

**A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE
COINS OF THE INDEPENDENT SULTANS OF BENGAL
(FROM 1205 A. D. – 1538 A. D.)**

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Declaration Certificate

Certified that the work incorporated in this thesis "**A Critical Study of the Coins of the Independent Sultans of Bengal (from 1205CE - 1538CE)**", submitted by Md. Rezaul Karim has been carried out by the candidate under my supervision. The candidate has fulfilled all the terms and conditions for the Ph.D. thesis course.

Perween Hasan

December, 2001

(Perween Hasan)

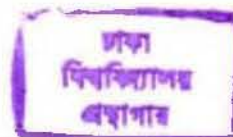
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Respectfully dedicated
To
My parents
Al-Hajj A. B. Moinuddin Ahmed
And
Begum Afiron Nessa

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Abstract

Part I

The present study is an attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the Sultanat of Bengal on the basis of coins of 1205 to 1538CE and also history of the Sultanat period of Bengal (political social and economic).

Chapter 1

Introduction: Gives the scope of the present work, enumerating and evaluating the existing works, sources used are discussed.

Background History: discusses the main features of political and numismatic condition of the period prior to the conquest of Bengal and establishment of the Sultanat. Reviews the ancient medium of exchange and the earliest coins of the regions of Vanga and Anga as well as the coinages up to the advent of the muslims.

Chapter 2

Coins of Bengal under Delhi Sultanat: deals with the coinage of Bengal, struck in the names of the Delhi Sultans, by their appointed or usurper governors. A new classification has been made on the basis of the coin legends. Also deals with coins in the joint names of the governors of Bengal and Delhi sultans and with the coins of the sultans who tried to shake off the Delhi authority and struck coins independently from Bengal.

Chapter 3

Coins of Independent Sultans of Bengal: discusses coins of the various Sultans who ruled independently during 737/1336 to 945/1538 in Bengal and their coins have been classified on the basis of the legends. Also attempts to interpret the message revealed through the coin legends.

Chapter 4

Coins of uncertain attribution: deals with the Sultans whose names are only known through their coins.

Chapter 5

Socio-economic condition of the period as reflected on the coins: deals with the socio-economic condition of the period, the currency system, mint towns and coin weights.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: attempts to draw a conclusion on the basis of the findings of the present study.

Appendix 1: reveals an up to date chronology of the Sultans of Bengal.

Appendix 2: gives the analysis of the gold and silver percentage of the coins of the Sultans of Bengal.

Appendix 3: appends the coin- titles of the Sultans of Bengal.

Part II

Catalogue of selected coins: Contains the catalogue of the selected coins, which has been made on the basis of the present study. More than four hundred gold, silver and denominational coins and their classifications based on coin- legends are given.

Abbreviations

AIN	: <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> of Abul Fadl Allami.
BMC	: <i>The coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum</i> , London, 1885.
Coins and Chronology	: <i>Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultan of Bengal</i> , by N.K. Bhattasali. Lanbridge, 1922.
Chronicles	: <i>The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi</i> by Edward Thomas, London 1971.
Corpus	: <i>Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal</i> by Abdul Karim, Dacca, 1960.
Coinage	: <i>The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi</i> by H. N. Wright.
CAPIB	: <i>Corpus of the Arabic Persian Inscriptions of Bengal</i> by Abdul Karim, Dhaka, 1995.
CUMC	: <i>Catalogue of Coins in the Cabinet of the Chittagong University Museum</i> , by Abdul Karim, 1979.
Delhi Sultanat	: <i>A comprehensive History of India</i> Vol. 5, Delhi Sultanat by Muhammad Habib & K.A. Nizami, 1970.
HB	: <i>The History of Bengal</i> , Published by the University of Dhaka, 1976.
HMB	: <i>History of the Muslims of Bengal</i> , by Muhammad Mohar Ali, 1985.
HSB	: <i>Husain Shahi Bengal, 1494-1538 AD</i> . M.R. Tarafdar, 1995.
IB	: <i>Inscriptions of Bengal</i> , Vol. IV by Shamsuddin Ahmad, Rajshahi 1960. JASB: <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> .
ICB	: <i>The Initial coinage of Bengal</i> , by Eduard Thomas.
IMC	: <i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i> , Vol. II. By H.N. Wright.
J.A.S.B	: <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Calcutta.
JASP	: <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan</i> .
JASBD	: <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh</i> .
JNSI	: <i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i> , Varanasi.
JVRM	: <i>Journal of the Varendra Research Museum</i> , Rajshahi
ND	: <i>Numismatic Digest, Journal of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies</i> , Nasik (formerly Journal of the N. S. of Bombay).

ONS	:	<i>Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter</i> , London.
Riyaz	:	<i>Riyad us Salatin of Ghulam Husain Salim</i> , Eng. translation by Abdus Salam.
Rajgor	:	<i>Standard, Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India</i> by Dilip Rajgor, 1991.
Shillong Cabinet	:	<i>Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam</i> by A.W. Botham. 1930
SCA	:	<i>Singapore Coin Auction, Catalogue 28</i> , 1999, by Wo. Matak & others.
Suppl. IMC	:	<i>A supplement to Vol. II of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i> , by Shamsuddin Ahmad, Delhi 1939.
Suppl. Shillong catalogue	:	<i>Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam</i> , by A.W. Botham And Friel, R. Allahbad, 1919.
T.A.	:	<i>Tabaqat-i- Akhair</i> of Nizamuddin Ahmad. Engtr: by B.De., 1927, 1936, 1939.
T.F.	:	<i>Tarikh-i-Firishta</i> of Abul Qasim Hindu Shah Firishta, Eng. Tr. by Jhñ Briggs. Indian edition, 1966.
TM	:	<i>Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi</i> of Yahya bin Ahmad bin Abd Allah al Sirhandi Eng.tr. by K.K. Basu. 1932.
TN	:	<i>Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhj</i> , Eng tr. by Raverty, reprint. 1970.
Adi Parva	:	Banglay Muslim Adhikarer Adi Parva, by Sukhamay Mukhapadhyay, Calcutta.
Dusho Bachhar	:	Banglar Itiharher Dosho Bachhar: Swadhin Sultander Amal by Sukhamoy Mukhapadhyay, Calcutta, 1988.
Sultani Amol	:	<i>Banglar Itthas</i> (Sultani Amol), Second reprint, 1993
NA	:	Not available
ND	:	No Date
NM	:	No Mint

TRANSLITERATION

For Arabic and Persian Letters:
 The transliteration follows the Encyclopaedia of Islam
 except for the letters ث = s and ذ = z

ا	-	a	ض	-	ḍ
ب	-	b	ط	-	ṭ
پ	-	p	ظ	-	ẓ
ت	-	t	ع	-	‘
ث	-	<u>s</u>	غ	-	gh
ج	-	j	ف	-	f
چ	-	<u>ch</u>	ق	-	q
ح	-	ḥ	ك	-	k
خ	-	<u>kh</u>	گ	-	g
د	-	d	ل	-	l
ذ	-	<u>z</u>	م	-	m
ر	-	r	ن	-	n
ز	-	z	و	-	w
س	-	s	ه	-	h
ش	-	<u>sh</u>	ء	-	’
ص	-	ṣ	ی	-	y

Short vowels = a, i, u

long vowels = ā, ī, ū

Chapter 1

Introduction

Coin is a piece of precious metal having a definite weight standard issued by the authority, king or guild and accepted by people as medium of exchange. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* "A coin may be defined as a piece of precious metal stamped with some mark or type or inscription showing that is issued by some authority which guarantees its weight and purity"¹. The coin either gold or silver or copper can exist for long ignoring the wear and tear of the time. On the other hand coins whether big or small, gold or silver, are desired because they can buy comfort, protection from poverty, hunger and safety against danger. Therefore, it was the practice of people to earn, accumulate and preserve them as treasure. In medieval time for safety people used to bury them. Part of these is unearthed from time to time even to day. Through the study of these coins we are reconstructing history, fixing of chronology of the rulers and setting up a continuance of the events of the two hundred years of independent rule of Bengal. Therefore, the study of the coins for Bengal history is an unavoidable necessity. It may be remembered here that the inscriptions of the period also rendering similar information but they are so limited in number, and not every Sultan inscribes them, so their scope is limited. Therefore coins became the chief primary source of history.

Coin and money are universally regarded as the vehicle of economic activity. At present there are various types of cheques, 'hundies' and many types of credit cards to replace coinage. Yet old coins, as archaeological objects, evidences of the past, proofs of the forgotten record, above all as a primary sources of history, have great importance. Not only for the reconstruction of history but also to understand the socio-economic trend, the attitudes and tastes of their issuers, their political and religious affiliations, expansion of their territories sway as well as the over all condition of trade and commerce of the period. For the medieval period in general and for Bengal history in particular coins have a great role to play.

No contemporary history of Sultani Bengal has yet been discovered², nor is a comprehensive work with correct information of historical events available. Prior to Ghulam Husain Salim's *Riyazus Salatin* (complete history up to 1788CE) not a single complete work on Bengal's two hundred years independent rule is known³. Though the court historians of the Delhi Sultans have made some sporadic citings on some Bengal events from time to time, but they are scrappy and sometimes confusing, and much of them do not corroborate facts⁴. Therefore, it is useless to search for numismatic activities, minting and metrology in these histories, which lack the normal chronicles of the period. Nor is there any contemporary treatise or

¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol. 16. (1963 edition) U.S.A. P. 616

² Abdul Karim, *Banglar Itihas (Sultani Amol)*, Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1977, First reprint 1993, (henceforth, *Sultani Amol*) p.35.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 39-40.

⁴ Karim commented that there are many anomalies regarding the dates in the *Riyaz*, *ibid.* p. 40.

manuscript dealing with the coining procedures, or function of mints, or organization on numismatics, of Sultani Bengal.

As there is no contemporary book on history there is no mention of coinage in later works. It seems as if the chroniclers were not aware of the numismatics of Bengal at all. There, perhaps, was no Abul Fadl in Bengal to record the minutes of Sultani Bengal. *Riyazus Salatin* did not deal with the matter of coinage, nor is its chronology of the Sultans corroborative with the facts. Even *Tabaqat-I- Nasiri*, which covers the early history of about sixty years of Muslim Bengal, did not deal with the coinage except some citings of 'struck coins.' Therefore, in the absence of contemporary chronicles the history of Bengal in general is shrouded in mist and information about numismatics or coinage of Bengal is almost nil.

At present the history of Bengal is mostly based on the reconstruction of the results of the information gathered from coins and inscriptions. Even to day new Sultan's names, new information about known ones are coming up from time to time through the coins. There are no other elements to rely upon except those two i.e. coins and inscriptions, for the reconstruction of Bengal history. Therefore the study of Bengal coinage is very important.

Striking of coins and reading of the *khutbah* on Fridays in the mosques were the Muslim prerogatives of a Sultan and demonstration or declaration of his sovereignty. It was the practice that whenever a Sultan ascended the throne whether legally or by usurpation he used to strike coins. It was the general rule for the Sultani period that a coin would bear the name of its issuer with full regal title along with the subsidiary titles *kunyah* and the proper name, sometimes with father's and grand father's name, his special claims or notions towards religion etc. and the date of the issue and the place of striking i.e. the mint name. So, in the absence of recorded history these coins help to rebuild history.

Therefore, the coins of the Bengal Sultans become the prime object and source materials, besides inscriptions, for the reconstruction of the history of Sultani Bengal i.e. from the advent of the Muslims in Bengal to the end of the independent rule from 1205 to 1538CE.

The chronology of the Bengal Sultans has been corrected largely on the basis of the evidence of coinage. As examples it may be mentioned that some regnal titles of the Sultans has been properly ascertained through the coins informations, viz, 'Ali Mardan Khalji was known to the historians as 'Alauddin 'Ali Mardan but his regnal title is Ruknuddin. Likewise there was the controversy about the date of the victory over Gauda by Bakhtiyar Khalji but the discovery of 'Gauda Vijoye' coin reveals its date that in mid Ramadan 601AH / May 1205CE the event had occurred. Even new Sultans' names came up through the coins-earlier Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah and Alauddin Firuz bin Bayazid were the two Sultans of Bengal known only through their coins, Raja Ganesha's regnal name 'Danujmardana Deva was also known through his coins only. At present from our study three new Sultan's names are known. Besides these many new types of coins bearing newer information have been added to the previous known facts. Therefore, research on Bengal numismatics is very important.

The study of the coins of Bengal started in the mid nineteenth century when the civil and military officers of British India took keen interest in it and began to publish their findings through the journals in the form of articles. The first paper on Bengal coins, contributed by J.W. Laidly, was published in JASB in 1846CE⁵. About twenty years latter in 1862, C.E. Bayley published a small note on Bengal coins⁶. But the study on Bengal coins gained impetus only after the discovery of the famous Cooch Bihar hoard in 1863CE containing 13,500 silver coins of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi and the Sultans of Bengal. Rajendra Lal Mitra published a note on this hoard in 1864CE⁷. But the pioneering work on Bengal numismatics was done by the distinguished numismatist of the nineteenth century Edward Thomas through the monograph, *'The Initial Coinage of Bengal'*. It was first published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society⁸, and reprinted in the JASB (vol. xxxvi)⁹ dealing with ten Bengal rulers from Rukunddin Kaikaus to Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah along with some Delhi rulers coins issued from Bengal. In 1873 supplementing to the above he published another paper on the basis of 37 coins of the Bihar hoard¹⁰. Based on the 85 coins found in the district of Murshidabad in 1883 A.F.R. Hoernle published the next article on Bengal coins¹¹, which eliminated some obscurities of Bengal history farther. During 1873 to 1875CE Blochmann published three papers in the issues of JASB under the title *Contributions to The Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)*. In his papers he dealt with the coins of eleven Sultans of Bengal and by doing so he tried to throw some more light on the obscure parts of Bengal history. Later on from 1873 up to 1896, C. E. Bayley (1873), J.G. Delmerck (1876), A.F. Hoernle (1883) and R. Burn (1896) published articles on Bengal coins.

This trend of publishing the newly found hoards and interpreting the historical implications of Bengal coins were continued during the first two decades of the twentieth century by the numismatists and historians. In 1922 N.K. Bhattasali published his monograph *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal* on the basis of the Rupgnj hoard of Raipura, Dhaka. About the monograph Abdul Karim commented that " ...which has since proved to be the working basis for the chronology of the early Muslim Sultans of Bengal¹²". Then some valuable interpretative articles on coins were written in various journals, specially *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, which started in 1939. The most notable work on Bengal coins was published in 1960, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal* by Abdul Karim. Compiling and recording the earlier published coins along with unpublished coins of the Dacca Museum, Veranda Research Museum and also analysing them. From the first decade of the twentieth century some valuable Museum Catalogues dealing with Bengal coins have been published

⁵ PASB, 1864, p. 480, 579

⁶ JRAS, II, No. p. 145

⁷ JASB, XXXVI, p. 1.

⁸ JASB, XLII (1873), p. 343.

⁹ JASB, LII, p. 211.

¹⁰ E. Thomas, "The Initial Coinage of Bengal under the early Muhammadan Conquerors, Part ii," JASB, 1873, p. 343.

¹¹ C.R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Part ii, p. 30.

¹² Abdul Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal* (down to AD 1538), (henceforth Corpus), Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1960, preface, p. 1.

which facilitated the students of Bengal numismatics, viz *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta Vol. II*, 1907, *Catalogue of coins Collated by Sayyid A.S.M. Taifoor of Kawser House, Dacca*, and presented to the Dacca Museum, 1936; *Catalogue of Coins Collected by Maulvi Hakim Habiubur Rahman Khan Akhunzada of Dacca and presented to the Dacca Museum*, 1936; *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet Assam*, (First & Second Edition, 1911 & 1930); *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam*, 1919; *Supplement to the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II*, 1939. Earlier to these *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* and *Catalogue of the coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum* were published in 1871 and 1885 respectively. All these catalogues and books dealt with some Bengal coins as well as with other Provincial coin series. It may be noted here that none of the catalogues dealt exclusively with Bengal coins. The Chittagong University Museum catalogue published in 1979 also dealt with some Bengal coins as well as others.

After the comprehensive and brilliant work by Abdul Karim in 1960 up to the present a long span of forty years, numerous significant issues connected with Bengal numismatics, fresh hoards containing several types, mints and dates as well as some new Sultan's names have come to light. Due to the difficulty of studying numismatics it remained unattended particularly lack of contemporary information about monetary activities, scarcity of coin and catalogues, difficulty of correct reading of legends particularly the degenerated form of later writing, problems of identifications of the Sultans in absence of date and mint name, above all the undue interference by chiseling or cut marks on the coin particularly of the portion with date a vital aspect for the determination and identification of the ruling king, by the Shroffs are main obstacles.

After the *Corpus* no comprehensive and purely numismatic study or research on Bengal numismatics has been undertaken. Of course during these forty years some of the information and results of the newly discovered materials have been published in the form of articles in both English and Bangla journals at home and abroad. Mention may be made of the latest catalogue on the Bengal coins, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, by Pratip Kumar Mitra and Sutapa Sinha published in 1997 based on the Chandi Jhar hoard found in the village of the same name under the District of Alipurduar, West Bengal, India in 1986. Mention may also be made of the journal of the numismatic Society of Bombay, the *Numismatic Digest*, and Oriental Numismatic Society's *Newsletters*.

The study of Bengal numismatics is difficult as well as thrilling. The coins are unique, interesting, and no coins of the subcontinent bear such versatility, in the context of legend, border design and variety of decorations. In absence of contemporary records and chronicles analytical inferences of the coins regarding the history concerned are important and rewarding, and enjoyable. Moreover, with the passage of time the earlier works have become almost obsolete because of the discovery of fresh coins in recent times. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's remarks in *History of Bengal vol. II*, are also provocative, "I cannot conclude my remarks without recording a wish that well trained students of Bengal Muslim numismatics should

carefully study the dates and names on the coins of the early Sultans of Bengal ... The new light may entail a revision of our earlier chapters¹³. Therefore, all these seem to make it worthwhile to launch a fresh and analytical enquiry on Bengal coins, which with the new discoveries and analysis have thrown new light on Bengal history.

It may be mentioned here that The Bangladesh National Museum (BNM) has a good number of Bengal coins in its collection. This was another factor that tempted us to undertake this research. The objective of the present study is to throw sufficient light on the chronology and history of the Sultans of Bengal through numismatic study. Attempt has been made to analyze critically the coins in the context of the history of the period with a view to reaching the proper and up to date chronology of the Sultans, their coin types and the messages revealed through them.

Roughly from more than two thousand coins of Sultani Bengal from the collection of BNM including some invaluable hoard coins, a selection was made for the study. The selected coins have been classified on the basis of their legend. Designs, due to their complexity and obscurity have not been taken, as the basis of classification, moreover there is no accepted standard or norm of design. Sometimes the same design has been described differently as a separate design due to its cut off in the middle. A variety of designs have been described simply as 'in a decorative bordered circle' or 'ornamented circle'. To avoid all these problems a new classification has been arranged on the basis of legend and metal: Type 'A' for gold, Type 'B' for silver and Type 'C' for copper have assigned. For each Sultan their gold, silver and copper coins are described according to our classifications and a select catalogue has been made.

Bengal Sultan's coins generally are of silver, a small quantity of gold is known. Copper coins are rare only a few are known and their genuineness is doubtful. The endeavor was made to mention as good as possible the known gold coins of Bengal Sultans including the published and unpublished gold coins in the collection of the Bangladesh National Museum and of some private collections. Like the gold coins fractional coins are also rare and not commonly known. So, they have also been classified according to their denominations and legends. For the present study both original and secondary sources were used. Primarily coins from the collection of Bangladesh National Museum have been used. Besides these some private collections at home and abroad were also studied. Firstly the endeavor was made to study the original coins directly and in the case of non-availability of the original, photographs of the coins were used. As a secondary source published catalogues and works, both books and articles were look into. For accuracy in this case published photographs were preferred. Some sale catalogues and their photographs are also been used and incase of less clear coin the photograph of the sale catalogue has been illustrated. Some related unpublished research thesis of Dhaka University and Rajshahi University are also used and the information of the inscriptions was used where needed. Known facts of history on the basis of the information's obtained from the study of the coins have been reconstructed wherever necessary. For

¹³ Sir Jadu-Nath Sarkar, *The history of Bengal*, vol. II, Muslim Period, 1200 -1757, Dacca: The University of Dacca, (1st ed. 1948). 3rd impression 1976, (henceforth, HB, II.), pp. 502 - 3.

historically unknown events the endeavor was made to reconcile the information of the coins with history to reach an acceptable conclusion for the accurate and latest chronology of the rulers of the period. For practical reason all the coin dates of a ruler or every one of a type according to the marginal decoration have not been included. The side of the coin with the Sultan's name or the beginning of the legend are treated as obverse. Also if the coin bears the Kalima, that side is taken as the obverse. Hijri and Common Era dates are indicated by AH and CE, but when both appear together an oblique stroke separates the two.

With the help of materials mentioned above, a humble attempt has been made to reach the objective, to reconstruct an up to date history and chronology of the rulers of the period. By analysis of the coin based information, inconsistencies of the events have been adjusted and investigations were undertaken to fill up the gaps of Bengal history along with throwing some light on unrecorded events through comparative explanations.

We cannot claim to be fully satisfied with our attempts and objectives. But we have tried our level best to reach our goal. We have tried to reconstruct accurate chronology of the Bengal Sultans and also tried to rebuild the facts on the basis of the information of the coins, tried to describe the new coin types of the Sultans and their new mints, also new dates based on new finds and discoveries. Through this endeavor, it has been possible to know some new information, new coins, mints and dates along with a more accurate chronology for the independent Sultans of Bengal from Fakhruddin Mubarak down to Ghiyasuddin Mahmud i.e. from 737-945AH. This will facilitate the reconstruction of the history of Sultani Bengal. Above all, after about eighty years three new rulers names come to be known for the first time through the numismatic evidences. It is hoped that this research will help to bring others to undertake similar research in future.

Historical Background

In ancient times the region which was later on known as Bengal, (i.e. the Bengali speaking regions of the north-eastern India, present Bangladesh and west Bengal) was not a single country, and was divided into several small principalities i.e. *Janapadas*.

No reliable information about the history of ancient Bengal is available. The prehistory is obscure. No Paleolithic culture or Neolithic habitation is traceable¹. There is no mention of Bengal in the Vedic literature. The first mention of the name *Vangas* (people of Vanga) is found in *Aitareya Aranyaka*². It is known from the legendary story of the *Mahabharata* that the region which is later time called Bengal was divided into five *Janapadas*: *Anga*, *Kalinga*, *Shuhmma*, *Pundra* and *Vanga*³. At present these are known as, Bihar (Anga) Orissa (Kalinaga), part of west Bengal (Shuhmma) and part of Bangladesh (Pundra and Vanga). Dated history of Bengal begins from 326 BC in reference to the stand made by the Gangaridai and Parsioi against the probable march of Alexander⁴. Vanga existed as a Janapada roughly from fourth century BC to fourth century CE⁵. Pundra was the name of the northwest part of Bangladesh i.e. the Varendra region including Mahasthangarh, in Bogra district which has been identified as Pundranagar, the ancient Pundravardhana and the southeast part up to the sea was known as Vanga.

The name of Vanga was not only mentioned in the legendary stories of the *Mahabharata* and *Aitareya Brahman* and in ancient Indian literatures like *Harivamsa*, *Ramayana*, *Arthashastra* and *Brihat Samhita* but also mentioned in inscriptions, copper-plate-grants, and traveler's reports⁶. At least up to twelfth century CE Vanga meant south and east Bengal⁷.

According to Riyaz: "The name of Bengal was originally 'Bang' and the reason why the word 'al' was added to it, is this: 'al' in the Bengali language means an 'embankment' or raised ground, which is placed round a garden or cultivation, so that floods may not enter it. As in ancient times the chieftains of

¹ Firoz Mahmud and Habibur Rahman, *The Museums in Bangladesh*, Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1987, p.36.

² II, I. I. Keith. Ait. Ar.101, 200, quoted in HB.i, p7; B. C. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, vol. ii, London: Luzac & Co., 1934, p. 2.

³ Panchanan Tarkaratna (ed), *Mahabharata, Adi Parva*, chapter 104, the account is also found in the *Puranas* cf. *Matsya*, ch. 48.vv.77ff. *Vayu*, ch.99.ii. 85ff. quoted in HB, i, p 36, fn. i

⁴ Mohd. Abdur Rahim and others, *Bangladesher Itihas* (History of Bengal (in Bangla), (henceforth *Itihas*), Dacca: nawroze Kitabistan, 1977,p.9; Gaurinath Shastri, *Sanskrit Shahityer Itihas*, Calcutta: Swaraswat Library, 1376B.S.pp.29-36.

⁵ H.C. Roychaudhury, "The legendary period", R.C. Majumdar (ed), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca: University of Dacca, 3rd impression 1976(henceforth, HB, I) P. 35.

⁶ Ruhul Quddus Mohd. Saleh, *Muslim Amale Benglar Takshal Nagari 1204-1858 CE. Ekti Mudra Vittik Anusaandhana* (in Bangla) unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Rajshahi University) 1998) pp. 7-8.

⁷ Ibid 9; B.C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942). p. 2.

Bengal... used to raise mounds about ten cubits high and twenty cubits broad, and to make homes, cultivations and building within them, people used to call this country Bangalah⁸.

After the coming of the Muslims in the beginning of the thirteenth century the name Bengal was applied to the whole of Bengal for the first time. It was Shamsuddin Ilyas shah, the founder of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, who for the first time by uniting all the north-west, south and eastern parts of Bengal i.e. Lakhnauti (Gauda), Satgaon and Sunargaon, renamed it as *Bangalah* and he was known to the historians as '*Shah-i-Bangalah*', '*Shah-i-Bangaliyan*' and '*Sultan-i-Bangalah*'⁹. Therefore, the name of Bengal or Bangalah is the out come of Muslim effort. Incidentally it was Ilyas Shah who established the independent rule of Bengal. The political or geographical boundaries of Bengal during the Sultani period cannot be fixed with certainty. The extant of the boundaries varied in different periods under different Sultans. The area which was within the jurisdiction of the Bengal Sultans up to 1538CE was termed Bengal.

In ancient times each Janapada had a separate name and was different from its sister Janapadas and was ruled in an individual style. There was no united rule of any central authority. Each Janapada was self sufficient for the necessities of its people. There was no large-scale trade within a single Janapada or in an inter-Janapada basis in the early stages. Perhaps the agriculture based self-sufficient villages did not need it also and barter system or exchange of commodities prevailed¹⁰.

The early history of Bengal is obscure and the history of its coinage is more obscure. We are not in a position to ascertain in the present state of our knowledge when money economy or coinage was introduced in Bengal. But it is reasonable to hold that like other countries of the world in ancient times barter system was in vogue in Bengal. But with the passage of time, dire necessity, the growth of the produce, and development of the society there evolved a common thing medium of exchange which varied country to country and time to time. As an example *cow*¹¹ and later time *nishka*¹² (ornament) were regarded as the medium of exchange in India. Probably in Bengal paddy or rice was used as medium of exchange in ancient times. As the proverb records:

‘সবচেয়ে বড় ধন ধান তারপর গাই (গাভী)

সোনা রূপা কিছু ধন আর সব ছাই।’

“paddy is considered as the highest wealth next is cow,

gold and silver have some value, remainders are ashes (nothing)”.

⁸ Ghulam Hossain Salim. *Riyaz-us-Salat*, English Translation by Abdus Salam, Delhi: Idarah i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1903. Reprint, 1975 (henceforth *Riyaz*, P. 20; *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal also explains the origin of the term Bangalah. (Eng. Trans.) Vol. II. p.115.

⁹ Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta 1890, P. 114-118 quoted by Abdul Karim in *Sultani Amol*, p. 177.

¹⁰ Syed Amirul Islam. *Bangla Anchaler Itihas: Natun Drishtikone Ekti Samikhsa* (History of the Bengal Region, An interpretation with a new approach (in Bangla), (henceforth *Ekti Samikhsa*), Dhaka: Papyrus, 1996, P. 26.

¹¹ Surendra Kisor Chakraborty. *A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Indigenous System). Mymensing 1931, P. 19.

In most of the villages of Bengal in ancient times purchases were made by the exchange of paddy. Even some hundred years ago as a general rule, the payments of the *Patni* (Ferry), washer man, barber etc. were made by paddy in the villages. In Bengal paddy gained currency probably due to flexible divisibility of it according to need instead of cow or Nishka.

In Kalahan's *Rajatarangini* 'dinnarojjamacirika' occurs side by side with 'dhanyojjamacirikja', denoting respectively a bond of debt for 'cash' and a bond of debt for grain¹² also get currency in favor of paddy as medium of exchange. With the advancement of society and the development of various types of crafts to facilitate the exchange of the surplus products, gradually metal took over as medium of exchange. But it is not possible to ascertain when and by whom metallic coin was introduced first in Bengal. The earliest coins of the Bengal are punch marked, as are the earliest coins of the sub-continent and are believed to have evolved during circa 6th century BC.

During the historic period under the Imperial Mauryas (C.322 BC- 185 BC) North Bengal was a province under them with Pundranagar as its capital. Pundranagara has been identified with Mahasthangarh. The first recorded evidence about coins in the Bengal region is found in the Brahmi inscription of the Mauryan period of 3rd century BC discovered from Mahasthangarh. It indicates that 'Pundranagal' (i.e. Pundranagar, identified as present Mahasthangarh) was under the jurisdiction of the Mauryans. This inscription referred to two coins named 'Gandaka' and 'Kakanika', probably they were small fractional coin units. Moreover, considerable number of silver punch Marked coins, which may well be placed in the Mauryan period, have been found from various parts of Bangladesh. Recently in 1998 through systematic archaeological excavation in Mahasthangarh a hoard of 93 silver punch marked coins were discovered from the specific stratum of the Mauryan period¹⁴. Besides some cast copper coins and some silver punch marked coins were also found earlier from the Mahasthangarh area¹⁵. Bogra (Mahastangarh), Rajshahi, Mymensing districts of Bangladesh and Wari-Bateswar villages of greater Dhaka also produced considerable number of silver punch marked coins during casual digging of the earth¹⁶. Silver punch marked coins of the Mauryan period of Mahasthangarh proves archaeologically not only the Mauryan occupation of Pundra area but also indicate that their coins were used as medium of exchange, currency in the region during Mauryan rule. These silver Punch Marked coins are, according to P.L. Gupta, 'the imperial series' of coins, having a group of five symbols on the obverse and found from all over India. P.

¹² Ibid. P. 2: The *Nishka*. Originally a gold ornament, was also at this time a unit of value. Ibid, p. 21, F.N. 19.

¹³ *Rajatarangini* of Kalahan. Tr. M.A. Stein, Westminster, 1900, Vol. III, p. 313, quoted by Kamrunnisa Islam, "Coinage in Ancient Bengal", *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, (henceforth *JVRM*), Vol. I, Part. I, 1972, p. 40.

¹⁴ Md. Shafiqul Alam and Jean- Francois Salles (ed), *France-Bangladesh joint Venture Excavations at Mahasthangarh First Interim Report, 1993 -1999*, Dhaka: Department of Archaeology, Bangladesh, 2001, p.229.

¹⁵ *Pakistan Archaeology*, Journal of the Department of Archaeology, Pakistan, Vol. 5, Karachi, 1968, p. 111.

¹⁶ Muhammad Rezaul Karim, "Some Silver Punch Marked coins of Wari-Bator," *Proceedings of the Fourth South Asian Archaeological Congress, Dhaka*, (henceforth *Fourth Congress 1991*), (Department of Archaeology, Bangladesh), 1991, p. 53

L. Gupta inclined to identify these coins as the issues of the imperial Mauryans because before them there was no ruler of the whole of India to strike coins¹⁷.

But other than these imperial series of punch marked coins two separate groups of silver punch marked coins were found from the Bengal region which are important. Some punch marked coins having three symbols each on the obverse are found from Anga region. According to Michael Mitchiner they are the coins of Anga. He also thinks that those coins were struck before the conquest of Anga by Bimbisara of Magadha (c. 500 B.C.) These coins are made of base silver and only found within the limits of Anga through excavation in three sites in Bengal; at Bangarh, Harinarayanpur and Chandrakhetugarh, the territory of Anga. All the twenty-three coins are of Karshapana weight standard (3.3-3.7 grams) of two weights, one karshapana and one-fourth Karshapana¹⁸. These coins have certain symbols which distinguish them from other series and have not been found from anywhere else. So, these coins may be regarded as the local coins or Janapada coins of Anga.

Likewise there have been found some silver punch marked coins with four symbols in each and have been indentified as early local coins of Vanga on the basis of the find place Wari-Bateswar in greater Dhaka, the present Narshingdi district. Wari-Bateswar also yielded several silver punch marked. Coins of the 'imperial Mauryan series'. There is no evidence to prove that the influence of Mauryans was extended beyond the River Jamuna, the find place of those coins. But the presence of the considerable number of silver punch marked coins of the Mauryan period indicates the engagement of large-scale maritime trade in the region from 2nd century BC to 2nd century CE. We have no idea or evidence to ascertain whether this area was directly controlled by the Mauryans or by their feudatories and we have no idea who were responsible for the issuance of the local coins of Vanga as well as the imperial coins found at the Wari-Bateswar. But it may be assumed that the Vanga coins were produced locally as no such symbols, boat, bird, lobster, fish including sun and six-armed symbols, are found in any other punch marked series discovered elsewhere. The imperial series coins found in the locality are come through trade¹⁹. All the Vanga punch marked coins are of the *Karshapana* weight standard. The world-renowned Muslin cloth was produced in and around here, where was a center for export of Muslin and Elephants were also traded there²⁰. Therefore, it may be summarized that from Mauryan times or earlier coin economy was prevalent in Bengal.

Mauryan rule lasted in Bengal probably from 324 BC to 187 BC. But the history of the period, between the end of the Mauryans to the take over by the Guptas, is obscure and uncertain²¹. *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea* recorded that *Calis* a gold coin was current in the market town of *Gange* at about the first

¹⁷ Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, (Third Edition, Reprint) 1979, p. 16.

¹⁸ Michael Mitchiner, *The Origin of Indian Coinage*, London: Hawkins Publications: 1973, pp. 50-52.

¹⁹ Fourth Congress, 1991, pp. 53-56.

²⁰ *Ekti Samikhsa*, P. 181.

²¹ *Itihas*, P. 11.

century CE. Gange has been identified with Tamralipti of Bengal²². Shunga terracotta plaques were found in Mahastangarh and some Kushana gold coins were also discovered from various places in Bengal, but there is no evidence to prove Kushana occupation and rule in Bengal²³. It is true that no Kushana coins are found in the excavations in the region²⁴ but through stray diggings some Kushana gold coins have been discovered from Comilla regions. It may be mentioned here that Bangladesh National Museum has procured several Kushana gold coins of Kanishka, Hushika, Vasudeva and later Kushanas, said to have been found in the Comilla region, the eastern part of Bangladesh.

The next rulers in Bengal were the imperial Guptas who ruled in Bengal from circa 300CE to 545CE²⁵. It seems that during the rule of Samudra Gupta all Bengal except Samatata was under his sway. But Samatata was a tributary state of the Guptas as the Allahabad inscription reveals²⁶. The Guptas issued both the gold and silver coins. Some of their silver coins are also been found in Bengal but several types of gold coins of various Gupta rulers have been discovered from Bengal. Among these the archer type, a king standing with a bow, and Lakshmi seated type is the most common type and variously imitated by subsequent rulers. Several Gupta gold coins are found in Bengal and preserved in the museums of both Bangladesh and India. The discovery of numerous gold coins of the Guptas indicate the affluence of Bengal and are evidence of prosperous internal and external trade. The early gold coins of the Guptas followed the weight standard of the Kushanas as well as the coin standard after the Kushana prototype²⁷. The gold coins are known as *dinaras* and silver coins are known as *rupakas*. Earlier they used the weight of the gold coins in average of 121 grams following the Kushana weight of which 107 grams are pure gold and the rest alloy, probably it was the current standard of the time. In the later period the weight was raised to an average of 144 to 146 grams, but the gold contents falls to an average of 70 grams only²⁸. Their silver coins of the Karshapana standard was of 36 grams. During Gupta rule the ratio between *dinara* and *rupaka* were 1:16 i.e. the ratio between gold and silver. But the ratio between a *dinara* and a *rupaka* was not a fixed one, and it varied from time to time and place to place²⁹. During Gupta rule (circa 300-500CE) almost the whole of Bengal (Pundra and Vanga) was under their sway³⁰. But the Mauryas, had ruled only Pundra.

After the decline of the Gupta empire in the early part of the sixth century there sprung small principalities all over northern India and during this time in the sixth century there emerged two independent kingdoms

²² Ibid, p.12; Kamrunnisa Islam, *JVRM*, p. 43.

²³ A.K.M. Zakaria, *Bangladesher Pratna Sampada* (Archaeological Treasure of Bangladesh (in Bengla), (henceforth, *Pratna Sampada*) Bangladesh Shilpokala Academy: Dhaka, 1984 p. 13.

²⁴ M. Harunur Rashid, 'The Mainamati Gold Coins', *Bangladesh Lalita Kala*, Vol. I No. 1, (Journal of the Dhaka Museum), Dhaka 1975, P.42

²⁵ Dines Chandra Sircar, *Pal Purba Yuger Vamsanucharita* (in Bengla) Kolkata: Sahitya Lok, 1985, P.188-189.

²⁶ *JVRM*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 43

²⁷ A.S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Banaras: The Numismatic Society of India, 1957, P. 296.

²⁸ *JVRM*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 45.

²⁹ *ibid*, p.46

³⁰ Nihar Ranjan Roy, *Bangalir Itihas, Adi Parva*, Calcutta: De's Publishing, 1400BS, P. 319.

in Bengal, in south-east Bengal and the southern part of the West Bengal (Vanga) and another one in the north-west part of Bengal (Gauda).

Among the independent kings of Vanga three names are found from copper plate grants, Gopachandra, Dharmaditya and Samachardeva. They all assumed the title Maharajadhiraja which indicates their independence and their status as, powerful kings. They ruled from circa 552-600CE³¹. Before them one Vainyagupta ruled the same area as Maharaja³², a lower status than Maharajadhiraja. But Vainyagupta ruled over eastern, southern and western Bengal. This imperial province of the Guptas constituted an independent kingdom under Gopachandra and his successors³³. Among these three Samacharadeva was the only one who issued gold coins with the title Narendraditya.

During the second half of the seventh century while the Later Guptas were established in Magadha and Gauda, there emerged the Khadgas in south-east Bengal. From the copper plate grants two feudatory families Lokanath and the Ratas are known who ruled in Tripura-Noakhali regions and most probably were the feudatories of Khadgas who later became independent³⁴. After them the *Devas*, the kings of *Harikela*, the *Chandras* and the *Varmanas* ruled in succession. From the disintegration of the Gupta empire down to the coming of the Senas this part of Bengal (south-east) was never occupied by north and west Bengal.

During the middle of the sixth century CE, Gauda was under the later Guptas, they were at war with the Maukharis. Taking this opportunity Mahasamanta of the Gupta kings of Magadha-Malava, Sasanka occupied the Gauda, sometime before 606CE. Sasanka established himself as an independent ruler of Gauda making Karnasuvarna his capital. After the later Guptas three rulers of Gauda-Bengal issued coins but only in gold. They are Jayanaga, Samacardeva and Sasanka. Many of their gold coins have been found, from different parts of Bengal³⁵. They are of the 144 grains standard but much debased.

Few kings after Samacharadeva issued a large number of gold coins found in Sabhar and Kotalipara. These coins are much debased and crude, imitating the Gupta gold coins of the archer type. These coins are found sometimes along with the coins of Sasanka and Samacharadev. Only two names of kings from these coins have been ascertained-Prithuvi(ra)ja and Sudhanyaditya³⁶. These two and coins of uncertain names were most probably issued in the Vanga area after Gopachandra³⁷.

³¹ Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Bangladesher Itihas*, (in Bangla) Vol. 1, Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1992, P. 37.

³² HB, I, pp. 50-52.

³³ Ibid, p. 52.

³⁴ Itihas, p. 80.

³⁵ JVRM, Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 47.

³⁶ B.N. Mukherjee opined that the reading of the name is wrong, it 'should now be attributed to vasuvarma or Vasuvarman. He could have been a successor of Deva Varman in interalia Samatata'. See B.N. Mukherjee, *Post-Gupta Coinages of Bengal* (henceforth P.G. Coinages), Calcutta: Coin Study Circle. 1989, P. 18.

³⁷ HB, I, PP. 53-54.

Gupta coins had considerable influence on the coinage of the later period. Mainly the archer type of Gupta coins were imitated by some known and unknown kings of south-east Bengal. A fairly large number of imitations of Gupta gold coins have come to light. These imitations were not a slavish copy of the Gupta gold coins, but were a bit different in design, particularly on the reverse a six or eight armed goddess was depicted and there were subtle differences in the execution of the standing king³⁸. All these show the prolonged influence of Gupta coinage during subsequent periods in Bengal.

After the death of Sasanka in 637-38 the political condition of Bengal became chaotic and anarchy prevailed up to the emergence of Pala rule. For nearly hundred years Bengal is again in the grip of *Matshanyay* was split up into small principalities who quarreled with one another.

In the middle of the eighth century Pala rule was established in Gauda eliminating the anarchy, peace and prosperity of the country was restored. Some of the Pala kings extended their sway beyond the limits of Bengal³⁹ and they ruled for nearly four hundred years. Their rule ends circa 1140 - 55CE to give way to the Senas in Bengal. Some Pala ruler temporarily extended their sway up to south-east Bengal, e.g. Mahipala I⁴⁰.

Most probably during Pala rule the country's economy was again turned into a non-coin based system. From this period no coin from Bengal is found and most probably *kauri* was the only medium of exchange. Though a type of silver coin of *Sri Vigra* type and a few copper coins are tentatively assigned to the early Pala empire, scholars have raised questions about them. Because the so-called *Sri vigra* type coins are very few and cannot by any means be definitely identified with Pala rule. According to Abdullah Faruq that silver was imported from outside and it would not been possible to import silver for certain reason and probably an economic upheaval happened during this time, because afterwards gold coins were also completely disappeared and *kauri* was current as medium of exchange⁴¹.

With the fall of the Palas in the late eleventh century Hemanta Sena, a feudatory of Palas established his own rule. This family ruled up to the middle of the thirteenth century in Bikrampur area. Bijoy Sena, son of Hemanta Sena conquered almost the whole of Bengal. The famous Lakshman Sena the fourth ruler of the dynasty was defeated by Bakhtiyar Khalji in 1205CE, which paved the way of the Muslim rule in Bengal. The Palas and Senas were powerful rulers no doubt, but no metallic coins, which can be assigned to both these periods, have yet been found.

During Pala rule their contemporaries in south-east Bengal i.e. in Samatata there were the *Devas* who ruled roughly between 750 and 800CE. Before them *Vadras*, *Khadgas*, *Ratas* and the family of *Loknath* ruled in Samatata while in the northern part of Bengal the Gauda region was on the grip of anarchy. The

³⁸ PG coinage, pp.21 - 24

³⁹ Pratna Sampada, pp.15-16.

⁴⁰ R.K. Sharma, "Dakshin-Purba Banglar Pala Shasak ke"(in Bangla) Proceedings of the Tenth History Congressm.Dhaka: Bangladesh Itihas Parisad, 1977, pp. 28-35.

⁴¹ Abdullah Faruq, *Bangladesher Arthanaitic Itihas* (Economic History of Bangladesh) Dhaka: University Book Society, Second ed. (1983) 1390 B.S. P. 195.

kings of *Harikela* ruled in the ninth century CE., the *Chandras* ruled between circa 900-1045CE and the *Varmans* ruled between circa 1080-1150CE⁴² in samatata. Which is comprised of present-day Noakhali, Feni, Lakshmipur, Chandpur and Comilla districts of Bangladesh⁴³.

It is curious enough that the great Pala rulers of north-western Bengal did not issue any metallic coins, the rulers of various dynasties in the south-east issued coins on a regular basis. The Devas struck gold coins with the epithet *Sri-Vangala Mriganka* and several of their gold coins were discovered from the Comilla-Mainamati area, from the capital of the Devas, Devaparvata⁴⁴. Several post Gupta gold coins of later successive debased metal and poorly executed design have been discovered from the excavations at Mainamati (Comilla region)⁴⁵. All these gold coins may be assigned to the rulers of Samatata, south-east Bengal.

Among the Khadga kings Deva Khadga, Rajabhata and Balabhata issued gold coins following the Gupta imitation of archer type⁴⁶. Among the Ratas Jivadharanarata and Sridharanarata issued gold coins. A king standing with a bow on the obverse and a six-armed standing goddess on the reverse⁴⁷, i.e. an imitation of the Gupta archer type. Devakhadga also issued coins of the same archer type in gold but with some minute differences. Sometimes the goddess has eight hands and the object held by her differs⁴⁸. Some Harikela gold coins have also been found from excavations of Salban Vihara in Mainamati, dated to circa 8th century CE. B.N.Mukharjee thinks 'The types were borrowed from the silver coinage of Harikela'⁴⁹. Mukharjee opines that by the end of the 7th century CE or early 8th century CE the gold coinage of Samatata ended and a pure silver currency linked up with the Harikela was adopted⁵⁰. Samatata was the main area of circulation of the "king as archer and standing goddess" type of gold coin. The weight of the coins range from 5.6 to 5.7 grams. They may have been struck of the 50 rati weight standard and may be taken as *ardha* or half satamana following A.S. Altekar⁵¹.

The Chandras came to power in the last quarter of the ninth century CE. They had a long reign and Vikrampur was their capital. They had some powerful rulers who were responsible for issuing regularly a type of silver coin with recumbent bull in one side and tripartite symbol (Triratna) on the other side with sun and moon symbols. These coins are found abundantly from the Comilla region through excavations and casual diggings. Two hundred and twenty four silver coins were discovered from the excavations at Shalban Vihara in Mainamati. It is the only known place to have yielded coins in scientific excavations, and are popularly known as Mainamati Silver coins, likewise the gold coins of Smatata are generally known as Mainamati gold coins. These Mainamati silver coins bear on the obverse above the bull, a

⁴² Abdul Momin Chaudhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, Dacca: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1967, pp.144

⁴³ P.G.Coinages, p.18.

⁴⁴ M. Harunur Rashid, *Mainamati*, p. 49-50.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.38.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.39.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.29.

legend, which has been variously read as 'Yari Kriya' Yarikriya, Harikota, Cari Kata, pariketa or Pattikera, B.N. Mukharjee proposes that some of the coins should be read as Harikela or Harikela. He also opined that the kingdom of Harikela existed in the Chittagong region and sometimes extended up to Sirhatta mandala. These silver species must be related to the silver coins of Chandra dynasty of Arakan⁵². But Kamrunnisa has rightly pointed out that "The number of these coins (Mainamati coins) and their associates, find-spot and other evidence, strengthen the view that these were issued locally by a sufficiently powerful and prosperous dynasty of independent rulers and not imported from Arakan"⁵³.

From the disintegration of the Gupta Empire down to the Senas, south-east Bengal was never occupied by north and west Bengal. In south-east Bengal the Khadgas, the Ratas, the Devas, the rulers of Harikela, the Chandras, and the Varmans ruled in succession and most of them issued coins. The coins of these Samatata kings probably existed up to the merger with the kingdom of the Sultans of Bengal. The issuance of coins on a regular basis by the Samatata kings is also supported by circumstantial evidence of the period. Bengal was known to the Arab traders at least in the 10th century and some Abbasid gold and silver coins were also discovered from the Smatata area. A gold coin of the last Abbasid Khalifa Al Mustasim Billah of Baghdad was discovered from Mainamati and also coins of the famous Harunar Rashid of Baghdad were recovered from Paharpur, and provide evidence of Arab trade with Bengal. By then, Bengal was most probably linked with the maritime international trade of the route which extended through the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean up to China.

In the early thirteenth century Muizzuddin Muhamad bin Sam's empire extended from Ghazna in Afghanistan to Gauda-Verndra in Bengal. The first Muslim march happened in the middle of Ramadan 601AH corresponding to May 1205CE when the Turkish general Bakhtiyar Khalji by defeating Lakshman Sen captured Nadiya and Gauda⁵⁴. Bakhtiyar as a subordinate officer of Qutbuddin Aibak who was the viceregal representative of Muizzuddin Muhamad bin Sam, Bakhtiyar issued the gold coin to commemorate the victory of Gauda from Bengal in the name of Muhammad bin Sam. This is the first Muslim coin of Bengal, and a coin based economy was resumed after a long interval. After the new conquest by the Muslims, Bengal experienced a basic change in the economy. New construction of religious buildings like Mosque, Madrasah and Khanqahs, and non religious activity the building of infrastructure roads, bridges, garrisons create a mobility in the economic field after a long static period in Bengal.

No coins of the Sena period have been discovered yet. It is a known fact that the preliminary coins of a newly conquered land always follows the existing coin of the land. But Bakhtiyar did not find a prototype in Bengal, rather he issued coins following the indigenous weight standard of tola weight of 175 grams.

⁵¹ A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire (and Its Imitations)*, Banaras: Numismatic Society of India, 1975, p.335.

⁵² B. N. Mukherjee, "The Original Territory of Harikela", *Bangladesh Lalit Kala (Journal of the Dacca Museum)*, Dacca, 1975, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 117.

⁵³ JVRM, Vol. I, Part I, p.52.

Ultimately this weight standard was adopted by the Delhi Sultans for their national coinage of India, and was followed by the Suris and Mughals right up to the British rule. Therefore, it was Bakhtiyar Khalji who not only reintroduced a regular coin based economy in Bengal but should be given credit for introducing the tola weight standard in Bengal and a coin economy which never ceased. But it took nearly one hundred years to establish a firmly coin based economy in the whole of Bengal. Although during the first phase of the Muslim conquest their Sultanat was confined in the north and north west Bengal. But in the end of the thirteenth century the whole Bengal was under the Muslim rule. And probably with the possession of the Chittagong port which was connected with the international maritime trade route up to China, the economy of Bengal got a momentum. Coin based commerce and trade flourished which facilitated the establishment of the coinage system of Bengal on a firm footing. But in the early period while Bengal was a province of the Delhi Sultanat, problems of conquest, consolidation, administration and organization in an alien country, it took time to take proper shape. It was only after the independence of Bengal in 1337 CE that the currency system was established. Though some sporadic attempts were made earlier by some Bengal governors or adventures to shake off Delhi's hold and declare independence and striking coins in their own name, like Ali Mardan, Iwad, Yuzbak these were short lived and could not leave any permanent influence on Bengal economy or the currency and coinage system. In the coinage system of the sub- continent Bengal played a great role. While Delhi was following the coinage system of Shahis and *Delhiwals* and *Lakshmi type* Indian coins. Bengal issued the 'Gauda Vijoye' coin with Muslim and Turkish elements. Bengal offered the tola standard weight for the coinage system of Delhi. Again the type introduced by Iwad in Bengal, for his independent coins, has been adopted by the Delhi Sultan Iltutmish for his Delhi coins. Still it was during the independent rule of Bengal that the coinage system get a new shape and look which could be identified as Bengal coinage with regular metal weight and inscriptions or legends.

⁶⁴ Parmeswari Lal Gupta. "The date of Bakhtiyar Khalji's occupation of Gauda", *JIRM*, Vol.4 1975-76, p.33.

Chapter 2

Coins of Bengal as a Province of the Delhi Sultanat

The vista of the Muslim conquest of Bengal opens with the advent of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji at *Nadiya* in 601/1205, which he occupied after attacking and easily defeating the ruling king Lakshmansena¹. Muhammad Bakhtiyar, an adventurer commander, was sub-ordinate to Qutb ud din Aibak who was a viceroy in India under Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam, Sultan of *Ghor*. After this victory 'He (Bakhtiyar) stopped only for a few days at *Nudiya* to collect booty... and swept forward to strike at Gaur'². He conquered *Gauda* in 601AH. Thus Bengal was annexed as a province of the Delhi Sultanat.

Nearly for one and half centuries, from 601AH to 739/1205 – 1336 Bengal remained a province. In reality some sporadic attempts were made to separate this region from the Sultanat during this period by certain governors whenever they got the opportunity to do so and struck coins and read the *Khutbah* in their own names. However, they were subjugated by the Delhi Sultans.

Striking coins and reading *khutbah* during Friday prayers were the prerogatives of an independent Sultan and the insignia of his sovereignty. Therefore, we find coins from Bengal bearing the names of Delhi Sultans, but struck by their appointed governors. Some of the coins have only the names of the Delhi Sultans (classified as group A); some have the governors along with those of the contemporary sultans (group B); some coins have the names of the governors only, who had tried to make themselves sovereign (group C). So, the coins issued from Bengal during the period mentioned above may be divided into three groups, called A B C respectively. The last group includes the governors appointed by the Delhi sultans and those who got no appointments but assumed the power on their own.

Out of twenty-six governors only eight struck coins as sovereigns. Of their coins only gold and silver are known. Gold coins are classified as Type A and silver coins as Type B. No coins of this early period issued in any other metal have been found.

¹ HB, II, p.4

² Ibid, p.8

Group A: Coins of the Delhi Sultans issued by the respective Bengal governors. There are eight Sultans whose coins are known from Bengal. They are:

1. Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam (Sultan of Ghor)
2. Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (Sultan of Delhi)
3. Sultan Ruknuddin Firuz (Sultan of Delhi)
4. Sultan Jalalatuddin Radiyah (Sultan of Delhi)
5. Sultan Alauddin Masud (Sultan of Delhi)
6. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (Sultan of Delhi)
7. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban (Sultan of Delhi)
8. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq (Sultan of Delhi)

A 1. Coins of Muhammad Bin Sam 599 – 602/1202 – 1206

Muslim numismatic activity in Bengal begins with the victory over *Nadiya* and *Gaur* by Bakhtiyar Khalji in 601/1205. Commemorating this historic event he issued gold coins from *Gaur*, "and instituted there in, every part, the reading of the *Khutbah* and the coining of money"³. But whether he read the *Khutbah* and issued coins in his own name or in the name of Sultan Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam was a matter of contention among medieval and modern historians⁴. The discovery of a gold coin has eliminated this controversy. The gold coin, which commemorates the victory over *Gaur*, is now preserved in the British Museum⁵. It is an irony that a duplicate commemorative coin was noticed and published by H. N. Wright as early as 1936CE⁶. But a partial blur in the coin legend kept this contention alive till recently. This coin is preserved in the National Museum Delhi, and the British Museum coin is a die duplicate of the Delhi piece. A third coin of this type is in the Smithsonian Museum, in USA.

Bengal coins of Muhammad bin Sam are of three types, all are of gold and of two denominations.

Type A: Gold Coinage

Type A1: Gold Tanka

In commemoration of the conquest of *Gaur* the coin was issued in the name of Muhammad bin Sam. On the obverse the effigy of a horseman certainly indicates the portrait of Sultan Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam. He is shown wearing a long *jubba* (tunic) and turban. The circular legend on the obverse margin is in Arabic save the two words *Gauḍa vijoye* which are in *Devnagri*, which indicate that, the coin was issued on the occasion of the conquest of *Gauḍa*⁷. The Arabic legend is *fi muntaṣif ramadhān sanah aḥad wa sittu miyāh*, 'in the middle Ramadan the year 601' i.e. it reveals that the conquest of *Gauḍa* took place in the mid-Ramadan, 601/1205.

The reverse legend is in Arabic and is in *Naskh* style. The reverse discloses the name of Sultan Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam with the title *as Sulṭān u'l mu'azzam* in five lines, *as Sulṭān'ul mu'azzam Muṭ' ud dūnyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad bin Sām*, 'the great Sultan prestige of the world and the religion father of victory Mohammad bin Sam'. We have no idea as to whether the local

³ Minhaj-i-Siraj *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. trans. H. G. Raverty, Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881, (reprint: New Delhi, 1970), Vol. I, (henceforth *T.N.*), p.559.

⁴ Nizamuddin Ahmad categorically states that Bakhtiyar used a canopy as a symbol of royalty, had the *Khutbah* recited and coin minted in his own name; Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, Eng. tran. Brajendranath De. ed., Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927, (henceforth *T.A.*), p. 51.

⁵ Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (henceforth *JNSI*), Varanasi, vol. xxxv, 1973, pp. 196-7; Journal of the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, (henceforth *JVRM*), vol. iv, 1975-76, p.34.

⁶ H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, (henceforth *Coinage*), p.6, coin no. 3A.

⁷ *JVRM*, Vol. iv, p. 34; P.L. Gupta, "On the date of the horseman type of coin of Muhammad bin Sam", *JNSI*, xxxviii, pp. 86 - 87.

engravers were employed for this task or Bakhtiyar had with him any artisan brought from outside. The weight of the coin is 11.17 gm., which is inconsistent with the *tola* weight standard of 96 *rattis*. The mint is not mentioned on the coin and provenance of the coins is not known. But from the *Nagri* legend *Gaur vijoye* it can be surmised that the coin was issued from *Gaur* (Cat. no.1). Only three coins of Type A1 are known and each bears the same legend.

Type A2: Gold 1/4th Tanka

The obverse bears the effigy of a horseman to left brandishing aloft a mace in his right hand. The marginal legend is not clear. The reverse bears the name of Muhammad bin Sam in *Nagri* script in three lines. Weight of this type varies from 2.29 gm., to 2.30gms. (Cat. no. 2)

Type A3: Gold 1/4th Tanka

The obverse bears an effigy of a charging horseman (like Type A2) with a lance on the right. The circular *Nagri* legend is not distinct.

The reverse bears the name of the Sultan in Arabic in four lines. (Cat. no. 4)

The importance of the *Gauda Vijoye* coin is manifold. It marks the beginning of renewed numismatic activity in Bengal after a long interval of at least five hundred years. Moreover, it was the maiden issue as far as the Muslim numismatics of Bengal is concerned. The words in the *Nagri* script *Gauda Vijoye* indicate that it was struck in *Gaur* on the occasion of its conquest and that Bakhtiyar was the issuer. The coin also testifies to his loyalty to his master Muhammad bin Sam against whom he did not revolt although the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* mentions that he assumed independent status. The coin is a commemorative one confirming the date of the conquest of *Gauda*⁸, which happened in the middle of Ramadan, 601AH as confirmed by P. L. Gupta⁹.

Thus the issue sets at rest all the contentions of the historians about the date and year of the conquest of *Gaur* and also about the issuing of coins by a lieutenant on behalf of a sovereign ruler. It is a bilingual coin having Arabic and *Devnagri* scripts. The latter proves that the script was prevalent in and around *Gaur* at the time of the conquest. The effigy of a horseman is not very common for a Muslim coin. It is a small piece of art as well. The coin not only depicts the image of the Sultan but also provides documentary evidence of the costume of a Muslim soldier of this period. This horseman type coin also reflects the innovative power of the early Muslim rulers, as there were then no coins in circulation in Bengal, which could have been accepted as a model for their coinage¹⁰. This horseman type was followed by the successive rulers, namely Ali Mardan and Shams ud din Iltutmish for their Bengal coins. None of

⁸ *TA*, vol. i, p. 51

⁹ *JNSI*, vol. xxxv, pp. 210 - 211.

the Delhi Sultans struck coins in this model and the effigy of the *Chauhana* horseman is quite different from that of the Bengal type horseman. So it can be surmised safely that this horseman type originated in Bengal independently. The Central Asian experience of the Khaljis was probably behind this issue. It also reminds the marching horsemen of the advance party of Bakhtiyar, popularly believed to be eighteen in number¹¹. Finally the *Gauda Vijoye* coin of Bakhtiyar set the weight of Muslim coins for the first time in the *tola* weight standard of indigenous origin, which was adopted by subsequent Delhi Sultans.

The second category of horseman type (Type A2) coin (gold) of lower denomination came to light in 1984. The coin was issued in the name of Muhammad bin Sam but the mint and date could not be deciphered due to the illegibility of the marginal legend. But Gupta states that the provenance of this coin is eastern Bengal¹². Then on the basis of provenance it may be assumed that the coin was struck from *Gaur*. Moreover the type of horseman depicted on this coin has no similarity with coins of northern India i.e. *Chauhana* horseman nor even with the horseman of Type A1, still there are certain subtle resemblances. If we accept the view that these coins were produced in Bengal then it is evident from their effigy that the engravers of full Tanka (Type A1) and fractional Tankas (Type A2 and A3) were not from the same school.

The weight standards of these coins are 2.30gms, which is similar to the Indian coins. Still it has some connection with the coins of Ali Mardan Khalji, which are of the same weight standard, and there is no doubt that the coins of Ali Mardan were being issued from Bengal. Although the Arabic engraving of these coins has no resemblance to the *Gauda Vijoye* coins still the style of rendering the alphabet *noon* in the word 'Sulṭān' of both the coins are alike (*Gauda Vijoye* and above coin Type 2). Therefore, there are certain similarities and dissimilarities between these two types of coins and we are not in a position with our present information to accept Type A2 and A3 coins as the product of *Gaur* mint or issues of Bengal with certainty. Therefore, until a coin with a firm date and mint is found these coins may be regarded as unassigned coins of Muhammad bin Sam.

No inscription of Bakhtiyar's period has come to light yet. Therefore, the only positive record of the eventful victory over *Gauda* is preserved by the *Gauda Vijoye* coin, a numismatic evidence of significant importance.

¹⁰ Imitating the prevailing coin type is very much evident elsewhere outside Bengal.

¹¹ H.B., ii, p.

¹² P. L. Gupta, "Horseman Type Tankas of Muhammad bin Sam", *Numismatic Digest* (henceforth *ND*), x, 1986, Nasik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Maharashtra, India, p. 107.

A 2. Sultan Shams ud din Iltutmish 607 – 633/1211 – 1235

Before Iltutmish Qutb ud din Aibak and Aram Shah reigned in Delhi. Iltutmish ascended the throne of Delhi in 607/1211 and reigned for 23 years upto 633/1235. The first two successors of Muiz-ud-din Muhammad Ghuri at Delhi, Qutb ud din Aibak and Aram Shah did not issue any coins in their names. For the prime task of consolidation of the newly conquered country they did not feel the need to organize the currency system. Even Iltutmish had no chance of thinking of it just after his ascension and had to depend upon the prevalent currency system introduced by Muhammad Ghuri. During the weak rule of Aram Shah, Iltutmish's predecessor, most of the distant land had gone out of control. And he had to reconquer not only those territories but also to pacify other claimants of the Sultanat like Yalduz and Qubacha. Therefore, he had to depend on the prevailing currency of *Delhiwals*. But it was Iltutmish who reorganized the coinage after Ghuri and struck coins from several mints including Bengal. His earliest coins were struck in billon and copper. Afterwards he also struck coins in gold and silver. His gold coins are found only from the Bengal mint, *Gauda* and silver coins are reported from Delhi and Bengal mints¹³.

His earliest coins from Bengal are of gold and silver dated in 614/1217 issued by the Bengal governor 'Iwad from *Gauda*. It continued up to 616/1219 before 'Iwad's declaration of independence in 616AH. 'Iwad issued silver coins in his own name as a sovereign ruler of Bengal. In 622/1225 being freed from his north western troubles Iltutmish turned his attention towards south, his Bengal affairs. Bengal still an independent state ruled by 'Iwad' readily submitted to him. A treaty materialised, 'Iwad accepted to pay an indemnity and *khutbah* and *sikka* were again issued in the name of Delhi Sultan¹⁴ Roma Niyogi proposes that a silver coin of Iltutmish dated 622AH bears both the names of Iltutmish and 'Iwad on the same coin. If this conjectural reading of Niyogi is taken to be correct then it will also be an additional support in favour of the event¹⁵. But soon after this 'Iwad shook off the allegiance and ousted the Sultan's governor Alauddin Jani from Bihar in 623AH. In 624/1227 Prince Nasiruddin marched against 'Iwad, defeated him and he was slain. Nasiruddin Mahmud took over the charge of governorship of Bengal. Again coins began to be issued from Bengal mint in the name of the Delhi Sultan Iltutmish.

Iltutmish's Bengal coins may be divided into two major groups (A) Gold coins (B) Silver coins. Probabaly no coins of copper or billon or denominational coins of silver were issued from Bengal.

Iltutmish's gold coins are found only from the Bengal mint of Gaur. Only two of his gold coins have been discovered so far and are of two types. These are coins of 'horseman type', modeled after 'Gauda Vijoye' coins of Muhammad bin Sam and coins of 'Ali Mardan, struck by the Bengal governor 'Iwad in the name

¹³ *Coinage*, pp. 15 - 21

¹⁴ *TN*, (Raverty), p. 610.

¹⁵ Roma Niyogi, "A unique coin from Bengal and a review of Iwad's career", *JNSI*, XL, 1978, pp. 42 - 43 & 51.

of Iltutmish. One of the coins was acquired by the American Numismatic Society (ANS), Washington D.C., the other is in the collection of Kaiser Friedrich Museum (KFM), Berlin¹⁶

Type A: Gold Coin

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the effigy of a horseman to left, in a circle, and the circular marginal legend contains the Kalima, instrument of faith of the Muslims, and the date. *[Lā ilaha illa] Allāhu Muḥammadur Rasūl Allāh, batārīkh sanah arba' 'ashara [wa sittu miyah]* 'there is no God but Allah, Muhammad His apostle, dated the year six hundred and fourteen'.

The reverse bears in a dotted circle four lines of Arabic legend as *Sulṭānu'l mu'azzam Shams ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Iltutmish al Qutbī nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn*, 'the Sultan sun of the world and the religion father of victory Iltutmish al Qutbi helper of the leader of the believers' (Cat. no. 6).

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse is the same as Type A1 but the date is 'sittu 'ashara wa sittu miyah' that is 616 with the word *ḍarb* above the horse and *bi-Gaur* below the horse i.e. 'struck in Gauda'.

The reverse is the same as Type A1's reverse with replacing the word *nasir* after *al Qutbī* replaced by *burhān* . proof', and the legend in five lines instead of four (cat. no. 7).

Both the coins bear on the obverse a Turkish charging horseman to left holding a mace in his right hand and the rein of the horse in his left hand. He wears a turban on his head. 'The form of the saddle' as Thomas reports, 'the seat of the horseman, the chanfrien or head-armour of the steed and his erect tail, all seem to point to *Turki* ideals¹⁷'. In the field at the back of the horseman the word *Ḍarb* is inscribed and below the horse between the forelegs and hind legs *bi-Gaur* in Type A2. In the circular marginal legend the Kalima, and the date in Arabic words follows the Kalima.

Both these gold coins reveal the same pattern of horseman and marginal legend, even the reverse legends of both the coins are almost alike. But they are not identical and not produced from the same die. The Berlin coin bears on the obverse the date 616. On the other hand the ANS coin's date is 614, again the former coin has the mint name *bi-Gaur* on the obverse, which the latter does not have. As regards the reverse, both coins are almost the same but the Berlin coin legend as written in five lines, whereas the

¹⁶ *Coinage*, p. 70.

¹⁷ Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, (henceforth *Chronicles*), London, 1871, (First Indian ed., Delhi, 1967), p. 79.

ANS coin's legend is in four lines, and *burhān* after *al qutbi* is replaced by *nāṣir* in the latter coin. That is Berlin coin has *burhān* (proof of) *amīri'l mu'minīn* whereas ANS has *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn*, 'helper of the commander of the faithful'.

Type A3: Gold Quarter Tanka

The obverse bears the horseman same as Type A1. The reverse same as Type A1's reverse, mostly efaced.

Silver coins of Iltutmish are as below:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

Like the gold coin Iltutmish's silver coins up to 616AH were also the horseman type and issued from *Gaur* by 'Iwad. Only one silver coin (Type B1) bears the mint name *bi Gaur*, like the gold coin of Berlin (Type A2), but with slight difference in the reverse legend. In this coin there is in the 4th line *nasir* after the word *al qutbi* instead of *burhan* of the gold coin Type A2¹⁸. A second type of silver coin (Type B2) is same as the ANS gold Type A1 i.e. it has no mint name on the obverse and on the reverse there is a slight change in the legend. Here the word *burhānu amīri'l mu'minīn* has been placed after the word *al-qutbi* and the legend is in five lines i.e. the same as the reverse of the Berlin gold coin Type A2. Both these silver coins are dated 616AH. A third coin (Type B2) has been found, the obverse and reverse of which are like the silver coin Type B2, but the date in the margin is undeciphered. It bears a *Nagri* letter 'Sa' above the word 'Iltutmish', probably to denote 'shah'. All the three silver coins are different in size and are 34, 25 and 28.7mm respectively. They are of *tola* standard weight.

It is already known that as the governor 'Iwad had declared independence in 616AH and issued coins from Bengal in his own name. His independent coins are different from the horseman type. In 622AH Iltutmish marched towards Bengal and 'Iwad submitted to the former, and again *Khutbah* was read, and *sikka* struck in the name of Sultan. Some silver coins of Iltutmish are found dated 622, 624, 632, and 633AH. These are of the Bengal fabric, and the arrangement of legends and pattern of the coins are the same as 'Iwad's independent coins, but probably were not issued by 'Iwad. Because just after the treaty of 622AH, 'Iwad ousted the Delhi Sultan's governor from Bihar in 623AH, showing his hostility towards Delhi. Therefore, it does not seem possible that 'Iwad should strike coins in the name of Iltutmish after 623. If issued by 'Iwad, then only the 622AH coins could have been struck by him and they are from the time of his second vassalage. Iltutmish's silver coins of the latter period struck from Bengal are found in six types.

The obverse bears the Kalima and the name of the Khalifah of Baghdad. Only in one type (Type B6) the Khalifah's name has not been mentioned. On the reverse the name of the Sultan along with his *laqab*,

kuniyah, relation with the predecessors and affiliation to the Khalifa of Islam have been inscribed as *Sulṭān u'l mu'azzam Shams ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Iltutmish al quṭbī burhānu amīri'l mu'minīn*. Both the gold coins bear as *Sulṭān u'l 'mudẓẓam*, 'great sultan' and not as *Sulṭān u'l 'aẓam*, 'supreme sultan', as his regal title. It matters little as 'aẓam' and 'mu'azzam' are used separately and do not indicate comparison. Therefore, al-mu'azzam does not indicate his inferior status. Again the word *al-quṭbī* indicates his relation with Qutbuddin Aibak, that he was a freedman of the latter, or it may indicate the *Quṭbī* group of the nobles separating the *Mu'izis burhānu amīri'l mu'minīn* means 'proof of the commander of the faithful'. It shows some sort of connection with the Khalifa of Islam in the declaration of the coin. It is known that Iltutmish did not receive any authorization from the Khalifa of Islam at that time. Yet it was to demonstrate that Iltutmish was on the side of the Khalifa and by doing so the sovereigns of the Muslim petty states used to give a legal tender for their authority.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in two lines, *an-Nāṣir lidīn il-Allāh* name of the Khalifah in the third line and *amīru'l mu'minīn* 'leader of the believers', in the last line. A circular legend in the margin contains *hazad ʿarḥ fi shuhūri sanah 'isna wa 'ishrīn wa sittu miyah*, 'the coin was struck in the year six hundred twenty two i.e 622. But no mint name is mentioned.

The reverse bears the name of the Sultan with his titles in six lines in Arabic, as *Sulṭān u'l mu'azzam Shams-ud-dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Iltutmish as sulṭānī yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn* but the word '*al quṭbī*' of the horseman type has been replaced by *as sulṭānī* followed by the titles 'right hand of the vicegerent of Allah', 'helper of the commander of the faithful'. In this coin some enhancement of the position of the Sultan may be detected, '*as sulṭān al mu'azzam*' has been retained but the word '*al quṭbī*' has been replaced by a better title, '*Khalīfat Allāh's right hand*' is another lofty title. Varieties of this type exist according to various minor alternation and line arrangement of legends. In some coins the reverse legend is arranged in five, six or seven lines. (Cat. no. B3).

Type B4: Silver Tanka

Same as above Type B3 but with the title of *as Sulṭān u'l aẓam*, and *Sultan* instead of *as Sulṭānī* and omitting *yamīnu khalīfatullāh*. The date of the coin is not clear particularly the unit digit (62 ? AH.)¹⁹. Therefore, it is not certain from which date Iltutmish began to use the title *as sulṭān u'l aẓam*. No coins of 623AH have so far been found. In the early part of this year 'Iwad drove away the governor of Bihar. So he would not strike coins in the name of Iltutmish, and this may be the cause of non availability of the coins of Iltutmish dated 623AH. Khalifa an-Nasir lidinillah died in 622AH and az-Zahir succeeded him;

¹⁸ JNSI, XXXV (1973) pp. 200-202.

¹⁹ Coinage, p. 17. No. 50

therefore, the above mentioned variety's unit may be 2 i.e. dated 622AH therefore, we can assume that Iltutmish was proclaimed as *as Sulṭān u'l a'ẓam* in 622AH in his Bengal coins.

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima and name of the Khalifa, not *an Nāṣir lidīn Allāh* but *az Zāhir biamrillāh* and dated 624AH²⁰. In this type on the reverse *as Sulṭān u'l a'ẓam* has been inscribed which shows farther strengthening of his power. But az Zahir died in 623AH and in 624AH al-Mustansir Billah was the Khalifa. The type B6 coin may help us in this regard. It bears the date 626AH and also bears the Khalifa's name al Mustansir Billah. So, it can be assumed that it took one year for the death news of the preceeding Khalifa az Zahir to reach Bengal.

Type B6: Silver Tanka

The coin bears on the obverse only the Kalima in two lines. Reverse bears *fi 'ahadi'l imām al Mustanṣir amīrī'l mu' (minīn)*, meaning, 'in the time of the leader al Mustansir, commander of the faithful'; and in the margin *ḍuriha haḍis sikkatu bi Laukhnautī fī shuhūri sanah sittā wa 'ishrīn wa sittu miyah*, 'This coin has been struck at Lakhnauti in the year six hundred and twenty six'. In this coin the name of the Sultan or his governor have not been mentioned. It was probably struck to celebrate the arrival of the Khalifa's envoy to Delhi in 626AH²¹. Probably this is the first citation of Lakhnauti in a coin. It is also very significant for the legend on the reverse, which has adopted as a model by the subsequent sultans of Delhi, Firuz, Rāḍiyah, Mas'ud, Mahmud upto Balban all used this formula for their coins. It was Balban who replaced it by *al Imām*²².

Type B7: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima and the Khalifa's name *al-Mustanṣir Billāh*. But some of the coins bear the name of the Khalifa as *al-Mustanṣir Biamrillāh*, 'being helped by the order of Allah'. The actual name of the Khalifa is al-Mustansir Billah, 'being helped by the Allah'. The coins are dated 630 and 632AH but though the mint is illegible, it may be assigned to Lakhnauti on stylistic and circumstantial evidences. On the reverse the Sultan's name is in four lines with *as Sulṭān u'l a'ẓam* and ends with *nāṣiru amīrī'l mu'minīn* and the last part of *mūminīn* is written in the right segment of the coin. The mint's name Laukhnauti is doubtful (Cat. no.16)

Type B7a: Silver Tanka

Issued from Lakhnauti dated 633AH bears on the obverse the Kalima and Khalifa al-mustansir's name in four lines, here the name of the Khalifa has been written properly as *al Mustanṣir Billāh amīrī'l mu'minīn*. In the margin *ḍuriha haḍiḥi's shurfah bi (Lakur (sic)) Lakhnautī fī shuhūri sanah ṣalāṣa wa ṣalāṣīn wa*

²⁰ Ibid, p. 18, no. 50A

²¹ Coinage, p. 71.

sittu miyah. It is to be noted that here the word *sikka* has been replaced by 'shurfa', 'noble' i.e. this noble (metal or *sikka*) has been struck at Lakhnauti in thirty three and six hundred i.e. 633AH (Cat. no. 18).

A joint coin has been reported in an article in JNSI by Roma Niogi²³ that the names of Iltutmish and 'Iwad have been inscribed in the same coin, dated 622AH. But her reading of the name 'Iwad, and the date are not conclusive but conjectural. If her reading is taken to be correct then it may have been issued by 'Iwad just after concluding the treaty with Iltutmish. This coin bears on the obverse the Kalima followed by 'nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn' meaning helper of the commander of the faithful, but the Khalifah's name is not mentioned on that side of the coin. The margin bears the date. The mint name is not given; it could be off the flan. The unit digit of the date is not clear, only twenty and six hundred is clear i.e. 62?AH.

The reverse has the name of the Sultan with the title *as Sulṭān u'l mu'aẓẓam* and after the name 'Iltutmish' only two letters are retained on the coin *Āin* and *waw*. Roma Niogi suggested this to be 'Iwad. The reading is rather conjectural, and a vital change in numismatic data should not be based on such conjectures.

Type B8: Silver Tanka

John Deyell has reported about an interesting coin of Iltutmish struck at Lakhnauti by his governor Izzuddin Tughrāl Tughan Khan in 633AH in the last year of Iltutmish's reign. The obverse contains the Sultan's name with title *as Sulṭānu'l a'ẓam* without any additional title, and the legend ends with *Iltutmish as Sulṭān*. The reverse bears the legend *Fī 'ahdi'l imām al Mustanṣir amīri'l mu'minnīn*, in the margin, *Lakhnautī maḍāfāt* in Arabic is clear but rest of the legend truncated. But the most interesting information is on the obverse margin which is read as *min kharāji Rāl wa Barind fī shuhūri sanah ṣalāṣa wa ṣalāṣīn wa sittu miyah* i.e. '(this coin was struck) from the kharaj of Radha and Barendra in the year thirty three and six hundred'. A note of interest is that for the first time in Sultani coins of Bengal both the obverse and reverse margins bear the same legend²⁴. This coin is at present in a private collection in India²⁵. It commemorates the event of revenue collection from Radha and Barind.

The discovery of this coin may help us to determine the rather clumsy relationship between Aibak Aor Khan and Tughrāl Tughan Khan. Even Minhaj has not clearly described this. In one place he said that in 631 after the death of Malik Saifuddin Aibak, governor of Lakhnauti, Tughrāl Tughan Khan got the governorship²⁶, and at that time Iltutmish was alive. Elsewhere he said that after the death of Iltutmish (i.e. after 633AH), Malik Aibak Aor Khan governor of Lakhnauti and Tughan Khan fought against each other for the possession of Basankot. In this battle Aor Khan died and Tughan became the master of the two

²² JNSI, XL1, pt. 2, 1979, pp. 98 - 102.

²³ JNSI, XL (1978) pp. 42-44.

²⁴ VD, XIV (1990), p. 45.

²⁵ J. P. Goenka Collection, Calcutta, Ex Rampuriya Collection, Ex Farid Collection, India.

parts of Lakhnauti – Ral and Barind. He also mentioned that Barind was not under Tughan's control for some time²⁷. It seems that, Ral and Barind were divided and each one assigned to a governor. But no information about this is available from any source. Minhaj refers to both Tughan and Aor Khan as Jagirdars of Lakhnauti, which does not prove governorship. The other possibility is that Aor Khan usurped Barind for some time and tried to be governor of Lakhnauti by possessing the fort of Basankot from Tughan. J.N. Sarkar states that Aor Khan made himself master of Lakhnauti after the death or murder of Saifuddin²⁸.

All the historians including Minhaj gave their own views about the above event, which complicated the matter farther, and it is difficult to decide what really happened.

If the reading of the margin is considered to be correct, then this numismatic evidence and information may help us to ascertain the event.

First, Minhaj's statement and reading of the margin of the coin tallies with the fact that Tughan Khan captured both Ral and Barind by subduing Aor Khan, and the coin is dated 633AH. Iltutmish died in the month of Shaban 633AH. Therefore, the event probably did not happen after the death of Iltutmish, or if it did then it was within 4 months after his death i.e. within the year 633. So Minhaj may be incorrect in saying that the fight of Tughral and Aor took place after the death of Iltutmish. But one question remains unsolved, how and when did Aor Khan become the governor of Lakhnauti? If he captured it by killing Saifuddin Aibak then where was Tughan? Tughan got the appointment or captured power after the death of Saifuddin Aibak in 631AH. Whatever may be the case the coin commemorates the event, Tughan's victory over both the parts, 'Ral' and 'Barind', apparently corroborates Minhaj. The coin was issued in the name of Sultan Iltutmish dated 633AH. Therefore, it was struck while the Sultan was alive, within the eight months of 633AH.

