sultān, however, Shīr Shāh, the governor of Bengal, revolted at this juncture, and it thus became imperative for the Emperor to return to his own capital. After his departure from Gujarāt, Bahādūr took heart again, and with the aid of allies collected a large army. In the hard-contested battle of Kaniḥ, five miles north-west of Maḥmūdābād, the imperial troops that Humāyūn had left behind were defeated and ultimately expelled the country. Thus both Gujarāt and Mālwa were rid of the Mughals, who for some nine months had occupied these provinces, and the Sultān Bahādūr Shāh regained his kingdom. The Portuguese, in return for the help they had given Bahādūr, were now granted permission to build a factory at Diu. Instead of a factory, however, they erected a fort. Bahādūr, accordingly, proceeded in person to the island of Diu, and in the subsequent negotiations with the Portuguese Governor, Nuno da Cunha, there can be little doubt that both sides meditated treachery. In response to an invitation, the Sultān, accompanied only by a small guard, visited the Governor in his vessel then lying at anchor in the harbour. On his arrival every mark of honour was accorded him. Round the Sultān's head the captain waved as *largesse* "plates upon plates of gold and shield upon shield of jewels, and then

conducted him to a royal seat, using a great show of politeness to cover his designs. The Sultān, also, was weaving a plot, but Fate was not in accord with his plans" (Ba.-S., p. 397). At the moment of departure Bahādur was about to step into a barge to return to the shore when the boat drew off, and the King fell into the water. Faria e Souza's brief record of the final tragedy is as follows:— "Tristan de Payva de Santarem, coming up, reached out to the King an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed. He was a little while above water, and then sank, and neither his nor Emanuel de Souza his body could be found, though Nuno da Cunha caused them to be diligently looked after, to give them the due funeral honours".¹

His early death, for he was but thirty-one, under such tragic circumstances, won for Bahādur a sympathy he little merited. In disposition he was rash and impetuous, cruel and vindictive, and his inglorious administration of the country was due not so much to weakness or want of ability as to his sloth and sensuality.

On Bahādur's death, his sister's son, Mirān Muḥammad Farrakhī of Khāndesh, was, in compliance with the express wish of the late king, invited to accept the throne of Gujarāt. He, however, on learning of his uncle's murder, was overwhelmed with grief. Abandoning his wonted pleasures, he spent his days in fasting and his nights in prayer. Now and again with many a sigh he would exclaim, 'I consume! I consume!' and but six weeks after his accession he departed this life.

The next occupant of the throne of Gujarāt was a child of eleven, the Sultān Maḥmūd III, who also was a nephew of the late Sultān Bahādur, a son of his brother Latīf. The eighteen years of his reign (A. H. 943-961; A. D. 1536-1553) were altogether uneventful, being marked only by the petty intrigues of ministers, each seeking his own selfish ends. For some five years the king, being still a minor, was under the strict surveillance of a noble, named Daryā Khān, who was *de facto* ruler of the province. When Maḥmūd, impatient of further restraint, threw off his yoke, Daryā

¹ Quoted in Br. F. IV., p. 133, from Faria e Souza's History of the Portuguese in Asia.

Khān brought forward a boy, whom he declared to be a scion of the royal house, and, seating him on the throne under the title of Sultān Muẓaffar III, caused coins to be struck and the public prayers to be read in his name. This rebellion, however, was but short-lived, the popular suffrage being in favour of Maḥmūd. It will be remembered that it was this monarch who beautified with the wonderful 'Deer Park' the city of Maḥmūdābād (Meḥmadābād), and who here took up his abode. Here, too, he met his death at the hand of "a certain villainous evil-doer," who bore "the ill-omened name of Burhān." Having invited some holy men for the reading of the Qōr'ān, the Sultān had entertained them as his guests, and distributed amongst them money and clothes, after which, wearied with this service, he retired to his chamber for rest. Thirsty, he called for some sharbat, whereupon Burhān, his cup-bearer, brought him a poisoned narcotic. After taking the draught, Maḥmūd suddenly became unwell, but in the second watch of the night dozed off to sleep. Then that villain, "accursed in this world and in the next," fearing lest the poison had failed to take effect, drew a Dārīnī dagger, and stabbed the Sultān to death.

In the hope of securing for himself the throne of Gujarāt, Burhān had hatched a deep-laid plot. The late Sultān had recruited a force of twelve hundred men, known as the Bāgh-mār, "Tiger-slayers." Burhān now sent for their leaders, with whom he had been at pains to ingratiate himself, and, concealing them in an ante-chamber, told them it was the Sultān's order that they should kill whoever might enter. He then summoned the chief minister and other nobles, on the pretext that the Sultān desired to consult them on State business of urgency. Some thirteen of the highest functionaries responded to the summons, and on their arrival were all assassinated as they passed one by one into the room. Then, rifling the Sultān's jewel-chamber, Burhān distributed lapfuls of precious gems to his vile companions, and, binding on his own neck a richly bejewelled collar, "seated himself, like a dog, on the royal chair." When at dawn rumour of the foul murders spread through the city, some of the surviving nobles on their way to the palace met a procession heralding Burhān as the new Sultān. As it was passing, Burhān himself, noticing that Shirwān Khān had, as a mark of courtesy, alighted from his horse, cried out, 'Let Shirwān Khān come near; he is on my side, and desires to pay his obeisance.'

Hearing these words, Shirwān fired with rage, did draw near, and with his sword dealing the villain a mighty blow across the loins cut him in twain. Of the 'tiger-slayers' accompanying him, some fled, but "some were sent after that evil one to Hell" (Ba.-S., p. 452).

Incredible as it seems, the Hindūs in their passionate hatred of Maḥmūd regarded his murderer Burhān in the light of a saviour of the people, and are said to have made after Burhān's death a stone image of him, to which they paid divine honours. This hatred on the part of the Hindūs was not without a cause, for the Sultān had visited them with bitter persecutions. Many of the Rājputs and Kolis he had caused to be branded, and had compelled them to wear, as a token of subjection, a red rag on the right sleeve. They were forbidden to ride within the walls of the city of Aḥmadābād, and the celebration of the Holī and Diwālī was proscribed.

In the confusion consequent upon the massacre of Maḥmūd and so many of his nobles, the court and people turned, as though instinctively, towards one of the amīrs, by name Ē'timūd Khān, who for the next twenty years fulfilled the rôle of "King-maker." Originally a Hindū servant of the Sultān Maḥmūd, he had embraced Islām, and his master ultimately reposed in him such absolute confidence as to place the ḥaram under his charge. On his now being questioned whether any of the Sultān's wives were expecting a child, he replied in the negative, but he added that a boy, a blood-relation of the murdered Sultān, was living at Aḥmadābād. The messenger sent thither found the child bringing home some grain for his pet pigeons. Picking up the boy, he drove off at full speed towards Maḥmūdābād, and to the expostulating nurse sententiously replied, 'I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend.'

Enthroned in the year H. 961 (A. D. 1553) with the title of Ghiyāth āl dunyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh (III), he was nominal ruler of Gujarāt till H. 968. Firīšta, indeed, gives H. 969 as the last year of Aḥmad's reign (Br.-F. IV. 155), but the coin No. 71 on Plate VI proves that already in H. 968 Muẓaffar (III) was king.

Early in Aḥmad's reign a party headed by Ikhtiyār al mulk espoused the cause of another aspirant to the throne, "a person

named Shāhū, the Sultān's paternal uncle" (Bi.-A., p. 275); but at a battle fought near Mahmūdābād this Shāhū and his supporters were defeated. Mutual strife and discord prevailed amongst the nobles and served to hasten on the disintegration of the kingdom. Ē'timād Khān on some slight pretext fled to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, who, championing his cause, gladly led an army against Gujarāt. The invader was, however, content to return on the cession to him of Sultānpūr and Nandarbār, which districts thus became permanently alienated from the Saltānat. On a later occasion one of the nobles, in order to gain possession of the city of Sūrat, called in the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom, in recognition of the services then rendered, Daman and Sanjān were granted. Thus two more provinces were lost to the kingdom.

After remaining for five years in tutelage, Ahmad sought to take the reins of power into his own hands, but Ē'timād was too powerful a minister to be superseded, and Ahmad, who had meanwhile left for Mahmūdābād to consult with one of his principal courtiers, was brought back to the capital. Outwardly he was reconciled to Ē'timād, but his animosity against the masterful wazīr could not be long concealed. Once in his impatience he cut down a plantain tree, and then exclaimed, 'Would God it had been Ē'timād Khān!' Shortly thereafter the king's dead body was found, lying exposed on the sands of the Sābarmatī River, close by the houses of the Bhadra. One account has it that he met his death in a love-intrigue at night, but the more probable story is that of the Mir'āt i Ahmādī, which records in detail how the Sultān was assassinated at the instigation of his designing minister.

At this crisis it was to him that the nobles again looked to nominate a successor to the throne, and Ē'timād, again equal to the occasion, produced a child named Nathū (or, according to Firishta, Ḥabīb or Ḥabū, Br.-F. IV. 155), who, he now swore, was a son of Sultān Mahmūd. The mother, when pregnant, had, so he asserted, been handed over to him for the purpose of procuring an abortion, but, the child being five months old, he had not carried out the order. The nobles accepting, if not believing, this new version of the story, raised the boy of twelve to the throne under the title of Shams al dunyā wa al dīn Muzaḥfar Shāh (III).

The *Tārīkh i Sorāṭh* mentions that during this reign—it was probably in the year H. 978 (A. D. 1570)—Satrasūl bin Vibhāji, the Jām of Navānagar in the west of Kāṭhīāwād, received permission from the Gujarāt Sultān to issue coined money. It was, however, stipulated that Muẓaffar's name should appear on these new coins, and that they should be called Maḥmūdīs after Muẓaffar's father, the late Sultān Maḥmūd. "The permission was obtained in the following way. On "a certain occasion the Jām presented a rupee to the Sultān with a "Korī (the newly-struck silver coin) as nazrānah, and said, 'In the "same way as the dignity of rājās is augmented by giving their "daughters to His Majesty the Sultān, so I wed my Kumvarī (Guj- "arātī, કુમ્વરી a maiden) to this rupee, in the hope that her honour "'will increase.' The Sultān, pleased with the conceit, issued the "permission for coining this money, and ordered it to be called "Kumvarī in the Hindū language. And by the mispronunciation of "the vulgar it is now called Korī"¹

The latter name, as being in homely vernacular, has at the present day quite superseded the Persian name of Maḥmūdī. The Korīs issued by the Navānagar State are known as Jāmshāīs, those of the Jūnāgaḍh State as Dīwānshāīs, and those of the Porbandar State as Rānūshāīs. All three kinds have continued to be minted till within the last few years.²

During his minority Muẓaffar was but a puppet-king, the kingdom being definitely partitioned out amongst some half dozen of his nobles. Incessant feuds resulted. At this juncture another disturbing element appeared upon the scene. Certain Mirzās, five in number, sons of Sultān Ḥusain of Khurāsān, having escaped from the fort in which by the order of the Emperor Akbar they had been confined, sought an asylum with the powerful amir Changīz Khān of Broach. On the complicated intrigues that ensued it is unnecessary here to dwell. Suffice it to say, confusion now became worse confounded, and every man's hand was raised against his neighbour. Party

¹ Burgess' translation of the *Tārīkh i Sorāṭh*, pp. 246, 247.

² 100 Jāmshāī Korīs equal 28-4-4 Imperial rupees ;
100 Dīwānshāī Korīs equal 27-2-2 Imperial rupees,
and 100 Rānūshāī Korīs equal 31-7-11 Imperial rupees (Kāṭhīāwād Gazetteer, pp. 201, 202).

fought against party, and new parties were ever forming. In the midst of all this anarchy Ē'timād Khān resolved once again to be 'King-maker.' Accordingly through one of his agents he sent a message to the Emperor Akbar, representing the state of affairs, and entreating him to invade Gujarāt and annex it to his dominions. Akbar, glad of any pretext for driving the Mirzās from their place of refuge, readily responded to Ē'timād Khān's proposal. If '*Divide et impera*' be the secret of imperial extension, Akbar's work was practically accomplished for him even before the July of 1572 (A. H. 980) when with his army he set out for Aḥmadābād. The Kingdom of Gujarāt was already broken up into many incoherent fragments, and Akbar had but to step in and assume supreme control. On the invading army's arrival at Disā, intelligence was received that the road to Aḥmadābād was clear, the siege of that city by Shīr Khān Fūlādī, one of the chief insurgents, having been abandoned. Officers sent ahead to secure the person of Sultān Muẓaffar found him hiding in a field of grain, and brought him to their camp a prisoner. Thereupon the Gujarātī nobles one after another tendered their submission to the Emperor, and orders were forthwith issued that coins should be struck and the *Khuṭba* read in the name of Akbar Pādshāh. Not six months had elapsed since his departure from Ajmīr, nor had he in the meantime risked the issue of a single battle, yet now the fair province of Gujarāt — the Garden of India — lay at his feet, acknowledging him as Lord Paramount. True, the country had not yet been definitely conquered, much less finally pacified. Akbar, who had early returned to Agra, was in the following year to make his wonderful march from Fathpūr back to Aḥmadābād — six hundred miles in nine days — and within the following eleven days was to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy, relieve the beleaguered garrison, settle the future government of the province, and leave again for Agra. Still later on, severe fighting was to take place in different parts of the country, at Nāndod and Idar and Sirohi and Nandarbār, also in the Sorath district at Navānagar and Mangrol and Kodinār; but at no time did the imperial troops suffer more than temporary checks. From the annexation of the province in 1573 right on till 1758, the year of the final capture of Aḥmadābād by the Marāṭhās, Gujarāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the Mughal Emperors of Dehli. The days of the Gujarāt Saltanat had ended.