No coin in the name of Tughan are known, so he did not issue any coin in his own name or joint names but inscribed the name of the Sultan Iltutmish. It proves his vassalage *min kharāj Rāl wa Barind* indicates the nature of commemoration and some sort of glory no doubt. But he did not claim for himself. Only two words of the reverse margin are retained and readable. These are *Lakhnautī maḍāfāt*, meaning the 'suburb of Lakhnauti', perhaps the mint name Lakhnauti mazafat indicates Basankot, which is not far from Lakhnauti.

²⁶ TN, (Bangla translation, translated and edited: by A. K. M. Zakaria, Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1983) p. 142, Text. p. 61

²⁷ Ibid. p. 61

²⁸ IIB, II, pp.45-46.

In 610/1213, 'Iwad was sworn in as the governor of Lakhnauti and for the first two years he did not issue any coins in his own name or in the name of Iltutmish. But in 614/1217 horseman type coins in the name of Iltutmish were struck from Bengal. The discovery of *Gauḍa Vijaye* coin and Ali Mardan's coins with the same horseman now confirms the horseman type's origin in Bengal, which in 614AH, 'Iwad voluntarily adopted for Iltutmish's coin. This horseman type is completely different from the northern horseman of the billon coins, which were depicted in coarse outline. Moreover, the Bengal horseman is Turkish styled, the fully caparisoned galloping horse, and reminds one of the eighteen horseman of Bakhtiyar's advance party, a very appropriate thing for the commemoration²⁹.

Iltutmish's Bengal coins show that his status was at the beginning as *Sulṭān u'l mu'azzam, al-qutbī and as-sulṭānī*. But later these comparatively lower titles were replaced with high sounding titles and instead of helper of the amirī'l mu'minin, the name of the reigning Khalifa began to be inscribed. In 622AH a completely new type of coin came into being and its fabric and pattern were like the independent coins of 'Iwad. There was no effigy in the coins of this later type.

It is to be noted here that till 624AH, Delhi had no regular silver coins, but afterwards Iltutmish reorganized the currency system and an imperial coin was adopted on the standard of *tola* unit following the style and fabric of 'Iwad's coins of Bengal. As Professor Tarafdar said "they imitate the coins of 'Iwad in weight, design and regal titles". It may be said that Bengal rendered the pioneering role in this regard and the credit goes to 'Iwad no doubt. 'Iwad on the other hand took the Ghazna type³⁰ as the prototype for his coin legend. For weight he depended on the local *tola* standard, which did his predecessors, Bakhtiyar and Ali Mardan Khalji, adopt. From 617 to 621AH there was no coin minted in Bengal in the name of Iltutmish. During his reign Bengal was governed by several governors. 'Iwad issued coins in his sultan's name from 614 to 616AH. The joint coin of 622 is from his second vassalage. The next governor, prince Nasiruddin Mahmud ruled Bengal for one year and some months, and coins dated 624AH were minted in his time. After 624 up to 631AH there is no coin found in the name of Iltutmish, although there are some with an illegible unit digit, but they do not help us to draw any conclusion. Coins dated 632 and 633AH have been found in the name of Iltutmish and apparently are the products of Bengal mint, although almost all the coins are devoid of any mint name except one, Type B7. These coins were issued by the subsequent governors, after prince Nasiruddin Mahmud, namely, Alauddin Daulat shah, Daulat Shah bin Maudud (joint coin), Alauddin Jani, Saifuddin Aibak and Tughral Tughan Khan.

²⁹ Edward Thomas, "The initial coinage of Bengal under the early Muhammadan conquerors, part II", (henceforth *JCB, II*), *JASB*, XLII, 1873, p. 351.

³⁰ Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar, "Bengal's Relations with her Neighbours: A Numismatic Study", *Nalini Kanta Bhattacharya Commemoration Volume*, ed. A. B. M. Habibullah, Dacca: Dacca Museum, 1966, pp. 236 and 232.

A 3. Ruknuddin Firuz (Delhi) 633 - 634/1235 – 1236

The next Sultan of Delhi was Ruknuddin Firuz. He succeeded his father Iltutmish in 633/1236 and ruled for about seven months³¹. Tughral Tughan Khan the governor of Bengal at that time was loyal to the Delhi court and never tried to shake off the authority of Delhi though he was not appointed by the Delhi authority. His seizure of power was not at first legitimate, as he had captured power from the previous governor Saifuddin Aibak³². However, Tughral Tughan showed his alligiance to Ruknuddin Firuz and struck coins from Bengal in his master's name. Only two silver coins of Ruknuddin Firuz have been found so far which were issued from Bengal. They are of one Tanka denomination and one tola weight standard. Both the coins are of the same type.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a double square within a circle with three dots in each segment. The legend is *as-Sultān u'l a'zam Rukn ud-dunyā wa'd-dīn abū'l-muẓaffar Firuz Shāh ibnus Sultān*, 'the great Sultan pillar of the world and the religion father of the victory Firuz Shah son of the Sultan'. The reverse bears the legend *fī ahdi'l Imām al-Mustansir amīri'l mu'minīn* 'in the reign of Imam al Mustansir leader of the believers' in double square within a circle. The margin outside the circle contains the mint name and date. The mint is Lakhnauti. On one coin the date is readable as 634 A.H. and each segment has a single dot. The date of the other coin is off the flan.

His father Iltutmish used the formula 'fī 'ahd il Imām...' i.e. the name of the Abbasid Khalifa in his coins dated 632AH for the first time. He followed his father's style and coin legend. It was not possible on his part to strike coins in a new style within the short period of his reign. No coin of Ruknuddin Firuz issued from Bengal was known until very recently. His coins are rather scarce, Edward Thomas did not mention Firuz's coins in his book *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, neither did Nelson Wright in his book, *the coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*. Only one silver coin of Firuz has been mentioned in *IMC*, the mint and date of which is off the flan. Therefore, it is not possible to draw any conclusion from that coin, but its style shows that is not a Bengal product. In March 1999 a sale Catalogue published for the first time two of Firuz's Bengal coins with photographs³³. The margins of both coins bear the mint name *bi Lakhnauti*, but one of the margins bears the date also (no. 685) as already mentioned. Therefore, there is no doubt that the two coins are products of Bengal. The Bengal governor Tughral Tughan had struck these coins from Bengal during Firuz's short rule in Delhi.

³¹ Mohammad Habib and K. A. Nizami (ed.) *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. V (The Delhi Sultanat, 1206 - 1526AD), (henceforth *Delhi Sultanat*), New Delhi: The Indian History Congress, 1970, pp. 234-236; *TN*, (Raverty) p. 636.

³² *TN*, (Raverty), pp. 736-37; Abdul Karim, *Banglar Itihas (Sultani Amol)*, (in Bangla), Dhak: Bangla Academy, First ed. 1977, First reprint 1993, (henceforth *Sultani Amol*) p.112.

³³ *Singapore Coin Auction – Taisei, Baldwin, Gillio, Catalogue 28, 1999*, (henceforth *SCA*), Cat. p. 44, coin no. 684 & 685, pl. 40.

A 4. Sultan Jalalatuddin Radiya 634 - 637/1236 – 1240

Sultan Radiya, daughter of Iltutmish succeeded her brother Ruknuddin Firuz in 1236CE in Delhi and ruled up to 1240CE. She was the only woman Sultan among all the rulers of Delhi and Bengal and also struck coins in her own name. During her rule Tughral Tughan Khan was the governor of Bengal although he had not been appointed by the Delhi authority. After Radiya's ascension to the throne of Delhi Tughan sent valuable presents to the Delhi court and procured a formal recognition from her³⁴.

Tughral Tughan issued coins from Bengal in the name of Radiya and her successor Alauddin Masud and never tried to proclaim independence during their lifetime³⁵.

Three types of coins have been discovered from Bengal in the name of Radiya. All the coins are of one Tanka denomination and in two metals viz gold and silver, although copper and billon were popular in Delhi.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

One solitary gold coin³⁶ has been found in Radiya's name and is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. On the obverse she styled herself as *as-Sulṭān u'l a'zam* and her regnal title *Jalālat u'd duniyā wa'd dīn*. No alam or proper name has been mentioned but only *malikatu Iltutmish ibnatus sulṭān* (i.e. Sultana Radiya) has not been inscribed on the coin but she is mentioned as the daughter of Iltutmish. The full legend is 'the great Sultan glory of the world and the religion Malika i Iltutmish daughter of the Sultan, helper³⁷ of the leader of the believers'.

The reverse has the usual legend in Arabic in three lines *fi 'ahdī'l imām al Mustansir amīrī'l mu'minin* 'in the reign of the Imam al Mustansir leader of the believers'. The circular marginal legend is indistinct and illegible. Therefore, the mint and date are unknown.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

Only one type of silver coin was issued in Radiya's name from Lakhnauti with some variations in arrangements of lines and legends and variations in dates. The obverse is the same as gold Type A1. In some coins the legend is in five lines instead of four of the Type A1, and in some coins the date is 635, 636 AH. The reverse of these silver coins are the same as the gold ones in design and legend. But the

³⁴ H.B. II, p. 46.

³⁵ Ibid. pp. 46-47.

³⁶ C. R. Singhal, "Rare and Unique Gold Coins of the Early Muslim Rulers", *JNSI*, XVI pt. 1, (1954), pp. 126-127.

³⁷ Thomas has read in a coin the last line *mohratu amīrī'l mu'minin*, 'seal of the Amīrū'l muminin, instead of Nusrat. But on the illustration the word is missing, so the reading is doubtful. Cf. *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, Part I, JASB, 1867, pl. I, coin no. 1.

circular marginal legend is *ḍuriba ḥaẓa'l fiddatu bi Lakhnauti fī shuhūri sanah arba' wa ṣalāsina wa sittu miyah* in Arabic. 'This silver (coin) was struck in Lakhnauti in the year six hundred thirty four'.

It is interesting to note that her Bengal coins were found from the very first year of her accession to the throne (i.e. 635AH). On the other hand the Delhi coins are dated to 635AH. Either Delhi coins of 634AH have not been found or due to the unrest in Delhi at that time she could not issue coins. But in Bengal the governor issued them on her behalf. Another remarkable thing is that not a single coin dated 637AH either from Delhi or Bengal or from any other mint has yet been found though she was in power during almost the entire year of 637AH.

No gold or silver coin issued from Bengal in the name of Radiya has given her full name i.e. her '*alam Radiya* and only some Delhi coins of lesser metals i.e. billon or copper have mentioned it. She seems to have been happy to be known as the daughter of Iltutmish, *ibnatu's Sulṭān* which she never fails to mention. The opposition of the court at Delhi that was not ready to accept a woman's rule prompted her to proclaim *malikatu Iltutmish ibnatu's Sulṭān*, thus claiming her legitimate right as the legal heir apparent of the deceased Sultan. Concealing her name 'Radiya' she tried to establish that she was ruling on behalf of her father Iltutmish, as some of her early Delhi coins show where she did not mention her name at all but used only her father's name³⁸, *nusratu amīri'l mu'minin* on some coins indicates that her name has been used jointly with her father's name with a lesser title *as-Sulṭānu'l mu 'azzam* as subordinate to her father, who has been given the higher title *as-Sulṭānu'l a'zam*, this has also been found in her Delhi issues³⁹.

All the Bengal coins of Radiya were issued by the governor Tughral Tughan Khan on her behalf. The governors of distant places like Bengal were defacto sovereigns and sometimes became governors without the proper approval from Delhi. Some ventured to declare independence yet the contents of the coin legend of Radiya show that loyal governors used to abide by the policy of the central authority.

Only one mint of Bengal, Lakhnauti is represented in the coins of Radiya. A solitary gold coin of hers is known and two more specimens are reported to have been heard of, but they are missing⁴⁰. All her coins both gold and silver are of one Tanka denomination and one *tola* standard following the standard weight in Delhi.

³⁸ *Coinage*, p. 40, coin no. 161, only the indication of Radiya is in the last line *nusratu (amiril mu'minin)*.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 40, coin no. 161A. Cf. footnote.

⁴⁰ *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, London, 1885, pt. III, p. 216. Quoted by H. N. Wright, *Coinage*, p. 76.

A 5. Alauddin Masud Shah**639 --644 /1242 --1246**

After Radiya Muiz ud din Bahram Shah, her brother became the Sultan of Delhi and ruled for one year and few months (1240-1242CE). At that time Tughral Tughan was the governor of Bengal, but probably he did not issue coins. No coins from Bengal have been found in the name of Bahram Shah, nor was Tughral Tughan disloyal to the Delhi authority.

The next Delhi Sultan was 'Alauddin Masud, nephew of Bahram. He ruled from 1242CE to 1246CE. His Bengal coins are a few in numbers and are of two metals, gold and silver. These coins were issued by the Bengal governor on behalf of the Delhi Sultan. Tughral Tughan, the governor of Lakhnauti, ruled Bengal upto 642/1244. Probably he did not issue any coin in the name of Masud Shah. Tamar Khan, who forcefully usurped power from Tughan but was loyal to Delhi, issued coins in the name of Masud Shah, Sultan of Delhi. Though Masud's Bengal coins do not bear any mint_name and date still from circumstantial evidence it appears that these were struck in Bengal⁴¹. These coins of Masud are similar to those of Radiya's coins issued earlier from Bengal by the previous governor Tughan Khan. Probably Tughan did not issue any coins for the succeeding Sultans, Bahram and Masud or the coins of this period have not yet been found.

Two types of coins are found in the name of Masud Shah from Bengal. These coins were modeled after the Delhi coins of one-tanka denominations and after the same weight (tola) standard.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse of the coin bears the name of the Sultan. The reverse bears the formula *fī 'ahdi'l imām al-Mustansir Billāh amīrī 'l mu'minīn lillāh* i.e. 'in the time of the leader al Mustansir, leader of the believers'. Though Mustansir was not alive and had been succeeded by Mustasim in 640/1242 probably the news of the ascension of the new Khalifa reached Bengal late. This coin has no margin so there is no mention of mint and date but H.N. Write pointed out its provenance and peculiar rendering of the word 'amir' which is distinctively of Bengal⁴².

Another peculiarity in these coins is an addition of the word 'lillah' at the end of "*Amīru'l mu'minīn*" which is unlike the Delhi coins. The reverse of his Delhi coins contain the same legend but without 'lillāh'. It is difficult to presume the actual purpose of introducing this new style (i.e. lillah) in the legend. Perhaps it was to rhyme with *Billah* of the line above.

⁴¹ "Its provenance and that of the silver tanka resembling it together with the peculiar lettering (the distinctively Bengal rendering of the *amir* may be instanced), indicate that these coins were struck in Bengal rather than in the capital". *Coinage*, p. 77.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 77.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends and designs are same as gold Type A1. The coin is exactly the same as the gold coin; the difference is only in metal and size. But Wright informs us that he could not trace the word *lillāh* what has been read by Hoernle in JASB 1881, and Wright has read the word *aḥmad* instead of *lillāh*.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

This type is almost like Type B1 but with slight difference in the reverse legend which omitted the words *billāh* after *al Mustansir* and last word *aḥmad* ends with 'Aḥmad' instead of 'lillāh'⁴³.

Bengal gold and silver tankas of Masud discovered in Calcutta and Gauhati⁴⁴ do not have the marginal legends. They may be distinguished from the Delhi coins of Mas'ud by the particular arrangement of the lines of the obverse legend. This identification is attested by the whole findings also. The gold coin's provenance is Calcutta, silver coin of the first variety is found at Gauhati, Assam.

⁴³ H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. II, (henceforth *IMC*), Oxford, 1907, p. 29, footnote 1.

⁴⁴ *Coinage*, p. 77.

A 6. Nasiruddin Mahmud (Delhi)

644 – 664/1246 – 1266

The next Delhi Sultan whose coins are found in Bengal is Nasiruddin Mahmud. In 644/1246 he was elevated to the throne of Delhi and ruled up to 664/1266. During his reign three governors ruled in Bengal, viz Jalaluddin Masud Jani, Ikhtyaruddin Yuzbak and 'Izzuddin Balban Yuzbaki. They were all loyal to the Delhi Sultan except Yuzbak, who declared independence later on and issued coins in his own name.

Tamar Khan, who usurped power from Tughan Khan, ruled for two years and died in 644 AH, the year in which Nasir ud din Mahmud ascended the throne in Delhi. But during the two years of Tamar Khan's rule no coins were issued from Bengal. The next governor Jalaluddin Masud Jani ruled for four years from 645 to 649 AH. After him Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak was made governor of Bengal. Both issued coins from Bengal in the name of Nasiruddin Mahmud, the Delhi Sultan. Ikhtiyaruddin even issued a joint coin with the Sultan but later on he declared independence and issued coins in his name only. After Yuzbak's tragic end in the Kamrup expedition Izzuddin Balban Yuzbaki became the governor of Bengal in 655AH. He showed allegiance to the Delhi Sultan and issued coins in the name of Nasir ud din Mahmud⁴⁵. Mahmud's Bengal coins follow the style of his Delhi issues, which were copied from his predecessor's coins of the Delhi Sultanat. All his Bengal coins are of one Tanka standard found in two metals, gold and silver. No denominational coins have been found so far. All are of one *tola* standard. Five types of coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud are reported from Bengal.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the sultan's title (*laqab*) *kunyah* and *alam*, in double square within a circle *as-Sultān u'l-'azam Nāṣir ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh bin Sultān* 'the great Sultan, helper of the world and the religion, father of the victory Mahmud Shah son of Sultan'. In the legend a new word 'Shah' is also added.

The reverse bears the formula in the same design like the obverse, *fī 'ahdī'l imām al Mustansir Billāh amīrī'l mu'minīn lillāh* i.e. 'in the time of the leader al-Mustansir Billah who is amīrī'l mu'minīn lillāh' (commander of the faithful for Allah). Unlike the other coin but following the coin legend of Alauddin Masud an additional word 'lillah' has been added at the end, which means "for Allah". No mint name is mentioned on the coin and there is no date. Actually there is no margin at all on the coin and the four segments contain four dots in each⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Sukhamay Mukhopadhyay, *Banglay Muslim Adhikarer Adi Parva* (in Bangla), (henceforth *Adi Parva*), Calcutta: Sahityalok, pp. 58 - 70.

⁴⁶ *Coinage*, p. 53, coin no. 219A, also pp. 78 - 79.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The legends, style, and arrangements are same as the gold coin Type A1 mentioned above with a slight alteration in the segmental design. In the case of the reverse of gold there are four dots in each segment. In the silver coin there are three dots instead, on the obverse of the silver there is an ornamental scroll in segments whereas the obverse segments of the gold are plain. The silver coin has no marginal legend, and is devoid of mint name and date like the gold one. Wright calls it a counterpart of the gold in silver⁴⁷. It is interesting to note that Nasiruddin Mahmud ascended the throne in 644/1246 and Khalifa Mustansir Billah died in 640/1242. But four years after his demise the deceased Khalifa's name was still being used in Nasiruddin Mahmud's Bengal coins. It is only in 645AH that the change of the Khalifa's name occurs in Bengal. Thomas attributed this coin to Nasiruddin Mahmud, eldest son of Iltutmish. But Wright assigns the coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud (Type A1 & B1) to Bengal.

Because the coin's obverse is identical with Masud's gold and silver coins of Bengal. Moreover they are also identical with the lettering and style of Nasiruddin Mahmud type B2 & B5's of Bengal coins. He further assumed that 'this coin (gold, Type A1) and its corresponding silver tanka were struck in 644/1246, 'a hurried issue making use of an existing obverse die either in advertently or perhaps in ignorance of the change in the Khilafate, because of the great the distance'⁴⁸.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

Type B2 is like Type B1 but the word 'lillah' at the end of the reverse legend is dropped here and the Khalifa's name has also been changed to al-Must'asim instead of al-Mustansir. In fact al-Mustansir died in 640/1242 and al-Must'asim succeeded him. The marginal legend bears *ḍariba ḥaḍīḥit tankatu bi Lakhnauti*.... 'This tanka has been struck in Lakhnauti...'. But the date portion of the margin is illegible. For the obverse, there is a marginal legend also in four segments, top segment contains *Ḍarḥ* left segment *bilād*, the 3rd segment's legend is illegible, could it be *Lakhnauti* where the coin was struck and the 4th segment *Hind*. The date portion of segment is illegible.

It should be noted here that this type is very significant. In the whole history of Muslim numismatics the word *Tanka* has been mentioned as a term in Arabic script. In all other coinage either '*as-sikkah* or *al-Firḍḍah*' have been mentioned save the bilingual coin of Sultan Mahmud struck from Mahmudpur (Lahore) in Devnagri script where it is 'tanka'⁴⁹. But here the Bengali word has been translated into Arabic; rather the official name of the coin is mentioned for the first time. The mint Lakhnauti is also mentioned. The repeat of marginal legend on the obverse is a tradition introduced by Radiya.

⁴⁷ *Coinage*, P. 78

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 78.

⁴⁹ Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Coins*, (henceforth *Coins*), First ed. 1969. (Third ed.), (Reprint 1979), New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, pp. 85 & 221, Pl. XX, Coin no. 215.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

A joint coin issued from Bengal by Yuzbak before his declaration of independence probably in 650 or 651AH. On the obverse the coin bears both the names of the Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and governor Yuzbak. the coin has been discussed later with join coins in this chapter.

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse of the coin bears the Sultan's name as usual. The reverse of the coin contains the usual formula *fī 'ahad al-imām al-Must'asim amīru'l mu'minīn* and marginal legend all around, it read *dhurīha hazihi 't tankatu bi Lakhnauti fī Safar sanah khams wa khamsīn wa sittu miyah*. That is 'this Tanka was struck at Lakhnauti in the month of Safar, year fifty-five and six hundred i.e. 655AH'. Here the month has been mentioned and year is the same in which Yuzbuk took over the governorship. So the coin may have been struck by him and it is probable that he took the governorship in the month of Safar in 655 AH which he delete mentioned in the coin.

All the governors of Bengal during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud except Yuzbak were loyal to the Delhi Sultan. Though Yuzbak was also loyal in his early years and struck coins in the joint names of the Sultan of Delhi and himself but later on he declared independence and struck coins in his own name. But no measure was undertaken from the Delhi court. Because the palace intrigues among the courtiers in Delhi that they were busy after pursuing their individual power. Yuzbak was allowed to do as he willed in Bengal. He even led an expedition to the west and captured Oudh. While Balban, the chief minister was pursuing power in Delhi with Masud Jani, Kishlu Khan and Tajuddin Arsalan. Yuzbak ventured an expedition in 655 AH to Kamrup which became fatal for him and he lost his life in the battle⁵⁰.

It was Izzudddin Balban Yuzbaki who took over the charge of governorship of Lakhnauti after the death of Yuzbak in Kamrup. he showed his loyalty to the Delhi Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and struck coins in the latter's name. Mahmud was lucky enough that no other governors excepting Yuzbak declared independence in Bengal during his reign.

⁵⁰ *Sultani Amol*, pp. 116-119.

A 7. Ghiyasuddin Balban

664 - 686/1266 – 1287

The next Delhi Sultan whose coins have been found in Bengal is Ghiyasuddin Balban. He ascended the throne in Delhi after Nasiruddin Mahmud in 664/1266 and ruled upto 686/1287. During these twenty-two years Bengal was governed by several governors, viz, Muhammad Arsalan Tatar Khan, Sher Khan, Amin Khan and his deputy Tughril and Nasir ud din Mahmud, Balban's son and successor in Bengal. All these governors were appointed by Balban and they all issued coins in the name of Balban except Tughril who declared independence and struck coins in his own name in the later part of his rule (C. 678-681 AH). Only one type of Balban's silver coin of one Tanka denomination and of one *tola* weight standard with certain variation in designs and dates has been reported from the mint of Lakhnauti in Bengal. No gold coin of Balban from Bengal is reported to be found.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan with the title *as-Sultān u'l-a'zam Ghiyās ud-dunyā wa'd-dīn abū'l muẓaffar Balban as-Sultān*, i.e. "The great Sultan, succor of the world and the religion, father of the conqueror Balban the Sultan". The obverse also bears the same marginal legend as the reverse. The use of this identical dual margin was introduced at first by Radiya for her Delhi issues⁵¹.

The reverse bears the name of the Abbasid Khalifa al-Must'asim Billah with the title *al-imām* at the beginning and *amīr u'l-mu'minīn* at the end, placed in the center with a marginal legend around it. The margin bears the mint name and date, *ḍariba hazihil fidḍatu bi Khittah Lakhnauti fī sanah ṣalāṣa wa ṣabīn wa sittu miyāh*. The mint was ascribed as *bi Khittah Lakhnauti*, i.e. the region of Lakhnauti dated 667.

As regards the design, all the reverse designs are the same. The legend has been placed in a double square within a circle. On the other hand the obverse design is sometimes slightly different, some coins have legends in a single square within a circle with two pellets in the top and bottom segments, other coins have legends in double square within circle, both having circular legends in the margin outside the circle.

Balban's Bengal coins are dated 665, 666⁵², 669, 671⁵³, 672 (Shawal)⁵⁴, 673 (Muharram)⁵⁵, (Jumada)⁵⁶, and of a doubtful reading of 674 and 676⁵⁷ and 685AH⁵⁸ (or 680AH 665AH to 676AH). Dated coins were issued from Khitta Lakhnauti by Muhammad Arsalan Tatar, Sher Khan, Amin Khan and Tughril,

⁵¹ *IMC*, II, p. 34, coin no. 155 (pl.)

⁵² *SCA*, coin no. 713.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, coin no. 714

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, coin no. 715.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, coin no. 716.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, coin no. 717.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, coin no. 718.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, coin no. 719.

respectively. Probably after 676 Tughril stopped coining in his master's name and struck coins in his own name in 678. After suppressing the rebellion of Tughril in Bengal Balban appointed his son Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra as the governor of Bengal and the coins dated 684 and 685AH. were issued by Bughra Khan in the name of his father. All these governors of Bengal were loyal to Balban except Tughril who rebelled in the last part of his rule.

Three of these coins became significant due to the presence of the name of the month along with the year, Shawwal 672, Muharram, 673, and Jumada 673 AH. The dates of governor Tatar Khan and Sher Khan's rule have not been mentioned nor do we know the particular year of appointment of Amin Khan, Governor of Lakhnauti, by Balban. For the lack of contemporary sources we are not in a position even to conjecture the events of particular months of the respective years mentioned on the coins. Tughril was probably the governor of Bengal at that time and most probably his own achievements in the Jajnagar⁵⁹ and Banga⁶⁰ areas have been commemorated on the coins of Balban before Tughril's assumption of independence. Whatever the case may be those coins that record the months along with the years must have been some sort of commemorative issues.

⁵⁹ Habibullah quoting *Zafar al-Walihi*, III, p. 965; Ferishta (I, p. 79), said that Jajnagar had been raided by Tughril in 672AH. Therefore, he may have struck coin in Sawwal 672AH to commemorate that event; A. B. M. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Calcutta, p. 192.

⁶⁰ In 673 two events happened one in Muharram other in Jumada either of this month for commemorating the victory over Banga (Loricol) another may be to show his loyalty to commemorate the recovery of Sultan Balban from the illness. *HB*, II, p.60.

A 8. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq 725 - 752/1325 – 1351

Muhammad bin Tughlaq succeeded his father Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq on the throne of Delhi in 725AH. His father Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq came to Bengal in response to an appeal of Shihabuddin Bughda and Nasiruddin Ibrahim (bin Shamsuddin Firuz of Bengal) who wanted relief from their brother Bahadur's atrocities in 724AH⁶¹. On the Sultan's return journey to Tirhut⁶² he established a mint there naming it as Tughlaqpur Tirhut⁶³. Tughlaq returned to Delhi in the beginning of 725AH and Bahadur was sent to Delhi as captive. Before his departure from Bengal he gave the governorship of Lakhnauti to Nasiruddin Ibrahim as a reward for his submission and Sunargaon and Satgaon were given to Bahram Tatar Khan, the adopted son of Tughlaq⁶⁴. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq spent nearly a year on his Bengal expedition and was so busy with conquests and consolidation that it is not clear whether he issued coins from Bengal. We know of only one type of joint coin of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and his governor Nasiruddin Ibrahim which must have been issued from Lakhnauti. This is discussed separately in this chapter. No other coin of Ghiyasuddin is known so far from Bengal. Various types of coins of Ghiyasuddin's successor Muhammad bin Tughlaq are found in Bengal.

It is known that following his father Muhammad adopted the same policy for the administration of Bengal. According to *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* and *Riyāḍ us Salāṭīn*, in 725AH after his ascension to the throne he divided Bengal into three parts and appointed three separate governors, viz. Izzuddin Yahya Azam ul Mulk in Satgaon, Malik Pindar Khalji alias Qadar Khan in Lakhnauti and Tatar Khan (adopted brother of Muhammad) in Sunargaon. From the testimony of coins of Muhammad it is evident that all the three governors issued coins from the three mints of Bengal in the name of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

It should be noted here that Nasiruddin Ibrahim, joint governor of Lakhnauti, appointed by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq issued coins jointly in his own name and Tughlaq Shah⁶⁵. Therefore when Muhammad appointed Pindar Khalji as *Iqtadar* to Lakhnauti it is assumed that he was subordinate to Nasiruddin. The joint coin of Nasiruddin and Muhammad testifies to this fact (joint coins discussed separately).

There are three types each of gold and silver coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and only one of copper has been found so far from Bengal.

⁶¹ HB, II, p. 84

⁶² *Basatinu'l-Ums*, quoted by Aga Mahdi Hossain in *Tughlaq Dynasty*, Calcutta 1936, p. 78.

⁶³ HB, II, p. 84.

⁶⁴ Aga Mahdi Hossain, *Ibid.* p. 76.

⁶⁵ Discussed in this chapter separately, see B 3.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a circle and the surrounding marginal legend contains *ḍuriba hazīhis sikkatu fī shahar Lakhnautī sanah arba' wa-saba' miyah* 'This coin was struck in Lakhnauti in 734AH'.

The reverse contains the name of the Sultan with the title in the middle and the names of the four Khalifas on the four sides, all in a circle. The Sultan's name is prefixed by his title and is proclaimed as *al mujāhid fī sabīl Allāh Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh* 'The Warrior in the Path of Allah Muhammad ibn Tughlaq Shah'.

Type A1a: Gold Tanka

A similar gold coin like Type A1 but was struck from the mint *Tughlaqpūr urf Tirhut* dated 735 with the name of the Sultan inscribed in the third line instead of the end of the second line. Before the name of the mint there is an additional word *Iqlim* which was an administrative unit.

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse is similar to Type A1, but the margin is different, *ḥazad dinaru bi Satgānw fī sanah arba' wa salāsīn wa saba' miya* 'this 'dinara' (was struck) in Satgaon in 734AH'. The reverse is completely different but the design is the same, in a circle. The legend is *ḍuriba zamānīl 'abd ar Rājī Raḥmat Allāh Muḥammad bin Tughlaq* 'struck in the time of the servant hoping for the mercy of Allah Muhammad bin Tughlaq'. It is to be noted that this coin is named 'dinara' instead of *sikka* of the Type A1 and its weight is more than Type A1. The weight is 198.6 grams (sixteen rati above weight). No qualifying word is used before the mint name, and the legend is a humbler one. This type is also found with dates 728 and 729AH.

Type A3: Gold Tanka

A joint coin in the names of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, governor of Sunargaon dated 728; it is described in this chapter under joint coins.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a square within a circle in three lines. The margin, a portion of which is out of the flan, contains *fī Lakhnautī...* i.e. in Lakhnauti in [7] 29AH.

The reverse bears the name of the Sultan in a square. The legend is the same as of Gold Type A1 but the word 'Muhammad' is placed at the beginning of the third line instead of at the end of the second line and the four Khalifas' names are in the segments outside the square, from the top, in an anti clockwise

direction. This type is only known from the Lakhnauti mint. The Singapore Auction Catalogue mentions one such coin dated 726AH⁶⁶.

Type B1a: Silver Tanka

The obverse is as above Type B1 but in a circle. The marginal legend is outside the circle and contains the name of the mint and date. The dates are 727, 728, 729, 730, 733AH⁶⁷ and the mint is Shahar Lakhnauti.

The reverse legend is the same as gold Type A1, but the word (Muhammad), is at the end of the second line. This type has also been struck from Shahar Sunargaon dated, 733, 734 and from Satgaon dated 728-731 and 733 - 735AH⁶⁸.

All the silver varieties of Type B1 bear the *alam* Muhammad of the reverse legend, in the beginning of the third line instead of at the end of line two. The mint is Sunargaon dated [72]9. The Singapore Coin Auction Cat. has illustrated one coin of silver, Type B1a, the margin of which mentioned 'This 'fiddah' (coin) was struck in the city of Lakhnauti'⁶⁹.

It is to be noted here that Muhammad bin Tughlaq initiated the issuance of coins from various mints in Bengal. These mints were designated variously as 'Shahar' (city), viz. Shahar Lakhnauti and Shahar Sunargaon. But Satgaon was mentioned without any qualifying name. Tughlaqpur urf Tirhut was designated as 'Iqlim'. It may be recalled here that the gold joint coin of Bahadur and Muhammad bin Tughlaq issued from Sunargaon has been qualified as 'bi Hadrat Sunarkanw' indicating the presence of the ruler there. As joint ruler Bahadur's residence was in Sunargaon. There he used the title of 'bi-hadrat' for the mint. After his rule it was dropped and 'Hadrat Sunargaon' became 'Shahar Sunargaon'.

Copper coins were not familiar in Bengal and in the presence of 'kauries' (sea shells) there was no need of any copper currency. But Muhammad bin Tughlaq initiated his famous forced token currency replacing the silver in 730AH and abandoned it in 732. During this period he also struck copper coins from Bengal as he did from other places of his empire. Few specimens of forced copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq have been found from Lakhnauti and Satgaon mints dated 730, 731AH. In this type Lakhnauti was mentioned as 'Iqlim' and Satgaon as 'Arsah'.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ SCA, Pl. 43, coin no. 738.

⁶⁷ *Coinage*, pp. 127-128, including Foot notes; SCA 1999 mentioned first three dates, p. 48, coin no. 739.

⁶⁸ *Coinage*, p. 127

⁶⁹ SCA, 1999, pl. 44, coin nos. 741, 742.

⁷⁰ *Coinage*, p. 142, coin no 593 B & 593.

Type C1: Copper Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle a completely new legend, *man atā'as Sulṭān faqad atā'ar Raḥmān*, 'He who obeys the Sultan, truly he obeys the merciful (Allah)', and the margin is (dar 'Arsah Satkānw sī ek) 'In 'Arsah Satgaon (this coin was struck) in [7] 31 AH'. The marginal legend is again enclosed by a double circle.

The reverse bears the legend in a double circle, *muhur shud Tankah rāij dar rozgār bandah umīdwār Muḥammad Tughlaq*, 'this tanka was stamped as current in the time of the hopeful servant Muhammad Tughlaq'.

It is to be noted here that probably for the first time the legend of the coin and the date is composed in Persian. The designation of the mint, *arsah* (or district) and *iqḥīm* (province) also appear in this forced or token currency. No such coins bearing the mint Sunargaon were found. No copper coin or billon coins of Muhammad Tughlaq other than these forced currency were found from Bengal mints.

The language of the legend 'hopeful servant' indicates the Sultan's hesitation and he humbly hoped that this token would be accepted by his subjects. Therefore, he devised the formula 'he who obeys the Sultan obeys Allah' for the obverse. In the reverse legend this copper coin is named as Tanka and it was hoped that this stamped as one tankh i rāij, like the circulated money. The language of the coin is similar to the promissary note of present times.

Various types of gold and silver coins, save a few copper ones of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, from various mints of Bengal indicate his superior administration and the economic activity of the province. Probably by this time Satgaon was not a city in the contemporary sense, as a port it needed an easy supply of coins for the sea going trade. All these mints were administered by governors. The presence of both gold and silver coins speak of the affluence of Bengal at that time. The word 'Tanka' was mentioned for the second time in Bengal in the coinage probably in these forced currency after Nasiruddin Mahmud of Delhi.

The gold and silver Tankas are of one *tola* weight standard of Muhammad bin Tughlaq save his two new gold and silver coins. The gold dinar weighs 198.6 grains and the silver Tanka 141.5 grains known as *'Adli'*; gold was 16 ratis higher and silver 16 ratis lower in weight. No gold or silver coin of the Adli weight were minted in Bengal.

It may be mentioned here that in the Bengal coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq all the three terms for coins, viz. *sikka*, *fiḍḍah* and *Tankah* were used.

B. Joint Coins of the Bengal Governors with Delhi Sultans

Some coins have been found in the joint names of the Delhi Sultans and the Bengal governors issued by the Bengal Governors. They belong to Group B of our classification. In all four Sultans and four governors have been represented by their respective joint coins. They are:

1. Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish with Daulat Shah bin Maudud
2. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud with Ikhtiyar uddin Yuzbak
3. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq with Nasiruddin Ibrahim
4. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq with Ghiyasuddin Bahadur

B 1. Daulat Shah bin Maudud's joint coin with Shamsuddin Iltutmish

Following the death of prince Nasiruddin Mahmud Ikhtiyaruddin Balka Khalji rebelled in Bengal. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* simply mentioned that after the demise of Prince Nasir ud din Mahmud Sultan Iltutmish marched to Lakhnauti, quelled the disturbance of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balka and after returning to Delhi in Rajab 627AH conferred the governorship of Bengal to Malik Alauddin Jani⁷². Therefore, Balka ruled for about one year from Jumada I 626 to Rajab 627 AH. In some old copies of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* and in the majority of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* the date of subjugation of Balka is given as 628AH instead of 627AH extending Balka's rule by one year⁷³. Alauddin Jani was removed from the governorship of Lakhnauti very soon and Malik Saifuddin Aibak was elevated to the throne of Bengal. Saifuddin ruled Bengal as a governor upto 631/1234.

During this period one silver coin, bearing the names of Khalifa Al-Mustansir Billah and Sultan Iltutmish on the obverse and 'Alauddin Daulat Shah bin Maudud on the reverse, has been found⁷⁴. Its date is either 627⁷⁵ or 629AH⁷⁶. The difference in reading the date is due to the reading of the unit which can be read as *Saba* or *Tis'a*. The description of the coin is given below:

Type B1. Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Khalifa along with the title *Amīr 'il mu' minīn* and the name of the Sultan Iltutmish with a *kunyah* 'Abū'l Fath' and title '*burhānu amīr 'il mu' minīn*'. No coin of Iltutmish bears the kunyah Abul Fath. Instead, *Abūl Muzaffar* has been used. The title 'Burhan' tallies only with the horseman type gold coin bearing the mint name *Darb bi Gaur* issued by 'Iwad during his early

⁷¹ *Coinage*, p. 158.

⁷² *TN*, text, p. 174, quoted by Thomas in *JASB* (1873), p. 363 Fn.

⁷³ *TN*, (Raverty), p. 617 Fn. 5.

⁷⁴ *ICB*, II, *JASB* (1873), p. 364, coin no. 13.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 364.

⁷⁶ *Coinage*, p. 21, coin no. 53A, H.N. Wright gave the reading as 629 (?) with a question mark.

vassalage and which refers to Iltutmish as *burhānu amīri l mu'minīn*. On all other coins Iltutmish has the title of *nāṣiru amīri l muminīn*. The word 'Burhan' means 'proof' i.e. the proof of the Commander of the Faithful, assigned to Iltutmish by the governor of Bengal, Daulat Shah bin Maudud.

The reverse bears the name of the governor, he himself proclaimed high sounding titles on the reverse, such as *Sulṭānu l 'Ādil* (the just sultan), *'Shahan shāh i Bāzil*, (munificent king of the kings). *Abū l ghāzi* (father of the Champion), *'aḍada Khalīfatullāh*, (the arm (helper) of the vicegerent of Allah) and *zahīru amīri l mu'minīn* (supporter of the commander of the faithful). No mint name is given on the coin. The date is on the reverse margin. The identity of the name of Daulat Shah bin Maudud is a puzzle, as there is no record of such a name in the list of governors and rulers in Bengal⁷⁷.

Most of the scholars hold that Daulat Shah bin Maudud of the coin was identical with Ikhtiyaruddin Balka Khalji. Thomas on the basis of a manuscript of *Tabaqat* considers this view, in which the name is Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Daulat Shah i Balka and associates more directly the title with the name. The name of Balka Khalji recorded variously as 'Daulat Shah Khalji, Malik i Lakhnauti, Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balka' (*TN*, Calcutta text, P. 162), and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Iran Shah Balka Khalji⁷⁸. Raverty identified him as the son of 'Iwad Khalji'⁷⁹. But in Habibi's copy of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* only 'Malik Daulat Shah Khalji Malik i Lakhnauti'⁸⁰ is mentioned. K. R. Qanungo also holds the same view i.e. Balka and Maudud are identical, but he presumed that Balka was a partisan of 'Iwad⁸¹. The above views are based on the reading of the coin's date as 627AH. But some scholars question why Balka should inscribe the name of Iltutmish, against whom he had rebelled on his coins⁸². The other question is why would Balka mention Maudud if he was Iwad's son. On the other hand Abdul Karim holds that Daulat Shah and Balka are different persons. He argues that since Sultan Iltutmish's name has been inscribed Daulat Shah was not a rebel. But according to Minhaj Balka rebelled against the Delhi Sultan. Again there is no valid reason to proclaim Daulat Shah in the coins of Ikhtiyaruddin Balka. Therefore, Balka and Daulat Shah are not identical. Karim presumed that after the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud there was disorder among the soldiers of Iltutmish at Lakhnauti prior to the appointment of a governor from Delhi. At that time, Daulat Shah, a commander of the forces, assumed power and struck coins in the joint names of Iltutmish and himself in 627AH. This act of a fellow soldier encouraged Balka to assume power and by killing Daulat Shah he (Balka) usurped the throne and declared independence⁸³.

⁷⁷ *IMC*, II, pp. 130-131; *Coinage*, pp. XVII-XVIII; *TN*, (Raverty), pp. 625-627.

⁷⁸ *JASB* (1873), p. 364 Fn. Quoted by Thomas.

⁷⁹ *TN*, (Raverty), p. 617.

⁸⁰ *TN* (Bangla Academy Ed.), p. 76 Fn. 5

⁸¹ *HB*, II, p. 44.

⁸² *Sultani Amol*, p. 110

⁸³ *Ibid.* pp. 112-114.

Mohar Ali states somewhat differently that after assuming power in Lakhnauti Malik Balka Khalji issued coins in 627/1230 in the joint names of Iltutmish and himself, this however did not satisfy the Delhi Sultan⁸⁴.

Considering the above views we presume that if 627AH is accepted as the coin's correct date then the issuer of the coin was Ikhtiyaruddin Daulat Shah Balka, sometime he was mentioned as 'Iran Shah'. The coin was struck at the very beginning of his assumption of power at Lakhnauti. To camouflage the other rival Malik, he put the Sultan's name i.e. Iltutmish on the coin and the high sounding title *Shahanshāh i Bāzil* indicates his intentions. Moreover the reverse legend is more emphatic and more at par with the titles of the Sultan on the obverse. Sultan Iltutmish is given the title of *As Sultānu'l A'zam* and himself instead of the usual *Sultānu'l Mu'azzam* he assumes the title of *As Sultānu'l 'Ādil*, (the just king). Again he calls himself *Shahan Shāh i Bāzil* but gives no equivalent title to Iltutmish. Then after the regnal title of Iltutmish which was Shamsuddin, his own title of Alauddin follows. There is a kunyah for both, for Iltutmish it is *Abū'l Fath* (father of victory) and for himself *abū'l ghāzi* (father of the champion (who became victorious), with almost equivalent meaning. It is to be noted here that all the coins of Iltutmish bear *abū'l muẓaffar*, here the governor calls him *abū'l fath*. Again the Sultan was given the title *burhānu amīri'l mu'minīn* i.e. proof of the amīri'l mu'minīn not the usual *nāṣir'u amīri'l mu'minīn* which was used in the coins of Iltutmish. And for himself he chose (hand (helper) of the vicegerent of Allah) not Amīri'l Mu'minīn. Interestingly it is to be noted here that the Delhi Sultan is "proof" of Amīri'l Mu'minīn and the governor himself is helper of the Khalifa (vicegerent) of Allah. Therefore, in the coin legends the governor's superiority over the Sultan is clearly indicated. No equal title was given to the sultan but governor himself in addition proclaimed an equivalent of *burhānu amīri'l mu'minīn*, 'supporter of the Amīri'l Mu'minīn', at least two more titles like *shahan shāh i bāzil* and *aḍada Khalīfatullah* along with his father's name have been put by Daulat Shah on the coin.

There is no independent coin of Daulat Shah bin Maudud. Probably he did not have the time to strike any, as soon he was captured and probably slain by the Sultan. A coin of Daulat Shah of Bengal was published in 1977 by P. L. Gupta in the Journal of Numismatic Digest and in 1979 by Manik Lal Gupta in the JNSI. But both the scholars made mistakes in identifying the sultan with Daulat Shah bin Maudud. The coin of Daulat Shah reported by these scholars has no connection with the coin of Daulat Shah bin Maudud. The names of the Khalifa Mustansir Billah in the coins of Daulat Shah bin Maudud and Mustasim Billah in the coin of Daulat Shah may be the deciding factor. Daulat Shah's coin will be discussed in the proper place later on.

If the 629AH date of the coin of Daulat Shah bin Maudud is taken to be correct (H. N. Wright) then obviously the issuer of the coin would be Alauddin Jani whom Iltutmish made governor of Lakhnauti after

⁸⁴ HMB, 1A, p. 92

suppressing the revolt of Balka. Malik Alauddin Jani was 'Shahzada' of Turkistan so he may have struck coins⁸⁵. Both Daulat Shah bin Maudud and Jani had identical title of Alauddin and as a vassal he issued coins jointly with the name of Sultan Iltutmish. The high sounding titles reflect his ambitions for independence. We have no information about the activities of Alauddin Jani and 'for some reason he was removed from the governorship of Lakhnauti, his short rule lasted one year and a few months only⁸⁶. After that Malik Saifuddin Aibak, governor of Bihar, was given the governorship of Lakhnauti. He died in 633AH after ruling for three years. Therefore, we may count backwards to determine the last date of Jani's removal and ascension of Saifuddin. Three years backwards from 633 is 630AH. Jani was given the charge in Rajab 628AH. So, in Rajab 629 he completed one year. That same year he was removed and Saifuddin appointed. This is according to the Tabaqat's calculation but we do not have any information about the cause of Jani's removal, even the Tabaqat is silent on this. The coin legend, the assumption of high-sounding titles on the joint coin, his attempts to proclaim independence in Bengal, might have been the cause of his removal. All these assumptions will only be applicable if we accept the date of the joint coin as 629AH as read by Wright.

Only one coin of Daulat Shah bin Maudud has been found. It is of silver, of full Tanka denomination and of one tola standard. No mint name is mentioned. Discovery of a clearly dated coin may solve the problem, whether the issuer of the coin bearing the name Daulat Shah bin Maudud was Balka Khalji (627) or Alauddin Jani (629) or a third person.

⁸⁵ Sultani Amol, p. 110.

⁸⁶ TN, Raverty, p. 617.. fn.5; Adi Parva, pp.47-48.

B 2. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak's Joint Coins with Nasiruddin Mahmud

The governor of Bengal, Jalaluddin Mas 'ud Jani was succeeded by Malik Ikhtiyar ud din Yuzbak, governor of Oudh. Though he 'was a habitual rebel'⁸⁷ still he did not proclaim independence at first. At the early period of his rule he was loyal to the Delhi court and struck coins from Bengal in the joint names of the Delhi Sultan Nasir ud din Mahmud and himself. But very soon he declared independence and struck coins in his own name.

Only one type of joint coins are found which was issued by Yuzbak from Bengal and are of one *Tanka* denomination. The weight standard was after the *tola* weight and in silver only. No coins in other metal or any denominational coins are found in join names.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

A joint coin bearing the names of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud of Delhi and Yuzbak, the governor of Bengal has been found. The obverse bears the legend in the circle *as Sultān ul a'zam Nāṣir ud dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd bin as Sultān fī nawbat al 'abd Yūzbak as Sultānī*, 'the great Sultan helper of the world and the religion father of the conqueror Mahmud son of the Sultan in the vice royalty of Yuzbak as Sultani'.

The reverse bearing the legend in Arabic *fī 'ahadīl Imām al Musta'sim amīrī'l mu'minīn*, 'in the time of the leader al Musta'sim commander of the believers'. The margin gives the mint name of Lakhnauti and the date. The coin was first published by Thomas and Hoernle, later on, it finds its place in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (IMC. II p. 22. no.140). But the legend of the last two lines of the obverse was not deciphered fully and though the mint name Lakhnauti was there but the date's unit was not clear and are off the flan. The first and second digits which are readable show 65(?).

In this type the Delhi Sultan is given the title *as Sultān ul a'zam* and the governor is represented as *fī naubati'l-'abd Yūzbak as Sultānī*. That is in the governorship or during the viceroyalty of the slave Yuzbak as Sultani.

The joint coin Type B1 is not dated but there is a coin of this type in SCA which bears the mint name and date, 'Lakhnauti 651'. So it is certain that Yuzbak did not proclaim his independence till 651 and as a loyal governor to the Sultan of Delhi he inscribed the Sultan's name as *as Sultān ul a'zam Nāṣir ud dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd bin as Sultān*. His own name appears as a humble submission to the Sultan as *fī naubati'l-'abd-Yūzbak as Sultānī* (i.e. in the period of the governorship of the slave Yuzbak).

⁸⁷ Already he was revolted twice against Sultan Naisruddin and each time been pardoned and promoted through the favoure of Ulugh Khan Balban. *HB*, II, p.51

On the reverse is the usual name of the *Khalīfa*. On some coins Lakhnauti is clear on the margin but the date is missing. On the basis of his independent coin which is dated 652 and on the basis of SCA coin dated 651 it may be ascertained that this join coins were stuck before his declaration of independence in 652AH.

B 3. Nasiruddin Ibrahim's Joint Coins with Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

Nasiruddin Ibrahim was one of the sons of Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz of Bengal who issued coins. But he issued them after his father's death jointly in the names of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Ibn Batuta informs us that in 722AH, Shihabuddin succeeded his father Firuz but was challenged by his younger brother Bahadur, who seized the kingdom and killed most of his brothers. Two of them, Shihabuddin and Nasiruddin fled to Delhi to Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and sought help. Accordingly Tughlaq Shah marched to Bengal and Bahadur was captured in battle and sent to Delhi as captive⁸⁸. Nasiruddin Ibrahim was given the governorship of Lakhnauti for his submission and loyalty⁸⁹. Therefore, Nasiruddin was appointed as joint ruler in 724AH/1324CE by Tughlaq Shah. Nasiruddin was also allowed to strike coins in the joint names of himself and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. Ghiyasuddin annexed Satgoan and Sonargoan and placed them under his adopted son Bahram alias Tatar Khan.

Tughlaq died at Afghanpur on the way during his return journey to Delhi in 725AH. His son Muhammad succeeded him and he released Bahadur Shah and appointed him as governor of Sonargoan on certain conditions. He was also given permission to strike coins jointly as has been discussed separately in this chapter. Also, Malik Pindar Khalji was made the governor of Lakhnauti with the title of Qadar Khan by Muhammad Tughlaq, therefore, it is evident that Tughlaq made Qadar Khan a joint governor with Nasiruddin and the latter was called off to Delhi. Nothing has been heard about Nasiruddin except that he performed well in the battle to quell Bahram Kishlu in Multan in 727AH as an aid to Muhammad Tughlaq⁹⁰.

Two types of Nasiruddin Ibrahim's coins are known. All are of silver one Tanka and of one tola weight standard. It is to be mentioned here that both types are joint coins with two Delhi Sultans, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad bin Tughlaq respectively.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The coins with the joint names of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Nasiruddin Ibrahim. The obverse bears in a square the name of the Delhi Sultan with the title *as Sultān u'l a'zam*. The full legend on the obverse is *as Sultān u'l a'zam Ghiyās ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaffar Tughlaq Shāh as Sultān*. 'The supreme Sultan succour of the world and the religion father of the conqueror Tughlaq Shah the Sultan'.

⁸⁸ Ibn Batuta, *Rihla*, p. 439, quoted by Mohar Ali in *HMB*, A1, p. 115.

⁸⁹ Barani, p. 450, quoted by Mohar Ali in *HMB*, A1, p. 115.

⁹⁰ *HMB*, IA, p. 116.

The reverse bears the name of the governor with the humbler title *as Sultān u'l mu'azzam Nāsir ud dunyā wadd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh as Sultān bin as Sultān*. 'The great Sultan helper of the world and religion father of the victory Ibrahim Shah the Sultan son of the Sultan'. Nasiruddin used the formula *as Sultan bin Sultan*⁹¹ i.e. Sultan son of a Sultan as his father Firuz was a Sultan⁹¹.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears *as Sultān u'l a'zam Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān bin as Sultān*, 'the supreme Sultan Muhammad Shah the Sultan son of the Sultan', in a double square within a circle with no margin.

The reverse bears the name of the Governor with the lesser title of *as Sultān u'l mu'azzam Nāsir ud dunyā wadd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh as Sultān bin Sultān*, 'the great Sultan helper of the world and the religion father of the conqueror Ibrahim Shah Sultan son of Sultan'. No margin is traceable⁹².

Both coins are different in design and arrangement of legend. But the Sultan of Delhi has been given the superior title *al a'zam* and the governor is *al mu'azzam*. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's coin legend ends only with *as Sultān* but Nasiruddin has been given the title *as Sultan bin as Sultān* as his father Firuz was the Sultan of Bengal. On the other hand Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's father was not a Sultan. In Muhammad Tughlaq's coin both the Sultan and governor used the title "Sultan bin Sultan" as both were sons of a previous Sultan. As there was no date or mint name on the coin it is reasonable to believe that both the coins were struck from Lakhnauti and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's coin struck in 725 or before 725AH as Ghiyasuddin died in 725AH⁹³. Muhammad Tughlaq's coin's date was between 725 to 727AH, the year Nasiruddin was called off to Delhi. Stapleton proposed Muhammad Tughlaq's coin's date as 726AH⁹⁴.

There is a peculiarity in depicting the word 'al a'zam' and 'as Sultan' in the coin of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. It is not easy to understand why the word *al a'zam* and *as Sultān* have been broken up and placed separately. Traditionally they are placed together on the coins. It was done due to the shortage of space, is not conceivable, then why these two words are engraved like this? In fact, the text of the obverse of type B1 is longer than the obverse of Type B2 and issuer of both the coins are the same person, Nasiruddin Ibrahim even the reverse legend (bearing his own name) is longer than the obverse yet that has not been broken. Why these two words are engraved like this is not easy to explain. It may also be noted here that execution of Muhammad's joint coins were also a bit crude in comparison to Ghiyasuddin's.

It may also be noticed that on the coin only Muhammad Shah has been inscribed to denote Muhammad bin Tughlaq. It can be assumed that Nasiruddin struck coins in the name of Muhammad bin Tughlaq from

⁹¹ JASB (N.S. XIII, 1922), p. 421; Numismatic Supplement, xvi., 1911, p. 699, pl. xv, coin no. 3.

⁹² JASB, Ibid, p. 424; Coinage, p. 129, coin no. 505 B.

⁹³ JASB [N.S. xviii, 1922], p. 421.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 424.

Lakhnauti to show his allegiance to Muhammad Tughlaq, as soon as he received news of the death of Ghiyasuddin, the new Sultan.

As he issued coins in the names of two Sultans who ruled successively in Delhi, it can be inferred⁹⁵ that Nasiruddin's profile was an amiable one in contrast to his brother Bahadur who rebelled again and again.

⁹⁵ *Sultani Amol*, pp 159-160.

B 4. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur's Joint Coin with Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

Ghiyasuddin Bahadur was freed from captivity in 725AH by Muhammad bin Tughlaq and was appointed governor of Sunargaon jointly with Bahram Khan, on certain conditions. He was allowed to strike coins and have the *Khutba* read jointly with the Delhi Sultan. The only condition he did not comply with was to send his son Muhammad (Barbet) as a hostage to the Delhi court⁹⁶.

According to the agreement Bahadur issued coins from Sunargaon mint. Coins in the joint names have been found in both gold and silver dated 728AH. All his coins are of one tola weight standard.

The joint coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur may be classified as three types:

Type A1: Gold Tanka (joint issue)

The obverse bears the name of the Delhi Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq with an indication that the coin was struck by the order of Tughlaq Shah. *duriba bi amiri'l wāsiq billāh Muḥammad bin Tughlaq Shāh*, '(This coin) was struck by the order of al - Wasik billah Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah. The circular marginal legend is *huzihi's sikkatu bi Ḥaḍrat Sunārgānw sanah samān wa 'ishrin wa sab'a miyah* i.e. this coin (was struck) at Hadrat Sunargaon in the year eight and twenty and seven hundred i.e. 728AH.

The reverse bears the name of Bahadur with the epithet *as Sultān u'l-mu'azzam*, meaning great Sultan, (not 'the greatest', *al-'azam*) and after the name is the formula 'Sultan bin as Sultan' i.e. Sultan son of a Sultan. Weight of the coin is 10.6 grams following the weight of one tola standard.

Type A2: Gold half Tanka

A half Tanka gold in the joint names of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah was recently discovered from Comilla town from a jeweller. Obverse of the coin bears the same legend as the coin Type A1 of gold except the word 'darb' of the beginning. The obverse design has a square within a circle.

The reverse legend is in a square *as Sultān u'l mu 'azzam Ghiyās ud dunyā wa'd dīn*, due to the shortage of space the legend is incomplete. There is no margin on any side. The weight is 5.45 gm and measurement is 17mm. So, it is a half tanka gold, joint coin known for the first time.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

Same as the gold coin Type A1 including date and mint.

Type B1a: Silver Tanka

The obverse legends of both the sides are the same as above coin Type B1 but the arrangement and weight are different.

The legends of Type A1 and B1 are arranged in a square within a circle. The reverse legend is in double square within a circle. On the other hand the obverse legend of Type B1a is placed in a double circle. The reverse legend is in a circle. The legends of both gold and silver coins are the same.

The weight of Type B1a is 09.08 grams after the weight of 'adli' coin introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlaq for his South Indian coins.

Earliest and only known date of the joint coin issued by Bahadur from Sunargaon is 728AH. No coins earlier than the coin of 728AH are known but he was given the charge in 725AH. In 728AH he rebelled and declared independence issuing coins in his own name only. This is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

It is very difficult to guess why he waited for three years to strike coins jointly. According to the agreement he could have done this right after his appointment in 725AH. It is also not easy to conjecture why he rebelled in 728 AH the same year in which he issued joint coins. From the reports of the historians the cause of his revolt in 728 could be that the pressure from Delhi to send his son as a hostage was gradually increasing, as well as the co-governor, Bahram's interference in the administration. This compelled the rebellious Bahadur to declare independence⁹⁷.

The issuance of joint coins in 728 was his last effort to satisfy Muhammad bin Tughlaq. On the other hand, Muhammad Tughlaq was after the fulfillment of all the terms of the agreement, particularly the last one of the sending of the son of Bahadur to Delhi as a hostage, which provoked Bahadur to rebel. Consequently it brought about Bahadur's brutal death, bringing an end to the independence of Bengal for the time being.

⁹⁶ *Sultani Amol*, p.160.

⁹⁷ *Sultani Amol*, p.160.

C. Coins of the Governors who Proclaimed Independence

C 1. Ruknuddin Ali Mardan Khalji 607 - 609/1210 - 1212

The first independent Sultan who issued coins in Bengal was 'Ali Mardan Khalji⁹⁸. Coins of Ali Mardan belong to group 'C' of our classification i.e. coins of the Governors who proclaimed independence. He was a general of Bakhtiyar Khalji and had led an eventful life. Firstly an assassin of his master Bakhtiyar, then a captive of Shiran Khalji, fugitive to the court in Delhi, a prisoner at Ghazna and finally governor of Bengal⁹⁹.

'Ali Mardan obtained the governorship of Lakhnauti from Qutb ud din Aibak, the Emperor of Delhi in 1210CE. After Bakhtiyar's death 'Izzuddin Shiran Khalji and Husamuddin 'Iwad Khalji were governors before the assumption of power by 'Ali Mardan. As revealed in the chronicles both the governors were de-facto sovereigns and did not procure any formal appointment from Delhi, nor did they issue any coin during their rule up to 1210CE. None of their coins have been discovered or reported so far¹⁰⁰.

After the brutal assassination of Bakhtiyar Khalji in 1206CE by 'Ali Mardan¹⁰¹, the Khalji Chiefs of Lakhnauti opted in favour of Shiran Khalji who became the governor of Bengal and ruled for about a year in 1207-1208CE. 'Iwad was replaced by 'Ali Mardan who received an appointment from the Emperor of Delhi in 1210CE¹⁰². As a governor Ali Mardan ruled in Bengal hardly for eight months. As soon as Qutbuddin, the Emperor of Delhi, died in November 1210 CE he declared independence as Sultan of Bengal. Minhaj tells us that *Khutbah* was read in his own name¹⁰³. Evidently 'Ali Mardan was the first independent Sultan of Bengal and according to the historians he proclaimed the "Title of Sultan among the governors of Bengal"¹⁰⁴.

Undoubtedly 'Ali Mardan was an able soldier but impolitic, blood thirsty and of murderous disposition'. Furthermore, due to his tyranny and vengeance against his Khalji kinsman he was ultimately, killed by them and Husamuddin was chosen as their ruler (c.1213 CE)¹⁰⁵.

Before the recent discovery of the coins of Ali Mardan historians were not definite about the existence of his coins. But now we are definite that he had issued coins in both gold and silver.

⁹⁸ JVS, XXVI, Pp.198--199.

⁹⁹ HB, II, pp. 17 - 18.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ TN (Bangla Academy, Ed.) Text, (Habibi), p. 12.

¹⁰² HB, II, p. 18.

¹⁰³ TN, (Raverty), p. 578. (Text, Bangla Accademy Ed. p. 14, Tabaqat did not mention about sikka).

¹⁰⁴ HB, II, p. 19; HMB, I, p. 77; *Adi Parva*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ TN (Raverty), p. 580. (Text Bangla Accademy Ed. p. 14); HB, II, p. 20.

Presently at least four of Ali Mardan's coins are known. They may be divided into two categories: A. Gold coins, B. Silver coins, descriptions of which are given below.

A. Gold coins

There are two gold coins, both of which are fractional denominations of one *Tanka* and both are of the same type. In 1973 a gold coin of 'Ali Mardan along with two other horseman type gold *Tankas* of Muhammad bin Sam and Iltutmish were published (all the three coins are preserved in the British Museum¹⁰⁶). The second gold coin is a die duplicate of the British Museum specimen and published in an auction sale catalogue of Spink & Sons Numismatic Ltd. Zurich¹⁰⁷.

Type A1. Gold one-fifth (1/5) Tanka

The obverse bears an effigy of a horseman in the centre within a circle. The Arabic legend in the surrounding margin contains the *Kalima*.

The reverse legend is in a dotted circle, arranged in five lines and consists of the name and title of the Sultan in a plain area, having no date and mint name, as *Sultān u'l mu'azzam 'Alā ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū 'l muzaffar 'Alī Mardān*, 'the great Sultan glory of the world and religion father of victory Ali Mardan'.

We are not sure whether there was any date or mint name in the margin. Not a single margin of a known coin is clear and fully decipherable. The Zurich coin has an illegible word, of non-Arabic character after the *kalima*, which ends at six positioning of a clock. Though beginning of the *kalima* is partially cut off the flan. Still if we allow space for the *kalima* some space will remain blank, this space might have been used for the date in *Devnagri* like the denominational horseman coins of Muhammad bin Sam.

Another coin of this type was recently published in SCA¹⁰⁸. The date of the coin is not clear but struck in the month of Safar. Weight is 2.27gm and diameter is 17mm.

The effigy of the sultan on the coins of Ali Mardan looks like the Gaud Vijoye coin, the riding of the horse, pose of holding the club, the turban of the horseman, even the posture of the galloping horse are alike. All these indicate a close affinity with the Gaud Vijoye coin. If we admit the hypothesis that the 'Gaud Vijoye' coins were struck in Gaud, then we can conclude that the coins of Ali Mardan were also struck in Gaud.

¹⁰⁶ *JNSI*, XXXV (1973), p. 198.

¹⁰⁷ *JNSI*, XLIX (1987), p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ Singapore Coin Auction, Taisei - Baldwin - Gillio, Cat. 28, 1999, (henceforth *SCA*), p. 43, coin no.662 pl.39.

The obverse legend shows that Ali Mardan proclaimed himself '*al mu'azzam*' not *al-a'zam*. Though both the words bear the meaning of "great", *al-a'zam* is a superlative. The most important factor in the legend is the *laqab*, which is '*Ala ud din*',¹⁰⁹ but his regnal or *julus* name was *Rukn ud dunyā wa'd-dīn abū'l muẓaffar 'Alī Mardān*.

Both Lowick¹¹⁰ and Nizamuddin¹¹¹ have informed us that there is a mistake in spelling the word '*Alā*' which has been written *Alā* instead of '*Alā*', i.e. *alif* instead of '*ain*'. But in fact, what both the writers identified as *alif* is actually *Rā*, and the *fataḥ* above *alif* is nothing but an oblique stroke of *kaf*. The last letter is a *noon*, which is not in full form; so, both the writers have mistaken the word *Rukn* as *Alā* because the straightly written letter *Rā* looks almost like an *alif*. Silver coin Type B2 reveals the word *Rukn* very clearly and engraved in full form.

All the history books mentioned his name as '*Alā ud dīn 'Alī Mardān*', it is only the coin which reveals that his title is *Rukn uddīn*.

Therefore, with this numismatic evidence we may conclude with certainty that Ali Mardan's regnal title was *Rukn ud din 'Ali Mardan*, not '*Ala ud din*' as recorded by the chroniclers and historians.

B. Silver coins

The two silver coins of Ali Mardan are different and are of two types. Type B1 and Type B2.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

A full *Tanka* silver coin, which is almost the same as his gold coins in arrangement are preserved in a private collection in Dhaka¹¹². The margin of the coin is illegible. The obverse contains a similar horseman with club and turban, as in the gold coins the horse prancing to the left. They all speak of the production of the same mint and probably of the same engraver.

The reverse legend is also same as the gold Type A1 is in five lines. The word *Rukn* is at the end of line two, similar to the gold coin. At first sight it looks like *Ala*, the Nun's i.e. nun of the word *Rukn* of all the coins are half curved having a dot, to some extent like the letter '*Ra*', but the word in the coin is effaced. Provenance of the coin according to the collector is Rajshahi- Naugaon region in the northern part of Bangladesh.

¹⁰⁹ *HB II*, P. 19. (All the History books mentioned his name as *Alauddin Ali Mardan*, it is only the coin which reveals his title as *Rukn ud din*.)

¹¹⁰ *JNSI*, XXXV (1973), P. 199.

¹¹¹ *JNSI*, XLIX, (1987), P. 52.

¹¹² Dr. Ishaq Imam Collection, Dhaka.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse is as the same as Type B1 but it is from a different die. Though the horseman and horse are alike but some difference can be traced in minute details. The reverse legend is arranged in five lines like other coins but with minor alternation in line two which contains only the word *al_mu'azzam*. Again the letter *Ra* of *Rukn* is not clearly visible and the word *Rukn* is placed at the beginning of line three instead of end of line two. Moreover, the word *Rukn* is written differently from coin Type A1 and B1. In this coin the word *Rukn* is very clear and is in the possession of another private collector in Dhaka¹¹³. Another photograph of the coin of this type has been shown in a price catalogue published in India without revealing any information of the coin and its provenance¹¹⁴. The coins of both the private collection and sale catalogue do not possess the word 'Mardan' fully on the coin. But a coin of 'Ali Mardan (Type B2) published in the Singapore Coin Auction List (p. 39 no. 663) has 'Mardan in the last line very clearly. This type B2 is a unique coin of 'Ali Mardan bearing his *julus* title, *Rukn ud dunyā wa'd dīn* very clearly. None of the literary sources or chronicles has informed us of any other regal title than 'Alauddin for him. Full *Tanka* silver coins of Ali Mardan are few, and few coins have been published. Type B1 and B2 of Ali Mardan have been located in two private collections in Dhaka but are unpublished. Other than this one coin a photograph of Type B2 was published in a Bulletin in Calcutta. One coin of Type B2 has been published in *JNSI* by G.S. Farid of Calcutta, which was again reproduced in Eaton's *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*.

One coin of Type B2 has been published in Rajgor's List. It is uncertain whether the same coin of the bulletin finds its way via G.S. Farid to Rajgor or it is a separate coin. Another coin of Type B1 is reported in the Singapore Auction List. However, no coin of Ali Mardan reveals a clear-cut date on the margin. But Type B2 of the Dhaka coin's margin which looks like *Saba' or Tis'a wa sittu miyah*, i.e. 607 or 609AH, though G.S. Farid has read his coin's date as *Ashra* i.e. 610 AH. As regards the weight, the gold coins are fractional denominations of a gold *Tanka* weight 2.26 gram. Both the gold coins are of same weight and size as they are die duplicates as mentioned earlier. The size of the coin is 7 mm in diameter. Therefore these two gold coins may be identified as 1/5th of a gold *Tanka*. Lowick has raised the question whether the denomination is really a fifth of a *Tanka*, as the *Tanka* of the later medieval period was equivalent to 96 *rattis*. In comparison to the gold *Tanka* of Muhammad bin Sam (*Gaud vijoye* coin) it is slightly over one fifth. Therefore, he has differentiated between theoretical weight and observed weight¹¹⁵.

Silver coins of Ali Mardan are of one *tola* standard weight set by Bakhtiyar Khalji for his *Gaud Vijoye* coins. It is revealed from the coin that the indigenous *tola* weight was adopted by Ali Mardan, which has been followed by the subsequent Bengal Sultans as well as the Sultans of Delhi. The weight of the silver

¹¹³ Mr. Iftekhar Alam Collection, Dhaka.

¹¹⁴ Rajgor, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 200.

coin of the Dhaka collectors are 10.5 and 10.74 grams respectively and 27 mm in diameter. The other one is also of one *tola* standard, but the weight was not been mentioned in the catalogue.

No full gold *Tanka* of Ali Mardan has been discovered. On the basis of his fractional gold coin it can be assumed that he had issued full gold *Tankas* which may come to light in future. On the contrary there is less probability of discovery of his silver fractional denominations, because the *Kauri* shells were in vogue for small transactions. Moreover, fractional denominations in silver were very scarce as far as the Sultani coins of Bengal are concerned.

Due to the lack of clear dates on the coin's margin it is not possible to infer any chronology on the basis of coins. No inscription of the period of Ali Mardan or in the name of Ali Mardan has yet been found. Therefore, on the information of history we may assume that Ali Mardan proclaimed independence in 607 AH and ruled up to 609/1213 as the first independent Sultan of Bengal.

C 2. Ghiyasuddin Iwad 610 - 624/1213 - 1227

After the murder of Ali Mardan Khalji in 1213CE Khalji nobles of Lakhnauti chose Husamuddin Iwad as their ruler. Minhaj the only contemporary source says "A party of the Khalji Amirs conspired together, and slew Ali Mardan, and placed Malik Husamuddin Iwad upon the throne"¹¹⁶.

He was a fellow countryman of Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad, i.e. a man from Garamsir or modern Dast-i-Margo. His father's name was Hussain. Iwad's early career was of a simple ass-driver who had to earn a hard living by carrying loads to distant places. During one of his journeys he met two dervishes and tempted by them for a bright future migrated to Hindustan and joined Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar¹¹⁷.

Like Ikhtiyaruddin, Iwad was also a bold adventurer and by dint of his courage, sagacity and valour became the Sultan of Bengal. As Minhaj says, "... and his affairs reached such a point that the coin of the territory of Lakhnauti was stamped, and the Khutbah thereof read in his name and they styled him by the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin. He made the city of Lakhnauti, the seat of Government, and founded the fortress of Basankot"¹¹⁸.

This report of Minhaj may lead one to assume that after capturing power with the help of Khalji Malik Iwad struck coins. Khutbah was read in his name, and he proclaimed the title *Ghiyasuddin*. Circumstances also advocate in favour of the above view, that though Ali Mardan had a formal appointment from Delhi, after the death of Qutbuddin Aibak he declared independence and remained so till his death. As Bengal was an independent Sultanate when Husamuddin captured power he (Iwad) must have been an independent ruler. Mohar Ali suggests that "On his accession to power for the second time Husamuddin took the name of Ghiyath-al-Din 'Iwad Khalji. But about his assumption of the title Sultan 'whether he assumed also the title of Sultan from the beginning is not certain'¹¹⁹. Minhaj said that his affairs and activities reached such a mark that sikkah was issued and Khutbah read in his name in Balad i Lakhnauti. He was also addressed as Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwad. His early known coins are dated 616/1219 to 621/1224. Then what was his status prior to 616AH a gap of at least 6 years from 610 to 616AH. It can be assumed that either he did not issue coins till 616AH or if he did they have not been found. On the basis of the study of his coins Thomas hold that he owed allegiance to the Delhi Sultan for the first few years of his rule¹²⁰. Some scholars hold that 'Iwad assumed the title of Sultan from the beginning and did not show allegiance¹²¹ to Delhi. But the coins dated 614 and 616AH of 'horseman type' bearing the name

¹¹⁶ *TN* (Eng. Tr.), I. p. 581. (Text Bangla Academy Ed p.14).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 581.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 581-582.

¹¹⁹ *HMB*, IA, p. 78.

¹²⁰ *JASB* (1873), p. 353.

¹²¹ *Sultani Amol*, pp. 98-100; *Corpus*, p. 138; *HB*, II, pp. 39-40.

of Iltutmish, settled all their doubts and proved that these coins were issued from Gauda (Lakhnauti) and undoubtedly by 'Iwad. This view was first postulated by Edward Thomas¹²².

After accession to power Iwad faced the task of consolidation at home and abroad i.e. pacification and winning over of the Khalji Amirs, particularly the partisans of Ali Mardan, and warding off the Ganga rulers of Orissa. He became loyal to the Delhi Sultan in whose name coins were struck. But in 616AH 'Iwad proclaimed independence and struck coins in his own name and took the title of Ghiyas ud din instead of Husam ud din. At this time Iltutmish was busy with the northern affairs of the state as in 617/1220 Khwarizm Shah Jalaluddin Mangbari, occupied Lahore. Thus as revealed by his coins 'Iwad remained undisturbed till 621AH. In 622AH Iltutmish freed from his northern troubles, marched against Bengal. A treaty was made and 'Iwad submitted to Delhi and paid an indemnity. Minhaj says that again Khutbah was read and coins were struck in the name of Iltutmish¹²³. Roma Niyogi has reported that a coin is found bearing both the names of 'Iwad and Iltutmish jointly on the same coin, issued in 622/1225AD¹²⁴. It is an additional proof to the statement mentioned above.

Now the question is, were the horseman type coins issued from Bengal and by 'Iwad? On the answer of this question rests the basis of his issuance of coins in favour of Iltutmish and consequently the basis of his early allegiance to Delhi. Because these horseman type of coins were found in Assam and a gold one dated 614/1217 bears the mint name *darh ba Gaud*, it is established that the coins originated in Gauda i.e. Bengal then it may be established that the issuer of these coins was 'Iwad. Other coins of this type are of silver with no mint name and dated 614 and 616/1217 and 1219CE. The place of origin of the horseman type of coin was a subject of contention among the historians and numismatists for a long time.

The basis of contention was the reading of the Arabic word *ba Gaud*. There was no dot (nukta) on the coin for the letter *ba*. Therefore, the possibilities of various readings are there. By placing the dot on top or below it may be read as Nagor or Ba Gaur or without dot Lakore. Edward Thomas first suggested *ba Gaur* and accepted that 'Iwad showed allegiance to Delhi during the early years of his rule. But some scholars read it as Lakore or Nagore¹²⁵, a place in Rajsthan and Birbhum respectively. They concluded that horseman type coins were not familiar in Bengal so their origin must be somewhere else. It is to be noted that at that time no coins were known from Bengal, (prior to the horseman type coins of Iltutmish of 614AH). Now horseman type coins dated 601AH in the name of Muhammad bin Sam are known and they were struck by Ikhtiyaruddin to commemorate the victory over Gauda. A similar horseman type coin was also issued by Ali Mardan. Therefore, the plea of the scholars that horseman type coins were not familiar to Bengal is not tenable. Rather the presence in Bengal of these coins (horseman type) bearing the

¹²² *ICB, II, (JASB, 1873), pp. 352, 353.*

¹²³ *TN (Eng. Tr.), p. 610.*

¹²⁴ *JNSI, XL (part I & II), p. 42.*

¹²⁵ Qanungo, Hodivala, Karim, see, *HB II, pp. 39, 40; Corpus, p. 138.*

names of Muhammad bin Sam, Ali Mardan and Iltutmish, particularly the *Gauda Vijaye* coin and *Ḍarb ba Gauda* coins have proved undoubtedly that their origin was in Bengal. It is significant that Ali Mardan's influence was not extended outside Bengal. Therefore, his horseman coins are additional proof of their Bengal origin. Thus we may conclude that Thomas' reading of *ba Gaur*, his supposition that these horseman coins of Iltutmish originated in Bengal and that the issuer was 'Iwad on behalf of Iltutmish are all correct. This proves 'Iwad's early allegiance to Delhi. The earliest of Iltutmish's horseman coins is dated 614AH. For at least a period of three years (610 to 613AH) Bengal was devoid of any coins, because no coins were found until 614AH. So, it is probable that for some reason Husamuddin did not strike coins and ruled Bengal for sometime as a governor of the Delhi Sultanat and issued coins only in the name of Iltutmish before his Independence. He declared independence in 616AH with the title Ghiyasuddin which he publicised through his coins.

One may raise the question why 'Iwad turned an independent Sultanat into a province of Delhi. One may argue that as 'Iwad took over the sultanat after killing Ali Mardan who was an independent ruler, he should have succeeded to an independent Sultanat¹²⁶. We do not have any information whether he did this by direct or indirect support from Delhi, nor is any reaction of the Delhi Sultan reported about the Bengal affairs (killing of Ali Mardan and taking power by Husamuddin 'Iwad). Therefore, it may be inferred that there was some sort of silent approval in favour of Iwad from Delhi. Probably for the prevailing situation Iwad thought it wise not to declare independence at first. Particularly because of the disintegration of the Khalji Malikis at home, and the fear of the aggression of the Ganga rulers of Orissa. There was also the possibility of intervention by the Delhi Sultan himself. Therefore, he showed his allegiance to Delhi which led him to strike horseman type coins in the name of Iltutmish from Bengal in 614AH. Otherwise it must be assumed that 'Iwad's assumption of power in Bengal had the direct or indirect approval of Delhi. That is why Iltutmish did not consider it necessary to interfere. Lakhnauti seemed to have remained with Delhi after its separation during the reign of Ali Mardan Khalji.

'Iwad's independent coins are found dated 616, 617, 619, 620 and 621AH, and falls into three categories, according to their legends. However there are variations in each category due to the arrangements of lines, design and dates, including the name of the month. None of his coins bear the mint name but by circumstantial evidence it can be assumed that they were struck at Gauda, Lakhnauti. It is noted that all of his known coins are of silver and of one Tanka standard. No denominational coins or coins in other metal has yet been reported.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The coin's obverse bears the Kalima and in the margin the date. On the reverse the name of 'Iwad with his *laqab*, *kunyah* along with his father's name followed by *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn*, 'helper of the

commander of the faithful'. The full legend is *as Sulṭānu 'l mu'azzam Ghīyāṣud dunyā wa'd dīn abū 'l fath 'Iwād al Ḥusain nāṣiru amīr i 'l mu'minīn*'. In his earliest discovered coins dated 616AH as well as 617AH he styled himself *as Sulṭānu 'l mu'azzam* meaning great sultan. He did not claimed to be *as Sulṭān ul a'zam*, greatest Sultan. Probably he wanted to observe the reactions of the people as well as that of the Delhi Sultan. The very next year in 618 he proclaimed himself *as Sulṭānu 'l a'zam*. In this type, 'Iwād introduced the Kalima instead of the effigy of a horseman as was depicted on the coins of Iltutmish dated 614 and 616AH. So it is proved from the coins of 'Iwād that he wanted to introduce Islamic type coin. Afterwards all the Bengal Sultans followed him and the effigy of the horseman never appeared. Kalima was first introduced an Islamic type of coins by the Umayyad Khalifa Abdul Malik¹²⁷. Again on the reverse 'Iwād claimed himself to be 'helper of the commander on the faithful' to legitimize his claim as an independent Sultan which was the common practice.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

Introduced in 617/1220, the obverse bears along with the Kalima the name of the khalifah *an Nāṣir li dīn Allāh amīr i 'l mu'minīn*, 'an Nasir lidinillah, commander of the faithful' name of the reigning khalifa of Baghdad. Like the Type B1 the date is in the margin. A variety of this type (B2) is found with altered marginal legend bearing the name of the month, Rabi II along with the year. Here we find for the first time the specific month along with the year.

On the reverse 'Iwād claims himself *as Sulṭān ul a'zam Ghīyāṣud dunyā wa'd dīn abū 'l fath 'Iwād bin al Ḥusain nāṣiru amīr i 'l mu'minīn wa walī 'ahadhi 'Alāul Haque wa'd dīn*, 'greatest Sultan', then the name of the sultan, his father's name were retained as in Type B1 and 'nasiru amiri 'l mu'minin'. After that he added the word *walī 'ahadhi 'Alāul Haque* meaning "and his heir apparent Alaul Haq". This shows that he was not satisfied by only proclaiming himself as Sultan ul azam' but he was appointing his heir apparent through proclamation in coins. Most probably to commemorate this event i.e. nomination of his heir, he issued some special coins inscribed with the month Rabi II. Similar coins are also found of 619AH, there are none of 618AH. But this does not indicate non-issuance of coins or temporary loss of power. Because from 616 to 621AH his coin legends indicate growing power.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima and name of the khalifah as in Type B2, the date including the month and the year in the margin. But no mint name has been mentioned. This type appears with the date 620 and continued to be struck till 621AH. Here we find for the first time the specific date of the month along with the year. It goes *fī tārikh 'il iṣhrīn min shahar rabi' ul akhir sanah iṣhrīn wa sittu miyah* meaning '[the coin was struck] on 20th of the month Rabi II. Year six hundred twenty i.e. 620AH'.

¹²⁶ HB II, pp. 39, 40.

¹²⁷ Yaqub Ali, *Muslim Mudra O Hasta Likhan Shilpa*, Dhaka: Bangla Accademy, 1989, pp. 61 - 63.

The reverse starts with simply *Ghiyās ud dunyā wa 'd dīn abūl fath 'Iwād' bin al Ḥusain qasīmu amīri 'l mu'minīn Sulṭān us Salāṭīn Nūr (mu'iz) ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū 'l muẓaffar 'Alī (Sher) burhānu amīri 'l mu'minīn*. Without mentioning *Sulṭānu 'l mu'azzam* or *al a'zam*. After his Father's name there appears a new title *qasīmu amīri 'l mu'minīn* 'partner/sharer of the commander of the faithful' which was earlier 'helper of the commander of the faithful' a bigger title than *nāṣiru amīri 'l mu'minīn* then *Sulṭān us Salāṭīn* i.e. 'Sultan of the Sultans', then a new name starts *Nūruddīn/Mu'izzuddīn abūl muẓaffar 'Alī Sher* who is the helper of the commander of the faithful. The reverse of this third type shows that 'Iwad used for himself the title 'Sultan us Salatin' which was a higher title than that used on coin Type B2. He probably abandoned 'as Sultan ul a'zam' for this type to accommodate the longer legend. He proclaimed himself 'Sultan of Sultans' and 'partner of the Khalifa' ('Sultan us Salatin' and qasim amiril mu'minin) for himself.

All his coins bear *abūl fath* 'father of Victory' as *kuniyahh*. For his son Muizuddin he selected 'father of conqueror' and 'helper of the khalifa' which was used in the other two Types B1 and B2. The legend of the last half of this coin indicates that Ali Sher whose title was Muiz uddin was mentioned along with his father Ghiyas ud din in the same coin, but the son had lower status. The date 20 Rabi II on the coin indicates the coin's commemorative nature and probably this Muiz ud din was another son of Ghiyas ud din 'Iwad. Ala ul Haq mentioned in coin Type B2 was also probably his son who was made heir apparent earlier but his whereabouts had not been recorded anywhere, nor is it mentioned by Minhaj. Therefore, it may be inferred that first son Ala ul Haq was heir apparent and the second son Ali Sher was appointed as governor in the Siyan region, i.e. Lakhnor, Iwad's newly conquered territory in the south western part of his kingdom, or perhaps his second son Ali Sher got the heir apparentship only after the death of Ala ul Haq.

The legend of Type B3 was misread by earlier scholars. Some read as *'alā yad i nāṣiru amīri 'l mu'minīn*, 'on the hand of nasiru amiril muminin', but there are other readings. The Siyan inscription dated 7th Jumada II. 618AH/29 July 1221CE found in the dargah (Shrine) of Makhdum Shah of village Siyan in the district of Birbhum, records the establishment of a *khanqah* for sufis, where the name of one 'Ali Sher son of 'Iwad, *burhānu amīri 'l mu'minīn* has been mentioned. Dr. Z. H. Desai identified this 'Ali Sher bin Iwad as identical with Muizuddin of the coins of 'Iwad dated 621AH and *ala yad* was read by him as 'Ali Sher'. Dr. Desai wrote, "Ali Sher mentioned in our record (inscription) as the son of 'Iwad is identical with him (Muiz uddin) and the 'Iwad of the record is none other than Ghiyasuddin 'Iwad¹²⁸. Recently a coin has come to light also with the name 'ali Sher bin Iwad' in a sale catalogue¹²⁹. So, it is evident from the inscription and coin that 'Ali Sher was the son of Iwad and a subordinate ruler in the western part of

¹²⁸ Epigraphica Indica. Arabic & Persian Supplement, 1975, pp. 7 - 8, quoted in *Adi Parva*, pp. 40 - 41

¹²⁹ SCA, pl. 39, coin no. 671.

'Iwad's kingdom in Birbhum region. In the south 'Iwad also conquered some part of Orissa and placed it under his son 'Ali Sher.

Type B3 Coin of 'Iwad and the Siyan inscription reveal his conquest towards the north west of his kingdom and also states that his able son or sons were associated with him in the conquest and administration of the area. After about hundred years Shamsuddin Firuz made similar arrangements.

About 'Iwad's expansion Minhaj writes that as a whole 'Iwad was a liberal ruler, patron of learning and fine arts, his piety and generosity was proverbial. After the tyranny of Ali Mardan his just and benevolent rule was a veritable blessing for the subjects, he not only extended his kingdom towards north west and south west but all his neighbours showed respect to him¹³⁰.

From close observation of 'Iwad's coins one may draw the conclusion that gradually he was gaining power and proclaiming higher titles, from 'Sultān u'l mu 'azzam' to 'Sultān u'l a'zam' and from 'Sultān' to 'Sultānus Salāṭīn'; and, from 'nasiru amiri'l mu'minin' to 'qasimu amiri'l mu'minin'. Moreover on his coin Type B2 the name of the Abbasid Khalifa 'An Nāṣir li dinillāh', were inscribed from 617AH onwards. Thomas thought that use of the legend *nāṣiru amīril mūminīn* and *qasīmu amīril mūminīn* indicates that 'Iwad had received an investiture from the Abbasid Khalifa¹³¹. Scholars speak on this topic; according to I. H. Qureshi allegiance to the khalifa is only expressed here and there is no question of recognition from him. Dr. Dani points out that although Iltutmish's coins bearing the khalifa's name are found in Bihar dated 622 and 624AH he received the Khalifa's investiture on 22 Rabi I 626/9 Feb 1288. Therefore, for political reasons 'Iwad may also have used the name of the khalifa without any recognition or investiture¹³².

From the above discussion it is clear that from 610/1213 to 613/1213 – 1216. No coin was found either in the name of 'Iwad or Iltutmish. And from 614/1217 to 616 to 1219. 'Horseman type' coins bearing the name of Iltutmish are known in both, gold and silver. Among these coins one variety bears the mint name 'Ba Gaur'. Then from 616/1219, 'Iwad's own coins are found which continued up to 621/1224 and a type in the joint names of 'Iwad and Iltutmish, bearing the date 622/1225 is reported¹³³. Lastly some coins in the fabric of 'Iwad's coin style are found from Bihar region dated 622-624/1225-1227 in the name of Iltutmish alone.

¹³⁰ *HMB IA*, p. 85. Quoted by Mohar Ali.

¹³¹ Edward Thomas, "The Initial Coinage of Bengal under the early Muhammadan Conquerors. Part II", (henceforth *ICB, II*), *JASB*, 1873, p. 358.

¹³² For detail discussion of the scholars see *HMB, IA*, pp. 82-83.

¹³³ Roma Niyogi, "A Unique Coin from Bengal & A Review of Iwad's Career", *JNSI, XL*, part I & II, (1978), pp. 42 - 43.

From the report of Minhaj it seems that after the assumption of power for the second time Husamuddin 'Iwad took the title of Ghiyasuddin. But Mohar Ali doubts whether he assumed the title of Sultan from the beginning¹³⁴. Minhaj has not said anything clearly. The numismatic record of 616AH reveals that 'Iwad became Sultan and used the *laqab* Ghiyasuddin from 616AH. If we accept the view that 'Horseman' coins were issued by 'Iwad in the name of Iltutmish and he ruled as a vassal of the Delhi Sultan till 616AH there would still be a gap of three years from 610 to 613AH when no coins were found. Before Iwad, Ali Mardan and Bakhtiyar issued coins occasionally for the purpose of commemoration. Probably 'Iwad was the first ruler in Bengal to issue coins on a regular basis. It is to be noted that before Muslim rule there were no regular coins or *sikka* system in Bengal. Therefore in the early period of his reign the striking of coins was not a prime factor either for commercial activity or political legitimacy. He was busy consolidating his power. As a governor he issued coins in the name of Iltutmish from 614 to 616AH. In 616AH he issued coins in his own name proclaiming independence and assumed the title of Ghiyasuddin in the same year.

As a rival of the Delhi Sultan, to be at par with him and for the legitimacy of his power and kingdom in the eye of Islam as well as his subjects. He used the name of the Khalifa of Islam in his own coins (coin type 2 & 3 obv.) without any proper recognition or recommendation from the Khalifa, gradually he gained power by consolidating his affairs. This is demonstrated best through his coin type 2 and 3 i.e. assumption of lofty titles like *sulṭānu'l mu a'zzam*, *Sulṭānu'l dīzam*, *Sulṭān us Salāṭīn*, *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn*, and *qasīmu amīri'l mu'minīn*; as mentioned earlier. Furthermore, announcing *walī 'ahad*, heir apparent through his coins. 'Iwad had issued his own coins without hindrance up to 621AH. The reported coin of 622AH bearing the joint names of 'Iwad and Iltutmish was coined to oblige the Delhi Sultan. Soon after the return of the Delhi sultan from Bengal in 622AH 'Iwad drove away the newly appointed governor of Iltutmish Malik Alaaddin Mas 'ud Jani from Bihar probably in 623AH. Consequently Iltutmish's son Nasiruddin marched to Bengal and 'Iwad was defeated and killed by him in 624AH. No coins in the name of 'Iwad have been found after 622 AH.

The coins which are in the Bihar-Bengal region following the coin fabric of 'Iwad bearing the name of Iltutmish date 622, 624 AH were not issued by 'Iwad. Had Iltutmish's coin of 624 AH been struck by 'Iwad then there would not be any need of attacking 'Iwad in 624AH by the Delhi forces. However no coins of 'Iwad bearing the date 623 /1226 has yet been found.

According to Hoernle, when no mint name is found in the case of the Delhi emperor then one should automatically conclude that it is the imperial mint of Delhi¹³⁵. Dr. K. R. Qanungo opines that the coins of Iltutmish found in Bengal were carried from Delhi by his invading armies or governors. He also pleads

¹³⁴ HMB, I.I. p. 78

¹³⁵ Hoernle, "A New Find of Early Muhammadan Coins", JASB, 1881, p. 35 f, quoted by Qanungo in HB, II. p. 39.

that Gaur was not mentioned as a city by Minhaj¹³⁶. Also Wright's 'Lakur' and Hodivala's 'Nagore' were never mint towns. But in the 'Horseman' type coin *ba Gaur* was not prefixed by any *Balad* name. That Gaur was an important place has been established with the citings of *Gauḍa Vijaye* in the commemorative coins of Mohammad bin Sam. The 'Horseman' type coins of Ali Mardan now confirm that all these (horseman type) originated in Bengal. Therefore, the reading of Iltutmish's coin is most probably 'Ba Gaur'. Being issued by 'Iwad, his early vassalage and allegiance to Delhi may be established.

Dr. Qanungo also points that as 'Iwad always used the Abbasid Khalifa's name on his coins, if he cared to acknowledge the Delhi Sultan, he would have associated his own name with the Sultan as Daulat shah bin Mahmud had done. But already we have seen that the use of the name of Khalifa did not require any recommendation. To use the name of governor jointly with the Sultan required prior permission, which he was given after the peace treaty of 622. This was probably followed by the issuance of coins in joint names. If the Bengal fabric coins of Iltutmish bearing the date 622AH, are assumed to be issued by 'Iwad then it may be presumed that permission of joint coin was cancelled very soon, or it was 'Iwad's first attempt to violate the terms of the treaty by putting his own name alongwith Iltutmish on the same coin. However, the joint coin of 622 shows that 'Iwad was the first governor to introduce joint coins in Bengal.

In the context of removal of Alauddin Jani from Bihar by 'Iwad and attack of Bengal by prince Nasiruddin in 624AH, it is doubtful that 'Iwad had struck the coins of 622 and 624 in the name of Iltutmish. Therefore, the truth may lie on what professor Tarafder suggested that, 'These coins were issued from the region of Bihar south of the Ganges, over which Delhi governors had uninterrupted control¹³⁷. During 'Iwad's time the circulation of coins increased to a considerable level; there is a issue of almost every year from 616 to 622AH in comparison to the previous reign. It speaks of a regular economic activity based on coin. Thus it may be presumed that money based trade and commerce was emerging gradually.

On the other hand after the treaty with the Delhi Sultan no coins were found in Bengal till the end of 'Iwad's rule save the joint coin of 622. This was probably due to the drainage of precious metals like gold and silver from Bengal as indemnity money, which according to Minhaj amounted to 80 lacs. 'Iwad had no chance to compensate for this drainage by fresh conquests. Furthermore, the next governor, Nasiruddin, probably called back all the circulated coins for restriking. Thus no coins of 'Iwad dated 623 & 624 have been found in Bengal.

The weight of the coins was based on the tola weight standard, set by Bakhtiyar and followed subsequently by both Ali Mardan and 'Iwad. Coins of 'Iwad do not exceed 166 grains. Generally the

¹³⁶ *HB II*, p. 28.

weight range of his coins are between 150 grains to 166 grains, physically¹³⁷. Probably the standard weight was fixed at 170 grains, and it was followed by the Delhi Sultans for their own coins struck from various mints including the mint of the capital in Delhi.

From his early vassalage, coins in the name of Iltutmish (i.e., following the type and coins of Ali Mardan and Bakhtiyar's *Ganda vijaye* coin (i.e. the Horseman type), were the model before him. His own coins from 616AH were completely different from the horseman type. He declared independence in 616 AH and qualitative changes in coins were made. Also the declaration of sovereignty was dependant on the message circulated through coins.

¹³⁷ M.R.Tarafdar, "Bengal's Relations with her neighbours: A numismatic study", *Bhattachali Commemoration volume*, Dacca Museum, 1966, p. 236.

¹³⁸ IMC. II. pp.145-146.

C 3. Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak

651 - 655/1253 - 1257

Alauddin Dulat Shah bin Maudud was governor of Bengal in 627 or 629/1229 or 1231. He may be identified either with Ikhtiyaruddin Balka Khalji (627AH) or 'Alauddin Mas'ud Jani (627AH). Already we know that he issued coin in the joint names of Iltutmish and himself.

From the period of 'Alauddin Jani i.e. 628/1230 to 'Izzuddin Balban Yuzbaki (c. 657A.H.) for the history of nearly 30 years our original source *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* is piecemeal¹³⁹. However, after the demise of Saifuddin Aibak (d. 631), governor of Lakhnauti, Aibak Aor Khan, a Turkish general and probably one of the slave officers of Saifuddin Aibak usurped the governorship of Lakhnauti in 631/1233 Tughral Tughan Khan the appointed governor of Bihar challenged Aor Khan and marched against him and defeated and killed him in battle. Qanungo informs us that the battle was fought between the city of Lakhnauti and the fortress of *Baskot* and as a result Tughral Tughan became the master of both the wings of the Muslim territory, *Radhā* and *Varind* in addition to his own province, Bihar¹⁴⁰.

Tughral Tughan Khan ruled Bengal as a governor for nine years from 633/1235 to 642/1244. Both the governors (Aor Khan and Tughan Khan) were loyal to the Delhi Sultans and no coins in their own name have been found, but they issued coins in the names of contemporary Delhi Sultans. The next governor of Bengal was Malik Tamar Khan-i-Qiran who was the governor of *Oudh* and had been sent to help Tughan to ward off of the Orissa forces. He had forcefully compelled Tughral Tughan to hand over the governorship. Tughan Khan returned to Delhi in 643AH¹⁴¹. Both Tamar Khan and Tughral died on the same day, one in Lakhnauti and the other in *Oudh* in 644 AH¹⁴².

On the death of Malik Tamar Khan_i_Qiran the governorship of Bengal and Bihar was granted by the imperial court to Jalal ud din Mas'ud Jani, son of Malik 'Alauddin Jani. (644 AH) None of the above mentioned governors issued any coin in their own name.

Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak, governor of Oudh succeeded 'Alauddin Mas'ud Jani in 650 AH in Lakhnauti¹⁴³. He was a habitual rebel, having already risen twice against Sultan Nasiruddin, pardoned each time and promoted through the favour of Ulugh Khan Balban. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak, a slave of Shamsuddin Iltutmish was a bold, brave and expert soldier. Under royal patronage he served the kingdom from various positions from time to time and was ultimately given the governor-ship of

¹³⁹ *Adi Parva*, p.49.

¹⁴⁰ *HB, II*, p.46.

¹⁴¹ *Adi Parva*, p.55.

¹⁴² *HB, II*, p.50.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p.51.

Lakhnauti. His 'Rashness and imperiousness'¹⁴⁴ became evident when he very soon declared independence in Lakhnauti and struck coins in his own name.

Three types of coins of Yuzbak have been discovered so far. All are of silver and one *Tanka* denomination. No coin of Yuzbak in any other metal or denominations have yet been found. A joint coin bearing the names of both Sultan Nasir ud din Mahmud of Delhi and Yuzbak is discussed separately in this chapter and two types of his independent coins have come to light. His independent coin types are as follows:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

Chronologically, the first independent coin of Yuzbak. It bears on the obverse the name of the Sultan along with his titles *as-Sultān u'l a'zam Mughis ud dunyā wa'd dīn* and *kunyah, abū'l-fath*. He claimed as *as-Sultān ul a'zam* and *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn* (helper of the commander of the faithful). On the reverse, *fi 'ahdi'l imam* has been inscribed. The legends are in Arabic. On the margin of the reverse, circular legend is *ḍariba Nūdiya fī suhūrī 'isnīn wa khamsīn wa sittu miyah* i.e. the coin was struck at Nadiya in 652AH. This type is only known by a solitary coin reported by Rroma Niyogi in JNSI¹⁴⁵.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

Bears on the obverse Yuzbak's name with title *as Sultan u'l 'azam* regnal title *Mughis u'd dīn* and *kunyah abū'l Muẓaffar*. Reverse is the same as Type B1 but the margin is *hazaj Darb bi Lakhnauti min khirāj Az mardan wa Nūdiya fī Ramaḍān sanah ṣalās wa khamsīn wa sittu miyah* i.e. 'this (coin) was struck at Lakhnauti from the taxes of Azmardan and Nūdiya in the year fifty-three and six hundred' i.e. in 653 AH. This is the most popular type of Yuzbak's coin and has been found in the largest number. Type B2 coins are dated 653 and 654 AH¹⁴⁶. In a recent sale catalogue one coin dated 655 is illustrated¹⁴⁷.

From the Type B1 coin, it is clear that Yuzbak proclaimed full independence and assumed the title *as Sultānu'l 'azam*. The regnal title *Mughis u'd dīn* instead of his name Ikhtiyaruddin and the *kunyah, abū'l fath* (father of victory). Furthermore as subsequent titles after his *alam* 'Yūzbak', he used *as-Sultān* and *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn* (helper of the commander of the faithful).

The reverse is like other Delhi coins of the period *fi 'ahdi'l imām*. This Type B1 coin was struck in Nūdiya in 652/1254. Thus we may assume that the joint coin of Yuzbak was struck prior to this independent coin, probably in 650 or 651 AH when Yuzbak was governor of Lakhnauti.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 51.

¹⁴⁵ JNSI, xlv (1983), p. 180, Pl. ix, no. 2.

¹⁴⁶ JNSI, xli (1979), p. 137.

¹⁴⁷ SCA, pl. 41, coin no. 711.

This is the first time that *Nadiya* is shown as a mint in the coinage of the Sultans of Bengal. In this coin from the loyal slave, *al-'abd* he became the great sultan with the proclamation of the regnal title *Mughis u'd din* and *Kuniyah abū'l fath*, (Father of Victory). Roma Niyogi is probably right to presume that after the victory over *Azmardan* or *Umaran* he proclaimed independence and assumed the *kuniyah abū'l fath*¹⁴⁸, father of victory.

The legend of Yuzbak's Type B2 coin is very simple. On the obverse only the Sultan's name was given without any additional title. But the reverse margin is very significant. It indicates that the coin was struck in Lakhnauti, but from the taxes of *Umaran* and *Nadiya* in the month of Ramadan, 653. This type is also found with the date of 654 and 655 AH but without the name of the month. Therefore, it can be assumed that 653 Ramadan was the first commemoration and completion of the victory over *Umaran* and *Nadiya*. That is why the month has been mentioned, but the coin of 654 and 655AH was a usual continuation of the commemorative coin from the *Kharāj* of *Umaran* and *Nadiya*. Therefore, the name of the month was dropped.

The place which was conquered by Yuzbak from the *Ganga* ruler's feudal chief Sabantar variously read as '*Azmardan*', '*Umaran*' '*Armardan*', has generally been identified with modern *Mandaran* which is situated 8 miles from the town of Arambag sub-division of Hoogly district¹⁴⁹.

After Bakhtiyar's first invasion of 601 AH *Nadiya* appeared on the coin in the history of Sultani Bengal after a long interval. It is apparent that the place was reconquered by Yuzbak and taxes were collected from there. This was the reason why it was mentioned on the coins. Therefore, Type B2 coin is commemorative and reveals the glory of Yuzbak.

Roma Niyogi in her article in *JNSI* explained why the 'habitual rebel' wanted to be announced as '*al abd Yuzbak*' in his joint coins. The *Ganga* rulers were very powerful rivals of the Turkish governors of Lakhnauti and Yuzbak fought three battles with them. In one of those he was defeated and sought Delhi's help. Prior to this appeal he publicized his vassalage to the people for strategic reasons, to show that the Delhi Sultan was in possession of Bengal and might interfere at any time to protect his realm, and also to show his own subordination to the Delhi Sultan.

But he did not get any help from Delhi due to the chaotic condition of the court there and had to fight his own battle with the *Ganga* rulers. He was victorious and commemorated this in his coin Type B2, but before this victory he would have conquered *Nadiya* in 652/1255 and declared independence. From there he struck coin in his own name.

¹⁴⁸ *JNSI*, XLV, 1983, p.189.

¹⁴⁹ *JNSI*, XLV 1983, pp.182-83

He ruled Bengal for five years, the first two years as a governor and the rest as Sultan of Bengal. He was an ambitious governor and ultimately his desire for conquest, the last one being the attempt on *Kamrup*, brought his end. But he will be remembered as one of the successful Sultans of Bengal to follow 'Iwad and as an issuer of independent coins.

His coins are found from the two mints of Bengal, viz. Lakhnauti the capital, and *Nadiya*. His first independent coin was issued significantly from the new mint of *Nadiya*. His vassalage coin, jointly with the Delhi Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, and independent commemorative coin was struck from Lakhnauti. Though the mint of the joint coin is illegible it can be assumed that it was struck from the capital mint of Lakhnauti.

Starting a new mint outside the capital is very significant and indicates the importance of the place and decentralization of the mints. Probably by this time *Nadiya* had become an eminent city and commercial center for export trade by the river route to the sea and may also have been an outpost against Orissan aggression. It may also be presumed that when he declared his independence in 652 AH. Yuzbak was residing in *Nadiya*. Therefore, if the capital was temporarily there, it may have been the cause of recording the place name on the coins. Yuzbak ruled independently from 652 to 655AH, about four years.

C 4. Mu'izzuddin Tughril 678 - 680/1279 - 1281

On the death of Sher Khan, the governor of Bengal, Balban appointed Amin Khan, a Delhi noble, as governor of Bengal with Tughril Khan as Deputy Governor¹⁵⁰. This exceptional arrangement was made perhaps for the prevention of frequent rebellions in Bengal. Tughril was originally a slave of Balban but possessed all the characteristic virtues of a Turk, indomitable will, reckless bravery, resourcefulness and boundless ambition¹⁵¹. Tughril enjoyed defacto rulership of the province and made several expeditions. He brought a large portion of eastern Bengal under his control particularly the Dhaka-Faridpur region¹⁵². He also built a strong fort at *Loricol (Narkila)*, about 25 miles due south of Dhaka, which is known as *Qila-i-Tughril*¹⁵³. He also led some campaigns towards *Jajnagar* and captured immense booty in treasure and elephants, which he did not send to Delhi. By spending lavishly on charity and presents he won the hearts of his associates and ultimately declared independence. He struck coins and read the *Khutbah* in his own name. According to Isami Tughril rebelled against Balban in the eighth year of the latter's reign in 1275 CE. But Barani says that Tughril rebelled in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Balban's rule¹⁵⁴.

After two unsuccessful efforts under the leadership of the Oudh governor Malik Turmati (676/1278) and under another Oudh governor Bahadur (677/1279) to suppress Tughril's rebellion, Balban himself marched with a large contingent towards Lakhnauti in 680/1280-81 and after defeating and killing Tughril returned to Delhi in 682 AH¹⁵⁵.

Only one type of silver coin of Tughril dated 678 AH has come to light. It is of one *Tanka* denomination of one *tola* weight standard.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Sultan's name *as-Sultān ul a'zam Mu'iz ud dunyā wad dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ṭughril as Sultān*. There is no margin.

The reverse bears the name of the Abbasid Khalifa Al-Must'asim with the title *al-imām* and *amīr u'l m'uminīn* at the beginning and at the end. The marginal legend reads [*ḍuriḥa fī*] *Lakhnautī fī sanah saba' wa ṣamānīn wa sittu miyah*, '[Struck in] Lakhnauti in the year eighty seven and six hundred' i.e. 687AH.

¹⁵⁰ HB, II, p. 57.

¹⁵¹ *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 1141, also in p. 239.

¹⁵² HB, II, pp. 58-59.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁴ Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians, The Muhammadan Period*, vol. iii, London, 1871, p. 112.

¹⁵⁵ *Delhi Sultanat*, pp. 293-94. HB, II, p. 59.

The reverse legend shows that the use of the name of the Abbasid Khalifa, who died in 1258 CE, became customary in Bengal and was in use long after his death. It indicates the attitude of the ruler as well as the people and their veneration of the *Khilāfat*. The margin gives us only one date that is 678/1279 and the mint name of Lakhnauti. According to Isami, Tughril rebelled against Balban in the eighth year of Balban's reign. But Barani says that in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of his reign Tughril rebelled. As the coin of 678 is the only type of Tughril's coin that has come to light it seems reasonable that Barani's view is right and probably the coin dated 678 was the proclamation of his independence. Balban ruled for 22 years and if Tughril rebelled in the eighth year of Balban's reign, is it believable that Balban waited for eight years to punish his slave's audacity? It is also impossible that the news of his rebellions reached Delhi after eight years. Therefore, the date of the coin may indicate that 678 was the year of Tughril's rebellion. The same year Balban sent his first expedition under Turmati alias Amin Khan against Tughril. The next year i.e. in 679 a second expedition was sent under Bahadur but both expeditions failed. Tughril was able to repulse the elhi forces twice and ultimately the Sultan himself took the lead. Balban spent two years 1280 to 1281 CE to settle the task. Therefore Tughril ruled in Bengal independently for about four years i.e. from 678 to 681 AH.

C 5. Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra Shah

686 - 689/1287 - 1290

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban, Sultan of Delhi after suppressing the revolt of Tughril and settling the affairs of Bengal returned to Delhi in 681/1282(4)¹⁵⁶. He appointed his younger son Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra as the governor of Bengal, who accompanied him in the expedition to Bengal.

Up to his father Balban's death Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra ruled Bengal as a governor of the Delhi Sultanat. He was once summoned by Balban to Delhi after the death of Balban's eldest son Muhammad Khan-i-Shahid. Bughra responded to the call but did not accept the offer of kingship of the Sultan and soon returned to his capital Lakhnauti against his father's wishes. Therefore, Balban named a grand son as his heir apparent at the time of his death. "A week after Balban's death, sometime in September 1287 (686AH) during which he mourned his father's death Bughra assumed the title of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and caused *Khutbah* and the coins to be put in his name"¹⁵⁷ in Bengal. So Bengal once again split from the Delhi Sultanat and became an independent Sultanat, this time under the leadership would be crown prince of Delhi.

According to the above statement he became Sultan in 686/1287, and one coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud recently published in a sale catalogue confirms this date (7). His coins dated 687 and 688 are also been known in recent times (3). The coin dated 688AH, which is known to belong to a private collector in Dhaka¹⁵⁸. They are one *Tanka* denomination of one *tola* standard and are of silver.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse of the coin bears the name of the Sultan with his title *as-Sultān u'l-a'zam Nāsir-ud-dunyā wa 'd-dīn abū 'l muzaffar Mahmūd as-Sultān bin as-Sultān*.

The reverse bears the name of the Abbasid Khalifa al-Must'asim (Billah) with the titles *al-imām* and *amīru 'l-mu'minīn* prefixed and suffixed respectively and a circular marginal legend '*Ḍurība haza al-fiddatu bi Ḥadrat Lakhnautī min kharāj' Bang sanah sab'a wa ṣamānīn wa sitta miyah*. This coin was struck at Hadrat-Lakhnauti from the land tax of *Bang* in the year seven and eighty and six hundred i.e. in 687AH.'

As usual the Abbasid *Khalīfa*'s name was used on the reverse though he had died long ago. But the marginal legend is very important and significant; it reveals that the coin was issued in the capital mint Lakhnauti and in the year 687 AH. That is the coin was struck in the second year of his independence.

¹⁵⁶ Delhi Sultanat, pp. 1142-1143.

¹⁵⁷ Barani, pp. 128, 141-143, 160, quoted in *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 1144.

¹⁵⁸ Mr. Ifthikhar Alam, Dhaka, posses a coin dated 688AH.

Above all the coin was struck from the land tax of *Bang*, which indicates victory in the region. Curiously enough the same formula (from the land tax of *Bang*) has been used in the coin of Jalaluddin Mahmud, whose identity is still a puzzle ¹⁵⁹, and Ruknuddin Kaikaus (689-690 AH) used this formula for two to three years of his reign.

Thus the formula was used for about six years from 687 to 690. After 691 the use of such formula ceased. Probably the process of the conquest of *Bang* took about six years to complete and only after the final subjugation of *Bang* the use of such formula in the coin legend ceased. Mahmud also claimed his royal parentage by using *as-Sultān bin-as-Sultān* and his claim is right that his father was the Delhi Sultan, Balban.

It is to be noted here that Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra preferred to be a subordinate governor under his father's reign than be a crown prince in Delhi and also preferred to be the Sultan of Bengal than a Sultan of Delhi. He struck coins from the very first year of his independence i.e. 686 consecutively in each year upto 688. Therefore, his independent rule lasted for three years.

¹⁵⁹ Discussed under Jalaluddin Mahmud Shah in Ch. iv.

C 6. Ruknuddin Kaikaus

689 - 699/1290 - 1300

Ruknuddin Kaikaus was the son and successor of Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra in Bengal and Bihar. Qanungo and Karim presumed that after the death of Kaikobad, son of Mahmud and Sultan of Delhi, Mahmud abdicated the throne of Bengal and Bihar¹⁶⁰. But the *Riyaz* holds that for fear of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi he abdicated the throne in favour of his younger son¹⁶¹. Some historians hold that grief over the death of his eldest son was the cause of the death of the old Sultan¹⁶². By the numismatic evidence Qanungo fixed his reign upto 689 and his successor Kaikaus' rule starts from 690. But it is evident now that Kaikaus' rule started in 689AH.

Both the gold and silver coins of Kaikaus have been discovered and the silver coins are of two types and of one tanka denomination. But the gold coin is a fractional coin.

Type A1: Gold Fractional Coin

The obverse the name of the Sultan in a circle *Kaikaus*. The reverse bears in a circle Ibn u's Sultan. The only known gold coin is preserve in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in double square within circle in four lines, *as Sultān u'l a'zam Rukn ud duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Kaikāus as Sultān bin Sultān bin Sultān*.

The reverse bears the legend in double square within circle *al imām al Musta'sim amīru'l mu'minīn* margin bears *ḍuriḥa ḥaẓīl fiddatu bi Ḥaḍrat Lakhnautī min kharāj Bang sana tisa' wa ṣamānīn wa sittu miyah*, 'this silver (coin) was struck in Hadrat Lakhnauti from the Land-tax of Bang in the year Eighty-nine and six hundred'.

His regnal name was Ruknuddin abu'l muzaffar Kaikaus, his grand father was Sultan Balban, and his father was Nasiruddin Bughra which has been revealed through the coin legend *as Sultān bin as Sultān bin as Sultān*. This type is found dated 689 and 690AH.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse are the same as Type B1 (with some minute differences in ornamentations) but only difference is in the marginal legend which is devoid of 'min kharaj Bang' and the dates were different. The observed dates are from 691 to 699AH.

¹⁶⁰ *HB II*, p. 74.

¹⁶¹ *Riyaz*, p. 90, also quoted in *HB II*, p. 74.

¹⁶² *Adi Parva*, p. 99

This type is almost the same as Type B1 of Kaikaus so far as the legend is concerned with some minor variation in the design on the obverse. An arabesque has been placed above the 'ma' of the word 'al-Imam' to fill up the blank space. This arabesque sometimes has been replaced by a 'fatah' or sometimes with a scroll type motif. But the marginal legend of type 2 is different. Its reading is *ḍuriba ḥaḥal fidḍatu bi Ḥadrat Lakhnauti sanah aḥda...* i.e. 'this coin was struck at Hadrat (capital) Lakhnauti' and the date and mint name are prefixed by bi-Hadrat which indicates the glory of the place as the capital and residence of the Sultan. This coin Type B2 like Type B1 also bears his name with the formula "Sultan bin Sultan bin Sultan", but not 'as-sultan'. The difference is the marginal legend of the reverse. In Type B2 the term Kharaji Bang has been dropped.

All of Kaikaus' coins are struck from the single mint bi-Hadrat Lakhnauti i.e. the mint of the capital, and also indicate that the Sultan resided there. Both types bear an extra pillet above the word 'Ain' of al-A'zam on the obverse probably for adjusting the extra gap there.

Kaikaus' earliest dated coins were struck from Lakhnauti. They bear on the reverse the name of the Khalifa al-Musta'sim with the laqab 'al-Imam' and 'amiru'l mu'minin'. In the circular marginal legend the name of the mint Lakhnauti and the date appear. In this Type B1, in the margin it has been recorded that the coin was struck from the *Kharāj* of Bang i.e. from the Land tax of Banga and the mint's name was Lakhnauti. This particular mention indicates that the coin was a commemorative one and it is clear from the legend that Banga or eastern Bengal was annexed to the Lakhnauti kingdom during his reign. As the date 689AH indicates the year of his ascension to power, the annexation of Banga happened in the same year or a couple of years earlier. Because in the previous year we have already seen a coin with such proclamation by Jalaluddin Mahmud Shah. The same formula has also been used his father's coin dated 687.

Either Banga was conquered by the Muslims one or two years earlier and striking of coins were initiated to commemorate the event. The tradition was started by the previous rulers, and Kaikaus followed his predecessors, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Jalaluddin Mahmud. Or it may be assumed that the conquest of Bang was a gradual process and some part was annexed by the earlier rulers. The process continued during the rule of Kaikaus who had conquered some more areas of Bang. Therefore, it may be presumed that the conquest of Bang took several years to complete. Or it may be assumed that the practice of striking coins from the taxes of Bang became customary and Kaikaus himself followed the custom.

His coins are found for each year of his reign from 689 to 699AH save the year 692AH. No coin of 700AH or prior to 689 has been reported or discovered yet. It is interesting to note that his coins struck from the land tax of Banga are issued in the beginning of his rule, say for two (or three) years 689 to 690AH. Later coins only mention the mint name and date from 693 to 699AH. Therefore, it can be

assumed that the expedition towards Banga was completed early in his reign, and Banga area was included within the realm of Kaikaus. Karim mentioned his coins dated from 690 to 691 and 693 to 698¹⁶³. But the earliest date of his coin is 689 and the latest is 699AH. No coins dated 700AH have yet been found.

Therefore the duration of his reign may be fixed from 689 to 699AH i.e. eleven years.

¹⁶³ *Corpus*, p. 24.

C 7. Shamsuddin Firuz Shah 700 - 722/1300 - 1322

The next Sultan after Ruknuddin Kaikaus was Shamsuddin Firuz Shah. He ruled in Bengal independently from 700 to 722AH. Modern writers from Blochman to Stapleton regard him as the son of Nasir ud din Mahmud Bughra as a Balbani ruler and brother of Kaikaus¹⁶⁴, their source being Ibn Batuta's *Rihla*. At least twice Shamsuddin was referred to as the son of Nasiruddin Mahmud in the *Rihla*¹⁶⁵. But actually he was not the son of Bughra as proved by Abdul Majed Khan in 1942¹⁶⁶ the *History of Bengal* also upholds this view. Karim and Sukhamoy give four arguments against his Balbani descend.

1. None of his coins or inscriptions bear *Sultān bin Sultān*, which has been used by every contemporary sultan who was the son of a Sultan. Kaikaus's coin even bears the phrase *Sultān bin Sultān bin Sultān* i.e. his grand father was also a Sultan.
2. At least three of Shamsuddin's sons had struck coins (Shihabuddin Bughdah, Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, Nasiruddin Ibrahim) and each of them used the phrase *Sultan bin Sultan* on their coins but none of them used *Sultān bin Sultān bin Sultān*. Had Shamsuddin Firuz been the son of Nasiruddin Mahmud, then the sons of Shamsuddin must have used the formula *Sultān bin Sultān bin Sultān* like Kaikaus Shah.
3. The known names of the grand sons of Balban are *Kaiqubad*, *Kaikhasru*, *Kaikaus* and *Kaimurs*, but *Shamsuddin* or *Firuz* are not close to those phonetically.
4. From the reference of *Qirān us Sa'ādain* it is known that in 1287 Kaiqubad, elder son of Bughra was 18 years old. If we consider Shamsuddin as Bughra's son, how old would he be at that time? Thirteen years later Shamsuddin appears as the father of five capable sons who were helping him in administration and in new conquests¹⁶⁷.

Therefore we may conclude as in the *History of Bengal*, that it is a reasonable guess that Firuz Aitgin governor of Bihar and Shamsuddin Firuz are identical. Sukhamoy Mukhapadhaya also holds that though Firuz was not a direct decedent of the Balbani Sultans there may have been some sort of relationship. It is to be remembered that Ruknuddin Kaikaus died without any issue and as 'next to kin' Shamsuddin took over the Sultanat¹⁶⁸.

Two types of Firuz's coins, each in gold and silver, have been found and are of one *Tanka* denomination with variation of mints and dates. His coins were found from the mints Hadrat Lakhnauti, Khitta

¹⁶⁴ HB II, p. 77

¹⁶⁵ *Adi Parva*, p. 108.

¹⁶⁶ *HIQ*, 1942, p. 65, ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Sultani Amol*, pp. 143-144; *Adi Parva*, p. 108.

¹⁶⁸ *Sultani Amol*, pp. 146-148; *Adi Parva*, p. 115.

Lakhnauti and Hadrat Sunargaon. The weights of his coins are of one *tola* standard both in gold and silver.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse (as recorded in IMC II. P 17) bears the name of the Sultan with the title *as Sulṭānūl aʿẓam ḡhams ud dūnyā waʿd-dīn abūʿl muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh as Sulṭān*. On the reverse is the usual *ʿal-imām al Mustafīm amīrūl mʿuminīn*, the margin is gone, and traces of letters are illegible.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends are the same as the gold Type A1 but the reverse has the marginal legend *ḡuriḡa ḡaḡḡil fiḡḡatū ḡi ḡadḡat Lakhnautī sana sittī miya*, struck in hazrat Lakhnauti year seven hundred i.e. 700AH.

Variety exists due to differences in design. Some coins have legends in a double square within a circle on both sides some legends are on the obverse in a single square within circle, and in some the legend is in a double square within circle on the reverse. Some have decorative marks above the first *ʿmim* of *al-imām* have been depicted variantly, like a *fataḡ* (ز) or like a sign of *ʿMad* (م) or scroll like signs (س).

It is to be noted here that during the reign of Sultan Firuz two of his five sons struck coins concurrently with their father with the full regal title, styling themselves as *as Sulṭān ul aʿẓam*. This is a puzzle for the period of Shamsuddin Firuz, moreover, sometimes father and son issued coins from the same mint having the same date. Again at least one person struck coins independently with the title *as Sulṭān ul aʿẓam* during Firuz's rule, who was not a royal descendant and probably a pretender named Jalaluddin Kirman Shah whose coin has been discussed separately in chapter V.

The coins of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur and Shihabuddin Bughdah are similar to the coins of their father Firuz, except at the end of the obverse legend the sons used *as-Sulṭān ḡin as Sulṭān* (instead of only *ʿas-Sultan*). Also a minor variation in the decorative mark could be noticed. Besides those used by the father Firuz, Bughdah in addition used a plus mark, and Bahadur three dots above the first *ʿmim* of *al-imām* respectively.

A list of Firuz's dated coins with mint names along with the coins of his two sons are given below.

A.H.	Shams ud din Firuz	Ghiyasuddin	Shahabuddin
Year		Bahadur Shah	Bughdah Shah
700	Hadrat Lakhnauti		
701	Lakhnauti		
702	Lakhnauti, Banga		
703	Lakhnauti, Banga		
704	Lakhnauti		
705	Sunargaon, Banga		
706	Lakhnauti.		
707			
708			
709	Lakhnauti.		
710	Lakhnauti.	Sunargaon	Lakhnauti, (710)
711	Lakhnauti.	Lakhnauti, (711)	
712	Lakhnauti.	Lakhnauti, (712)	
713	Lakhnauti.		
714	Lakhnauti.	Lakhnauti, (714)	
715	Lakhnauti.	Khitta Lakhnauti (715)	
716	Hadrat Lakhnauti.		
718			
718			Lakhnauti (718)
719	Khitta Lakhnauti		
720	Lakhnauti	Lakhnauti (720)	
721		Lakhnauti (721)	
722	Lakhnauti	Lakhnauti (722)	
		Qasbah Ghiyaspur (722)	

This revised chart is after John S. Deyell, who quoted it from Stapleton¹⁶⁹. Both lists included Sultan Jalaluddin Mahmud Shah (Sultan bin as Sultan) as a son of Firuz due to the date 707/709AH of his coins from Lakhnauti mint. But the date's tenth digit is not clear. Now a clear date has been found and Jalaluddin Mahmud's date has been fixed as 687 AH¹⁷⁰. So, his reign was prior to Firuz's, the alleged

¹⁶⁹ ND, II, pt. II, (1978), p 58,??

¹⁷⁰ Discussed seperately in Ch. V.

father of Jalal ud din Mahmud. Therefore, Jalaluddin Mahmud was excluded from the list and the list has been brought up to date with the recently gathered informations¹⁷¹.

Earlier, on the evidence of numismatics it was presumed that the reign of Firuz started in 701AH but in 1985 Stan Goran published a coin of Shams ud din Firuz dated 700AH¹⁷², which extends his rule a year earlier.

Coins of Firuz dated 707, 708, 718 and 721 are not represented in the above chart. Except 707 and 708 other dates are available on the coins of his sons, particularly 718 AH in coins struck from Lakhnauti bearing the name of Shihabuddin Bughdah Shah and in 721 of Bahadur. Therefore, at first sight it may be presumed that Shams ud din Firuz did not issue any coins of these dates (718 & 721). But we know only of the coins struck by his two sons at that time. It is possible that we cannot ascertain those dates on Firuz's coin from difficult marginal legends, which are generally retained partially on the coins. On the other hand concurrent coins of father and sons are also found sometimes issued from the same mint. Therefore, this revised list¹⁷³ supports the theory of Abdul Karim of peaceful association of Firuz's sons in the administration of their father's expanding realm. In contradiction to this view Stapleton states that the Sultan's sons competed with each other for the right to 'share sovereignty' with their father. John Deyell who supports Qanungo states that the strife was not strictly intra-fraternal, but on occasion involved the supplanting of the authority of Firuz Shah himself¹⁷⁴.

But how is it possible on Bahadur's part to supplant his father from power in 710AH as conceived by Qanungo? Firuz's coins of the same date were simultaneously issued from Lakhnauti. Moreover, Bahadur's Lakhnauti coins are dated only from 710 to 714 whereas his father Firuz's coins continued to be struck till 716AH. theory of supplanting of father and sons by each other has no ground at all, this has been discussed in detail by Mohar Ali¹⁷⁵ and Karim¹⁷⁶. Therefore, the independent issues of Firuz's two sons Bahadur and Bughdah were not the result of a revolt on the part of the sons, rather it was a reflection of the association of children with the administration and the sharing of sovereignty by the father¹⁷⁷.

Firuz's coins are issued from three mints, namely, Lakhnauti (either with a prefix '*bi Ḥaḍrat*' or *bi khilāfah*), *bi Ḥaḍrat Sunārgānw* and *bi Ḥaḍrat Bang*. *Ḥaḍrat* indicates the presence of the Sultan or residence of the Sultan. Lakhnauti was the capital and residence of the sultan so the use of *Ḥaḍrat* before Lakhnauti is acceptable. But both *Sunārgānw* and *Bang* mints also bear the phrase '*bi Ḥaḍrat*'. Therefore,

¹⁷¹ Informations from the Catalogue of Rajgor and *Singapur Coin Auction* have been used.

¹⁷² *ND*, LV, pp. 100-101.

¹⁷³ With the new informations and excluding Jalal uddin Mahmud this list has been revised

¹⁷⁴ *ND*, II, Pt. II, (1978), p. 59.

¹⁷⁵ *HMB*, IA, pp. 112-113.

¹⁷⁶ *Sultani Amol*, pp. 153-156.

¹⁷⁷ *Corpus*, p. 28.

it can be inferred that both *Sunārgānw* and *Bang* were visited by the Sultan or that the sons of Firuz were also Sultans as they claimed on their coins and they were residing in those places as co-sharers of sovereign power or governors and therefore the *bi hadrat* title. It can also be presumed that during the reign of Firuz, Lakhnauti region had two mints, one in the capital with the title one in the capital with the title of bi Hadrat Lakhnauti and another mint for the suburb which used *bi Khitta* Lakhnauti. *Khittah* means administrative unit like a district. Thus father and sons issued coins from all three mints and none was reserved for any one.

C 8. Shihabuddin Bughdah Shah

717 - 718/1317 - 1318

Sultan Shams ud din Firoz's (700-722AH) two sons Shihabuddin Bughdah and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur struck coins concurrently with their father. Five of his sons are known from the various sources- coins, inscriptions and literature. Three of them struck coins in their own names, two during the life time of their father as mentioned above, and Nasiruddin Ibrahim after the death of his father. Only one type of coin of Bughdah has been discovered so far which was struck from Lukhnauti dated 717¹⁷⁸ and 718AH¹⁷⁹. The coins of Bughdah are scarce and the marginal legends mostly are truncated. Therefore, no other dates are certain. These two dates fall within the reign of his father Firuz. So he did not strike coins independently but in peaceful association with his father. Though Ibn Batuta informs us that after the death of Firuz Shihabuddin took over the Sultanat but was driven by his brother Bahadur to take refuge with Sultan Ghiyas ud din Tughlaq along with another brother Nasiruddin to seek for his help. Consequently Bahadur has defeated and Nasiruddin appointed as a vassal. But nothing has been mentioned in any source about Shihabuddin who had probably died by this time¹⁸⁰.

Earlier scholars had read the name Bughdah Shah as Bughra on the notion that he is the grand son of Nasiruddin Bugra Shah and they sought a similarity between the names of grandfather and the grand son. But Abdul Karim has rightly read the name as Bughdah. There is no direct descendance between Firuz and Bughra Khan i.e. Firuz was not a Balbani Sultan. This has been settled by later scholars after Thomas. So Thomas' assumption does not hold any ground¹⁸¹.

A single type of silver coin of Bughdah Shah is known. They are all of one *Tanka* denomination after the one *tola* weight standard.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan with the full regal title, *as Sulṭān ul a'zam Shihāb ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bughdah Shāh as Sulṭān bin as Sulṭān*. All the coins' legends are arranged in double square within circle on both obverse and reverse.

The reverse bears the name of the Abbasid *Khaliḥa* al Must'asim Billah with the epithet of *al imām* at the beginning and *amīr ul mu'minīn* at the end like his father's coin. The design and arrangement of the coins are the same as the coins of his father. Margin contains the name of the mint and date, which in most cases has almost disappeared.

¹⁷⁸ *JASB* (1922), p. 418; *Corpus*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁹ *Corpus*, p. 31.

¹⁸⁰ *Adi Parha*, p. 124, quoted from Rihla

Though the coins of Bughdah are of a single type there exist some varieties. On the basis of the variations of the decorative mark above the letter, first *mim* of *al imām* three varieties can be fixed. One having crossed or plus mark, another a '*mad*' and the third a floral mark.

It is to be noted here that no independent coin of Shihab ud din has been found dated 722 or 723AH. But Bahadur struck coins from Lakhnauti in 722 and 723AH. Probably Shihabuddin Bughdah did not have the chance of striking any coin.

It is also to be noted that Bughdah's coins are very rare and there were only three in the 13,500 coins of the *Kooch Bihar* hoard¹⁸². Another coin procured by Stapleton has the date 717AH. Provenance of the coin is Murshidabad. This is the only known coin dated 717AH. Stapleton mentioned that "The few coins of Shihab ud din previously recorded are all dated 718¹⁸³". There are four coins of Bughdah in a private collection in Dhaka of the three varieties mentioned but only in one the date is readable as 718AH¹⁸⁴. The mint name is absent from the margins.

It is curious that no coins of his father Firuz or brother Bahadur dated 718 is found from any mint, though Bughdah's younger brother Bahadur continuously struck coins from 710AH and his father Firuz from 700 AH. Probably coins dated 718 of Firuz were issued but they have not been found. On the basis of this absence of Bahadur's coin dated 718AH Stapleton has built up the fraternal conflict among the sons of Firuz¹⁸⁵. Abdul Karim has enumerated 22 coins of Bughdah Shah from various published sources. All are of the same type, and their margins have disappeared. Only four have readable dates and excepting Stapleton's one (717AH) all three are dated 718AH¹⁸⁶. *Singapore Coin Auction* catalogue of 1999 informed us about six coins (with three photographs) of Bughdah Shah¹⁸⁷. Their mint is not clear and only one date, 718AH has been mentioned. BNM has also possesses a dated coin of 718 struck from bi khitta Lakhnauti. So, on the basis of explanation of Karim it may be presumed that Bughdah Shah struck coins during his father's lifetime and with the approval of his father. Therefore these coins reveal the peaceful association in the administration and sharing of sovereignty by the father with his sons.

¹⁸¹ *Corpus*, pp. 28 & 32.

¹⁸² *ICB*, I, p. 50.

¹⁸³ *JASB*, (NS, XVII), 1922, p. 418.

¹⁸⁴ Dr. Ishaq Imam, Dhaka.

¹⁸⁵ *JASB*, [N.S. xvii] p. 418.

¹⁸⁶ *Corpus*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁸⁷ *SCA*, (1999), Pl.43, coin nos. 732, 733, 733.

C 9. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur

710 - 730/1310 - 1330

After the death of Shamsuddin Firuz in 722AH his son Ghiyasuddin Bahadur became the Sultan. Ghiyasuddin's coin dated 723AH from Khitta Lakhnauti¹⁸⁸ indicates that Bahadur succeeded his father. But according to Ibn Batuta, Shihabuddin succeeded Firuz but was overpowered by Bahadur who captured the throne and killed his brother Qutlu Khan and others¹⁸⁹. Two of his brothers, Shihabuddin and Nasiruddin fled to Sultan Firuz Tughlaq in Delhi, who marched forth with them to fight the fratricide¹⁹⁰ in 724AH.

Though Barani's account of the same event agrees substantially with Ibn Batuta he mentions that it was not the brothers but certain amirs of Lakhnauti who went to Delhi to complain. However, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq sent his general Tatar Khan with troops against Bahadur. They defeated Bahadur and while he was fleeing to the east to his new city Ghiyaspur he was captured and "brought with a halter round his neck into the presence of the king" i.e. Tughlaq Shah. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq conferred the governorship of Lakhnauti on Nasiruddin Ibrahim, brother of Bahadur for his loyalty and submission. He was allowed to rule jointly with Tughlaq Shah as revealed in the coin issued from Lakhnauti bearing the joint name of Tughlaq and Nasiruddin dated 724AH. Sunargaon and Satgoan were given to Tatar Khan. But nothing is reported about Shihabuddin. Tughlaq on his way back to Delhi captured Tirhut and established a mint there, naming it 'Tughlaqpur urf Tirhut'. In the same journey he died when a pavilion fell at Afghanpur, near Delhi, in 725AH. But Bahadur reached Delhi as a captive.

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughlaq who pardoned Bahadur and sent him back to Sunargaon with abundant gifts- money, horses and elephants- to rule the territory jointly with Bahram on condition that he should send his son to Delhi as hostage. Bahadur was also allowed to strike coins and have the *Khutbah* recited jointly with Mohammad bin Tughlaq¹⁹¹.

Bahadur carried out all the terms and conditions of the agreement excepting sending his son to Delhi. A joint coin bearing the names of Bahadur and Mohammad bin Tughlaq was found dated 728AH from Sunargaon mint.

The same year he rebelled again and struck coins from Sunargaon in his own name, but very soon Bahram Khan, joint governor of Sunargaon, defeated and killed Bahadur and sent his flayed skin to Delhi.

¹⁸⁸ *Corpus*, p. 33.

¹⁸⁹ *Adi Parva*, quoted from *Rihla*, p. 24.

¹⁹⁰ Quoted from *Rihla* (Arabic text), by Mohar Ali in *HMB IA*, p. 115, fn 2.

¹⁹¹ *HMB*, I.1, quoted from *Rihla*, p. 117, fn 1.

Three types of coins, minted by Bahadur of three status, have been discovered, viz. (a) struck during his father's reign as a co-sharer of sovereign power. (b) Joint issues with the name of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. (c) Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahadur as an independent ruler of Sunargaon.

Type (a) and (c) are of silver and Type (b) is of two metals, both silver and gold. All three types are of one Tanka denomination following the one *tola* weight standard.

(a) Coin struck during his father's lifetime

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahadur with full regal titles, *as-Sultān u'l a'zam Ghiyās u'd dunyā wa 'd-dīn/abū 'l-muẓaffar Bahādur shāh/as-Sultān bin as-Sultān*, in four lines in a double square.

The reverse has the name of the Abbasid khalifa with the prefix *al-imām* and suffixed with *amīr u'l mu'minīn*. This legend has been placed in three lines in double square within circle. Three dots above the first *mīm* of *al-imām*, is usually found on the coins of Bahadur. The marginal legend bears the name of the mint and date.

It may be noted here that during his fathers reign he was striking coins with full regal title, as-sultan u'l a'zam (not al-mu'azzam) and sometimes concurrently with his father from the same mint, also mentioning that 'he is sultan and son of a sultan'. Therefore, recent historians have drawn the conclusion that it was a peaceful co-sharing of power, and not otherwise, i.e. how could it be possible to allow each other to strike coin from the same mint if one is occupying the place after driving out the other as conceived by some historians¹⁹².

Sometimes the designs of the coin vary with single square on the obverse on some coins with annulets. But the reverse legend is invariably within double squares and there is no change in the legend.

The marginal legend particularly the name of the mint and dates are very difficult to ascertain from the incomplete margins. However, from the available coins of Bahadur of this period (that is up to 722AH. during his father's reign) Lakhnauti issues dated 710, 711, 712, 713, 714 and also 720, 721 have been ascertained and the mint Lakhnauti is suffixed by *bi Khitta* an administrative unit like district (or region). On some coins of Bahadur "*Shahr*" and "*Hadrat*" have been deciphered¹⁹³ but the date is not certain. So, it is very difficult to comment whether these coins were struck during his father's reign or later. It is

¹⁹² HB II, pp. 80-81.

¹⁹³ CUMC, pp. 31-35, coin no. 15, 16.

curious to note that concurrent issues of his father of the dates mentioned above have also been found from Lakhnauti mint with the same epithet '*bi Khitta*'. Coins of Bahadur of Type B1 have been issued from the mints *bi-Khitta Lakhnauti*, *Hadrat Lakhnauti* or *Shahr/Qasbah Lakhnauti*, *Qasbah Ghiyaspur* and *Sunārgānw*, dated 710-714, 720-722 (*Lakhnauti*), 717 (*Sunārgānw*), 721 and 722AH. (*Qasbah Ghiyaspur*). 721 is dated *Safar*. Coins of Bahadur dated 721 may be regarded as the last date when he co-shared power with his father. At first sight it may seem that Bahadur did not issue coins from 715AH to 719AH as no coins of those dates have been found. But in practice, he probably issued coins every year from 710 to 723AH. But the dates cannot be ascertained due to partial retention of the date on the coin margin.

(b) Joint coins

The joint coins both in gold and silver bearing the name of Delhi Sultan on the obverse side and Bahadur's own name on the reverse. It has been discussed separately in this chapter.

(c) Independent coins of Bahadur

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The legends are the same as Type B1 (group (a)) and dated 722, 723, 724 and 730AH. These independent coins of Bahadur are found from the mints *Khitta Lakhnauti* (722, 723AH.), *Sunārgānw* (728AH.) and *Ghiyaspur* (730AH.). The weights of the coins are one *tola* standard. But one coin has been reported by Rajgor as below this weight and after the standard of 'Adli'¹⁹⁴ coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq which is 9.08 gram. Also a billon coin of Bahadur has been mentioned in Rajgor¹⁹⁵.

The last dated coin of Bahadur's father Firuz is 722AH. After the death of Firuz his son Shihabuddin took over the Sultanat but Bahadur defeated him and became the Sultan of Bengal in the same year as his coins of 722 and 723 from *Khitta Lakhnauti* testify. The use of month's name in the coin of *Qasbah Ghiyaspur* may indicate his first conquest of that place or some other important event. So this may also be regarded as a commemorative coin. It may be mentioned here that in the year 721AH he issued coins from *Khitta Lakhnauti*¹⁹⁶, *Shahr Lakhnauti*¹⁹⁷ and *Qasbah Ghiyaspur*¹⁹⁸. It may be conjectured from the coins of Bahadur dated 721 from *Lakhnauti*, both with the epithet of *Khitta* and *Shahr*, and also from *Qasbah Ghiyaspur* dated 722, that in 721 he went to *Ghiyaspur* and probably in *Safar* 721AH occupied it or inaugurated the new mint. Bahadur established a new mint there and the coins of *Lakhnauti* with the same

¹⁹⁴ 1/6th (one sixth) lower than a silver tanka, *Coinage*, pp. 158-159.

¹⁹⁵ Rajgor, p. 17, coin type 160.

¹⁹⁶ *Suppl. Shillong Cat.*, pp. 110-111, coin no. 2/9.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113, coin no. 2/16.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111, coin no. 2/10; but this coin's date has been corrected by Stapleton as 722, *JASB*, 1922, p. 430.

date were issued by him earlier. It is also to be assumed that while his brother Shihabuddin succeeding his father at Lakhnauti he was at Ghiyaspur and by 722AH he successfully overthrew Shihabuddin and issued coins from Lakhnauti dated 722 and 723AH. But he was stopped by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq who came to settle the fratricide of Bengal on the invitation of Shihabuddin and Nasiruddin, Bahadur's two brothers. In the battle against Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's troops Bahadur was captured and as captive was sent to Delhi. But he was freed by Muhammad Tughlaq, the successor of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in Delhi and Bahadur was made Governor of Sunargaon on certain conditions (discussed elsewhere).

It is evident from the history books¹⁹⁹ that Bahadur was re-appointed as the joint governor of Sunargaon in 725AH. But no coins prior to 728AH in the joint names of Bahadur and Muhammad bin Tughlaq has come to light although he was given the authority to do so. Nor are there any coins in his name prior to that date. As a joint governor with Bahram Khan he reached Sunargaon and assumed power in 725AH²⁰⁰. It is curious that he waited for three long years to strike coins. It is also very strange that after issuing joint coins in 728AH he proclaimed independence and struck coins in his own name the very same year. Whether we did not find his coins or he did not issue coins at all prior to 728AH is not certain.

'Isami and Ibn Batuta both have informed the event of Bahadur, his revolt and his sad end. But there is some discrepancy in the two reports. According to 'Isami the news of Bahadur's rebellion and its suppression by Bahram and the end of Bahadur reached Sultan Tughlaq at the same time. But Ibn Batuta reports that first Muhammad Tughlaq received the news of the rebellion and sent a contingent (under the command of Dulziut Tatari) to help his brother Bahram and they both fought Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, killed him and sent his flyed skin to Delhi with Kishlus. Discussing this in detail Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain concluded that "Here is a difference between the narrative of Ibn Batuta and that of 'Isami". "Isami considered the flyed skins to be those of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Bura and of Kishlu Khan²⁰¹". Kishlu Khan rebelled in 728AH. Earlier Gurshasp's rebellion took place, which was quelled in 727AH²⁰².

Kishlu Khan's revolt took place in 728AH as assigned by Dr. A. M. Hussain²⁰³. In the same year Bahadur also revolted as his coins as an independent Sultan dated 728AH reveals. But Dr. Hussain has given the date of this rebellion as 730AH/1330-31²⁰⁴. The date of the suppression of these two revolts (Kishlu & Bahadur) are not certain but both happened very close in time. Non-availability of Bahadur's coin beyond 728 AH until the recent past confused the matter further. Now we have Bahadur's last dated coin of 730AH²⁰⁵. It was issued from Qasbah Giyaspur, and indicates that he continued to issue his independent

¹⁹⁹ *Adi Parva*, pp. 124-125. quoted several references in this regard

²⁰⁰ *HB II*, p. 87.

²⁰¹ *Tughlaq Dynasty*, Calcutta (1936), pp. 219-220.

²⁰² *Ibid*, p. 218.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 220.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 223.

²⁰⁵ *Chronicles*, p.201, coin no. 170(pl. vi, 5).

coins upto 730AH at least. Though no coin of 729AH has yet been found. Therefore, on the basis of this numismatic evidence it can be assumed that his second independent rule lasted for two years, from part of 728 to part of 730AH. Therefore, on the basis of this numismatic evidence of 730AH it can be concluded that the suppression of Bahadur Bura and Kishlu Khan took place not before 730AH.

Thus Bahadur struck coins with full regal title during his father's lifetime concurrently with his father from 710 to 721AH. Then his independent coins were issued from 722AH and continued until he was captured by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in 724. Only the dated coins of 722 and 723 have come to light. He issued joint coins in 728AH according to the agreement. The very same year he issued independent coins of his own and continued to do so until 730AH.

Chapter 3

Coins of the Independent Sultans of Bengal

From the last part of the third decade of the 14th century Bengal again split off from Delhi and became an independent sultanat. This independent status of the realm lasted for two centuries without any external interruption. Seven dynasties and a few pretenders ruled in Bengal during these two hundred years. They are (1) Mubarak Shahi (2) Ilyas Shahi (3) Bayazid Shahi (4) House of Raja Genesh (5) Later Ilyas Shahi or Mahmud Shahi (6) Habshis (Abyssinians) and (7) Husain Shahi. Among these Mubarak Shahi and Bayazid Shahi rulers were each two in number. Ilyas Shahi, House of Ganesh, Habshis and Husain Shahis were each four in number and Mahmud Shahi (Later Ilyas Shahi) rulers were five in numbers, in all 25 sultans ruled in Bengal. Besides these, there were also Ali Shah and Ghiyasuddin Nusrat, two individual Sultans are there of the said period. Including these two the number of the independent sultans of Bengal will reach to 27

Mubarak Shahi 738 – 753/1337 – 1352

Muhammed bin Tughlaq, Sultan of Delhi, on his accession to the throne in 725/1325 divided Bengal into three parts and each part was placed under a governor. So we find Malik Pinder Khalji entitled Qadar Khan in Lakhnauti, 'Izzuddin Yahya entitled, A'zam ul Mulk at Satgaon and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah son of Firuz in Sonargaon. For the better administration and prevention of the future rebellion Hishamuddin Abu Raza was associated with Qadar Khan as the Wazir and Sultans half brother Tatar Khan entitled Bahram Khan was made joint ruler with Bahadur in Sonargaon. However, this arrangement did not go smoothly for long. Bahadur rebelled again in 729/1329 but was killed and flayed. However, Bahram Khan became the sole governor of Sonargaon and continued to rule as a governor until his death in 1337 – 38¹

After the death of Bahram his *silahdar* Fakhra seized the throne of Sonargaon and declared independence, struck coin in his own name and rule upto 750/1349. His son Gazi Shah ruled from 750 to 753AH. While he was killed by Ilyus and Sonargaon was annexed for the first time to the Lakhnauti Sultanat. It was Ilyas Shah who established the Bengal Sultanat in a wider prespective of all Bengal.

¹ HB, II, pp. 97 - 98.

1. Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah 737 - 750/1337 - 1339

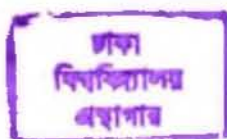
Fakhruddin Mubarak and his son Ikhtiyaruddin Gazi Shah were the two sultans of this dynasty in Eastern Bengal with the capital in Sonargaon. Fakhruddin was the first ruler to inaugurate this 200-year independent rule of Bengal. After the death of Bahram Khan, the Taughlaq governor in Sonargaon, his armour bearer (*silahdar*) Fakhruddin Mubarak assumed the power and declared independence in 739/1338.² The latter also issued coins in his own name and assumed the title of *as Sultān u'l A'zam*³. Fakhruddin and his son reigned for a period of sixteen years and struck coins from the only mint of the capital 'Sonargaon'. Fakhruddin's gold and silver coins are of tanka weight standard following the tola weight. No denominational coins in silver or copper have so far been discovered of the Mubarak Shahi rulers. Fakhruddin's gold and silver coins are known and only silver coins of Ikhtiyaruddin are found. One gold tanka and a denominational coin of a quarter gold tanka of Fakhruddin have been found. According to their legends the gold and silver coins of Fakhruddin may each be classified into two types. There is also a common legend, which is shared by both. The silver coins may be divided into 4 types according to their legend and design. Coin types: Gold – A, Silver – B

Gold Coins

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears in a square the legend, full regal name of the Sultan in Arabic in four lines *Sultān u'l a'zam Fakhr-ud-dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaffar Mubārak Shāh as Sultān*, 'great Sultan pride of the world and religion father of the victory Mubarak Shah the Sultan.

The reverse bears in a square within a circle in three lines *yamīn'u khalīfat' Allāh nāsiru' amiri'l Mu'minīn*, 'right hand of the Khilafat of Allah helper of the leader of the believers' and the marginal legend outside the circle having the mint name and date but only *...sanah tisa' ṣalāsīn wa saba' miyah*, 'year Thirty nine and seven Hundred i.e. 739AH portion is readable rest of the part cut off the flan. This is the only full tanka gold coin of Fakhruddin Mubarak so far known and published⁴, at present preserved in the Bangladesh National Museum (Cat.no. 94).



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² Yahya bin Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindi, *Tarikh i Mubarakshahi*, Eng. Translation by K.K. Basu, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932 (henceforth *TJ*), p.106.

³ Corpus, p.36.

⁴ First Published in *Itihas Simiti Patrika*, Vol. II, Dhaka (1973), p. 2 ff (in Bangla); by Firuz Mahmed; Then by M. R. Tarafdar in S. I. A. Tirmizi (ed), *Cultural Interaction in South Asia*, Delhi (1993)(henceforth *Cultural interaction*), p. 168.

Type A2: Quarter tanka gold

The obverse bears the legend and seems to be on a plain surface *Fakhr ud-dunyā/wa'd dīn* in two lines but *ad-dīn* is placed on the upper line after *Fakhr* and *waw* in the second line before *ad-dunya*. It can be read as *Fakhrud dīn wa'd dunyā* without any alteration.

The reverse bears the legend within a square in three lines, with an annulet at the centre of each side, *abū'l muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh as-Sultān*. Weight is 2.7 grams and size 13mm. No mint or date, actually the coin has no margin at all. The coin is now preserved in the Kawale Collection in India⁵ (Cat.no.95).

Silver CoinsType B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a square within circle the full regnal name of the Sultan in Arabic as *Sultānu'l a'ẓam Fakhr ud-dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh as-Sultān*.

The reverse bears in a square within a circle the legend in Arabic *yaminu khalifat Allah nasiru amiri'l mu'minin*. There are traces of writing on the margin, which is almost fully cut off. In the coin the Sultan claimed himself as the 'right hand of the Prophet (vicegerant of Allah i.e. Prophet)' and 'helper of the leader of the believers'. The execution of this type is very crude. It shows some sort of affinity with the coins of the previous governors of the regime of the Tughlaqs particularly the word 'Allah'⁶ of the reverse and of shape, which is dumpy. Though these coins bear no date still this type may be considered as early issues of the reign of Farukhuddin (Cat.no.96).

Type B2: Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse in a square within circle with an annulet at the centre of each side. The legend is as in Type B1; also crude in execution but the lettering is different and comparatively bigger in flan. Only two coins are known one in Shillong Cabinet⁷, where no date or mint is readable, another from mint Sonargaon is in a private collection in Dhaka⁸. Both Types B1 and B2 are rare and crude execution and probably of the early issue (Cat.no. 97).

⁵ Stan Goron, "The Gold Coins of the Sultans of Bengal", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, (henceforth *ONS*), Part I, No. 147, winter 1996, p. 12.

⁶ Cf. Word *Allah* of the coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq in the *Coinage*, pl. xx, coin no.500A; pl. xxiv, coin no.479A.

⁷ A. W. Botham and R. Friel, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam*, (henceforth *Suppl. Shillong cabinet*), Allahabad, 1919, pl. I, coin No. 3.

⁸ Mr. Ifekhar collection, Dhaka.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse has a square within circle with an annulet at the centre of each side. The name of the Sultan in Arabic is the same as Type B1 but the lettering is better inscribed. The reverse bears the legend in a circle in Arabic as in the reverse legend of the Type B1 but the lettering is different. Marginal circular legend contains *ḍuriba hazad dīnāru fī Ḥaḍrat Jalāl Sonārkanw (Sonargaon) sanah ṣamān wa ṣalāsīn wa saba' miyah*. 'This dinar (silver coin) was struck in Hazrat Jalal Sonargaon in the year thirty-eight and seven hundred i.e. 738AH (Cat.no. 99). There is another coin of the same type with a similar margin except the word *saba'* in place of *saman* dated 737AH⁹ (Cat.no.98).

Type B4: Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse legends are the same as above coins but the legends are inscribed in a circle. The marginal legend on the reverse bears *ḍuriba haḍihis sikkatu bi Ḥaḍrat Jalāl Sonārkanw ...* instead of *hazad dinaru*, *haḍihis sikkatu* i.e. this sikka (coin) was struck in Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon and the date (Cat.no.100).

Type B5: Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse designs are in a circle and the legend is also same but the reverse bears *yamīnu'l khalīfat* instead of *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh*. Margin is as Type B4, (Cat.no. 101).

It may be noted here that *sab'a* and *tisa'* look similar in the absence of diacritical dots. But in the coins of Fakhruddin it has been observed that *tisa'* has been written as  without a fold and *saba'* has been written as  with a fold. In this light Thomas' reading of *saba'* in ICB, I, and the date as 737 is most probably correct¹⁰. *Tisa'* as corrected by Blochman seems to be wrong. In the collection of the Bangladesh National Museum there is a coin of Fakhruddin which shows a clear *saba'* and after that *salasin* which is not so much clear but cannot be read as *arba'yīn*. Therefore, the date is 737AH as all the circumstantial evidence shows.

The reverse legend of the said coin is *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh*, it will be shown that after 744AH the term *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh* was abandoned and replaced by *yamīnu'l khalīfat*. This is an additional proof in favor of a 737 date. The design of this coin is the same as the coin of 738AH.

Recently a photograph, published in a *Singapore Coin Auction* catalogue shows that the unit word has been written with a fold in the middle though not very clear but not cursive like  i.e. it is a *Saba'*. The main plea of Blochman was 'numerous coins hitherto found do not give the intervening year (738)¹¹. But

⁹ The coin is in the collection of Bangladesh National Museum (henceforth BNM), Acc. no. 78'1839.

¹⁰ ICB, I, p.57, coin no.11, pl.1, no. 7.

¹¹ H. Blochmann, "Contributions to the geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)" (henceforth Contribution), *JASB*, 1873, p. 252.

there are at least two coins of Type B1 in the collection of Bangladesh National Museum bearing the clear date 738AH and there are two more in two other private collections, one in Bangladesh and another in India dated 738AH¹². If we accept 737AH as the correct reading of the coin in the BNM collection then Fakhruddin has only a gold coin and no silver coins in 739. His coins dated 740 and 741AH are few in number¹³, the contemporary political situation was perhaps responsible for this. First Fakhruddin proclaimed independence just after the death of Bahram Khan and issued coins in 737AH (if we accept the BNM reading as correct¹⁴) probably at the end of the year. Then he issued his second year coin in 738. Before he probably issued the coin Type B1 which in design and calligraphic style are a bit different from his usual coins and have a close affinity with the previous Tughlaq issues of the region at least in design and outlook. This type (Type B1) may be considered as Fakhruddin's early attempt of assuming sovereignty as expressed by Bhattasali¹⁵.

However, Qader Khan, the Lakhnauti governor, along with others¹⁶ marched against Fakhruddin probably in 738 and the latter had to flee and remained in hiding for some time, Qader Khan stayed in Sonargaon. Fakhruddin reappeared in the scene and captured the throne of Sonargaon and Qader Khan was killed. In this process probably the year 739AH had lapsed. This may be the cause of non-availability of his silver coins; the only gold tanka dated 739AH was probably struck at the end of that year when Fakhruddin resumed power for the second time. Coins of 740 and 741 are also scarce. During this period Fakhruddin was busy consolidating his power in Sonargaon and to holding on to Lakhnauti. From 742 to 750 coins of Fakhruddin are available in abundance. Silver coins dated 737 and 738 were called *dinara* in the marginal legend.

The margin of the gold coin is off the flan. Probably both the gold and silver coins were officially called *Dinara*, as also confirmed by Ibn Batura, who writes about *ad-dīnāru 'l fiḍḍi* silver Dinar i.e. one taka silver and one Diner gold as *ad dīnāru minaz zahab*¹⁷ or the coins dated 737 and 738 may have issued from such a dice which originally was made to strike gold coins but circumstances did not permit that. Later on the name of the silver coin was changed to *sikka* as seen in other silver coins. Or the coins dated 737 and 738 AH may have issued from such a dice which originally was made to strike gold coins but circumstances did not permit that.

¹² Present writer personally seen both the coins and have a photograph of the private collection of Dhaka.

¹³ Only 2 coins dated 740 is known, Suppl. IMC, ii, p 42 No. 8, Pl. II and Suppl. Shillong cabinet, p. 118 – 119, dated 740, no.2/33, dated 741 no.2/34.

¹⁴ If we accept the reading of ICB, I. and SCA, cat. as correct.

¹⁵ Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons 1922, (*henceforth Coins & Chronology*), p. 13.

¹⁶ Mustaufi-i-Mamalik Hishamuddin Abu Raza, Malik of Satgaon, 'Izzuddin Yahia, and son of the Amir of Kara Firuz Khan joined with Qader Khan in this expedition. *TMS*, p.106.

¹⁷ HMB, 1A, pp.13-131, the text in p.131, ff.

Both in the gold and silver coins Fakhruddin claimed himself as *Sultān al A'zam* i.e. great Sultan indicating his supreme authority. Likewise on the reverse he proclaimed himself *yamīnu Khālīfat Allāh* i.e. right hand (helper) of the Khilafa of Allah that is the Prophet, and helper of *amīru'l mu'minīn*, the commander of the faithful. By announcing this he included himself within the Muslim Ummah. All these indicate his absolute sovereignty.

The gold coin's date is correctly read as 739AH. Perhaps after resumption of power by killing Qader Khan he struck this gold coin in 739AH. It could be even his coronation coin.

He did not record his father's name on the coins neither did he use the formula *Sultān bin as Sultān* as he was not the son of a Sultan. The reverse sides of both the gold and silver coins bear the titles of either *yamīnu'l khālīfat* or *yamīnu khālīfat Allāh* i.e. right hand (helper) of the Khalifat of right hand of the Khalifatullah (i.e. prophet) respectively. By announcing these he showed his solidarity with other Muslims and legitimized his usurpation of power. He also claims *nāṣiru amīru'l mu'minīn* i.e. helper of the commander of the believers. All these indicate his absolute sovereign. The title, *yamīnu'l khālīfat* has been continuously used from 744AH onwards. His early coins up to 744AH bear only *yamīnu khālīfatullāh* (744AH). But both the titles *yamīnu khālīfatullāh* and *yamīnu'l khilāfat* have appeared simultaneously in the coins of 744AH only. No coins after 744AH have *yamīnu khālīfatullāh*. Therefore that is the year in which he changed the title *khālīfat Allāh* for only *khilāfat*. He made the capital in Sonargaon and used a honorific title for it *Hadrat Jalāl*¹⁸, for all his coins bear this prefix with the mint name. It indicates the presence of the Sultan, i.e. Sonargaon was the capital and mint city as well as the residence of the sultan.

The most notable contemporary report of this period is the account of Ibn Batuta who visited Bengal in 746AH¹⁹. According to Ibn Batuta Fakhruddin conquered Chatgaon and sent his general Mukhlis to seize Lakhnauti but the latter could not succeed and was killed by Ali Mubarak the general of Qader Khan. Probably Karim is right to assume that Fakhruddin did not make Chatgaon his alternate capital at all. On the basis of *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* Mukhapadhyay assumed that Fakhruddin has conquered Lakhnauti and Mukhlis was the governor there on the former's behalf²⁰. As no coins are found in the name of Fakhruddin other than the mint Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon, Karim is also right to assume that Fakhruddin could not conquer Lakhnauti but only sent his slave Mukhlis to occupy it. Had Mukhlis succeeded then the coins bearing the name of Fakhruddin of Lakhnauti mint would have been found. Ibn Batuta also informs us that gold coins were in use in Sonargaon and he himself bought a slave girl in exchange of a

¹⁸ Corpus, p.36.