One episode, the last bright flicker of the dying flame, remains to be recorded. The Emperor Akbar, having in H. 980 taken Muẓaffar Shāh with him to Agra, granted him in jāgīr the sarkārs of Sūrangpūr and Ujjain in Mālwa, districts producing a handsome revenue. On Mun'im Khān Khānān's departure for Bengal, he was accompanied by Muẓaffar, who soon thereafter received his daughter in marriage. Ere long, however, Muẓaffar, falling under suspicion, was imprisoned by his father-in-law, but eventually in H. 991 he managed to escape and fled direct to Gujarāt. While in retirement with his mother's relatives at the village of Khīrī in the Sardhār district of Sorath, he received an invitation from certain disaffected officers of the but recently recalled viceroy, Shihāb al dīn, urging that he should strike for the throne. Shihāb al dīn himself repudiated these conspirators, and ultimately with his remaining troops joined the army of Ē'timād Khān, the new viceroy. Meanwhile, however, Muẓaffar marched at the head of some four thousand horse on Aḥmadābād. A friendly faction in that city gave him access, and, as part of the city wall was broken down, he effected an immediate entrance. The united imperial forces now advanced against him, but Muẓaffar, engaging them without delay, inflicted a total defeat and captured all their baggage. Thus once again, after an interval of eleven years, Muẓaffar seated himself on the throne of Gujarāt, and in token of his new-found sovereignty issued from the Aḥmadābād mint coins struck in his own name. But this resumption of regal power was not of long duration. When the news of Muẓaffar's successes reached the Emperor at the end of H. 991 (A. D. 1583), he at once conferred the government of Gujarāt on Mirzā Abd al Raḥīm Khān, who some six years before had held the viceroyalty of that province. Hearing of the advance of this new viceroy, Muẓaffar, who had gone to Broach to take over its surrendered fort, at once returned to Aḥmadābād, and encamped his army close to the suburb of 'Oṭhmānpūr, on the right bank of the Sābarmatī. Mirzā Khān halted his troops near Sarkhej, awaiting hourly expected reinforcements from Mālwa. Obviously it was to Sultān Muẓaffar's advantage not to allow of delay, and accordingly advancing he engaged Mirzā Khān's army in a pitched battle on the 26th of January, 1584. At first fortune seemed to favour Muẓaffar, but later in the day the imperial elephants threw the enemy's ranks into confusion, and the Sultān, giving up all as lost, fled to Maḥmūdābād and thence to Cambay. In honour of this decisive victory, Mirzā

Khān, now ennobled with the title of Khān Khānān, built on the battle-site near Sarkhej a palace and in a garden summer-houses. A few traces of these buildings are still to be seen at the village known to-day as Fath Wāḍī, or Victory Garden.

For eight more years Muzaffar bravely strove to maintain the unequal contest, wandering from place to place and seeking the aid of friendly nobles. His cause was espoused for a time by the chiefs of Rājpipla, Morvī, and Jūnāgaḍh. In H. 1000 (A. D. 1591) he had taken refuge with the pirate chieftain Sewā Wāḍhel of Bet, who gallantly gave his life in the defence of his guest Muzaffar. The royal fugitive forthwith crossed over into Cutch, and accordingly the Gujarāt viceroy, Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltash, struck across country towards Morvī. Here the Jāḍejā Bhārmal I, the then Rā'o, on coming to pay his respects to the viceroy, was base enough to barter the person of his suppliant sovereign for the district of Morvī, proffered him as a bribe.¹ In fulfilment of his atrocious stipulation, the Rā'o led a small detachment of the imperial troops to the spot where Muzaffar lay in concealment, and the ex-king thus fell into the enemy's hands. That whole night he was marched under strict guard towards the viceroy's camp, but at daybreak, on reaching Dhrol, a town some twenty-five miles east of Jāmnagar, he alighted from his horse, and, withdrawing behind a tree, cut his throat with a razor. Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Muzaffar, last but not least of the Sultāns of Gujarāt.

II.—Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltanat.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
1	Muhammad I. ...		A. H. 806 A. D. 1403	2 months.

2	Muzaffar I. ...	A. H. 743 A. D. 1342	A. H. 810—813 A. D. 1407—1410	3 years 8 months.

¹ "To mark his sense of the infamy of the Jāḍejā and the honour of the pirate Wāḍhel, the Emperor erected two pāliḳās at the gates of Dehli, issuing an edict that whoever passed that of the Wāḍhel should crown it with chaplets of flowers, while on that of the Jāḍejā the passer should bestow a blow with his slipper." Tod's "Western India," p. 438.

o.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
3	Aḥmad I. ...	A. H. 793 A. D. 1390	A. H. 813—846 A.D.1410—1442	32 years 6 months.
4	Muḥammad II. ...		A. H. 846—855 A.D.1442—1451	8 years 9 months.
5	Qutb al dīn Aḥmad II. ...	cir. A. H. 835 A.D.1431	A. H. 855—863 A.D.1451—1458	8 years 6 months.
6	Dā'ūd ...		A. H. 863 A. D. 1458	7 days.
7	Maḥmūd I. ...	A. H. 849 A. D. 1445	A. H. 863—917 A.D.1458—1511	54 years 1 month.
8	Muzaḥḥar II. ...	A. H. 880 A. D. 1475	A. H. 917—932 A.D.1511—1525	14 years 9 months.
9	Sikandar ...		A. H. 932 A.D. 1525	1 month 16 days.
10	Maḥmūd II ...	cir. A.H. 926 A.D.1519	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	4 months.
11	Bahādur ...	A. H. 912 A. D. 1506	A. H. 932—943 A.D.1526—1536	11 years 3 months.
12	Muḥammad III. ...		A. H. 943 A. D. 1536	1 month 12 days.
13	Maḥmūd III... ..	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	A. H. 943—961 A.D.1536—1553	18 years 3 months.
14	Aḥmad III. ...	cir. A.H. 949 A.D.1542	A. H. 961—968 A.D.1553—1560	7 years 5 months.
15	Muzaḥḥar III... ..	cir. A. H. 955 A.D.1548	A. H. 968—986 A.D.1560—1573	12 years 2 months.
			and A. H. 991—992 A.D.1583—1584	5 months.

Notes on the Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.

1. The dates entered in the "List" have been determined after weighing the available evidence, but absolute correctness is difficult of attainment, as the authorities themselves are frequently at variance. The following are the chief discrepancies:—

(a) According to the *Tārīkh i Alfī*, Muzaḥḥar I. died not in H. 813 but in H. 814. It states that in the former year Muzaḥḥar

abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson Ahmad I., but that his death did not take place till five months and sixteen days after his abdication. During this interval the *Khutba* was read and coins were struck in Ahmad's name (Ba.-S. page 87 note*).

- (b) According to *Firishta*, Ahmad I. was born not in H. 793 but in H. 794 (Br.-F. IV. 3).
 - (c) According to the *Mir'at i Sikandari*, Ahmad I. died not in H. 846 but in H. 845. Copper coins of this Sultan are, however, in my possession bearing the date H. 846, which year tallies with the statement in the *Tabaqat i Akbari* that Ahmad's successor, Muhammad I., ascended the throne on "3rd Rabi' al akhīr, 846."
 - (d) According to the *Mir'at i Ahmadi*, Dā'ud reigned not for seven days only but for one month and seven days (Bi.-A. p. 202).
 - (e) According to *Firishta*, Muzaffar II. was born not in H. 880 but in H. 875.
 - (f) According to the *Mir'at i Ahmadi*, Sikandar reigned for *two* months and sixteen days (Bi.-A. p. 232), and according to *Firishta* for *three* months and seventeen days (Br.-F. IV. 100).
 - (g) According to *Firishta* and the *Tabaqat i Akbari*, Mahmūd III. ascended the throne not in H. 943 but in H. 944. The correct date is probably the end of H. 943.
 - (h) According to *Firishta*, Ahmad III. died not in H. 968 but in H. 969. Silver coins, however, of Muzaffar III., the successor of Ahmad III., are known, dated H. 968 (see Plate VI., No. 71), agreeing thus with the *Mir'at i Ahmadi* which assigns to that year both the death of Ahmad III. and the accession of Muzaffar III. (Bi.-A. pp. 283, 287).
2. Of the fifteen Sultāns, the coins of nine are illustrated on the accompanying plates. Nos. 1-6 are of Ahmad I.'s reign, Nos. 7-10a of Muhammad II.'s, Nos. 11-14 of Ahmad II.'s, Nos. 15-43 of Mahmūd I.'s, Nos. 44-50 of Muzaffar II.'s, Nos. 51-57 of Bahādur's, Nos. 58-66 of Mahmūd III.'s, Nos. 67-70a of Ahmad III.'s, Nos. 71-78 of Muzaffar III.'s first reign, and Nos. 79 and 80 of his second reign.

I have never come across a single coin of any of the remaining six kings. Of these six Muẓaffar I. reigned for three years and eight months, but the aggregate length of the reigns of the other five (Muḥammad I., Dā'ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II., and Muḥammad III.) was less than one year. The histories are silent as to any coins having been struck by Dā'ūd or Sikandar, or Maḥmūd II.; but distinct evidence is to hand that Muḥammad I., Muẓaffar I., and Muḥammad III. did, all three, issue coins in their own names.

- (a) Of Tātār Khān, Firishṭa records: "He dignified his uncle "Shams Khān with the title of Nuṣrat Khān, and causing "himself to be proclaimed king, coined money under the "name of Muḥammad Shāh Gujarātī" (Br.-F. IV. 9).
- (b) The Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī states: "Zafar Khān, having assumed "the title of Muẓaffar Shāh, struck coins in his own "name, and appointed his grandson Aḥmad Shāh to "succeed him as his heir" (Bi.-A. pp. 183, 184).
- (c) The following is Firishṭa's reference to a currency issued in the name of Muḥammad III.: "The Gujarāt officers, "convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Mirān "Muḥammad Khān of Khāndesh, nephew of Bahādur "Shāh, who was then in Mālwa, to ascend the throne; "and, without any further hesitation, coins were struck and public prayers read in his name" (Br.-F. IV. 142).

3. It is worthy of special note that the Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī has an express statement to the effect that during a rebellion in the reign of Maḥmūd III., coins were issued in the name of a Sultān Muẓaffar. The passage reads as follows:—"One day had elapsed before Daryā "Khān became acquainted with the Sultān's flight, and he was now "at a loss how to proceed. As he was in possession of the treasure, "he elevated to the throne a grandson of Sultān Aḥmad II., and, "having entitled him Sultān Muẓaffar (III.), caused the currency to be "struck, and the oration at the mosque to be pronounced in his "name" (Bi.-A. pp. 258, 259).

No specimen of these coins is now known.

4. Was there a Pretender "Muhammad" Sultān who caused coins to be struck in his own name in H. 963 (A. D. 1555—1556)?

- (a) Mr. E. E. Oliver in his article on "the Coins of the Muḥammadan Kings of Gujarāt" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1889), assigns, though doubtfully, No. 28 of his collection to this "Muḥammad Shāh, (?)

Pretender." If, however, that coin be, as seems almost certain, identical with the billon coins Nos. 15*a* and 15*b* given on the accompanying Plate II., its legends read as follow:—

Obverse: Nāṣir al dunyā wa al dīn Abu'l Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh ;

Reverse: Akh Quṭb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh al Sultān **اخر**
Maḥmūd Shāh, Helper of the World and of the Faith, Father of Victory, Brother of Quṭb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, 863.

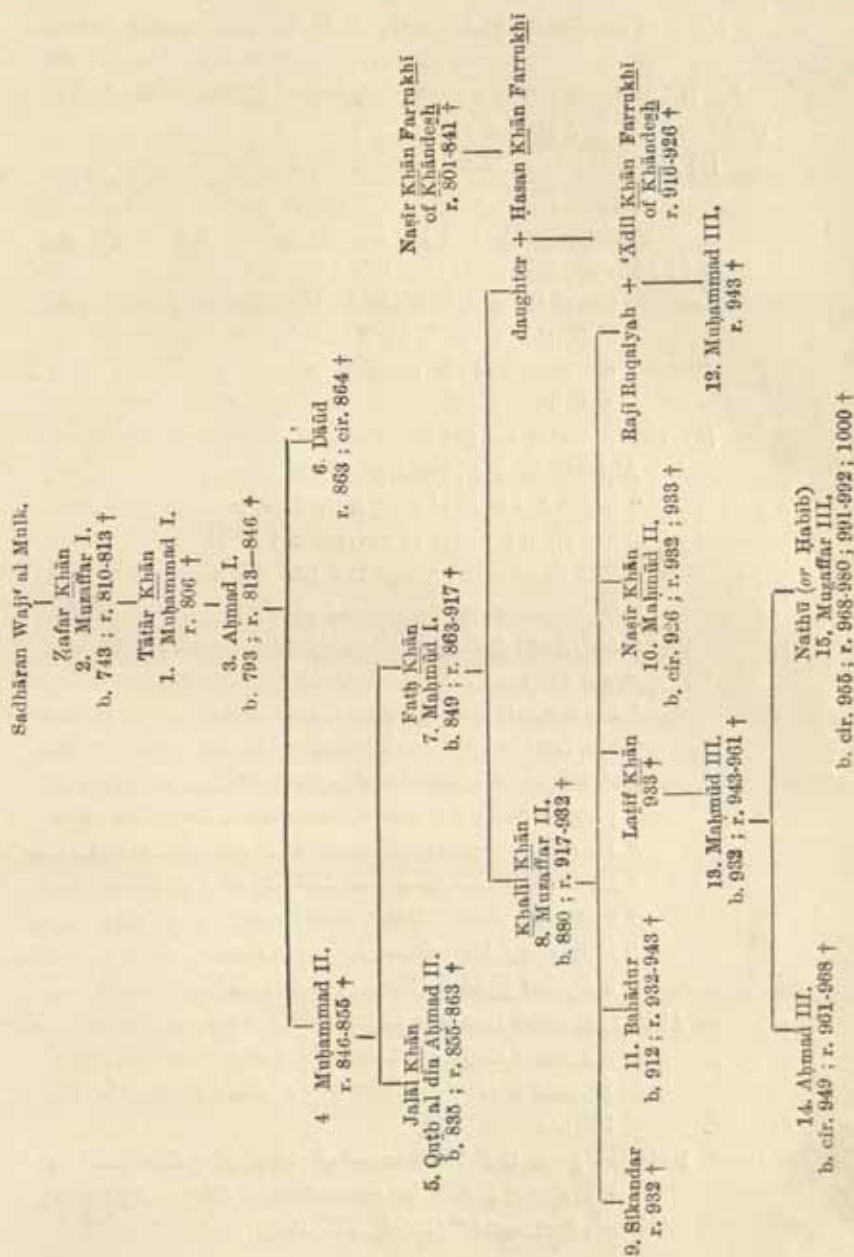
This coin was thus struck by Maḥmūd I (Begaḍā) in the first year of his reign, H. 863 (A. D. 1458-1459), and has no connexion whatsoever with a Pretender, later by exactly a century (H. 963).

(*b*) In the British Museum Catalogue, three copper coins, 'Nos. 437, 438 and 439, are doubtfully assigned to a "Muḥammad Shāh, Pretender (?)."

1. Of these, No. 439 is a square coin, the *only* square coin of the Gujarāt series in the British Museum Collection. Thomas, on page 353 of his "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings," refers to "square coins, A. H. 856 ?" struck by Muḥammad II. But that Sultān died in H. 855, thus in the year preceding the issue of this coin. I have myself never seen a square coin of the Gujarāt Sultānat.
2. The reverse of all the three coins is very unlike that of any of the Gujarāt coins of the Saltānat period. Save these three, I know of none with a double parallel line as diameter, none with "several ornaments," and none with the Hijrī year entered quite in the *upper* portion of the reverse field. The "type" is foreign to Gujarāt.

For these reasons I am of opinion that Nos. 437, 438 and 439 of the British Museum Catalogue are not coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat at all. Further, none of the extant histories makes reference to a Pretender Muḥammad Shāh asserting claim to the throne of Gujarāt in H. 963: and, apart from the above three doubtful coins, there is, so far as I can learn, no evidence whatsoever in proof of the existence of the hypothetical Pretender. It is true that in the early part of the reign of Aḥmad III—thus about H. 963—the "person named Shāhū" did head a rebellion: but no evidence is to hand that he assumed the name of Sultān Muḥammad, or that in this name he caused coins to be struck. Thus to identify him with the Pretender Muḥammad is certainly unsafe.

III.—Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltānat.



Notes on the Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltānat.

1. Grave doubt attaches to the pedigree as given in this "Table" of Aḥmad III. and Muẓaffar III.

(a) According to the *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*, Aḥmad III. was "son of " Latīf Khān, who was grandson of Shukār Khān, the son " of Sultān Aḥmad I." (*Bi.-A.* p. 273).

The *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* calls this Aḥmad (III) merely "a relative of the Sultān Maḥmūd III." (*Ba.-S.* p. 454); and Colonel Watson in his *History* styles him vaguely "a descendant of the stock of Aḥmad Shāh" (*W.-B. G.* p. 259).

(b) The following are the terms of the reference in the *Mir'ātī Aḥmadī* to the parentage of Muẓaffar III:—"According to the faith of most historians, Ē'timūd Khān, who " had all the power of government in his hands, seeing " that there were none of the late Sultān's relations fit " for government, produced a young boy named Nathū; " and, having in open assembly taken an oath that such " was the son of Sultān Maḥmūd III., he explained that " his mother, when pregnant, had been delivered over to " him for the purpose of procuring an abortion; but that " this child had been brought forth, as, five months of her " pregnancy having passed, no abortion could take place. " He said, moreover, that he had brought him up in " secret, and that there was no heir to the Government " excepting him. Every one, assenting to this, and " supporting his claim to the throne, entitled him " Muẓaffar Shāh." (*Bi.-A.* pp. 287-288).

Abu'l Fazl states that the child Nathū "did not belong to the line of kings," but that the Amīrs "had to believe" Ē'timūd's story (*Blochmann's Ain i Akbarī* I. 385, 386).

Firishta gives the birth-name of this Muẓaffar (III) as "Hubboo, a familiar contraction of Hubeeb," meaning "affectionate" (*Br.-F.* IV. 155).

2. On many of the coins struck in their several reigns, Maḥmūd (I) is called bin Muḥammad, Muḥaffar (II) bin Maḥmūd, Bahādūr bin Muḥaffar, Maḥmūd (III) bin Latīf, Ahmad (III) bin Maḥmūd, and Muḥaffar (III) bin Maḥmūd. On the other hand it would seem that, with the sole exception of a silver piece of H. 828, on none of the coins issued by Ahmad (I), or Muḥammad (II), or Qutb al dīn Ahmad (II) was the name of the father of the reigning Sultān indicated.

3. (a) Of coins bearing inscriptions of a genealogical character, far and away the most remarkable and interesting in my collection is the silver piece presented to me last year (1901) by my kind friend, H. Nelson Wright, Esq., I.C.S., of Allahābād. It is pictured on Plate IV., No. 51. Struck in H. 933 by the Sultān Bahādūr, its obverse and reverse, read consecutively, trace his pedigree back to Muḥaffar (I), the founder of the dynasty. Bahādūr Shāh is thus termed "bin Muḥaffar Shāh bin Maḥmūd Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Ahmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh, bin Muḥaffar Shāh."

(b) On the silver coin of H. 828 represented on page 352 of Thomas's "Chronicles," Ahmad (I)'s much shorter pedigree back to Muḥaffar (I) is thus given :—Ahmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muḥaffar Shāh.

(c) On the billon coin of Maḥmūd (I), struck in H. 863 (Plate II, Nos. 15a, 15b), his relationship to the two preceding Sultāns is indicated as follows :—

Akh Qutb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh,

Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh.

IV. *Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Sultānat.*

But little has hitherto been published on the coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat. The chief modern contributions to the literature on this subject are the following five :—

1. "The Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Dehlī" by Edward Thomas (1871), in which pages 352-353 are devoted to "the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt." A chronological list of the Sultāns is given, in which, strange to say, the name of Muḥammad I. (Tātār Khān) does not appear. In all forty-eight coins are briefly specified. Two of

these are illustrated by beautifully clear woodcuts, namely, a silver coin of Aḥmad Shāh, dated H. 838, and a gold coin of Maḥmūd bin Latīf of H. 960. One could wish that pictures had also been given of the "square coins, A. H. 856?" and especially of the "Maḥmūd II. Silver," inasmuch as, in the absence of further evidence, the specification of these coins is open to grave doubt.

2. The chapters on the Coins of Gujarāt, pages lvii-lxi and 131-143, in the "Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum," Vol. II., Muḥammadan States, by Stanley Lane-Poole (1885). The introductory portion is helpful for the information given regarding the legends on the Gujarāt coins. Especially noteworthy is Dr. Rieu's decipherment of the distich on the obverse and reverse of the large copper coins struck during the reign of Muḥammad II. See Plate I., Nos. 8a, 8b. Forty-one coins are catalogued, ten of them being also photographed. The two undated coins, numbered 435 and 436, are incorrectly assigned to the Aḥmad Shāh who reigned from H. 961 till H. 968. Their legends are clearly identical with those of coin No. 11 in this article, and the coins themselves were thus doubtless struck during the reign of the earlier Aḥmad (Qutb al dīn), A. H. 855-863. The three coins, Nos. 437, 438, 439, which Lane-Poole assigns with some hesitation to "Muḥammad Shāh Pretender(?)" are probably foreign to Gujarāt.
3. An admirable article entitled "Coins of the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt," contributed by E. E. Oliver to the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. lviii., Part I., No. 1—1889. The four pages of historical introduction are followed by "a genealogical tree of the Gujarāt Kings, and a table showing the contemporary rulers in Mālwa, Jaunpūr, Khāndesh, the Deccan, and Dehli, taken from Lane-Poole's very handy graphic scheme of the Muḥammadan dynasties of India." Three plates supply rather roughly executed woodcuts of thirty-four coins, each of which is fully described, though not

without occasional mislections. The coins numbered 6 and 7 are not of the Aḥmadābād but of the Muḥammad-ābād 'urf Chāmpāvīr Mint. Nos. 11, 12, and 13 are Bahmanī coins, and Nos. 16 and 17 are almost certainly not of Gujarāt. No. 27, which is of precisely the same type as No. 13 of Plate I. of the present article, is a coin of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh, not of the later Aḥmad (III.). No. 28, whose true date is H. 863, not H. 963, was struck not by "Muḥammad Shāh (?) Pretender," but by Maḥmūd Shāh I. Cf. Nos. 15a and 15b on Plate II of this article. Nos. 29 and 30, being Jāmsḥūī Koris of Navānagar, are incorrectly assigned to Muẓaffar, the last Sultān of Gujarāt.

4. The "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum," Part I., by Chas. J. Rodgers (1894). This portion of the Calcutta Museum Catalogue contains on pages 130—134 a chronological list of the kings of Gujarāt, and a description of twenty-two coins, three of which are represented by photo-etching. Here again two of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh's coins are assigned to the later Aḥmad Shāh. The three undated coins, 7214-7216, I am inclined to attribute to Maḥmūd bin Latīf rather than to Maḥmūd II, and No. 8684 to Muẓaffar III. rather than to "Muḥammad Shāh (Interloper)."
5. "The Catalogue of the Coins collected by Chas. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Punjab," Part II. (1894). Of this catalogue pages 132-134 contain a description of sixteen copper coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. No. 15, the same as No. 437 of the British Museum Catalogue, assigned to Muḥammad Shāh Pretender, should probably be relegated to some non-Gujarātī series, perhaps to that of Mālwa.

V. *Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.*

In writing the present article, I have depended not only upon my own cabinet of coins, but upon the aggregate resulting from combining all the collections of which catalogues have been published. Of

the different cabinets thus laid under contribution, the following table indicates the contents:—

Cabinet.	Gold.	Silver.	Billon.	Copper.	Total.
Thomas	6	12	1	29	48
British Museum	8	6	0	27	41
Oliver	0	14	9	20	34
Calcutta Museum	2	1	0	19	22
Lāhor Museum	0	0	0	16	16
Taylor	0	113	11	259	423
Resultant Aggregate	9	116	12	393	440

The resultant collection contains no coin of the following years:—
H. 860, 866, 871, 875, 876, 877, 878, 953, and 975: thus in all between H. 828 (seemingly the first year when dated coins were issued in Gujarāt) and H. 980, nine years are unrepresented by any coin in any of the metals.

The sixteen gold coins in the above Cabinets are as follow:—

	Muzaffar II.	Mahmūd III.	Muzaffar III.
British Museum ...	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		
Thomas	929, 946, 947,	950,	960 977
Calcutta Museum ...		947,	960
Resultant Aggregate ..	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		977

The twelve billon coins are five of the reign of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad II (85x, 861, 862, and two undated) and seven of the reign of Mahmūd I. (863, 863, 864, 865, 867, 869, and 870).

In the aggregate collection the first dated coin in gold is of the year H. 920, in silver of H. 828 (followed, *longo intervallo*, by one of H. 884), in billon of H. 85x, and in copper of H. 829.

VI. *Mint-towns.*

Of the coins struck in Gujarāt during the reign of Aḥmad I., a large number have in the obverse margins an inscription recording Aḥmadnagar (Īdar) as their place of mintage. Subsequent to Aḥmad's death, comparatively few coins bear any mint-name, and of those in which it is present nearly all are of the reign of Maḥmūd I. There are only four cities in Gujarāt, of which we can confidently affirm that during the period of the Saltānat mints were established in them, and were for at least a few years in active operation. These four are the two cities founded by Aḥmad—Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar—and the two founded by Maḥmūd—Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād (*Chāmpānīr*). It is doubtful whether a fifth mint was opened at *Khānpūr*, a small town on the River Mahi. We proceed to treat of each of these five :—

1. Aḥmadābād : احمد آباد, founded A. H. 813; A. D. 1411.

Epithets : a. شهر معظم *Shahr mu'azzam*, the great city.

b. دارالضرب *Dār al Ḍarb*, the seat of the mint.

So far as I am aware, no silver coin of the Gujarāt Saltānat struck during the period of its independence bears Aḥmadābād as the name of its mint-town. Nos. 4, 6, and 7 in Oliver's article are, indeed, assigned by him to that city, but the representations of those coins given in his Plate I. show that certainly two of the three, and in all probability the third also, issued not from the Aḥmadābād mint, but from that at Muḥammadābād.