¹⁹ Coins and chronology, p – 16

²⁰ Mukhapadhyay, *Banglar Itihasar Dusho Bachhar: Swadhin Sultander Amol*, 4th ed., Calcutta: Bharati Book Stall, 1988, (henceforth *Dusho Bachhar*), p.3

gold tanka²¹. The quarter gold tanka of Fakhruddin also confirms the report of Ibn Batuta. In fact gold coins with denomination were not unfamiliar in Bengal particularly in Sonargaon. It should be remembered here that Ghiyasuddin Bahadur struck gold tankas and denominational gold tankas (joint coin, Cat. no. 40) from Sonargaon a decade earlier.

From the evidence of coin it is certain that Farukhuddin ruled for fourteen years from 737 to 750AH. His silver coins are represented by each Hijra year though his gold coins are few and are only of 739/1338.

²¹ *Coins and Chronology*, p. 136, *Sultani Amol*, p.172.

2. Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah 750 – 753/ 1349 - 1352

Ikhtiyar u'd din Ghazi Shah was the son and Successor of Fakhr ud din Mubarak Shah. After the death of Fakhruddin, probably a normal death²², in 750/1349 Ghazi Shah ascended the throne of Sonargaon. No contemporary historian nor any chronicle cites his name. He is known only from his coins. All the coins bearing the name of Ghazi Shah were issued from Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon, like his father. He struck coins from 750 – 753. In the latter year he was defeated and killed by Ilyas Shah, the Sultan of Lakhnauti. After the death of Ghazi Shah, Ilyas for the first time united the whole of Bengal into a single unit, the Sultanat of Bangalah. Ilyas began to strike coins from Sonargaon from 753AH.

A single silver coin type of Ghazi Shah has been discovered which was continuously struck every year from 750 onwards. Though the coins of Ghazi Shah are not abundant those dated 750, 751, 752 and 753 have been found. All the coins were struck from 'Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon', like his father's coins. All are of one tanka denomination following the one-tola weight standard; no denominational coin of Ghazi Shah has been reported.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan with the full title of *as Sultān u'l a'zam Ikhtiyār u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ghāzī Shāh as Sultān bin as Sultān*, 'the great Sultan Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah who is also son of a Sultan'. The legend is either in a circle or in a lettered surface.

The reverse bears in a circle in the center *yamīn u'l khalīfat nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn*, 'Right hand of the Khalifat and helper of the leader of the believers', a marginal legend with the mint name '*Hadrat Jalāl Sonārkānw*' and the date. It is a copy of his father Sultan Fakruddin's coin type (Cat. no.103).

The available reports of Shams-i-Siraj Afif and Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi give the date of 741 which Thomas rightly defined as 'manifest error'²³, because coins of Fakhruddin with continuous dates from 741 to 750 have been discovered abundantly. Again coins of Ikhtiyaruddin have been discovered from 750 – 753 without any break and from 753 Ilyas Shah's coins from Sonargaon are also found²⁴. Therefore, it is obvious that it was not Fakhruddin but Ikhtiyaruddin, son of the former, whom Ilyas killed in 753 and both the authors probably omitted the word *Ibn*, 'son of before the name of Fakhruddin'²⁵. Thomas reported three coins of this Sultan from the Cooch Bihar hoard and describe one-dated 751²⁶ but

²² *Coin and Chronology*, P. 17

²³ *JCB I*, p. 59, fn 2

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 60 and 63; *Corpus*, pp. 38 and 43.

²⁵ *Ibid*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60, also pl. no. 1, fig. 9.

Blochman corrected the date as 753²⁷. The Asiatic Society of Calcutta has one coin dated 751/1350, which was published in IMC. II, no. 21. Bhattasali examined the coin and confirmed the date as 751. *Suppl. Shillong catalogue* has one coin dated 750, which was also examined and confirmed by Bhattasali²⁸. There are two coins in two private collections in Dhaka and both are dated 752AH²⁹.

There is no direct indication on the coins that Ghazi Shah was the son of Fakhruddin, rather Ibn Batuta reports against it. Ibn Batuta said that Fakhra had only one child (son) who was killed by the rebel Shaida. From the continuity of the coin type of Fakhruddin by Ghazi Shah and continuity of date and use of the term 'as Sultan bin as Sultan', use of the same epithet 'yaminul Khalifat' in both the coins of Fakhra and Ghazi Shah, scholars have concluded that Ghazi Shah was the son of Fakhruddin, who inherited the Sultanat from his father in 750AH and continued to rule up to 753AH when he was attacked and killed by Ilyas Shah. Thomas initiated this interpretation, which has been accepted by later scholars³⁰.

There is a peculiar coin of Ghazi Shah in a private collection in Dhaka dated 752AH of Sonargaon mint duly prefixed with Hadrat Jalal but on the obverse the name of the Sultan is given as 'Fakhruddin Ghāzī Shāh' instead of Ikhtiyaruddin (Cat. no.105). All the other features like design, weight, size, shape, and legends are similar to the coins of Ghazi Shah. Most probably this is an error coin of Ghazi Shah as the date reflects. *Fakhr* has been engraved instead of *Ikhtiyār* by mistake.

Only two rulers represent the family of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, he and his son Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah. The latter is known through his coins only except a reference in *The Malfuj us Safar*³¹ recently been mentioned by Syed Hasan Askari. Fakhruddin's family ruled for sixteen years from Sonargaon as their capital. Fakhruddin ruled for thirteen years from 737 to 750 and Ghazi Shah ruled for three years from 750 to 753, in which year Ilyas Shah annexed the kingdom of Sonargaon. Fakhruddin issued both gold and silver including gold denominational coins. His son Ghazi Shah struck only silver tankas. Both the Sultans used only the mint Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon.

²⁷ The plate *ICB I*, Pl. I, fig. 9 show that Blochman's reading is correct.

²⁸ *Coins and Chronology*, p. 18.

²⁹ Dr. Ishaq Imam and Mr. Iftekhar Alam.

³⁰ *Coins and Chronology*, p. 19.

³¹ Prof. Syed Hasan Askari records that "The same Malfuz provides a very interesting piece of information that on the 24th Jumada I AH 762... The wife of Sultan Ikhtiyaruddin the deceased, who had been among the devotees of the saint of Bihar". (JBRS, 1966, p. 146-7.) Quoted by Mukhapadhyay in *Dusho Bachhar*, P.11.

Alauddin Ali Shah 741 - 744/1340 - 1343

Ali Mubarak latter known as Alauddin Ali Shah was the *Ariz-i-Lashkar* or paymaster of Qadar Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti, under the Delhi Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. After the death and defeat of Qadar Khan at Sonargaon by Fakhruddin, Ali Mubarak, assumed power in Lakhnauti with the title of Ali Shah and declared independence. This account is based on the history of *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*³² and all the modern historians accepted this view though there are lots of anomalies in the accounts of early and modern historians about this period³³. Ibn Batuta informs us that there was a continuous fight between the two Sultans of the two parts-East and West i.e. Fakhruddin and Ali Shah and one was powerful in water and another in land respectively. So they used to attack each other in rainy and dry seasons respectively without any victory³⁴. No coins of Ali Shah are found outside the Lakhnauti region, and all are struck in the mint of Firuzabad i.e. Pandua. It also indicates the shifting of the capital from Lakhnauti to Pandua by Ali Shah³⁵. It was Ali Shah who for the first time initiated the mint by the name of Firuzabad and the name Lakhnauti totally excluded from coins.

According to *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, Mukhapadhyay assumed that Fakhruddin conquered Lakhnauti and appointed there Mukhlis, his servant, who was killed by Ali Shah. Abul Karim thinks that Mukhlis was sent to Lakhnauti to conquer it³⁶.

Ali Shah's coins are found in silver only and of one tanka denomination from the sole mint of Firuzabad. No denominational coin of Ali Shah has been reported yet and the weight of his coins is one tola standard. Coins of Ali Shah are scarce and found only in two types. Ali Shah's coins are dated 742/1341 to 743/1342 as considered by Bhattasali. Karim also accepted this view in his *Corpus*³⁷.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan with the title as *Sultān u'l a'zam 'Alā u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar 'Alī Shāh as Sultān* in four lines within a square.

³² TM p 107

³³ Karim, Mukhapadhyay, Mohar Ali, Jadunath, Bhattasali are among the modern historians on the other hand earlier and almost contemporary historians like Badauni, Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Abul Fadal and Gulam Husain Salim have informed contradictorily about the period and relations between the two Sultans of the two parts of Bengal - East and West i.e. Lakhnauti and Sunagarogn respectively.

³⁴ In *Coins and Chronology*, (Eng. Tr.) p.137.

³⁵ Dusho Bachhar, p. 16

³⁶ Dusho Bachhar, p. 14.

³⁷ *Coins & Chronology*, p. 15; Abdul Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1960 (henceforth *Corpus*), pp. 40-41

The reverse bears the legend *sikandar uz zamān al mahṣuṣ bi 'ināyatir Raḥmān amīru'l mu'minīn* and marginal legend outside the circle, *hazal fiḍḍa tus sikkatu fīl balad Firuzabad sanah*, i.e. this silver coin was struck in the city of Firuzabad in the year (date) (Cat.no.106).

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan with the title *as Sultān u'l a' zam* and the regnal title *'Alā' ud duniyā wad dīn*. Then another title, *iskandar uz zamān*, and the Kunyah *abū'l muẓaffar* then the *'Alam*, *'Alī Shāh as S'ulṭān* i.e. 'great Sultan Alauddin who is the Alexander of the age, father of the victory, Ali Shah'.

The reverse bears the name the last Abbasid Khalifa *al Musta'ṣim Billāh* with the prefix of *al Imām* suffixed by *amīr u'l mu'minīn*, with the marginal legend outside the circle. It may be noted here that this type is slightly different in design. The obverse legend is inscribed in a double square and the reverse legend in a double square within circle. The margin particularly of the date portion is not clear as most of Ali Shah's coin's margins are illegible, either it is illegible or partially retained to serve only the confusion (Cat. no. 109).

The coins indicate that Ali Shah assumed high sounding titles like Alexander of the Age, not only that, 'distinguished by the grace of the compassionate', and leader of the believers etc. In ICB, I, the reading of the reverse (coin Type B1) has been given as *nāṣiru amīrīl' muminīn* and that has been followed by the BMC, IMC, and Corpus, but the photograph of the coins in IMC³⁸ and BMC³⁹ do not bear the word *nasir* before *amīru'l mu'minīn*. Practically after the word *ar Raḥmān* of *'bi ināyat ur Raḥmān'* there is no space to insert *nāṣir*. Specimens in the BNM of Type B1 also in favour of this view. Therefore the reading of the legend should be corrected as *amīru'l mu'minīn* instead of *nāṣiru amīrī'l muminīn*.

This legend of the coin reflects the contemporary political situations. Ibn Batuta's account may be recalled here again that there has continuous fight between Ali Shah and Fakhruddin Mubarak of Sonargaon and Ali assumed the throne of Lakhnauti by Killing Mukhlis and protected the Sultanat from the Sonargaon aggression. And if we are to believe the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, that he did not proclaim independence at first but wrote a letter to Delhi Sultan⁴⁰ for appointing a governor for Bengal, it indicates the legitimacy of his assumption of power. On the other hand he was the *ariz-i-lashkar* of Lakhnauti, a superior post than *Silahdar* of Sonargaon. Therefore, these may have reflected through these high sounding titles of Ali Shah. And if not done out of mistake on the part of the engravers, according to the legend, he assumed *amīru'l mu'minīn*. Because Fakhruddin, his rival assumed the title *yamīnu khalīfatullāh*, 'right hand of the vicegerent of Allah', that is Prophet and also *nāṣiru amīrī'l mu'minīn*. So Ali Shah may have assumed

³⁸ IMC, P. 150, coin no. 22, Pl. I

³⁹ BMC, P. 14, coin No. 15, Pl. I

amīr al mu'minīn title to show his superiority and legitimacy. Not a single inscription of either of the two has been discovered yet, therefore other than coin there is no evidence to confirm our propositions.

The reverse of coin Type B2 shows the allegiance to the last Khalifa of Baghdad though he had died long ago. It was the custom to cite the name of Abbasid Khalifa on the coins in India as well as Bengal. Probably Ali Shah's coin was the last in this tradition. No coin of Type B2 bearing any clear date has been discovered yet, so their date and mint is not known. Most probably this type was struck earlier and probably from different mint than Firuzabad⁴¹. There is the possibility of their being issued from Lakhnauti before the shifting of the capital to Firuzabad, which was due to strategic considerations⁴².

Ali Shah's coins are reported to have been dated 741⁴³, 742, 743, 744 745 and 746⁴⁴. But there are anomalies in dates of 741, 744, 745 and 746. Bhattasali corrected the dates of 742 read by Thomas and he also corrected the two coins published in IMC. But Thomas' coin of 742 show that the reading 742 is correct which Bhattasali wants to read as 743. There is no need of correction as rightly observed by Karim in the *Corpus*⁴⁵. *Iznā* is written on the margin without the *alif* of the beginning and written as 'ل' instead of 'ل' (without nukta). Another coin of IMC which has been read as 744⁴⁶ seems to be also 742 as the examination of Bhattasali reveals, though Bhattasali was inclined to read it as 743. Therefore, the dates 742 and 743 are confirmed dates for Ali Shah⁴⁷ but the date of the ascension of Ali Shah and the last year of his reign is not certain. If we accept the reading of the Kalna hord coin dated 741 as correct, then that will be his date of first accession. Already we have seen that Qader Khan was killed in Sonargaon at the end of 739 (described in connection of Fakruddin in this chapter) and Ali Shah may have waited for sometime for the response to his letter to Delhi. So 741 may fairly be set for Ali Shah's proclamation of Sultan⁴⁸. between these two dates he wrote the letter and waited and defended the aggression of Mukhlis, Fakruddin's general.

If the date 740 of the coin of Ilyas Shah from Firuzabd mint⁴⁹ is taken to be correct⁵⁰ then it can be assumed that during this hegemony after Qadar Khan's death while Ali was awaiting Delhi's response, Ilyas perchance declared independence and struck coins from Firuzabad mint in 740AH. But Ali's prompt

⁴⁰ TM, P. 107

⁴¹ In Suppl. IMC, one coin of Type B2 (pl. II, no. 21) has been illustrated and the mint name is given as firuzabad, but the reading of Firuzabad is not certain.

⁴² Sultani Amol, p. 198.

⁴³ JNSI, I, p. 37

⁴⁴ ICB, I, p. 58

⁴⁵ Corpus, p. 40

⁴⁶ IMC, II, p. 43, coin no. 23

⁴⁷ It was Bhattasali, who limited the coin of Ali Shah only to 742 and 743. Later scholars – Karim, Shkhmoy and Mohar Ali accepted the view of Bhattasali. See Coins and Chronology, pp. 14-17 and 19-24.

⁴⁸ HB, II, P.99, given the date as 1339 CE/ (740 – 741AH.)

⁴⁹ Suppl. IMC, II, p. 43 coin no. 22

⁵⁰ This date has been rejected by the scholars like Bhattasali, Karim etc. it has been discussed properly under Ilyas Shah.

action compelled him to leave the Lakhnauti–Firuzabad region for the time being. This action of Ilyas may have hastened Ali declaration of independence in 741AH. We have also a coin of Ali Shah clearly dated 744AH (Cat. no. 108). Therefore, Ali Shah's reign may be fixed from 741 – 744AH on the evidence of his coinage. But the question remains open about the date 745, which is given by Thomas in ICB, I, and 746AH as given by S. Ahmed of the Kalna hoard⁵¹ again one coin dated 745 has been illustrated in BMC. But Bhattashali rejects the reading altogether⁵². BMC's illustration of the coin dated 745 shows that the unit number is not clear. Karim also commented that the Kalna hoard coin does not yield better result⁵³. Until we find 745, 746AH clear dated coins of Ali Shah we may take the last year of his reign as 744AH. Therefore Ali Shah ruled on the western part of Bengal i.e. Firuzabad – Lakhnauti for at least 4 years and not for one year and some five-months⁵⁴.

All the coins of Ali Shah issued from only the mint of Firuzabad so far his clearly written coins show.

⁵¹ JNSI. I. p. 37. (Without photograph)

⁵² Corpus, p. 40, cited by Karim

⁵³ Ibid p. 40 Karim discussed the problem elaborately but want of photograph or clever dated coin could not reach to any conclusion.

⁵⁴ Riyaz gives for Ali shah one year and five months quoted in Dusho Bachhar, pp. 15 - 16.

Ilyas Shahi 744 - 815/1343 - 1412

Ilyas Shah man from Sigistan in Iran and foster brother of Ali Shah succeeded in establishing his own rule fast in northern Bengal and gradually the whole of Bengal, the west, east and south, came under his sway as well as some of the neighboring areas for the first time⁵⁵. He faced successfully and averted the battle with Delhi Sultan, Firuz Shah Tughlaq⁵⁶. Four rulers of this dynasty ruled in Bengal, successively with the capital in Firuzabad (Gaur), for about seventy-five years. This dynasty is known after the name of its founder, Ilyas Shah. Other rulers of this family are his son, grandson and great-grandson, Sikandar Shah, Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah and Saifuddin Hamzah Shah respectively. All of them struck coins both in gold and silver from various mints of Bengal except Hamzah, whose silver coins only are known. No coins in copper or other metals have been found yet.

I. Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah 744 - 758/1343 - 1356

By killing Alauddin Ali Shah Malik Ilyas Haji ascended the throne of Lakhnauti and assumed the title of Sultan Shamsudin Ilyas Shah⁵⁷. According to modern historians Ilyas' reign began in 743AH⁵⁸. But due to the clear dated coin of 744 of Ali Shah and the corrected reading of Ilyas' coin of 743AH as 748AH by Bhattachali⁵⁹, Ilyas' proclamation of Sultan may be fixed as early as 744AH, if not later. All the history books inform us that Ilyas ascended the throne by killing Ali Shah.

Ilyas struck coins in both gold and silver having some denominational coins also in both the metals following the *tola* weight standard. No coin in copper or other metal other than the one mentioned above has yet been found.

Ilyas Shah's gold coins may be classified into three types, among these one is gold double tanka, a full tanka (two in number) and another one is a half tanka gold.

⁵⁵ Sultani Amol. pp.175-76; HB. II. pp.103-105.

⁵⁶ Ibid. pp.106-109.

⁵⁷ TM. p. 106; Dusho Bachhar. p. 20; Coins and Chronology. p. 21.

⁵⁸ HB. II. p. 89; Dusho Bachhar. p. 21; Coins and Chronology. p. 21; HMB. A1, p. 132; Corpus. p.143; Sultani Amol. p. 198.

⁵⁹ Coins and Chronology. p. 24.

Gold Tanka

Type A1: Gold Double Tanka

The obverse in a circle bearing the name of the Sultan in Arabic with the title probably as *Sultan al-ʿādil* but the last two letter of *ʿādil* are not present on the field, therefore it may be read as *as Sultānu'l ghāzī* putting a dot (nukta) on 'ain' of al *ʿādil*. Kunyah is as usual *abū'l muẓaffar*, he never used any other Kunyah in his coins, so the obverse bears the full name of the Sultan *as Sultānu'l-ʿādil or al ghāzī Shams u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ilyās Shāh as Sultān* in four lines, 'The just or The champion Sultan sun of the world and the religion father of the conqueror Ilyas Shah as Sultan'.

The reverse in a square within a circle *sikandar u's sāni yamīn u'l khilāfat amīru'l mu'minīn*, 'second Alexander right hand of the Khilafat, commandeer of the believers'. The margin bears a circular legend with date and mint which is almost illegible. The weight is 21.8 grams and diameter is 28mm. This gold coin is preserved in a private collection in India⁶⁰ (Cat.no. 110).

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse seems to be in a lettered surface, legend as Type A1 in four lines in Arabic. The reverse legend in a circle is the same as Type A1 but margin is partially readable ... *Firūzābād [sanah] khams wa khamsīn wa saba' miyah*, '...this coin was struck in firuzabad in the year 55 and 700. The name of the mint is Firuzabad and the date is 755 AH⁶¹. The coin is same as IMC, II, coin no. 23a⁶² (Cat. no. 111). There are also three other gold coins of Ilyas Shah in the Kawali collection in India, same as Type A2 bearing the dates 752 and 750/756AH. The date of the third is illegible (Cat. no. 111, 'remarks').

Type A3: Gold Half Tanka

The obverse bears in a plain area in two lines *as sultānu'l ghāzī*, 'the champion Sultan'. The reverse in a circle also in two lines *Shams u'd dunyā wa'd dīn*. The margin bears ...*as sikkatu fī'l balad Firūzābād sanah... khamsīn wa saba' miyah*, '... coin was [struck] in the city of Firuzabad in the year ... fifty and seven hundred'. The unit digit is illegible⁶³.

All these gold coins are struck following the tola weight standard weight of the Type A1 is just double the one tanka gold. Type A2 weighs 10.9gms and 23mm in diameter. The IMC, II, gold tanka (Type A2) weighs 10.74gm and diameter 22.5mm. There are other three gold coins of the type A2 in the Kawali collection in India: each weighs 11gms and 23mm in diameter. Type A3 the half tanka gold weighs 5.5gms and the diameter is 17mm (Cat.no.112).

⁶⁰ J. P. Goyanka Collection, Calcutta, India.

⁶¹ Kawale Collection, India, ONS, No. 147, winter 1996, p. 12.

⁶² IMC.II. p. 150, coin no 23a, Pl. I.

Silver Coins

According to the legend Ilyas' silver coins may be classified into five types. They are as follows:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan with the title as *Sultānu'l ghāzī* and the reverse has the central legend as *sikandar us s̄ānī yamīnu'l khilāfat nāṣiru amīru'l mu'minīn*. This type is found in both the obverse and reverse in circles (Cat.no.113)

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the full name of the Sultan of the title as *Sultānu'l ghāzī* as type B1 and the reverse also like as Type B1's reverse only omitting the word *nāṣir* after al Khilafat. Both obverse and reverse have squares within circles and in the margin of the reverse mint name *al Balad Firūzābād*. The dates are 747, 750, 752 and 757 (Cat.no.114).

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend as *Sultānu'l 'ādil Shamsud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*, in four lines

The reverse bears the title *sikandar us s̄ānī yamīnu'l khilāfat amīru'l mu'minīn*. The margin around *zuriba hazihis sikkatu bi Ḥaḍrat Jalāl Sunārkanw sanah...* In this type letterings are more graceful than the Types B1 and B2 and the word *al'ādil* is in most cases complete (Cat.no.117).

This type is observed the obverse legend in a double square within circle, annulets at the middle of the four sides. The reverse is in a circle and in the margin name of the mint and date (Cat.no.119). This type is struck from Sonargaon and as previously in the coin of Ilyas the epithet *Ḥaḍrat Jalāl* was used before the word Sonargaon. It may be noted here that *nāṣir* before *amīru'l mu'minīn* has been omitted in these coins. The dates are 753 – 758AH.

Type B4: Silver Half Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in three lines as *Sultān/ al ghāzī Shams/ u'd dunyā wa'd dīn* in a lettered surface.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend *al muẓaffar/ Ilyās Shāh/ as Sultān/* in three lines within a circle. The marginal legend around the circle is illegible (Cat.no.120).

Type B5: Silver Quarter Tanka

The obverse bears only *Shams ul dunyā wa 'd dīn* in two lines seems to be in a plain area.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend *abū 'l muzaffar Ilyās Shāh* in two lines in a circle (Cat. no. 121).

Ilyas' coins have been found in three denominations, each in gold and silver. Gold coins are of two tanka, one tanka and quarter tanka. And silver coins are of one tanka, half tanka and quarter tanka.

There was a controversy among the historians and numismatists about the reign of Ilyas Shah, particularly the date of his accession to the throne of Lakhnauti – Firuzabad. We know that by killing Alauddin Ali Shah Ilyas ascended the throne⁶⁴. Again the end date of Ali Shah is controversial. Though numismatists liked Bhattasali and Karim tried to settle this problem by information from the coins of Ali Shah and Ilyas Shah, and 743AH was, till recent times, the accepted chronology for the period. The chronology was primarily set by Bhattasali and followed by the subsequent historians⁶⁵ with slide alterations due to new information gleaned by the discovery of new coins.

Bhattasali fixed the death of Ali Shah in 743AH and the same year Ilyas ascended the throne. Ilyas' coins of Firuzabad mint dated 744 has been found. Ali Shah also used the same mint for his coins. Therefore, apparently there is no controversy or confusion. But due to the discovery of a clearly dated coin of Ali Shah of 744AH it is apparent that both Ali Shah and Ilyas ruled during 744AH.

The marginal text of the coins of the Sultan's of Bengal is very problematic. Particularly the flans of the coins of Ilyas Shah are so narrow and sometimes off the flan, or the marginal legend especially the date is written so crudely and in such a small space so intricately that it creates confusion. Keeping in mind this particular limitation we should consider only the clearly dated coins of any conclusive result. For these reasons one of Ilyas Shah's coin which has been read by Shamsuddin Ahmed as dated 740, cannot be accepted and we have to agree with Bhattasali who has accepted the coin as Ilyas Shah's but could not agree with the date of 740AH⁶⁶.

Ali Shah's clear dated coin of 744 from Firuzabad mint proves that in 744AH Ali Shah was alive and striking coins from Firuzabad. We also have coins of Ilyas Shah dated 744AH (Cat no.113) from the same mint. Therefore, We may fix the last date of Ali Shah as well as ascension of Ilyas Shah as 744AH. But there is a coin of Ilyas Shah dated 743 in the Shillong Cabinet which on the authority of Stapleton, Bhattasali corrected from 743 to 748. But again Karim raised the question after examining the photograph of the coin by saying 'I am unable to read the unit as 'saman' and I do not find any reason why the

⁶⁴ TM, p.107.

⁶⁵ Coins and Chronology, p. 21; Corpus, p.42; Sultani Amol, p.177.

reading of 743 should be corrected⁶⁷. Thanks to Karim that he had published the photograph of the coin in his *Corpus*⁶⁸. Stapleton and Bhattasali both are correct in identifying the saman (eight) as the unit which has been written very intricately, 743AH as the starting date of Ilyas' reign as has been accepted by Karim may be due to the inscription of Ilyas Shah from Beniyapukur dated 2nd Shaban, year 743AH.

The question of the coin of Ilyas Shah dated 740AH of Firuzabad mint remains unsolved though Bhattasali once corrected this reading of Thomas and Botham & Friel as 75AH⁶⁹. But after this in suppl. IMC, Shamsuddin Ahmed read a coin, dated 740AH⁷⁰ but there was no photograph or reference to Bhattasali. He was aware of the corrected reading of Bhattasali as S. Ahmed mentioned and commented about Bhattasali's book "Coins and Chronology" in the preface there is no reference to reading of 740AH or its correction by Bhattasali⁷¹.

A B M Shamsuddin tried to establish that Ilyas Shah at first took over at Satgaon and was loyal to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq for sometime but soon declared independence. When he declared himself in Satgaon he marched against Ali Mubarak in 740/1339 was victorious and struck coins from Firuzabad in 740AH. He also referred to the hostilities between Haji Ilyas and Ali Mubarak, as the 'tripartite struggle between the three independent ruler of Sonargaon, Satgaon and Lakhnauti' after the death of Baharam Khan, the imperial governor of Sonargaon⁷².

But Ibn Batuta only has mentioned the bipartite struggle between Fakhruddin and Ali Mubarak, no source cited any tripartite struggle. If we accept S Ahmed's reading of 740 (Suppl. IMC. Coin no. 22) as correct (i.e. 740) supported by A B M Shamsuddin⁷³, (F.n 54) then it may be assumed that Ilyas Shah had captured power in or around Firuzabad for sometime in 740 and struck coins in his own name. Probably this act of Ilyas hastened Ali Shah's declaration of independence⁷⁴.

The reign of Ilyas started from 744AH and continued to 758AH till his death. During this period he struck coins of various types from four mints – Firuzabad, Sonargaon, Shahr-I-naw and Satgaon.

He used as his title both 'as Sultānūl Ghāzī' and 'as Sultānūl Ādil' on the obverse. He chose the title as Sultanul Ghazi (the victorious Sultan) as he had captured power from Ali Shah, a clear victory besides

⁶⁶ Coins and Chronology, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Corpus, p. 47.

⁶⁸ Ibid, pl. II, coin no. 9.

⁶⁹ Coins and Chronology, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁰ Suppl. IMC. II, p. 43, coin no. 22.

⁷¹ Ibid, preface, p. 111.

⁷² A.B.M.Shamsuddin, unpublished Thesis, pp.48-49.

⁷³ A B M Shamsuddin, p. 51, unpublished thesis.

⁷⁴ Ali Shah's first date is 741.

conquering many a places including Nepal⁷⁵. And battle with Firuz Shah Tughlaq may also be meant Thus justifying his title of Ghazi. But one thing should be carefully observed that what has been read, as *al'Adil* in the coins of Ilyas Shah, in most cases may not be correct. Particularly the last two letters or at least the last letter of *al'Adil* has been cut of the flan and in the absence of diacritical dots there is no difference between the words *Am* and *Ghain* i.e. between al Adil and al Ghazi. It seems reasonable that most of the 'as Sultānūl 'Adil' of the coins of Ilyas Shah should be 'as Sultānūl Ghāzī'. Only the coins of the Sonargaon mint have clear al Adil. Even in the BMC pl. II, coin no. 17 and 22 which have been read as *as Sultānūl 'Adil* must be corrected to as *Sultānūl Ghāzī*. There is a faint line in the margins of coin 17 and 22 which is undoubtedly a *yea*⁷⁶.

The reverse of the coin bears in the center the title *sikandar us s̄ānī* (second Alexander), *yamīn ul khilāfat* (right hand of the Khilafat) and on some coins only *amīru'l mu'minīn* (commander of the believers). On others *nāṣiru amīru'l mu'minīn* (helper of the commander of the believer') if *Nāṣir* is left out the meaning changes to second Alexander, helper of the Khilafat who is commander of the believers i.e. in some coins he proclaimed himself as commander of the believers while on others he is only a helper of the commander of the believers. All these titles indicate his supreme authority and sovereignty in comparison to the other Sultans particularly of Delhi.

The mints of Firuzabad, Sonargaon, Satgaon, Shahr-i-Naw have been used for striking his coins and the date range is Firuzabad 744 – 758AH, Sonargaon 754 – 758AH, Satgaon 747, 751, 754, 757 & 758, Shahr-i-Naw, 746, 748 – 750 & 754⁷⁷. Firuzabad is designated as *al Balad*, the city or *Ḥaḍrat Firūzāhād* i.e. Firuzabad the capital or residence of the Sultan. Sonargaon was qualified in Ilyas' coin as *Ḥaḍrat Jalāl Sonārgāon*, following earlier precedence of the previous regime of Fakhruddin and Ghazi Shah. *Ḥaḍrat Jalāl* means glorious or the royal residence. Use of that epithet indicates that though the Sultan was not residing in Sonargaon still the place was very important as the capital of the province and was the seat and residence of the governor.

Ilyas Shah conquered many lands and due to his successful marches the treasury was full of wealth. He has the credit of uniting all of Bengal east, west and south. People were happy and prosperous as the gold and silver denomination coins came into circulation. The various dated coins in gold indicate that these were incorporated into the regular currency system and were not tokens or medallions for commemorations. The overall look particularly the calligraphy of the coins of Ilyas Shah are not as pleasing as the coins and calligraphy of Fakruddin and his son Ghazi Shah. This can probably be explained by his pre occupation. During the later part of his reign some beautiful bigger flan coins with the title as Sultanul Ghazi with graceful Naskh inscriptions were issued. Probably due to the pre

⁷⁵ For the conquest see Sultani Amol, pp.177- 178; Dusho Bachhar, pp.21- 24.

⁷⁶ BMC, pp. 15- 16, Pl. II.

occupation with consolidation, conquest and fare of aggression by imperial forces of Delhi he could not pay much attention to the organization of numismatic activity in the earlier part of his reign. He reigned fifteen years from 744 to 758AH.

^{***} *Corpus*, pp. 43-47.

2. Sikandar Shah 758 - 791[?]/1356 - 1388[?]

After the death of Ilyas Shah in 758 his son and successor Sikandar Shah ascended the throne. According to Bhattasali Ilyas died at the end of the year 758. Some coins of Sikandar Shah dated 758 have been found, on the basis of which and also from historical analysis Bhattasali confirms the date of the death of Ilyas Shah and also the ascension of Sikandar in 758⁷⁸. We know from history that at the end of the year 760 Firuz Shah, Sultan of Delhi attacked Sikandar and seized the latter in Ekdala, first for about six months in 760 and 761⁷⁹. A truce was made between the two Sultans and Delhi forces withdrew from Bengal. Sikandar ruled in Bengal for thirty-three years⁸⁰. None of the Bengal Sultans reigned for such a long period. His coins are found from 758 to 792. Sikandar Shah struck coins in both gold and silver; all are of the tola weight standard. Some fractional coins of the Sultan have been found but they are all in silver.

Gold Coins

According to the legend Sikandar Shah's gold coins are of three types and only six gold coins are known.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle; the legend is in four lines in Arabic *Shāh/Sikandar/ibn Ilyās Shāh/ as Sulṭān*. 'Shah Sikandar son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan'.

The marginal legend in a small circle on four sides contain with the names of the first four Khalifas on in each circle anti-clockwise and between each two circles these legends are inscribed again anticlockwise *al wāsiq, batāyyid, ar Raḥmān* and *abū'l mujāhid*. That is the circular legend is *al wāsiq batāyyid ar Raḥmān abū'l mujāhid*. Interspersed with the names of the four Khalifas, on top circle Abu Bakr. Therefore the full legend is 'the confident by the support of the Merciful father of the warrior Shah Sikandar son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan', i.e. the full legend should be read from the margin conjoining with the legend in the circle.

The reverse legend is in a multifoil (octofoil) in Arabic *nāṣiru amīri' l mu'minīn ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn*. 'helper of the leader of the faithful help of Islam and the Muslims'. The Marginal legend is incomplete, *ḍuriba haḍhi's sikkatu fī baldati Firūzābād sanah...* 'This coin was struck in the city of Firuzabab, year....' The date is off the faln. (Cat. no. 122)

⁷⁸ *Coins and Chronology*, p. 40

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* P.46.

⁸⁰ *Dusho Bachhar*, p.44, *Banglar Itihas*, p. 229.

This coin's photograph is published by Rajgor⁸¹ weight and measurement were not record and no further reference given.

Gold Tanka

The obverse legend is in a circle having four lines of Arabic text *al wāsiq/batā'idī'r Raḥman abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*. The Marginal arrangement is the same as the above Type A1 with the four Khalifa's names in small circles. But the rest of the legend is *al imāmu'l a'zam wa'l khalīfat u'l mu'azzam* 'the supreme leader and the great Khalifa'.

The reverse bears the legend in Arabic in an eightfoiled circle

The legend is the same as the reverse of Type A1 but with the addition of *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh* at the beginning and *khullida khilāfatuhu* at the end. Meaning of the first part is 'right hand of the Khalifa of Allah' and the last portion's meaning is 'his Khilafat may be perpetuated'. Margin: obliterated. The weight of the coin is 158 grains and diameter 0.75 inches. This coin is mentioned in the Corpus corresponding to type E⁸². Thomas also mentions it⁸³. There is another coin of this type in a private collection in India⁸⁴. The mint name is in the margin *al Baldatul mu'azzam Mu'azzamābād*, 'the great city Mu'azzamābād' but the date is cut off the flan, the weight is not available and measurement is 26 mm (Cat. no.123).

A 3: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle in five lines in Arabic *al-imām al a'zam abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*. 'The supreme leader father of the warrior Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah the Sultān'. There is no margin on the obverse.

The reverse bears the legend also in a circle in four lines *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l muminīn khallada Allāhu khilāfatuh*. 'Right hand of the Khilafat of Allah helper of the leader of the believers may Allah perpetuate his Khilafat'. Margin: Mutilated, mint is not recorded⁸⁵.

Another coin of the same type is in a private collection in India⁸⁶ (Cat.no.124). Weight and measurement are not available. A third coin of the same as type B3 published in 1954 (Cat. no.126) and a fourth coin of Type A3 is reported by Stan Goron in ONS which is in the Kawale collection in India⁸⁷ (Cat.no.127). The

⁸¹ Rajgor. p. 21. Type 220

⁸² Corpus. p. 51.

⁸³ ICB, I. P.72. coin no. 30

⁸⁴ Goyenka Collection, Calcutta, India.

⁸⁵ This coin was reported in JASB 1889, pp. 32-33, pl. IV, coin no. 5.

⁸⁶ J. P. Goyenka, Collection, Calcutta, India.

⁸⁷ ONS, no. 147, winter 1996, p. 12.

mint name is given by Goron as Mu'azzamabad but date is not present on the coin. The weight is 11 gram and diameter 25 mm.

These six coins of the three types are so far known. Among which Type A2 and A3 correspond to the silver types of B6 and B5 respectively. But the Type A1 seemed to be a new type for the coins of Sikandar Shah.

Silver Tanka

Various types of Silver tankas of Sikandar Shah have been found. They may be classified into nine types according to their legend. But including the fractional coins the types will be of thirteen. It is to be noted here that all the fractional coins are of silver and not a single coin in copper or in any other metal is reported.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle in four lines in Arabic as *Sulṭānu'l mu'azzam Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sulṭān*. 'The great Sultan Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan'. There is no margin on the obverse, and some coins have only a lettered surface.

The reverse bears the legend in a circle in three lines *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru Amīri'l mu'minīn*. Same as the reverse legend of Type A3 but only upto mu'minin (omitting Khallada Allah). But the margin is *ḍuriha haḡhis sikkatu hi Ḥaḍrat Jalāl Sonārgān⁸⁸ sanah ṣamān wa khamsīn wa saba' miyah*, 'This coin was struck in Hazrat Jalal Sonargaon in the year seven hundred fifty eight' (Cat.no.128). This type is also found dated 759⁸⁸.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle in Arabic *al mujāhid fī/ sabīli'r Raḥmān Shāh/ Sikandar ibn Ilyās Shāh Sulṭān*. 'The warrior in the path of the Merciful Shah Sikandar son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse legend also in a circle same as the reverse of Type B1. But the Margin is *ḍuriha haḡhi's sikkatu Mulki Ḥawlistān urf 'Arsah Kāmru sanah tisa' wa khamsīn wa saba' miyah*. This coin was struck in the country of rice alias 'Arsah Kamru in the year seven hundred and fifty nine'. Only two such coins are known so far one in the IMC, No. 38 and another in the collection of BNM, which is unpublished⁸⁹ (Cat. no. 129).

⁸⁸ IMC, II, p. 156, coin no. 64, Pl. II.

⁸⁹ BNM, Acc. no. 81, 440.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

Type B3's legend is simple the obverse legend of Type B2 has been divided into two sections and each one put on each side of the coin. The obverse side bears *Shah Sikandar ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*. The reverse has *al mujāhid fī sabīlī'r Raḥmān* and the margin is *ḍuriḥa ḥaḡiḥī'l fiddatus sikkatu fī'l Balad Fīrūzābād sanah tisa' wa khamsīn wa saba' miyah*. 'This silver coin was struck in the city of Firuzabad in the year seven hundred fifty nine i.e. 759. This type was also struck from the mint Iqlim Mu'azzamabad (date is uncertain), Shahr-i-Naw (dated 763); and Satgaon (date cut off). It may be mentioned here that the coin is qualified with an adjective *al fiddah*, 'silver' and also the mint with *al Balad*, 'the city' (Cat.nos.132-135).

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle also of a simple one in four lines *abū'l mujāhid/Sikandar Shāh as Sultān ibnūs Sulṭān*. 'Father of the warrior Sikandar Shah son of the Sultan'. Father's name has not been mentioned. The reverse bears in a circle *an nāṣiru lidīnī'llāh al Qāḥir a'dā Allāh* 'Helper for the religion of Allah and the strong for the foes of Allah'. The margin is obliterated but mint name is readable which is 'Arsah Satgaon. (Cat.no.136)

Type B4 (a): Silver Tanka

Another coin of the same type, from the mint 'Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon' is known, published in the Corpus dated 758. This coin's lettering is different and the reverse legend is in three lines instead of four of the type B4 (Cat.no.137).

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle in five lines, *al-imām al-a'zam abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*. 'The great leader, Father of the warrior Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse bears the legend in a circle in four lines and the marginal legend is outside the circle *yamīnu Khālīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l muminīn khallada Allāhu khilāfatahu*, 'right hand of the Khalifat of Allah, helper of the leader of the believers may Allah perpetuate his Khilafat.' The Margin bears the legend *ḍuriḥa ḥaḡiḥis sikkatu bi Hadrat Fīrūzābād sanah sab'in wa saba' miyah*. 'This coin was struck in Hadrat Firuzabad in the year seven hundred seventy', i.e. 770 (Cat.no.138).

Type B5 (a): Silver Tanka

Same as above Type B5 but the writing style of the obverse, particularly the word *al Imām* is different and the reverse legend in five lines dividing the last word 'Khilafatahu' in two parts *Khilā* and *fatahu* the coin is struck from the mint Iqlim Mu'azzamabad, date not clear (Cat.no.139).

Type B5 (b): Silver Tanka

The legend and design are same as Type B5 but the arrangements of the legend on obverse in four lines instead of five and the reverse legend omitting the word (Allah) after *khallada*, mint is also the same (Cat.no 140).

Type B5 (c): Silver Tanka

Another variety of the type B5, similar to Type B5 (a) but without mint and date (Cat.no.141).

Type B6: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle the Arabic legend in four lines *al wāsiq ba tāyyidi'r Raḥmān abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*, 'The confident by the support of the Merciful father of the warrior Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah as sultan'. In the margin four circle on four sides contain the names of the first four Khalifas: read anticlockwise as Abu Bakr, Umar etc. between the circle are these legends starts from the top right again anticlockwise *al imām al a'zam wa'l khalīfatul mu'azzam*, 'the supreme leader and the great Khalifa.

The reverse bears in an octofoil the legend in five lines *ymīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l muminīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn khullidat khilāfatuh*, 'Right hand of the Khilafat of Allah helper of Amirul Mu'minin Succour of Islam and the Muslims may his Khilafat be perpetuated. The margin reads *duriba hazhis sikkatu fi baldatul mahrūsah Firūzābād sanah isna wa samānīn wa saba' miyah*, 'This coin was struck in the fortified city of Firuzabad in the year 782'. This type is found with different dates and mints also (Cat no. 142).

The mint Firuzabad has been designated variously as 'Baldatu'l Mahrūsah', fortified city. In some of the coins of this type, Mu'azzamabad mint designated as *al Baldatul Mu'azzam*, 'the great city' (Cat.no.143).

Some varieties of this type have also been found with change of the reverse design only. A coin from the mint Baldat Firuzabad has the reverse legend in a hexagon with extended loops (B6, a) (Cat.no.144) and another variety, the legend in a hexagon from the mint Hadrat Firuzabad (B6, b) (Cat.no.145).

Type B7: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in a quarterfoil in the centre in three lines. The margin is outside the legend *Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*, 'Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan'. The marginal legend contains the names of the four Khalifas in a small circle on each on the four sides. Name of the first Khalifah Abu Bakar is on the top. In between each two circles from top right *al Imām, al Ālim, al Ādil, al Mujāhid* have been inscribed, i.e. the obverse legend starts from the margin and the full legend is *al Imām*,

al'Ālim, Āl'Adil, al Mujaḥhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān. 'The leader the learned, the just, the warrior Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah'.

The reverse legend bears (in a hexagonal star) four lines *yamīnu khlīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l muminīn kḥallada Allāhu khlīfatuhu*. 'Right hand of the Khilafat of Allah helper of leader of the believers. May Allah perpetuate his Khilafat. The margin has the usual marginal legend but with *as sikkatul mubārakatu*. 'This auspicious coin was struck in 'Arsah Satgaon in the year eight hundred and eighty one (Cat.no.146). This type was also found with dates 782, 786 and 787.

Type B7 (a): Silver Tanka

Variety of the above Type B7, the legends of both obverse and reverse and designs are same as Type B7 but the reverse design is a sixfoiled circle instead of hexagonal star, date not clear (Cat.no.147).

Type B8: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle in three lines *abūl mujaḥhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān*. The name of the Sultan with the Kunyah 'Abul Mujahid', father of the warrior and the marginal legend is the same as Type B7 but the legend between the Khalifahs names are from top right anticlockwise *al imām, al a'zam, al wāsiq, batā'yyid, ar Raḥmān*, 'the great leader, the confident by the support of the Merciful'.

The reverse legend is in a hexagon with loops, which are outside. The legend is the same as the reverse legend of Type B7 but with the addition of *ghausul Islām wa'l muslimīn* after 'Amiru'l Muminin'. It means he is 'succour of Islam and the Muslims'. Marginal legend is, 'this auspicious coin was struck in the city of Firuzabad in the year seven hundred eighty seven' i.e. 787 (Cat.no.148).

Type B9: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in an octagon containing the simple legend, the name of the Sultan and his father's name in three lines and the marginal legend is *al wāsiq batā'yyid ar Raḥmān abu'l Mujaḥhid*, interspersed with the names of the four Khalifahs as on the previous types, Type B6, B7, and B8. The full legend stands 'the confident by the support of the Merciful father of the warrior Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse bears the legend, in an ornamented lozenge design, just as the reverse legend of Type B7. But instead of *Kḥalladallāhu Mulkahu*, (Khullida mulkahu) omitting the word Allah. Marginal legend is 'This coin was struck in 'Arasah Shahr-i-Naw in the year seven hundred and eighty three (Cat.no.149). The variety exists with the slight change of design and also with the legend *kḥullida khlīfatuhu* may his Khilafat be perpetuated.

Some fractional coins of Sikandar Shah were also found. All are of silver and in two denominations, half tankas and quarter tankas. The flames are narrow so there are no marginal legends. Therefore, no mint name and date has been mentioned in the fractional coins.

Among the known four fractional coins two are half tankas and two quarter tankas.

Type B10: Silver half Tanka

The obverse legend is in a circle the name of the Sultan and his father's name in three lines *Shāh Sikandar / Ibn Ilyās / Shāh*.

The reverse legend is also in a circle, bears only the word as *Sul / tātān* in two lines 'as Sultan'. The lettering in the margin is not clear, weight of the coin is 5.12 gram, and 21 mm diameter (Cat.no.150).

Type B 11: Silver half Tanka

The obverse contains the legend as *Sultān / al Mu'azzam* in two lines in a plain area or a lettered surface.

The reverse legend is the Sultan's name in two lines *Sikandar / Shāh as Sultān*. There is no mint or date on the coin and no margin. The weight is 5 gram and diameter 18 mm (Cat.no.151).

Type B12: Silver quarter Tanka

The obverse legend bears in a plain area in two lines, simple name of the Sultan *Shāh / Sikandar*. The reverse legend in a circle records the parentage also in two lines *Ibn Ilyās / Shāh*. The weight of the coin is 2.54 gram and diameter is 15 mm (Cat.no.152).

Type B13: Silver quarter Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle only the word al Mujahid as *al Mujā / hid* into two parts and in two lines *al mujā hid*, i.e. 'the Warrior'. The reverse bears the legend in a circle in two lines *Sabilir Rahman as sabīl - ar Raḥmān* [in the] 'path of the Merciful'. Only the title has been mentioned not the name of the Sultan. The weight of the coin is 2.71 gram and diameter 15 mm (Cat.no.153).

Bhattachali, on the evidence of coins and analysis of the history fixed the death of Ilyas Shah in the last month Zul Hijja of 758AH⁹⁰ already been mentioned earlier. Due to the presence of the two coins of Sikandar dated 758 he opined that the reign of Sikandar begun in 758⁹¹. But Karim in the *Sultani Amol* opined that Sikandar's reign started in 759⁹². Bhattachali rejected two coins of Ilyas Shah dated 759 and 760 on the ground of the misreading of the unit digit and no coins with such date are known yet. Therefore, on

⁹⁰ Coins and Chronology, pp. 39 - 40.

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 41.

the basis of coin Type B1 of Sikandar we may assume that Sikandar struck coins in his own name from 758. But all the three coins known so far dated 758 are struck from 'Hadrat Jalal Sunarkanw' our coin Type B1 (Cat.no.128) (IMC, No 63, one coin) and Type B4 (a) two coins (Corpus Pl. II, No 4, and Suppl. Shillong Catalogue No. 2/112). No coin dated 758 has come to light from the Firuzabad mint. Curiously enough in IMC coin Sikandar claimed himself as 'as Sultan u'l Muazzam' not 'al Azam', therefore, it may be presumed that in 758 during his father's lifetime Sikandar as a governor struck coins from Sonargaon in his own name and the epithet Hazarat Jalal before the mint name indicates the Sikandar was residing in Sonargaon as governor. Ilyas' coin with the date 758 from Sonargaon are also found so either as an empowered governor or as Sultan at the end of the year, Sikandar struck coins from Sonargaon. If he had struck coins as a Sultan in 758 then it should be considered Sikandar's first issue before coming to the capital Firuzabad and before his coronation.

It is to be noted here that coin Type B1 has a great resemblance to the coin of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, particularly the reverse; the only change is the date. The placement of the word *al mu'azzam* of the obverse is also the same as Fakhruddin's coins placement of the word 'al a'zam'. It indicates the continuity of the coin tradition. Though the family was replaced but the coin tradition prevailed and probably the same artisans who once made dies for Fakhruddin and Ghazi Shah now were working for Ilyas and his son Sikandar. Type B1 was also found dated 759⁹³ probably issued in the early part of the year.

Type B2 dated 759 struck from two mints viz. Chawlistan uff 'Arsah Mamru and Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon (Cat. nos.129, 130). The mint Chawlistan appeared on the coins for the first time in the reign of Sikandar Shah. Though Karim did not agree with the reading of IMC and corrected it as 'Awalistan'. But Chawlistan and the reading of IMC seemed nearer to the correct; long since the publication of IMC that was the only known coin bearing the mint name Chawlistan urf 'Arsah Karmu. But in the collection of BNM a second coin has been found and not been published earlier. The date mint, and style of calligraphy of both the coins are the same. The legend of the obverse 'Warrior in the path of the Merciful' is significant, for this new mint Kamru. Most probably during the last par of the reign of Ilyas Kamru was subjected to the Saltanat by crown prince Sikandar who led the expedition. This was commemorated through the striking of this coin.

Type B2 also issued from Iqlim Mazzamabad, dated 760 and 762 Sikandar changed the name of the mint Sonargawon for Muzaamabad in 760, because from 760 on wards on coin of Sikandar was found bearing the name Sonargaon. It is evident that this change was made in 760. Muazzamabad appeared on the coin for the first time in Sikandar's reign with various epithets-Iqlim Muazzamabad as mentioned and also al Baldatu'l Muazzam Muazzamabad in later times (Type B6, dated. 781).

⁹² Sultani Amol, p. 193.

⁹³ Corpus, pp. 57 & 160 - 161.

Type B3 consists of a simple legend. Infact the obverse of the Type B2 has been divided into two parts and each part engraved on each side of the coin Type B3 partially corresponds with the gold Type A1 is (gold coin) as issued from Firuzabad mint but the date is illegible. So it is difficult to asserting if this was his coronation coin. Type B3 coins were struck from albalad Firuzabad dated 759; the gold coin Type A1 also has an epithet 'al balad'. Type B3 also was struck from Iqlim Muzaamabad (Date NA) and Shahr-i-Naw, dated 763. This new mint Shahr-i-Naw initiated by Ilyas continued to issue coins during his successor Sikandar's time. Type B3 is also issued from satgaon the date is cut off. It is a new mint for this type and not published earlier. The coin is in the collection of BNM (Acc. No. 81.453).

Type B4 also consists of a simple legend for the obverse and in this type the Sultan's father's name has not been mentioned, only the formula 'as Sultan ibnu's Sultan' i.e. Sultan who is son of a Sultan. ' Abu'l Mujahid' of this coin and the reverse legend 'helper of the religion of Allah and subduer of the foes of Allah' indicates that the Sultan was busy at that time with the conquest of lands from the non-muslims, may be to the north and south frontiers of the Sultanat.

One coin of this type (B4) was issued from the mint 'Arsah Satgaon. 'Arsah Satgaon is a new mint for this type. The coin is in the collection of BNM, but date is not available on the coin (Acc. No. 85.556) This type is also found without date and mint (BNM Acc. No. 66.400), which has been illustrated in the Corpus pl. III no. 4 dated 758, Karim did not give the mint name, the mint is 'Hazrat Jalal Sonargaon. So this type may have been one of his early coins. Most of Sikandar's coins bear his father's name directly but in this type he used only the term 'son of the Sultan' without mentioning father's name. The flans are comparatively smaller due to which in most of the cases the mint and date are cut off the flans. The known coins of this type are less in number. Through this coin legend Type B4 Sikandar expresses his righteousness. It is a general rule for the rulers to show his impartiality and justice to the subjects particularly at the beginning of the reign. While consolidation, was considered the prime factor, Sikandar did the same and in this reverse legend there is a hidden warning that the 'Sultan is helper for the religion of Allah and also subduer of the enemies of Allah'.

Sikandar Shah's coin Types B5, B6, B7 are very important. The claims of Khalifah and Khilafat have been expressed through these coin types. In Type B5 Sikandar expressed using the word "al Imam al-Azam" directly on the obverse coin legend. But the reverse legend reveals the allegiance to the institution of the Khilafat by using the time honored formula, 'Right hand of the Khilafat of Allah and helper of the Amirul Muminin'. It is to be noted that the benedictory word these coin types show that the benediction is for Khilafat. The formula is 'may Allah perpetuated his Khilafat, (not 'Mulk', [kingdom]). It indicates that during the striking of these coins the state was a Khilafat not mulk, a constitutional difference of claim. It is not possible to ascertain all the dates from the illegible or incomplete marginal legends of the mentioned types. So, from which date 'mulk' transformed into Khilafat is not easy to ascertain. Therefore

the related causes behind the proclamation of Khilafat also is not easy to determine. Though the historians assumed that to be at par with his Delhi rival Sikandar probably proclaimed this titles.

In coin Type B6 Sikandar used the formula *al-imām al a'zam wa khalīfatul mu'azzam* in the obverse margin. The direct claim of Khalifah. The supreme Imam (Chief) and a great Khalifah, here he used 'al Khalīfatul muazzam, though the meaning of both the words *Azam* and *Muazzam* are same i.e. the great, but when both are used in the same sentence *al a'zam* is the superlative. The main legend in the centre shows that the Sultan is confident by the help of the Merciful and he is father of the warrior. This legend is not less significant. The claimant of Khilafat i.e. the Sultan is confident in his claim by the mercy of the Merciful and as a 'Mujahid' he had the ability to retain this title. Though he claimed himself as Khalifa still he showed honour to the supreme Khalifah of Islam i.e. allegiance to the institution of Khilafat, in reality the Abbasid Khilafat was extinct a hundred years ago. He used as reverse legend the usual *yaminu khalifat Allah* and also helper of Amirul Muminin along with a new title *ghausul Islam wa'l muslimin* defender of Islam and the Muslims. In this type the benediction for his Khilafat has been mentioned also.

In comparison to Type B6, Type B5 seems to be earlier and struck from Hadrat Firuzabad, Iqlim Muzaamabad and also coins without the mint name and date.

On the other hand Type B6 issued from Firuzabad, has been used with various epithets such as 'Baladatul Mahrusah' (cat no.142) and Baladat cat no (Cat.no.142a). Probably the same Firuzabad has been designated with Hadrat, Baladat and Baladat al Mahrusah at different times. But due to non availability of all their dates the time of the different assumption of epithets are not ascertained. Coins of this type are also found with the mint name Baladatul Mu'azzam Mu'azzamabad (Cat.no.143).

Type B6 is also been found in two different (varieties). Type B6 and Type B6 (a) bearing two different designs for the reverse legend. But the obverse designs are the same.

It is a known fact that to inscribing the name of the Khalifah of Islam on the coins has a long tradition. In India Iltutmish was the first Sultan to inscribe the name of the Abbasid Khalifah on the coins (IMC coin no 38). This was followed by all subsequent rulers including the Sultans of Bengal. Long after the death of the last Abbasid Khalifah, Mu'tasim Billah in 1258 the use of the Khalifa's name on the coins was continued up to 1342 during the reign of Alauddin Ali Shah. He was the last Sultan of Bengal to use this formula and in Delhi the last ruler was Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji (1290-1296). Later on Fakhruddin Mubarak of Sonargaon abandoned it and Ilyas Shah did like wise. But both of them used the formula 'helper of the leader of the believers' to show their respect and allegiance to the Khilafat.

Sikandar Shah for the first time in Bengal proclaimed the title of 'Khalifat Allah' by using *al imāmu'l a'zam wa'l khalīfatu'l m'uazzam*. 'The supreme Imam and the great Khalifah'. It should be remembered that the word 'al-Imam' is equivalent to Khalifah. As it can be seen in the coin legend *fi 'ahadil imām al Musta'sim* that the word 'Imam' was used before the name of the Khalifa⁹⁴. Though Sikandar Shah proclaimed himself Khalifa yet he continued to use the term *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh* on his coin's reverse, to show his respect to the Khilafat.

It may be noted here that Sikandar Shah through his coin Type B5 probably first declared his claim of Khalifa and subsequently proclaimed *al imāmu'l a'zam wa'l khalīfatu'l mu'azzam* in his Type B6.

Now the question is why did he proclaim *Khalīfat Allāh* in his coins? Karim probably gave the right answer, "There also must have been political consideration in Sikandar Shah's assumption of the title. He was a contemporary of Firuz Shah Tughlaq of Delhi and he actually had to fight against the latter for his very existence. Now Firuz Shah Tughlaq not only received investiture from the Abbasid Khalifa of Egypt, but proudly records his belief in the necessity of obtaining recognition from the Khalifa⁹⁵". Karim further explains that, "The arrogation of such an authority by the Sultan of Delhi was a real menace to the Sultan of Bengal. The Sultan of Bengal (Sikandar Shah) therefore, went one step further and forestalled his adversary of Delhi by taking the title of Khalifah or Imam for himself.... The Sultan could not do it without the consent of the Ulama of the country and the Ulama of Bengal should be given credit for this ingenuity⁹⁶". Therefore, on the context of the political situation of the period this proclamation by Sikandar Shah is very important and significant.

Karim by quoting Dr. Gafur explained in detail the legitimacy of this constitutional issue of the proclamation of the Khilafat that "the sunni jurists in formulating the doctrine of the Khalifah have always kept in view the existing historical and political condition and tried to harmonize the political reality with the framework of the Shari'a⁹⁷".

The leading Jurist of the 14th century Ibn Jama'a compromising with the political reality 'legalized delegation of all Khalifal prerogatives to the wielder of the power⁹⁸'. Therefore, to cope with the political situation and for survival against the rival Sultan of Delhi Sikandar proclaimed himself Khalifa to legalize his separate Sultanat in Bengal.

⁹⁴ IMC, II, p.146 &147, coin nos 6,7,9

⁹⁵ Abdul Karim, *Corpus of Arabic Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, (henceforth CAPIB), 1992, p. 92.

⁹⁶ Abdul Karim, *Catalogue of Coins in the Cabinet of the Chittagong University Museum*, Chittagong, 1979 (henceforth CUMC), p.16.

⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 12 - 16.

⁹⁸ Quoted by Karim in CUMC, pp. 15 - 16.

Type B7 coins of Sikandar also bear the title 'Al Imam' on the margin along with additional titles like 'al Adil', 'the just', 'al Alim', the learned', al Mujahid, the warrior. These are all the qualities of an able Sultan and if the claims of the coins of Sikandar are considered as correct and real then these indicate that he was really a good administrator having all the qualities of a great Sultan. Most probably all these claims were true as Sikandar reigned for thirty-three years, the longest reign among the Sultans of Bengal.

This type was struck from the mint Satgaon and in two designs and B7 (a) Satgaon is designated as Arsah. Observed dates are 781, 782, 786 and 787.

It is to be noted that all these types claiming Khalifah or Imam except one bear on the reverse the benediction *khullida khilāfatuh* his Khilafat may be perpetuated. It indicates the status of the state as a 'Khilafat' which is administered by a Khalifah, not a 'Mulk'. But Type B8 bears the term *khullida mulkahu* and is issued from the mint Firuzabad with the epithet 'al Balad', dated 785 and 787. Some of the coins of Types B6, B7 and B8 bear an extra adjective in the margin qualifying coin *Sikkatu'l Mubārakatu*, 'the auspicious coin'. Why these coins are auspicious is not mentioned. Probably these coins were minted for recording some auspicious occasion, may be at the time of the construction of the Adina Mosque or of some of his conquest. Type B9's obverse is same as the legend of the obverse of Type B6 omitting the marginal legend. This type is only known from the mint Shahr-i-naw, 'new city', dated 783. This city was designated as 'Arsah Shahr-i-Naw' a new mint initiated by Ilyas and continued by Sikandar. Location of this city has not been identified most probably in the suburb of the capital a new city was established by Ilyas which remained as a new city i.e. Shahr-i-new during Sikandar's reign but later, it was renamed or no longer remained as new so the name Shahr-i-Naw can no longer traced.

All the coins claiming Khalifah contains on the margin along with the marginal legend the names of the four Khalifas in four cardinal points i.e. types B5, B6, B7 and B8. All these coins also bear on the reverse the formula 'right hand of the Khalifat Allah and helper of the Amiru'l Muminin'; in types B6 and B8 with an addition of 'defender of Islam and the Muslims' along with the above mentioned ones.

Some fractional coins of Sikandar Shah's are known in half and quarter denominations. Though the fractional coins of the Sultans of Bengal are rare but in comparison to other early Sultans, Sikander's fractional coins are many in number. It indicates that the fractional coins were also in circulation and were used side by side with the full tankas.

No new mint has initiated by Sikandar Shah except 'Arshah Kamru'. The mint Sonargaon has been renamed Mu'azzamabad probably, and it was shifted to a new place, which has been identified as Muzampur alias Mu'azzampur, fifteen kilometer away from Sonargaon. The mint of the capital Firuzabad has been cited variously in Sikander's coins with either bi Hadrat or al Balad or Baldatau'l Mahrusah,

fortified city. Mu'azzamabad the second important mint of the Sultanat, former capital of Fakhruddin, also had various epithets during this period-Iqlim Mu'azzamabad or Baldatu'l Mu'azzam Mu'azzamabad.

Bhattacharya on the basis of the last dated coin of Sikandar Shah minted from Firuzabad in 791 fixed the reign upto that date and expresses that it would be between 791 to 795 of any year. There is a coin in ICB, I, read by Thomas as dated 792 but as there is no illustration of the coin Bhattacharya did not take that into consideration. So, with the firmly dated coin Sikandar's reign may be fixed upto 791. It may be noted here that his son and succession Azam Shah rebelled against his father in the last part of Sikandar's reign. A battle ensued between father and son in which Sikandar lost his life but the date of the fight could not ascertained. Therefore, Sikandar's last date, on the basis of his dated coins, may tentatively be fixed in 791. So, the duration of his reign is at least thirty three years.

3. Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah 792[?] - 813/1390[?] - 1410

After the death of Sikandar in the battlefield of Goalpara his rebel son and successor Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah ascended to the throne probably in 793. There are controversies about the last date of Sikandar's death and first date of Ghiyasuddin Azam's ascension. Earlier Azam had rebelled against his father in the eastern part of the kingdom in Sonargaon and his coins from Satgaon have been found dated 890 while his father was still alive. The last date of Sikandar's coins is 792 as has been mentioned earlier. Due to the non availability of clear cut last dated coins of Sikandar and first dated coins of Azam from Firuzabad it is not possible to ascertain the actual date of the death of Sikandar and accession and rebellion of Azam. This event has been placed between 791 to 795, Bhattasali is inclined to fix the death of Sikandar in 795 giving him a reign of 37 years and Azam Shah seventeen years some months upto 813AH.

Bhattasali assumed the date of the revolt by Azam in 777 as 'no coin of Sikandar Shah from an eastern mint of date later than 777AH (IMC. II, no. 50) has yet been found'⁹⁹. However, Mukhapadhyay¹⁰⁰, and Karim¹⁰¹ gave Sikandar a reign of 33 years and presumed the death of Sikandar in 792 and 793 respectively.

All the historians agree on Azam's early revolt of that date i.e. 792 as Azam Shah corresponded with the famous poet of Persia, Hafiz, as a sovereign and Hafiz wrote a poem in response and as Hafiz died in 791 so the correspondence happened one or two years earlier while Sikandar was alive. So, Azam Shah's date of revolt may be presumed with certainty before 890. Azam Shah like his father and grand father was an able ruler with some generous qualities of love for poetry and justice and ruled upto 813.

The most remarkable event of Azam Shah's life is his revolt against his father. It is said that he rebelled due to his stepmother's machination and took shelter in the eastern part of the kingdom in Sonargaon. He waged war against his father in which Sikandar died, then to acquitted himself from all troubles he either blinded all of his seventeen brothers or put them to death. Even then he was depicted as an able and just ruler. Historians spoke loudly of his justice and kingly attire; he wrote a letter to the Persian poet Hafiz inviting him to visit his kingdom. He held the Kamrup area for sometime after conquering some and communicated with the contemporary king of many countries including China and made charitable endowments in the holy cities of Makkah and Madina establishing a madrasah in Makkah. Coins of Azam Shah are available in gold and silver only. All his coins are of tola weight standard.

⁹⁹ Coins and Chronology, p. 70.

¹⁰⁰ Dusho Bachhar, p. 54.

¹⁰¹ Sultani Amol, p. 198; Corpus, p. 154.

Gold Tanka

Two types Azam Shah's gold coins are known and probably four in number. One coin in the collection of BNM is unpublished. One coin in the Kawale collection in India is published in the ONS No. 147 by Stan Goron, the third one is published in Rajgor and the last one in the collection of Varendra Research Museum. Rajshahi is unpublished.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in quarter foil in four lines *Ghiyāṣud dunyā / wad dīn abū'l muẓaffar / Āzam Shāh / as Sultān* 'Succour of the world and the religion father of victory Azam Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse bears the legend in a circle in four lines but the first line is not decipherable. The second line starts with ... *ghausul Islām / wa'l Muslimīn / khallada* ... 'Succour of Islam and the Muslims May Allah perpetuate No marginal legend is traceable. The weight of the coin is 10.56 grams and diameter 25 mm.

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse, which is in a plain area, bears the legend in six lines *al-muẓaffar batāy yid ar-Raḥmān / ghiyāṣuddīn wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh / ibn Sikandar Shāh / ibn Ilyās Shāh / as Sultān*, 'Strengthened by the help of the Merciful Succour of the world and the religion father of victory Azam Shah, son of Sikandar Shah son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan.'

The reverse bears the legend in a plain area in five lines *yamīnu khaliḥat Allāh / nāṣiru amīri'l muminīn / ghausul Islām wa'l Muslimīn khallada Allāhu mulkah* 'Right hand of the Khalifa of Allah helper of leader of the believers succour of the Islam and the Muslims, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom. The weight of the coins is 11.6 gram and diameter 23 mm. One coin of this type has been illustrated in Rajgor without any reading weight is 10.7 grams, diameter not available. Another coin is in the collection of V.R.M., description is not available.

Silver Tanka

The descriptions of the silver coins of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah are as follows:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a square in Arabic *al-muẓaffar batāyyid ar-Raḥmān Ghiyāṣud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh as Sultān*, 'Strengthened by the Merciful succour of the world and the religion father of the victory A'zam Shah the Sultan'.

In the marginal segments there are the names of the first four Khalifahs of Islam, starting from the top arranged anticlockwise. The reverse legend is in an octagonal star also in Arabic, *nāṣiru'l Islām wāl muslimīn yamīnu amīru'l muminīn*, helper of the Islam and the Muslims right hand (Helper) of leader of the believers. Marginal legend is, *Ḥuriba ḥaṣṣi's sikkatu fi'l Balad muazzamābād his ṣalīṣ tiṣina wa saba' miyah*. This coin was struck in the city of Muzzamabad in the year three ninety and seven hundred i.e. in 793.

In this type there are coins with a variety of designs, which may be described as subtypes of varieties, but the legends are the same.

Type B1 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends are same as Type B1 but the designs are different, the obverse design within a square and the reverse in a circle and the mint is 'Jannat adabd', date not clear.

Type B1 (b): Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in a square having a mihrab design on each side of the square and the reverse in a quatrefoil. The names of the four Khalifahs are in the four mihrabs. The reverse margin is not clear but the mint name is Satgaon.

Type B1(c): Silver Tanka

The obverse design and legend are the same as Type B1 (b). The reverse is in a octofoil but the mint name on the reverse margin is Muazza mabad, date is not clear.

Type B1 (d): Silver Tanka

The obverse is in a square with in a circle, names of the Khalifahs are in the marginal segments. The reverse is in an octofoil and the margin illegible. The legends on both sides are the same as Type B1.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a square the. The same as above type B1 but in the fourth line after Azam Shah is *as Sulṭān bin* and the last line is *Shāh Sikandar* i.e. his father's name is cited in this coin but the execution is very crude. The marginal segments are not clear but probably contain the names of the four Khalifahs.

The reverse legend is in a square within a circle, same as the reverse of Type B1 but with the addition of *Khullida mulkahu* in the last line. The margin is indistinct most probably having the date and mint name.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse designs are the same, with the legends are circles. The obverse legend is *Sulṭān / Ghiyāṣud dīnyā waḍ dīn Abū'l muzaḥḥar / ḏam Shāh / as Sultan*. The name of the Sultan without mentioning parentage. The legend is in five lines.

The reverse legend is *ʿabbada Allāhu - daulatuhu khallada Allāhu mulkahu*, 'May Allah eternize his Empire and perpetuate his kingdom. In the margin the mint name is Satgaon but the date is not clear.

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a quadrifoil in four lines the same as Type B3 but omitting the word 'Sultan' at the beginning. The margin bears the legend *as Sulṭānu'l a'zam al muḥyiyad ḥatāyyid'il Malik ar Raḥmān* in four segments. 'The great Sultan strengthened by the help of the 'Merciful god'. The reverse bears in a circle the Arabic legend in four lines *nāṣiru amīru'l muminīn - ghaṣṣul Islām - wa'l Muslimīn / khullida mulkahu*, 'helper of the Amīru'l muminīn, Succour of Islam and the Muslims his kingdom may be perpetuated. The reverse margin bears the legend *duriba hazihis sikkatu fi Hadrat Firuzabad sanah salasa wa tis'in wa saba' miya*. The coin was struck from the mint Hadrat Firuzabad dated 793¹⁰². This type was also found from Satgaon mint but the date is not clear¹⁰³.

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in a quarterfoil in five lines and bears the name of the Sultan the same as Type B4 but with an addition of his father's name 'ibn Sikandar Shah as Sultan' i.e. son of Sikandar Shah the Sultan. The margin on the top left anticlockwise reads *al muḥyiyad ḥa tāyyid'il Malik al-Mannān*, 'Strengthened by the help of the generous God'.

The reverse legend is the same as the reverse of Type B4 but with a different arrangement. The Marginal legend is *duriba hazihis sikkatu fi 'Arsah Satgaon sanah salasa, 'ashra wa samnu miyah*, i.e. the coin was struck in 'Arsah Satgaon in the years 813. A similar coin is in the collection of BNM and bears the mint name Sikandrabad 813¹⁰⁴.

Type B5 (a): Silver Tanka

Same as above Type B5 but the obverse legend is in a quarterfoil having a semicircular curve instead of the ogee of Type B5. The reverse is in a circle; obverse margin differs in arrangement. The reverse margin has the date 812.

¹⁰² IMC, Type B, p. 157, coin no. 67.

¹⁰³ BNM, Acc. no. 70.922

¹⁰⁴ BNM, Acc. no. 70.993

Type B6: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the same legend as Type B5 in a quadrifoil within circle with the addition of *Ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sulṭān*, 'son of Ilyhas Shah the Sultans', after the word Sikandar Shah, the legend is arranged in six lines and the marginal legend is the same as the marginal legend of Type B4.

The reverse legend is the same as the reverse legend of Type B5 i.e. the legend and design are the same. The marginal legend is the same as Type B4 i.e. Hadrat Firuzabad bdated 893¹⁰⁵. BMC has the dates 794, 795 and 796¹⁰⁶.

Type B7: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in a quarterfoil. The legend is the same as the obverse legend of the Type B6 but the margin is i.e. omitting the word 'Malik' of Type B6.

The reverse legend is the same as Type B6 but in a square and the arrangements are a bit different. The Margin also differs a bit *fi Hadrat al Firūzābād* in Hadrat Firuzabad dated 812 (BNM 66.220) also 813 (BNM 66.227).

Type B8: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in a quadrilobe the as same as Type B7 and the legend is also the same as Type B7 having no marginal legend. The reverse legend is in a octagonal star in six lines *Yamīnu Khaliḥatullāh* 'right hand of the Khalifah of Allah', which has been added at the beginning the rest of the legend is the same as above coin Type B7 but the last line is *Khullida Khilāfathu* instead of *Khullida Mulkahu* i.e. may his Khilafat be perpetuated. The margin is illegible. There are some varieties of this type only with the change of the design legends of all the varieties are the same as type B8.

Type B8 (b): Silver Tanka

The obverse design is the same as Type B8 (a) i.e. in a plain area; the reverse is in a multifoil (BNM 66.243).

Type B9: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears a legend similar Type B8 in a circle having no margin. The reverse bears the legend in a circle in five lines *al Imām / yamīnu'l khilafat nāṣir / -ghausul Islām wal Muslimīn* it is to some extent *Yamīnu Khaliḥat Allāh*, i.e. right hand of the Khilafat of Allah third line is missing which may be conjectured as *amīrūl mumīnīn*. IMC mentioned one such coin having no margin with a note "very poor execution" (IMC p.159 coin no. 85).

¹⁰⁵ IMC, p. 157, coin no. 73.

Type B10: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a plain area. The legend is the same as Type A2's obverse. The reverse legend is in a multifoil but duetoille gibility IMC did not any reading. No other specimen of this type is known. Only three fractional coins of the Sultan are known, two quarter tanka and one one-eighth tanka.

Type B11: Silver quarter (1/4) Tanka

The obverse legend is in a circle in two lines *Ghiyāṣ u'd dunyā wa'dīn* "succour of the world and the religion" the regnal name of the Sultan. The reverse bears the rest of the legend in a circle *abūl muẓaffar / Aẓam Shāh as Sulṭān*, 'father of the victory Azam Shah the Sultan'. The Kunyah and the proper name have been inscribed on the reverse. There is no date or mint name on the coin. The weight is 2.56 gram and diameter, 17 mm.

Type B12: Silver quarter Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in three lines in a plain area, *Shāh? Aẓam / bin Sikandar*. The legend should be read from the second line upwards then the last line i.e. Azam Shah son of Sikandar'. The reverse bears the legend in a plain area in three lines *ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sulṭān* 'son of Ilyas Shah the Sultan'. There is no date or mint name on the coin; the weight is 2.20 grams and diameter 15 mm.

Type B13: Silver one eighth (1/8) Tanka

The obverse in plain area bears the legend in two lines *Muẓaffar Aẓam* Father of victory Azam. The reverse is a plain area with two lines also *Khallada Allāh Khilāfatahu*, 'May Allah perpetuates his Khilafat'. The weight of the coin is, 1.26 grams and diameter 10 mm.

We have been informed that Azam Shah rebelled against his father and set his administrative head quarter in Sonargaon. But the dates of most of his coins from Muazzamabad (Sonargaon) are not clear. So, it is very difficult to ascertain his date of revolt as well as his date of ascension to the throne in Firuzabad, as well as the date of the death of Sikandar. As the coins struck from Muazzamabad and Satgaown have no mention about this father's name and nor even the formula 'Sultan ibn Sultan'. They show his rebellion, the coins are Type B1 including its varieties, Type B3 and Type B4.

Types A1, B1, B3 and B4 reveal that in these types Azam did not mention his parentage, use the formula *sultan ibn Sultan* ' to denote his royal ancestry. Among the Type B1 including its varieties should get special notice because probably this type was the issued by the Sultan during his rebellion. In this type Azam Shah did not claim himself 'the great Sultan' but was contented with the 'Strengthened by the support of the Merciful'. On the reverse of this Type B1 Azam Shah introduced a new formula 'Nasir ul

¹⁰⁶ Stanley Lane - Poole, The coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum (henceforth BMC), London: British Museum Trustees, 1885, pp. 26 - 27, Coin nos. 60, 61 & 63, Pl. III.

Islam wal Muslimin' never used by any previous sultan. He also used 'right hand of Amirul Muminin' instead of 'Nasiru' (Helper) Amirul Muminin. He probably did all this to differentiate from his father's coins. It would be possible to know the actual date of revolt if clearly dated coins were found. But most these coins have unclear dates. Only one coin from Satgaon mint has a clear date of 790 (Type B1 (b)) and a coin of Muazzamabad mint given in BMC (no. 57, pl. III) most probably also has the same date Type B1 (c). Though the BMC gave the date as 790 but there is no room for unit digit between *abad* of *Mu'azzamabad* and *Tis'in* (Ninety), if we do not omit the word *Sanah* therefore, the reading most probably will be 790. Sikandar's coins from Satgaon are found with the date 787 so between 787 to 790 the revolt happened and probably A'zam Shah started to strike coins in his own name from Muzazzamabad in 790 or one or two years earlier. Type B1 (a) is issued from the mint 'Jannatabad' as described in the BMC (coin No.52 & 53)¹⁰⁷. But all these coins have dates cut off the flan or are of unclear date and also the mint name is punched or effaced including the BNM specimens. Most probably the mint name could be 'Chatgaon' as suggested by Bhattashali¹⁰⁸. If it is taken to be correct then it would reveal that after Azam's revolt he gradually spread his sphere of power over the lands adjacent to Sonargaon and in 790 he captured Satgaon also, which brought ultimately both father and son to the battlefield.

Type B2: Only one coin is known, though father Sikandar's name has been inscribed in this type yet it could be an earlier type of A'zam Shah, the execution is very crude. The reverse legend of Type B1 is also used in the reverse of this type. This could be the earliest coin of Azam Shah just as a test case before his proclamation of the rebellion, which is demonstrated, by Type B1 coins.

Type B3 coin's flans are too small to contain the marginal legend so most of the coin's mint name and dates are cut off. In this type's reverse Azam Shah used a new formula never used before by him in his coins, 'may Allah perpetuate his government and may Allah perpetuate his kingdom'. In one such coin the mint is clear: 'Arsah Satgaon'. So, the legend indicates that his coin may be one of his early coins during his rebellion. Here for the first time 'Sultan' has been prefixed to his name Ghiyasuddin.

Type B4 has, for the first time the title "as Sultanu'l Azam" in the margin and also the words *al muwayyidu batāyyidi'l Malik ar Raḥmān* in the margin without mentioning his parentage. The mint name is 'Hazrat Firuzabad', and indicates that the sultan was residing there. That is it was struck from the capital. So, its date is very important. The earliest of this type starts from 795. This date could be decisive factor for the chronology of Azam Shah. It may help us to fix the date of the death of Sikandar Shah. Unfortunately no clearly dated coin earlier to 794 is found¹⁰⁹. Though IMC, II, gave the date of such coins as 793¹¹⁰ and the supplement to the IMC also recorded such dates but did not give any illustrations¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁷ BMC, p. 24, both the coins dated 790AH.

¹⁰⁸ Coins and Chronology, p. 78.

¹⁰⁹ BMC, Coin no. 60, pl. III, clearly reveals the date.