The only copper coins that seem to bear the mint-name *Shahr mu'azzam* Aḥmadābād are a few struck by Muzaḥḥar III. in the years H. 977, 978. One of these is shown as No. 75 of Plate VI. of the present article. After comparing six, all of the same type, in my collection I incline to accept their marginal legend as reading شهر معظم احمد آباد.

Just possibly also the name Aḥmadābād may occupy the upper margin of the obverse of the copper coin struck in H. 970 and shown on Plate VI., No. 73.

The second epithet of Aḥmadābād, *Dār al Ḍarb*, is present on several of the coins that Akbar caused to be struck at the Aḥmadābād

mint after his conquest of Gujarāt in H. 980.* Muẓaffar III., during the few months of his second reign in H. 991, evidently followed the example thus set by the Mughal Emperor, so that the few surviving coins of H. 991, whether in silver or in copper, bearing the Sultān Muẓaffar's name, all specify their place of mintage under its full designation of دارالضرب احمدآباد. See Plate VI., Nos. 79 and 80.

It is extremely improbable that during the entire period of the Gujarāt Saltānat, the activity of the mint at its capital city should have been confined to the years 970, 977, 978, and 991—so improbable, indeed, is this supposition that one may safely hazard the conjecture that the Gujarāt coins bearing no mint name (and these are the large majority) were all struck at the Aḥmadābād mint. This being known as the first mint in Gujarāt, first both in time and in importance, it was not deemed necessary to record the name of the city on the coins that issued from it. On the other hand, the comparatively very few coins struck at any minor mint in Gujarāt would naturally bear, if only for purposes of differentiation, the distinctive name of the mint-town.

2. Aḥmadnagar (Īdar): احمدنگر, founded A.H. 829; A.D. 1425.

Epithet (doubtful): شهر مہانور *Shahr Mahānūr*, the city of great light.

What precisely was the honorific epithet assigned to the city of Aḥmadnagar is difficult of determination from its coins. They clearly bear on their obverse margins the words احمدنگر شهر, followed by a term which on some of the specimens to hand resembles مہانور. But the combination شهر مہانور is certainly a strange one to be adopted as the title for a mint-town. I confess I am not satisfied as to the correctness of this reading, more especially as on several of the coins it seems doubtful whether the letters as there given admit of being read as Mahānūr. Compare Plate I., Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

From the founding of Aḥmadnagar in H. 829 right on till Aḥmad Shāh's death in H. 846, each year witnessed an abundant issue of copper coins from the Aḥmadnagar mint. Indeed it would seem that every dated copper coin of Aḥmad I. was struck at that mint, whereas not a single copper coin, dated or otherwise, appears

* On other coins of Akbar, Aḥmadābād is styled دارالخلافہ, the Seat of the Caliphate, or دارالسلطنت, the Seat of the Empire, and on a rupee of Bafī al Darajāt زینت البلاد the Beauty of Towns.

to have issued from it subsequent to Aḥmad's death. Thus the period of activity of the mint at Aḥmadnagar coincides with the last seventeen years of the reign of Aḥmad I.

3. Muṣṭafābād : مصطفی باد, founded A. H. 874 ; A. D. 1469.

Epithet : شہر اعظم *Shahr a'zam*, the very great city.

My collection contains only one silver coin certainly bearing the mint-name Muṣṭafābād—an excellent specimen, dated H. 884. Unfortunately it came into my possession too late to admit of its being photographed for Plate II. of this article. It is a small coin, .6 inch in diameter, and weighing only 63 grains. Its obverse closely resembles that of No. 25, and its reverse (save for the date) is identical with that of No. 22.

The pretty little silver piece of the year H. 894, No. 29 on Plate III., I assign, but with some hesitancy, to Muṣṭafābād. Two of the margins contain the words شہر اعظم, but whether the remaining two give the reading مصطفی باد is not equally clear.

No. 36 on Plate III. is also a somewhat puzzling silver coin, but this too I assign provisionally to the Muṣṭafābād mint. Its date, given on the reverse, is H. 905.

The copper coins that issued from this mint during the last quarter of the ninth century (Hijrī) must have been fairly numerous, every year (except 881) from 879 till 892 being represented in my cabinet. The latest of the series is dated seemingly H. 906. Five of these are shown on Plate II., Nos. 21-25, though No. 22 is open to question, the upper margin (obverse) not being decipherable with absolute certainty. The variety of designs in these Muṣṭafābād coins of Maḥmūd I. is noteworthy. In No. 21 the mint with its epithet *Shahr a'zam* occupies the margin circumscribing a circular area : in Nos. 22 (?) and 25 the mint-name is still relegated to the margin, but now we have the four margins that bound a square area : while lastly in Nos. 23 and 24, which exhibit no margin at all, the place of mintage is recorded in full as an integral part of the obverse legend. The two coins of H. 971, numbered 447 and 448, in the British Museum Catalogue, Muḥammadan States, doubtfully assigned to Muṣṭafābād, are, it seems, of the same type as that shown on Plate VI. as No. 78.

4. Muḥammadābād : محمد آباد, founded A. H. 889 ; A. D. 1484.

Epithet : شہر مکرم *Shahr mukarram*, the illustrious city.

This name, it will be remembered, was given to the city of Chāmpānīr on its capitulation to Maḥmūd I. in 1484 at the close of a protracted siege. Chāmpānīr—Chāmpā's city—is supposed to have derived its name from Chāmpā, the Hindū founder of the town, which dates as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era. And it is by this name of Chāmpānīr alone that the city, now a desolate ruin, "except for a few Bhīl and Nāikda squatters," is known to-day. The coins struck at its mint record the name generally in its doubled form محمدآباد عری چانپانیر Muḥammadābād 'urī Chāmpānīr, but occasionally, it would seem, the "*alias* Chāmpānīr" was dropped and the new name Muḥammadābād alone retained. Compare Plate III., Nos. 34 and 39, and contrast with No. 33. Whether the full, or the shortened, designation was on the die from which the imperfect coins Nos. 31 and 41 were struck is difficult to say, but, from the general resemblance between these and No. 34, it seems probable that the lost margins did contain the words عری چانپانیر. The city's remarkable prosperity was reflected on its coins, for these are quite the most florid and the most elaborately designed of all in the series of the Gujarāt Saltanat. In silver the issue must have been considerable—my cabinet contains some thirteen specimens—but I have never found a single copper coin bearing the name of this mint. If the exquisite workmanship of the silver coins is suggestive of the phenomenal prosperity that early attended the new Muḥammadābād, so also its short-lived glory is betokened in the fact that the activity of the mint was restricted to but a few years, all comprised within the reign of Maḥmūd I. The earliest of its coins in my collection is dated H. 895, the latest H. 904, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the whole period during which the mint was working does not cover more than five and twenty years, say H. 890—915.

In one year subsequent to this period coins were again struck at the Chāmpānīr mint, but these can scarcely be classed among the coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat. In H. 942 the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn swooped down upon the province, and gained possession of this important frontier-city. In commemoration of his victory, he forthwith caused coins to be struck both in silver and in copper. The silver ones bear Humāyūn's name, which is wanting on the copper: also on the silver the mint-town is given as simply Chāmpānīr (with the first vowel short), while in the copper is added the

epithet Shahr mukarram. On neither the silver nor the copper, however, do we find the name Muḥammadābād, which even thus early would seem to have passed into desuetude. A unique copper coin in the Lāhor Museum is of especial interest as briefly recording the conquest of Chāmpānīr. Its obverse reads فتح چنپانیر بتاريخ ۹۴۲ and the reverse simply ضرب شهر مکهوم

In another coin of the same year, H. 942, Chāmpānīr is styled شهر الزمان, the City of the Age. See British Museum Catalogue of coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, No. 1232.

5. Regarding the existence of mints at Aḥmadābād, Aḥmadnagar, Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr, no manner of doubt can be entertained, but whether there was at any time a fifth mint at Khānpūr, خانپور, is a debatable question. On the Coin No. 44, Plate IV., the upper part of the obverse inscription clearly reads Al Sultān Muzaḥfar Shāh: but what of the lower part? The date is certainly 921, and on two other coins of the same type now in my possession is also certainly 922. The decipherment of the words immediately above the date has proved very baffling to me: but quite the best of various suggested readings is the one submitted by my friend, Mr. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. He reads the words as ضربت خانپور, Darbat Khānpūr, 'Struck at Khānpūr', and unquestionably the coins of H. 922, even better than the H. 921 coin shown on Plate IV., bear out this reading. Accepting it, we should on the evidence of these three coins add Khānpūr to the list of the mint-towns in Gujarāt, and should assign as the minimum period of the mint's activity the years H. 921 and 922. Khānpūr, or, to give it its full name, Khānpūr Wānkānīr, is a town on the left bank of the River Mahi, and about midway between Baroda to the south and Dākor to the north. Here it was that in H. 855 Maḥmūd (I.) Khaljī, Sultān of Mālwa, encamped his army of invasion after plundering the city of Baroda. Subsequently, however, he marched northwards to Kapaḍwanj, where Qutb-al-dīn, the newly-chosen Sultān of Gujarāt, inflicted on him a severe defeat. Khānpūr again figures, though not prominently, in the intrigues that attended the accession of Bahādur Shāh in H. 932: and, late in the same reign, the Sultān, while at this place, appointed two of his most trusted officers to lead a strong army against the country of Bāgar, East of Īdar. I have failed, however, to discover a single reference to this Khānpūr in the histories of the reign of Muzaḥfar II.

(A.H. 917-932), and am unable to suggest any reason for his having caused coins to be struck in his name at that mint.

Lane-Poole has assigned, though doubtfully, a Gujarātī copper coin of H. 971 to the mint-town *Shādiābād*.^{*} This reading must, I feel sure, be abandoned. *Shādiābād* is not in Gujarāt at all : but the name does occur on several of the coins of the neighbouring kingdom of Mālwa. Firishṭā explicitly records as follows the origin of this epithet :—"Two days after the death of Sooltan Hooshung, "Ghizny Khan was crowned at Mando, and, assuming the title of "Sooltan Mahomed Ghory, ordered that his capital might "henceforth be called Shadiabad Mando, or 'the City of Joy'; and "public prayers were read and coin struck in his name."[†]

The following table gives the years of the *dated* coins in my collection that record their mints :—

Mint.	Silver.	Copper.
Ahmadnagar	None.	Each year from 829 till 846.
Mustafābād	884, 891?, 906?	879, 880, each year from 882 till 892, 906?
Muḥammadābād (with or without the 'urf <i>Chāmpānir</i>).	895, 896, 897, 898, 900, 902, 903, 904.	None.
Kbānpūr??	921, 922	None.
Aḥmadābād	991... ..	970? 977? 978? and one coin undated but doubtless struck in 991.

Of the first four mints in this table, not one seems to have been active for more than a very limited period, and I feel sure that all coins that do not themselves record their place of mintage may safely be assigned to the mint at Aḥmadābād. In this connexion it is instructive to note that in Akbar's time at least this city, the erewhile capital of the Gujarāt Saltanat, bore the title of *Dār al Darb*, 'the Seat of the Mint'.

^{*} British Museum Catalogue of Indian coins, Muhammadan States, No. 446. This coin is not improbably the same as No. 78 on Plate VI. of the present article.

[†] Br. F. IV., 191.

VII.—Weights and Standards.

As to the existence of any square coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat I am very sceptical. If any such were issued, their number was extremely small. Certainly the typical coins of the period were, with more or less precision, round in shape. The following lists, based upon measurements and weighments of copper coins, all of the reign of Ahmad I, demonstrate the futility of the attempt to classify them according to the length of their diameters. These lists show not only that coins of the same diameter may vary widely in their weights, but also that comparatively light coins may have a large, and comparatively heavy coins a small, diameter.

Diameter of .8 inch : weight in grains 146, 143.

"	.75	"	"	"	146, 142, 140, 138.
"	.7	"	"	"	145, 70, 69, 68, 67, 56.
"	.65	"	"	"	142, 140, 138, 73, 72, 71, 69, 67, 66, 64, 61.
"	.6	"	"	"	70, 61, 57, 55.
"	.55	"	"	"	70, 69, 34, 26.
"	.5	"	"	"	35, 33, 31, 30.
"	.45	"	"	"	34.
"	.4	"	"	"	32.

Diameter of .55 inch : weight in grains 26.

"	.5	"	"	"	30.
"	.45	"	"	"	34.
"	.4	"	"	"	32.

Diameter of .7 inch : weight in grains 56.

"	.65	"	"	"	61.
"	.6	"	"	"	70.
"	.55	"	"	"	70.

Diameter of .75 inch : weight in grains 138.

"	.7	"	"	"	145.
"	.65	"	"	"	142.

The fact is the "make" of these coins is quite too rough, and their thickness too arbitrary, to admit of their classification by size. It is, I am convinced, only by a comparison of the *weights* of the coins that we may hope to arrive at an approximately correct classification.

Regarding the gold coins, indeed, no difficulty presents itself. In all only nine varieties have hitherto been catalogued, and of these seven weigh 185 grains each, one 179, and one 177. Clearly all the nine are thus of one and the same denomination.

But when we pass on to the consideration of the silver and copper coins of Gujarāt, it becomes no easy matter to determine the different denominations current at one period or another, and the standard weight of each. So far as I am aware, no mint-records have survived to the present day, and of the coins themselves that have come down to us many are such poor specimens, so worn and battered through the vicissitudes of four hundred years, that one can at times do no more than hazard a guess as to their original weight. Certainly a large margin must be allowed for loss, but no data are available for determining the percentage of the total weight that may fairly be deducted over against such loss. Some proportion, however, must be postulated, and it has seemed to me that for the lighter copper coins we shall be within the mark if we assume that the loss through wear may equal one-seventh of the original full weight. The proportionate loss in the heavier copper coins and in all the silver, which were certainly in less circulation than the copper, would probably be not quite so large, and I have accordingly assumed that for these coins the loss by wear would not exceed one-tenth. Accepting these assumptions, a copper coin of originally, say, 49 grains in weight may be supposed to weigh now anything between 49 and 42 grains, and a copper, or silver, coin of originally, say, 150 grains may weigh anything between 150 and 135 grains.

Further, it is every way probable that some unit of weight was adopted such that the original weights of the coins of different denominations, when issuing from the mint, should be certain integral multiples of that unit. A careful study of the weights of the different coins in my collection inclines me to the opinion that both for silver and for copper this unit was 7·4 grains, or precisely four *ratīs*, on the basis of Mr. Maskelyne's estimate of the weight of a *rati*. Of

this nit the following multiples are represented in the silver coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat : —

5, 10, 15, 20; 6, 12, 24; 8, 16, 32 ;

and in copper the multiples are

4, 8; 5, 10, 20, 30, 45; 6, 12, 24;

thus evidencing ten different denominations both in silver and in copper. It does not seem, however, that coins of all these denominations were current simultaneously. The long reign of Mahmūd I supplies us seven denominations of silver coins and the same number of copper; but in no other reign were coins struck of so many denominations. In the two following tables the silver and the copper coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat are classified by weight. In these tables any two numbers connected by a hyphen indicate the superior and inferior limits of weight expressed in grains, and a subscribed number in brackets represents the number of coins known to me between these limits. Thus $\frac{111-107}{(13)}$ means 13 coins ranging in weight from 111 to 107 grains. For the rest, the tables are self-explanatory.

Unit = 7.4 grains	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	15 units.	16 units.	20 units.	24 units.	32 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denominations.
SILVER	37 to 31.7 grains.	44.4 to 38.1 grains.	53.2 to 50.7 grains.	74 to 63.4 grains.	88.8 to 76.1 grains.	111 to 100 grains.	118.4 to 106.6 grains.	148 to 133 grains.	177.6 to 160 grains.	236.8 to 213.2 grains.	8, 16, 32, 5, 10, 15, 20, 6, 12, 24.	10
Ahmad I	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	176-172 (2)	...	24.	1
Muhammad II	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	146-137 (5)*	...	...	20.	1
Mahmūd I	33 (1)	41-43 (3)	57 (1)	65-63 (11)	88-80 (31)	...	111-104 (16)	146-133 (8)	176-160 (6)	...	8, 5, 10, 20, 6, 12, 24.	7
Muzaffar II	...	...	...	...	81 (1)	...	...	...	...	...	15, 12.	2
Bahādur	34 (1)	...	...	...	...	111 (1)	...	...	...	...	5, 15.	2
Mahmūd III	...	...	57-54 (3)	65 (1)	...	109-101 (3)	117-110 (7)	137 (1)	...	...	8, 16, 10, 15, 20.	5
Ahmad III	...	...	53 (1)	...	...	...	110-107 (4)	...	168-164 (2)	223 (1)	8, 16, 32, 24.	4
Muzaffar III	33 (1)	...	...	74-67 (12)	...	104 (1)	114-110 (4)	...	174-170 (2)	...	16, 5, 10, 15, 24.	5

* These five coins are of billon.

Unit = 7.4 grains	4 units.	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	20 units.	24 units.	30 units.	45 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denom- inations.
Corvus ...	23.6 to 25.4	37 to 31.7	44.4 to 38.1	59.2 to 50.7	74 to 63.4	88.8 to 76.1	148 to 133	177.6 to 160	222 to 200	333 to 300	4, 8, 5, 10, 20, 30, 45, 6, 12, 24.	10
	grains.	grains.	grains.	grains.	grains.	grains.	grains.	grains.	grains.	grains.		
Alḥmad I ...	26 (1)	35-31 (7)		57.55 (3)	73.61 (18)		146-185 (15)				4, 8, 5, 10, 20.	5
Muḥammad II ...		32 (1)			72.64 (9)		143-136 (3)		215-210 (15)		5, 10, 20, 30.	4
Qutb al dīn Alḥmad II ...					70.07 (3)		145-137 (11)		210 (1)		10, 20, 30.	3
Mahmūd I ...			41 (1)		70.65 (6)	85.80 (8)	147-135 (16)	176-162 (16)	220-205 (40)	318 (1)	10, 20, 30, 45, 6, 12, 24.	7
Muḥaffar II ...					72.67 (4)	83 (1)	139 (1)	176-164 (11)	218-215 (2)		10, 20, 30, 12, 24.	5
Bahādur ...				53 (1)		85.77 (3)	146-135 (5)	172-165 (5)	217-205 (14)		8, 50, 30, 12, 24.	5
Mahmūd III ...				52 (1)	73.65 (7)	87 (1)	147-141 (10)		216-200 (4)		8, 10, 20, 30, 12.	5
Alḥmad III ...					74.64 (5)	86.81 (8)	145-136 (7)	176-163 (13)	219-214 (6)		10, 20, 30, 12, 24.	5
Muḥaffar III ...					67 (1)	86.80 (5)	146-135 (8)	177-162 (19)	214 (2)		10, 20, 30, 12, 24.	5

That there should be so many as ten different denominations of silver coins, and the same number of copper is of itself a sufficiently formidable objection to the classification here tabulated; but what more than all else imparts to me in this connexion a certain sense of defeat is the fact that there still remain over a few coins that cannot be assigned a place in any of the above classes. Some indeed of the much worn copper specimens would find admission if the proportions of one-seventh and one-tenth, which we conjectured might perhaps represent the loss by wear, were slightly increased: but even after subtracting these we have a small irreducible residuum of coins that are with only one exception in good condition, yet all of eccentric weight. Three such are of silver. One undated, but of Muẓaffar II's reign, is but slightly worn, and weighs 92 grains: so that its proper place would be in a 13-unit class. The second is the unique, and every way extraordinary coin of Bahādur, dated H. 933, and shown on Plate IV, No. 51. In fairly good condition, it now weighs 130 grains, and is thus suggestive of an 18-unit class. The third, also in good condition, would fall into the same class, as its weight is 131 grains. This coin was struck by Maḥmūd III in H. 960.

The "irreducibles" in copper are the following four:—

Bahādur, H. 943, much worn, yet weighing 257 grains.

Maḥmūd III, H. 944, a good specimen, 237 grains in weight (Plate V, No. 58).

Maḥmūd III, H. 947, weighing in its present fair condition 151 grains.

Maḥmūd III, H. 948, a coin not of pure copper, but of mixed metal, weighing 132 grains (Plate V, No. 61).

These four coins suggest classes of 40 (or 38), 33, 22 and 18 units respectively.

From the above discussion it would seem safe to draw the following as approximately correct general conclusions—any more precise statement being as yet unwarranted:

- (a) Of silver coins there are at least six different classes, the weights ranging between 60-80, 90-60, 120-100, 150-130, 180-160, and 240-220 grains.
- (b) In copper also the denominations were at least six, represented by the weights 60-25, 90-60, 150-130, 180-160, 220-200 and 330-300 grains.

VIII. "Cumulative" Legends.

The legends on the different coins issued during the reign of any one Sultān are not all identical. Occasionally, indeed, one lights upon coins bearing distinctly exceptional legends, and each such coin naturally calls for special notice and detailed description. Leaving these, however, for the time being out of consideration, it will be found that on some of the coins of a given king, certain wonted phrases or titles are shown, and others on others. Now it has seemed to me that by merely massing, or combining, all this more or less normal legend-material, we shall obtain what we may call the 'resultant' or 'cumulative' coin-legend for each Sultān, which, as presenting a fairly complete register of the more usual coin-terms, may prove of service for purposes of reference. Accordingly, working on these lines, I have built up the following "cumulative" legends, distinctive of each of the nine Sultāns of Gujarāt whose coins have survived to the present day.

1. Aḥmad I., A. H. 813—846.

Obverse :

أحمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : السلطان الأعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين أبو الفتح

2. Muḥammad II., 846—855.

Obverse :

السلطان محمد شاه أبو المعتمد

Reverse :

السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين

3. Qutb al dīn Aḥmad II., A. H. 855—863.

Obverse :

أحمد شاه السلطان

Reverse :

قطب الدنيا والدين أبو المظفر

Also *Obverse :*

قطب الدنيا والدين أحمد شاه السلطان

Reverse :

الخليفة أمير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

4. Maḥmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

Obverse :

ناصر الدنيا والدين أبو الفتح محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse :

الخليفة أمير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

Also *Obverse :*

محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

Reverse :

السلطان الأعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين أبو الفتح

Compare the reverse of the coins of Aḥmad I.

5. Muzaffar II., A. H. 917—932.
Obverse: مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
Reverse: * شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المريد بتأييد الرحمن
6. Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.
Obverse: بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
Reverse: قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالفضل
7. Mahmūd III., A. H. 943—961.
Obverse: محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الواثق بالله المنان †
8. Ahmad III., A. H. 961—968.
Obverse: احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد [year]
Reverse: غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالحامد المعتصم بالله الرحمن ‡
9. Muzaffar III., A. H. 968—980.
Obverse: مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان
Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المريد بتأييد الرحمن
 Compare the reverse of the coins of Muzaffar II.

IX.—Catalogue of Coins on Plates I—VI.

Ahmad I., A. H. 813—846.

- No. 1. Copper: 142 grains: Mint? Date?
Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان
 with quatrefoil and circle over احمد ح
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين
- No. 2. Copper: 34 grains: Mint?: Date?
Obverse: احمد شاه
 (with neither quatrefoil nor circle).
Reverse: السلطان (on Plate upside down).
- No. 3. Copper: 138 grains: Mint?: Date?
Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

* المريد بتأييد الرحمن = The strengthened by the strengthening of the Merciful.

† الواثق بالله المنان = The truster in Allah the Gracious.

‡ المعتصم بالله الرحمن = The attendant on Allah the Merciful.

- No. 4. Copper: 69 grains: [Ahmadnagar]: H. 830.
Obverse: Square area محمد شاه السلطان
 upper margin شیر
 left margin مهانور (?)
Reverse: ناصرالدنيا والدين ۸۳۰
- No. 5. Copper: 135 grains: Ahmadnagar: H. 835.
Obverse: As 4, also lower margin احمد
 right margin نگر
Reverse: As 4, but year ۸۳۵
- No. 6. Copper: 142 grains: Ahmadnagar: H. 837.
Obverse: Square area as 4, lower and right margins as 5.
Reverse: السلطان الاعظم ناصرالدنيا والدين ۸۳۷
 * * * * *

Muhammad II., A. H. 846—855.

- No. 7. Copper: 143 grains: Mint?: H. [8]46.
Obverse: —۴۶ السلطان محمد شاه ابوالاحمد
Reverse: السلطان فيثا الدنيا والدين
- No. 8a. Copper: 210 grains: Mint?: H. 850.
Obverse: سکه سلطان فيثا الدين محمد شاه باد ۸۵۰
- No. 8b. Copper: 217 grains: Mint?: Date?
Reverse: تا بدار الضرب گردون قرص مهر و ماه باد
 The legend on the obverse and reverse of No. 8 (a and b) forms the couplet,
 May the coin of Muhammad Shāh the Sultān, the
 Aid of the Faith, remain,
 So long as in the sphere of the Seat of the Mint the
 orb of the sun and moon remains.
- No. 9. Copper: 69 grains: Mint: H. [8] 52.
Obverse: محمد شاه السلطان —۵۲
Reverse: فيثا الدنيا والدين
- No. 10a. Copper: 69 grains: Mint?: H. 853.
Obverse: السلطان محمد شاه ۸۵۳
 * * * * *

Qutb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh II., A. H. 855—863.

- No. 11. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 856.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان ٨٥٦
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر
- No. 12. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 858.
Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلعت خلافته ٨٥٨
- No. 13. Billon : 144 grains : Mint ? : H. 861.
Obverse : As 12.
Reverse : As 12, but year 861.
- No. 14. Copper : 70 grains : Mint : H. 85 x or 86 x.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان ٨٥—or ٨٦
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين

Mahmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

- No. 15a. Billon : 145 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه
Reverse : اخ قطب شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان ٨٦٣
 Mahmūd Shāh, Defender of the World and of the
 Faith, Father of Victory,
 Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muḥammād Shāh, the
 Sultān.
- No. 15b. Billon : 147 grains : Mint ? : H. [8] 63.
Reverse : As 15a, but with top line clearer, and year—٦٣.
- No. 16. Billon : 139 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه السلطان
Reverse : As 12, but year ٨٦٣
- No. 17. Copper : 145 grains : Mint : H. [8] 64.
Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ٦٤—
- No. 18. Billon : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 867.
Obverse : As 17, with addition of year ٨٦٧
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 19. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 827 (for 867).
Obverse : As 18, but year ٨٢٧ (sic), doubtless for ٨٦٧
Reverse : As 18.