¹¹⁰ IMC type B, coin No. 67

Bhattachali rejected the date of IMC and Karim did not accept the report of the suppl. to IMC due to the lack of illustrations of said coins of 793. Therefore at present state of our knowledge we may stick to, 791 as the last date for Sikandar and 794 for Azam's, though there is every possibility of extension of one year for both i.e. 791AH may extend upto 792 and 794 may advanced to 793. Thomas mentioned Sikandar's coin dated 792¹¹¹ and we have coins of Azam dated 793 in suppl. IMC, II. If these two dates are correct (due to the non availability of the photographs we are not in a position to fix the chronology with certainty) then the war between father and son may be fixed in 792 and from 793 Azam assumed power in Firuzabad. The reverse of Type B4 is similar to the reverse legend of Sikander's Types B6, B8, omitting the first portion of *Yamīnu Khalīfat Allāh*. Type B4 ranges from 794 to 799AH and have been struck also from the mint 'Arash Satgaon but date not readable. Type B5 is same as Type B4 but with an alteration in the obverse margin with *al muwyyad ha tāyyidil Malik al Mannān* omitting 'As Sultanul A'zam.... al Malik ar Raḥmān'. Al Malik ar Raḥmān, and al Malik al Mannān both the legends have the same meaning and there in a slight change in the obverse design. The obverse legend has his father's name after A'zam Shah in the third line there is (Ibn Sikandar) and fourth line is (Shah). The reverse design and legend are same as Type B5, but Type B5 coins are only from Satgaon with a later dates 812 and 813. One of this type shows a new mint name Sikandarbad dated 813, the coin is in the collection of BNM (Acc. No. 70.993), not been noticed in any catalogue or sources.

Type B6: The legends and designs are as same as Type B4 but only with the addition of 'Ibn Sikandar Shah ibn Ilyas Shah as Sultan' after the third line revealing the complete genealogy of the family. For the first time the names of the father and grandfather are used in coins. The obverse margins are also same though type B6 obverse contains the legend in six lines. One of the coins of this type described in IMC, II, No. 73 dated 793 but Bhattachali on re-examining the coin rejected the date in favour of dated 800 plus¹¹³.

Type B7 is almost the same as Type B6. The only difference is in the obverse margin, which is similar to the marginal legend of Type B5, only omitting the word *al Malik*, and replacing *al Mannān* with ar Rahman. The obverse design is in a quadrilobe but the reverse design is a square and the mint is Hadrat Firuzabad dated 812. The date is given in numerals which have been wrongly read in IMC, II the obverse margin has not been mentioned in IMC, but is visible in the illustration. Karim also noticed it in his Corpus¹¹⁴.

Types B8, B9 and B10. The obverse legends are slightly different in line arrangement and design. The reverse legends are also same as B7's. B8 has an addition of *Yamīnu Khalīfat Allāh* at the beginning and

¹¹¹ Suppl. IMC, pp. 49 - 50, coin nos. 80 - 81.

¹¹² Edward Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, introduced by the Muhammadans on their conquest of the Country, AH600 to 800 (AD 1203 - 1397), (henceforth ICB, I), Hertford: Stephen Austin, 1866, pp. 71 - 72, no. 26.

¹¹³ Coins and Chronology, p.

¹¹⁴ Corpus, p.59, Type, B.

Khullida Khilāfatuhu. In Type B9 the beginning is 'al Imam Yaminu'l Khilafat., In B 10 only one coin mentioned in IMC. If the reverse legend is not decipherable. But Type B 8 and B9 are more important because they denote the state as 'Khilafat' and claim of 'al Imam' which indicates that like his father A'zam Shah also brought constitutional change from mulk to Khilafat. The ruler is the Khalifa as indicated by 'Al-Imam', though he, like his father called himself 'Yaminu'l Khilafat...i.e. right hand of the Khilafat or Khalifat Allah. He did not use the word Khalifa for himself but has contented with 'Al-Imam' an equivalent for 'Khalifah'. It indicates that for the need of the hour he claimed himself as Khalifa and his kingdom is a Khilafat but at the sametime could not throw away the veneration for the Khilafat. It may be mentioned here that he did not show his allegiance to any particular existing Khalifah but to the Khalifat Allah i.e. the Institution of Khilafat established by the prophet. The reverse design of Type B8 is a new design introduced by A'zam Shah- an octagonal star. Type B 10 obverse shows the culmination of the obverse legends of various types of A'zam Shah. In the absence of dated coins of various types it is not possible to ascertain the date when A'zam Shah proclaimed the Khalifa as well as the Khilafat. A'zam Shah's fractional coins are rare and only three are known and published in SCA. No half tanka has been found. Because of a one- eighth tanka, it is reasonable to assume that his half tanka denomination was also in use.

On the basis of the above discussion we may fix the starting date of A'zam Shah's independent rule from 794 upto 813 with certainty. Though some coins are being read with the date 793 but there is every possibility of that being 796. So we shall have to wait for a clearly dated coins of 792 and 793 of either Sikandar Shah or A'zam shah to settle the controversy. At present we may fix his duration of reign as an independent Sultan sixteen years and his rebellious period may be counted from the year 788 upto 792.

Azam Shah issued coins from the mints used by his father Sikandar except the mints of 'Arsah Kamru and Shar-i-Naw. A new mint named Sikandarabad ' was introduced by A'zam Shah in commemoration of his father. The location of the place is not known, as the coins dated 813 are also struck from Firuzabad the mint Sikandarabad may be (coin date also 813) in the suburb of the capital Firuzabad or it could be the new city' Shahr-i-naw of father and grand father's time renamed after Sikandar by Azam Shah.

4. Sifuddin Hamzah 813 - 815/1410 - 1412

On the death of the third Sultan of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah his son and successor Saifuddin Hamza ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultan-us Salatin¹¹⁵ Hamzah's coins show that he was sworn in 813AH¹¹⁶ Mohar Ali quoting the contemporary Arab historians including Al-Fasi, categorically tells us that, A'zam Shah died in 814/1411-12 and not in 813, as has hitherto been supposed on the basis of his coin dates¹¹⁷. On the other hand Abdul Karim mentioned, in the Corpus, that coins of Hamjah dated 813 and 814 AH have been found from the mints of Firuzabad, Mu'azzamabad and Satgaon¹¹⁸. Shamsuddin Ahmad has given Hamza Shah two years, on the evidence of coins, 1411-12CE, i.e. 813 and 814AH¹¹⁹. Let us first look into the coins of Hamzah Shah. Only his silver coins have been discovered and are of tola weight standard. Though he ruled for a short period but two types of denominational coins have been found. Total seven types of coins may be ascertained on the basis of Hamzah Shah's coin legends. Five types in full tanka and two types of denominational tankas.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan simply with his name *Saif u'd dunyā wa'd dīn* and Kunyah as *abū'l mujāhid*, then the *alam* *Hamzah Shāh*, and the parentage line up to Ilyas Shah ending with Sultan.

The reverse bears the formula *nāṣiru amīr i'l mu'minīn* 'helper of the amirul mu'minin' i.e. Khalifa and *ghaus u'l Islām wal muslimīn*, 'succour of Islam and Muslims', *khullida mulkahu*, may his kingdom be perpetuated. The marginal legend is *duriba hazas sikkatu fī Hadrat Firūzābād sanah ṣalāṣa 'ashara wa samānu miyah*, 'this coin was struck from Hadrat Firuzabad in the year 813. Karim gave only one date 814 for his 'A' type coins from the mint Firuzabad, but we have a photograph which bears the date of 813AH¹²⁰.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the same legend as type B1 but only upto his father's name, i.e. *Saif ud dunyā wad dīn abū'l mujāhid Hamzah Shāh as Sultān*, the legend inscribed in a square and four segmental margins bear *al muwyyad ba tā 'iy id ar Raḥmān*, i.e. 'strengthened by the support of the Merciful'. The reverse is the same as Type B1's reverse, mint Firuzabad. This type struck from Satgaon also, dated 813¹²¹.

¹¹⁵ TA, vol. III, p.265; Riyaz, p.109.

¹¹⁶ HB, II, p. 119.

¹¹⁷ HMB, IA, pp. 144 - 146, al Fasi was a teacher of the Madrasah built by the donation of A'zam Shah in Makkah, Arabic text footnote 2, p. 144.

¹¹⁸ Corpus, p. 69.

¹¹⁹ A. B. M. Samsuddin Ahmed, unpublished thesis, p. 122.

¹²⁰ Photograph provided by Dr. J S Deyell.

¹²¹ Corpus, type B, p. 67.

Type B3 Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a plain area *al muwyyad ha t̄ayidir Raḥmān Saif ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Ḥamzah Shāh ibn Ḥ'zam Shāh as Sultān*...this legend is to some extent the same as the legend of type B2 if we begin from the marginal legend of Type B2.

The reverse bears in a circle *nāṣir u'l islām wa'l muslimīn yamīnu amīr i'l mu'minīn*, 'Helper of Islam and the Muslims, right hand of the leader of the believers.' The mint name and date are inscribed in the marginal legend around the circle, which is illegible (Cat. no. 180).

Type B4 Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a plain area *al Imām al a'zam al hāzīl Saif u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Ḥamzah Shāh*, 'the great Imam (leader), the generous Sultan, sword of the world and the religion, father of the warrior Hamzah Shah as Sultan. Shamsuddin Ahmad placed this coin as 'F' type in the Suppl. to IMC, II and gave the reading differently. The coin was illustrated. Karim just followed this reading¹²². But due to the blur both scholars misread it, and should be corrected.

The reverse bears also in a plain surface *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l mu' minīn Sultān us Salātīn iskandar us ḡanī khullida khilāfatuhu*, 'Right hand (i.e. helper) of the vicegerent of Allah, helper of *amīru'l mu'minīn*, Sultan of the Sultans, second Alexander, may his Khilafat be perpetuated. The reading of the reverse legend *sikandarus ḡanī* has been misread by both scholars (Cat.no. 181).

Type B5 Silver Tanka

The obverse is inscribed in a plain area. The Arabic legend in six lines is *Saif u'd dunyā wa'd dīn al mujāhid fī sabīl'r Raḥmān khalīfatu'l 'ahad wa'z zaman Ḥamzah Shāh as Sultān*, 'sword of the world and the religion the warrior in the path of the Merciful Khalifa of the time and age Hamzah Shah the Sultan.

The reverse legend is in a hexagonal area *yamīnu khalīfat nāṣiru amīri' l mu'minīn Sultān us Salātīn iskander us ḡanī khullida khilāfatuhu*, 'right hand of the khilafat helper of the leader of the believers Sultan of the Sultans second alexander may his kingdom be parpetuated' i.e. the reverse legend is the same as the reverse of Type B4. Three segments of the margin are illegible, but the other three are clear and contain the mint name and date *Mua'zzamā hād sanah' 815* i.e. the coin was struck in Mua'zzamabad in 815AH¹²³ (Cat. no. 182).

¹²² Ibid, p. 66, Suppl. IMC, II, p. 54, Coin no. 115, pl. III

¹²³ Mohd. Rezaul Karim, "Rare Coins of Beamibazar Hoard and Chronology of Sultans of Bengal" in Sylhet: History and Heritage, Sharifuddin Ahmed (edited), Dhaka: Bangladesh Itihas Samiti, 1999, p. 677. This is a new type and new dated coin published for the first time.

Type B6: Silver Half Tanka

The obverse bears the legend, *Saif ud dunyā wād dīn abū'l mujāhid Hamzah Shāh as Sultān* i.e. only the Sultan's name without his parentage. The reverse bears the legend *nasiru amir i'l mu'minin*, no mint or date on the margin. The weight of the coin is 512 gram (Cat.no. 183).

Type B7: Silver one-eighth Tanka

The obverse bears the legend only in two lines, *Hamzah Shāh*. The reverse contains the legend in three lines, *as Sultān ibn A'zam Shāh*, no mint or date on the margin. Both the sides are plain.

Denominational coins of the Sultani period as a whole extremely rare. Probably these two are the only known fractional coins of Hamzah Shah¹²⁴ (Cat, no184).

As regards the use of legend in the coins of Saifuddin. Type B1 shows simply the name of the Sultan and his parentage as initiated by Sikandar and followed by Ghiyasuddin a'zam and his son Saifuddin. In some coins the father's name was used only, in some others upto the name of the great grand father i.e. Ilyas Shah. In the absence of any record this facilitates the genealogy of the family. The reverse shows the usual formula *nāsiru amīrī'l mu'minīn, ghausu'l islām wal muslimīn* which became a tradition for coins of the Ilyas Shahi rulers except Ilyas Shah. the dates are 813 and 814, struck from Firuzabad mint.

Type B2 and B3 bear before the name of the Sultan the words "one strengthened by the support of the Merciful". This as already used in his father's and grand father's coins, Sikandar used 'al wasiq' instead of 'al muayyid' and in these two types the genealogy was only upto the father's name, most probably it was due to the shortage of space.

The reverse legend of type B2 is the same as Type B1's but type B3's reverse has a new legend in which the Sultan proclaimed himself 'helper of Islam and Muslims' and 'right hand (help) of the leader of the believers'. This formula 'nasiru'l Islam wa'l Muslimin' was introduced by Hamzah's father A'zam Shah¹²⁵ and was followed by the former. Type B2 has been found from Firuzabad mint and Satgaon mint but type B1's mint is illegible.

Type B4 and B5 are very important in respect of the legend, in Type B4's obverse Hamzah proclaimed himself as 'al Imam al A'zam', 'greatest leader' and *al bāzīl* 'the munificent' a new term used in his coins. In type B5's obverse he proclaimed like his grand father *al mujāhid fī sabīl ar Raḥmān* and also proclaimed himself as Khalifa, *khālīfatu'l 'ahd wa'z zaman*, 'Khalifa of the time and age'. Already we noticed that all Ilyas Shahi rulers except Ilyas Shah proclaimed themselves as Khalifa. Sikandar used both

¹²⁴ SCA, p. 50, coin no. 785, 786.

¹²⁵ IMC, II, p. 143.

the term 'al Imam and Khalifa'. A'zam's coin with al Imam has not yet been found but it is evident that it will come out one day. Because Hamzah with a short rule used both the titles *al Imām al A'zam* and *Khalīfat al 'ahd wa'z zaman* on the other hand Sikandar only used 'as Sultan u'l A'zam wal Khalifat u'l Mu'azzam', i.e. 'greatest Sultan and great Khalifa' but Hamzah had the greater title 'Khalifa of the age and time' and also 'al Imam', the great leader.

The reverse of both types B4 and B5 bear almost the same legend—he was not only 'right hand of the Khilafat or helper of Amiru'l Mu'minin' but he was 'Sultan of the Sultans' and also 'second alexander' and in the end of the legend a wish is recorded that 'his Khilafat (not mulk) may be perpetuated'. So these two types are important. Type B4 having no margin or date but B5 has a new date for Hamzah i.e. 815 AH and the mint is Mu'azzamabad. Type B5 is a new type for Hamzah and indicates Hamzah's position. We are told that the nobles gave the title "Sultan us Salatin" to Hamzah. Therefore, his coin type B4 and B5 reveals that he was Khalifa of the time and age, Second Alexander and also Sultan of the Sultans, all these indicates that before his murder by his slave in 815 he managed to consolidate his power and prestige.

All this information from the coins supports the praise of Hamzah made in *Tawarikh-i-Firishta* and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*¹²⁶. Though some historians probably mistakenly ascribed his credentials to his father¹²⁷. At least his coins speak well of him. His mints show that he retained all the territories that he inherited from his father. As a successor of great rulers like Ilyas, Sikandar and A'zam Shah, Hamzah inherited a firmly established machinery of Sultanat. His father A'zam Shah send lots of money for the charitable deeds in the holy cities, Makkah and Madina and made himself internationally known. As successor of his father Hamzah might have had his qualities, which has been mentioned by the historians. He could have flourished but the machination of Ganesh and untimely murder by his slave stopped everything. It may be assumed that his father and forefathers earned name and fame and left a firmly established sultanat. As an inertia that has been continued during his short rule because it is reasonable to believe that only Sultan Ghiyasuddin A'zam was dead but whole administrative machinery of the Sultanat was left intact to be inherited by Hamzah.

Hamzah Shah's coins are struck from the three mints, Firuzabad (with al Firuzabad, or Hadrat Firuzabad), Satgaon (with 'Arsah) and Mu'azzamabad (with Iqlim), as has been mentioned earlier. The date of the coins of Hamzah are 813, 814, and 815 AH. Al Fasi's report that Ghiyasuddin died in 814 and presence of the Hamzah's coins of 813 create a problem for the time of death of A'zam and succession of Hamzah. Most probably al Fasi is correct in his narration because he was the teacher of the Madrasah established and run by the endowment of A'zam Shah. And the coin date of Hamzah, 813 is crystal clear

¹²⁶ Quoted in HB, II, 'he was a king, brave, patient and kind. Because of his intelligence and practical experience, his officers conducted the administration very carefully. The neighbouring Rajahs obeyed him and paid their tributes regularly', p. 115.

¹²⁷ HB, II, p. 116.

therefore, it may be assumed that Ghiyasuddin A'zam for some reason (health or other) retired from the activity of the Sultanat in 813, crown prince Hamzah took over the charge of the Sultanat and began to administer his royal duties including striking of the coins in his own name from 813. But Ghiyasuddin was alive then and he probably died in 814AH as reported by al Fasi. This proposition is also supported by the coins of Hamzah dated 813AH of Firuzabad and Satgaon mints. There is no scope for assuming any revolt on the part of Hamzah. Otherwise it could not be possible for Hamzah to strike coins simultaneously from the capital Firuzabad and Satgaon mints and probably also from Mu'azzamabad.

Riyaz, on the reference of the Pandua manuscript, allotted for Hamzah 3 years 1 month 5 days¹²⁸.

If we count 813 (including) it could hardly be 2 and half years. There is a chronological problem with Hamzah and Bayzid. Bayzid's single coin mentioned in Suppl. IMC, II, is dated 814AH¹²⁹ there is no mint name on the coin. Hamzah issued coins bearing the date 815AH from Mu'azzamabad. Therefore, the plausible solution of this problem is very difficult no doubt. We have no clue to solve it. There is not a single direct or indirect contemporary source at our disposal to understand the situation or actual happening. From these two coins we may conjecture that while Hamzah issued coins from Mu'azzamabad in 815AH he was residing there, and Bayzid in Firuzabad with the help of Raja Ganesh struck coins from 814 probably at the end of the year. But soon Bayzid assumed power by killing Hamzah. Another controversy has been raised by Mohar Ali. Quoting al Sakhawi, who mentioned that by removing or killing Hamzah Shah, Raja Ganesh assumed power but " Shihabuddin a mamluk (slave) of Hamzah led a revolt against Kans and for a time succeeded in confining him and eclipsing his authority¹³⁰". On the contrary most of the modern historians including Ibn Hajar, Buchanon and Firishta hold that Shihabuddin ruled Bengal as a puppet in the hands of Ganesh¹³¹.

Four rulers of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty from Ilyas Shah to Hamzah Shah ruled in Bengal succeeding each from his father except Ilyas Shah. Their chronology is as bellow. Ilyas Shah 744 - 758, Sikandar Shah 758 - 791(?), A'zam Shah 793(?) - 813 Hamzah Shah 813 - 815.

¹²⁸ Riyaz, p. 112, according to Riyaz he ruled for ten years and according to a second report three years one month five days.

¹²⁹ Suppl. IMC, II, p. 58, coin no. 131.

¹³⁰ HMB, IA, p. 147 also footnote 1.

¹³¹ Referred in *Sultani Anol*, p. 211, also in Dusho Bachhar, Mukhapadhyay rejected the report of Al Sakhawi as a mistake, p. 94.

Bayazid Shahi 814 - 817/1411 - 1414

1. Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah

814 - 817/1411 - 1414

After the death of the last Ilyas Shahi ruler Saifuddin Hamzah Shah one of his slaves Shihabuddin Bayazid assumed power. According to Ibn Hajar, by defeating and killing Saifuddin, Shihab usurped the throne¹³² and proclaimed himself as 'Sultan'. Buchanon¹³³ gave the identity of Shihabuddin as slave of Saifuddin, which is also supported by a secondary report of the Riyaz¹³⁴. The principal report of the Riyaz informs that after the death of Saifuddin his son Shamsuddin ascended the throne, 'Ain i Akbari', Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Tarikh i Firishata also hold this view¹³⁵. According to Blochmann, Shihab ud din was a puppet monarch set up by Ganesh. Bhattasali's view is likewise¹³⁶. We know that coins bearing the name of Shihabuddin Bayazid are found dated 814 to 817AH¹³⁷. Therefore, it indicates that Shihabuddin a slave of Saifuddin, succeeded the latter either by killing him or was a puppet king put on the throne after the assassination of Saifuddin. According to Buchanon he ruled for three years. Riyaz gave him 3 years 4 months and 6 days¹³⁸.

Bayazid's coins are found only in silver. They are of tola weight standard and found in full tanka and half tanka denominations only. They are of six types according to their legends.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in five lines the Arabic legend *al mu'wayyid ha t̃ayyid / ar Raḥmān Shihāb / uḍḍi d̃unyā wa'd d̃īn abū'l muẓaffar Bāyazīd / Shāh as Sultān*, 'one who was strengthened by the help of the Merciful, bright star of the religion and world, father of victory Bayazid Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse bears the legend in a circle in four lines in the centre, *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghawṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn khallada mulkah*, 'Helper of Amirul mu'minin, defender of Islam and Musalmans, may his kingdom be perpetuated', and the marginal legend is *ḍuriba haḥḥis sikkatu fī Ḥaḍrat Firūzābād sanah khams wa 'asāra wa samānu miyah*, 'this coin was struck, in Hadrat Firuzabad in the year eight hundred fifteen i.e. 815AH (Cat. no. 185).

¹³² Quoted in HMB, Vol. 1A, p.

¹³³ Quoted in Dusho Bachhar, p. 93.

¹³⁴ Riyaz, p. 112.

¹³⁵ Sultani Amol, p. 211, Islami Culture, 1958, p. 201.

¹³⁶ Riyaz, p. 112, fn. 1. Coins and Chronology, pp. 98-99.

¹³⁷ Sultani Amol, p. 248.

¹³⁸ Riyaz, p. 112.

Type B1a: Silver Tanka

There is a coin in the BNM, legends are the same as Type B1 but with different design and margin. The reverse design is 'in square within circle' and the top segment bears 'Sha'ban,' the Month name, but without mint name and dated 817 (Cat.no.186).

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is the same as Type B1 but in six lines and in a multifoil. The reverse legend is also the same but omitting *khullida mulkuhu* and with a different design-in an inverted scallop of eight arcs within circle. The marginal legend also differs, within the eight curves (1) *Abū Bakr* (2) *ḡuriba* (3) 'Umar (4) *Firūzā* (5) 'Uṣmān (6) *āḡād sanah* (7) *Ali* (8) 816 i.e.the date.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a hexagon the legend in four lines in Arabic. The margin outside the hexagon starting from top right margin contains the legend *as Sultān u'l a'zam, al muwayyid ba tāyyidi'l Malikī' Raḡmān* and inside the hexagon *Shihāb u'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaffar Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān*.

The reverse bears in the centre in a circle the same legend as the reverse of Type B1 but omitting *khullida mulkuhu*. Marginal legend outside the circle bears the date and mint *ḡuriba ḡaḡhi.... sanah 816*.

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse in a multifoil bears the name of the Sultan in four lines *Shihāb u'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaffar Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān*. The reverse legend is in an inverted scallop of eight arcs within a circle. The text is as Type B3 i.e. *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn, ḡhaṣṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn*. In the margin i.e. in each curve the mint name and date with the names of the four Khalifas placed alternately, same as Type B2's reverse. The date is 817AH.

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the same legend as Type B1 in five lines but the word arrangements are slightly different and the design in multifoil, in some cases in plain area. The Reverse bears the usual *nasiru amīri'l mumīnīn, ḡhaṣṣu'l Islām wa'l Muslimīn*, but with an addition of *Khullidat Khilāfatuh* i.e. may his Khilafat be perpetuated. On the margin outside the circle *ḡuriba....Firūzāḡād sanah khamsa 'aṣḡara wa saba' miyah* i.e.815.

Type B6: Silver half Tanka

The obverse in a plain area has the legend in four lines the name of the Sultan without any regnal title same as Type B4.

The reverse bears in a circle the legend in three lines *nāṣiru amīr / al mu'minīn / khullida mulkuhu*, i.e. "Helper of the commander of the faithful, may his kingdom be perpetuated." There is no mint name, date, or margin on the coins. The weight is 4.94 grams and diameter 26 mm. Probably this is the only known and published denominational coin of Bayazid Shah, recently came to light in a coin auction catalogue¹³⁹.

Shihabuddin's coins are the copy of Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah's coin types. He has only two legends, one with 'al mu'wayyid ba ta'yidir Rahman,' either starts from the margin or centre and the other 'Shihab ud dunya wa'd din' which is always inscribed in the centre. They are copies of the coins of A'zam Shah except the hexagonal design in the coin Type B3. This may be traced to the coin design of Sikandar Shah. Shihabuddin used 'Abul Muzaffar' (Father of victory), as his 'Kunya' for his one tanka coins and 'Abul Mujahid i.e. Father of warrior for his denominational coin.

In reality Shihabuddin took over power at such a time that Bengal politics was turning to a stern shape. Either he was a puppet in the hands of Ganesh¹⁴⁰ or he was struggling to survive competing with Ganesh¹⁴¹. In either case he had no time to organize mints during his short rule of three years, his prime objective being to consolidate his power and position.

Coins of Shihabuddin have been found dated 815 to 817AH and from the mints of Firuzabad (with al-Balad or Hadrat), 'Arshah Satgaon and Muazzamabad. Probably his rule began at the end of 814AH. So, his 3 year rule, as told by the historians, is some what correct but Riyaz's 3 years 4 month 6 days is very difficult to fulfil.

Mention may be made to his coin Type B5 (Cat.no.190), which bears on the reverse *khullida khilafatuhu* in some coins. *Khullida khilafatuhu* portion of the legend is very significant as it claims the status of Khilafat for the Sultanat and good wishes for it "may his Khilafat be perpetuated". It is to be noted here that all the Sultans except Ilyas Shah of the previous dynasty claimed themselves as 'al Imam'; a term equivalent to Khalifa, inscribed this 'dua' in their coins, just succeeding the existed Khilafat Bayazid also inscribed in his coins the said formula as a routine activity.

Two of Bayazid's coins may be mentioned for their importance. One of dated 814AH in Suppl. IMC, II¹⁴², in the context of extension of Hamzah's rule upto 815AH. It simply creates a contention that both Hamzah and Bayazid were alive in 814AH. Another coin, having the date with the month 'Sha'ban' 817AH (Cat.no.186).

¹³⁹ SCA, pl. 47, coin no.790.

¹⁴⁰ Dusho Bachhar, p.94.

¹⁴¹ HMB.1A, pp.146-147.

¹⁴² Suppl. IMC, II, p.58, coin no.131.

If we rely on Shamsuddin Ahmed's reading of the coin dated 814AH of IMC which indicates that while Bayazid ascended the throne in Firuzabad, Hamzah was not only alive but issued coin from Muazzamabad in 815, then the view of that Bayazid ascended the throne by killing Hamzah must be abandoned. There is no possibility of posthumous coins of Hamzah because after the killing of Hamzah who would strike coins in Hamzah's name. The fact demands careful judgment of the situation. Quoting Al-Sakhawi's *al-Daw al-Lami'* Mohar Ali on the subject informs us that 'Raja Ganesh succeeded by killing or removing Hamzah Shah. But Shihabuddin, a mamluk (slave) of Hamzah Shah led a revolt against Kans and for a time succeeded in confining him.... Shihab then assumed the title of Sultan and issued coins in his name'¹⁴³. Karim and Mukhapadhyay took the struggle between Bayazid and Ganesh as to ward off the puppethood on the part of Bayazid as both the historians assumed, 'probably Bayazid was killed and Ganesh placed on the throne another puppet Bayazid's son, Firuz'¹⁴⁴. In presence of the coins of Bayazid, and Hamzah dated 814 and 815 respectively could it be possible that Hamzah was not killed but removed, or due to place intrigue took refuge in Sonargaon and from there he issued coins dated 815AH in his own name. By this time, if the contemporary Arab historians are to be relied upon, Bayazid succeeded in his struggle with Ganesh's machination and assumed power. The dates of Bayazid's coins from Muazzamabad mint are not readable¹⁴⁵. We have no informations for that how long in 815AH Hamzah survived in the eastern part of Bengal.

The use of the month 'Sha'ban' in the coin of Bayazid is very significant (Cat. no.186). But we have no idea what was the occasion to inscribe the month. If we assume and accept this 'Sha'ban' as the month of coronation of Bayazid which has been celebrated in 817AH then obviously it is evident that after Bayazid's assumption of power Hamzah was alive at least for 5 months (allowing one month of 815AH to strike coins in 815AH) The coronation of Bayazid in the month of Sha'ban corroborates with his three years 4 month's rule as reported by Salim¹⁴⁶. Because there is a coin of Firuz bin Bayzid mentioning the month Shawwal, if we take that also as the coronation month of Firuz then the total reign of Bayazid stands - 5 months of 814, and 815 and 816 full tow years and up to Shawwal 817 - 10 months (including Shawwal), then the total reign becomes 3 years 3 months, one month short of Riyaz's counting. Allowing for this one month's anomaly we may fix the accession of Bayazid in 'Sha'ban' 814AH and his reign's end in Shawwal, 817AH in which his son and successor Firuz succeeded him.

As denominational coins of Sultani Bengal are rare probably this was the only denominational coin of Bayazid ever published¹⁴⁷ and known.

¹⁴³ HMB, IA, p. 147. Ibn Hazar Al-Asqalani also told about the struggle between Ganesha and Shihabuddin, Ibid, FN. I.

¹⁴⁴ Dusho Bachhar, p.95.

¹⁴⁵ Corpus gave two coins of Muazzamabad and one coin also in SCA, p.51 coin no.788 but none of the dates legible.

¹⁴⁶ Riyaz, p. 112.

¹⁴⁷ SCA, Pl. 4 no. 750.

2. 'Alauddin Firuz bin Bayazid Shah 817/1414

After the death of Bayazid Shah his son Firuz ascended the throne of Lakhnauti in 817AH. No history books or chronicles ever mentioned his name. He became known for the first time in 1922 when five of his coins were discovered in the Rughanj hoard. The credit of this discovery of a new king in Sultani history goes to Dr. Nailni Kanta Bhattasali¹⁴⁸.

Firuz struck silver coins following his father Bayazid Shah, all of tola weight standard. No other metal or denomination than one tanka has been discovered. He ruled for a very short period, therefore, his coins are limited and rare. Only about a dozen of his coins have been published so far. May be a dozen of his coins are preserved in various private collections.

According to the legend 'Alauddin Firuz's coins are of a single type only. But according to the design there will be four types at least.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

All the coins bear on the obverse the name of the Sultan simply with the regnal title '*Alāu'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Firūz Shāh bin Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān*'. His regnal title, 'Ala-ud-din and *Kunyah* Abul Muzaffar. No added title at the beginning like as Sultan al A'zam etc. has been used. The full legend goes like 'Ala-ud-dunya wa'd din Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shah bin Bayazid Shah as Sultan.' The reverse of all the coin's bear *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn, ghāus u'l-Islām wa'l Muslimīn*', and in the margin the name of the mint and date.

According to the design 'Alauddin Firuz's coins may be classified into four varieties.

Vr. 1: The obverse legend in a circle and reverse in a square within a circle¹⁴⁹.

Vr. 2: The obverse legend in a rayed circle and reverse within a multifoil of twelve concave foils¹⁵⁰.

Type 3: Obverse in a plain area or in a circle, reverse also in a circle¹⁵¹.

Vr. 4: Obverse legend in a circle and reverse in a twelve concave foils¹⁵².

¹⁴⁸ Coins and Chronology, pp. 107-108.

¹⁴⁹ Type 'A', Corpus, p. 74.

¹⁵⁰ Type 'B', Corpus, p. 74.

¹⁵¹ Type 'C', Corpus p. 74; Suppl. IMC, II, p. 58, coin no. 133, Pl. III.

¹⁵² SCA, plate no. 47, coin no. 192, new type.

Variety 1 struck at Satgaon, Variety 2 and 4 in Firuzabad, and Variety 3 from Muzzamabad. This identification of varieties with mints are not conclusive. There are some coins where the mint has not been deciphered due to illegibility and shroff marks.

Bayzid Shah's last dated coin is of 817AH as is Firuz's. Therefore, Firuz must have ruled during 817AH, although we do not have any information about the length of his rule. There is a coin of Type B1 in the collection of BNM, which bears on the top segment of the reverse a clear word *Shawwal*, which is the name of a month instead of mint name. If we accept this reading as correct and consider it as his coronation month then there were only two months left to complete the year 817AH. In 818AH the reign of Jalalud-din Muhammad Shah began and no coin of Firuz beyond 817AH has been discovered. Therefore, Firuz may have reigned hardly for two months. Because between Firuz and Jalaluddin there was also Ganesh, father of Jalaluddin.

In the recent past Firuz's coins from Firuzabad mint have been discovered. Based on his early mints Satgaon and Mu'azzamabad, Bhattasali and Abdul Karim held that after the death of Bayazid Shah Muslims under the leadership of Firuz tried to make a stand in south and East Bengal¹⁵³. But the discovery of Firuzabad coins belies that proposition and supports the assumption of Mukhapadhyay¹⁵⁴. He (Mukhapadhyay) holds that Firuz was a puppet Sultan in the hands of Raja Ganesha. So long as the latter felt the necessity of keeping Firuz on the throne, Firuz continued as Sultan and probably by killing Firuz Ganesh ascended the throne¹⁵⁵. Thus with the end of 'Alauddin Firuz the rule of Bayazid's family ended. Both father and son were probably puppets in the hands of Raja Ganesha and their reign lasted for three years only, from the end of the year 814AH to 817AH.

¹⁵³ Coins and Chronology, p. 109; Sultani Amol, p. 212.

¹⁵⁴ Dusho Bachhar, pp. 95--96.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 95.

House of Raja Ganesh 818 - 837/1415 - 1433

The end of the first Ilyes Shahi rule was not a happy event. The last Sultan Hamzah Shah was killed by his slave Shihabuddin and the latter was succeeded by his son Firuz. Bayazid and Firuz were puppets in the hands of an influential amir, Ganesh as has been reported in history¹. The Riyaz depicted him as very powerful noble and 'by the strategem of Raja Kans', the Riyaz continues, 'he (Shihabuddin) died. The true account is, the Rajah Kans who was zamindar of Bhaturia attacking him (Shihabuddin), slew him, and usurped the throne². Raja Ganesh (Kans of the Muslim historians) became successful in establishing his own rule in Bengal, most remarkable event in the history of 'Sultani Bengal'. During the rule of the Muslim Sultans being a Hindu Zamindar how he became Rajah is very interesting. No contemporary history is available bearing the name of Ganesh. Some sources like Ain-i-Akbari, Tabqat-i-Akbari, Masir-i-Rahimi, Tarik-i-Firishta, Riyaz us Saltain and accouts of Buchanan mention the history of Ganesh and his family³. He is credited not only for establishing his own rule but his successors, in all four rulers ruled Bengal for nearly two decades, though last two rulers of the family, Ganesh's son and grand son were Muslims. His son Jadu became Muslim by conversion and was loyal to Islam till his death.

Four rulers of the family of Ganesh were 1) Ganesh; alias Danujmardana Dev, 2) Mahendra Dev, 3) Jadu alias Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah and 4) Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah. As an influential noble Genesh's influence can be traced from Ghiyasuddin Azam's time but in practice he exercised power from the reign of Bayazid Shah. Ganesh assumed the throne at the end of 817/1415 and the rule of his family continued till 837/1433-34. All four rulers of the family are known through their coins. Ganesh and his sucesor Mahendra issued only silver coins and the other two Sultans both struck gold and silver coins in their own names.

1. Raja Ganesh alias Danujmardan Dev 819 - 820/1416 - 1417 (1339 - 40 Saka)

There is doubt that the name of the Raja is Ganesh. Muslim historians call him 'Kanis', 'Kans' Kansi and 'Kans Rai'. Only in a report Buchanan mentioned him, on the basis of an Old Persian manuscript, as 'Ganesh'⁴. However, the Riyaz mentioned him as a zamindar of Bhaturia⁵, comprising the present district of Rajshahi. According to Buchanan, "Ganes, a Hindu, and Hakim of Dynwaj (perhaps a petty Hindu chief of Dinajpur), seized the government". But Buchanan himself was in doubt about the explanation of Dinwaj⁶. However, after removing Alauddin Firuz, the son and successor of Bayazid, Ganesh ascended

¹ Sultani Amol, p. 210-211; Dusho Bachhar, pp. 93-95.

² Riyaz, p. 112.

³ Dusho Bachhar, pp. 101-104.

⁴ Dusho Bachhar, p. 99; Sultani Amol, pp. 222 - 223.

⁵ Riyaz, p. 112.

⁶ M. Martin, Eastern India, vol. II, p. 624; Dusho Bachhor, p. 103. Mukhapadhyay elaborately discussed the matter.

the throne in 817/1414, for the first time for a short period. But due to the opposition of the saints (darvishes) like Nur Qutbul Alam he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Jitmal alias Jadu, who was converted to Islam and proclaimed the Muslim name Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah⁷. The latter issued coins in 818AH. But no coins of Ganesh have been found prior to that date. It may be assumed that Ganesh did not issue coins during his first assumption of power. Some silver coins bearing the name of Danujmardan Dev have been found dated 1339 Saka corresponding to 819AH/1417CE. This Danujmardan Dev has been identified with Rajah Ganesh. The coins are of one tanka denomination following the tola-weight standard having the legend in proto Bangla script.

Silver Tanka

All the coins of Danujamardan Dev are of single type according to their legends. Karim listed about twenty-three coins of Danujamardan Dev. These coin's designs are varied and on this basis Karim divided them into six types in the Corpus⁸. Ketun (Rupganj) hoard contains only three of his coins. Besides describing those three Bhattasali enumerated seven more coins of Danujamardan Dev⁹. He also informed that Stapleton possessed about 15 coins of Danujamardan and Mahendra¹⁰. But in Numismatic Supplement (1930) vol. XLIII Stapleton only published five coins of Danujamardan and four coins of Mahendra¹¹.

A hoard of coins, about four hundred, containing the coins of early Ilyas Shahi Sultans and the family of Raja Ganesh was discovered from Tangail district in 1990. In this hoard maximum coins were of Jalaluddin. There only seven coins of Danujamardan but most of their dates and mint names are illegible, and none of them show any new type or design. In another hoard in Bargerhat about 360 Sultani coins were found. Only two coins were of Dnujamardan. Besides these nine coins a few others are also known but their find place is not recorded. The Chittagong University museum cabinet possesses one coin of Dnujamardan dated 1339 Saka struck from Chatigram nagarat¹².

Type B1. Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the king in proto Bangla script in three lines (Sri Sri Da/ nūja mardda/na De va) 'Sri Sri Danujamardan Dev'. The reverse bears the legend in proto Bangla in three lines (Sri Chandi/ Charana Pa/rāyana) 'on the feet of the goddess Chandi'. A few coins have on their obverse 'Devasya' in place of Deva in the third line.

⁷ Riyaz, pp. 113 - 116.

⁸ Corpus, p. 191.

⁹ Coins and Chronology, pp. 118 - 121.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 121, Fn.

¹¹ NS, XLIII, (J.P.A.S.B., XXIV, 1930), Pl. 1, 2.

¹² CUMC, p. 50, coin no. 108; It may be noted that in the Corpus no new coin of Danuzmardan and Mahendra after 1930's five coins of Stapleton in NS XLIII has been included.

Three mints viz 'Pāndū Nagara', 'Suvarna grām' and 'Chatigrām' have been identified from the available coins of Danujamardan and two dates 1339 and 1340 Saka Era have been ascertained from his coins corresponding to 819 and 820 AH/1416-17 and 1417 –18CE. The weight of the coins varied between 10.30 to 10.70 grams. It has already been mentioned earlier that no coin was issued during Ganesh's first assumption of power, at the end of the year 817/1415. But we have the earliest coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad dated 818/1416. As there is no coin of Ganesh prior to 818AH and the coins of Bayazid and Firuz are dated 817AH some scholars question whether Ganesh ascended the throne or only assumed power before 818AH¹³. But both Abdul Karim and Mukhapadhaya discussed the matter very clearly in their books.

If Raja Ganesh was ruling in the name of Firuz, then there would not have been any necessity to replace the latter by Jadu. Conversion of Jadu and his assumption of power by striking coins in the year 818 indicates that Ganesh ascended the throne for some time in between Firuz and Jadu – Jalaluddin¹⁴.

However, Jalaluddin's coins of 818 are found in abundance but his coins dated 819 are very limited and there is no Muslim coin of 820AH. On the other hand coins of Danujamardan Dev dated 1339 and 1340 from Pandua to Chittagong are found. These two Saka dates correspond to the year 819 and 820AH. They were struck from Pandunagara to Chatigram, from so vast a land Bhattasali who first concluded that Danujamardan was identical with Raja Ganesh argued that a historically unknown person or regional petty king could not suddenly strike coins concurrently from such a vast area from Pandua to Chittagong¹⁵. This is the accepted view of the scholars till today. Dani tried to establish that Chandradivpa's Danuj was identical with Danujamardan of the coin¹⁶. But Danujamardan king of Chandradivpa was only the king of that area and there is no testimony of his influence in the whole of Bengal¹⁷. Therefore, the coins bearing the name of Danujamardan are of Ganesh and they were struck during the time of his second ascension to the throne by removing his converted son Jalaluddin. During this time the former tried to reconvert the latter (son) to Hinduism, and arranged the *shuddhi* but that had no effect on Jalaluddin, so, he was imprisoned by his father. Danujamardan is the regnal title of Ganesh the father of Jadu.

Danujmardana meaning subduer of Danujas, refers to a geographical area "conqueror of Danuja area", as has been revealed from the report of Buchanan- "Gones, a-Hindu, and Hakim of Dynwaj"¹⁸ i.e. Hakim of Danuj, is a place as conceived by Buchanan. But Bhattasali has taken 'Danujmardan' meaning "subduer of

¹³ JASP, Vol. XVIII, 1952, p. 149.

¹⁴ Sultani Amol, pp. 228 - 229; Dusho Bachhor, pp. 107 - 108.

¹⁵ Coins and Chronology, p. 114.

¹⁶ JASP, Vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 149 - 158.

¹⁷ Though Dani tried to identify Danujmardan with Danuja of Chandradivpa but the argument of Dani was not convincing very correctly shown by Karim and Mukhapadhaya indeetail in their books, Sultani Amol, pp. 233 - 236 & Dusho Bachhor, pp. 129 - 134.

¹⁸ M. Martin, Eastern India, vol. II, p. 624.

Muslims", as he explains, "as he (Ganesh) rose to the throne after overpowering the Danujas a designation which might have been very meaningfully applied by the then Hindus to their Muhammadan aggressors"¹⁹. Bhattasali's explanation of 'Danuj' meaning 'Muslims' should be reexamined in the context of the contemporary political conditions. Raja Ganesh was a shrewd politician no doubt and his assumption of power was not out of a mere conflict of Hindus and Muslims.

Bhattasali admits that there were Muslims on the side of Ganesh too. Firishta reports that after the death of Ganesh some Muslims were for burying the Raja according to Muslim custom²⁰. He was compelled to convert his own son to Islam and by doing so he averted the battle with Ibrahim Sharqi and was obliged to surrender to Noor Qutb ul Alam. Therefore, a politician of his stature could not assume the regal title of 'Danujmardan' meaning subduer of the Muslims as Bhattasali proposes. It is also impossible to believe that he had used the title in his coins at a time when there were many Muslim nobles with him. Otherwise how was it possible for him to strike coins from Suvarnagrama and Chatigrama within the very year he occupied the throne at Gauda. There are examples of using 'mardana' with place names in Sultani coins like 'Kamta Mardana' in the coins of Muzaffar shah, 'Tirhut Mardana' in the coins of Nusrat, Firuz and Mahmud of the Husaini family. So, 'Danuj' may safely be taken as a place name, and the meaning of Danujmardan as "conqueror of Danuj area". It may also be inferred that Raja Ganesh was popular prior to his ascension as conqueror of Danuj area or subduer of Danujas, a tribe, or race like the Koch, Meeh etc. and thus earned the title of Danujmardan, which he used in his coins as a regal title.

The reverse legend shows that the issuer of the coin Ganesh or Danujmardan was a devotee of Chandi. It also probably reveals that the elite society of the Hindu community of Bengal were followers of Vaishnavism and it can be assumed that's why he used such formula (Chandi charan...) to earn their support. Just coming for a short period he had changed the coin legend in Bangla instead of Arabic. This coin bears specimen of early fifteenth century Bangla script.

Danujmardan alias Ganesh ruled for two years and died in the year 820AH/1418CE (1340 Sak). He was such a powerful noble that he not only played the role of kingmaker for about seven years according to the Riyaz²¹, but also established himself on the throne and ruled for two years. As a powerful ruler he changed the Arabic script of previous times for his coin legend, and expressed his own religious belief through the coins. This indirectly supports the general view expressed in the report of Firishta in the context of Jalaluddin's address to the nobles that 'we follow the king in worldly affairs and have nothing to do with religion'.

¹⁹ Coins and Chronology, p. 114.

²⁰ Tarikh i Firishta, vol. II, p. 297.

²¹ Riyaz, p. 117.

2. Mahendra Dev 820/1418 (1340 Saka)

After the death of Danujmardan Deva his son and successor Mahendra Deva ascended the throne in 821AH/1419CE (1340 Saka). No details are available in history and chronicles about Mahendra. Coins are found bearing the name of Mahendra Deva following the coin style of his father, Ganesha or Danujmardna Deva dated 1340 Saka (1419CE) corresponding to 821AH. These coins of Mahendra are also in Bangla script struck from Pandua and Chatigrama.

All his coins are of silver and are of one tanka denomination. Coins of Mahendra are very limited. He ruled in 821AH/1419CE (1340 Saka), in the same year that Jalaluddin's coins are also found. Therefore, three rulers ruled between April 1418 to January 1419, a period of nine months. After Bhattasali²², Stapleton²³ and Karim²⁴ no one else discussed the coins of Danujmardan Deva or Mahendra Deva. Bhattasali mentioned, in his book *Coins and Chronology*, only two coin of Mahendra and published one; Stapleton published four coins in Num. Suppl. 1930 (JPASB XXVI). The obverse bears the name of the king in Bangla script and the reverse contains *Srī Chāndī Charana Parāyana*, in a square or double square. The margin bears *Pandu nagarat Shakabda 1340*, 'struck at Pandu nagara in 1340 Saka.

Stapleton published four photographs of the coin of Mahendra in Num. Suppl. 1930, and Bhattasali earlier published one coin of the Raypura hoard in his *Coins and Chronology*. All but one of the published coin are multifoil in a circle and the rest in a square within a circle, double half circle design in four segments. The reverse design of the last one is in double square within circle, others having single square in a circle. All the coins struck from Pandu Nagara except one which is of Chatigrama, the dates are same i.e. 1340 Saka corresponding to 821AH and 1418CE.

Except these coins there is nothing else which may help to identify Mahendra. No indication of his identity or his father's name is mentioned on his coins. It follows the coin type of Danujmardana with the same coin legend on the reverse 'Sri Chandi Charana Parayanasya', the Bangla script and the date of 1340 Saka of the Chatgaon mint in the collection of Stapleton may provide some clue that he was the successor of Danujmardan Dev. Bhattasali commented on the reference of a coin of Mahendra dated 1340 Saka. "This coin settles the identity of Mahendra, for only undisputed successor of Raja Ganesh could have minted coins in 1340s - 821H simultaneously from the mints of Chatgaon and Pandunagara, his last comment is "Mahendra, therefore, can hardly be any body else than Jadu"²⁵.

²² *Coins and Chronology*, pp. 117 - 123.

²³ "Coins of Danujmardana Deva and Mahendra Deva, Two Hindu Kings of Bengal", in *Numismatic Suppl.*, no. XLIII, pp. N5 - N13.

²⁴ *Corpus*, pp. 191 - 197.

²⁵ *Coins and Chronology*, p. 123.

On the other hand Stapleton quoting Firishta's report of Jalaluddin's second accession-sermon that "...otherwise let my younger brother be king and excuse me" infers that the younger brother of Jadu was Mahendra who 'had probably been placed on the throne in succession to Raja Ganesa'. We may quote directly from Stapleton that 'failing any definite proof of the identity of Mahendra it seems reasonable to read between the lines of Ferishta's account and identify Mahendra with the younger brother of Jadu, Jalaluddin²⁶'. Most modern historians accept Stapleton's view, but Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar is inclined towards the view of Bhattasali and commented in a recent deliberation that Stapleton tried to correct the Danujmardana and Mahendra episode partially. But Stapleton's proposal should not be taken as conclusive rather it is reasonable to consider it as a matter of debate or alternate hypothesis²⁷. Our own view is that Mahendra was the younger son of Ganesh.

As Jalaluddin again struck coins in his own name from 821AH and his father Ganesh's coins are also found bearing the date 1340 Saka i.e.821AH therefore, Mahendra ruled for a very short period in between, about two to three months at best.

²⁶ NS, XLIII, 1930, p. N13.

²⁷ Preface to Bangla translation of the Coins and Chronology: *Banglar Prathomic Yuger Swadhin Sultander Mudra O Kalokrom*, by Mohd. Rezaul Karim, Dhaka: ICBS, 1997, p. 8.

3. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah 818-819/1416-1417 & 821-836/1418-1433

At the advent of Ibrahim Sharqi into Bengal at the invitation of Shaikh Nur Qutbul Alam, Raja Ganesh made a peace deal with the saint. The latter converted his son Jadu to Islam and abdicated the throne in his favour. Jadu assuming the name of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah ascended the throne. Later, on the request of the saint Ibrahim Sharqi returned to his own kingdom²⁸. Jalaluddin issued coins dated 818/1415-16 and 819/1416-17, during his first term of rule. Some silver coins of Jalaluddin have been found bearing the name of the month Rabi ul Awwal, 818AH. His coins dated 818 have been found abundantly but the coins bearing the date 819AH are few. The reason is that after the death of the saint Nur Qutbul Alam in 818 Raja Ganesh ejected his son from the throne early in 819AH (perhaps the summer of 1416CE) seized the kingdom of Bengal²⁹, and struck coins in his own name, Danujamardana Deva. During this time the Raja tried to reconvert his son to Hinduism and arranged his 'shuddhi'³⁰. This had no effect on the son who showed his devotion towards Islam³¹. Jalaluddin was imprisoned and Raja Ganesh ruled this time for about two years for a second term³². After the death of the Raja in 1340 Saka/1417-18CE his younger son Mahendra assumed the throne in the same year. But very soon by removing Mahendra Jalaluddin resumed the throne again for the second term in 821/1418 and ruled upto 836/1433.

Jalaluddin struck both gold and silver coins. His silver coins have been found dated 818 and 819AH and from 821 to 836AH there is no gold from the first term of his rule. A few gold coins found are from his second term of rule.

All his coins are of tola weight standard, gold coins are of one tola weight and no denominational coins are found. His fractional coins are found only in silver in two denominations, half and one eighth tankas. As usual for Bengal Sultani coins gold as well as fractional coins are in general very rare.

Gold coins

Seven gold coins of the Sultan are known all of one tanka gold. One is published in the British Museum Catalogue by Lane Poole³³, another by R. Burn in JASB 1897. Both of these dealt with by Tarafdar in an article on "The gold coinage and the Currency System in Pre-Mughal Bengal"³⁴. Again there are three

²⁸ Riyaz, pp. 115 - 116.

²⁹ JASB, (NS, XXVI), 1980, p. N 10

³⁰ HB, II, p. 124.

³¹ Riyaz, pp. 116 - 117.

³² Sultani Amol, p. 231.

³³ BMC, p. 34, coin no. 81.

³⁴ M. R. Tarafdar, in cultural perspective in South Asia (ed.) SIA Tirmizi, New Delhi, 1993, table I, p. 166, nos. 16 - 17.

more gold coins in the Kawale collection in India and Published by Stan Goron in ONS³⁵, he also enumerated the other two mentioned above, including another one mentioned in the Skanda auction as lot 302³⁶, but having no description of the last three coins. There is another gold coin of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah in a Private collection in India, which is unpublished, and most probably the only coin with a clear date.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in Arabic in a multifoil in five lines *Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn / abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān*. The reverse legend is in a square within a circle, also in Arabic. The marginal legend in segments bears the mint name and date. The central legend is in three lines *nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l Muslimīn / khullida mulkuhu*, 'Helper of the religion (Islam) and the believers (Muslims) may his kingdom be perpetuated'. The marginal legend is on the top segment *ḍuriḥa (haḡ iḥi)*. The left segment is illegible, the bottom segment 'Firūzābād' and the right segment bears the date (821) in number i.e. 821AH. The diameter is 24 mm and the weight is not available. At present it is in a private collection in India³⁷.

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in Tughra characters *Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān*, 'Glory of the world and the religion father of victory Muhammad Shah the Sultan'. The reverse, also in Tughra, bears according to the reading of Lane Poole with a question mark in BMC coin no 81 (as Sultanul 'Azam), 'the great Sultan or Sovereign'.

But the reverse legend of the coin is *Khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l Mus (limīn)*, 'Khalifa of Allah helper of Islam and, Muslims'. Lane Poole has misread the legend in BMC and put the question mark, as he was aware that the reading is not correct. Due to partial absence of the legend it could not be deciphered properly. But comparing the legend to the silver Tughra coin of similar type and style we may now confirm the BMC gold's reading.

Type A3: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in Arabic in a circle *as Sultān u'l, 'ādil/Jalālu'd dunyā/wa'd dīn abū'l mujaḥhid Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān*. 'The just Sultan glory of the world and religion, father of the warrior Muhammad Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse bears the legend in Arabic in a quarterfoil *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l Muslimīn*, 'Helper of Amirul Muminin Succour of Islam and Muslims. The Margin is illegible so the mint

³⁵ No. 147, winter 1996, p. 13.

³⁶ Ibid. Fn. no. 10.

and date are not decipherable. The weight of this coin is 160 grains and the diameter is '95" inches and the coin is smaller in size than the silver ones.

Stan Goron has given the description of three gold coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah of the Kawale collection in India³⁸. All the three coins are of Tughra character but have three different legends.

Type A4: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the lgerd in Arabic in a circle in Tughra characters *Jalalu'd dunyā wa'd dīn*, 'Glory of the world and religion'. The margin outside the circle is mostly cut off from the flan. Only *durba haḡhis sikkatu*, 'This coin was struck' is readable³⁹. The reverse bears the legend also in Tughra characters in Arabic *abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sulṭān khallad Allāhu mulkahu*, 'Father of victory Muhammad Shah the Sultan, may Allah perpetuated his kingdom'. This reading of Goron is doubtful. There is no coin of Jalaluddin with his name divided in to two parts on two sides of the same coin. The weight of the coin is 10.9 grams, and the diameter is 23mm.

Type A5: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in Tughra characters in a circle. The script is in Arabic, *Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sulṭān*, 'Glory of the world and the religion father of the victory Muhammad Shah the Sultan.

The reverse bears the legend in Arabic also in Tughra characters in a circle, *nāṣirul Islām wa'l Muslimīn khullida mulkahu*, 'Helper of Islam (religion) and the muslims (believers), may his kingdom be perpetuated'. Margin gone. Weight 11.1 grams and diameter 24mm.

Type A6: Gold Tanka

The obverse of this type is the same as the obverse legend of Type A5. Goron gave a probable reading of both sides *khaliḡat Allāh nāṣir* seems to be a correct reading of the reverse. The weight is 11 grams and the diameter is 29mm⁴⁰.

The Skanda auction coin has not been described or illustrated by Goron. It is only mentioned in the footnote. But Rajgor illustrated it (Cat. no.207)⁴¹. there is no date or mint on the coin and the letterings are of crude form corresponding the silver coin Type B3.

³⁷ J. P. Goenka Collection, Calcutta.

³⁸ ONS, no. 147, winter 1996, p. 13.

³⁹ ONS, no. 147, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Ibid

Silver coins of Jalaluddin are found in abundance and are dated 818-819 and 821-836AH following the tola weight standard. They are as follows:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in Arabic in a multifoil and in five lines as *Sultān al-'ādil Jalāl u'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh*, 'The just Sultan glory of the world and the religion father of victory Muhammad Shah'.

The reverse bears the legend in a reverted multifoil in a circle *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn, ghāṣu'l Islām wa'l Muslimīn*, the eight segment of the margin bear the names of the four Khalifas with epithet, starts from 1 o'clock anti clock wise, segment (1) *Abū Bakr*, (2) *Siddīq*, (3) *'Omar*, (4) *Khattāb*, (5) *'Uṣmān*, (6) *Affān*, (7) *'Alī*, (8) *Murtada*, there is no date or mint name on the coin (Cat.no.208).

Type B1 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse legend and design are the same as Type B1. The reverse legend and design are also the same as above but the segmental legends are a bit different. The names of the four Khalifas are without epithet and alternately placed with date. The first segment starts from 10 o'clock anti clock wise with (1) *Abū Bakr*, (2) *sanah*, (3) *'Omar*, (4) *ṣamān*, (5) *'Uṣman*, (6) *'ashara*, (7) *'Alī*, (8) *ṣamānu miyah* (Cat.no.209).

Type B1 (b): Silver Tanka

The obverse is the same as Type B1 but the legend is in four lines the word *Muḥammad* is in the beginning of line four. The reverse is the same as the reverse of Type B1 (a) but with slight difference in rendering the date. The marginal legend in segments starts from 10' O' clock with *'Rabī ul Awwal*, then in segment 2 *'Omar*, segment 3 *'sanah ṣamān*, segment 4 *'Uṣman*, segment 5 *'ashara*, segment 6 *'Alī*, segment 7 *ṣamānu miyah*, segment 8 *'Abū Bakr* (Cat. no.210).

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in a circle with the title as *Sultan al 'Ādil* same as the type B1, in five lines but at the beginning of the line four there is *al mujāhid* instead of *al muẓaffar* of the Type B1.

The reverse bears the legend in a square within another square; the legend is the same as the reverse of legend of Type B1. But the marginal legend in the corner triangular segments though not very clear, seemed to be *Firūzābād* on the top left segment. The lower left is illegible, the lower right segment *'ashara* and the top right *ṣamānu miyah*. The unit number is illegible, the margin stands for *'Firuzabad*, (i.e. struck at Firuzabad in 812AH (Cat.no.211).

¹¹ Dilip Rajgor, Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India. Bombay: Amrapali Publications, (henceforth Rajgor), 1991, p. 26, type 301.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in a multifoil Scalloped circle made out of sixteen arcs, the legend is in five lines *Jalāl ud dunyā wa'd dīn/Abūl Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sulṭān*.

The reverse legend is in a quarterfoil. The segments contain the date and mint name. In the quarterfoil *nāyirul Islām wa'l muslimīn khullida mulkuḥu*, 'Helper of Islam and Muslims may his kingdom be perpetuated'. The marginal legend from the top right anti clockwise *ḍariba ḥaḍḥis sikkatu fī al-Firūzābād sanah 818*, 'this coin was struck in al-Firuzabad in the year 818AH. This type is also found dated 819 from the same mint and from Jannatabad. There are four variations in this type.

Type B3 (a): Silver Tanka

Another variety is found dated 819, mint name illegible with a different design. The legends of both the obverse and reverse are same as Type B3 but both are in a circle.

Type B3 (b): Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in an eight foiled circle in five lines, same as the obverse legend of Type B3. The reverse bears the same legend as Type B3 in a circle but the arrangements are different. In the margins the circular legend is *ḍariba ḥaḍḥis sikkatu fī Ḥaḍrat Firūzābād sanah 821*, 'This coin was struck in Hadrat Firuzabad in the year 821AH' (Cat. no. 217). This variety is also issued from the mint Iqlim Mu'azzamabad but date's unit digit is illegible (Cat. no. 216).

Type B3 (c): Silver Tanka

The legends are same as Type B3 but the obverse is in Tughra character and the reverse design a circle. The mint is Dakhil Banjaliyah dated 831 (Cat. no. 218).

Type B3 (d): Silver Tanka

The legends are same as Type B3 but both the obverse and reverse are also found with some variations in design. The lettering is crude. The obverse legend is either in a lettered surface or in a circle and the reverse is in a square within a circle like the reverse design of the gold Type A1 but without the date and mint (Cat. no. 219).

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend, the name of the Sultan, the same as Type B3, in a circle. The reverse bears the legend in a square within a circle and the legend is the same as the reverse legend of Type B1 but with an addition of *khullida mulkuḥu* at the end. No mint name is on the coin and the unit digit has disappeared. But the second digit, the tenth, is 'ashara i.e. ten and eight hundred (i.e.) 81?, so there is no doubt that the date is either 818 or 819. Thus, this type was issued during Jalaluddin's first term of rule (Cat. no. 220).

There are some varieties available with the same legend but designs are different. The obverse is a thirteen arced, multifoil. Some have a scallop of ten arcs with different dates and mints, one coin bear a clear mint name which is difficult to ascertain but seems to be *ḍuriḥa ḥaḍḥis sikkatu fī Dākhil Banjaliyah 832AH*. 'This coin was struck in Dakhil Banjaliyah in 832AH'. The prefix 'Dakhil' means entrance. The date is clear. Although the reading of Banjaliyah is doubtful, there is no alternative reading (Cat.no.221).

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in Arabic in a circle *al-mujāhid fī sabīlī'r Raḥmān/Jalālu'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh/as-Sultān*, 'The warrior in the path of the Merciful glory of the world and religion father of victory Muhammad Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse bears the same legend as Type B1's reverse. It is also in a circle. In the margin *ḍuriḥa ḥaḍḥis sikkatu bi Mu'azzamābād*. 'This coin was struck at Mu'azzamabad'. The date is illegible. This Type B5 is a new type for Jalaluddin. It has not been mentioned in the *Corpus*. The obverse legend begins from line two where *al mujāhid fī* is inscribed and line one is a continuation of this i.e. *sabīlī'r Raḥmān*. The third line is in normal order (Cat.no. 222).

Type B6: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima inside a circle in three lines *Lā ilaha illa/Allāhu Muḥammadur/Rasūl Allāh*, "There is no God but Allah Muhammad is the Messengers of Allah", the margin outside the circle bears *ḍuriḥa ḥaḍḥis sikkatu fī Dākhil Banjaliyah sanah 821*, "This coin was struck in Dakhil Banjaliyah in the year 821". The reverse bears the name of the Sultan with his titles and Kunyah in Tughra (Cat no.223)

Type B7: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima same as coin Type B6, with the circular marginal legend containing the mint name and date. The reverse bears the name of the Sultan in Tughra with an addition of *al muwayyid ba tāyyī'd ar Raḥmān* before the name Jalaluddin. The full legend is *al-muwayyid ba tāyyī'd ar Raḥmān Jalālu'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān*, 'Strengthened by the support of the Merciful, Glory of the world and religion father of victory Muhammad Shah the Sultan' (Cat.no.224).

All the coins of Jalaluddin having the Kalima on one side (obv), the other side generally in Tughra has either his name only as the reverse of Type B6 or prefixed with *al muwayyid ba tāyyī'd ar Raḥmān* as the reverse of Type B7. These coins may be called the Kalima type with a single Tughra. Type B6 coins are found from al-Firuzabad mint dated 824 and 827 and 'Arsah Satgaon mint of uncertain date 8-7. Type B7 is found from al Firuzabad dated 824, 'Arsah (Jatgaon) Chatgaon dated 827 with some variations in designs and also in size i.e. with a bigger flan having the diameter 33 mm.

Type B8: Silver Tanka

This is another type of single Tughra coin. The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in Tughra as Type B6.

The reverse bears in the centre a small circle surrounded by a circle of arabesque, the central circle contains the legend in Arabic '*abdu'l Jabbar*, 'Slave of the All powerful' Al-Jabbar is one of the ninety-nine beatific names of Allah. Why Jalaluddin used this type of legend in his coins is not known. In the lower portion of the design the date 834 has been inscribed. No mint name is mentioned (Cat.no.225).

This type is not much known. IMC has illustrated one coin with the date part punched. Recently the date has been ascertained from the coins of Biyani Bazar hoard. There were several coins of this type in the hoard all with the date 834⁴².

Type B9: Silver Tanka

Another types of single Tughra bearing the same legend and arrangement on both sides like Type 8, but the shape is eight petalled. Only two of this unique type is known so far. One was published in Rajgor⁴³ another is in a private collection in Dhaka⁴⁴. Not a single coin of this shape is known among the Sultan or Mughal coins or among the coins of the Sultans of Delhi. Both the coins are dated 834 as the usual '*abdu'l Jabbar*' type's date. No mint name is recorded.

Type B10: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in a circle or in a lettered surface in Tughra character as in Type A2 (i.e. gold Type A2).

The reverse bears the legend in a plain area or in a lettered surface also in Tughra character *khalifat Allāh nāṣirul Islām wal Muslimīn*, 'vicegerent of Allah helper of Islam and Muslims'. It is a crude type and may be compared with the gold coin number 81 of BMC. In most of the coins the word 'Khalifatu' is either off the flan or partially visible. No mint, date, or margin on the coin. There exist some varieties in silver, which are similar to this type with the same legends on both sides but the execution is better and have the mint name and date in numerals in flanks of the reverse.

In these double Tughra coins the mints Chatgaon dated 831, Dakhil Banjalia dated 831 and 832 and Muazzamabad, date illegible have been identified (Cat. nos. 227, 228 & 229).

⁴² Private collection, Dhaka. Dr. Ishaq Imam.

⁴³ Rajgor, p. 25, type 286.

⁴⁴ Private collection, Mr. Iftekhar Alam.

Type B11: Silver Tanka

The obverse is the same as the above Type B10. The reverse legend also in Tughra in a circle but the legend is *khālifa Allāh fīl ardīn nāṣirul Islām wal Muslimīn*, 'vicegerent of Allah on the Earth helper of Islam and Muslims'. Marginal legend outside the circle encircled by another circle contains the mint and date *ḍuriḥa ḥazīḥis sikkatu fī 'Arsah Jatkānw (Chatgaon) sanah 836*. 'This coin was struck at 'Arsah Chatgaon in the year 836'. This type is only found with the mint name Chatgaon and with fine execution of the Tughra and having a bigger flan, the diameter is generally about 31 to 33 mm (Cat. no. 230).

Type B12: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in a circle of triangular rays with a dot in each triangle. The legend is *Jalāl ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sulṭān*. The reverse bears an image of a stylized lion facing either the right or left and a line of Arabic legend above the lion, which was read by Bhattashali as *bin Kans Shāh* son of Kans Shah. Later scholars all accepted Bhattashali's reading. This one line inscription on the reverse varies in different coins. No coin of this type bears any mint name or date (Cat. no. 231).

Type B12a: Silver Tanka

A rare variety of Type B12 the lion type in which the lion is on the left and bin Kans Shah has been written in two lines which clearly show that the last word is not 'Shah' but 'ابتر' may be read as 'abtar' below the lion between the four leg and hind legs some writings. It has been read as 8th Julus but the reading is not free from doubt (Cat. no. 232).

Type B13: Silver Tanka

Same as Type B12 but the shape of the coin is hexagonal; there is no mint name or date on the coin (Cat. no. 233).

Type B14: Silver Double Tanka

Same as Type B12 but the weight of the coin is a double tanka, 21.44gms.

Type B15: Silver Ten Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in Tughra in a square within a circle. The four segments contain *ḍuriḥa ḥazīḥil 'adlīyatī fī al Firūzābād sanah arba' 'ishrin wa ṣamānu miyah*, 'this coin was struck in Firuzabad in the year twenty four and eight hundred' i.e. 824AH.

The reverse is the same as the above coin Type B12 but the weight of the coin is 105gms and the diameter is 67mm, a gigantic coin (Cat. no. 235).

Denominational coins

Type B16: Half Tanka Silver

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in a decorative circle in four lines *Jalāl ud dunyā wad dīn abū'l muẓaffar*, 'glory of the world and religion father of victory.' The reverse bears the rest of the legend in three lines also in a decorative circle *Muhammad Shāh as Sultān khullida mulkuhu*, 'Muhammad Shah the Sultan may his kingdom be perpetuated. No date or mint is inscribed on the coin. The weight is 5.41gm and 22mm in diameter (Cat. no. 236).

Type B17: One-eighth Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in plain area *abū'l muẓaffar Muhammad Shāh*, the regnal name Jalal is not visible on the coin. The reverse bears the legend on a plain area in two lines, *as Sultān mulkahu wa Sultānahu*. No margin, mint or date is recorded. The weight is 1.24gm and diameter is 12mm (Cat. no. 237). Only two fractional coins of the Sultan are known.

It is known that no contemporaray sources or reference, except a few private letters of saints like Nur Qutb ul 'Alam of Pandua and Ashraf Jahangir Simnani of Jaunpur have been discovered to judge the events of Raja Ganesh and his son Jadu. Their coins and inscriptions are the only contemporary sources of the period concerned.

As the only dated gold coins of Jalaluddin is of 821, Type A1 indicates the very beginning of his second term of rule. So, this may have been of his coronation coin of the second term. All his gold coins bear on the obverse the name of the Sultan with the regal title Jalaluddin and Kunyah either 'abu'l muẓaffar' (Type A1, A2, A5 and A6), or 'abu'l mujahid' (Type A3). Type A3 also bears in addition *as Sultānu'l 'ādil* and instead of abu'l muẓaffar, abu'l mujahid which indicates that these coins were similar to his initial coins in silver (i.e. 818-819 coins) both in the legend style and design. Due to the illegibility of the marginal legend of Type A3 the date and mint could not been deciphered. No dated silver coin of the second term show the title 'as Sultan'l 'ādil', therefore, the gold type A3's date may have been of the first term of his rule. In that case it may be assumed that Jalaluddin struck gold coins from very beginning of his rule and it may have been his coronation or commemoration coin.

As regards the obverse legend of Jalaluddin's silver coins of the first term (i.e. coins bearing the dates 818 and 819), all coins bear the name of the Sultan either with only the regnal title Jalaluddin or with the additional title of *as Sultānu'l 'Adil* 'the just Sultan' as in coin Types B1, B2 and B3. But among those in B1, and B3 the Kunyah is 'Abul Muẓaffar' and in B2 Kunyah is 'Abul Mujahid'.

Type B1 has three varieties according to the marginal legend otherwise all three coins are same. Variety B1 (a) has the four Khalifas names with their epithets written anti clockwise in eight segments, each Khalifas name followed by each epithet as Abu Bakr, Siddique, Umar, Khattab etc. No mint name or date has been mentioned.

Variety B1 (b) bears the four Khalifas names in four marginal segments alternately placed with the date but without the mint name, the date is 818AH. Type B1 (b) is most important due to presence of the month Rabiul Awwal in one of the segments of the reverse margin. All the three coins of Type B1 and Type B2 bear on the reverse *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghaṣṣul Islām wal Muslimīn* which means that the converted Jadu now Jalaluddin became the 'helper of the leader of the believers' and he is 'succour of Islam and Muslims'. Therefore, he will uphold the cause of Islam and Muslims. As if he is announcing that the Muslim community should not be worried. The harm was done by Ganesh to the Muslims Jalaluddin Muhammad will redeem that as a just Sultan. Type B1 coin's marginal legend is same as Type B1 (b), names of the four khalifas being placed alternately with the date in words. But instead of 'sanah' of the coin Type B1 (a), in Type B1 (b) the name of the month has been inscribed as Rabi I. This is the only known coin of Jalaluddin in which the name of the month has been included. Bhattashali misread this

ربیع الاول Rabiul Awwal as سنارگان⁴⁵ Sonargaon⁴⁶ and following him other scholars read it as Sonargaon⁴⁶. But Rabi I. is clear on the coin and in no way could it be read otherwise. Sonargaon as a mint was stopped during Sikandar Shah's rule and instead he introduced Mu'azzamabad as a mint in 760AH. The name Sonargaon as a mint was only revived by Danuj mardan Dev in 1339 Saka (820AH) as Suvarnagram and never reappeared in the Sultani coins of Bengal.

Now the question is why did Jalaluddin put the name of the month Rabi I in his coins of 818AH. There is no evidence to explain this. But as 818 is the date of his first ascension to the throne, so it can reasonably be conjectured as his coronation month and he may have been enthroned in May 1415CE or converted to Islam in Rabi I which has been commemorated on the coins. This is the only known coin bearing the month as already been mentioned earlier. Therefore, it must carry some special significance for the reign of Jalaluddin.

Type B1 (a) has no mint name and date but comparing with the other dated coins and also comparing with Type B2, it may be assumed that all these four coins bearing the title as Sultanul Adil have been struck from the same mint of Firuzabad and were issued during his first term. Likewise the gold coin Type A3.

⁴⁵ Coins and Chronology, p.127 (Type D. 2b).

⁴⁶ Corpus, p. 80 & 82, Type D.

Type B3 coins bears on the obverse the name of Jalaluddin and Kunyah 'abul Muzaffar' and the reverse bears the legend 'helper of Islam and Muslims'. In this type there are also some varieties, multifoil as obverse design and quadrifoil as reverse (Type B3 (a)) or both sides are within a circle.

The reverse of Type B3 bears the legend helper of Islam and the Muslims and a benediction, 'may his kingdom be perpetuated'. The marginal legend contains the mint and date. Type B3 coins bear in the margin the mint names Firuzabad, dated 818, 819 and Jannatabad dated 819. Type B3 (a) bears the date 819 but the mint name is illegible. Type B4 is also an early coin type of Jalaluddin dated either 818 or 819AH.

The coins dated 819AH of Jalaluddin are a few in number. Karim mentioned in the Corpus only two, one in BMC (coin no 72), the other in IMC (coin no 94). We have noticed only three more coins of 819 in the collection of BNM and two more in two private collections⁴⁷.

Therefore, it can be surmised that Jalaluddin ruled in 819 for a short time, say two or three months. 819AH start in 1st March 1416, so he may have reigned upto May- June 1416CE. There is no coin of Jalaluddin or any other Muslim dated 820 AH. But a coin bearing the name of Danujmardana Dev has been found dated 1339 Saka, which corresponds to 820AH.

From 821 AH Jalaluddin repeated the types of his earlier coins of 818 and 819 but with variant designs e.g. Type B3 (b) dated 821 (Cat.no 217). Type B3 (c) dated 831 and B4 (a) dated 832 both struck from the mint 'Dakhil Banjaliyah', a new mint. He also struck new types in silver during his second term. Type B5 with the additional title of 'al Mujahid fi sabil ar Rahman' from Mu'azzamabad mint. Though the formula was not a new one and used earlier by Sikandar Shah. Jalaluddin also introduced some new types of legend, design and shape, having no affiliation to his family regarding the coin tradition. He reintroduced the Kalima after a long interval of about tow centuries and introduced Tughra characters for coin legends, single Tughra only on reverse as shown in Type B6 coins dated 821,836 from the mints of Dakhil Banjaliyah, Chatgaon, Satgaon, Firuzabad and double Tughra, Tughra on both sides of the coin as shown in Type B11 and B12, invariably claiming the title 'khalifat Allah' on the reverse. Type B3 (c) is the only coin bearing the name of the Sultan in Tughra among the single Tughra coins. This type B3 (c) may also be considered as a type of single Tughra coin (Cat.no 218). Jalaluddin also introduced several new shaped coins and of various weights. A new type of Jalaluddin is represented by Type B 8 (Cat. no.225), a new shape as shown in Type B9 (Cat.no. 226), both bear on reverse the legend 'Abdul Jabbar'.

⁴⁷ One coin with Ishaq Imam of Dhaka another with J.S. Deyell, Canada.

Only one coin of the Type B8 was published in IMC but there was no date or mint name on the coin⁴⁸. Recently more than four such coins were reported to be found in the Biyani bazar hoard the present writer has seen two dated coins of this hoard, of 834. There is no mint name.

Jalaluddin innovated a new shape with the same legend and arrangement as type B8 that's why it may be regarded as a variety of Type B8. But Type B9 bears an eight petalled shape on the edge, a design unique not only for Sultani coins of Bengal but for the entire sub continent.

So, it is treated as a separate type. Only two of these are known and preserved in private collections, one in India and published in Rajgor⁴⁹, the other in a private collection in Dhaka⁵⁰ which is unpublished.

Jalaluddin Muhammad introduced for the first time Tughra characters in Bengal numismatics. Many of his Tughra varieties have been discovered both in gold and silver and single (either obverse or reverse), or double (both sides). Jalaluddin introduced many new types of gold and silver coins. His double Tughra coins, of gold are classified as Types A2, A4, A5, A6, and silver ones as Types B10 and B11 these are popularly known as single Tughra, double Tughra' and 'Abdul Jabbar' coins to the Collectors and dealers.

Jalaluddin introduced very significant legend 'Khalifatullah' which has been revealed through his double Tughra coins. 'Khalifatullah' means vicegerent of Allah. Though this proclamation was not at all new as already we have seen in the coins of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty⁵¹, the direct claim of 'Khalifatullah' has not been seen before. Being a converted Muslim this was a very bold step on his part Ibn Hajar al'Asqalani (Inba'), al-Sakhavi⁵² (Al-Dawu'), Abdul Karim and Mohar Ali mentioned that after receiving Khalifa Barsbay's messengers from Egypt in 833AH, who came with a letter of nomination and a robe' Jalaluddin issued a new coin assuming the title 'Khalifatullah' for himself in 834/1431⁵³.

But the coins of 831 (coin no) and 832 (coin no) reveal that before receiving the formal letter of nomination and robe, Jalaluddin had started to strike coins with 'Khalifat Allah' title. Several types of such coins are minted from Firuzabad, Chatgaon, Dakhil Banjaliyah dates of 831, 832, and 834&836. Not only was he proclaimed 'Khalifat Allah fi'l ardin, nasiru'l Islam wal Muslimin i.e. 'Vicegerent of Allah on the Earth, Helper of Islam and muslims.' Even the theologians did not object to the proclamation of such high

⁴⁸ IMC, II, p. 164, coin no. 111.

⁴⁹ Rajgor, p. 25, coin Type 286.

⁵⁰ Mr. Iftexhar Alam, Dhaka.

⁵¹ Al Imam and al Khalifatul Mu'azzam in the coins of Sikandar and Khalifatu'l Mu'azzam in the coins of A'zam Shah have been used. IMC, II, p. 153-155, coin nos. 47, 52, 56 and p. 159, coin no. 85. For Hamzah Shah our Cat. no. 181.

⁵² Ibn Hajar al Asqalani, Inba' al Ghumar, II, p. 497; Al Sakhawi, Al Dawu' etc, VIII, p. 280, both the texts quoted in HMB, IA, p. 162. F. n. no. 2.

⁵³ Sultani Amol, pp. 243-244. HMB, IA, p. 162.

sounding titles by a converted Muslim. As a zealous convert Jalaluddin started from the very beginning to redeem the harm done by his father towards the muslim saints and community⁵⁴. He also took revenge on the Brahmins involved in his 'Shuddhi' ceremony⁵⁵. He established justice for all and by taking such measures achieved the confidence of the nobles as well as the community in general. His peaceful seventeen-year reign speaks of this. No doubt he was an able administrator and successful ruler. His foreign policy was also enviable. He not only exchanged emissaries with foreign countries like China and Persia but also established contacts with Makkah and Madina where he established madrasahs and made charitable deeds. By doing all these he earned prestige for Bengal and made it internationally known⁵⁷. All these played a vital role in the support of the theologians. Karim quoting Dr. Ghafur's deliberation on the subject has explained in detail the legal aspect of claiming 'Khalifat Allah'. After the fall of Baghdad, the leading jurists of the time admitted the changed position of the Khalifa to a figure head Ibn Khaldun's opinion is that there might be two Imams at the same time provided that they were not in the same country or in contiguous ones. Therefore, taking advantage of the jurist's view as well as the support of the ulema of Bengal Jalaluddin proclaimed himself as 'Khalifat Allah' in his coins after 830 A.H if not earlier. The investiture of Khalifa of Egypt was a secondary support. What led him to declare 'Khalifat Allah' is clear to understand as Dr. Ghafur has explained, "His rival the ruler of Jaunpur used to mint the name of the Abbasid Khalifa in Egypt. The Sultan of Bengal out-bid himself by this legal device... For this legal ingenuity the Ulema of Bengal were to be thanked. It was undoubtedly a constitutional issue. It could not be solved without the support of the 'Ulama of Bengal'⁵⁶. He also took measure to ward off the Jaunpur aggression by establishing diplomatic contact with China and Persia.

The most interesting coins of Jalaluddin are a series with valuations of one, two, and ten tanka, and one of a unique hexagonal shape of (one tanka) (Types B12, B13, B14, B15). All these coins bear on the obverse a grotesque lion with a line of Arabic legend above the lion as mentioned earlier. Bhattasali reads this Arabic line on the reverse as *bin Kans Shāh*⁵⁷. All these types from B12 to B15 bear the same legend and design except type B15, which was read by Farid as 'bin Kans Rao'. There are differences in the depiction of the lion. Type B13 is a hexagonal shaped coin of one tanka lion type. A considerable number of lion type one tanka coins of Jalaluddin have been found, but only one of hexagonal shape and published in Rajgor⁵⁸. His two tanka coins are also very rare and only five coins were found in Nawgaon district of Bangladesh in 1996. A total of five 2 tanka coins were found in a chance digging from the village Akhirpara, about 10 kilometer to the west of the Thana head quarter of the Mahadevpur Police Station in Nawgaon. All the two tanka coins of the lion type are of the same design and arrangement as the one tanka

⁵⁴ HMB, A1, p.161.

⁵⁵ HB, II, p125; Riyaz, p116.

⁵⁶ CUMC, pp.12-17.

⁵⁷ Coins and Chronology, p132.

⁵⁸ Rajgor, p.25, Type, 282

lion type, but are of double weight, 21.44 grams. Only one of these is known to be with a private collector in Dhaka⁵⁹.

The ten tanka coin has been noticed by G.S. Farid in JNSI⁶⁰. The one and two tanka coins are alike and bear no mint name and date, but there is a sharp difference in the depiction of the lion between the two. The 10 tanka lion has some affinity with a dragon, particularly the spike like hair, spear like mane, the foot which is like a claw rather than paw, and the neck and tongue. G. S. Farid opines that the lion on the ten tanka coin may be an imitation of a Chinese dragon and that was due to prevalent trade relation between China and Bengal, could it be the 'silver coins' which used to be presented to the soldires of the emissaries of China who visited the court of Jalaluddin, as reported in the Chinese sources⁶¹. But in one and two tanka coins the depiction of the lion's details, mentioned above, are more natural. The obverse legend in ten tanka has been placed in a square area within a circle in Tughra character and the four segments contain the date and mint but in one and two tanka's legend of obverse are in an ornamented circle and without Tughra. Moreover, the reverse legends of one and two tanka have been inscribed differently. We have no idea why Jalaluddin preferred this type for his varied denominations. The weight standard and shape of one and two tanka indicate that these were regular issues rather than medallion but no mint and date were inscribed on them.

Not a single coin of Jalaluddin bears the time honoured numismatic tradition of inscribing the parentage either by putting the name of his father or at least by using the formula 'as Sultan bin as Sultan', save the lion type coin according to Bhattasali. So, the legend inscribed above the lion should be reexamined which has been read as 'bin Kans Shah or Rao' that might not be so. Lion type coin of one tanka denomination bears this legend variously, in some coins the first word which has been read as *bin* looks clearly as *nar* with a dot and the last part is not Shah but looks like *avter* with a clear *ta* and *alif* and the middle portion *kaisar* could it be *nar kaisar* or *keshor* or *nar kisan avter*. It is to be remembered here that not a single instance is present of citing father's name by Jalaluddin on coins and inscriptions. So, why he will use his father's name in this single type of coin in 824? Could it be possible that as Jalaluddin proclaimed 'Khalifatullah' for his Muslim subjects like wise for his non-Muslim or Hindu subjects he proclaimed himself as incarnation of Krishna avater or nar kishor avater, incarnation of a powerful one?

⁵⁹ Dr. Ishaq Imam posses a coin of 2 tanka silver, all other four coins found their way in abroad probably.

⁶⁰ G.S. Farid, "A New and Unique Ten Tanka Commemorative Coin of Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah of Bengal (818-837)" JNSI, XXXVIII, 1976, 88-95.

⁶¹ Xi yang Chaogong Dianlu, text, p 91, quoted by Haraprasad Ray in *Trade and Diplomacy in India China Relations A Study of Bengal during the Fifteenth Century*, New Delhi: Radiant Publishers 1993 (henceforth Trade & Diplomacy). Table 2, Voyages, Sixth Voyage, p.40; Fei Hsing Ch's she'ng lan, in W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations," *T'oung Pao*, 16, pt. 2, sec. 4 (1915): 442. Quoted in Eaton's *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier 1204-1760*, 1st Indian Edition 1994, (Oxford India Paperback 1997) (henceforth The Rise of Islam) Delhi, p. 58, fn. 75.

It has been suggested that coins bearing no mint name, are the product of the mint of the capital. Therefore, these coins, as there is no mint name on them, might be the product of the mint of the capital Firuzabad. One of the lion type coin of Fath Shah bearing the mint name Mahmudabad that corroborates the above view. It indicates at least the minting place of those coins of lion type, of the northern region than eastern region of the country.

The ten tanka shows its commemorative nature no doubt. We know from the Chinese sources that under the leadership of Zheng We a group of voyagers came to Bengal in 1421-22CE. 1421CE is equivalent of 824AH. So, striking of ten tanka, depicted lion's simily with Chinese dragon (according to Farid) the date of coin could be explained tentatively by fixing this ten tanka silver as a present to the Chinese soldiers of the party⁶². According to Mukhapadhyay it was the commemoration for the victory of second invasion by Jaunpur ruler to Bengal in 823AH which was celebrated by striking coin in 824⁶³.

Some scholars opined that the use of lion as a coin motif is an assimilation of Hindu Culture⁶⁴, Chandi's vehicle is lion (Jalaluddin's father was a devotee of Chandi, (Chandi charan Parayana) is promoted by Jalaluddin. But it does not seem so. Danujmardana did not use the figure of a lion on his coins, and Chandi charan Parayana does not indicate lion. On the contrary lion is the universal symbol of power and vigour and not only Jalaluddin but also subsequent Muslim rulers like Nasiruddin Mahmud and Fath Shah also used such lion motif in their coins. Ghiyasuddin Azam's inscription of Gauhati also bears a lion motif⁶⁵. Chinese sources tell us about the lion decorated Shield of Nusrat Shah's court⁶⁶. Again Tarafdar opined "used the figure of a lion on some of their coins to symbolise their power and strength"⁶⁷. Therefore, the presence of lion on the coins has no connection with Chandi.

From where did Jalaluddin borrow the lion motif? Bhattasali and Dani think that it was an adoption of Tripura coinage⁶⁸. But the first Tripura coin with a lion motif was struck in 1462CE, at least forty years after Jalaluddin's lion type. On realizing this anti-dated condition Tarafdar thinks that it was first introduced in a part of Tripura conquered by Jalaluddin, and was minted for his newly conquered Hindu subjects. Subsequently Tripura rulers like Dhanya Manikya wrested the lost territory but retained the figure of the lion in his coins, which became their royal emblem. Rather Tripura imitated it from Bengal⁷¹. Trafder presumes that the lion was borrowed from the Licchavi - Suryavamsi and Thakuri coins of 7th and 8th century, Nepal.

⁶² *Trade and Diplomacy*, 144.

⁶³ *Dusho Bachhar*, p.176 (annexure at the last page without number).

⁶⁴ *Ibid* p.167.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.168.

⁶⁶ *The Rise of Islam*, p.65.

⁶⁷ M.R. Tarafdar, "The Gold Coinage and the Currency System in Pre- Mughal Bengal", (ed.) S.I.A. Tirmizi, *Cultural Interaction in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1993, p.174, fn.26.

⁶⁸ *Coins and Chronology*, p.131; Dani, JASP, XVIII, Pt.2, 1952, p.164.

Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah's Gauhati inscription bears a lion inscribed on it and subsequent to Jalauddin, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Fath Shah used the lion motif on their coins. Therefore, it may be assumed that Jalaluddin might have subjugated a part of Nepal from where he borrowed this lion motif and introduce it on his coins of the territory including Gauhati. Subsequently Nasiruddin Mahmud and Fath Shah retained it for their respected coins. It is to be noted here that one of Fath Shah's lion type coins possesses a mint name Mahmudabad⁶⁹. Mahmudabad has been identified as the capital renamed after Nasiruddin Mahmud, so, during Fath Shah's reign lion type coins were issued from the capital Firuzabad which in the north-west.

Jalauddin Mahmud had issued various types of coins from several mints, earlier known mints reported by Karim in the Corpus were seven, Firuzabad, Satgaon, Rotsapur, Mu'azzamabad, 'Arsah, Chatgaon, Fathabad and Sonargaon. But Sonargaon was not a mint for Jalauddin and what was read as Sonargaon in fact that is Rabi I. already been mentioned. Again Fathabad's date 840 is doubtful⁷⁰, and we are not in a position to verify it due to non-availability of the photograph of the coin. So the mints known are six, in addition to that at least two more mints may be included for Jalaluddin Muhammad. One is Jannatabad another is Dakhil Banjaliyah.

As regards the new two mints of Jalaluddin, the first one Jannatabad is well known, Mughal emperor Humayan gave the name to Lakhnauti is very widely known but before that it was used as a mint for the first time on the coins of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah dated 790⁷¹ and 798⁷². Jalaluddin's only clearly dated coin of the said mint is dated 818.

Another new mint is Dakhil Banjaliyah, several types and various dated coins of this mint are issued in the name of Jalaluddin. But the reading of the mint is not conclusive. It might be read as Fathabad with acception of some misspelling but Fathabad never appeared with the prefix Dakhil.

But in no way it could be read as Dakhil ba Khulna as the reading given in Rajgor and in SCA⁷³. Because Khulna is a modern name and did not exist at the tyme of the coin. The district of Khulna came under the Muslims from the middle of the fifteenth century and was known as Khalifatabad. During the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah one Khan Jahan Ali was the general and governor of Khalifatabad and the latter was responsible for the occupation, inhabitation as well as Islamization of the area, including Bagerhat, a part of the then Jessore⁷⁴.

⁶⁹ SCA, p.56, coin no. 867.

⁷⁰ Corpus, p.85.

⁷¹ BMC, p. 24, Coin no.52.

⁷² Suppl. IMC, II, p. 52, coin no.100.

⁷³ Rajgor, p.26, Type315, SCA, p51, 799.

Dhakhil Banjaliya might have been the famous city of Bengala mentioned by Varthema⁷⁵, Barbosa⁷⁶, Tome Pires⁷⁷ and Blochmann. Blochmann quotes from Purchas, "Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengala are faire cities ... Rennell in his memoir mentions ... it is placed near the eastern branch of the Ganges and that it may have been carried away by the river⁷⁸". G. P. Badger, editor of the English version of the book of Varthema wrote that 'in an old Dutch Latin Geography Book, ... with wonderfully good maps, by J and C. Blean, ... I find Bengala put down as a town close and opposite to Chatigam (Chittagong)⁷⁹'. Commenting on Varthema's cited 'city of Bengala' Mukhapadhaya said that, 'this so-called city of Bengala was situated on the opposite side of Chittagong and it was under Chittagong. Probabaly the name was not Bengala but perhaps the foreign ships custom duty was received ther and traders from foreign lands enter to this first city their way to Bengal. Many of them did not use to visit other places even, so they called it Bengala⁸⁰'.

There is no reference except those foreigners report about the city of Bengala. Now on the coins for the first time we have got reference about this city. Dakhil means 'entrance' so port city of Bengala was the 'entrance of Bengal'. For the commercial need Jalauddin established a new mint in this city in addition to Chittagong. There are some affinity between these two mints' products also particularly of the coins of Tughra type. Barbaso categorically mentioned the Bengal Kingdom as a country and city of Bengala as a separate port city at the head of the lagon of the Bay of Bengal. Jalaluddin reigned from 818 - 836 with an interval of about two years. So he ruled seventeen years as stated by the Riyaz is conforming to the fact.

⁷⁴ K.G.M.Latiful Bari, ed., *Bangladesh District Gazetteers, Khulna*, Dhaka: Bangladesh Govt. Press 1978, pp.45-47.

⁷⁵ Dusho Bachhar, pp.517-18.

⁷⁶ Ibid, pp. 520-521

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.527 quoted by Mukhapadhyay.

⁷⁸ H.Blochmann, Contributions, *JASB*, XLII, no.3, p.233.

⁷⁹ Dusho Bachhar, p.517.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.517.

4. Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah 836-837/1433-1434

After the death of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah in 836/1432 his son and successor Ahmad ascended the throne with the title of Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah. According to the report of Ibn Hajar he ascended the throne at the age of fourteen. Ibn Hajar also tells us that he lived upto 839/1435-36⁸¹. According to Ain-i-Akbari, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Tarikh-i-Firishta Riyazu-s Salatin, Ahmad ruled for sixteen or eighteen years⁸². This has been rejected by Mukhopadhyay Mukhopadhyay. Buchanan gave him three years⁸³, which Mukhopadhyay accepted and commented that there is no controversy according to the evidence of Ibn Hajar and Ahmad's coins⁸⁴. But our research on the basis of Ahmad's dated coins show that he hardly ruled for two years, perhaps, only one year and some months. As Jalaluddin Muhammad's coins are found dated 836AH and his inscription's last date is 10th Jumada I of 836/2nd January 1433, so Ahmad barely ruled for 7 months of the year 836AH and few months of 837 there should be room for the other two Sultans namely Ghiyasuddin Nusrat and Nasiruddin Mahmud in the same year. If we presume that Ahmad ruled for about eight months of the year 837 then his total reign would be only fifteen months. At best we can say that he ruled for about one and a half year. Like his father he issued both gold and silver coins, all of tola weight standard. No demoninational coin of Ahmad is found.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle the legend in Arabic *Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn Ahmad Shāh ibn Muhammad Shāh as Sultān*, "The Sun of the world and religion Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah."

The reverse legend also in a circle in Arabic *nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn/ ghawṣul Islām/ wa'l Muslimīn*, 'helper of the leader of the believers, deliverer of the religion i.e. Islam and Muslims.'

The circular marginal legend outside the circle is not fully decipherable due to a cut mark and clipping of the edge but the date is clear. The text is *ḍuriḥa haḡhiḥiḥ sikkatu fī Firūzābād...ṣanah 837*.

Silver coins of Ahmad Shah according to their legend are as follows.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in Arabic in a circle in three lines (Lā ilaha illa/ Allāhu Mauhammadur Rasūl Allāh). The instrument of faith of the Muslims, 'There is no God, but Allah and Muhammad His

⁸¹ Ibid, pp.174-75, (quoted from, 1958,pp.205-206.)

⁸² Ibid, p.174.

⁸³ Quoted in Sultani Amol, p.254.

⁸⁴ Dusho Bachhar, p 174

Messenger'. The marginal legend *ḍuriba hazīhi sikkatu fī Dākhil Banjaliyah sanah 836* 'This coin was struck at Dakhil Bangaliyah, year 836AH.

The reverse bears in Arabic the name of the Sultan with his titles and parentage in five lines, as *Sultān al A'zam Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn al mujāhid Ahmad/Shāh ibn Muḥammad Shāh/ as Sultān*, 'the great Sultan the Sun of the world and the religion the warrior Ahmad Shah son of Muhammad Shah the Sultan'.

Similar coin dated 837 of the same mint and with some variations in design, are now in a private collection in Dhaka. The reverse of this is in a railed circle with dot in each segment.

Type B 2: Silver tanka

The obverse bears in a lettered surface or in a circle the legend in Arabic in five lines. It is the same as the reverse legend of Type B1. The reverse bears in a circle the legend in Arabic *nāsiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l Muslimīn, khullida mulkahu*. Gold coin Type A1 bears the same reverse legend except the last line of benediction *khullida mulkahu*, which means his kingdom, may be perpetuated. In the marginal legend around the circle, which is encircled by another circle, the legend is partially off the flan so the mint name is cut off but the date is *sanah 836AH*⁸⁵ is readable. Another coin of the same type published in SCA has the mint name Dhakil Banjaliyah but the date is illegible⁸⁶.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle the legend in Arabic *al muwyyad ha tāyid i'd Dayān Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ahmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān*. 'Strengthened by the support of the Requirer (Allah!) the Sun of the world and the religion, father of the victory Ahmad Shah son of Muhammad Shah the Sultan.

The reverse legend which is as the reverse legend of the coin Type B2 except the last word 'mulkahu' which has been replaced by *khallada Allāh*; may Allah perpetuate (his kingdom). The marginal legend around the circle *ḍuriba hazīhi's sikkatu fī 'Arsah Jatkānw (Chatgaon) Sanah 836*, 'This coin was struck at arsa Chatgaon i.e. Chittagong in 836AH. This type is generally of bigger flan and has some variation in calligraphy, changes in depicting the words as well as the placement of words. In some coins 'Ahmad' is at the end of third line at the left, in others at the beginning of the fourth line on the right. In some coins 'Alif' of 'ibn' cannot be traced, in some coins Ahmad's *ha* is almost round as . In some others like  the letter *ha* is angular. Another variation of crude calligraphic style is completely different from the other coins which may be defined as a new type, but the legends are the same as coin type B-3. But the margin of these coins is almost out of the flan so it is not possible to trace the mint

⁸⁵ Private collection. Dr. Ishaq Imam, Dhaka.

⁸⁶ SCA, p.49, coin no.813.

name. Certain letters particularly the ع^{sad} ز^{za} are similar to the letters of the coins of Qutbuddin Azam (discussed in Chapter IV).

Following his father's coins Ahmad put his name Samsuddin for his gold coins. Only a single gold coin of Ahmad Shah is known. It is to be noted here that he did not use any extra title or Kunyah for his gold coins, rather he contended with the regnal title Shamsuddin. It is also to be noted that the traditional proclamation of a Kunyah in the coins either 'Abul Muzaffar' or 'Abul Mujahid' has also been dropped here. On the reverse he claimed as the 'Helper of the leader of the faithful and succour of Islam and the Muslims' but the usual benedictory formula *kallada Allāhu mulkahu* has not been used.

The marginal legend is most important for a coin because it reveals the mint and date. In this coin the date given in numerals as 837/1433-34 and the mint name Firuzabad, are clear. But there is a couple of words 'Firuzahad' and 'Sanah 837' which due to partial absence of the letters and clippings could not been deciphered with certainty, but the present writer read them as *Sah 'a* or *tis 'a* Rabi I. It is apparent from the dated silver coins of Ahmad Shah that he ascended the throne in 836AH his father's last dated coins are also 836AH. The last inscription of Muhammad found at Mandra near Dhaka also dated 10th Jumada I, 836⁸⁷. Therefore, Ahmad's gold coin (837AH) is not a coronation coin rather it may be a commemorative coin either on the occasion of his own first anniversary, or regular gold currency, or it may be the observance of his father's reclamation of power (if our tentative reading of Rabi I. is taken to be correct. His father's type of silver coin Type B1 (b) bears the month of Rabi I, 818AH (Cat.no.211).

According to Ibn Hajar Jalaluddin died in Rabi II 837AH⁸⁸. But both the coins of Muhammad and Ahmad dated 836/1332-33 has indicated that Jalaluddin died in 836AH. Mukhopadhyay commented that Ibn Hajar might have heard the news late in 837⁸⁹. As Ibn Hajar's given year is not correct there is very possibility of doubt in his given month.

Not only the gold coin but also Ahmad's silver coins are rare. Probably the gold coin is the only known coin and it has not been published⁹⁰. The Bangladesh National Museum does not have a rich collection of Ahmad Shah's coins. About a dozen coins of Ahmad Shah have come to the Museum as a hoard find in 1989. Most of them are severely punched, chiselled, or have cut marks, or most of their margins are out of the flan. In the late Eighties the Biyani Bazar hoard in Sylhet became known. It is believed that in this hoard, there were about fifty coins of Ahmad Shah. But not a single coin of that hoard found their way in to any Museum.

⁸⁷ Abdul Karim, *Corpus of the Arabic and Persian Inscription of Bengal*, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992(henceforth CAPIB) p. 106.

⁸⁸ Ibn Hajar al- 'Asqalani, *Inba'....vol.II,p.497*, Cited in HMB, IA,p.164.

⁸⁹ Dusho Bachhar, p.173.

⁹⁰ Private Collection, J.P. Goenka, Calcutta, India.

It may be noted here that Ahmad Shah did not proclaim 'Khalifatullah' title in his coins like his father or like some other Sultans before or after him. Though he ruled for a short period hardly for one and a half year probably, as already been mentioned earlier. But that was not the cause of non-proclamation. Already we have seen that he ascended on the throne at the age of fourteen only. So he could not proclaim *Khilafah*⁹¹, for this reason we do not find the benidictionary formula with *khullida khilāfatuhu* in his coins but insted only *Khullida Mulkahu*.

In the coin Type B1 & B2 he did not proclaimed any Kunyah like 'Abul Muzaffar' or 'Abu'l Mujahid' rather he satisfied with another title 'al-Mujahid' the warrior⁹². It may have been a mistake, that *abu* has been dropped before 'Al Mujahid'. But his Type B3 bears the Kunyah as 'Abul Muzaffar'. This type also bears the words *ba tāyyid i'd Dayān* not *ar-Rahman* as has been read by Lane Poole in BMC⁹³ and following him others⁹⁴.

His coins show that he ruled in 836 and 837AH. He was murdered by his slaves Nasir Khan and Saadi Khan and one of them ascended the throne for a very short period and struck coins in 837AH most probably with the regnal name Ghiyathuddin Nusrat. There is also a coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud dated 837AH and the latter's coins continued till 864AH. Therefore, there is no possibility of Ahmad being alive upto 839AH as reported by Ibn Hajar.

With the murder of Ahmad Shah the rule of the family Ganesha's came to an end. Although regarded as an interlude the conversion to Islam of Jadu alias Jalaluddin marged the family into the main flow of Muslim rule.

The chronology of the family of Raja Gonesha may now be fixed with the help of the information gleaned from coins. A fresh chronology of the family, on the basis of the above discussion based on coins of the four rulers of the family, is given below. This chronology filled the prevailing gap between the last ruler of that family of Raja Ganesha and the first ruler of the Mahmud Shahi (Later Ilyas Shahi) Dynasty, i.e. the gap between Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah and Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah.

Raja Ganesha ascended the throne in the last part of 817, and ruled up to Rabi I, 818/1415, a total of four months and did not issue any coins during this period.

Jalaluddin Muhammad ascended the throne for the first term in Rabi I, 818/1415.

⁹¹ Sultani Amol, p.255

⁹² In the Corpus Karim did not mention this type, Corpus, p.83.

⁹³ BMC, p.36, coin no.89.

⁹⁴ Corpus also followed *Ba tāyyid ar Rahman*, Corpus, p.83.

Death of the Saint Noor Qutbul Alam in Zul Q`ada 818AH /January 1416CE.

Jalaluddin Muhammad was allowed to rule for a short time after the death of the saint about two or three months, that is why a few coins are dated 819/1416. Probably he ruled upto Safar 819/ April 1416.

No Muslim coins are known from Bengal dated 820/1417. Ganesha alias Danujamardana Deva resumed the throne for the second time in 819, say from May 1416CE.

Coins are found dated 1339 Saka, (begins on 19th march 1416CE) and 1340 Saka bearing the name Danujamardana Deva. Most probably in the first quarter of the Saka year 1339 he struck coins.

Mahendra Deva: The younger son of Ganesha succeeded him in 1340 Saka. 820AH/1417CE coins dated 1340 Saka are found bearing the name of Mahendra.

Jalaluddin Muhammad (Second time) ruled from 821AH to 836AH/1432. Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah reigned from 836 to 837AH/1432 to 1433.

Ghiyasuddin Nusrat Shah 837/1434

A unique silver coin has recently been noticed in the collection of Bangladesh National Museum. It was procured from a lot, numbering ten, from a dealer in Dhaka. All the coins belong to the Bengal Sultans and were purchased locally. The said coin bears the name of a new Sultan, 'Ghiyas u'd dunya wa'd din Abu'l Muzahid Nusrat Shah'. So far the catalogues on Bengal coins⁹⁵ and literatures are concerned, a few Ghiyasuddins⁹⁶ and one Nusrat, are found as 'laqab' and 'alam'. The discovery of the aforesaid coin adds another Nusrat to the list of Bengal Sultans.

The description of the coin is as follows:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a scalloped circle in three lines in Arabic, *billāh/al-Musta'in wa'l-Musta'an* 'seeker of help and shelter from Allah', and the marginal legend around is *duriba hazas sikkatu [fi] al-Firūz [ā] 837 [A.H.] bād*. This coin was struck in Firūza 837 [AH] bad' i.e. struck in Firuzabad in 837AH. It is to be noted here that the word *as sikkah* is inscribed reversely and the date is placed between the mint name, a peculiar thing for the numismatics of Bengal.

The reverse bears the Julius title and the name of the Sultan also in a scalloped circle in Arabic and in four lines: *Ghiyās u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū al mujāhid Nuṣrat/Shāh as Sultān*, 'Succorur of the world and the religion father of the warrior Nusrat [his 'alam] Shah the Sultan'. The weight of the coin is 10.6 gram and diameter 26 mm. The Shape of the coin is round.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse legends are same as above Type B1 but the proper name of the Sultan in Type B2 is partially retained on the coin. And the marginal legend is not very clear but most probably the mint name is Mu'azzamabad and the date is written as retrogradely, which could be read as 738. The weight of the coin is 10.8 grams and diameter is 26 mm.

⁹⁵ ICB, II&I ;IMC, II; BMC; Corpus etc.

⁹⁶ (i) Ghiyasuddin Balban, (1265-1287 c.e.) IMC, II, P.34, Coin no.154 &155.
 (ii) Ghiyasuddin 'Iwaz Khalji, (1211-1226 C.E.) IMC, II, p.145, Coin no. 2,3 &4.
 (iii) Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah, (1310-1330 C.E.), Ibid, Coin no.14-16.
 (iv) Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah (1310-1405 C.E.) Ibid, P. 156-159, Coins. 14-16
 (v) Ghiyasuddin Barbak, (1487 C.E.) JNSI, Vol LV (Shahzada Barak Habshi) 1993 p. 76.
 (vi) Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah (1532-38 C.E.), Ibid, Coin Nos. 222-228.
 (vii) Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazi (1554-60 C.E.) IMC, p. 181, Coin Nos. 230-33.
 (viii) Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah Ghazi (1560-63 C.E.) IMC p. 181 coin Nos. 234-35.

All those Sultans used the title or laqab as Ghiyasuddin and Nasiruddin Nusrat of the Husain Shahi dynasty used Nusrat as 'alam'

No book on history literature catalogue of coins mentions the name Ghiyasuddin Nusrat. The legend on the obverse i.e. 'Billah al mustain wal Musta'an' of the said coin is not common as a legend for Sultani coins of Bengal⁹⁷. The date 837AH on the margin and the mint al Firuzabad indicate that the coin was struck during the independent Sultani rule of Bengal.

The reverse legend reveals the name of the Sultan with his title Ghiyassuddin and the Kunyah 'Abu'l Mujahid' shows that he was warrior and his proclamation was not an easy job. His proper name i.e. 'alam' was Nusrat and he used the term 'as Sultan' at the end and not 'Sultan bin as Sultan', which indicates that he was not the son of a Sultan. The coins reveal that Ghiyasuddin Nusrat was a sultan, who struck coins from Firuzabad in 837AH and was not of royal descent.

It is known that Jalaluding Muhammad Shah reigned upto 836AH. His son and successor Ahmad Shah's coins are available only with the dates of 836 and 837AH. We are told that during the reign of Ahmad Shah two of his slaves, Shadi Khan and Nasir Khan, intrigued against him and assassinated him. Soon after this, rivalry between these two slaves becomes imminent. By killing Shadi Khan, Nasir took over the sultanat⁹⁸. He ruled, as Salim says, only for seven days or for half a day, according to another report⁹⁹. After him the sultanat was handed over by the nobles to a scion of Ilyas Shah named Nasiruddin Mahmud who ruled up to 864AH. His earliest dated coin, as has been recorded by Karim is 841AH¹⁰⁰. But the latest study shows that Nasiruddin Mahmud's rule started from 837AH as has been ascertained from his newly discovered coin¹⁰¹.

So, there is a possibility of there being three Sultans in 837AH namely Ahmad Shah, Nasir the slave and Nasir Shah of the Mahmud (Later Ilyas) Shahi Dynasty. Ahmad Shah's coins are known with the laqab Shamsuddin¹⁰² and Nasir Shah proclaimed Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah as his regal name¹⁰³. None of them used Ghiyasuddin as a laqab on their coins, nor is the name Nusrat with the title Ghiyasuddin. The legend of the coin does not tally either with the coins of Ahmad Shah or Mahmud Shah. Therefore, the only person left is Nasir the slave who may have proclaimed Ghiyasuddin as his laqab. Both Nasir the slave and Nasir Shah did not use 'Sultan bin as Sultan'¹⁰⁴ on their coins and truly they were not sons of any Sultan. Not a single coin or inscription of Nasiruddin Mahmud show that he used Ghiyasuddin as his

⁹⁷ The legend 'billah al Musta' in wal Musta'an' only known on the coins of Qutbuddin A'zam as partial obverse legend. His identity is yet not been ascertained. But obviously he was a Bengal Sultan. For detail see the article "Qutubuddin Azam Shah. Banglar Ekjana Aparijnato Sultan", *Itihasa* (Journal of the Bangladesh Itihash Parishad) 23 rd year, No. 1-3, /1396 B.S. (1990) pp. 38-50.

⁹⁸ Sultani Amol, p. 310

⁹⁹ Riyaz, p. 119

¹⁰⁰ Corpus, p. 87.

¹⁰¹ Discussed in this chapter under Nasiruddin Mahmud.

¹⁰² Corpus, p. 83.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 84.

¹⁰⁴ 'Sultan bin as Sultan' has been used by the sons of Sultans, viz. Shamsuddin Firuz's sons, Ilyas' son Sikandar and his son A'zam, Nasiruddin Mahmud's son Barbak and so on.

title¹⁰⁵. And Nasir the slave's coins and inscriptions are yet to be noticed. So, if the reading of the date 837 A.H. is taken to be correct then the only person who might have used Ghiyasuddin as laqab is Nasir the slave.

Very recently we have had an opportunity to study another coin of Nasiruddin Nusrat in a private collection in Dhaka (Type B2). Up till now only four coins of this Sultan have come to light. Earlier than the discovery of the coin of BNM two Photostat copies of the coins of Nusrat were known. But due to the partial retention of the name *Nus* of the Sultan's name it could not be deciphered properly to ascertain the name of the Sultan. These two coins and the coin of private collection are like coin Type B2. Till present day in all these four coins of the Sultan are known and all are of silver one tanka and of tola weight.

The Dhaka collector's coin is like the above mentioned coin Type B2, Sultan's name is also retained partially in this coin, and the legends of both sides are to some extent the same as Type B2. This coin is rather crude in execution and the reverse marginal legend almost indistinct but the date is clear. In this coin the date has not been placed in the middle of the mint name as type B1. Here the last portion of the mint name is clear and the date written retrogradely. The digit 8 is placed below digit three. It could be normally read as 738AH. But we know that 738 was the date of Fakhruddin Mubarak. The name of the mint is most probably Mu'azzamabad, which was initiated in 760. Therefore the correct reading is 837.

It is interesting to notice that Ghiyasuddin Nusrat did not proclaim any other honorific title but was contented only with 'Billahi'l Musta'in wa'l Musta'an'. It probably indicates the political turmoil of the time and the position of the Sultan who was left only to the shelter of Allah.

The obverse legend of the coin 'Billah al-Mustain wal Mustan' is not commonly used in the coins of Sultani Bengal already been mentioned earlier. Its only use was by Qutub ud din A'zam, who was probably a pretender. The date of the aforesaid coin and the similarity of the legend with that of Qutubuddin A'zam's indicates their nearness in time. They are the issue of pretenders, as they did not claim to be "Sultan bin as Sultan". With the discovery of these coins the story of Azimat and Nasirate, as the two sons of Hamza who fought each other for the throne¹⁰⁶, seem to be based on facts. The names 'Nusrat' (of Ghiyasuddin Nusrat) and 'A'zam' (of Qutubuddin A'zam) phonetically tallies with Azimet and Nasiret. If Qutubuddin A'zam was the son of Hamza he would inscribe 'Sultan bin as Sultan' on his coins and likewise Ghiyas uddin Nusrat.

Therefore, we may conclude that Nusrat was the slave Nasir Khan. Discovery of a couple of coins not help us to ascertain an unknown event of history but can help us to bridge gaps and provide further

¹⁰⁵ S. Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. IV*, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, 1960 pp. 49-67.

¹⁰⁶ *Coins and Chronology*, pp.80-87.

information. Therefore, so long the other coins bearing more information not discovered, we may conclude that Nasir the slave proclaimed himself sultan with the regal name Ghiyasuddin Nusrat Shah and struck coins from the two mints viz. Firuzabad and Mu'azzamabad.

Lastly the date on the coin of Type B1 is 837AH though a chisel mark on the middle of the second digit i.e. on 3 creates a little doubt it seems to be a clear 3, but there is the only other possibility of being 2 which means the date may be 827AH. But in 827 Jalaludin was on the throne of Bengal and his coins dated 827 are well known. The second coin's date is considered to be 837 also. Therefore, it is reasonable to read the date of BNM coin (B1) as 837AH.

If the date is read as 827 then we shall have to admit that a pretender, Ghiyasuddin Nusrat an unknown ruled for sometime either outside the pale of Jalaludin's empire or some part of Firuzabad. We know that Jalaluddin ruled continuously and issued coins from various mints regularly. But if the date is read as 837 then Ghiyasuddin Nusrat of the coin can be identified with the slave Nasir Khan.

On the basis of the above discussions we may conclude as follows.

1. The coins add a new name in the list of the Sultans of Bengal and the full regal name of the Sultan was Ghiyasud dunya wa'd din Abu'l Mujahid Nusrat Shah as Sultan.
2. Circumstantial evidence shows that he was identical with Nasir the slave and he ruled for a short time, therefore, his coins are extremely rare.
3. The coins were struck at Firuzabad and Mu'azzamabad in 837AH.
4. Ghiyassuddin Nusrat's place will be between Shamsuddin Ahmad and Nasiruddin Mahmud and he may be called Nusrat I and Nasiruddin Nusrat bin Husain will be Nusrat II.

Mahmud Shahi 837-893/1434 - 1487

Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah, the last ruler of the family of Raja Ganesh, was murdered by the design of his two slaves Shadi Khan and Nasir Khan. After the death of their master they intrigued against one another for the throne and Nasir succeeded in assuming the throne by killing Shadi. But he could not rule for long. *The Riyaz* reported that he ruled only for seven days, in another report only for half a day¹. But the nobles of the court were not satisfied with his rule and by killing Nasir they elevated to the throne one Nasir Shah, one of the descendants of the family of Ilyas Shah². Who is known as Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah in history. He and his three sons and one grand son ruled in Bengal for more than half a century, about 55 years. As Nasir Shah was a descendant of Ilyas Shahi family, the family rule established by him which continued for half a century is called the 'Later Ilyas Shahi Dynasty'. This naming has been accepted by modern historians. Their basis is the report of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Firishā*³. But Mukhapadhyay Mukhapadhyay raised the question that as there is no ascertained proof available about the relation of Nasir with Ilyas Shah, so the naming of 'Later Ilyas Shahi' is not reasonable. And Mukhapadhyay is in favour of calling this family 'Mahmud Shahi'⁴. Karim also supports Mukhapadhyay⁵. We shall also call this family Mahmud Shahi. In total there are five rulers of the Mahmud Shahi family as already been mentioned, they are:

1. Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah
2. Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (son of Mahmud Shah)
3. Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah (son of Barbak Shah)
4. Nuruddin Sikandar Shah (son of Mahmud Shah)
5. Jalaluddin Fath Shah (son of Mahmud Shah)

¹ The Riyaz, p.119.

² Ibid, p.119. Riyaz called him one of the grand -sons of Shamsud din, except Riyaz not a single book mentioned him as grand- son of Ilyas Shah. Cf. Sultani Amol, p.261.

³ Discussed in Sultani Amol, p.261

⁴ Dusho Bachhar, p.179.

⁵ This family may be called as Mahmud Shahi family, opined by Karim, Sultani Amol, p.261.

1. Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah 837 - 864/1434 - 1459

After the murder of the slave Nasir, Mahmud was put on the throne by the nobles and his full regional name is *Nāṣir u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar / mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh* as has been known from his coins and inscriptions. But Buchanan and following him W. Haig hold that both the Nasirs are identical. However, Nasiruddin Mahmud, as a Sultan, enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous reign of 27 years⁶. The prosperity and tranquility of his reign have been reflected through his coins. The most remarkable event of his reign is the Muslim colonization and expansion of the Sultanat towards south Bengal, in Jessore-Khulna, Bagerhat-Khalifatabad region by one of the generals, Khan Jahan Ali⁷. Silver coins of Mahmud have been found in abundance and there is a large number of his discovered gold coins reported to have been found also. A few fractional coins in silver are also discovered.

No contemporary source is available to judge the reign of Mahmud Shah, the coins and inscriptions are the only reliable source for the period⁸. Therefore, coins of Mahmud Shah are very important in providing a proper chronology of the period. According to the legend gold coins of this Sultan may be classified into six types. As regards the calligraphy and design, most of them are crudely executed and sometimes very difficult to read from a photocopy. In all, eighteen gold coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah have been found; they are all one tanka gold of the tola weight standard. No fractional coin in gold has been found. The gold coins are as follows:

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears in a lettered surface the legend in Arabic in four lines as *Sulṭān u'l 'ādil / Nāṣir u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh as-Sulṭān*, 'the just Sultan, helper of the world and religion father of the warrior Mahmud Shah the Sultan.'

The reverse bears the legend in a circle in three lines *al muwayyidu batāyyid ar Raḥmān Khālīfat Allāh bil ḥujjat wal burhān*, 'One strengthened by the support of the Merciful vicegerent of Allah by proof and testimony'. The margin outside the circle is illegible. The weight of the coin is 10.72 grams and the diameter is 21mm. preserved in the British Museum⁹.

⁶ Ibid. p.265, Riyaz. p.120.

⁷ HB. II. p.131; K.G.M. Latiful Bari, ed., *Bangladesh District Gazetteers, Khulna*, Dhaka: Bangladesh Govt. Press 1978, pp.45-47.

⁸ Sultani Amol. p.265.

⁹ ONS, No.148, p.20, coin no. 13.

Type A2: Gold Tanka

There is only one gold coin of this Sultan in the collection of Bangladesh National Museum. The obverse bears in a circle the legend in Arabic in three lines *Nāṣir ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muḥāhid Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān*, "helper of the world and the religion, Father of the warrior Mahmud Shah Sultan."

The reverse bears the legend in a circle/lettered surface in three lines the same as the reverse of above coin no A1, gold tanka. There is no date or mint name. The weight is 10.97 gram¹⁰. One coin of this type is in a private collection in India. But there is a variation in design, the obverse is in a decorated circle and the reverse in a lettered surface and weight is 10.8 gram and 18 mm. in diameter¹¹.

Stan Goron has reported in ONS no.148 four coins of type A 2 preserved in the Kawale collection of India, with some variations in design. The obverse in double circle and the reverse legend in a decorated circle¹², obverse in a scrolled border and reverse in a decorated circle; the obverse in a rayed circle having dot in each triangle and the reverse in a circle¹³; both sides have a decorated circle but with very crude execution¹⁴. Weight and measurement of these coins are 10.7 gram and 20 mm, 10.7 gram and 21 mm, 10.8 gram and 19 mm and 10.7 gram and 33 mm respectively. One coin of the same type and similar to Goron's coin no 8 is in the collection of British Museum having a better execution. Its weight is 10.79 gram and 21 mm in diameter¹⁵.

Type A3: Gold Tanka

The obverse legend is the same as the Type A2 in a decorated circle but the reverse legend bears *nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn khullida mulkuhu*, also in a decorated circle, "Helper of Islam and Muslims, may his kingdom be perpetuated." The weight of the coin is 10.9 gram and the diameter is 24 mm. This coin is preserved in a private collection in India¹⁶.

Type A4: Gold Tanka

The obverse legend is the same as the above coin Type A2 and A3 but in place of *abū'l muḥāhid* there is *abū'l muẓaffar*. The reverse, legend is the same as that of types A 1 and A 2 but the legend is in five lines. The coin is published in JASB 1904¹⁷.

¹⁰ BNM, Acc. no.82'171.

¹¹ J.P.Goenka collection, Calcutta, India

¹² ONS, No.148, 1999,p.19, coin no.7.

¹³ Ibid, coin no. 11; (Corpus Type. H.)

¹⁴ Ibid, p.20, coin no.12

¹⁵ ONS, no.148, coin no.9.

¹⁶ J.P. Goenka Collection, India.

¹⁷ JASB, 1904, p.381, pl.ix, no.3, described in The Cultural Interaction in South Asia by M. R. Tarafdar, p.167, coin no. 18.

The mint name and date have disappeared. Weight of the coin is 166 grains and the diameter 85 inches. There are five coins of the same legend mentioned above in Kawale collection, India described by Stan Goron in ONS¹⁸. Weights range from 10.7 to 10.9 grams and diameter 21 to 22 mm. One gold coin of Type A4 is also in a private collection in India, weight of the coin is 10.8 gram and diameter 20 mm¹⁹.

Type A5: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in lettered surface in three lines in Arabic, the same as that of the above coin Type A4 but the reverse legend in a decorated circle in three lines is as Type A3 i.e. *nāsiru'l islām wa'l muslimīn Khullida mulkuhu*. The weight is 10.7 gram and diameter is 22 mm. This coin is preserved in the Kawale collection in India and published by Stan Goron in ONS²⁰.

Type A6: Gold Tanka (Lion Type)

The obverse of this type bears within a circle the figure of a lion with right forepaw raised and the marginal legend bears the name of the Sultan *Nāṣir u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān*. The reverse bears the legend in a circle decorated with arabesques in the margin, the same as Type A1 i.e. *al muwayyidu ba tayyid.... wal burhan*, but the mint is Khazanah dated 849. The coin was struck in the treasury in 849AH²¹.

A couple of gold coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud have originally been mentioned by S. A. Shere in JNSI, Stan Goron reported this in ONS but without any description²².

Silver coins

Nasiruddin Mahmud's Silver coins are abundant having varied designs and legend formulas. All his silver coins are of one tola weight standard. A few fractional coins in silver are also known but they are very rare. According to the legend his silver coins are as follows:

Type B1: Silver Tanka (Kalima Type)

The obverse bears in a circle the Kalima in three lines, *lā ilaha illā Allāhu Muḥammad ur Rāsul Allah*. There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah'. The marginal legend outside the circle reads *ḍurība ḥaḡhis sikkatu fī al Firūzābād sanah 837*. The date written retrograded also the second digit reversal. 'This coin was struck in the Firuzabad (mint) year 837.

¹⁸ ONS, No. 148, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹ J.P. Goenka Col lection, Calcutta

²⁰ ONS no. 148, coin no. 10, p. 19.

²¹ Vasant Chowdhury and Parimal Ray, "Hitherto unknown lion mohur of Nasir ud dīn Mahmud Shah of bengal ", *Coinage and Economy of North Eastern States of India, mentioned by Goron in ONS, no. 148 , p. 21 ,fn. 2.*

²² ONS, no. 148, p. 21, fn. no. 3.

The reverse legend is in a multifoil in Arabic, and in four lines as *Sultan u'l 'ādil Nāṣir u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muḥāhid Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān*. 'The just Sultan, helper of the world and religion, father of the warrior Mahmud Shah the Sultan'²³.

This type is also been found with the reverse legend in a square and lettered surface (SCA. 839, 840) but the obverse is always in a circle having the marginal legend with mint name and date. The margin of SCA coin no 839 bears the mint Firuzabad. Also another coin of the same type of Firuzabad mint dated 848 in the collection of BNM was found in the Bagerhat hoard is double struck on the obverse. The weight is 10.42 dia 27 mm. (83.148).

Another coin of the same type found in a private collection where both sides are in circles²⁴. The mint name is *Arash Jutgawn* (Chatgawn) dated 839.

Type B2: Silver Tanka (Al 'adil Type)

The obverse is the same legend as Type B1's reverse. The reverse legend is in a circle *ghawṣ u'l Islām wa'l muslimīn*, 'Defender of Islam and the Muslims'. The marginal legend is indistinct but the date is 838. In the margin the digit 3 is retrograded. The above mentioned two types. (B1, B2) indicate that the numismatic activity of Nasiruddin Mahmud started with these Kalima types, and the early coins with the title as *Sultān u'l 'Ādil* are almost announcing that everybody will get justice. As he came to power as a result of a revolution so this type of reassurance was the need of the hour. In Types B1 and B2 even the gold Types A1, A2, and A3 all bear the Kunyah of the Sultan *Abū'l Muḥāhid* only, though he used 'Abul Muzaffar' also.

Type B3: Silver Tanka (al 'adil Type)

The obverse legend is the same as type B2 i.e. with as *Sultān u'l 'ādil* legend in a multifoil. But the reverse legend is the same as the reverse legend of Type A1 in a circle. In the margin the circular legend contains the mint name *Dākhil Banjāliyah* but the date is illegible²⁵.

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse in circle with scroll decoration on the margin outside the circle. The legend is the same as Type A2. In the margin only the date 841 is readable. The reverse legend is heavily cut and shroff marked. The margin is decorated. Most probably this type is the same as Type A2, which bears on the reverse *al-muwayyid ba tāyyid ar Raḥmān khalīfatullāh bil ḥujjat wa'l burhān*. Like the above type there is a coin of a big flan with scrolled marginal decoration encircled by another circle and a cluster of pillet border in SCA coin No. 825.

²³ Private Collection, Jhon S. Deyell, Canada.

²⁴ Dr. Ishaq Imam, Dhaka.

The reverse margin is between two circles decorated with the mint name 'Dakhil Banjaliyah' but without any date. The diameter of the coin is 30 mm.

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend i.e. the name of the Sultan with the Kunya *abū'l mujāhid*, (Father of the warrior). It is the same as the obverse legend of Type B4.

The reverse legend is in a circle *nāṣir u'l Islām wa'l muslimīn khullida mulkuhu*, 'Helper of Islam and the Muslims may his kingdom be perpetuated'. The legend seems to be the same as Type A3 but the margin is illegible.

Some coins of this type bear on the margin different designs, so there are some variations in this type also. One variation has eight double half circles with dot in it. The central circle contains the legend on the obverse. The reverse is in a double circle: the inner one is made of eight arcs (Rajgor 330). Another variety i.e. bears on the obverse a rayed circle having a dot in each triangle in the margin. The reverse of var. 2 has a marginal legend outside²⁵.

Type B6: Silver Tanka

The obverse, in a plain area or in a circle, bears the name of the Sultan with the Kunya *abū'l muẓaffar*, 'Father of victory'. The reverse bears the same legend as the reverse legend of Type B5 also in a circle. This type is also same as the gold tanka Type A6.

Type B7: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend contains the name of the Sultan with the Kunya *abū'l muẓaffar* just as type B6 in a decorative bordered circle. There exist varieties with different designs.

The reverse bears also in a decorative bordered circle the legend in Arabic *al muwayyidu ha tāyyid ar Raḥmān khaliḥatullāh bil ḥujjat wa'l burhān*, 'one strengthened by the support of the Merchiful, Khalifa of Allah by proof and testimony'. This reverse legend is the most popular and generously used in the coins of Mahmud and his son Ruknuddin Barbak. According to Karim this was a reaction to the claim of Khalifatullah title by the convert Jalaluddin. This coin issued from Muhammadabad mint. The date is illegible weight of the coin is 10.62 gram and diameter 23mm.

²⁵ SCA, Coin no. 824, pl. 49.

²⁶ Rajgor 340.SCA 831.

There are many varieties in this type. The reverse legend may be regarded as the dynastic formula for the coins of Mahmud Shah and Ruknuddin Barbak Shah though the later Sultans of the family viz. Yusuf, Sikandar II, and Fath did not use it at all (Cat. no. 272).

Type 7 (a): Silver Tanka

An important variety of this type is '*chhatra*' or umbrella type. The legends of the both sides are the same as Type B7. But the obverse legend is placed beneath an umbrella of semi circle with a fringe of six triangles and with a long stick in the middle. The reverse design is a multifoil or scalloped circle. The mint is illegible but the date is 856. In this variety, the name Mahmud is in the beginning of line three but most of the cases the greater part of 'Mahmud' is off the flan (Cat.no.269). There is another kind of *chhatra* used in the coins of Mahmud, discussed in Type B10.

Type B7 (b): Silver Tanka

The legend on both sides are the same as Type B7 but the design either both in circle (Vr.b) mint Satgaon dated 856 (Cat.no.270) or both sides are in a decorative circle (Vr.c), mint also Satgaon dated 858 (Cat.no.271).

Type B7 (vr. d): Silver Tanka

Another interesting variety of Type B7 is in a decorative circle. The margin out side the circle is designed with a cluster of spear heads (?). The reverse in Tughra character is artistically executed. The mint is Muhammadabad. the date 8-7, the tenth is illegible (Cat.no.272).

Type B7 (vr. e): Silver Tanka

Variety e of Type B7 bears the design of the obverse in a half circle in the upper part containing *Nāṣir u'd duniyā*. The reverse in a circle has the mint name Mu'azzamabad and date 856. Weight of the coin is 10.65 gram and diameter 21 mm (Cat.no. 273).

Type B8: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in Arabic, the same as the obverse legend of Type B6 in a plain area. There are varieties of designs in this type, in a single multifoil, in a double multifoil.

The reverse bears the legend in a circle, *ghaṣṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn khallada Allāh*, 'The help of Islam and the Muslims may Allah perpetuate'. The coin struck in the mint Muhammadabad, dated 858. One variety B8 (a) issued from the undeciphered mint, Suhur (?) or Sitpur (?) (Cat.no.275). The date is not clear in IMC, II, coin No. 117; Variety B8 (b) issued from the mint Fathabad date not sure (Cat.no.276).

Another coin of this type which may be classified as Type B8 (c). The legends on both sides are the same as Type B8 but on the reverse with the addition of *mulkahū wa sultānūh* after *khallada Allāh* i.e. may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and his power. The mint is not mentioned but date is 860. IMC, II, coin No 121 (p.165).

Type B8 (d): Silver Tanka

The obverse is the same as Type B8 and the reverse legend is the same as the reverse of Type B8 but omitting *khallada Allāh*. dated 851(?) IMC, II, coin No. 120, P. 165 In IMC not a single coin is illustrated so the legend could not be verified. No coin of this type and sub type with the legend *ghaṣṣu'l Islām wal Muslimīn* was found in the BNM collection or any private collection. Most probably there is a word *nai'h* as the type 8(a) of our specimen shows (Cat.no.275 a). But the word *nā'ih* remained unnoticed to the scholars. Even Bhattasali could not trace out this word²⁷ and the mint is not Khazanah, a clear *...bād* is there.

Type B9: Silver Tanka

The obverse is same as Type B6, B7 and B8. The reverse bears a legend similar to the reverse legend of Type B8 but with the benediction and with the addition of the word *Nasir* after Muslimin i.e. *ghaṣṣu'l Islām wal muslimīn nāsir*. Probably it was an incomplete sentence due to the shortage of space. It may be 'Nasiru'l Islam wal Muslimin' or 'Nasiru Amiru'l Muminin'. Generally the flans of these coins are small.

Type B10: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears a legend similar to the obverse legend of coin Type B6. But the reverse legend is *nā'ih ghaṣṣu'l Islām wal muslimīn khallada Allāh*. Deputy of the defender of Islam and the Muslims, may Allah perpetuate (his kingdom), with mint Muhammadabad, and dated 858. The weight is 10.63 gram and diameter 23 mm. There are varieties in this type B10 according to their designs of the obverse and reverses.

Type B10 (a): Silver Tanka

The coin is the same as Type B 10. The obverse legend is in a multifoil and the reverse legend seems to be in a plain area issued from Nasirabad dated 858. 10.78 gram and diameter 23 mm. Type B10 (b). The obverse legend and reverse in a decorative circle (with a cluster of ogree curved motifs), mint Dar u'd Darb and the date 859 Type B10 (c) the obverse legend is in a double multifoil, the reverse is in a decorative circle like variety Type 10 (b). It has a peculiar mint name, which is very difficult to read. It looks like 'Shuhur' plural of Shahr. On some coins with a prefix Darud Darb Shuhur. It may be read as Tipur or Sipur

²⁷ N.K. Bhattasali, *Catalogue of Coins Collected by Sayyid A.S.M.Taifoor of Kawsar House, Dacca, and presented to the Dacca Museum*, Dacca 1936 (Henceforth, Taifoor Collection), p22, coin no. 116.pl.IV.

or even Simur. Could it be Tipur for Tripura or Sipur for Sripur in Dhaka? A river port of considerable transactions of cloth in the medieval age²⁸. Clearly engraved coins may solve this in the future.

Type B10 (d): Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends are same as Type B10 but the obverse design is a broad decorative bordered circle of arabesques in between two circles. The inner circle is made up of multicusps (foils) and the reverse the same as the obverse design but between two circles. It is big flanned unusual to Mahmud's coins. The diameter is 31 mm. Weight is 10.45 gram, struck from the mint Khazanah, i.e. treasury dated 858. It is probably a *Najrana* (presentation) coin.

Type B10 (e): Silver Tanka

'Chhatra' or Parasol type, the obverse bears the legend in a circle of dots, the upper part of which contains a beautiful parasol having a decorative fringe of five loops. The reverse legend contains in a scrolled and decorative circle. Mint Darud Darb dated 858, but the (dal) letter is placed reversely, diameter 25 mm.

Type B10 (f): Silver Tanka

Another form of the parasol type. The obverse depicts on the top an umbrella having no covering, probably a canopy of six triangular fringes.

The reverse is in a decorated circle made by a cluster of small semi-circles. The mint name is problematic and may be read as Fathabad dated 858AH.

Type B10 (g): Silver Tanka

Both sides have legends in a circle but the lettering is crude. There is no mint or date.

Type B11: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a multifoil the name of the Sultan like the legend of Type B6 i.e. with the Kunyah *abū'l muẓaffar*. The reverse legend is the same as the legend of Type B10 in arayed circle but *khallada Allāh* at the end has been replaced by *nasir* in Type B11. There is no mint name on the coin dated to 856AH weight is 10.55 gram and diameter is 24 mm.

Type B11 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in an octagon formed by interlacing squares having small cross in each segments. The reverse is in a shallow multifoiled circle having a reverse course inside and two dots in each curve of the inner reverse foil. Mint Dar ud Darb dated 862. Weight: 10.5 gram, diameter 25 mm.

²⁸ H. Blochmann, 'Contributions,' JASB, no. 3, 1873, pp. 230-231.

Type B11 (b): Silver Tanka

Both sides are in a reved circle encircled by an outer circle. There is no date and mint.

Type 11 C: Silver Tanka

The obverse is plain and the reverse legend is in a circle. Lettering is cuted. mint seems to be Muhamadabad or Mahmudabad.

Type B12: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in seven circlets with in a circle and between each pair a crescent in the border, in three circles the word *Sulṭān* and in four circles *Nāsir Shāh* including the central circle, both the words are placed alternately. The reverse bears the legend which is the same as the reverse legend of Type B11. The mint seems to be Fathabad dated 858AH. With same design also struck from the central mint, Dar u'd Darb dated also 854.

Type B12 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse design is same as Type B12. But the reverse legend is in a circle. It was struck from Mahmudabad or Muhammadababd dated 854, 859.

Type B13: Silver Tanka

The arrangement is the same as Type B12 in seven small circles but the reverse legend is which is similar to the reverse legend of Type B7 within a decorative but indistinct border. The mint and date are illegible.

Type B14: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the figure of a lion to the right in a circle and the marginal legend outside the circle contains the name of the Sultan as in B6 obverse i.e. with the Kunyah Abu'l Muzaffar. The reverse legend is the same as the reverse legend of Type B6. Varities exist with the lion to the left and with the reverse marginal ornamentations. This type was issued from the mints Dur ud Darb, Satgaon and Khazanah,all dated 849.

Type B15: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is the same as the obverse legend to Type B4 and B5. The reverse bears only a benediction *khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sulṭānahu.* 'May Allah perpetuate his kingdom and his power'.

This is the first coin struck without any religious affiliation like Kalima, or Khilafat or 'helper of the Muslims or Islam' but only the benediction. Another important thing is that this is the first coin struck in Khalifatabad dated 848AH. Several coins have been found which confirm that the conquest of the southern most part of the Sultanat was completed during the time of Mahmud Shah.

Type B? and B of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah are worthy to be mentioned here. One Type B bears the last date of his reign 863 but mint is not found on the coin and another one the mint has been read as 'Arsah Chatgaon but having no date. It indicates that as a 'Arsah Chatgaon was under the Sultanat. Therefore not only the city of Bengala (Dakhil Banjaliyah) but also Chatgaon was within the jurisdiction of Mahmud's realm. A Chinese source also corroborates this²⁹. As Mahmud had sent emissaries to China, the port of Chittagong was used and it was under the control of the Bengal Sultan.

Type B16: Silver half Tanka

Both sides are in a circle and the legend is the same as Type B8³⁰.

Type B17: Silver one eighth Tanka (1/8 th)

The obverse bears in a lettered surface the legend in two lines most probably *al muwayyad*. The reverse is also in lettered surface as *Sulṭān*. Though in the Catalogue of SCA Goron gave the reading of the obverse as Nasir Shah³¹.

Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah initiated his numismatic activity with the striking of the coins of the Kalima type dated 837 i.e. Type B1 is the earliest coin as revealed from the date and it was struck from the capital Firuzabad. No Kalima type gold coin has been found nor any gold coin with a clear date, except the lion type. So, it is very difficult to assign the earliest gold coin type. Other early coins are Types B2, B3, and B4 in silver and Type A1 in gold. Most probably the coins with the Kunyah of the Sultan 'Abu'l Mujahid' were the early types. In these coins he proclaimed Sultannu'l 'Adil i.e. 'the just Sultan' and the Kunyah 'Abul Mujahid' indicates the political condition of the Sultanat. After a revolt and killing of the previous Sultan Mahmud was put on the throne, so at the one hand he was assuring the subjects through the coin message that a just Sultan was on the throne, therefore, no body should worry about justice and on the other hand 'Father of warrior' indicates that the Sultan is capable of quelling all sorts of disorders. The reverse legend of Types A1, B3, and B4 reveals that the Sultan is 'strengthened by the support of the Merciful and he is vicegerent of Allah by proof and testimony'. The reverse legend of Type B2 declares that the Sultan is the succor of Islam and the Muslims. Therefore, all these religious proclamations and his Kunyah may indicate of his early unstable condition right after the assumption of power. It is reported in history³² that by killing Nasir the slave, the nobles put Mahmud on the throne. This may not be the whole truth. 'Khalifatullah bil hujjat wal burhan' indicates some sort of reaction against the previous ruler Jalaluddin's claim of 'Khalifatullah' only. As Karim has rightly explained in his Corpus³² The Kalima is not been used as a coin legend in the later period of Mahmud's coins probably not later than 847AH, neither the legend as Sultannu'l 'Adil is found on his later period coins. Probably after overcoming the early

²⁹ Dusho Bachhar, (Emissaries were sent twice during the reign of Mahmud Shah in 1438-1439 C.E.), p.187.

³⁰ SCA, p.54, coin no.841.

³¹ Ibid, p.54, coin no.842.

³² Corpus, p. Sultani Amol, p. C.C.C.U.M., p.

crisis and after consolidation of his power he abandoned these legends (Kalima, 'Sultanul 'Adil', 'Abul Mujahid'). Instead he just introduced the plain name Nasirud dunya wad din Abul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah as Sultan as his coin's obverse legend and 'Helper of Islam and the Muslims' (Types A5, B5 and B6) or 'succour of Islam and the Muslims' for the reverse legend (coin Type B8, B9).

But the legend 'al-Muwayyid ba tai'yidi'r Rahman Khalifatullah bil hujjat wa'l burhan' has been in use as a coin legend throughout his reign. This title reveals that he had elevated himself to the magnificent position of Khalifatullah by proof and testimony. What kind of proof he had, has never been mentioned by any scholar or books of history. Only Karim took it as a reaction among the political circle against Jalaluddin's assumption of the title Khalifat Allah. He commented that "as if these coins were issued to declare that if the convert Jalal al-din Muhammad Shah could assume the title Khalifat Allah, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Rukn al din Barbak Shah being Muslims by birth, were eligible to claim a far stronger title i.e. they were Khalifat Allah bi'l hujjat wa'l burhan³³". No contemporary reference is available to judge these conditions nor even the later sources like Riyaz or Firishta commented on this issue. So, whether he did bring any recognition, investiture or appointment from the Khalifa of Islam in Egypt, which may serve as a proof or testimony, is not known. But it might be assumed that Jalaluddin Muhammad became so well established as 'Khalifat Allah' that there were no other ways but to proclaim a bolder title on the part of Mahmud.

Mahmud also introduced a completely new formula 'Naib Ghawsu'l Islam wal Muslimin' (Type B10) for his coins it means 'Deputy to the succour of Islam and the Muslims'. In that case the chief would mean the Prophet himself, why he adopted this legend is not mentioned by any source. So, it is very difficult to explain it properly. Nasiruddin Mahmud retained for his coins the style, legend and designs of the previous reign viz Kalima, as Sultan al' Adil'. But with an addition to Khalifat Allah, bil hujjat wa'l burhan, and the Tughra characters and the lion motif. But Nasiruddin Mahmuds lion and Tughra characters in comparison to Jalaluddin are less graceful in execution and arrangement. It seems as if suddenly the engravers of the period of Jalaluddin disappeared and a new set of people were appointed for the task. Lion Types in two different poses are also found. In most of the cases lions are standing to the right (Type B11) but in at least one coin the lion is on the left³⁴. The other formulas (Nasirul Islam wal Muslim/Ghawsu'l Islam wa'l Muslimin) also more or less copied from the previous reign of Jalaluddin indicate that after the extinction of the family of Ganesh there was no claimant for the throne other than the Muslims and the same nobility raised Mahmud to the throne who once served Jalaluddin and Ahmad Shah. Therefore, it may fairly be assumed that whatever reactionary survived after the second assumption of power by Jalaluddin they were dealt with very effectively by Jalaluddin so there was no such element

³³ Corpus, pp 169 & 173; CUMC, p.17.

³⁴ SCA, pl.49, coin no.821

present during Mahmud's reign. Therefore, continuity in the numismatic tradition may be seen without any particular rigid affiliation of the family

Besides the lion type Mahmud introduced in his coinage some new formula, designs and certain royal emblems. He introduced for the first time in the Muslim numismatics of Bengal the 'Chhatra' umbrella design, seven circlelets to contain his name part as Sultan', and 'Nasir Shah, and a new style for the coin legend. Both sides jointly contain the legend, the obverse has the first part, name of the Sultan with the Kunyah Abu'l Mubajhid and the reverse contains the benediction, prosperity for his Sultanat. This Type B14 bears a new mint which is very significant and corroborates the annexation of south west Bengal to the realm of Mahmud. The mint name is 'Khalifatabad' dated 846 and 848. And the Kunyah Abul Mubajhid indicates that in the early period of Mahmud's reign Muslim expansion had reached the southernmost part of the country. On the basis of local tradition it may be assumed that Khan Jahan Ali by clearing of the Jungles of the Sunderbans laid the foundation of the city of Khalifatabad and made it his headquarter. A hoard of 360 sultani silver coins was found in 1981 from Bagerhat town while digging for road repairing. In this hoard most of the coins were of Mahmud and the earliest dated one was from 839AH. This rejects the notion of the historians that Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah during his governorship in 922 struck coins for the first time for the Khalifatabad mint. This coin is a new type of coin of Mahmud Shah in respect of legend, mint name and date (846). He also struck coins with Tughra Character for the reverse legend of a particular coin Type B7 (d) (Cat.no.272).

One of the most notable coins of Mahmud is his 'Chhatra type', the royal parasol for the first time in Bengal. On these coins an umbrella has been depicted on the upper part and below the parasol the name of the Sultan is engraved. The reverse margin is decorated with a scroll. The legends of these coins are the same as Type B10. There are several varieties of umbrella, one is with a stick in the middle, another has only the top covering having seven triangles. These coins are struck from Fathabad dated 858. The mint is not certain and dated 854. Mint Darud darb dated 858. The design and dates indicate that in the last part of his reign Mahmud ruled in a peaceful and prosperous country.

Karim mentioned only three mints of Nasiruddin Mahmud in his Corpus, Mahmudabad dated 858 and 862. Fathabad date not sure and Khazanah³⁵. But at present from the new discoveries of coins at least nine new mints and various new dates have been ascertained, they are as follows. Dakhil Banjaliyah dated 842. This mint was first started by Jalaluddin and was continued by his son Ahmad and also by Mahmud. This mint produced coin Type B3, and it signifies the prosperity of maritime trade. That a new mint necessitated there in the port city to supply currency. Another new mint Khalifatabad dated 846. Then al Firuzabad dated 848, though it may be assumed that there must have been a mint in the capital. Having the name of Firuzabad coin is discovered for the first time and a coin of this type is found in the Bagerhat

hoard (Cat.no.258). Also a couple of coins were found bearing the mint name Muazzamabad but the date not clear. Muhamadabad dated 857, 858. Arsah Satgaon, another mint came to light, coins of this mint is dated 856, 858 Nasirabad a new mint after the name of the Sultan bearing the date 858, probably old place has been renamed after him, most probably the capital. Another new name which is difficult to decipher which may be read as 'Shuhur', plural of 'Shahr' city, but it may be read as Sipur of Sitpur, Sipur for Sripur, a river port and ganj in Dhaka, once was famous for Muslin and other business. But it cannot be 'Sabta hara' as read by some scholars³⁶. Sometimes this name occurs on the coin prefixed with Darudd Darb. Individual Darub Darb also been found on the coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud. He at least introduced three new mints, Dakhil Banjaliyah, Khalifatabad and the problematic one Sipur or Shuhur.

These mints of Mahmud show that all of Bengal was under his control from North to South up to the Sundarban and on the east upto Chatgaon. The mint Dakhil Banjaliyah was just opposite to Chatgaon city. On the other hand considerable number of coins of Mahmud without any mint name and date have been discovered. Many of his Silver coins bear no mint or date; there is no provision of placing the mint name or date on the coin. Very recently one hoard, with such coins numbering about 170, has been found in Chittagong.

The last date of Nasiruddin Mahmud's coins may be fixed in 863AH. His inscription of Pandua, Maldah also dated 28th Zul Hijjah 863AH. Therefore, it is apparent that he ruled upto the end of the year 863, and probably died in the early part of the next year i.e. 864AH.

The next Sultan, the son and successor of Mahmud, Ruknuddin Barbak inscribed a stone inscription dated 1st Jumada I, 864 with the full regal title *as Sultān u'l 'ādil Ruknud dūnyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān*³⁷. It reveals that Nasiruddin Mahmud's death occurred between Muharram 864/October 1459 to Jumada I 864/23rd February 1460. So, Mahmud ruled for 27 years, which is consistent with the 'another account' of Riyaz³⁸.

³⁵ Corpus, p.84, and Table II.

³⁶ SCA, p.54, coin no. 832

³⁷ Shamsuddin Ahmed, Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. IV, Rajshahi: Varendra Research Museum, 1960 (henceforth IB, IV,) pp.70-71.

³⁸ Riyaz, p.120.

2. Ruknuddin Barbak Shah 864 – 879 /1459 - 1474

After the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah his son and successor Ruknuddin Barbak ascended the throne in 864/1459. He ruled upto 879/1474. His father's last inscription is dated 28 Zu'l Hijjah, 863/26 Oct, 1459³⁹, so that Mahmud's death could reasonably be fixed in 864AH in which year his son succeeded him. Prior to that Barbak served as a governor of the Satgaon region as a crown prince⁴⁰, as indicated by the Tribeni inscription of Barbak Shah. In this inscription Barbak Shah was designated as *Malik al-'ādil al-Bāzil al Kāmil Bārbak Shāh bin Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān* and only Barbak Shah, only his father is given the title 'as Sultan'. But in other inscriptions of Barbak dating from 864 he used the full regal title with *as Sultānu'l 'ādil Ruknu'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh*. It is to be noted here that even the Tribeni inscription does not bear his regnal title Ruknuddin⁴¹. But in four coins of Barbak Shah dated 862, he used the full regal name *Ruknuddīn abū'l muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh* with the title 'as Sultan'. On the reverse of these said coins he used the formula *al Muwayyid ba tāyid ar Raḥmān Khālīfatullāh bi'l Ḥujjat wa'l burhān*, which is the full regnal name. As there is no report of revolt against his father and as he succeeded his father so it may be concluded that Barbak was allowed to strike coins in his own name during his father's lifetime⁴². Probably Mahmud Shah initiated the practice of nominating a crown prince to avoid the problem of succession who was permitted to issue coins in his own name.

Barbak Shah issued coins in three metals, gold, silver and copper. Gold coins are scarce. On the contrary many silver coins from various mints including Dar u'd darb (the mint) and Khazanah (the treasury), have been reported. All the coins were struck following the tola weight standard. No fractional coins of Barbak Shah in silver have been reported but only a single copper coin is known. Coin types of Barbak Shah are as follows.

Gold Coins

Only two gold coins of Barbak Shah have been published in ONS no.148 by Stan Goron in 1996.

Type A1. Gold Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle the Kalima *lā ilāha illā Allāhu Muḥammadur Rasūl Allāh*, *Dar u'd darb 873*. The Muslim profession of faith, 'there is no God but Allah Muhammad His messenger struck in the mint in 873'. Margin unread, probably the names of the first four Khalifa.

³⁹ JASB. (1873), pp. 271-272; IB, IV pp. 60-62

⁴⁰ HMB, I A, p. 168

⁴¹ IB, IV, p.68-69.

⁴² Corpus, p.96: Abdul Karim, "A Unique Coin of Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah of Bengal", JASP, IV, 1959.

The reverse bears the legend also in a circle, in Arabic, *ḍarb/as Sulṭānu 'l a'dal/al a'zam Bārbak Shāh Sulṭān/ibn Maḥmūd Shāh Sulṭān/Khallada Allāhu Mulkhahu wa Khilāfatuhu*. Margin Indistinct⁴³ (Cat.no.300).

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle divided by two horizontal lines into three segments. The first segment contains *lā ilaha illā Allāhu*, the second segment *Muḥammadur Rasūl Allāh* and the third one contains *as Sulṭān*. The margin out side the circle is unread and the lettering is indistinct.

The reverse bears the legend with the same arrangement as the obverse. The first segment contains *al-a'zam*, second segment *Bārbak Shāh Sulṭān ibn* and third segment contains *Maḥmūd Shāh Sulṭān* i.e. 'The great Barbak Shah Sultan son of Mahmud Shah Sultan. The margin is indistinct (Cat. no. 301).

It is to be noted that the silver version of this type, Type B5 contains in the second segment after *Rasūl Allāh* the word 'as Sultan' while the third segment of the silver contains the word 'al 'Ālim al-'Ādil' which is completely absent in the gold tanka. Likewise the reverse legend starts in the first segment in silver with the word *al a'zam al mu'azzam* while in gold coin, *al-mu'azzam* is missing⁴⁴. The Type A2 coin is in the Al Sayyed collection. The weight and measurement of the coin is unavailable, as Stan Goron has reported. No denominational gold coin of Barbak Shah has been found.

Silver coins

On the basis of legends the silver coin types are eleven in number. There are no fractional coins of the Sultan.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a circle in three lines. The fourth line contains the mint name *Dar u'd ḍarb* i.e. the house of striking (of the coin) and the date in numerals, 864.

The reverse bears the name of the Sultan along with the parentage in Arabic in five lines: *as Sulṭān/ibn u's Sulṭān Rukn u'd-dunyā wa 'd dīn abū 'l mujāhid Bārbak Shāh/ as Sulṭān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān*. 'The Sultan, son of the Sultan, pillar of the world and religion, father of the warrior Barbak Shah the Sultan son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan'.

⁴³ ONS 148, 1996, p. 20 coin No. 14

⁴⁴ ONS, 148, p. 20, coin No. 15

Type B1 coins have the circle in the obverse. The reverse is in general, is in a lettered surface. Though the legends are the same, different letterings have been found and from the mints of Dar u'd darb' (Cat. no. 302), Khazanah, Muhammadabad and 'Arsah Satgaon. Issues of all four mints of Type B1 coins are dated 864.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a rayed circle the Kalima in three lines like the above coin Type B1 but without mint name, the date is 867 in numerals.

The reverse is in a lettered surface. The legend is same as Type B1 but in place of *abūl mujāhid* of Type B1 in Type B2 is *abūl muẓaffar*, 'Father of the victory'. The calligraphy of this coin is comparatively elegant. There is one coin of this type in the Taifoor collection⁴⁵ (Cat.no. 303).

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend, the Kalima in a decorative circle in three lines like Type B1 and B2 and the fourth line contains the mint name and date *Dar u'd darb 867*. The border ornamentation has been described by Bhattasali (T. Collection 133) and following him Karim in the Corpus has described it as a rayed circle. But there is a sharp difference between these two rays Type B2 obverse and Type B3 obverse. In Type B2 the rays are triangular and in type B3 they are flamboyant⁴⁶. The reverse has an ornamental border composed of double semi circular rising sun motif outside a circle, the legend *Rukn u'd duniyā wa'ad dīn abūl muẓaffar/Bārbak Shāh as Sulṭān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh/as Sulṭān*. There is only Sultan's name without any initial title prefixed to his regal title *Rukn u'd dīn*⁴⁷ (Cat.no.304).

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse has a decorative bordered circle the Kalima in three lines and the fourth line has the mint name and date, which looks like *arba'* but probably is a corrupt of *Dar u'd darb*.

The reverse bears the legend, in a circle bordered with decorations, *Ḍrah as Sulṭānu'l a'dal al a'ẓam Bārbak Shāh Sulṭān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh Sulṭān/khallada Allāhu mulkahu/wa Sulṭānahu (?)*, 'Strike of the Sultan, who is just, the great Barbak Shah Sultan son of Mahmud Shah Sultan may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and power.'

The last word in the last line has been read as *Jannatabad* in BMC⁴⁸. In IMC the reading of coin no. 146 is *Khalīfat Allāh Khuzanah*. But the photograph of the coin shows that the reading of 'Khalifat Allah' is

⁴⁵ Corpus, p. 93, Type N; Taifoor Collection, p. 25, No. 130

⁴⁶ Corpus, p.93 Type P, Taifoor Collection, p. 26, No. 133

⁴⁷ SCA, No. 851, Pl.

⁴⁸ BMC p.37, coin No. 90

faulty. Admitting the degenerated and crude writings of the period of Barbak, if we read it accepting the 'Alif' of Allah before the 'Dal' of 'Khallada' then the reading seems to be more correct. The reading of the obverse after the Kalima in IMC should be 'Khazanah' (Cat.no. 305).

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a decorative circle in two lines and each line is underlined by two horizontal lines into three chambers, the last one of which contains *al 'ālim al 'ādil*, 'The learned and the just'.

The reverse arrangement is the same as the obverse and the legend contains in the first chamber *al a'zam al mu a'zzam*, 'The supreme the great'. The second chamber *Bārbak Shāh as Sultān ibn*, the third chamber *Mahmūd Shāh as Sultān* i.e. 'the learned and the just Barbak Shah Sultan son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan'.

In general this type bears no mint name or date, but a coin illustrated in SCA no. 852 has the mint name of Barabakabad but no date. This type is also available in various sizes. At least three size can be noticed and several style of writings from crude to fine and plain design to decorative circles but each type bears the horizontal two lines dividing the legend into three chambers.

Type B6: Silver Tanka (Tughra)

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in Tughra characters *Rukn u'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Bārbak Shāh as Sultān*, 'Pillar of the world and religion father of the warrior Barbak Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse bears the legend in a circle *as Sultān bin as Sultān*, 'Sultan son of the Sultan' and the mint name *Dar u'd darb*, the date in numerals is 864. marginal legend around the circle, not always distinct but seems to be *khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sultānahu wa a'lā amruhu wa shānuhu*, 'May Allah perpetuate his power and kingdom and may his orders and prestige be upheld.' This type is also struck from the mints *Khazanah* and *Arsah Chatgaon* or *Bārbakābād (?)* with the same date, 864.

Type B7: Silver Tanka (Tughra)

The obverse bears the same legend as Type B6 in Tughra in a circle. The reverse bears in a circle *ghawsul Islām wa'l Muslimīn. Nāsirābād 864* 'Shelter of Islam and the Muslims, Nasiruabad mint and date 864'. The marginal legend outside, within another circle, same as the above coin's legend. i.e. *khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sultānahu wa a'lā amruhu wa shānuhu*.

Type B8: Silver Tanka (Tughra)

The obverse is same as the obverse of type B6 and B7 in Tughra character. The reverse bears the legend in a circle *al muwayyid ha tāyyidi'r Raḥmān khalīfat Allāh bi'l ḥujjat wa'l burhān, Khazānah*, date illegible⁴⁹.

Type B9: Silver Tanka (Tughra)

The obverse bears the legend, the name of the Sultan in Tughra character, same as the obverse of Type B8. The Kunyah is *abū'l muẓaffar*, 'father of Victory' instead of *abū'l mujāhid* of the Type B8.

The reverse legend is the same as the reverse of the Type B8 in a circle, but the mint is 'Dar u'd darb' and the date 865. Two such coins are illustrated and described by Bhattasali in the Taifoor collection⁵⁰. Bhattasali read it as Khazanah 868, but with the redundant before Khazanah which in fact is the 'Da' of *Dar* and the unit 5 is written as ω instead of δ/δ . The second coin's mint is also read by Bhattasali as *Khazanah* which is most probably Nasirabad. The date is the same 865. There is one coin in HHR collection bearing the mint name of Muzaffarabad, the date is illegible⁵¹.

Type B10: Silver Tanka (Tughra)

The obverse is the same as the above coin Type B9 in Tughra character. The reverse legend is the same as the reverse of the Type B8 and B9 but with an addition after *wa'l burhān* 'nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn, 'helper of Islam and Muslims'. Only one coin of this type is known in HHR Collection and published by Bhattasali⁵². He read the mint as Khazanah but that is illegible on the coin and the unit 8 of the date is visible.

Type B11: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Sultan in a double circle, with ornaments or writing in between. The legend contains the name of the Sultan with the Kunyah *abū'l muẓaffar* same as the reverse legend of Type B3.

The reverse bears the legend in an ornamented circle *al muwayyid ha tāyyidi'r Raḥmān khalīfat Allāh bi'l ḥujjat wa'l burhān*. 'Strengthened by the support of the Merciful, vicegerent of Allah by proof and testimony' and the mint name Khazanah, date is 867⁵³.

⁴⁹ SCA no. 850

⁵⁰ Taifoor collection, pp.23-24. Coin no. 120 &121, pl: IV

⁵¹ HHR collection, p 22, coin no. 116, pl. ii

⁵² Ibid. p. 22, coin no. 113, pl. ii.

⁵³ suppl. shillong Catalogue, pp.142-43, coin no.2/117.

Type B11 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse is in a circle with arabesque design around in the margin. The reverse is in a plain or lettered surface. The legends of both obverse and reverse are same as coin Type B11, mint and date are on the reverse.

Type B11 (b): Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends are same as coin B11 but both the obverse and reverse are in a rayed circle with name of the mint and date on the reverse. IMC has one coin of this type dated 867 but no mint⁵⁴.