- No. 20a. Copper : 135 grains : Mint ? : H. 868.
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه ابوالفتح ۸۶۸
- No. 21. Copper : 175 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 870 or 879.
Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان
 Margin شهر اعظم مصطفى باد (?)
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۷۰ or ۸۷۱.
- No. 22. Copper : 215 grains : perhaps Muṣṭafābād : H. 880.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 left margin شهر
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۸۰.
- No. 23. Copper : 171 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 882.
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه شهر اعظم مصطفى باد
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۸۲
- No. 24. Copper : 172 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 883.
Obverse : As 23.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۸۳
- No. 25. Copper : 217 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 886.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin مصطفى
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 17, but year ۸۸۶
- No. 26. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 890 or 900.
Obverse : square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 lower margin ۸۹۰ or ۹۰۰
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 27. Silver : 80 grains : Mint ? : H. 891.
Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان (compare 21)
 margin illegible.
Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ۸۹۱
- No. 28a. Copper : 65 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : [محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان]
- No. 29. Silver : 65 grains : Muṣṭafābād ? : H. 894.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and left margins (doubtfully) مصطفى باد

Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ۸۹۴ (*sic*).

Outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 30. Copper: 220 grains: Mint?: H. 896 or 897.

Obverse: Square area
 margins illegible. محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ۸۹۶ (or ۸۹۷).

No. 31. Silver: 88 grains: Muḥammadābād: H. 900.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides
 right margin
 upper margin
 left margin illegible.
 lower margin
 ۹۰۰

Reverse: As 26.

No. 32. Silver: 86 grains: Mint?: H. 900.

Obverse: Square area
 lower margin
 other margins illegible. محمود شاه السلطان
 ۹۰۰

Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, also outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 33. Silver: 87 grains: Muḥammadābād: H. 902.

Obverse: Square area
 right margin
 upper margin
 left margin
 lower margin
 ۹۰۲

Reverse: As 26.

No. 34. Silver: 88 grains: Muḥammadābād 'urī Chāmpānīr:
 H. 903.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides
 margins—lower, right, upper, left, lower—
 ضرب شهر مکرم محمد اباد عری چانپانیر ۹۰۳

Reverse: As 26.

No. 35. Silver: 65 grains: Mint?: H. 904.

Obverse: Square area
 margins illegible. محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ۹۰۴

No. 36. Silver : 89 grains : Mustafābād ? : H. 905.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and right margins (doubtfully) مصطفى باد

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ٩٠٥
 and outer linear and dotted circles.

This coin is evidently closely related to No. 29.

No. 37. Copper : 318 grains : Mint ? : H. 905.

Obverse: Curved diamond area محمود شاه السلطان
 margin lower and to right ٩٠٥
 other margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 38. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 912.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ٩١٢

No. 39. Silver : 176 grains : Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr :
 Date ?

Obverse: Scalloped circular area السلطان محمود شاه
 upper and left margins محمد اباد عری چانپا [نیر]
 lower and right margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 40. Silver : 160 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه بن محمد السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 41. Silver : 85 grains : Muḥammadābād : Date ?

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 right margin شهر مکرم
 upper margin محمد اباد
 other margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 42. Copper : 141 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18.

No. 43. Copper: 168 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: Circular area محمود شاه السلطان
margin illegible.

Reverse: As 18.

• • • • •
Muzaḥfar II, A. H. 917—932.

No. 44. Silver: 110 grains: Khānpūr?: H. 921.

[On the Plate the obverse and reverse of this coin occupy each the other's position.]

Obverse: * In wavy circle سلطان مظفر شاه ضربت خاينپور
۹۲۱

Reverse: In plain circle المريد بقائيد الرحمن شمس الدنيا
والدين ابوالنصر

No. 45. Copper: 173 grains: Mint?: H. 925.

Obverse: In square having doubled sides, each peaked:
مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۵

Reverse: As 44 (doubtful).

No. 46. Silver: 110 grains: Mint?: Date 927.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۷

Reverse: As 44.

No. 47. Silver: 104 grains: Mint?: H. 929.

Obverse: In circle circumscribing a square whose sides are peaked:

خلدا الله (?) مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۹

Reverse: As 44, with outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 48. Silver: 106 grains: Mint?: H. 930.

Obverse: As 45, but year ۹۳۰

Reverse: As 44.

No. 49. Copper: 159 grains: Mint?: H. 932.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: شمس الدنيا و..... ابوالنصر [۹۳۲]

No. 50. Silver: 107 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: In square having peaked sides:

السلطان مظفر شاه خلدا الله ملكه

* The legend in the lower half of the obverse of this coin is doubtful. For the provisional reading here given I am indebted to my friend Mr. H. Nelson Wright.

Reverse: As 44.

This coin may be of Murāṣṣar III., to whom it is assigned in the Brit. Mus. Catal., Muhammadan States, No. 440.)

Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.

No. 51.* Silver: 130 grains: Mint?: H. 933.

Obverse: قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالفضل بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه

Reverse: بن محمود شاه بن محمود شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه ٩٣٣

No. 52. Copper: 172 grains: Mint?: H. 934.

Obverse: In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
margin illegible.

Reverse: قطب الدنيا والدين [ابوالفضل] ٩٣٤

No. 53. Copper: 217 grains: Mint?: H. 938.

Obverse: (?) بهادر بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse: As 52, but year ٩٣٨ near the middle.

No. 54. Copper: 207 grains: Mint?: H. 938.

Obverse: As 53.

Reverse: As 52, but year ٩٣٨ at bottom.

No. 55. Silver: 84 grains: Mint?: H. 941.

Obverse: In double circle, each scalloped, بهادر شاه

Reverse: In double circle, each scalloped, السلطان سنة ٩٤١

No. 56. Copper: 82 grains: Mint?: H. 943.

Obverse: بهادر شاه بن مظفر السلطان

Reverse: As 52, but year ٩٤٣

No. 57. Silver: 111 grains: Mint: H. [9]41?

Obverse: In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse: As 52, but date illegible — perhaps [٩]٤١

Mahmūd III, A. H. 943—961.

No. 58. Copper: 237 grains: Mint?: H. 944.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان

lower margin ٩٤٤

other margins illegible.

* This most interesting coin merits especial notice. Both it and No. 55 were presented to me by Mr. H. Nelson Wright of Allahābād.

- Reverse*: Square area
lower margin
other margins illegible. ناصر الدنيا والدين شهر (٩)
- No. 59. Copper: 154 grains: Mint ? : H. 945.
Obverse: محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح ٩٤٥
- No. 60. Mixed coppery metal: 147 grains: Mint ? : H. 945.
Obverse: In circular area محمود بن لطيف شاه السلطان
lower margin ٩٤٥
remainder of margin illegible.
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 61. Mixed coppery metal: 132 grains: Mint ? : Date 948.
Obverse: In circular area, as 60.
margin illegible.
Reverse: As 59, but year ٩٤٨
- No. 62. Copper: 144 grains: Mint ? : H. [9]55.
Obverse: Square area محمود شاه شهر
right margin
other margins illegible.
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ٥٥—
- No. 63. Silver: 113 grains: Mint ٩ : H. 957.
Obverse: In square having peaked sides,
محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان ٩٥٧
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الواثق بالله المظفر
- No. 64. Silver: 54 grains: Mint ? : H. 961.
Obverse: In circle محمود بن لطيف شاه السلطان
margin illegible.
Reverse: الواثق بالله المظفر [ابوالفتح] ناصر الدنيا والدين ٩٦١
- No. 65. Silver: 111 grains: Mint ? : H. [95]9?
Obverse: As 64.
Reverse: As 64, but year—9 (doubtful).
- No. 66. Mixed bronze-like metal: 141 grains: Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse: In circle, as 60.
margin blank.
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

Ahmad III., A. H. 961—968.

- No. 67. Copper: 168 grains: Mint?: H. 961 or 964.

Obverse: Square area margins illegible. احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: ۹۶۴ or ۹۶۱ (۶) غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالمحمد سده

- No. 68. Silver: 222 grains: Mint?: H. 963.

Obverse: In square having double sides, each peaked, احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد ۹۶۳

Reverse: غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالمحمد المعظم بالله الرحمن

- No. 69a. Copper: 71 grains: Mint?: H. 963.

Obverse: احمد شاه ۹۶۳

- No. 70a. Copper: 217 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: Square area margins illegible. احمد شاه

Muzaffar III., A. H. 968—980, and 991—992.

- No. 71. Silver: 110 grains: Mint?: H. 968.

Obverse: In square مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۶۸

Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المريد بقائيد [الرحمن]

- No. 72. Silver: 114 grains: Mint?: H. 969.

Obverse: In scalloped circle, as 71 but year ۹۶۹

Reverse: As 71.

- No. 73. Copper: 144 grains: Ahmadābād?: H. 970.

Obverse: Square area margins illegible—perhaps traces of مظفر شاه ۹۷۰

Reverse: شمس الدنيا [والدين] ابوالنصر شهر معظم احمد اباد

- No. 74a. Copper: 214 grains: Mint?: H. 971

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه ۹۷۱

- No. 75. Copper: 175 grains: Ahmadābād: H. 977.

Obverse: Circular area مظفر شاه ۹۷۷

margins illegible, but, from comparison with other specimens of this type, would seem to read

شهر معظم احمد اباد

Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين

Some unusual symbols are present in both the upper and the lower portions of the reverse.

No. 76. Silver : 67 grains : Mint ? : H. 978.

Obverse : Square area, peaked sides, مظفر شاه السلطان ۹۷۸
margins illegible.

Reverse : As 71.

No. 77. Copper : 138 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse : السلطان مظفر شاه

Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين

No. 78. Copper : 148 grains : Mint ? : H. 971.

Obverse : In circle مظفر شاه ۹۷۱

Reverse : گردون ضرب باد قبا قوس مهر و ماه

This reading of the difficult inscription on the reverse has been supplied by Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. If we may take گردون ضرب as a periphrasis for "coin," the legend reads, 'May the coin remain as long as the orb of the sun and moon.' There seems to be some connexion between this inscription and that on 86.

No. 79.* Silver : 174 grains : Ahmadābād : H. 991.

Obverse : In double linear square with dots between the lines,

السلطان مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه ۹۹۱
احمد آباد
lower margin
other margins illegible.

Reverse : In double linear square with dots between the lines,

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
الصادق ابي بكر
العدل عمر
the kalimah
upper margin (probably)
right margin (probably)
other margins illegible.

No. 80.* Copper : 85 grains : Ahmadābād : [H. 991].

Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود [شاه]

Reverse : دارالضرب احمد آباد

* Coins Nos. 79 and 80 were struck during Murāṣṣar III's second reign A. H. 991-992.

No. 81. Silver: 72 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: अरियधण मघरशाह ०७८ or ११८ (for ११८)

Reverse: As 72, but the legend is very degenerate.

A Kaṭār, or Rājput dagger, is represented in the lower part of the field of the reverse.

This coin is a Kacch Korī, struck during the reign of Rāyadhaṇ—probably Rāyadhaṇ I. (A.D. 1666—1697). The Rā'os of Kacch retained on their coins, along with their own names written in Devanāgarī, the name of Muḡaffar (III) of Gujarāt and the year 978, both in Persian characters. This type of coin continued to be struck until recent times, but, as the years passed, the figures of the date and the letters of the Persian legend on the reverse became ever more and more degenerate.

No. 82. Copper: 189 grains: [Navānagar]: Date?

Obverse: श्रीजाम मघरशाह السلطان ११८ (for ११८).

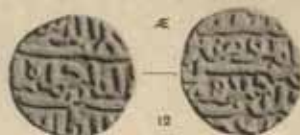
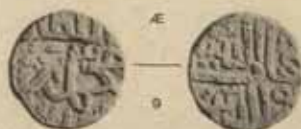
Reverse: A very degenerate form of the legend on the reverse of Coin No. 72.