Type B11 (c): Silver Tanka

The legends are same as Type B11. The obverse legend is in a circle with a thick ornamental border with disks of the sun made of two concentric rayed arcs. The reverse has legend in a rayed circle, mint name and date. Bhattasali describes a coin of this type with the mint Muzaffarabad, dated 867⁵⁵.

Copper coin

Only one copper coin of Barbak Shah is known⁵⁶, H.N. Wright raised the doubt about its authenticity, as small currency consisted of 'cowrie' shells.

Type C1: Copper Coin

The obverse bears the legend in a plain surface, in Arabic, in four lines *abū'l mujāhid/ Bārbak Shāh Sulṭān ibn Maḥmūd Shah*, the name of the Sultan with only the Kunyah, *abū'l mujāhid*.

The reverse bears the legend in a plain area, in two lines of Arabic *khalīfat Allah bil hujjat wa'l burhan*, 'Vicegerent of Allah by the proof and testimony'. There is no mint name or date. The weight of the coin is 74 grain and measurement is 0.7 inch.

Only two gold coins of Barbak Shah have come to light, one dated 873, Type A1 whose legend corresponds to the silver Type B5. The second, having no date and mint name corresponds to the silver Type B4. Probably regular gold coins were in circulation but limited in number. Large-scale business transactions were performed by silver tankas in general. Kawri shells were used in small transactions of day-to-day consumptions. So, in presence of abundant silver coins gold coins were not popular for transactions probably due to high buying power of gold. So, this may be considered to be an indicator of

⁵⁴ IMC, p. 168, coin no. 144

⁵⁵ *Taifoor Collection*, p. 26, coin no. 132, but pl. no. 133

⁵⁶ *Suppl. IMC*, II, p. 62 no. 154; also preface p. III.

cheap commodities of the period. Probably the gold coins were not commemorative. There is no indication in history or on the coins why he issued gold tanka after a decade. Therefore, it can be presumed to be regular currency and the weight standard one tola is in favour of our assumption.

Barbak's earliest coins, all silver, are dated 862 while he was a crown prince during his father's reign. These coins, four in number⁵⁷, bear the full regal title Rukn u'd dunya wa'd din Abu'l Muzaffar Barbak Shah corresponding to Tughra Type B9 of our classification. So, he proclaimed Abu'l Muzaffar as his Kunyah in these coins. But after his ascension to the throne he issued coin of Type B1 simultaneously from the mints of 'Arsah Satgaon, 'Muhammadabad' and from Dar u'd darb' and 'Khazanah', all dated 864. Besides these he also struck Kalima type (B1) coins with Tughra character during his early reign from the mints Iqlim Mu'azzamabad (no date), and Nasirabad, dated 867 Dar u'd darb dated 865(?) (Coin Type B8); from 'Arsah Chatgaon (Dt. 864), Dar u'd darb and Khazanah dated 864, (coin Type B9), and also from Nasirabad dated 864 (coin Type B7). It is to be noted here that he retained the Kalima for his coin formula as his father and grandfather did. This was reintroduced in Sultani coinage by Jalaluddin Muhammad.

Both the Kunyah Abul Mujahid and Abul Muzaffar have been used in his coins. In the types B6, B7 and B9 Barbak used the Kunyah Abul Mujahid and in B8 Abul Muzaffar.

Barbak Shah introduced some new formulas and styles for his silver issues. In the reverse of Type B4 he used the word darb, meaning struck i.e. the coin is a striking of Sultan Barbak at the very beginning of the legend. This unusual word is used only by him. In Type B4 Barbak used a title which is also unusual, *al Sultan al 'Adil*. We have already noticed as Sultanul 'Adil in the coins of his father and also in the coins of Ilyas Shahi rulers. But here for the first time in Bengal numismatics he used the word *A'dal* العدل a superlative of 'Adil. By this he considered himself as the best judge. For the coin Type B5 Barbak introduced a new formula for the obverse, after the Kalima, 'as Sultan ul 'Ālim' and 'Ādil', (the learned and the just). For the reverse legend 'al A'zam al Mu'azzam' i.e. the supreme and the great. If we connect the reverse with the obverse legends, the reading is *as Sultan al 'Ālim al 'Ādil al A'zam al Mu'azzam*, 'the learned and just, the supreme and the great Sultan Barbak Shah' This type of formula was used in Bengal Sultani coinage for the first time and never repeated by subsequent Sultans. In the Deotala inscription of Barbak he claimed himself as 'al Fadil al Kamil', about which Ahmed Hasan Dani commented that, "The use of the phrase, al Fadil and al Kamil, signifies high academic attainments"⁵⁸. Mukhapadhyay also admitted Barbak as a great scholar and praised his patronization "of the scholars without barring any cast and creed"⁵⁹. Therefore it appears that Barbak's claim of learning and justice is justified because he was a great scholar and a just Sultan. Though he was a scholar and patron of poets and scholars, the coin legend

⁵⁷ JASP Vol.IV, (1959), pp. 169-170, discussed by Karim; Also in *Taifoor collection*, pp.23-24, coin nos. 120, 122

⁵⁸ Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*, Appendix to the JASP Vol.II, (1959), P. 21

'al-A'zam and 'al Muazzam' indicates the absolute authoritative nature of sovereignty, which is proven from the description of the *Risalat-us Shuhada* regarding the killing of Ismail Ghazi⁶⁰. He also introduced a new design and arrangement of the obverse and reverse legends, by dividing the flan into three segments by two horizontal lines. He continued the Tughra characters for his coins, and a considerable number of his coin types Tughra. Types B6, B7, B8, and Type B9.

A single Tughra type of his father is known. After Jalaluddin Muhammad, Barbak's Tughra had a refreshing look, but was never used by the succeeding Sultans. In his Tughra issues both the Kunyah 'Abul Mujahid and 'Abu'l Muzaffar' have been used as mentioned earlier. Like his father he also used the formula *al Mu'wayyid bi t̄ayyidi'r Raḥmān Khālīfat Allāh bi'l hujjat wa'l burhān* very widely. The Types B8, B9 and B10 (Tughra Types) and Type B11 bear this formula on the reverse. This indicates that the claim of Khilafat and Khalifa by proof and testimony' proclaimed by his father continued to be upheld by Barbak Shah. Like his father he simply started his name without any additional title of 'Sultan or A'zam or 'Adil'. But one type of his coin (Type B10) bears on the reverse along with the claim of Khalifatullah, Nasirul Islam wa'l Muslimin which is not found in his father's coins. The legend *Ghawṣu'l Islām wa'l Muslimīn* is found in Type B7 reverse. Type B10 is a rare coin and a single piece is known in HHR Collection published by Bhattasali⁶¹.

There are some anomalies in the previous catalogues regarding the coins of Barbak Shah. In the BMC, coin no. 90, pl. IV is illustrated, in the last line of the reverse, Lane Poole read 'Jannatabad' which seems to be read as Khalifat Allah, in IMC coin no. 146 and the Corpus (Type H, Corpus) the reading seems to be 'Khazana', already been discussed in Type B4. Mukhapadhyay doubted about the reading of 'Satgaon' and 'Jannatabad' and gave emphasis on the latter and commented that Jannatabad was named by Humayun in 1538, and there is no proof of its existence in 15th century Bengal⁶². But in BMC one coin of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah has been read as Jannatabad (coin no. 53, p. 24) though the word is not clear. One of Jalaluddin's silver coins reveals the mint name as Jannatabad dated 819AH. Thus proves the existence of Jannatabad long before Humayun. Karim doubted the reading and commented that only *Hasad* is visible but gave no alternate reading⁶³. The reading is really difficult and the word is not clear. But if we assume that the letter *waw* has been merged with the *sin* of *Sulṭānahu* then conjecturally the word may be read as *wa Sulṭānahu*, with the conjugation of 'waw' and 'sin' the first letter became like *Hā*.

⁵⁹ Dusho Bachhar, P. 201

⁶⁰ Quoted in Sultani Amol, p.267; Dusho Bachhar, p.194.

⁶¹ HHR Collection, p.22, coin no. 113

⁶² Dusho Bachhar, p. 216.

⁶³ Corpus, p. 96

In IMC coin No. 146 the reverse legend is read as 'as Sultan ul 'Adil' but the actual reading is Sultanul A'dal (superlative of Adil). *A'dal* has been used so there is no scope of reading it as 'al Adil' and before that is the word *darb* in the first line, partially off the flan and punched in IMC. During Barbak's time the calligraphy of coins degenerated a lot, some coins of Barbak are so crudely engraved that they are very difficult to decipher. Except the Tughra types, which are better executed but do not attain Jalaluddin's Tughra standard in numismatics. Yet that was better than his father Mahmud's coin – Tughras. From the degenerated calligraphy of the coins of the period it can reasonably be assumed that those who were employed in engraving the coin – dies were not familiar with the Arabic character of the letters which leads us to assume that local people were employed for the task. IMC, II, coin no. 134 has been read as only 'as Sultan Rukn ud dunya' but in the coin there is a word before the word 'as Sultan'. It can be noticed easily and is obviously a *bin* or *ibn*. The first line's 'as Sultan' is off the flan. Similar coins in the Taifoor, SCA, BNM collections ascertain this. Due to misreading in the IMC II, in Corpus it has been defined as a separate type. (Corpus, Type A) but in reality there is no difference in Corpus Type A and Type M.

Likewise IMC II misread the reverse legend of coin No 147, p. 168, (pl. IV) which is clearly *al a'zam al mu'azzam* in the first line. But the reading given as *as Sultan al mu' azzam*, and following this the Corpus made it a separate type. Actually Corpus Types 'H' and 'I' are the same, as are types 'N' and 'O'. Both the legends of Type 'N' and Type 'O' and their designs are same, and the so called 'rayed circle' of Type 'O's reverse design, is not visible. There is no photograph. Bhattasali mentioned in the Taifoor collection Catalogue (no. 131, p. 25) 'the rays of the circle are not visible'. If it was only a circle then Bhattasali should have mentioned 'same as the above coin but in a circle'. So our assumption about these two types, 'N' and 'O' of the Corpus, is that both may be of the same type. In Type O the rays are not clearly visible. Again in the Corpus, while classifying types, in some coins Kalima has been given the obverse position and in some coins the Kalima is also been defined as a reverse position. Types A and M of the Corpus are same and also Type G (a) and Q are same⁶⁴. The Corpus reported about five coins of Type K, three in the Shillong Cabinet, and two in the Suppl. Shillong Cabinet. But in fact those coins belong to Type 'I' of Corpus or a sub type⁶⁵ of it.

No coin of Barbak Shah in the collection of BNM has been ascertained beyond the date of 876. The date 878 is only represented by two coins described by Hoernle in JASB 1883. Karim on the basis of those two coins perhaps gave the last date of the coins of Barbak Shah as 878, in section III part I of his Corpus⁶⁶. But in part II in 'study of the coins' while discussing chronology he commented, "According to the

⁶⁴ Corpus, PP, 92-93

⁶⁵ Shillong Cabinet, p. 164, coin no. 4,5, and 6; Suppl. Shillong Cabinet pp. 142-143, coin nos 2/119, 2/120; Also Corpus, pp. 92-93.

⁶⁶ Corpus P.P. 92 & 97

available coins his (Barbak) last date is 879⁶⁷. Again Barbak's last dated coin has been shown as 878 in table I of Corpus⁶⁸.

The first date of the next ruler Yusuf Shah's coins is 880. There is a gap of at least one-year. The calligraphy of Barbak's coins is so crude that most of the legends, particularly the mint and date are indistinct, or cut marked or absent. The last date of the inscription of Barbak is 878 and the first date of the inscription of Yusuf Shah is 879⁶⁹. Though Mukhapadhyay quoting *Smriti* writer Bisharad commented that Barbak Shah was alive in 880 (Saka 1397) and was on the throne, his son Yusuf was ruling as a joint ruler or crown prince with full regal titles as his inscription of 879 shows⁷⁰. On the basis of coins and inscription we may fix the reign of Barbak Shah up to 878 and the ascension of the next ruler Yusuf, as 879 AH giving Barbak a reign of fifteen years, as agreed by Karim⁷¹. But to complete that period we need to count both the years of ascension (864AH.) and end of rule (878) of Barbak Shah. But if the view of Mukhapadhyay based on 'Smriti' is taken to be correct, then Barbak's reign could be seventeen years which tallies with the period mentioned by Riyaz⁷².

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 146

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 155

⁶⁹ CAPIB, p.530.

⁷⁰ *Dusho Bachhar*, p. 189

⁷¹ Sultani Amol, p.270.

⁷² Riyaz, p.270.

3. Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah 879 - 885/1474 - 1480

Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf, the son and successor of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah, after the death of the latter ascended the throne probably in 880. No coin before that date has been found, though Yusuf's inscription dated 879 has come to light with full regal titles. This may be considered an act of a crown prince who was given the right of sovereignty⁷³. Or may he be ascended in 879⁷⁴.

As an able ruler and administrator Yusuf earned the reputation of a just, learned and benevolent Sultan. The Riyad depicted him as 'sovereign of gentle temperament, solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, and virtuous and learned and pious'⁷⁵.

Firishta⁷⁶, Mukhapadhyay, and Karim⁷⁷ speak about his scholarship and devotion towards religion. In his reign "no one dared to drink wine"⁷⁸.

Yusuf Shah's many silver coins have been found from various dates ranging from 880 to 885 but no gold coin or in any other metal, but silver. All are of one tanka denomination following the tola weight standard except a lone fractional coin; a half tanka is known and published.

Silver coins

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a circle or in a plain area in three lines *lā ilāha illā Allāhu Muḥammadu'r Rasūl Allāh*. There is no mint, date, margin or decorative border on the coin.

The reverse bears the name of the Sultan in Arabic in a circle *Shams u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Yūsuf Shāh ibn Bārbak Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān*, 'Sun of the world and religion. Father of the warrior Yusuf Shah son of Barbak Shah son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan'. The calligraphy and the execution of this coin is very crude.

⁷³ Sultanganj inscription of Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah. In this inscription he was designated with the title of Sultan bin Sultan bin Sultan Shamsu'd dunya wa'd din Abul Muzaffar Yusuf Shah Sultan i.e. with full regal name and titles.

⁷⁴ Sultani Amol. p.270.

⁷⁵ Riyad P. 120

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 120. Fn. No. 2. 'Yusuf was a scholar who charged the ulema to see the law of the Prophet duly observed'.

⁷⁷ Sultani Amol pp.270-271

⁷⁸ Blochmann. JASB. 1873. P. 275.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima, the same as the above Type B1. The reverse legend and design as same as Type B1's reverse. In some coins the Kunyah is 'Abul Muzaffar' instead of 'Abul Majahid' the circle is so feeble that it seems to be a plain surface. No mint or date is inscribed on the coin.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle, margin indistinct, the Kalima, in two lines, and the third line contains the mint and date. No mint town is mentioned but only Khazanah, (treasury), date 881.

The reverse bears in a circle, margin indistinct, the name of the Sultan with the Kunyah 'Abul Muzaffar' and also with the parentage, name of father and grand father. Also struck from *Darud Darb* i.e. the mint, dated 883⁷⁹.

Type B3 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is the Kalima in a decorative bordered circle having the mint name *Khazānah mausūl*, dated 880. This mint was read by Stan Goron as "Khazanah Maumur?" with a question mark. But it seems to be *Khazānah Mausūl* (The paid treasure) or it may be read as *Khazānah mawjūd*, (the present treasure⁸⁰). The reverse bears the name of the Sultan, the same as Type B3's reverse within a decorated bordered circle of a peculiar motif's repetition around the circle.

Type B3 (b): Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends are same as Type B3 but the mint name on the obverse is *Khazānah* and date 881. But both the obverse and reverse design of the margin is a decoration of a cluster of trilobed motif around the circle.

Type B3 (c): Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima within an ornate bordered circle and the mint is *Shamsābād* and dated 884. This mint is noticed for the first time in Bengal Sultan's coins, probably it was the capital renamed after the king's name. This is a new type not in the Corpus. The reverse design is the same as obverse. The legend is same as Type B3. There are small triangles crowned by three dots placed around the circle, there is an outer edge of schallops.

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a square divided by a horizontal line, in the segments are the names of the four righteous Khalifas. There is no mint and date on the coin.

⁷⁹ IMC, II, p. 169, coin no. 150

⁸⁰ SCA, p. 55, coin no. 860

The reverse legend seems to be in a plain area divided by three horizontal lines i.e. the legend of the reverse is divided into four chambers. The legend contains the name of the Sultan with Kunyah 'Abu'l Muzaffar' and parentage, his father and grand father's names.

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse in a lettered surface the legend is the same as Type B4's reverse, but the Kunyah has not been retained on the flan, so it is not certain whether he used Abul Muzaffar or Abu'l Mujahid for this particular type.

The reverse bears the legend also in a lettered surface *al muwayyi'du batāyyi'd ar Raḥmān Khalīfat Allāh bil hujjati wa'l burhān*. 'Strengthened by the help of the compassionate, vicegerent of Allah with the proof and testimony'. There is the date in the last line of the reverse, which seems to be 883 (?) The reading of the unit digit is not certain. But no mint name is visible on the coin.

Type B6: Silver half Tanka

The obverse in lettered surface is the same as Type B5 but the Kunyah is Abu'l Mujahid, Father of the warrior'. The reverse is the same as Type B5's reverse but due to small flan the complete legend could not been inscribed on the coin. Most probably the coin was struck from a full tanka die, But not from the Type B5 die. The weight of the coin is 5.22 gram and diameter is 20 mm.

Yusuf Shah struck only silver coins and the style of his coins was dominated by the Kalima. All known coins of Yusuf except two bear on the obverse the Kalima. Most of the coins execution is rather crude except Type B3 and Type B4. In his Type B5 and B6 he used the formula introduced by Mahmud proclaiming "Khalifat Allah bil hujjat wa'l burhan", only two such coins are known and illustrated in SCA for the first time⁸¹. Though no details of the reign of Yusuf is available in any source, history or chronicles but the Riyad and Ferishta depicted him as "learned, pious, sovereign of gentle temperament and skillful"⁸² but his coins' legends did not reflect any of that. It seemed that the coins of Yusuf were only utilitarian, serving only as the medium of exchange, with no specialty, title or claim or artistic feature. No mint names are found on his coins except Khazanah and Daru'd darb, only a mint 'Shamsabad' has been reported recently⁸³, but not been mentioned in the corpus. The limitation of mints to Khazanah and Daru'd darb indicate that the various mints of his father's time were ceased to function and circulation of coin and minting activities were managed centrally during this period.

⁸¹ SCA, p. 52, coin no. 863&864, Pl. 52.

⁸² Riyad. p. 120, and F n. no. 2.

⁸³ Our coin type. B3(c)

In BMC Lane Poole has suggested the reading of the mint of the coin no 92 as Sonargaon, in a similar coin IMC II suggested the reading as *Darud darh*⁸⁴ and citing both Karim preferred the reading of Lane Poole in the Corpus⁸⁵. But the reading is clear as *Dar ud Darh* on both the coins, the letter *Dal* and *Alif* of *Dar* are conjoined and 'Dal' is a bit elongated which make this confusion. Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah reigned for a short period of six years from 880 to 885, but the Riyad gave him seven years six months and fixed his death in 887. But counting his reign on the basis of coins it hardly reaches six years, as the next ruler Sikandar's coins are found dated 885. If Yusuf's rule is counted from his earliest inscription's date 879 (Sultanganj inscription) then the duration of his rule may reach seven years. It may be noted here that no inscription of Yusuf Shah is found beyond 885⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ IMC, II, p.169, coin no. 150.Pl.iv.

⁸⁵ Corpus, p.98.

⁸⁶ IB,IV,p.322.

4. Nuruddin Sikandar [II] Shah 885/1481

The next and fourth ruler of the Mahmud Shahi family is Sultan Sikandar II. The historians opined differently about Sikandar. According to A.B.M. Habibullah, "Yusuf's immediate successor was a prince named Sikandar, who was probably, 'as Salim states, his son. After his accession he was discovered to have been afflicted with lunacy and was consequently deposed. His reign lasted not more than three days"⁸⁷. W. Haig also states Sikandar as Yusuf's son. "On his (Yusuf) death in 1381 the courtiers raised to the throne his son Sikandar"⁸⁸. The main source from which the historians generally quote is Golam Hossain Salim. He states that after the death of Yusuf Shah his son Sikandar ascended the throne. He had some sort of insanity. As he was not capable of running this important office, the nobles deposed him on the same day and another son of Yusuf Shah named Fath was placed instead⁸⁹. Stewart also states, Yusuf Shah, dying without children, the noble raised to the throne a youth of the royal family named Sikandar shah, but after two months, finding him incapable of governing, they deposed him and placed on the throne his uncle"⁹⁰. Abdul Karim states that according to the old custom after the death of Yusuf Shah his son (probably the eldest son) Sikandar ascended the throne⁹¹. Khawaja Nizam uddin Ahmed states, "the Amirs and Vazirs placed Sikandar Shah on the throne of the empire without careful enquires. As he did not possess the qualifications or the right of being invested with this high office, they removed him from it and raised Fath Shah to the chieftainship. The period of Sikandar Shah's reign was two and a half days"⁹².

To summarize the above statements of the historians, the main points that stand are (i) succession, (ii) identity of the ruler, (iii) duration of his rule, and (iv) the question of his insanity. All the above historians unanimously agreed upon point one and point four, i.e. succession and insanity of Sikandar, but they are different in view about the identity and duration of his rule. The question is whether he was Yusuf's son or his eldest son or a scion of the family and likewise whether he ruled only for a half-day or two and a half days, or three days, or according to Stewart, two months. But before the discussion of those points we may have a look on the coins of sultan Sikandar II. A few coins of Sikandar II have been found so far and known for the first time in the late eighties. At present four coin are in the collection of BNM and more three coins are known preserved in the private collections in Calcutta, India. So, Sikandar II's coins are rare and are of Silver tanka only. According to legend all his coins are of the same type but line arrangements and designs differ. The coins are as follows:

⁸⁷ HB, II, p.136.

⁸⁸ W.Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.III, Delhi, (1965 reprint), p.268.

⁸⁹ Riyaz, p.121.

⁹⁰ C.Stewart, *The History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1847,p. 65.

⁹¹ Sultani Amol, p.329. He did not mention about Sikandar's duration of rule.

⁹² TA, Vol. III, (Eng.Tr.), pp436-437.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in an ornamented circle the Kalima in three lines. There is no marginal legend or mint name and date. The reverse bears the name of the Sultan in four lines in a similar ornamented circle as obverse also having no mint name or date or any marginal legend. The legend is *as Sulṭān bin as Sulṭān Nūru'd duniyā wa'd dīn al mujāhid Sikandar Shāh Sulṭān bin Maḥmūd Shāh Sulṭān*. 'The Sultan son of Sultan, light of the world and the religion, the warrior Sikandar Shah Sultan son of Mahmud Shah Sultan'.

Type B1 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle the Kalima in two lines and the third line contains the mint name and date *Khazanah 885*, the treasury 885AH.

The reverse bears the legend as same as Type B1 but in five lines and with *abū* before *al Mujāhid* i.e. *abū'l mujāhid* in the third line. The weight is 10.57 gram and dia meter 25 mm. Rest two coins are of the same as Type B1a but the mint name is *Daru'd darb*. Both the coin's obverse and reverse legends are in a plain area and the weights and sizes are almost similar 10.4 gram and 25 mm. each.

From the coin mentioned above we may now review the reign of Sultan Sikandar II afresh. All the four coins bear on their obverse the Kalima, the popular Muslim formula of faith, while two of them, have mint name as *Dar-ud-darb* i.e. house of striking, and has *Khajanah* dated 885 and the other has no mint name. The reverse legend of the coins is the same, i.e. *Sultan bin as Sultan Nurud-Dunya wad-Din Abdul Mujahid Sikandar Shah Sultan bin Mahmud Shah Sultan*.

It is worth mentioning that on the reverse legend Sikandar proclaimed himself as *Sultan bin as Sultan* i.e., he is Sultan and also son of a Sultan. Secondly, *Nurud-Dunya Wad-Din Abul Mujahid Sikandar Shah* is his full regal name. Lastly, the term *bin Mahmud Shah Sultan* denotes that his father's name is Sultan (*Nasir-ud -din*) Mahmud. It is to be noted that two coins bear no date but coin no 2 has a date as -85. Though the first digit is missing, still obviously the date should be 885A.H. It is also to be noted that coin 3 bears no date and mint at all. It clearly shows a different style in calligraphy and arrangement, which is unique among its class. It may be mentioned here that all the four coins are of different dies.

It would not be out of place to compare the other coins bearing the name Sikandar with the coins mentioned above. There are as many as ten rulers having the name Sikandar, who ruled in the sub-continent. Among those (ten) two are from Bengal, three are from Delhi Sultanate, one each of the Tughlaq, Lodi and Suri dynasty; and one each from Kashmir, Gujrat, Bijapur, Madura and Arakan. But none of their coins has any similarity with our present coins in any way. Outside Bengal, Sikandar of

Madura and Tughlaq Sikandar of Delhi struck only copper coins⁹³. Only billion coins of Sikandar Lodi⁹⁴ are known while Sikandar of Kashmir⁹⁵ and Suri Sikandar's⁹⁶ copper and silver coins are known. But none of their coins has been nearness in style, design, calligraphy, size and shape with the coins of Sikandar II of Bengal. No coin of Sikandar of Gujrat⁹⁷ is known as yet and lastly Arakani Sikandar's actual name is Meng Falang and his coin bears on one side, legend in Arakani script⁹⁸. Now Bengal Sikandar, i.e., Sikandar bin Ilyas Shah's nine types of coins are known⁹⁹, but none of them possess Kalima and out of nine, eight have their part of legend as Sikandar bin Ilyas, i.e., Sikandar son of Ilyas. The remaining one, not mentioning his father's name, has not the slightest relation in respect of legend, date and mint with the coin of Sikandar II. Above all, the date 885AH of Sikandar II's coin does not tally with any other Sikandar's reign mentioned above¹⁰⁰. Therefore, we can with all certainty assign those four coins to Sikandar II of Bengal.

We would like to confirm from our coin legend *bin Mahmūd Shāh*. Meaning son of Mahmud Shah. That Sultan Sikandar II was the son of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah¹⁰¹. So, he was brother of the successive ruler Sultan Jalaluddin Fath and uncle of the previous ruler Shamsuddin Yusuf, not the son of Yusuf as some historians opined.

It may be assumed that Yusuf had no son to succeed him and, therefore, the nobles were not in a position to follow the tradition of selecting the deceased Sultan's son for kingship. Probably there was not able candidate among the brothers of Yusuf either. So Barkabk's two brothers, Sikandar and Fath came to fore with their claim and both of them were enthroned successively.

Now about the question of Sikandar's duration of rule? We are told that Sikandar ruled for a very short period, from half a day to three days, only Stewart allows him two months. Again, historians unanimously

⁹³ IMC, II, p.72, pl.vii, coin nos. 502-505.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p.80, pl.vii, coin no.582.

⁹⁵ BMC, pl.viii, coin no. 180.

⁹⁶ IMC, II, p.127, pl.xiv, coin nos. 898-899.

⁹⁷ P.L. Gupta, Coins, New Delhi, 1979, p.102.

⁹⁸ Sultani Amol, p.258, Fn. no. 91.

⁹⁹ Corpus, pp.50-51.

¹⁰⁰ List of Sikandars :

1. Sultan Sikandar bin Ilyas	Bengal	1358-89	C.E.
2. Sultan Alauddin Sikandar	Madura	1372-78	C.E.
3. Sultan Sikandar	Kashmir	1386-1410	C.E.
4. Sultan Sikandar Tughlaq	Delhi	1392	C.E.
5. Sultan Nuruddin Sikandar	Bengal	1481.	C. E.
6. Sultan Sikandar Lodi	Delhi	1488-1517	C.E.
7. Sultan Sikandar Shah	Gujrat	1525	C.E.
8. Sultan Sikandar Sur	Delhi	1554	C.E.
9. Sikandar alias Meng F.	Arakan	1517-93	C.E.
10. Sikandar Shah	Bijapur	1672-86	C.E.

¹⁰¹ Coins of the successive ruler Fath Shah also bear the same term *bin Mahmud Shah* and scholars agreed upon that this Mahmud is Nasiruddin Mahmud.

speak about Sikandar's incapability of running the Sultanat for which he was deposed. But our coins contradict above views. If the deposition was due to insanity, that would have been detected just after his ascension, the nobles would not have enthroned him even for a while. Moreover, had he been in the throne only for three days, striking of several varieties of coins would not have been possible on his part within such a short time. So, his deposition, blaming him insane, is very much questionable. Later events indicate that from the time of Raja Ganesha's rule grouping among the nobles was a phenomenon of the time. It may be recalled that to curb the local power and 'unstinted support, Barbak employed a large number of Abyssinian slaves' who ultimately became the pivot of power-politics, supported either the cause of Sikandar or Fath. In opposition to the Abyssinians most probably were the supporters of Sikandar who came out successful at first and Sikandar became Sultan, struck coin and his name was mentioned in the recitation (Khutba) of Friday congregations. But within a short time the supporters of Fath, however, managed to topple him. Fath Shah became Sultan. Sikandar was probably killed later on. To suppress this fratricide and usurpation of power, Sikandar was probably declared insane.

Therefore, on the basis of the coin of Sikandar II, we may assume with almost certainty about the duration of his rule, which definitely was not three days or so. It may be two months, as stated by Stewart, or more than that.

On the basis of above discussions it may also be inferred that Sikander was not insane at all. Sikander as the uncle of Yusuf enjoyed a life at least of 20 years- from Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah to Yusuf Shah's death. Hence it is likely that the nobles were very much acquainted with Sikandar's character and behaviors and, therefore, to declare him insane just after his crowning is not at all convincing. It is a universal fact that the history of the vanquished has always been written under the guidance of the victors. The same also happened in the case of Sikandar II and to camouflage the fact i.e. palace intrigue and fratricide etc. the story of insanity was invented.

It is to be noted that Yusuf Shah's coins and inscriptions bear the last date as 884 and 885AH respectively. And Fath Shah's coins are available with the date 886AH¹⁰². Again, on the basis of our coin dated 885AH, Sikandar II's rule can be placed in between the last part of 885 and the first part of 886AH till the accession of Fath Shah.

In fine, we may arrive at the following conclusions:

1. Sultan Nurud-dunya wa'd din Abul Mujahid Sikandar Shah was the full regal name of sikandar II.
2. He was the son of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah.
3. He was not the son of Yusuf Shah, rather his uncle and brother of Fath Shah.

4. He was not insane, due to which he was deposed, rather it was the consequences of internal conflict, palace intrigue etc. that he was declared insane.
5. He was not deposed on the date he ascended the throne, nor he ruled for two and a half days. He reigned at least for two months or more than that.
6. His reign may be fixed between the last part of 885AH and some part of 886AH.
7. Lastly, on the coins of Sultans of Bengal, use of the term Dar-ud-darb or Khazanah, meaning house of striking i.e. mint and treasury respectively, is a common phenomenon. Dar-uz-darb of the coin mentioned above, means that it was struck at the royal mint in the capital, Lakhnauti /Firuzabad

5. Jalaluddin Fath Shah 886 - 893/1481 - 1487

After the removal of the short lived Sultan Nuru'ddin Sikandar his brother Fath was placed on the throne in 886 by the nobles and leaders¹⁰³. Though the Riyaz identified Fath as the brother of Sikandar and another son of Yusuf¹⁰⁴. But from the evidence of coins and inscriptions¹⁰⁵ of Fath Shah it is clear that he was the 'son of Mahmud Shah' i.e. Nasiruddin Mahmud. So he was the uncle of Yusuf and brother of Barbak Shah. After assumption of power Fath assumed the title of Jalal u'd dunya wa'd din Abu'l Muzaffar Fath Shah as Sultan. All the earliest coins and inscriptions of Fath Shah are dated 886 and the last inscription is dated 893, so he ruled for about eight years. Historians depict his reign as prosperous and benevolent. The Riyaz commented that 'In his reign, the gates of happiness and comfort were thrown open to the people of Bengal'¹⁰⁶. But he was brutally murdered by the *paiks*, his own bodyguards.

The abyssinians who were appointed to various important posts during the reign of Barbak Shah became very powerful. Fath Shah initiated measures to curb their power. But the leader of the *paiks* Khawajasera, the Eunuch Barbak, himself an Abyssinian, in league with the *paiks* slew Fath Shah.

A considerable number of gold coins and many silver coins of Fath Shah have been found, all are of tola weight standard and only two fractional coins in silver are known¹⁰⁷, no copper coin or of any other metal were found.

Gold Coins

Only four gold coins of Fath Shah have been published and are of three types, they are as follows:

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend, in an ornate (flowery) circle in Arabic in four lines *Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaffar Fath Shāh Sultān*, 'Glory of the world and religion, father of victory, Fath Shah Sultan'.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend in similar ornamental circle also in four lines in Arabic, the last line is – being the name of the mint and date *ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān ka Junayd Shāhī Fathābād* 886, 'Son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan as Junayad Shahi, (mint) Fathabad 886'. The weight of the

¹⁰³ Riyaz, p. 121

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 121.

¹⁰⁵ All his coins and inscriptions inscribe the name of his father as 'Fath Shah son of Mahmud Shah Sultan.

¹⁰⁶ Riyaz, p. 121

¹⁰⁷ SCA, p. 57

coin is 10.58 gram and diameter 22mm. The coin is preserved in the collection of Bangladesh National Museum¹⁰⁸.

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a decorative border of floral motifs, in Arabic the first half of the name of the Sultan *as Sultān ibn al-Sultān Jalālu'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l Muẓaffar*, 'Sultan son of the Sultan glory of the world and religion father of victory'.

The reverse in a similar circle bears the rest of the Sultan's name *Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān Syayad Shāhī Khazānah* [8] 87, 'Fath Shah the Sultan son of Mahmud Shah the sultan. Sywyad Shahi, Treasury (8) 87'. This coin is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta¹⁰⁹. One gold coin Similar to the Type A2 is in a private collection in India¹¹⁰.

Type A3: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in Arabic in a circular arabesque border, *as Sultānu'l munawwar binūr al muṣṭafwī Ilāhī al-mukhāṭab bi Sultān u'l ẓāhidīn fī al yaqzat ha mashāhidat*, 'The Sultan who is enlightened by the light of the chosen (and) the divine, who is entitled Sultan of those who are devoted to vigils and contemplation'.

The reverse is in a circular decorative border. The legend also in Arabic in five lines *ash Shaykh ul-mujāwar liqadam ar Rasūl Jalālu'd duniyā wa' ad dīn abū'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh bin Maḥmūd Shāh / as Sultān Khazānah* 890, 'The Shaykh, who waits on the qadam Rasul Jalalu'd dunya wa'd din' (Glory of the world and religion father of victory) Fath Shah son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan, Khazanah (the treasury) 890¹¹¹.

Silver coins

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle the Kalima *lā Ilaha illā Allāhu Muḥammadur Rasūl Allāh daru'd darh* 886. The instrument of faith of the Muslims 'there is no god but Allah Muhammad his apostle, house of striking, 886'.

The reverse bears the legend in Arabic in six lines in a circle *as Sultān bin as Sultān Jalālu'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān*. The Sultan son of the warrior Fath

¹⁰⁸ BNM, Acc. No. 77. 729

¹⁰⁹ IMC, II, p. 169, coin no. 152.

¹¹⁰ J.P. Goenka, Calcutta, India.

Shah the Sultan son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan'. The mint Daru'd Darb and also 'Khazanah' (the Treasury) , both bears the date 886.

Type B1 (a): Silver Tanka

The legend of the obverse and reverse are the same as the above coin Type B1 but the design is in a decorative border – chain with zigzag design for both the obverse and reverse. The mint is on the obverse after the Kalima. Fathabad (dated) 886 (Cat. no. 335).

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a circle. The decorative border is indistinct. There is no mint name only the date, 887. The reverse bears the same legend as the reverse of Type B1, but in place of 'Abu'l Mujahid' there is 'Abu'l Muzaffar'¹¹² (Cat. no. 336).

Type B2 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse are both in a plain area. The legend is the same as Type B2 but the mint name is *Khazanah* 'the treasury', no date is visible.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse design is a circle with double reverse arcs inside and intersecting archaded band around the circle. The legend contains the first part of the Sultans name as *Sulṭān bin as Sulṭān Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaffar*, 'the Sultan son of the Sultan glory of the world and religion father of victory'.

The reverse bears in a decorative border which is the same as the obverse, contains the rest of the name of the Sultan. *Fath Shāh as Sulṭān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān, Kūchmard Shāhī, Faṭḥābād 890*, 'Fath Shah the Sultan son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan. 'Kuchmard Shahi' - the ruler of Kooch or subduer of the Kuch Tribe or area. Fathabad 890'. This type also found from the mints Barbakabad dated 890 and Khazanah, without dates. Another variety of Type B3. The obverse and the reverse design and legends are the same as Type B3 but the lettering are different and without mint name and date.

Type B4: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend in a decorative circle similar to Type B3 but the line arrangement of the legend is different. There are four lines instead of five lines of Type B3. The reverse legend is same as Type B3 but without the 'Kuchmard Shahi' portion, and the border design is the same as the obverse. A creeper like motif is placed around the circle alternately with a V-shape design. The mint name Dar ud darb dated 886, the house of striking, date 886.

¹¹¹ Hoernle, JASB. 1890, p. 173; Corpus p. 100; ND, XI/part2 (1978) pp. 68-74; ONS, No.149 (1996), pp.20-21.

¹¹² IMC has one such coin with the date 890, p. 170, No. 158

Type B4 (a): Silver Tanka

A variety of the above, the coin legend, date and the mint all are same as Type B4 but the border has a floral motif around a double multifoil, both on obverse and reverse.

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in an ornamental circle *as Sulṭān ibn u's Sulṭān Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l Muẓaffar*, 'the Sultan son of the Sultan golry of the world and religion father of the victory. The reverse bears the rest of the legend also in an ornamental circle *Faṭḥ Shāh as Sulṭān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān Suyad Shāhī Dar ud darh*, 'Fath Shah the Sultan son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan Suyad Shahi, the house of striking i.e. the mint, which is indistinct. This type is also found with the mint name Muhammadabad but date cut off the flan.

Type B5 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse and the reverse legends are same as Type B5 but in place of *Suyad Shāhī*, there is most probably *sikka shāhī* or *tanka shāhī* date 890. The border probably is also similar to Type B5 but most of it is cut off the flan.

Type B6: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a decorative bordered circle made by placing a four petalled flower motif alternately with a domical form on the margin. *Jalāl ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Faṭḥ Shāh Sulṭān*. The reverse, in a decorative border is the same as obverse. The rest of the legend *ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān ka Junayad Shāhī, Faṭḥāhād 886*.

Type B6 (a): Silver Tanka

A variety of the above type has been found with different border designs. Both the obverse and reverse are in a rayed circle having a dot in each tringle of the ray but without any date and mint. The division of the obverse and reverse legend is slightly different from the above coin (Cat. no. 345).

Type B6 (b): Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse legends are the same as Type B6. The border decoartion are also the same but the legend is in a multifoil instead of a circle and on the reverse the third line there is *li junayd Shāhī*, 'for Junayd Shahi', before the mint name. This has been read as *majjada Allahu'l Fath* by some scholar¹¹³. Some propose *khallada Allāhu mulkahu*, admitting the engraver's mistake and also keeping in mind the use of the phrase commonly by many Sultans¹¹⁴. But all the coins of this type bear the second word as a clear 'Shahi'. So there is little possibility of reading it as 'al Fath'. The first portion though difficult to read

¹¹³ Blochmann, Contributions, 1873, p. 282.

¹¹⁴ G.S. Farid, ND, II, part 2 (1978), p. 69.

seems also very close to 'al Junayad Shahi', so there is no scope of conjecturing it as *khallada Allahu mulkahu* as conceived by Farid. In this variety a new mint name Madaran 887 has come to light (Cat. no. 346).

Type B7: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears a long legend in Arabic in five lines as *Sulṭān u'l munawwar/ bi nūri'l mustafwī Ilāhī / al mukhāṭab Sulṭān al Ḍāhidīn fī al yaqẓāt bi mushāhidah*, 'the Sultan who is enlightened by the light of the chosen and Divine, who is entitled Sultan of those who are devoted to vigils and contemplation'.

The reverse bears also a long legend in six lines in Arabic as *Shaykh u'l mujāwir/ li qadami'r Rasūl Jalāl ad dunyā wa'd dīn abū u'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh as Sulṭān/ ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān / Darud ḍarh 890*, 'the shaykh, who waits one the quadam Rasul Jalal u'd dunya wa'd din abu'l muzaffar Fath Shah, the son of Sultan Mahmud Shah the mint 890 (Cat. no. 347).

Type B8: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a rayed circle the Kalima and the mint name Khazanah, date 890. It may be noted here that usually the Kalima in coins completes in two lines, while the mint name is present in the last line with date. But in this particular coin the word Allah of Rasul Allah has been placed at the beginning of the third (last) line with the mint name. The reverse also in a rayed circle is mostly cut off the flan. It bears a long legend in five lines in Arabic *Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn/ abū'l muẓaffar wa murīd an Nabī wa/ nāṣiru aṣḥābihi Fath Shāh as Sulṭān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān*, 'Glory of the world and religion father of the victory and follower of the Prophet, Fath Shah who is helper of the companions of the Prophet, the Sultan son of Mahmud Shah the Sultan'. This is a new type of coin not reported or published earlier (Cat. no. 348).

Type B9: Silver Tanka

A unique coin is reported by G.S. Farid in *Numismatic Digest* in 1978¹¹⁵. The obverse bears in a rayed circle the legend in Arabic, as *Sulṭān...as Shahr bimurīd.../ wa khāmisu Aṣḥābihi/...bil Khilāfat Allāh...wa libuwaye (?) al Khilāfat/ ...wa akḥḍar*, 'The Sultan ...famous follower of...and fifth companion...vicegerent of God...and towards the capital and a green land'. G.S. Farid had read and translated the text. The coin is punched and the legend is distorted due to blur and portions are illegible. It may conjecturally be read as follows, "as Sultan / al Shahr bi murīdun [Nabī]/wa khāmisu Aṣḥābihi/...al Khilāfat ba 'ināyat/ Allāh rubaruye al Khilāfat li Misr" and the meaning would be -'The Sultan who is famous as follower of the Prophet and his fifth companion...the Khilafat by the help of Allah which is equivalent to the Khilafat of Egypt'.

¹¹⁵ G.S. Farid, "Two Coins of Jalaluddin Fath Shah of Bengal", *ND, II, part 2*, (1978), pp. 72-73.

The reverse legend in a rayed circle also but most of it is cut off the flan, in Arabic it reads *al munawwar wa'l Gaffār ... Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān* *Khaẓānah* 892, 'The illuminated, the pardoner/...Jalalud dunya wad din abul Muzaffar Fath Shah Sultan son of Mahmud Shah The Sultan, The treasury 892AH'. The Arabic text and the meaning is given by G. S. Farid. But the first two lines are effaced, so it is very difficult to decipher. The reading of Farid particularly *al munawwar* of the first line qualifies Sultan but the second word *al Gaffār* a noun meaning 'pardoner' one of the names of Allah cannot be conjoined to 'munawwar'. So it may be read *al munawwar as Sultān bin as Sultān*, 'the illuminated Sultan son of the Sultan'. G. S. Farid explained by the word *khāms aṣḥābahu* as Fath Shah considered himself as 'fifth companion of the saint' and pointed out that the name of the saint is 'of course missing' but he did not mentioned who the other companions were. Rather it is more plausible to conjecture *an Nabī* after the word *murīd* (follower). That would mean that the Sultan is famous as a follower of the Prophet and his fifth companions, like Omar ibn Abdul Aziz, who is regarded as the fifth pious Khalifa. There is the mention of the Khalifa and Khilafat in the legend but in the last line the conjunctural reading of 'Khalifa of Egypt' is doubtful. If this reading is considered correct then it would indicate not only the Khilafat of Fath Shah but an equivalent Khilafat of Burji Mamluks of Egypt in Bengal. The weight of the coin is 11 grams, diameter 31mm.

Type B10: Silver Tanka (Lion Type)

The obverse in a circle contains a figure of a standing lion to right. The margin is illigible. The reverse bears the legend in Arabic in a circle *abū'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān, Muḥammadābād* 888 (AH), probably the margin of the obverse contains the missing part of the legend (*Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn* etc.). The weight of the coin is 10.6 gram and the diameter 25mm¹¹⁶.

Type B11: Silver Tanka (Lion Type)

The obverse is the same as the coin above Type B10 but the figure of the lion is to the left, is also in a circle. The reverse legend in a circle *Jalāl u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān*, the full legend is given on reverse. The weight of the coin is 10.31 gram and the diameter 24mm¹¹⁷.

Type B12: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a central circle a wheel or sun of seven flaps having a broad margin outside the circle containing an indistinct legend. But from an illustration of such a coin in Rajgor we may guess the legend of the margin, which is the Kalima. Most probably the mint and date are inscribed around the circle, partly of the flan.

¹¹⁶ SCA, coin no. 867.

¹¹⁷ SCA, coin no. 868.

The reverse is the same as the obverse. The margin is indistinct. The reverse illustrated in Rajgor depicts the name of the Sultan in the margin¹¹⁸; the full legend is not readable due to illegibility and partial presence of the flan. The weight of the coin is 10.43 grams and diameter 26mm.

Type B13: Silver half Tanka

The obverse is in a circle the Kalima in two lines and the third line contains the date 889. The reverse is in a circle, the legend in Arabic *as Sultān ibn us Sultān Jalāhūd dunyā waḥd dīn abiḥl muẓaffar Fath Shāh Sultān*. The weight is, 5.28 grams, diameter is 21mm.

Type B14: Silver quarter Tanka

The obverse in a circle bears the legend in Arabic in five lines the same as that of the obverse of coin Type B5. The reverse bears the legend in a circle in five lines, same as the reverse legend of Type B5 but the mint is Khajannah 890. The weight is 2.57 grams and diameter is 16mm.

Jalal uddin Fath Shah, initiated his silver coins, probably with the Kalima type, in 886AH from the mints of Fathabad. Darud darb the later seemed to be situated in the capital, (Type B1, B1a, B2 and B2a) and no coin of Fath Shah has been found with the mint name of the capital, Firuzabad. But none of his three known gold coins (Type A1, A2, A3) bear the Kalima and his gold coin Type A1 of Fathabad mint dated 886 may be regarded as his coronation coin.

He used both the kunyah 'abul mujahid' and 'abul muzaffar' for the Kalima types, Type B1, B2, B2a and issued from Fathabad. Darud darb and Khajannah, the treasury, which may be considered to be in the capital also like 'the mint' (i.e. Darud darb).

Other than Kalima type coins Fath Shah in general used the obverse and reverse to contain his name and his father's name dividing the legend in to two parts.

Type B4, struck from Darud darb dated 886. Similar to Type B4, B5 and B6 the coins bear the legend in to two parts containing both the obverse and reverse sides, but Type B5 bears the expression which has been read as *Suyad Shāhī*, by Bhattasali¹¹⁹ and admitted by Karim¹²⁰, last but one line on the reverse, before the mint name. Likewise Type B6 coin contains in the same place another expression *al Husayn Shāhī*. Some coins of Fath Shah bear a few expressions at the end of the reverse legend before the mint name which scholars have read differently either *Suyad Shāhī* (Type B5) or *al Husayn Shāhī* (Type B6)¹²¹ or *Majda Allāhul Fathī*¹²² (Type B6 (b)).

¹¹⁸ Rajgor, p.31, Type 414.

¹¹⁹ H.H.R. Catalogue, Introduction, p. XII.

¹²⁰ Corpus, p.101.

¹²² Blochmann, Contributions, 1873, no.3, p.282, pl. IX, coin no.8.

Blochmann in JASB (1873) reads the expression as 'majdahu Allah al Fath' which has been accepted by Karim as correct¹²³. Karim objected the reading of Bourdilion in the IMC, which is 'exact replica of Blochmann's coin' and read as 'al Husain Shahi' in the IMC II¹²⁴. According to Karim, it should also be majdahu Allahil Fath. Lane Poole gave the reading of a coin as al Husain Shahi in the BMC¹²⁵, which Karim admitted as correct.

Scholars deal with these three expressions individually and only Karim and G. S. Farid tried to explain them to reach a conclusion.

Habibullah and Tarafdar took the expression 'al Husain Shahi' as the popular name of Fath Shah like the popular name of Badar Shahi of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud of the Husaini Dynasty¹²⁶. Both the scholars explain the term al Husain Shahi but desisted to comment on the other two expressions viz. 'Suyad Shahi' and 'Majda Allahul Fath'. Bhattasali questioned whether Fath Shah was the decendent of Husain Shah of Jaunpur and that has been indicated by al Husain Shahi.

Abdul Karim and G. S. Farid both explained the three expressions of the coins of Fath Shah. Karim took the terms 'al Husain Shahi' and 'Suyad Shahi' as regards or rewards shown to the King makers by Fath Shah in his coins. That the family of Syed Husain, son of Syed Ashraf al Husaini (later Sultan Husain Shah) contributed a great deal to the capturing of the throne by Fath Shah which as regards to the Husaini family inscribed by Fath on the coins. Karim thinks that Suyad Shahi on the coins of Fath Shah may refer to Syed Ashraf al Husaini and 'al Husain shahi' may either referred to Husain of Syed Ashraf al Husaini or the name of his son Syed Hosain who supported Fath. But this assumption of Karim is criticized by Mukhapadhyay and G. S. Farid. Mukhapadhyay pleaded that there are so many examples of King makers in history whose names are never been mentioned by Kings on their coins as regards. G. S. Farid opined that if we accept Karim's proposal as correct then all the early coins and inscriptions of Fath Shah dated 886 should inscribed the names of King makers. But his early inscription of 886 and the coin dated 886 do not bear that expressions. Rather Farid took al 'Hisain Shahi' as an error that was common in Bengal, for 'al Junayad Shahi'. He proposed that Junayed Shah may be the popular name of Fath Shah which was inscribed in his coins¹²⁷. About Suyad Shahi Farid is of the opinion that the word actually is 'Susad Shahi' which he considers as a mistake of the engravers and as the word is meaningless so he is infavour of the conjectural reading that 'Suyad Shahi' stands for 'Khalladalla hu Mulkahu'. Farid admited the reading of Blochmann 'majda Allahu al Fath' as correct. According to Farid what has been read in IMC coin no. 158

¹²³ Corpus, p. 101.

¹²⁴ IMC, II, p. 169, coin no. 153

¹²⁵ BMC, p. 39, coin no. 94.

¹²⁶ HB, II, p. 136, f n. no. 1; HSB, P. 244, Fn..

¹²⁷ ND, vol. II, part II (1978), p. 96.

as al Husain Shah is misread and should be 'majdahu Allah hul Fath'. He proposes that the reading of al Husain Shahi should be read as al Junayd Shahi.

One thing should be remembered here that the so called al husain Shahi or al Junayd Shahi, in each case bears a small horizontal bar before the letter 'Lam' and there is no initial 'Alif'. It seemed that this horizontal bar denoting the letter 'Kaf' though it is detached from the word, still it is plausible to take it as a 'Kaf'. Then the reading will be kajunayd Shahi i.e. 'like Junayd Shahi'. There is no reference available of any Junayd of the period or popular name of the Sultan. So the original meaning of the word is very difficult to conceive. It is to be remembered here that in a coin type (Type B8) Fath Shah claimed himself as 'Kuchmard Shahi' (discussed later). Could this 'kajunayd Shahi' be 'Kuchmard Shahi'? Only by admitting the misspelling of the engraving, as proposed by Farid. Likewise there is a small flourish at the beginning of the letter *sin* of Suyad Shahi, which may be taken as an initial *Kaf*. Admitting some engraving mistake it could be read as Kuchmad Shahi also, but it may not stand for Khalladallahu Mulkahu as proposed by Farid, because there is a clear 'Shahi' at the end. In the same way, Blochmann's reading of 'Majda Allahu al Fath' should be either 'kajunayd Shahi' or 'Kuchmard Shahi', because the word 'Shahi' is at the end.

The reading of the word Allah of majda Allah is very doubtful. Karim read a coin of fath Shah in the CUMC (Coin no. 128) as 'Sikandar Sani' but it should be read as 'Kajunayd Shahi.' The reading of Sikander is not at all convincing. This coin is a variety of Type B6 without the mint name and date.

Type B3 is a commemorative coin found only in silver with 'Kuchmard Shahi' at the end before the mint name and date. The mint name is Fathabad, dated 896. Why he proclaimed this title 'Kuchmard' there is no indication of that in history. But it may be assumed from the coin legend that Fath Shah occupied a part of the Kuch area. From the Birol inscription of Saifuddin Firuz (Alias Malik Andil) scholars concluded that Malik Andil rebelled against Fath and carved out a principality near the frontier adjacent to Kuch area¹²⁸. The date of the inscription is 889. So it may be assumed that in 890 Fath marched against Andil and either after a victory or just at the time of marching Fath declared himself as 'Kuchmard Shahi', conqueror of the Kuch area.

If we admit the expression Ka Husain Shahi or Ka junayd Shahi (discussed above) for Kuchmard Shahi then it also should be admitted that from the very beginning of Fath's reign he was in continuous conflict with Kuch rulers. It continued from 886 to 890, and just at the beginning he announced the victory without having it in reality. After the proper victory in 890 Fath struck the commemorative coin B3. This type was also found without date and mint name and may be regarded as an initial striking before the victory. It should also be noted that present day Birol in the district of Dinajpur was to some extent the frontier of the Koch country during the period concerned.

One of the important coin types of Fath Shah is Type B10, the lion type. Like his father he also continued to depict an image of a lion in his coins: both lion to right (Type B10) and lion to left (Type B11) are found in his coins. Lion was a universal royal symbol of power and strength for the Kings. It is to be remembered that Jalal uddin Muhammad Shah introduced first the image of a lion in his coins. Probably the similar conditions prevailed during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud and Fath, political or regional.

Fah Shah's Type B12 is a unique coin not struck before or after Fath by any Bengal Sultan. In the center is a symbol of a sun or a wheel on both sides and the legend is on the margin as already mentioned. Why Fath depicted a sun on the coins, is not mentioned in any source. Sun is the symbol of all powerfull and probably to publicise his power and authority or to denote his name 'Jalal', which means 'splendour'. No contemporary Sultan in and around Bengal used this symbol on their coins. Therefore, it may be considered as an innovation of Fath Shah.

The most important and uncommon of Fath Shah's coins are the Types B7, B8 and B9. Among these Type B7 is also found in Gold (Type A1). Type B7 legend shows that Fath Shah claimed himself as the 'Sultan of those who are devoted to vigil and contemplation, the old attendant for the 'Qadam Rasul' and in Type B8 he claimed to be a follower of Prophet or a Dervish (the word denotaing the name is not clear on the coin) may be the Moulana Barkhurdar. This Dervish who may be mentioned in the second Mahdipur inscription of Fath Shah¹²⁹. In Type B9 Fath Shah claimed himself as the 'Sultan who is famous as a follower of the Prophet and his five companions of the Khilafat-i-Rashida and the illuminated Jalal uddin Fath'. All these mystic titles indicate Jalaluddin Fath's veneration for religion and religious activity particularly of the line of Ma'rifat or divine knowledge. It may be recalled here that in the inscription of Mahdipur, Gaud. Fath Shah claimed himself as 'Kashifu asrarul Quran, 'alimu ulumul adyan wal abdan', 'revealer of the secrets of the Quran, learned in the sciences of religion and body'¹³⁰. Karim commented on this inscription that 'if the titles truly reflect the charecter and personality of the Sultan, Jalal al din Fath was really a very powerful king. He was a learned *mufassir* being able to explain the secrates of the Quran'¹³¹. The coins also corroborate this. As coins reached the public directly, the Sultan would probably not go to the extent of making a false claim to the nation as a whole.

Though no coin of Fath claimed the formula 'Khalifat Allah bil Hujjat wal Burhan' but the Gunmant mosque inscription bears this formula. He did not use high sounding titles like 'Sultan us salatin' in coin legends, but in inscription these titles are found¹³². 'Shaikhul mujawir li Qadam Rasul' (old servant for the foot print of the Prophet) indicates his devotion to the religious places (Type B7). The Qadam Rasul,

¹²⁸ Sultani Amol, pp 284-285; Dusho Bachhar, pp 264-65.

¹²⁹ IB, IV, p. 124; CAPIB, no. 7: 78, p. 207 - 8.

¹³⁰ IB, IV, p. 124; CAPIB, no. 617, pp. 205 -7

¹³¹ CAPIB, pp. 207 -208.

¹³² Ibid.

earlier was at the Chilla Khana of Shah Jalaluddin Tabrizi at Pandua and later it was removed by Husain Shah to Gaud¹³³. Probably Fath Shah as a devotee of Shah Jalal Tabrizi used to visit the Chilla Khana and Qadam Rasul, and his devotion to the Dervish and the footprint are mentioned on the coin. Type B13 and B14 are two fractional coin of Fath Shah which indicate that trade and commerce of the period needed the fractional coins for transactions. Generally fractional coins of the Bengal Sultans are rare.

Jalaluddin Fath's coins are dated form 886 to 892 (Type B9). The coins reveal that he ruled for seven years which is some how consistant with the duration given in the Riyaz. According to Riaz the duration is seven years five months. But the British Museum inscription of Fath Shah contains the date 893¹³⁴. So, his reign tallies exactly with the duration given by the Riyaz.

Jalaluddin Fath Shah was an able ruler and he struck both gold and silver coins having denominational coins in silver also. The various types of coins represent the taste of the Sultan as well as the economic condition of the period. As a practical ruler Fath Shah used the image of a lion and the sun, but on the otherhand, he proclaimed himself as a mystic devotee of divine knowledge. But no true devotee or possessor of devine knowledge pulicizes this. Therefore, these proclamation of Fath Shah were probably for the practical purpose of the political need of the time.

¹³³ Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1960, p. 120.

¹³⁴ CAPIB. no.9: 80.pp.210-11; S.m. Hasan, JASP, XIII, no.1,(1968), pp.49-55.

Habshi (Abyssinian) Rulers**893 - 898/1487 - 1492**

After the murder of the last ruler Fath Shah of the Mahmud Shahi family or the Later Ilyas Shahi Dynasty, the assassin Shahzada Barbak ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultan. According to Firishta the second ruler of the Mahmud Shahi family (Later Ilyas Shahi) Ruknuddin Barbak imported many Abyssinian slaves and deputed them in high civil and military positions in the Sultanat¹ with the state patronizations during the rule of Barbak Shah and his son, Yusuf Shah, they became very powerful. Although Fath Shah restrained them severely² they had intrigued against him under the leadership of an Abyssinian the chief eunuch of the palace (Khwajasera) Shahzada Barbak, who with the help of the Paiks (bodyguards) of the Sultan succeeded in murdering Fath Shah one night³. Shahzada Barbak assumed the name Ghiyasuddin Barbak Shah but could not rule for a long time. Soon after he was also murdered by Malik Andil another Habshi noble Amirul umara of the time of Fath Shah and assumed power. Habshi rule continued in Bengal for six years with four rulers. Among those four only one, Qutbuddin Mahmud the third ruler succeeded the throne from his father Malik Andil the other two had no blood relationship but were from the same Habshi stock. All the four rulers struck silver coins in their own name except the two rulers, Saifuddin Firuz and Muzaffar Shah who struck coins in both gold and silver. The four rulers are i). Sultan Shahzada alias Ghiyasuddin Barbak, ii) Malik Andil alias Saifuddin Firuz iii) His son Qutbuddin Mahmud and iv) Sidi Badar Diwana alias Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah.

1. Ghiyasuddin Barbak 893 /1487

The first ruler of the Habshis was Barbak who was the Khwajasera (Chief eunuch of the palace) of Fath Shah. After his ascension to the throne Barbak adopted the policy of exterminating non-Habshi nobles as well as opponents from the Habshis and replaced them by loyal men. According to the Riyaz Malik Andil, the commander of the forces was in a frontier campaign at the time of the murder of Fath Shah. He was summoned by the new king Barbak. There is a long story about this confrontation between Malik Andil and Barbak and Andil's vow of loyalty by touching the Holy Quran as reported by both Tarikh-i-Firistah and Riyazu's Salatin⁴. Among the modern historians R. D. Banarjee and Habibullah have taken this story as true but Mukhapadhyay raised doubts. Abdul Karim accepted the story with some hesitation⁵, and questioned the motive of the murder of Barbak by Andil. In the Riyaz two different reasons have been given. In one place it is stated that Malik Andil was planning to set his own son on the throne, and in another place that he was avenging the murder of his master Fath Shah.

¹ Muhammad Qasim Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firistah*, Lakhnaw: Nawal Kishore, 1864-65, Vol-2, P.580

² Sultani Amol, p.277.

³ HB, II, p.137.

⁴ *Riyaz*, pp. 122-124

⁵ *Sultani Amol* p. 283

Abdul Karim on the basis of revised date 887AH of the Birol inscription of Saifuddin Firuz Shah (Malik Andil) proposes that for political reasons Malik Andil left the capital during Fath Shah's reign and rebelled against him. He carved out a small principality in the north eastern part of the kingdom, i.e. in and around Birol area (present Dinajpur district). If we accept this proposition as true, as has been admitted by Mukhapadhaya then it should also be admitted that Shazada Barbak's summon to Andil was a design to capture the latter. Andil also took the chance to be present in the capital and fulfill his own design of killing Barbak.

In this case there would be no consistency with that portion of the story told in the *Riyaz* about 'Avenging the murder of his benefactor' or of consultation with the nobles with the widow of Fath Shah for the selection of a Sultan.

But if we assume that Barbak's policy of exterminating his opponents provoked Andil to vengeance and as a general Andil considered himself to be a better candidate for the throne than Barbak. The situation created by Barbak after Fath Shah's murder was very favorable to Andil's designs. Thus, why by murdering Barbak he placed himself on the throne. Except the portion of avenging his benefactor rest of the story of *Riyaz* is consistent with this proposition. If we admit the revised reading date of the Birol inscription 887AH as correct then this adjustment of the story is obvious. However, the Birol inscription's date has been read from time to time differently⁶. Barbak or Sultan Shahzada reigned for a very short period. There are controversies about the length of his reign and even the *Riyaz* gives three dates, two and a half months, six months and eight months⁷, and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* gives two and a half-months⁸.

Barbak issued silver coins in his own name of one tanka denomination after the tola weight standard. Coins of Barbak became known in the recent past, the late eighties of the 20th century and published in the *JNSI* in 1993⁹. They are very rare and only a few are known mostly in private collections.

There are three coins of Barbak in three separate private collections in Dhaka¹⁰ and two coins in Calcutta in two private collections¹¹. In all eight to ten coins of Barbak are known and only one coin in the *JNSI*,

⁶ A.K.M. Yaqub Ali enumerated various readings of the scholars in detail and gave his own comments in his book *Select Arabic and Persian Epigraphs*. Dhaka: Islamic Foundation, 1988, pp. 58-59.

⁷ *Riyaz* (Eng. Trn) p. 124

⁸ *Sultani Amol*, p. 281; *Dusho Bachhar*, p. 263, Mukhapadhyay also includes the view of *Masir-i-Rahimi* which is two months.

⁹ Murtaja Baseer. "The first known Coin of Shazada Barbak the Habshi Sultans of Bengal", *JNSI*, LV, Parts 1&2, pp.76-78.

¹⁰ One coin dated 893 of mint Daru Nur is in the collection of Dr Ishaque Imam, Dhaka, Published in *JNSI*, LV, 1993, Pp. 76-77. One coin dated 893 of mint Fathabad is in the collection of Mr Mozammel Haque, Dhaka, unpublished. One coin dated 893 of mint Darud Darb is in the collection of Mr Iftekher Alam, Dhaka.

¹¹ One coin with Mr Sawaran Dash, mentioned in *Dusho Bachhar*, pp 261-262; another with Mr J.P. Goenka, in Calcutta.

Vol. LV, two in Rajgor and three in SCA have been published. All his coins are of a single type according to the coin legend.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears within a decorated bordered circle the Kālima in two lines and the third line contains the name of the mint and date.

The reverse bears in a decorated circle like the obverse the name of the Sultan *Ghiyās u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh as Sulṭān khallada Allāhu mulkahu*, 'Deliverer of the world and the religion father of victory Barbak Shah the Sultan may Allah perpetuate his kingdom'.

In this type three mints have been mentioned: Fathabad, Dar ud Darb/Daru Nur and Khazanah. All the coins bear the same date, 893.

Rajgor published a photograph of a coin of Barbak, which is a rather crude pattern with no decoration. Both the obverse and reverse sides are either in a circle or have lettered surfaces. But the legend is same as the above coin Type B1. The mint is Khazanah and the date is the same i.e. 893.

It may be mentioned here that Barbak did not claim 'as Sultānu'l A'zam' or 'al adil' in his coins. Rather he was content with only his regnal name Ghiyas uddin, and he chose the *Kunya* Abul Muẓaffar. After his proper name there is the word 'as Sultan' and no parentage. As he was a usurper he did not mention the formula 'Sultan bin Sultan'.

He just followed the coin tradition of Fath Shah by simply beginning with the regnal name without any extra title. Fath Shah's last dated coin is 891, so from the coins evidence it seems that he ruled up to 891. But his last dated inscription is 893¹² and the next ruler Shahjada Barbak's coin date is 893.

Therefore it can reasonably be concluded that Fath Shah was murdered in 893. Although the Riyaz informs us that this happened in 896¹³. On the evidence of dated coins and inscription we may now ignore the Riyaz. The assassin Barbak assumed the throne in 893 and ruled for hardly six months, as the next ruler Malik Andil alias Saifuddin Firuz Shah has coins dated 893 also.

The Riyaz tells us that Barbak styled himself as 'Sultan Shahzada'. But his coins reveal that his regnal title or name was Ghiyasuddin Barbak Shah as Sultan. He was the pioneer among the Habshis to establish their claim for a Sultanat, which lasted for only six years.

¹² British Museum, inventory no. 2299. S M Hassan, JASP (1968), pp. 50-80; Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian text of the Islamic Inscription of Bengal*, Massachusetts, USA, 1992 (2nd edition) (henceforth Arabic and Persian text, etc.) pp. 115-116.

¹³ *Riyaz*, P. 121.

2. Malik Andil alias Saifud din Firuz Shah 893-896/ 1487-1490

The next Habshi ruler was Malik Andil, about him the Riyaz informs us that he was the premier nobleman and was at the frontier at the time of the murder of Fath Shah and the ascension to the Throne by Shahzada Barbak¹⁴. But later on to fulfil his own ambition Malik Andil, by leaguering with the body guards of the Sultan Shahzada, murdered the latter, just as Sultan Shazada had done and assumed the throne styling himself as Saifuddin Firuz Shah in 893AH. Apparently Firuz assumed the power in 893. Coins bearing the name of Saifuddin Firuz Shah are dated from 893AH which also support the proposition that Firuz assumed power in 893AH but the Birol Inscription of Saifuddin Firuz Shah advocates infavour of his early seizure of power in the northern part of the Sultanat as already mentioned¹⁵. The Birol inscription of Saifuddin Firuz reveals that he was Sultan before Barbak's assumption of power i.e. the former had rebelled against Jalaluddin Fath Shah. The Birol inscription's date is controversial among modern historians. Among the present scholars Abdul Karim read the date as 887 but Bhattasali earlier read it as 889. After discussing all the views of the scholars A.K.M. Yaqub Ali concluded that 'The circumstantial and other numismatic and epigraphic evidences lead us to assume the reading of Jumada al-Akhir 889 as nearer the truth¹⁶'. Abdul Karim and Mukhapadhyay have admitted Saifuddin's early assumption of power¹⁷ just as the other scholars who dealt with Birol inscription had done. Even Mukhapadhyay divided Fath Shah's reign in two parts, before 893 and from 893¹⁸. But probably Saifuddin Firuz did not issue any coins during his rebellion as no coins in his name before 893 has been reported yet. There is one coin dated 892 which is considered an error of the engraver who reversed the digit 6 as 2 in Arabic. All his other coins date from 893 and continue up to 896. The Riyaz tells us that he ruled for three years²¹, which seems to be correct. Also his Garh Jaripa inscription is dated 4th Muharram 893¹⁹ indicating that he started from the beginning of the same year for his second term.

All the known coins of Firuz are the tola weight standard and are found in gold and silver. Only two gold coins are known of one tanka. Silver coins are in two denominations, both one and one half tankas.

According to the legend Saifuddin Firuz's coins are of a single type but there are many varieties according to their marginal designs. There are also variations in the style of calligraphy. Most of the discovered coins are struck from Khazanah the other mints are Fathabad, Mahmudabad, Firuzabad and Daru Noor or Darud Darb. Omitting the Alif of ad darb ' i.e. which seems to be Daru Noor. The observed dates are 893, 894, 895 and 896. The British Museum coin known to be dated 892 should probably be read 896 the Arabic numeral two and six are very deceptive to a non-Arab engraver.

¹⁴ *Riyaz*. P. 122.

¹⁵ In this Chapter inconnection of Fath Shah.

¹⁶ A. K. M Yaqub Ali *Select Arabic and Persian Epigraphs*, Dhaka: Islamic Foundation, 1998, p. 59.

¹⁷ Sultani Amol. p.284.

¹⁸ Dusho Bachhar. Pp 264-265

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse in an ornamented circle the Kalima in three lines *lā ilaha illā/Allāh Muḥammad/Rasūl Allāh*, the forth line bears the name of the mint and date, *Khazanah 893*. The reverse also in an ornamented circle bears the name of the Sultan in Arabic *Saif ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Firūz Shāh as Sulṭān khalladallāhi mulkāhi wa Sulṭānahu*, 'Sword of the world, and religion father of the victory Firuz Shah may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and power' (Cat.no.358).

Type A1 (a): Gold Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse legends are the same as coin Type A1 but the mint name on the obverse is Fathabad and both the designs are in a decorative bordered circle (Cat. no. 359). Only two of his gold coins are known one in the Kawale Collection in India, another in the collection of the British Museum²⁰. Both coins are of the same type. The weight of the former is 10.6 grams, and the latter's weight is 10.94 grams and is from the Fathabad mint. Though both are of the same type yet there is some difference in the calligraphic style.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The legend of the silver coin is the same as the gold coins mentioned above. But the marginal design of the silver coins are varied in motifs as well as calligraphic styles. In the coins the word *Saif* and *Firūz* are engraved differently and in the Khazana coin Saifuddin is written as *Ṣaif* with the letter *sad* instead of *sin*. The silver coin's diameter ranges from 26 mm to 31 mm and the observed measurements are 26 mm, 27 mm, 29 mm and 31 mm. Two silver coins of this Sultan are worth mentioning, one having no mint- name but bearing the date 896, the last year of his rule, and another bearing the mint as Firuzabad. Probably Firuz revived this mint or renamed the capital after his own name after a long interval. The Weight of these silver coins varies from 10.6 to 11.3 grams.

Type B2: Silver half Tanka

Only one fractional coin is known. The legend is the same as the gold coins and was most probably struck from the full tanka die, issued from Daru Noor mint and dated 896. Its weight is 5.22 grams and diameter 20 mm²¹.

The gold coin and denominational coin of Firuz speaks of the healthy condition of the economy of the period. It also indicates the ability of the ruler to establish peace soon after the coup and chaotic condition in which Firuz usurped power.

¹⁹ Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq. Arabic and Persian text.etc., PP. 116 – 17

²⁰ ONS. No. 146. P. 21. Coin No. 16 and 17. Stan Goron mentioned the diameters of the Kawale coin as 22 mm the diameter of the British Museum coin is not mentioned

²¹ SC4. P. 154 No. 889

It is important to note that in Bengal any one who proclaimed independence or proclaimed himself as Sultan first struck coins to pronounce his sovereignty. There are so many Sultans whose coins have been found but inscriptions could not be traced or seldom known. But in the case of Firuz we have the inscription from 889AH but no coins till 893, though striking of coins is easier and faster than inscribing a stone tablet. Therefore, it may be summed following Abdul Karim's bipartite conflict theory of the ruling Sultans i.e. the descendants of Barbak Shah and in opposition was Fath Shah who managed to succeed the throne out of this conflict. And probably Malik Andil was in opposition to Fath Shah group and took shelter in frontier area. He was opposed to Fath Shah, took shelter in a frontier area after Fath's assumption of power and established a small principality from which inscription was made. Later probably he lost it to Fath Shah and Andil took shelter in a farther frontier area. After the assumption of power by Shazada Barbak he reappeared on the scene.

He ruled from 893 to 896 for about three years and struck both gold and silver coins including silver fractional coins from the mints viz. From Darud Darb, Khazanah, Fathabad, Mahmudabad and Firuzabad besides Dar ud Darb and Khazanah. Mahmudabad is probably named after his son Qutbuddin Mahmud or could it be the old Mahmudabad of Nasiruddin Mahmud's time.

3. Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah 896/1490-91

After the death of Saifuddin Firuz his son and successor Mahmud ascended the throne in 896/1490-91. Saifuddin probably had a natural death, an exception to the practice of the time of murdering a king and assuming power. According to a reliable source cited in the *Riyaz*, Firuz was murdered²². Had this been so, then the murderer would have been the Sultan.

Coins of Mahmud are very rare and only few are known. All are of silver and dated 896. All the coins are of tola weight standard and no denominational coins have yet been found. A Single Kalima type coins are known.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a circle surrounded by another circle of dots, the legend is in three lines in Arabic. Mint is Fathabad and the date 892 but the Arabic numerals two and six are just the reverse of each other, so it may be the fault of engravers who did not know the difference. Unlike the other coins the word Allah after Rasul has been placed in the third line before the mint name. In other coins generally Kalima is completed in two lines.

The reverse bears the name of the Sultan, *Qutb u'd duniya/wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid/Mahmūd Shāh as Sulṭān/ibn Firūz Shāh as Sulṭān* in four lines. No additional title has been used. As he was the son of Firuz that has been mentioned on the coin.

Coins struck from Khazanah (treasury) and Darud darb (the mint) are also known but the legend, design and date (896) are same. Mahmud ruled for a very short period. As his father's coins are dated 896 and the next ruler Muzaffar Shah's coins start from 896 too. It is reasonable to guess that Mahmud hardly ruled for about 6 months, though the *Riyaz* gives him one year²³, which is not correct.

Before the discovery of the coins of Qutb u'd din Mahmud Shah modern historians were confused about his identity. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Firishtah* and *Riyaz us Salatin* tell us that Mahmud was the eldest son of Saifuddin Firuz Shah. But on the reference of Haji Muhammad Qandahari as a source, *Firishta* and *Riyaz* also state that Mahmud was the son of Fath Shah who was sworn in after the death of Firuz Shah. There was confusion also regarding certain coins and inscriptions which were assigned to Mahmud and are very elaborately dealt with and discussed by Abdul Karim and Mukhapadhyay²⁴. Qutbuddin Mahmud's coins have now settled all these controversies. On the basis of the coins of Mahmud it is now clear that Qandahari was wrong and Mahmud was the son and successor of Firuz Shah therefore, it can

²² *Riyaz*, p. 125; another version is after reigning for three years Malik Andil fell ill and died in 899.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 126.

²⁴ *Sultani Amol*, pp. 290-292; *Dusho Bachhar*, pp. 271-172

also be assumed that Firuz was not killed by the *Peaks* but probably he was the only Habshi Sultan who had a natural death.

Mahmud bin Firuz was a Sultan by name only while actual power was exercised by his former teacher Habash Khan who was appointed by Firuz Shah himself for his son's education. This Habash Khan become so powerful that Mahmud became a puppet in his hands.

Coins of Mahmud are rare and only a few are known. Mukhapadhya mentioned two such coins²⁵. In the Singapore coin Auction catalogue there are two coins. Some are in the collection of Bangladesh National Museum, G.S. Farid has published all three varieties of Qutbuddin's coins struck from Darud darb, Fathbad and Khazanah in JNSI²⁶.

²⁵ *Dusho Bachhar*, p. 273

²⁶ G.S.Farid, "Three Coins of Sultan Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah of Bengal, 896/1490" *JNSI*, XLIV, pp.63-64.

4. Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah 896 – 898/1490-1492

Last Sultan of the Abyssinians was Sultan Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah alias – Sidi Badar Diwana. He became prominent by killing Habash Khan, who was Administrator – General of financial and administrative affairs during the reign of Qutbuddin Mahmud. Habash Khan was the defacto sovereign and Qutbuddin became a puppet in the hands of Habash Khan as mentioned earlier. In league with the *Paiks* (body guards) of the Sultan one night he killed Mahmud Shah and assuming the title Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah ascended the throne²⁷ in 896/1490.

He is depicted in the history books as a tyrant and oppressor. According to Riyaz he was ‘very blood-thirsty and audacious, he slew many of the learned and the pious and the nobility, of the city’, Syed Husain was his wazir, on whose council Muzaffar reduced the pay of the soldiers. For all this the people as well as soldiers became disgusted with the Sultan. Ultimately there was a revolt against the sultan in which Syed Husain took the leadership. Muzaffar with his supporters were besieged inside the fort²⁸. This conflict lasted for four months. According to Riyaz a large number of people were killed daily in the fighting. Muzaffar Shah was finally killed in the battle and the nobles were victorious. They placed Syed Husain on the throne.

But the *Tabaqat* gives a different story that when people became disgusted with the misconduct of Muzaffar Shah one night with the help of the bodyguards Syed Husain entered the palace and killed Muzaffar Shah. *Tārīkh-i-Fīrishtah*, *Riyaz* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* gave to some extent the same story and not a single reference is available in Muzaffar’s favour. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* only refers to his assumption of power by killing the Sultan, and that he was an Abyssinian who was killed by Syed Husain when the latter assumed power, but there is no reference to Muzaffar’s atrocities and misdeeds. On the reference of the *Tuzuk Sukhomay Mukhapadhaya* raised doubts about Muzaffar’s misdeeds (discussed later).

Muzaffar issued both gold and silver coins in his own name. All the gold and silver coins are of tola weight standard and tanka denominations. No fractional coin of Muzaffar Shah is reported to be found. The descriptions of the coins are given below:

Gold coins

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears in a scalloped circle the Kalima in two lines and the third line bears the mint name ‘Khazanah’ and date as 896. The margin outside within another scalloped circle contains the name of the four Khalifas interspersed by arabesques.

²⁷ Riyaz, p. 126.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 127.

The reverse bears within a double scalloped circle the name of the Sultan and benediction for the kingdom in five lines *Shams u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'n naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh as Sultān khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sultānah*, 'Sun of the world and religion father of help Muẓaffar Shah the Sultan may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and power'.

All the gold coins of Muẓaffar Shah are of the same type. A total of six such coins are known so far. *BNM* has one such coin and published in the *HHRC*²⁹. E.C. Bayley first published in *JASB* vol. XLII (old series) PP. 312-13 a drawing of one such gold coin without date and mint name. Lane Poole corrected it later and correctly deciphered the name of the king³⁰. R.D. Banerji in *NS* vol. XVI³¹ reported two such gold coins. S. K. Bhatt published a gold coin in *JNSI*, Vol. XLV, (which is illustrated by Rajgor)³². Stan Goron published a gold coin dated 898 of the mint Khazanah in *ONS*³³. Another coin of the same type and same date is known to the present writer³⁴. Therefore, it is apparent that a fairly good number of gold coins were issued by Muẓaffar Shah.

Though it is reasonable to guess that the Husain Shahi rulers were hostile to him probably melted down coins of the Habshi period for re-striking in their own name. Nevertheless the discovered number of gold coins indicate the sound economic condition of the period of Muẓaffar Shah.

Muẓaffar Shah did not proclaim any additional titles like 'as Sultān' or 'al 'Adil' for his gold coins but was satisfied with the regnal title *Shams ud dunyā wad dīn* and *Kunyah abū'n Nasar* which means father of help. All the gold coins bear the Kalima as the obverse legend.