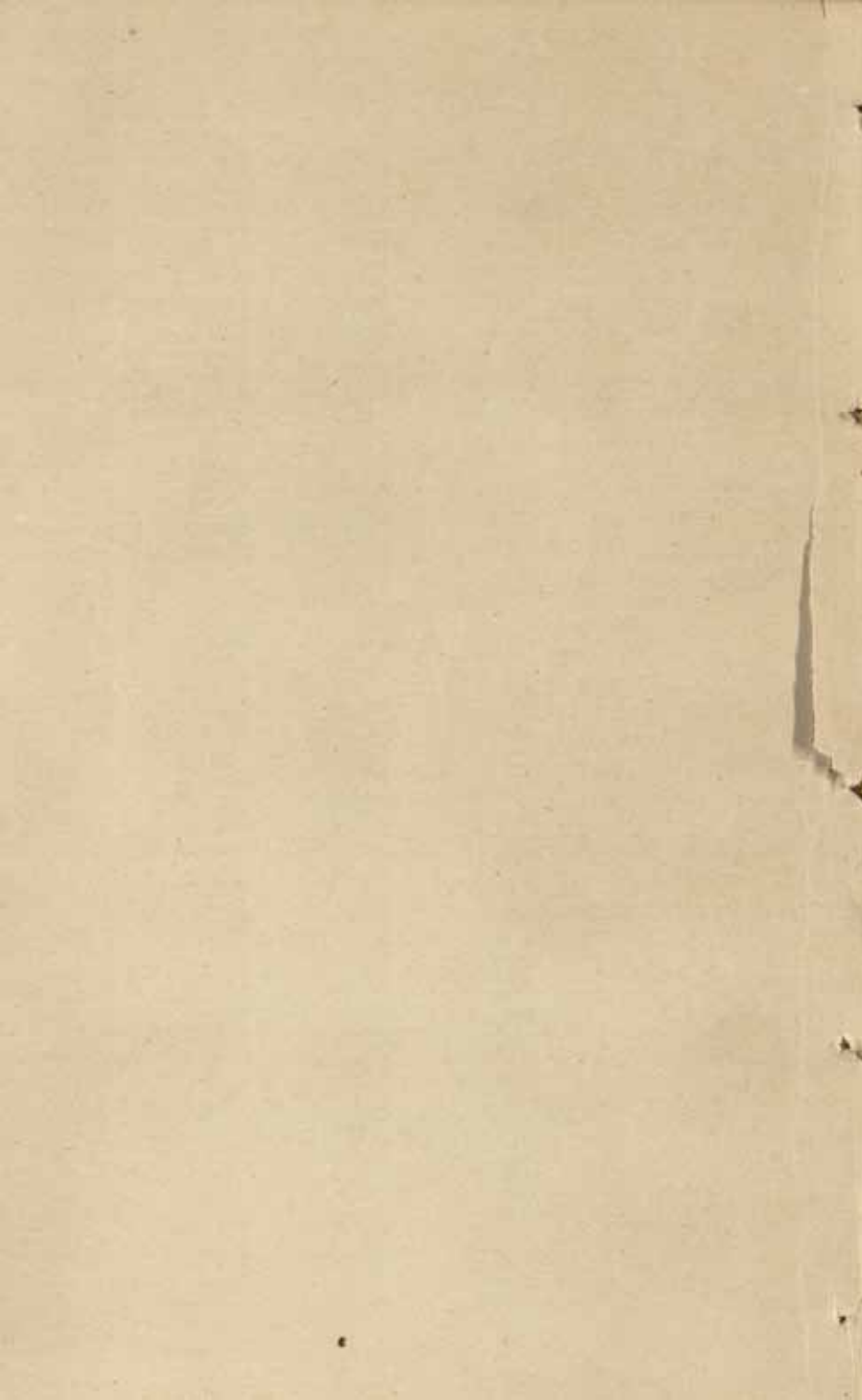
This is a copper coin of the Navānagar State, a rough imitation of the coins struck by Muḡaffar III., before Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt.

For the admirable plates that accompany this article I am indebted to my esteemed and learned friend Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western India. With his unfailing kindness he offered to take casts in plaster, and from them photographs, of all coins that I might select for the purpose; and it was this most generous offer of his—an offer entailing much tedious labour on his part—that more than all else encouraged me to undertake the writing of the present article. Never before have photographic plates been prepared representing so complete a set of the coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat, and by this valuable contribution Mr. Cousens has placed the readers of this Journal under a deep debt of obligation.

G. P. T.

2433







B

15A



B

15B



A

20A



B

16



A

17



B

18



A

19



A

21



A

22



A

23



A

24



A

25



A

26



A

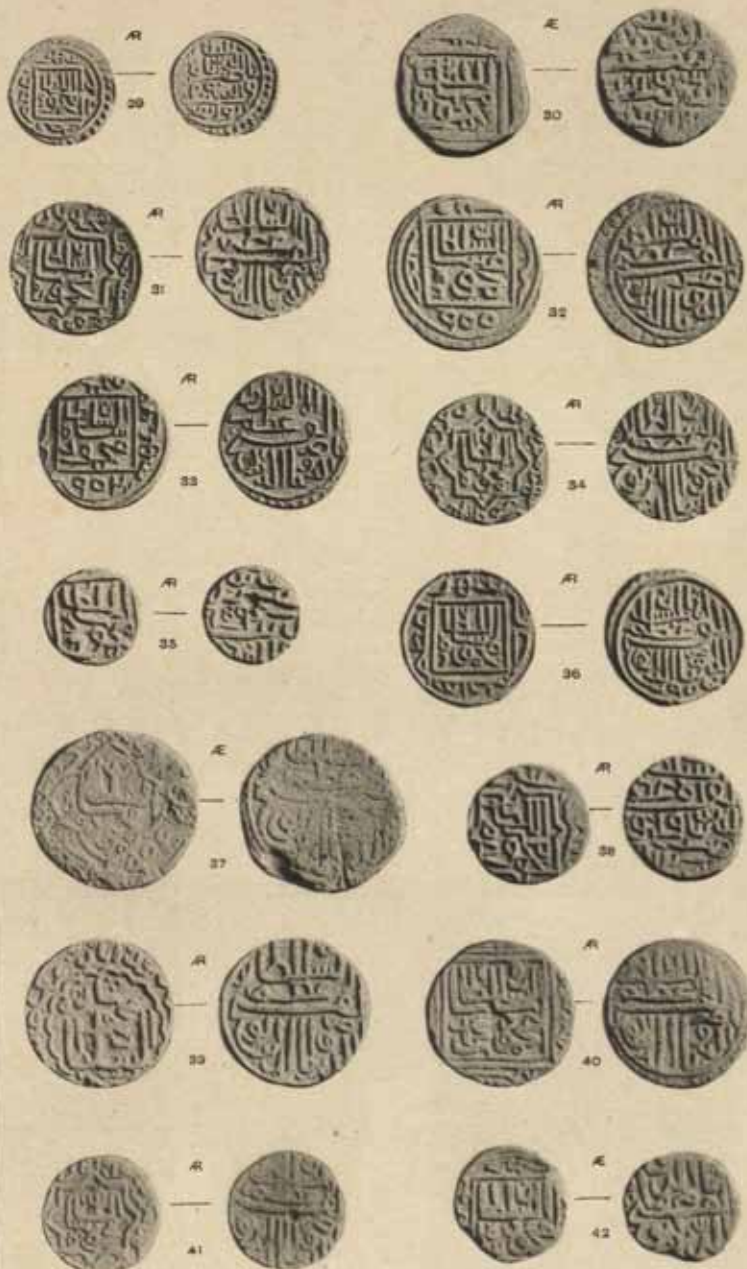
27

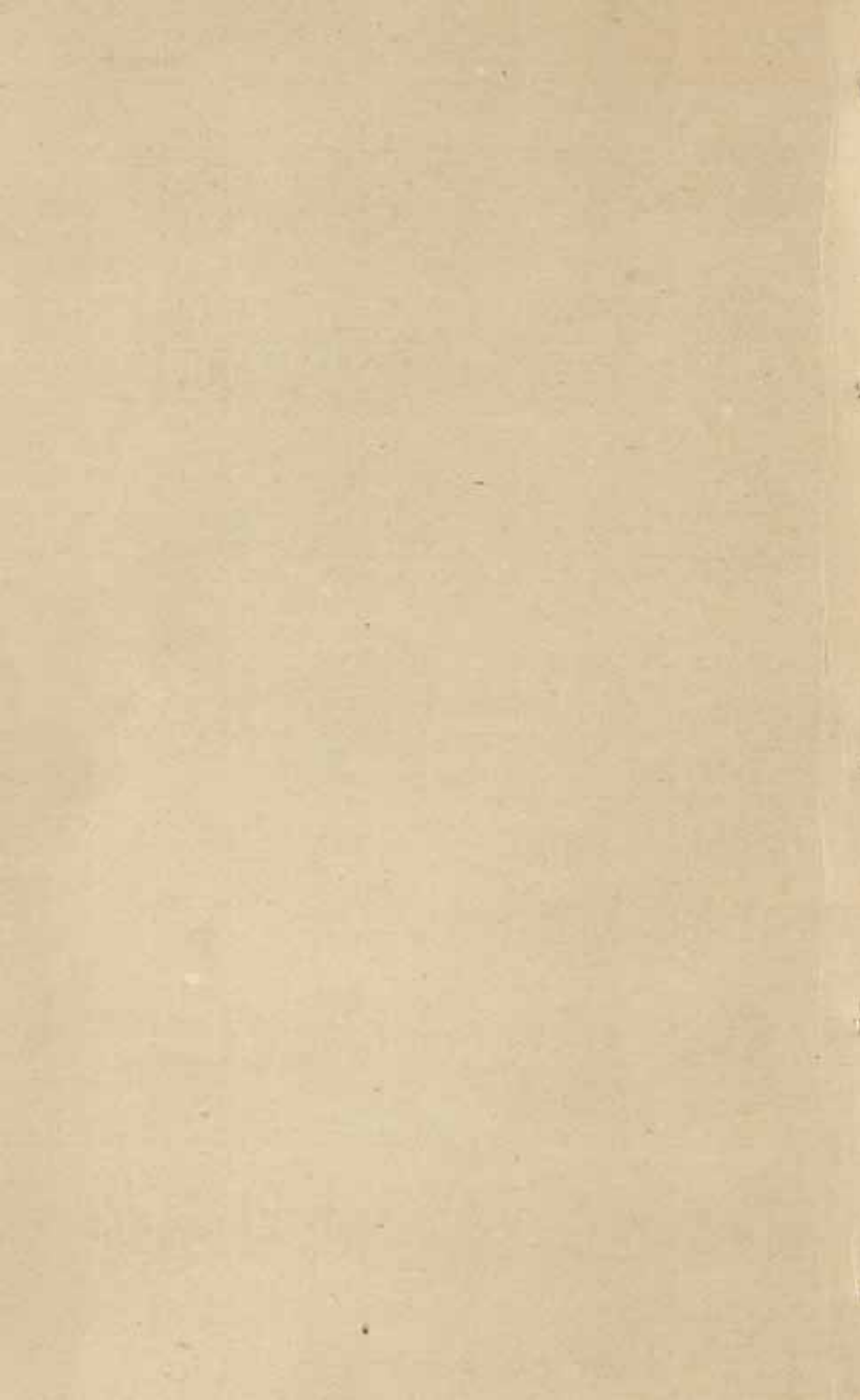


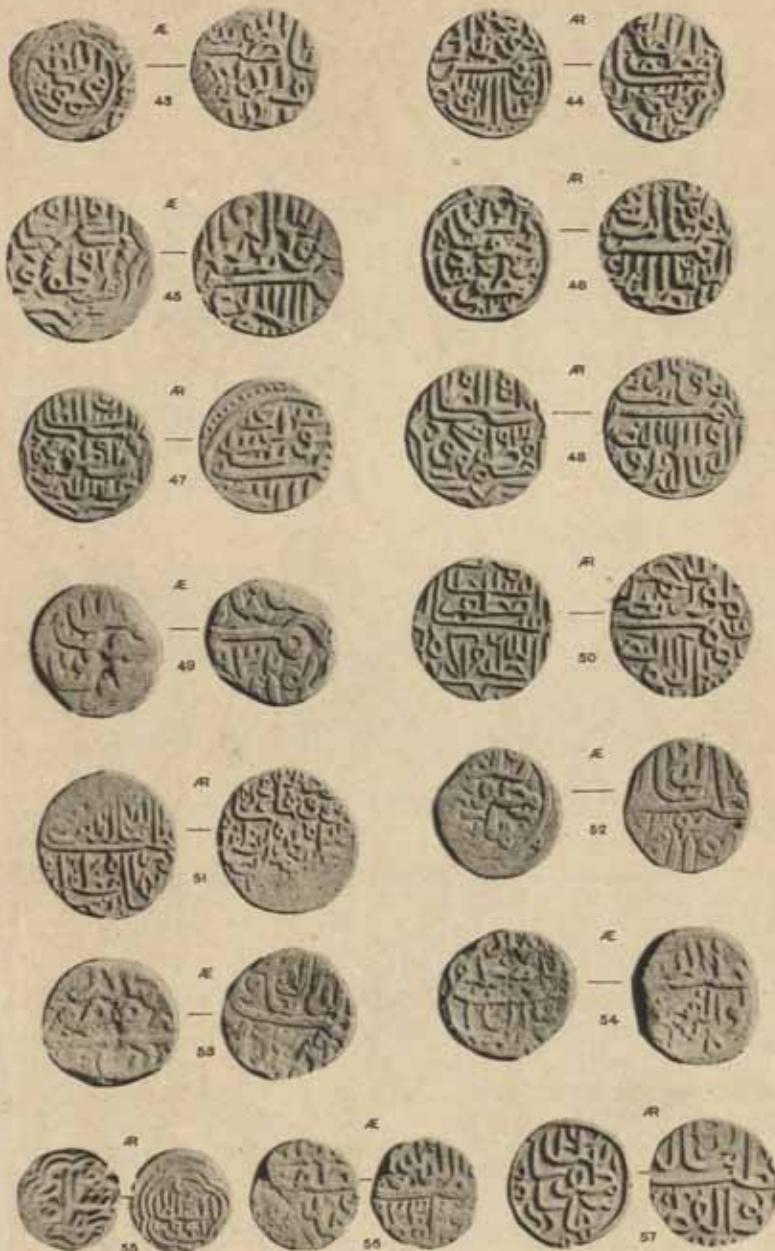
A

28A

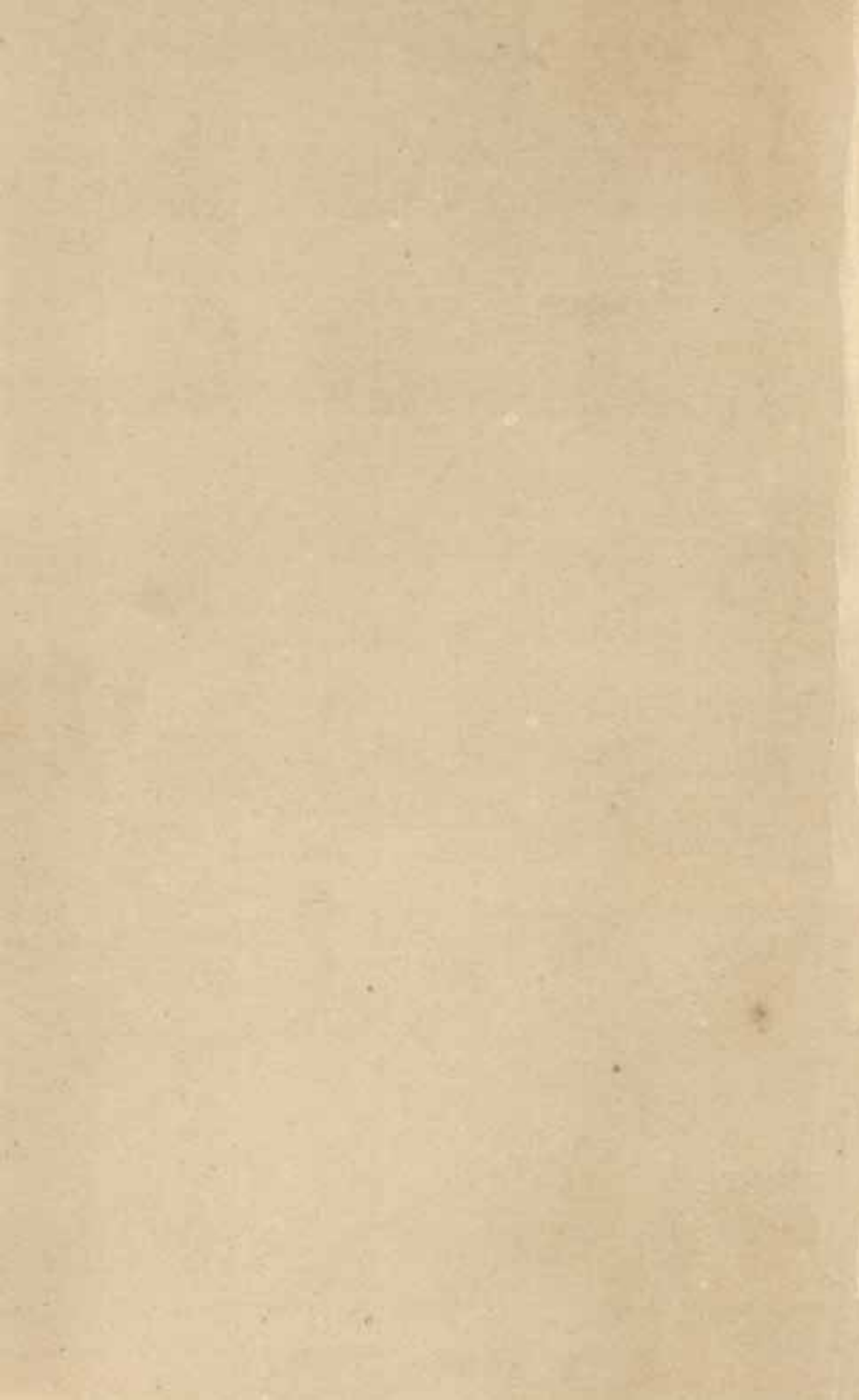


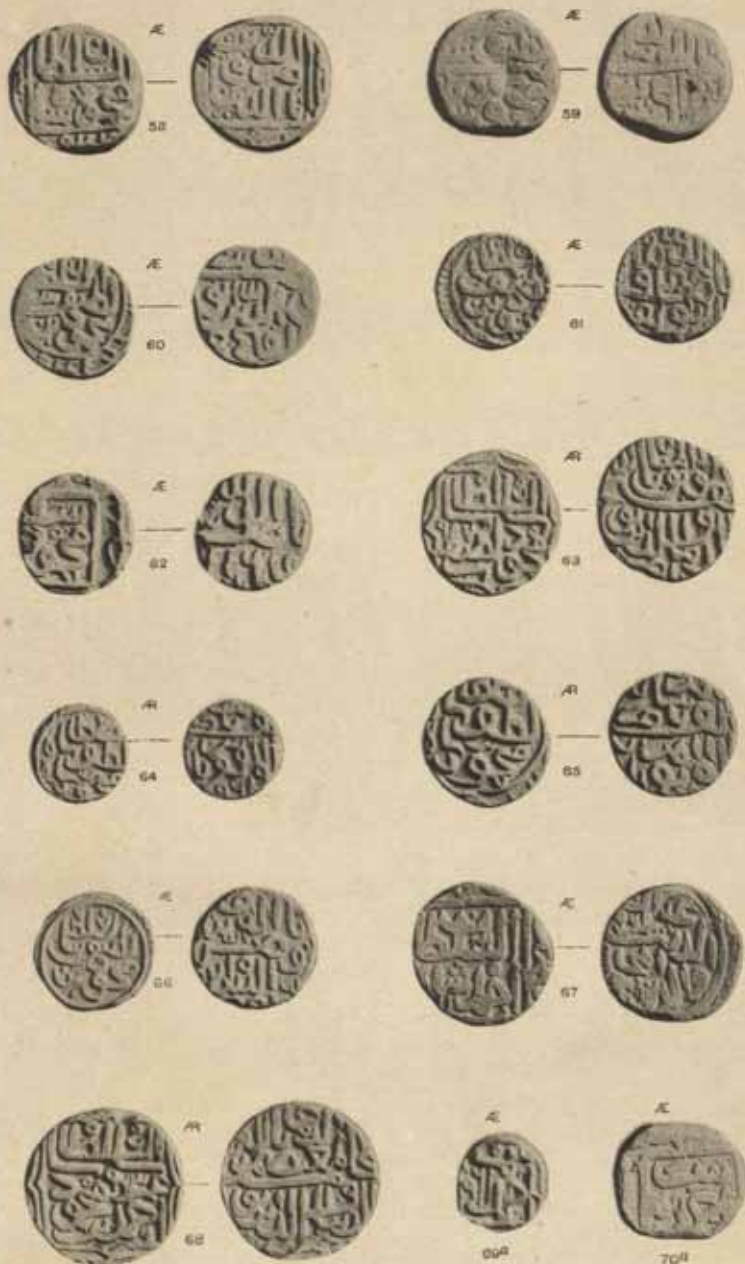


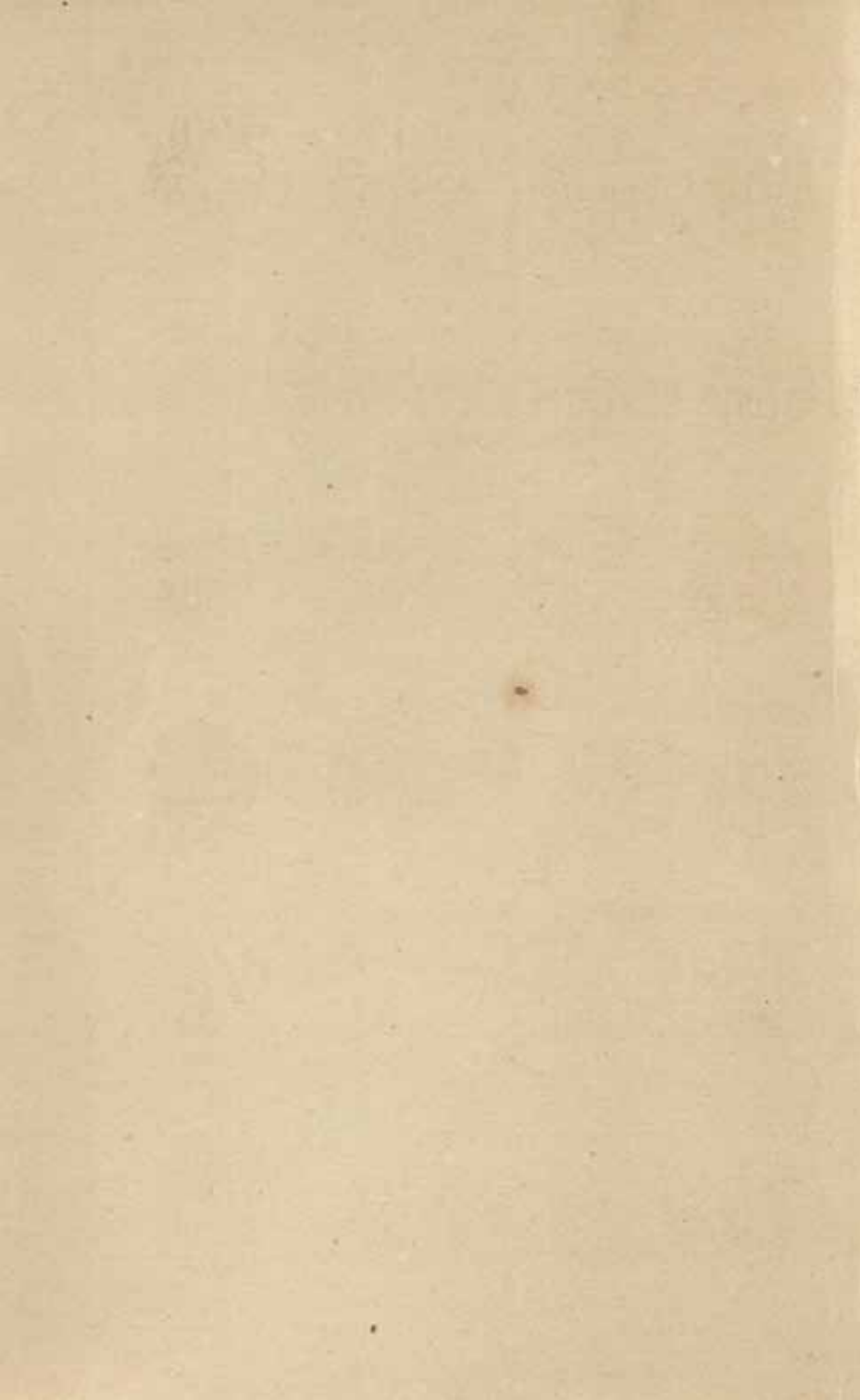


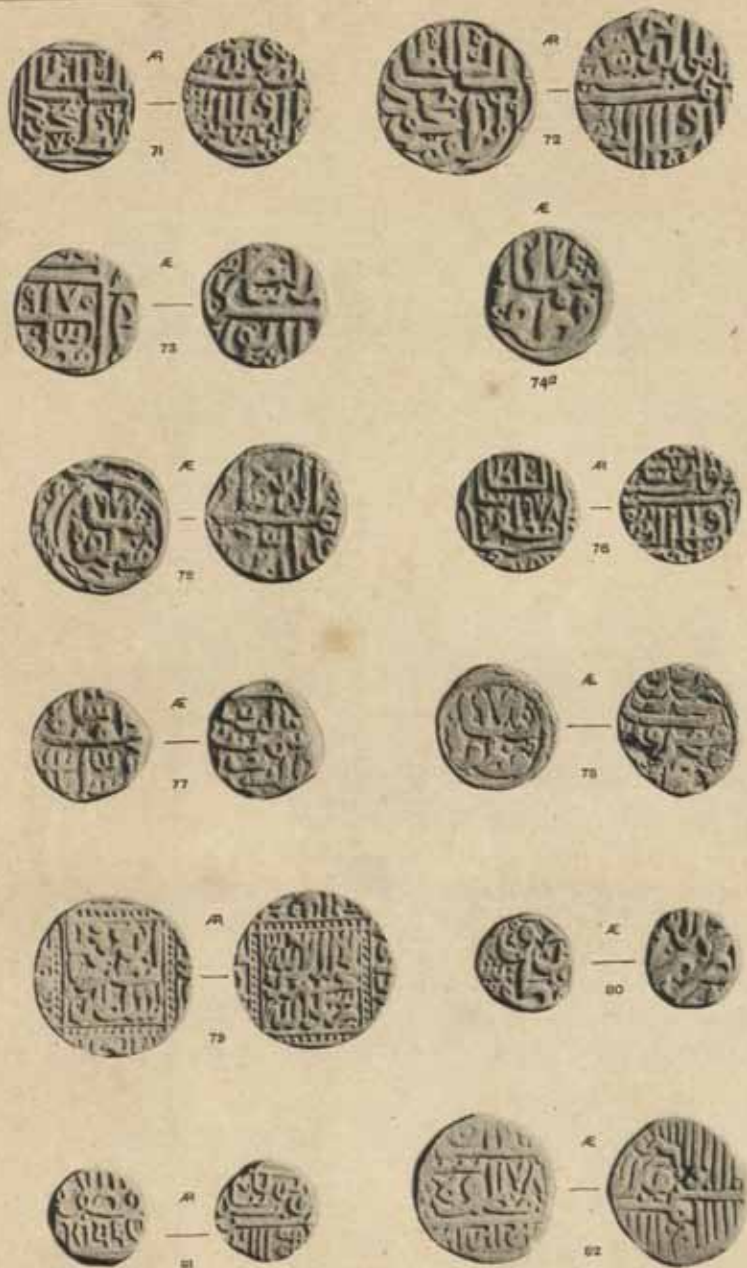


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