Silver coins

Silver coins of Muẓaffar Shah may be classified in to three types according to their legends with certain variations in marginal designs and style of calligraphy in each group.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in two lines and the third line contains the mint name and date. The reverse bears the name of the Sultan *Shams u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'n naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh as Sultān khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sultānah*. The design is the same as the gold Type A1. Some coins have a single scalloped circle, some also bear plain circle on both obverse and reverse. So, this Type B1 corresponds

²⁹ *HHRC*, p. 23, no. 119

³⁰ *BMC* p. 43, F. note

³¹ *NS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 697-698. All these 4 coins have been published by Tarafdar in *The Culture Interaction in South Asia*, pp. 168-169.

³² Quoted in *ONS*, no. 148, p. 21, f n. no. 11; *Rajgor*, Type 459, p. 33.

³³ *ONS* No. 148, (Winter) P. 21

³⁴ In a private collection, sized by the custom of the Zia International Air Port in 1989

with the gold Type A1. They have the following mints and dates, Daru Noor 896, (or Darud darb), Khazanah 896, 898 Fathabad 896, Barbakabad 896, Muhamadabad 898.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in three lines and the date only in the 4th line without any mint name. The reverse bears the name of the Sultan as above Type B1 but *Abūl Muẓaffar*, 'father of victory' in the place of 'Abu'n Nasar' at the end of second line. The obverse design in a circle decorated by another circle of dots, the reverse design is not clear either it is in a circle or the same as the obverse.

Type 3: Silver Tanka (Commemorative Issue)

The obverse bears in a central circle, divided by two horizontal lines, the Kalima in two lines, the upper half of the circle contains *lā ilaha illā Allāh* lower half *Muḥammadur Rasūl Allāh*. Marginal legend begins with 8 o'clock position of a clock, *Muẓaffar Shāh as Sultān khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa: Sultāna hu, Kamtā Mardan fī 898*. 'Muzaffar Shah the Sultan may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and his power, Kamta plundered (victory of Kamta) in 898'. This marginal portion is a continuation of the reverse legend. This marginal legend is also encircled.

The reverse bears the legend in a circle *fathul mulk, al-'ādil, al-bāzil al-mujāhid s'adu'd dīn nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn al mukhātāb Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'n naṣr*, the rest of the legend on the margin of the obverse side i.e. Muzaffar Shah etc. 'Conqueror of land, the just, the generous, the warrior, fortune of the religion, helper of the leader of the faithful, who is known as Shamsu'd dunya wa'd din Abu'n Nasar (Muzaffar Shah)'.

Silver coins of Muzaffar Shah also bear the Kalima as the obverse legend like the gold ones including the mint and date. The reverse bears the name of the Sultan as usual. Only his silver coin Type B2 bears the *Kunyah* as 'Abu'l muzaffar', thus here both the 'Khniyah' and 'Alam' became the same. But not a single inscription of the Sultan bears such a Kunyah of Abu'l Muzaffar³⁵. So, the coins Kunyah may be regarded as an error. The commemorative coins of Muzaffar Shah are different from his other coins in all respects, design, legend and execution. The text of their legends resembles more of the text of inscriptions rather than coins. Commemorative coin discloses his victory over Kamta in 898/1492, this is very important and significant. Already we have mentioned the notion of the historians about the period of Abyssinian rule in general and particularly of Muzaffar Shah. Only Mukhapadhyay questioned the allegations against the Abyssinians rule particularly the misdeeds of Muzaffar Shah and commented that this were the propaganda of the Husain Shahis. He referred to the Tuzuk-i-Baburi which did not have any adverse comment regarding Muzaffar Shah's rule except his assumption of power by killing the preceding ruler. Still his (Mukhapadhyay) comments are not free from self-contradictions. Mukhapadhyay commented that

Muzaffar was not a popular king and he had lost a large portion of his kingdom in east and west Bengal but Mukhapadhyay was not able to support this statement or assumption by evidence that Muzaffar was in possession of this areas in the first place. Thus although Mukhapadhyay doubted the reports of former Historians he could not give an impartial judgement himself.

In spite of internal intrigues of Habash Khan and Sidi Badar (Later Muzaffar) Saifuddin Firuz was able to run the administration successfully as evidenced by his buildings and charitable activities. But during the reign of his successor Qutbuddin Mahmud the Sultanat deteriorated farther and his short lived rule (six months) was brought to an end when Muzaffar killed him and assumed power in the later part of 896. As two of the previous rulers Firuz and Mahmud also ruled in 896 therefore, the treasury may have suffered bankruptcy. This may have compelled Muzaffar to reduce the salary of the soldiers for genuine exigency. Still his gold coins of 896 and the continuous striking of silver coins from various mints dated between 896-898 indicate that within a very short time he had managed to establish the economic condition of the state on solid ground. His inscription of Chilla Khana dated 898 also speaks about his justness, generosity and scholarship³⁶. His gold and silver coins speak of his ability in administering the country and the sound economic basis of his realm. Though Karim commented that there remain many questions unsolved due to the want of information and evidences of the rule of the Abyssinians still the question that Mukhapadhyay has raised should be considered properly with the evidence what we have at our disposals.

Saifuddin Firuz and Muzaffar Shah of the Abyssinians were able administrators and successful rulers of the period. A. B. M. Habibullah's, comment on the rule of Saifuddin Firuz is worthy to be mentioned, 'In the dark annals of Abyssinian predominance in Bengal, Firuz's reign alone provides a welcome relief. He is credited with having ruled justly and efficiently'³⁷.

The main objection against them is the manner of their assumption of power. But history tells us that it was the order of the day, if, the previous ruler Fath Shah and the succeeding ruler Husain with the same fault are not judged as guilty then why should the Abyssinians only pay the price?

Among the four rulers Ghiyasuddin Barbak (Shahzada Barbak) reigned for a very short period hardly about six months in 893 as already been mentioned. In the same year Firuz struck coins. Firuz's coins and inscriptions are found dated up to 896 and his inscription's last date is 2nd Muharram 896. So it may be assumed that he died at the beginning of the year as his son and successor Mahmud also reigned within that year for a short period of about six months and the next ruler Muzaffar Shah's coins and inscriptions also been found dated 896 and up to 898. Muzaffar's inscription's last date is 17th Muharram 898 but

³⁵ C A P I B, pp. 227-233

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ HB, II, p. 139

many of his coins found dated 898 from different mints. So we may assume that he ruled up to the end of that year. Thus the chronology of the Habshi rule may be fixed as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Giasuddin Barbak (Shahzada Barbak) | 893/ 1487 |
| 2. Saifuddin Firuz (Malik Andil) | 893-896/1487- 1490 |
| 3. Qutbuddin Mahmud (son of Firuz) | 896 /1490 |
| 4. Shamsudin Muzaffar (Sidi Badar) | 896-898/1490- 1492 |

Husain Shahi 899 - 945/1493 - 1538

The reign of the Husain Shahi rulers is marked by historians as the golden age of the independent Sultans of Bengal¹. The dynasty is named after its founder Alauddin Husain Shah. In all, four rulers of the family of Husain Shah ruled for forty-five years. During this period the kingdom expanded far and wide. The economic activity also expanded and developed a lot, due to which mints were established in different parts of the Kingdom and all the four rulers issued gold and silver coins from those mints during their respective reigns. The rulers are as follows:

1. Alauddin Husain Shah 899-925/1494-1519 founder of the family.
2. Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah 925-938/1519-1531 son of Husain
3. Alauddin Firuz Shah 938-939/1532-1533 son of Nusrat
4. Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah 939-944/1533-1538 son of Husain²

1. Alauddin Husain Shah 899-925/1493-1519

Alauddin Husain Shah ascended the throne in 899AH after the death of the last Abyssinian Sultan Muzaffar Shah. There are two views of the historians regarding the end of Muzaffar Shah. In one view it is pointed out that after a successful revolt by the people, in which Alauddin the minister of Muzaffar took the leadership, Muzaffar was killed in the battle and the courtiers elevated Husain the minister of Muzaffar Shah to the throne³. In another view it is said that Alauddin Husain by the help of the *paiks* in one night killed Muzaffar Shah and assumed the power⁴. General disorder ensued as Husain allowed the ransack of the city of Gaud for three days for his partisans and for the restoration of peace of the city he had to kill twelve thousand men⁵. Soon he was able to restore peace and political stability. It may be noted here that the previous reigns of the Abyssinian rulers were characterized generally by anarchy and instability.

The remarkable events of the period of Husain Shah are his expeditions and conquests in north-east, Kamrup and Kamtah, treaty with the Delhi King Sikandar Lodi, conquests in southwest in Jajnagar and Orissa upto the river Mantreswar, in the east, a part of Tripura and Chittagong, in the north-west most of Bihar. His consolidation and restoration of peace, setting up of an effective administrative machinery which provided for the growth of economy, trade and commerce resulted in peaceful development in the

¹ *Sultani Amol*, P. 297

² Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal 1494-1538 A.D. A Socio- Political Study*, Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan. 1965. (henceforth HSB) p. 352

³ *Riyad*, pp. 127-8. Also in HSB, p. 35

⁴ *Tabaqat-i-Akhbari*, Vol. III, p. 270, quoted by Tarafdar in *Husain Shahi Bengal*, p. 35

⁵ *Riyad*, pp. 130-31

field of art, architecture, literature and culture. He transferred his capital from Gaud to Ekdala on security ground. According to Salim "So that peace in the country being secured, anarchy and revolution which had occurred during the period of Abyssinian kings, etc, vanished and all disloyal elements were reduced to order"⁶.

According to the practice after the ascension to the throne Husain also issued coins in gold and silver from the various mints of the kingdom.

Gold coins

Husain Shah's numerous gold coins are found from various parts of his kingdom. Among the gold coins of Sultani Bengal Husain Shah's coins are comparatively large in number. Gold coins of Husain Shah are found in two denominations only, one tanka and quarter tanka. In all there are eight types of gold coins, which may be ascertained according to their legends and denominations. All these coins are of tola weight standard.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in two lines in Arabic and the third line contains the mint name and date, which are Khazanah 899. The legend is inscribed in a double scalloped circle made of eight shallow brackets (})

The reverse bears the legends, also in Arabic, in seven lines in a circle, *as sultan/al 'ādil al bāzīl/waladi sayyidul Mursalin 'Alāud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ḥusayn Shāh/as Sulṭān khallada Allāhu/mulkahu wa Sulṭānahu*. 'The just and generous Sultan descendant of the leader of the prophets sublimity of the world and the religion, father of the victory Husain Shah the Sultan may Allah perpetuate his power and kingdom'. The weight of the coin is (10.60 grams) and the diameter is 0.97" inches (26 mm)⁷. Another coin of this type is in the British Museum collection, weighing 11.41 grams⁸.

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse legend is in an ornamented circle, same as Type A1 i.e. the Kalima and the mint and date is same, Khazanah 899.

The reverse legend is in a circle in four lines in Arabic *'Alāud dunyā/wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Ḥusayn/Shah as Sulṭān khallada Allāhu/mulkahu wa Sulṭānahu* 'Sublimity of the world and the religion father of the

⁶ Ibid. P. 132.

⁷ *JAC*, II, P. 172. Coin No. 167

warrior Husain Shah the Sultan may Allah perpetuate his power and kingdom'. The weight of the coin is 10.7 grams and the diameter is 25 mm⁹. Present location of the coin is British Museum.

Type A3: Gold Tanka

The coin is the same as above Type A1 but in the reverse there is 'Abu'l Muzaffar' instead of Abu'l Mujahid. The mint and date are also the same i.e. Khazanah 899. The weight is 10.7 gram and the diameter is 20 mm¹⁰.

Type A4: Gold Tanka

The coin is same as Type A3 but the mint name has been read as 'Mu'azzamabad' dated '907' and in a double circle with arabesques in between. But most probably the mint name is 'Mustafabad'. The reverse bears the Arabic legend in five lines in double circle with arabesques in between '*Alā u'd dunyā/wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Husain Shāh Sultān/bin Sayyid Ashraf/khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sultānahu*', 'Sublimity of the word and the relation father of victory Husain Shah Sultan son of Sayyid Ashraf may Allah perpetuate his power and kingdom'. The weight of the coin is 10.7 grams and the diameter is 21 mm¹¹.

Type A5: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a circle in three lines as *Sultān/al 'ādil 'Alāu'd dunyā/wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar*. The reverse bears the rest of the legend, *Husain Shāh Sultān/bin Sayyid Ashraf al Husayni khullida mulkahu wa Sultānuh 904AH*. The weight is 10.56 grams and the diameter is 26 mm. The coin is in the collection of the British Museum¹².

There is a coin of the same type in the Kawale collection in India but the coin is dummier than the British Museum, weight is 10.7 grams, and diameter is 17 mm¹³.

Type A6: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend, in three lines, in double circle '*Alā u'd dunyā/wa'd dīn abū'al muẓaffar*'. The reverse bears the rest of the legend in four lines *Shāh/Husain as Sultān khallada/Allāhu mulkahu*. No mint and date, the weight of the coin is 10.7 grams and the diameter is 17mm. The coin is in the Kawale collection in India¹⁴.

⁸ ONS, No. 149, summer 1996, P.11.

⁹ Ibid, p. 11

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 11

¹¹ IAC, II, p.172, Coin No. 168

¹² ONS, 149, p. 11.

¹³ Ibid, p. 11.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.12

Type A7: Gold Tanka

The obverse legend is in a lettered surface in five lines as *Sulṭān/al Fāṭih li Kāmrū wa Kāmtah/wa Jājnagar wa Orisah 'Alāu'd duniyā wa'd dīn / abū'l muẓaffar*. The reverse bears the legend in six lines. *Shāh Husain as Sulṭān bin Sayyid Ashraf al Husayni/khullida mulkahu wa Sulṭānahu/Khazānah 919*. The weight of the coin is not available and the diameter is 26mm¹⁵.

Stan Goron mentioned a coin of the same Type A7 that is also in the Kawale collection. But the coin has a 'thick dumpy flan' and the design of both the obverse and reverse are double circle. The legend of the reverse ends with *Khullida Khilāfatuhu* instead of 'mulkahu' and the mint is Husainabad but date is not clear. The weight is 10.7 grams and the diameter is 15 mm, thickness 4mm¹⁶.

Type A7 (a): Gold Tanka

The coin is the same as Type A7 above but the mint name on reverse is Fathabad and date is only '89'. The coin is in a private collection in India¹⁷. Diameter is 14mm, weight is not available. There is another coin of the same type mentioned by Goron in Kawale collection of Fathabad mint but diameter is 17 mm and weight is 10.7grams. Also a similar coin in the British Museum having no mint name¹⁸.

Type A8: Quarter gold Tanka

The legends of both the obverse and reverse are the same as Type A5 and also struck from Khazanah but dated 905. The weight is 2.7 grams and the diameter is 13 mm.¹⁹

Silver Tankas (commemorative coins)Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in a double bracketed circle in three lines and margin bears the names of the four Khalifas. Abu Bakar, Omar, Usman and Ali, interspersed by arabesques.

The reverse bears a long legend in six lines in a circle as *Sulṭān al mutawakkil/ 'alā Allāh al fatih li Kāmrū wa'l Kāmtah ha'nāyat Allāh Sayyid/ 'Alā u'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū al muẓaffar Husayn Shāh' as Sulṭān Fatih Kāmta* 'The reliant (Sultan) on Allah the conqueror of the Kamru and Kamtah by the help of Allah Sayyid Ala u'd duniya wa'd din abu'l muzaffar Husain Shah the Sultan Kamtah is conquered'. There is no date and mint on the coin²⁰.

¹⁵ J.P.Goenka collection, Calcutta, India.

¹⁶ ONS, 149, p. 12.

¹⁷ J.P.Goenka Collection, unpublished.

¹⁸ ONS, 149, p.12.

¹⁹ Ibid, P. 11.

This type varies in respect of the designs and sizes, some coins have both the obverse and reverse designs in a circle, some are the obverse in double bracketed circle but all the reverse designs are in a circle or in a plain area. The measurement varies 27, 28 and 30 mm in diameter. It is to be noted here that the last word 'Fath Kamta' has been also inscribed variously. In some coins it is 'Fath Kamtah' and in others it is 'Kamta Fath'. Again the spelling of 'Kamtah' differs, sometimes it is 'Kamta' with an 'Alif' at the end, sometimes 'Kamtah' without 'Alif'.

Type B1 (a): Silver Tanka (Kalima Type)

The obverse legend is the Kalima and the name of the four Khalifas like the coin type B1 above but the Khalima is in two lines and the third line contains the mint and date.

The reverse is the same as the legend of type B1 above and the last word written as either 'Fath Kamtah' or 'Kamtah Fath'. This variety of Type B1 (a) is found from the mints Sharifabad dated 888, 889AH, Barbakabad dated 900AH, Darud Darb dated 900 and Khazanah dated 900, there is another mint, Daru Noor, according to some scholars. But reading is doubtful. It may be read as Darud Darb with a shortage of a letter 'Alif' of Dar. The weight of the coins of this variety is in general 10.7 grams and measurement varies from 27 to 30 mm. There is one coin of Sharifabad mint dated 888. Weight 10.7 grams, where the word Fath Kamtah is written reversely as the word Kamtah has been engraved on the coin directly.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the Kalima in two lines and the third line contains the mint, name and date. The observed mints are Sharifabad dated 899, Husainabad dated 899 and 900, Barbakabad 899, Darud Darb dated 899AH.

The reverse bears the long legend, in seven lines as *Sultan al 'ādil al hāzīl/waladi sayyidul mursalin 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Husaīn Shāh as Sultān ghalladallahu mulkahu wa sultānāhu* the just Sultan, the benevolent, descendant of the leader of the prophets, sublimity of the world and the religion Father of victory Husain Shah as Sultan may Allah perpetuate his power and Kingdom'.

This type is represented from the mints Sharifabad dated 899, Husainabad dated 899, 900, Barbakabad 899, Khazanah and Darud darb both dated 899. There are varieties according to the design of the obverse and the reverse and the weight ranges around 10.6 grams and measurements 26 to 30 mm.

Type B3: Silver Tanka (commemorative coins)

The obverse bears the legend in five lines as *Sultānu'l fātiḥ li Kāmru wa'l Kāmtah wa Jājnakar al'ināyat Allāh 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar*. 'The victorious Sultan for (conquest of) Kamru Kamtah and Jajnagar which is blessings of Allah the sublimity of the world and the religion Father of victory'.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend in five lines also *Husayan Shāh as Sultān bin Sayyid Ashraf al Husaynī khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa sultānahu, Faṭḥābād '89*. 'Husain Shah as Sultan son of Sayyid Ashraf al Husayni may Allah perpetuate his power and Kingdom, Fathabad (mint), '89' (?) date.

This type is very rare and only a few coins are known, most of the known coins being minted from *Faṭḥābād* and the date is only '89', not 899. There are only four coins of this type in the collection of B.N.M. all are struck from Fathabad except one and are dated '89'. The weights are around 10.50 gram and measurements are 26 mm each. Only one coin bears the mint name *Muḥammadābād* is dated 924AH.

Type B4: Silver Tanka (Kalima Type)

The obverse bears the Kalima in two lines and the third line contains the mint name and date. The mint name is *Faṭḥābād* and the date 899AH is also found in *Khazānah* dated 899, 900, 908 & 910, *Mustafābād* dated 907 and *Chandrābād*, date illegible.

The reverse bears the name of the Sultan with the titles in four lines *'Alā'ud dunyā wa'd dīn abūl muẓaffar Husayan Shāh as sultān khalladallahu mulkahu wa sultānahu*, 'sublimity of the world and the religion father of the victory Husayn Shah as Sultan may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and power'. The weight of the coins of this type ranges from 10.5 to 10.86 and diameter 25 mm to 32 mm, i.e. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31 mm. each of the size is found.

Type B5: Silver Tanka

The obverse is same as the Type B4 in a circle but the mint name is Husainabad. The reverse is almost same as Type B4's reverse but with an addition of fathers name in the 4th line *bin Sayyid Ashraf al Husaynī* 'son of Sayyid Ashraf al Husayni and the 5th line contains *khullida mulkahu* instead of 'Khallada Allahu Mulkahu'. (IMC. No. 199. P. 176, Corpus Type G).

Type B6: Silver Tanka (Commemoration coin)

The obverse bears the legend in five lines, *as Sultān al fātih li Kāmṛū wa Kāmtah/wa Jājnakar wa oryishah 'Alā'ud dunyā wa'd dīn abūl muẓaffar*, 'The Sultan conqueror of Kamrup and Kamtah and Jajnagar and orissa sublimity of the world and the religion father of the victory'.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend in five lines *Husayan Shāh as Sultān bin Sayyid Ashraf al Husaynī khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa sultānahu, Faṭḥābād '89*. 'Husayan Shah the sultan son of Sayyid Ashraf al Husayni may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and power'.

This type is found from the mints Fathabad, Muhammadabad, Husaynabad, Khazanah Husaynabad, Barbakabad²¹, Darud darb and Khazanah and are of various dates. In fact this type is the most popular type of Husayn Shah and generally found in abundance. The weight range is 10.5 to 10.08 and diameter 24 to 28 mm. The design varies.

Type B7: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in three lines *as Sultān al 'ādil 'Alā u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar*, 'The just Sultan sublimity of the world and the religion father of the victory'. The reverse bears the rest of the legend in four lines *Shāh Husayn sultān bin sayyid Ashraf al Husaynī khullida mulkuhu Khazānah 899*, 'Husayn Shah Sultan son of Sayyid Ashraf al Husayni may his kingdom be perpetuated, Khazanah 899'.

This type was also struck from Darud darb dated 902, 904, 913; Khazanah dated 899, 903, 904 and 913; Barbakabad dated 904. It is struck in a wide flan measuring 38 to 30 mm. diameters besides the normal sizes of 27 to 30 mm.

Type B7 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends are same as Type B7 mentioned above but with the addition of *Allāhu* after *khullida* and of *wa Sultānahu* after *Mulkahu*, struck in the Husainabad mint dated '8', '89', Darud darb dated 902 and Barbakabad dated 904.

There are some coins of Husain Shah having no mint name but only the dates, Type B5 and Type B6 only dated 913 each. On the other hand some coins are there having no mint names and dates, Types B1, B2, B5 and B6. There is a peculiar rendering of dates in some coins also with only one digit '8' Type B 7 (a) or two digit '89' (Type B6) Type B7 (a).

Type B8: Silver Tanka

The type is same as Type B7 but omits the word *al 'Adil*, 'the just', from the obverse legend. The reverse legend is same as Type B7 but line arrangement is different and the mint is Darud Darb dated 904.

All the five denominations in silver, half, quarter, one-eighth, one-sixteenth, and one- thirty secondth, of Husain Shah are known.

Type B9: Half Tanka Silver

The obverse and reverse are the same as Type B7 but date is not clear, most probably the date is 814, mint also the same, i.e. Khazanah. The weight is 5.3 grams.

²¹ J.S. Deyell, *Ruper Bangla* (unpublished Press Copy) P. 19, the coin is dated 912, 914 and 919

Type B10: Quarter Tanka Silver

The obverse and reverse are the same as Type B 6 but the mint is Khazanah Husainabad dated 919AH. The weight is 2.6 grams.

Type B10 (a): Quarter Tanka Silver

There is another type of a quarter tanka in SCA. The obverse bears in a circle the legend in four lines *as Sultān 'Alā' u'd dunyā wad dīn abū' al muẓaffar*. The reverse bears in a lettered surface *Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān bin Sayyid Ashraf al Ḥusaynī*. No mint and date is readable on the coin, the weight is 2.4 grams and diameter 17 mm.

Type B11: 1/8th Tanka Silver

Both the obverse and reverse design are same, the lettered surface, the legend on obverse is *'Alā' u'd dunyā wad dīn* in two lines and the reverse legend in three lines *Shāh Ḥusayn / as Sultān*. No mint and date, the weight is 1.4 grams.

Type B12: 1/16th Tanka Silver

The obverse bears *'Alā' u'd dunyā wad dīn* in three lines and reverse bears *Shāh Ḥusayn / as Sultān* also in three lines in a plain surface. the weight is 0.7 grams.

Type B13: 1/32th Tanka Silver

In a plain area the legend *ad dunyā wad dīn* in two lines, on the reverse *Shāh Ḥusayn [as Sultān]*, the weight is 0.4 grams.

The gold Type A1 is similar to silver Type B2, Type A3 is similar to B4, Type A4 to B5, Type B5 to B7, and A7 to B6 but the Type A2 and A6 are found only in gold, likewise Type B1, B3 and Type B8 are only found in silver. There is no coin in any other metal. It is apparent from the coins that Alauddin Husain Shah struck coins from the very first year of his reign both in gold and silver and in several varieties and from various mints.

The first dated coin in gold (Type A1) is struck from Khazanah dated 899 bears the Kalima on the obverse and on reverse he proclaimed himself the just and generous Sultan and also descendant of the leader of the Prophets which is significant. He tried to highlight his being a Sayyid. The corresponding coin in silver (Type B2) was issued from the mints Husainabad, Sharifabad, Barbakabad, Darud Darb, and Khazanah, all dated 899, and having various designs and ornamentation. There are also coins of this type (i.e. Type B2) in silver having no mint name or date.

Gold coin Type A1, A2, A3 and A4 bear Kalima on obverse so it may be called as Kalima type. The reverse bears the name of the Sultan or with his parentage. Type A2 bears the name of the Sultan with the Kunyah 'Abu'l Mujahid' and most probably this is the only known coin of Husain bearing this Kunyah. All the other coins bear the Kunyah Abu'l Muzaffar. Types A3, A4 bear the name of the Sultan with his father's name Sayyid Ashraf al Husayini. Type A2 was struck from Khazanah dated 899 and no coin in silver of this type is known. Type A3 corresponds with the silver type B4. The gold type A1 was issued from Khazanah dated 899. Corresponding coins in silver type B4 also issued from Khazanah of different date 899, 900, 908; Fathabad only dated 899. Also from Chandrabad (N.D.) and Mustafabad, dated 907.

Type A4 that corresponds with the silver Type B5 discloses his father's name on the reverse. The gold Type A4 is struck from Mu'azzamabad mint dated 907 and silver Type B4 is struck from Husainabad mint, date is not clear.

Type A5 corresponds with silver Type B7. Type A5 was struck from the mint Khazanah dated 904, only two coins are known, but the silver Type B7 issued from the mint Khazanah dated 899, Husainabad '89', Barbakabad (dated 904) and Darud Darb (dated 902, 913). This is a common type for the coins of Husain Shah and found in various flans. Besides normal sizes this type also has 38 to 42 mm diameter, for this some scholars designated these big flan coins as 'Nazranah' tanka i.e. presentation money²²

Type A6 has no match in silver. Type A7 bears the legend of the victory over Kamru, Kamtah, Jajnagar and Orissa and the name of the Sultan with his father's name and was struck from the mint Fathabad dated '89'. This type in silver i.e. Type B6 has been found bearing different mints and dates including peculiar dates with two digits or single digit, for example '8 or '98 etc. the mints represented by this Type B6 are Fathabad '89', Darud Darb, Khazanah, Husainabad, Muhammadabad and Khazanah. These mints are represented by the dates from 910 to 924 except the dated 911 and 918²³.

Husain Shah's most important coin in silver is probably the Type B1. It is also commemorative coin and belongs to 'Kalima type'. But the reverse legend reveals the victory of Kamrup and Kamtah. In this legend Sultan proclaimed that he is reliant on Allah, *al mutawakkil 'alā Allāh*, and by his grace he became victorious over Kamrup and Kamtah. He also proclaimed himself as 'Sayyid' descendant of the Prophet and ending with 'Fath Kamta' victory of Kamtah. The words Fath Kamtah are inscribed variously. Most of the coin bears Fath Kamtah but in one 'Kamtah Fath' giving the same meaning. In one coin the words are placed reversely. Type B1 coins are variously (?) known, some coins are found without any mint name and date. Others with mints and dates. The mints are Sharifabad dated 899, Barbakabad dated 900, Darud

²² Rajgor, p. 34, Type 486

²³ The details of the mints with dates are given in a coin list, Muhammad Rezaul Karim, "Hosain Shahi Amoler Kichhu Bishita Roupya Mudra: Ekti Prastabana", *Essays in Memory of Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar*, (ed) Perween Hasan and Mufakharul Islam, (henceforth Kichhu Bisishita Mudra), Dhaka 1999, p. 84

Drab dated 900 and Daru Nur dated 900. Curiously enough the non-dated and mint less coins are a bit crude in execution and probably issued earlier.

In all, three types of commemorative coins of Husain Shah have been identified. The first, Type B1 commemorates the victory of Kamrup and Kamtah and are found only in silver. The second type reveals the victory over Kamrup, Kamtah and Jajnagar Type B3 and are known only in silver.

The third type which declares the victory over Kamrup, Kamtah, Jajnagar and Orissa are found both in gold (Type A7) and silver (Type B6). Silver coins of the third type i.e. Type B6 are usually found in abundance and struck throughout his reign. But the gold coins i.e. Type A7 is generally limited in number like the other Sultani gold coins. Type B6 is probably the most common known type in silver but of the corresponding gold coins, Type A7, only five coins are known.

It is to be noted here that all these commemorative coins are very important and significant. Type B1 shows that the Sultan is 'reliant on Allah and conqueror of Kamrup and Kamtah by the mercy of Allah'. The earliest of this type is dated 899 and also without date and mintless as already been mentioned. This legend of Type B1 also corroborates with the text of an inscription of Husain Shah dated 902²⁴. Most probably the dateless and mintless coins were the earliest issues of Husain Shah. Just after assuming power he announced his own victory during Muzaffar Shah ('Kamtah Mardan') which probably as a minister was his own credit and that was used for propaganda. Though this Type B1 coins are only known dated 899 and 900, probably this type ceased to be issued after 900. But the Suata and Madrasah inscriptions of Husain dated 902 and 907 reveal the claim of conqueror of Kamrup and Kamtah by the mercy of Allah. It indicates that up to 907AH, Kamtah Kamrup i.e. the north-eastern frontier conflict were continuing and in 902 and 907 some considerable victory was achieved.

Type B3 coins are very rare and only a few are known. In this type the victory of Jajnagar was added along with Kamrup and Kamtah. It also indicates some gradual development in the conquests. Though there is the mint name in the coin but no specific date is given on the coin except a fictitious date of two digits '89' (discussed later). Type A7 and B6 show further victories. These coin types include the victory over Orissa also along with the victory of Kamrup, Kamtah and Jajnagar. But curiously enough in Types B1 and B3 the legends on the one hand declare the Sultan's glory by the word 'al Fatih' the conqueror of such and such lands, on the other hand use of the word like *al mutawakkil 'alā Allāh* (reliant on Allah), *ba 'ināyat Allāh* (with the mercy of Allah) and *'al 'ināyat Allāh* (endowment of Allah) Show the initial crisis of the country while the Sultan was left to the mercy of Allah. All these indicate the early problems of consolidation and restoration of peace. The *Riyaz* tells us that for the restoration of peace in the city of Gaud Husain had to kill twelve thousand men in one day. Therefore, it may be said that the medieval

rulers also used religion for the purpose of consolidation of their worldly powers. But in Type A7 and B6 coins which declare the victory of Kamrup, Kamtah, Jajnagar and Orissa no word of gratitude is mentioned. It may also be mentioned here that in later part of his reign he did not give much emphasis on religious formulas nor did the subsequent rulers of his family use religious legend or Kalima in their coins. They were contented to declare as of the Husaini family and wish of perpetuation. It indicates the family's secular attitude; they wanted to project a secular coinage system probably. As we know that Husain came to power through a dynastic revolution by ousting the Abyssinians and the last ruler of the family Muzaffar Shah was killed. Therefore, the question arises that in the year of the assumption of power by Husain i.e. in 899 when consolidation of power restoration of peace and discipline were more important than conquests, these claims of conquests how far in the very first year of his reign in the north-eastern and south-western frontier lands were correct. That is the legend of the coin (Type A1 and B6) conqueror of Kamrup wa Kamtah wa Jajnagar wa Orissa was it literally true? This has drawn the attention of the modern historians.

Among the historians Abdul Karim and Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar discussed the legend 'Al-Fatih li Kamru wa Kamtah wa Jajnagar wa Orissa' in details. Karim had published an article in 1970. Where he admitted that in the year of assumption of power by Husain in 899 these coins bearing the victory legend (Type B6) were struck. He presumed that during the reign of the Mahmud Shahi (Later Ilyas Shahi) regime, being an important noble of the realm, Husain conquered these lands²⁴. For publicity's sake, as it was a necessity at the time of his occupation of the throne, Husain announced that the sultan is the same Husain who had conquered Kamrup, Kamtah, Jajnagar, and Orissa²⁵. That is, all these victories were earlier achievements. He also enumerated the known sources other than coins, of the campaigns of those lands and concluded that the Kamrup Kamtah expeditions started in 1498, the Sultan achieved initial success in 1502 in which year he issued an inscription referring to the conquest of Kamrup Kamtah, for the Jajnagar-Orissa campaigns the known dates are 1509, 1513 and 1516²⁷. Mukhapadhyay rejected the opinion of Karim and argued that if so happened in the previous reigns then the claim of that victory of the said land would have been recorded in the respective Sultan's coins or inscriptions. But prior to the Husain Shah such examples are not present²⁸. But Mukhapadhyay admitted that the coin bearing the victory legend were issued in 899 and opined that it was the practice of the rulers that at the time of expedition to a land they used to claim the victory of that country²⁹. Tarafdar also rejected Karim's

²⁴ Suata inscription, Burdwan. *CIAP/B*, P. 241.

²⁵ *JASP*, XV, No. 1, PP. 9-10.

²⁶ *Sultani Amol*, P. 130

²⁷ *JASP*, XV, p. 11.

²⁸ Dusho Bachhar, p. 302

²⁹ *Ibid*, P. 301.

proposition of earlier achievement but admitted that the claim of the victory over Kamrup Kamtah Jainagar and Orissa by Husain in 899, for propaganda's sake may be correct³⁰.

In fact we have seen that during the reign of Muzaffar Shah *Kamta Mardan* coins were issued, a commemorative coin dated 898. Therefore, the proposition of Karim is at least partially correct. It may be assumed that just after assuming power Husain struck coins with the announcement of the victory of Kamrup and Kamtah through Type B1. Most probably the credit of 'Kamta Mardan' of the reign of Muzaffar Shah (in 898) was due to Husain which he claimed through the undated coins of Type B1, 'al Fatih al Kamru wa'l Kamtah ba'inayat Allah' and 'Fatih Kamtah'.

Now another question arises whether there was a civil war at the end of Muzaffar Shah's reign, which had lasted for four months, resulting in the killing of Muzaffar and paving the way for Husain. In the case of civil war how could it be possible for continuous victory of the north-eastern frontier for the Muslim soldiers? Infact 'Kamta Mardan' coin dated 898 (the last year for Muzaffar) and 'fath Kamtah' coins dated 899 and 900 of Husain Shah indicate a continuous frontier conflict in that area. Likewise there were conflicts and conquests in the south-west frontier also if the Type A7 and B6 coins are taken into account. Most probably from the time of Muzaffar Shah these expeditions in the north-eastern and south-western fronts were continuing. According to Tarafdar these continuous frontier conflicts were inherited by Husain Shah and continued in later times³¹. Therefore, in the context of these continuous frontier battles with the neighboring enemies the theory of the four months long civil war during Muzaffar Shah's reign demands reconsideration. It supports the opinion that treacherously with the help of the paiks one night Husain killed Muzaffar Shah. Tarafdar accepts this latter view to be correct³².

Tarafdar's proposition that at the time of assuming power by Husain Shah the expeditions of the frontiers were continuing, may be correct. Just after assuming power Husain may have announced the victory during Muzaffar's time as his own, and probably some primary conquest in the frontier may have been declared through the silver coins Type B1. In the context of the general condition of the country this kind of declaration was necessary for the consolidation of his own power and for up keeping the moral of the people. But the 'Fath Kamtah' coins bearing mint names and dated 899 and 900 are most probably issued to commemorate Husain Shah's victory. Because, if these were minted solely for propaganda then only 'Kamtah' was not mentioned. Therefore, it proves his own victory over Kamtah in 899 and 900. The Suata inscription dated 902 also corroborates and confirms this.

³⁰ M.R. Tarafdar, "Epigraphic and Numismatic notes bearing on the History of Pre-Mughal Bengal", *JASBD*, XX, No. 3 (1975) p. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.* P. 9

³² HSB, p. 35

Type B6 coins dated 899 were issued for publicity as assumed by historians. But in reality it has been proved that just after his ascension to the throne Husain issued the coins of 'Fath Kamta' Type i.e. Type B1. There is much ground to believe that Husain did not issue the coins with specific dates claiming the victory over Jajnagar and Orissa (Type B6) until some sort of victory was achieved in the south-west front. Though the earliest coin of this type is said to be 899 but it is a fact that no coin of Husain bearing the claim of victory over Kamrup, Kamtah, Jajnagar and Orissa dated 899 has yet been found. Whereas coin of this type's earliest known date is 910 A.H. when some sort of victory in the Orissa region might have been achieved. Type B6 coins' known dates according to Karim are 910/1504, 915/1509, 919/1513, 921/1515, 922/1516 and 924/1518³³. But we have found coins of this type were continuously struck from 910 to the end of his reign up to 925 from different mints, excepting the dates 911 and 918.

Coin Type B6 was struck from Darud Darb date 910, 913, 921, 922; from Husainabad dated 914 and 919; Muhammadabad dated 916, 917, 920 and 924. Besides coins other sources reveal the dates of the expeditions to Jajnagar and Orissa as 1509 (915 A.H.) 1513 (919) and 1516 (921) as Karim has reported³⁴.

There are discussions of the coins of Husain Shah, bearing the legend of 'al Fatih Kamru wa Kamtah wa Jajnagar wa Orissa, dated 899. In fact none of them bear the date 899. Some coins were found from the mints Fathabad and Khazanah or Khazanah Husainabad with a fictitious³⁵ date either only '89' which have been taken as 899 by the scholars. Such coins bearing the legend of Type B6 and dated 899 as cited by Karim are BMC coin no 123, where 'Fathabad 89' has been inscribed but the writer (Lane Poole) thought it was 899, by mistake '89' has been recorded³⁶; likewise IMC II, also bears the date '89'³⁷.

In fact no coin containing such victory legend (Kamrup, Kamtah, Jajnagar and Orissa) reveals the date 899. Therefore, there is no reason and scope of taking the digits '89' as '899'AH.

Moreover, a coin type of Nusrat Shah from the mint Darud darb dated 925 also bears the 'Fictitious' date '89' with the mint Fathabad on the other side of the same coin³. As the coin legends of Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah are completely different, there is no scope of using a dice of Husain Shah for the coin of Nusrat by mistake. Therefore, in presence of such a coin of Nusrat Shah there is no valid reason to assume the coin of Husain with 'Fathabad 89' as dated 899AH³⁸. It is obvious that after his victory Husain claimed it on his coins with the proper dates from 910 onwards. It may be mentioned that Type A7 i.e. the gold

³³ JASP, XV, (1970) P. 1

³⁴ Ibid, p. 11.

³⁵ J.S. Deyell, in *Rupar Bangla* (Press Copy) for the first time used this term.

³⁶ BMC, p. 48, Plate VI also introduction, P. XXIX.

³⁷ IMC, II, P. 173, coin No. 175, Pl. V.

³⁸ About this figure '89' on the coins of Husain and Nusrat Bhattasali commented that "They cannot represent a date by themselves..." N.K. Bhattasali, *Catalogue of coins collected by Sayyid A.S.M. Taifoor of Kawsar House, Dhaka, and Presented to the Dacca Museum*, (Henceforth Taifoor catalogue) Dacca, 1936, P. XX.

coins bearing the victory of all four places also have the 'fictitious' date of '89' and another bears the date 919 which is more significant, most probably after a decisive victory commemorating the event this gold coin was struck. According to Mukhapadhyay Husain's battle with Orissa started in 1493-94 (899CE) but continued for long³⁹. He also informed us quoting the various literary sources that in 1515CE, Husain renewed a march against Orissa and he himself took the leadership. In 1514CE Husain's territory was extended towards Orissa up to the river Mantreswar. Mukhapadhaya assumed that 1515CE's battle was the last battle between the two parties⁴⁰. Most probably in 1515CE's battle Husain achieved the victory which may have been declared and celebrated by issuing the gold coin of 919/1515.

Coins of Husain with the victory of Kamru, Kamtah, Jainagar and Orissa legend bearing the mint name of Fathabad with the fictitious date '89' are found in abundance. It may be assumed that all those coins were not struck in one year. On the other hand continuous issue of the coins with the same legend up to the end of his reign is a puzzle. When this type of fanciful date started, or why this has been used continuously is not known. Nor does it seem to be the "crude and mechanical survival of the date figures... of Husain Shah of 899AH" as has been assumed by Bhattasali⁴¹. We are not in a position in the present state of our knowledge to explain the mystery of inscribing this imaginary date of '89'. It may be presumed that coins with these fictitious dates may have been issued for publicity during the early period of his reign while expeditions were sent to those areas or at the time of some primary achievements. But intentionally the actual dates were concealed by using such imaginary figures because the decisive victory was not achieved then and there was the intention of concealing the actual date of issue. Otherwise particular victory was observed from time to time with the clearly dated coins (910 to 924AH). The large quantity of those coins bearing '89' which indicate continuous circulation may be explained in this way that these coins were probably struck during the starting of the war for the payment of soldiers in the frontiers from a mobile mint. Therefore, these coins were innumerable and were scattered among the people so, there was no scope of return of these coins to the mint for re-striking in later time. On the other hand marches in the north-east and south-west fronts were long expeditions, and due to geographical position and administrative difficulties replacement of the coin die was not timely. Or the cause may have been to conceal the actual date of issue, to check the undue interference of the bankers and money changers, who Deyell remarked that, 'the date may have been deliberately obscure, and intended as defense against the practice of *hatta* or discount of older coins in circulation imposed by money changers'⁴². All these assumptions are not unreasonable.

It may also be noted here that though Husain Shah conquered Chittagong, Tripura and part of Tirhut but like the commemoration legend of Type B6 claim of conquests of the mentioned places were not recorded

³⁹ *Dusha Bachhar*, PP. 308-309.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* P. 309 ?.

⁴¹ *Taifoor Catalogue* P. XX.

⁴² Deyell, *Ruper Bangla* (Press Copy), p. 18

on the coins. On the other hand in the year 924 victory legend of Type B6 was struck. Probably during the conquest of Chittagong. Trupura he had consolidated his power therefore, the need of publicity was ended. On the contrary prolonged undecisive conflicts of Kamrup-Orissa (started from the reign of Barbak Shah) were prolonged and a matter of prestige and honour. So during Husain's reign these coins up to 924 were minted to highlight some decisive victory for propaganda and for the pleasure of the people.

It is evident from the coin types of Husain Shah that in 899, at the very beginning of his reign, he minted simultaneously the Types of B1, B2, B4, and B7 from various mints, Sharifabad, Husainabad, Barbakabad and Fathabad including Darud Darb and Khazanah. He did not use his father's name in the coin types of B1, B2, B4, the rest of the type bear his father's name, Sayyid Ashraf al Husaini, which was stated from the first year of his reign in Type B7. His several inscriptions also bear his father's name, the 'alam' or proper name of his father is Ashraf and the family title is Sayyid and family name al Husaini.

It would not be out of place to mention the views of the historians about Husain Shah of being an Arab. Most of the historians believe that Husain was an Arab. But there is no specific proof in favor of this view except that he is a Sayyid and his father's title was al-Husaini. Though Riyaz on the statement of Haji Muhammad Qandahari entitled him as 'Alauddin Syed Husain Sharif Maki'⁴³. But among the seventy-seven inscriptions⁴⁴ and innumerable coins of Husain Shah not on a single piece did he claim anything which can be a proof of his being an Arab or of Makkah. Of course in inscriptions and coins he claimed himself as 'Sayyid', descendants of the Prophet (walad-i-Sayyidul Mursalin), and mentioned his father's name as Syed Ashraf al Husayni. It may be noted here that none of the Bengal Sultans used the family title (Sayyid, Shaikh etc.) in their coinage except Husain Shah. What was the cause of this new introduction in Bengal numismatics? Is it to prove his Arab origin? Only use of the title 'Sayyid' or 'al Husayni' does not prove that he was an Arab or 'Sharif-i-Maki' or 'Sharif of Makkah'. In his early coins Husain claimed many titles for the consolidation of his newly established rule. If he had been an Arab or Sharif of Makkah then that would be mentioned in his coins or inscriptions.

Abdus Salam the translator of the Riyaz commented that Ferishta erroneously calls him 'Syed Sharif Maki', whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him 'Sharif Mecca'. In early 15th century there were no scarcity of Sayyid families in Bengal, so Husain may be a descendant of a local Sayyid family or may be an Arab Sayyid but information of the coins and inscriptions only supports that Husain was a Sayyid and his father's name was Sayyid Ashraf al Husayni, this does not indicate that he was an Arab. It may be mentioned that subsequent rulers of the family did not use Sayyid etc. in their coins or inscriptions. Therefore, this use of Sayyid by Husain was only to achieve the respect of the people for consolidation of his power after usurping in a heinous manner.

⁴³ *Riyad*, p. 128

⁴⁴ Karim, *CAPIB*, (list of inscriptions), pp. 532 - 535

The question of the Arab merchant of the story of Joa de Barros may also be recalled here. In Barros' report it has been mentioned that hundred years before the arrival of the Portugues in Chittagong one Arab trader came with two hundred men and became friendly with the ruling Bengal Sultan and helped the latter against the Orissa King and ultimately by killing the Sultan assumed power. Identity of this Arab merchant is difficult. Some scholars have identified Husain Shah as the Arab trader of the story of Barros. As he came to power by killing the previous Bengal Sultan and by dint of his being Syed and an Arab. But at the time of the arrival of the Portugues in Chittagong Husain was (so called Arab merchant) already on the throne though Habibullah, Tarafdar, Karim all admit that Husain Shah was the Arab merchant. Shukhomoy Mukhopadhyay rejected this view⁴⁵. Two factors of the story of Barros, an Arab merchant and assumption of power by killing the Sultan have been adjusted with certain illasticity with Husain. But the part of the story dealing with the time factor and helping the Sultan against the Orissa king of Barros' story have been ignored altogether.

Identifying Husain as the Arab merchant of the story of Barros seems unsatisfactory. A silver coin of Type B7 from the mint Khazanah dated as 831 read by G.S. Farid creates a lot of controversy. On the basis of the date G.S. Farid extended the period of Husain Shah's reign up to 931 and eventually the years 925 to 931, have been shortened from the reign of Nusrat Shah. One such coin was also found from the 'Chandi Jhar hoard' in Jalpaiguri district West Bengal. Dealing with the hoard Praip Kumar Mitra and Sutapa Sinha opined that there is no scope of striking coins by Husain in 931 because no coins of Husain are found bearing the dates from 925 to 930AH, likewise there is no inscription of Husain after 925. There is a specific report of an anonymous interpreter of the Portuguese mission of Antonio de Brito, cited by the authors, in which it is clear that in 928 Husain, father of the ruling Sultan Nusrat, was dead. And the authors mentioned about a coin of the same type also from the mint Khazanah but dated 921 both times reading the word Khazanah without an 'Alif' i.e. they both accepted the reading of G.S. Farid which is 931 and concluded that the digits "2" of the date '921' has been mistakenly replaced by the figure '3' in some of the dies of the Khazanah mint coin of 921AH. But there is another possibility which seems more reasonable. What is identified as '1' of 931 is the '1' (Alif) of Khazanah, therefore there is the possibility that these coins may be read as 903, the cipher may be engraved like a dot which may be unnoticed by the scholars. Whatever the case there is no need of reading the digits as 931 taking the "Alif" of Khazanah for digit one and of extending the reign period of Husain. It may be mentioned here that no such dated coin is found without the mint Khazanah where the 'Alif' of 'Khazanah' is not taken as digit one, it is obvious that erroneously the 'Alif' of Khazanah has been taken as digit one. Therefore, the 'Alif' of Khazanah was the main factor behind reading the date as 931⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Dusto Bachhar, P. 284.

⁴⁶ Of late, one private collector of Dhaka informed me that he himself has seen a coin of Husain Shah of Khazanah mint with the so called date of 931 having a dot in between digits 9 and 3, i.e. dated 903 A.H. not 931.

Of late in 1999 some unique fractional coins of Alauddin Husain Shah came to light. All the fractional coins are of silver. They are unique that all the five of the denominations have been covered by these five coins. They are half, one fourth, one eighth, one sixteenth and one thirty secondth, weighing 5.3, 2.6, 1.4, 0.7 and 0.4 grams respectively.

It is known that fractional coins of the Sultans are very rare. But probably for the first time a complete set of the fractional coins are known; these are published in Calcutta⁴⁷. These coins show that besides kauris some fractional coins were also in circulation during the reign of Husain Shah. Probably people used these for their sundry purchases. But there is no punch mark or blow of hammers on the coins. The coins are now in the position of a private collector in India.

Two new mints of Husain struck coins, which are not been mentioned in the Corpus. They are Sharifabad (modern Burdawan) and Barbakabad (Mahi Santosh).

The reading of the coin no. 118 of BMC which has been defined as Type H. in the Corpus. The Corpus gave the reading almost same of the BMC. But the coin is same as coin Type B1 of our classification and the readings of the BMC and Corpus are not correct.

Husain's mints are Barbakabad, Sharifabad, Husainabad, Fathabad, Chandrabad, Muhammadabad and Darud Darb and Khazanah. But in some coins Darud Darb is written almost as Daru Noor, without the alif of *al Darb* M.A. Qadir pleaded that should be read as Daru Noor. In a recent article he tried to establish that Gaur was renamed after Noor Qutbul Alam the famous saint of Pandua, as Daru Noor⁴⁸.

Husain Shah minted both gold and silver coins from the very first year of his reign and continued to strike them up to the last year of his reign in 925. But gold coins are not found after 919. All his coins are of tola weight standard. Alauddin Husain had a natural death in 925AH. He had the credit of establish a new dynastic rule by ousting the Abyssinians. During his 27 year of rule the Sultanat was extended in all direction and much wealth was gathered from the new conquests. The condition of commerce and trade were also healthier and people were prosperous and happy. Husain Shah issued coins from 899 to 925AH from various mints of his Sultanat and his last inscription's date is 925. His successor Nusrat's coins are also found dated 925 onwards and his first inscription's date is 926. Therefore, Husain ruled from 899 to 925 for twenty-seven years and this is the accepted chronology of the period.

⁴⁷ Debasish Paul. "Few Unique Fractional Coins of the Sultans of Bengal", *Coin: Annual issue on the occasion of 5th Annual Conference and Exhibition of Coins*, Calcutta: Numismatic Society of Calcutta. 1999, p. 22, pl. V, (Nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30).

⁴⁸ Abdul Qadir. "Daru Noor". *Dainik Sangram* (Daily news in Bangla), Dhaka, July, 1987, (3rd, 5th, 7th, 8th and 10th July, 1987).

2. Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah 925-938/1519-1531

After the death of Husain Shah his son and successor crown prince Nusrat ascended the throne in 925AH, the last date of Husain found in the coins and inscriptions.

Nusrat Shah's coins with the date 925 are found abundantly. So, historians decided that Nusrat assumed power after Husain Shah in 925. But some coins of Nusrat are found with prerogal dates of 918, 922, 923 and 924⁴⁹.

These coins are regarded as the princely issues of Nusrat, as the prerogative of coining in his own name was delegated to him. Nusrat's single gold coin dated 922, several silver coins dated 922, 923 (the date 918 is controversial) and at least one inscription dated 922 has been found which were the earlier issues before his ascension to power. Gold coin's mint is absent, silver coins dated 922 are struck from the mint Khalifatabad, and the inscription's provenance is Bholahat, Nawabganj⁵⁰. On the basis of these prerogal dated coins (the inscription is a recent find) R.D. Banarji opined that Nusrat revolted in 922 against his father. But these coins and inscriptions should be treated as Nusrat's princely issues. Because Babur in his *Memoirs* mentioned that Husain's successor Nusrat, the latter assumed the power after the death of the former. Moreover, Babur also mentioned in his *Memories* that kingship, as a succession is a rare event in Bengal so, if Nusrat would have revolted against his father then that would have been mentioned. Therefore, there is no reason to hold the view of revolt by Nusrat against his father.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Masir-i-Rahimi and Riyaz all mentioned that among the eighteen sons of Husain, Nusrat was the eldest. Riyaz even mentioned that unlike a mediaeval despot Nusrat behaved with his brothers very cordially and increased their allowances⁵¹. Nusrat very efficiently averted the aggression of Babur by diplomacy and without losing any territory, Husain started the expedition towards Tirhut. He completed the conquest and to ward off the Mughal aggression took the initiative to establish friendly ties with Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. Nusrat ruled for thirteen years and was killed by a discontented (eunuch) in 939. He issued both gold and silver coins from the various mints of the Sultanat and all his coins are of tola weight standard. A.W. Botham mentioned five copper coins of the Sultan. No coins in any other metal is reported.

All his coin-legends are of the same type. Except slight variation in wording and line arrangements. In some coins there is an addition of the word 'Allah' after Khallada. His coins are found having various border designs and issued from several mints.

⁴⁹ Corpus, p. 118.

⁵⁰ Muhammad Abdul Qadir, "Eight Unpublished Sultanate Period Inscriptions of Bengal", *Journal of Bengal Art*, Vol. 4, Dhaka: The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, 1999, p. 249, pl. 17.6.

Gold coins

As we know that the gold coins of Sultani Bengal are not many in number at least more than a dozen gold coins of Nusrat are known at present, mostly published. In ONS 149 Stan Goron mentioned 9 gold tankas and 2 quarter tankas⁵². In addition to that there are three tankas in the collection of Bangladesh National Museum and three more in private collections in India⁵³, which are unpublished⁵⁴.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle the first part of the name of the Sultan with his regnal title, and Kunyah: *as Sulṭān ibn us Sulṭān Nāṣiru'd duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar*, 'The Sultan son of the Sultan helper of the world and the religion father of the conqueror'.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend, the Sultan's name his father's name and the family name al Husaini, *Nusrat Shāh ibn Husayn Shāh as Sulṭān al Husaynī khalladallāhu mulkahu wa Sulṭānahu*, 922, 'Nusrat Shah son of Husain Shah the Sultan of the Husaini family may Allah perpetuate his kingdom, and date is 922'. It is a small flanged dumpy coin measuring 15 mm in diameter and thickness of 4 mm. the weight is 10.6 grams. The coin is at present in the collection of BNM, the provenance of the coin is not known. The date 922 shows that it is a preregnal issue of the Sultan and probably struck on the occasion of celebration of the nomination of Nusrat as a crown prince. This type is also found from the mint Darud Darb dated 925⁵⁵. Goron mentioned that there are several examples of Type A1 coins (with crude letterings) in the Kawale collection in India. He did not give the total number but mentioned that they are of different dies and diameter and range from 16-17 mm. weight 10.7 grams. No date is visible but the mint seems to be Husainabad. Goron illustrated only two examples of this type⁵⁶. There is a coin of Type A1 in a private collection in India which is unpublished⁵⁷. The coin bears the mint name 'Arsah dated (9) 28. The weight of the coins is 10.6 grams and diameter 17 mm. Another coin of Type A1 mentioned by Goron with a doubtful date is in the British Museum Collection.

Type A1 (a). Gold Tanka

Type obverse the reverse legends and designs are the same as above coin Type A1, but on the reverse at the end 'Khullida mulkahu', 'his kingdom may be perpetuated'. Stan Goron did not mention the provenance or location of the coin. The diameter is 21 mm and weight is 10.6 grams. There is no mint

⁵¹ Riyaz, p. 134.

⁵² Stan Goron. ONS. 149, p. 12.

⁵³ J. P. Goenka Collection, Calcutta.

⁵⁴ Only one coin of BNM dated 922 is published earlier in an article by Tarfdar in *Cultural Interaction in South Asia*, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Stan Goron. ONS. 149, p. 12, location of the coin is not mentioned.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 13.

name on the coin but a crudely engraved date, which according to Goron is either 916 or 928. There is another coin with very crude lettering mentioned in the ONS, no. 149 which is same as Type A1 (a) but having the mint name, Muzaffarabad and bearing a doubtful date '27' which Goron presumed as 927. The Diameter of the coin is 16 mm. and the weight is 10.5 grams⁵⁸.

In the BNM collection there are two unpublished coins of the Type A1 (a), both having an ornate circle for both the obverse and reverse margins having no mint name and date⁵⁹. The diameter is 13 mm and 16 mm and the weight is 10.56 and 10.5 respectively. The thickness of the former is 4 mm. There are two coins, of Type A1 (a) having ornate borders, in two collections, one in the British Museum and published by Goron, the other in a private collection in India which is unpublished. Both the coins bear no date or mint. The weight of type BM coin is 10.36 grams and private collection coin is 10.6 and 13 mm in diameter.

Type A2: Gold quarter Tanka

The obverse bears the part of the Sultan's name in an ornamented circle as *Sultān bin as Sultān Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa*. The reverse bears the rest of the legend *Nuṣrat Shah as Sultān bin*. The legend is the same as coin Type A1 omitting the word *addīn* in the middle and the *Doa* of the end '*khallada Allahu*' ... The weight of the coin is 2.7 grams and diameter is 7 mm, thickness: 3 mm. This coin is published by Goron in ONS, no. 149 but without mentioning any provenance or location of the coin.

Goron mentioned in ONS, no. 149 at least eleven gold coins and wrote "several examples of this type in the Kawale collection" but did not give the number. Only two examples are given. The Bangladesh National Museum collection has three gold coins of Nusrat and there are also three more in private collections in India as already been mentioned. Therefore, the number of gold coins of Nusrat are not few in number when compared to the number of the gold coins of the Bengal Sultans of other dynasties.

So the gold coins show the affluence of the period and the quarter tanka gold also is an indication of the use of gold coins as a media of exchange and currency for large-scale transactions.

Silver coins

Like the gold tankas of Nusrat, silver coins are also of a single type according to their legends with slight variations at the end, either '*Khullida mulkuhu*' or '*Khalladallahu mulkahu*'. A few coins also have '*wa Sultanahu*' after '*Khalladallahu mulkahu*'. Of course there are variations in design, arrangement of the

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 12. Photocopy of this coin is not clear, the mint may be other than that which has been given, may be Mustafabad.

⁵⁸ ONS, 149, p. 12. Location of the coin is not been mentioned.

⁵⁹ BNM, Acc. no. 87.55 and 87.7372.

legends as well as the calligraphic style. All these coins both gold and silver are of the tola weight standard.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse legends of Type B1 are same as Type A1(a) ending with 'Khallada mulkahu' issued from the mints Khalifatabad [dated] 922, Khairabad dated 926AH, Mustafabad (Date illegible) and Nusratabad, Muhammadabad, Barbakabad of various dates. The weight range of these coins are 10.5 to 10.8 grams and the diameter generally 23 mm to 30 mm.

Type B1 (a): Silver Tanka

Both the obverse and reverse legends are the same as type B1 but with an addition of the word *Allāh* in between 'Khallida' and mulkahu' at the end of the reverse legend i.e. the legend ends with *khallada Allāhu mulkahu*. 'may Allah perpetuate his kingdom'. This type is represented from the mints Arsah and Chatgaon having various dates and from the mint Dawabad dated 928AH. Dawabad, a new mint not been heard of earlier.

Type B1 (b): Silver Tanka

Both sides of the coin of this type bear the name of the Sultan as Type B1 but have a mint name for each obverse and reverse. This Type B1 (b) bears on the obverse after 'Abul Muzaffar', 'Fathābad' '89' and the reverse side ends with the mint name *دار الفرس ۹۲۵* Darud Darb 925. No doubt 'Fathābad' is the mint name and 'Darud Darb' means 'house of striking' i.e. the mint. Plainly this indicates that these coins are struck from the mint of Fathabad but it is remarkable that both sides bear the dates, Fathabad with two digits '89' and Darud Darb 925. It may also be noted here that the word *خلو ملکہ* of this type was always written as *حکمه ملکہ*.

Type B1 (c): Silver Tanka

The legend of this type is the same as the type B1 (b) but the obverse legend bears the mint name *Husainābād* and the reverse ends with *Dar u'd Darb 925*. On the obverse Husainabad is without any date and Darud Darb has the date 925. The mint name on the reverse should be read as 'Jalalud Darb' instead of Darud Darb, it indicates that the coin was a majestic striking of the mint of the capital Husainabad. In this type the word 'Khallida mulkahu' is engraved as *حاله ملکہ* some coins also bear the mint name on the reverse after 'Jalālud Darb' i.e. 'Jalālud Darb Husainābād' and the date. There are various varieties and variations in line arrangements and also in designs. Some of the coins of this type bear the mint name on the obverse and only the date on the reverse, these coins may be regarded as a sub variety of Type B1 (c).

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse is the same as the obverse of B1(c) both in design and legends. The reverse legend is the same as type B1 (a) but with an addition of a word *Sayyid* before Husaini and *Sultānahu* after the word

mulkahu then the date. That is the obverse bears the mint name and reverse bears the date. It should be mentioned here that this type is the only coin of Nusrat ever known where the word 'Sayyid' has been used for the first time.

Type B3: Silver Tanka (Commemorative coin)

Both the obverse and reverse are the same as the legends of Type B1, but Type B3 bears no mint name or date and ends with some additional word *Tirhut Mardan* i.e. 'Tirhut plundered'. This word was read as 'yadī Harmuzd' by Blochman for the first time in JASB 1873, he thought it would be the name of the engraver. Subsequent scholars all followed him but the word is *Tirhut Mardan*⁶⁰ and the coin is a commemorative one struck on the occasion of the conquest of Tirhut.

Type B3 (a) Silver tanka

The coin's legend is the same as Type B1, but ends with the mint name Darud Darb having no dates.

Type B3 (b): Silver Tanka

The type is the same as Type B3 (a) but only with the date (925) and there is no mint name.

Type B3 (C): Silver Tanka

The legends of this type are the same as Type B3 (a) but bear no date or mint name.

Type B4: Silver half Tanka

Fractional coins of Nusrat Shah are very limited. Only five coins are known so far. One coin is mentioned in Suppl. IMC.II⁶¹ and four coins are in a recent sale catalogue⁶².

Both the obverse and reverse legends are the same as Type B1 but some coins bear no date on mint and designs vary. But one of the SCA coin contains the last line *wa sultanatu Dārud Darb*, but bears no date. The weight is almost half of the weight of a full tanka 5.16 to 5.19 grams and diameter 18 mm.

Both the gold and silver coins of Nusrat show that he used only one type of legend for his coins as already mentioned. The legend shows no affiliation to religion. Nusrat was the first Sultan to introduce a completely secular type of legend for his coins in the numismatic history of medieval Bengal. Not a single coin of Nusrat has yet been found bearing any religious utterances such as Kalima or any allegiance towards Khalifa or Khilafat, nor did he claim himself to be Khalifatullah or helper of Khalifah or Khilafat

⁶⁰ Muhammad Rezaul Karim, *Kichhu Bisishtha Mudra*, p. 70.

⁶¹ Suppl. IMC, II, p. 66, no. 192.

⁶² SCA, pl. 57, no. 919.

or succour of Islam or Muslims. Not even in his inscriptions did Nusrat claim Khalifatullah or any thing similar⁶³, only he used the formula "May Allah perpetuate his kingdom".

It may be mentioned that Nusrat's coins are found from the date 922, predating his ascension to the throne in 925, and continued to strike coins from various mints upto 938AH the coins of the last two or three years of his reign's are seldom found. His coins prior to 925, are either indicator of an extra ordinary deliegation of power or point to a successful rebellion' as opined by Blochmann⁶⁴. Discussing the subject Tarafdar opined that the rebellion "is an absurd proposition for which we find no support in the sources"⁶⁵. He also pleaded that Alauddin Husain Shah was too powerful a ruler to allow any rebel to flourish within his kingdom⁶⁶. Therefore, predated coins of Nusrat may be considered as princely issues as he was given the prerogative of the sovereign power of striking coins in his own name. Abdul Karim on the basis of a coin of Nusrat dated 918AH opined that Nusrat issued coins on his own name from 918AH⁶⁷. The reading of the date is doubtful as there are only two digits 'one' and 'eight', ("18") on the coin which Karim assumed as 918. There are coins of Nusrat and Husain having fictitious dates of '8', '92', '89'. So this type of assumption on the basis of a doubtful reading of a single coin's date is uncertain. Moreover, Firuz Mahmud raised the question in an article that from 922 onwards Nusrat's coins of each year have been found but not a single coin between 918 to 922 has yet been found and he remarked that on the basis of a doubtful reading of a single coin it is not reasonable to draw any conclusion⁶⁸.

Already we have seen that Husain used in his coins the 'fictitious date', as has been termed by Deyell. This type of date having only two digits (89) with Fathabad mint has also been found on the coins of Nusrat along with the actual date with Darud Darb on the other side of the coin Type B1 (b). Some coins of Nusrat issued from the mint Nusratabad also bear either the digit '92' or only '2', what was the real cause behind the use of such dates are not known. Deyell proposed that probably it is to prevent the moneyers from imposing the extra *batta* on the coins of the previous years. Whatever may be the cause it may be presumed that the system was intentionally introduced for the administration of coinage of the period.

It would not be out of place to look into the matter based on which the proposition of irregularity in striking coins in the Husain Shahi reign are build up. Subjecting this Firuz Mahmud and Trafadar discussed in details about the contentions and their views have already been discussed. But none of the Scholars

⁶³ CAPIB, pp. 536, 537. Among his 24 known inscriptions not a single one contains any such religious affiliations, also Dani, Bibliography, pp. 67-74.

⁶⁴ JASB, 1873, p. 297. Quoted by Trafadar in *Husain Shahi Bengal*, p. 353.

⁶⁵ HSB, p. 354.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Corpus, p. 125.

⁶⁸ Firuz Mahmud, "Husain Shahi Amole Mudra Utkirnatay Aniyam O Er Tatparya" (in Bangla), *Itihas*, IX, 1382BS, pp. 137-138.

noticed the main factor of this contention during Nusrat's reign. There have been found some coins of Nusrat dated 922, 923 and 924. But among these only the dated 922 of the Khalifatabad mint has some ground. IMC II, coin no 203 bears the date -23 without any mint name so these two digits might not represent the date 923, there are so many coins in Husain Shahi reign bearing the date in retrogradation also. Therefore this 23 may be retrograded date of 932 [23 (9)] and might not be predated to Nusrat's reign. The coin was not illustrated so there is no scope of verification.

Again in JASB 1874 there are three coins which are concerned with this predating, one coin dated 923 and two coins dated 924 as read by Blochmann. But the coin which has been read as 923 actually is 'Arsah 932 in retrogradation [i.e. 'Arsah 239]. There is no way to read it 923. The other two coins which have been read as 924 (Plate XIII coin No 7 and 8) are actually written in Arabic as '965' which is '925'. Blochmann rightly admitted that Arabic figure 2 is inverted 'but all the coins of this date in IMC II and in BMC have been read by Wright and Lane Pool as 925 not 924⁶⁹. Now the question of the date of 922 of Khalifatabad mint. If any one wants to omit the subject of Nusrat's predated coins then he may plead for the date of 926, the last figure 2 was originally intended for 6 but engravers mistakenly made it two by inversion as has been happened in the case of coin no. 7 and 8 of Blochmann. But we think that the date of the Khalifatabad mint is correct and is 922. Several coins with that date have been found of Nusrat and Alauddin Firuz bearing the same mint. All these coins dated 922 of Nusrat were his princely issues and the gold coin dated 922 probably was signaling the occasion as Tarafdar wrote.

Coin Types B1 (b) and B1 (c) reveal that both the types bear on each of their obverse the mint name Fathabad and Husainabad and reverse sides bear *Dārūd Darb* 925 and *Jalāl ud darb* 925. So, it indicates that the actual date is with Dar ud Darb or Jalal ud Darb because in Type B1 (c) Husainabad has no date accompanying it. On the other hand type B1 (b) bears "Fathabad 89" (with digits '89') which is a mystery, in the presence of the actual date of 925 on the reverse. There are dated and undated coins of Nusrat also only with Darud Darb Type B3 (a). Therefore, one may raise the question that what was the implication of such double use of mint names on both sides of the coin introduced by Nusrat for the first time, again what does Jalalud Darb indicate?

Husain not only established a kingdom on a solid foundation for his family but also expanded it on all sides, so the development, which started in his reign, continued during Nusrat. The economic activity trade and commerce boosted and as a consequence there evolved new mints during Nusrat Shah. Abdul Karim mentioned nine mints of Nusrat. Deyell mentioned eleven. We have found a total of Thirteen mints on the coins of Nusrat. Therefore, from the increased number of mints and volume of coins it may be assumed that the reorganization of the monetary system and mints were the need of the hour and Nusrat probably established centrally controlled mints in various places and Jalalud Darb Husainabad was the

central mint of the capital where the Sultan himself resided and Darud Darb Fathabad was the another mint under central control.

Type B3 is an important coin commemorating the victory of Tirhut. Blochmann discussed the coin with a photograph in his *Contribution* in 1873 and gave the reading of the last two words as *Yad-i-Hurmuzd* and commented that "I am doubtful as to the correctness of the last words yad-i-Hurmuzd, by the hand (by engraved) 'Hurmuzd'. The characters, though small are clear, and yet it is difficult to suggest anything else". Shamsuddin Ahmad read the same word as 'Nustratabad', Karim followed Blochmann in his *Corpus*. For a long period the actual words were not known to us, now we have corrected it is *Tirhut Mardan*. There is no doubt about this reading, in writing *Nusratābād* there require two Alif's but in *Tirhut Mardan* there are none. So the word is certainly not Nustratabad. There is no mint name or date on the coin. During Nusrat's rule Tirhut was conquered though it was started previously by his father. To commemorate this victory the coin was struck probably from the mobile mint of the expedition, that is why the mint name was dropped or it was struck from the central mint of the capital.

Some of the coins of Nusrat are found either only with the mint name but without date Type B3 (a), or only with date but without mint, Type B3 (b). Some are found without date and mint also, Type B3 (c). Deyell informed us about four new mints of Nusrat 'Arsah, Chatgaon, Khairabad, Mustafabad. Other than these two new mints of Nusrat are known from a hoard, Arkan and Dawabad or Do Abad⁷⁰. The latter is a new mint name heard for the first time in Sultani Bengal.

Copper coins

Nusrat's five copper coins are reported in the Suppl. Shillong Catalogue. Their legends are same as the silver coins. They were found from the Sylhet, Mymensingh region.

These are the second information of copper coins of the Sultans of Bengal; earlier only one coin of Barbak was reported. Why Nusrat introduced these copper coins are not known. In the presence of Kauri there was no need of copper coins.

⁶⁹ JASB, 1873, part II, no. 3, p. 297.

⁷⁰ Kichhu Bisishtha Mudra, pp. 68 - 74.

3. Alauddin Firuz Shah 938 - 939/1531 - 1532

Nusrat Shah was succeeded by his son Alauddin Firuz in 938AH. According to Tarafdar 'numismatic evidence suggests that Nusrat nominated his younger brother, Mahmud for succession'⁷¹. During the reign of Nusrat, Mahmud issued coins in his own name. Thus the latter was given the prerogative of sovereign power as a succeeding Sultan. But after the death of Nusrat a group of powerful nobles placed Firuz on the throne. But he could rule for a very short period as the dissatisfied uncle Mahmud is said to have murdered him soon⁷².

Nusrat's coin's last date is 938 and the first date of Firuz's coin is 938 and the single known inscription of Firuz is dated 1st Ramadan, 939/27th March 1533⁷³. Therefore, it can be assumed that Nusrat died in 938 and Firuz ascended the throne in that year. According to Tarafdar Firuz reigned for only nine months⁷⁴. He, following his father, struck coins in the same secular manner. The legend is the single type with minor alternation in line arrangements and very little change in the wording, like including *wa Sulṭānahu* after *mulkahu* in some coins.

Firuz's coins are found in two metals, gold and silver and all the coins are of the tola weight standard.

Gold coins

Though he ruled for a very short period yet he struck gold coins probably to commemorate his own coronation. Only two of his gold coins are known.

Type A1: Gold Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in a plain area *Sulṭān bin Sulṭān bin Sulṭān 'Alā u'd dunyā wād dīn abū'l muẓaffar Firūz*, Sultan son of Sultan who is son of Sultan sublimity of the world and religion father of victory Firuz'.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend. [bin] *Nuṣrat Shāh as Sulṭān bin Husaīn Shāh as Sulṭān khallada Allāhu mulkahu*, [.son of] Nusrat Shah the Sultan son of Husain Shah the Sultan may Allah perpetuate his kingdom'. There is no date or mint, the weight is 10.6 gram and diameter is 18mm.

⁷¹ HSB, p. 78.

⁷² Ibid, p. 79.

⁷³ Kalna (Burdwan) inscription, CAPIB, p. 363.

⁷⁴ HSB, p. 82.

Type A1 (a): Gold Tanka

The obverse is same as Type A1 but at the end an addition of *Shāh as Sulṭān* i.e. 'as Sulṭān bin as Sulṭān bin as Sulṭān 'Alāud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Firūz Shāh as Sulṭān'. The reverse is same as Type A1 but with an addition of *Husaīnī* before *khallada Allāh* and *wa Sulṭānah* at the end i.e. the last two lines are *Husaīnī, khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sulṭānuhu, Faṭḥābād*, but no date.

Silver coins

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse is in a decorative circle. The legend is the same as the gold Type A1 (a) but after Firuz the word Shah is inscribed as شاه . The reverse is in the same design like the obverse, the legend also is the same as the reverse legend of Type A1 (a). Mint is Husainabad dated 939.

It may be remembered here that coins of Firuz Shah bear the same legend with minor variations in arrangement of lines and wording.

This Type B is also issued from the mints Fathabad (N.D), Barbakbad (ND), Nusratabad (N.D) and 'Arsah dated 939. Coins have also been found having no date or mints name on the coins. Another coin of the same Type B1 has a crude form of lettering most probably misunderstood as 'Bibban Shah' struck from the mint Husainabad dated 938.

Type B1 (a): Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends of this type are same as Type B1 in a double circle but the reverse legend ends with *khallada Allāhu mulkahu*. 'wa Sulṭānahu' has been omitted and the mint is Khalifatabad dated 922.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears in a circle *as Sulṭān bin as Sulṭān 'Alā u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar*, 'Sultan son of the Sultan sublimity of the world and the religion father of the conqueror'.

The reverse bears the rest of the legend also in a circle *Firūz Shāh Sulṭān bin Nuṣrat Shāh Sulṭān Khallada Allāhu mulkahu Tirhut mardan*, 'Firuz Shah Sultan son of Nusrat Shah Sultan may Allah perpetuate his kingdom, Tirhut plundered (conquered)'. In this coin the word 'mulkahu' is inscribed artistically in Tughra form. There is no date on the coin. It is to be remembered that all the coins bearing the phrase 'Tirhut Mardan' of Nusrat, Firuz and also of Mahmud having no dates and mints and 'Mulakhu' of all three rulers' coins are in a small Tughra form.

It may be mentioned here that unlike the other coins of Firuz in this coin only father's name has been cited and also as Sultan bin as Sultan' is mentioned at the beginning instead of mentioning his third generation rulership.

Firuz's two gold coins have been found. One is published and struck at Fathabad mint of Type A1 (a) and another unpublished and preserved in the Bangladesh National Museum belong to Type A1 having no mint name. None of the gold coins bear dates so it is difficult to assume whether these two gold coins were issued to record any event of his reign, either coronation or anything else. The provenance of the BNM gold coin is not known but was purchased in Dhaka. In it the word Shah is written likewise some silver coin also have such rendition of the word 'Shah'.

Coin Type B1 bears the formula Sultan son of Sultan and son of Sultan i.e. claiming his kingship from three generations and also mentioned his father and forefather's name and the family name 'Husaini' or 'al Husaini'. Firuz's silver coins bear the word 'Sultanahu' after 'Khallada Allahu mulkahu'. The style of writing shows a degenerate form sometimes illegible. All his dated coins are 938 and 939 but most of the coin's dates are either illegible or effaced. Coins of Firuz are struck from the mints Fathabad, Husainabad, Nusratabad, 'Arsah, Barbakabad and Khalifatabad. These names show that he could not establish any new mints, but mints of his father's time were reduced during his reign. There were no conquests, he ruled for a short period of nine months, and did not require any new mint. Among his silver coins there are three important coins which are worthy to be mentioned. First the coin of Khalifatabad mint dated 922. It may be remembered that Nusrat Shah's Khalifatabad issues also bear the same date 922. So, it is a fringed date as opined by Deyell. All the Khalifatabad issues are dated 922. What was the cause behind is not known, because the same cause might not be applicable to following generations. If Nusrat's coins dated 922 are taken as commemorative issues for his crown princship then what would be its meaning during the reign of Firuz, striking coin with the same date from the same mint while the other mints are issuing coins with respective normal dates.

Coin Type B2, the Tirhut Mardan coin. It was first struck by Nusrat, Firuz also struck the same coin as his father's without the mint name and date but recording the words 'Tirhut Mardan' at the end of the reverse legend. This coin's legend contains only his name and his father's name omitting his grand father's name and the family name Husaini, which is a common phenomenon for his coins. It is known that Firuz could not expand his territories in any direction rather reduced it. So striking of this commemoration coin during his reign was how far justified? It may have been struck in commemoration of his father's victory, a yearly celebration probably.

Third one, (coin no 416 [a]) said to be of Bibbon Shah. During Husain Shahi period functioning of mint as well as mint activities were increased a lot. Most probably the artisans and the engravers engaged therein

were the local people who had no idea about Arabic letters. They were just imitators of the written text without knowing them. So, during this period the writing style shows a very degenerated form and ignoring the fact scholars particularly the enthusiastic collector - scholars are always after discovering a new thing, new peculiarities the so-called Bibbon Shah is a very good example of it. In fact on the coin the word Firuz has been written very crudely without stopping the pen and omitting all the required pauses like shikasta style of writing. Therefore, Firuz became 'Bibbon' with the same regnal title, same kunyah and same date. Dr. Ejaz Husain quoting from *Afsana-i-Shahān* tried to establish the elder son of Nusrat the brother of Firuz as Bibbon Shah who assumed power after Nusrat's demise but the *Afsana-i-Shahān* informs only about two sons of Nusrat both of whom Mahmud killed. But there is no mention of Bibbon or any other name or the report of both's assumption of power cited in the *Shahān* as Ejaz Husain's report shows⁷⁵.

Striking of coins by two or three Sultans in the same year is not unpragmatic and there seems no problem in admitting that Nusrat had two sons, one named 'Bibbon' who was also killed by his uncle Mahmud. But how could it be reasonable to accept that both the sons would proclaim the same regnal title 'Alauddin'? In the history or numismatics there is not a single instance of such use. Therefore, we think what has been read as Bibbon is nothing but a degenerated form of the word Firuz and the coin belongs to Alauddin Firuz, son of Nusrat.

Firuz's only inscription's date is Ramadan 939 so he may have reigned for nine months as has been propounded by Traidar in Husain Shahi Bengal. If this proposal of Traidar turn out to be true then Nusrat's death would be in the last month of the year 938AH.

⁷⁵ Syed Ejaz Husain, 'Coin of Ala-ud-din Bibbon Shah: Hitherto Unknown Sultan of Bengal', *Numismatic Digest*, vol. 19, 1995, pp. 122 - 124.

4. Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah 939 - 945/1532 - 1538

Ghiyasuddin Mahmud was the last Sultan of the Husaini family as well as the last Sultan of the two centuries long independent period of Sultani rule. After killing his nephew, Firuz, he ascended to the throne in 939AH.

The fall of the Husain Shahi Dynasty was started in the region of Nusrat Shah. The contest and contention between uncle and nephew over the succession gave sufficient air to the sail for the advancement of disintegration. The short rule of Firuz could not resist the fall nor could the parricide Mahmud do any better. According to Tarafdar 'the process of disintegration which started in the region of Nusrat Shah, found its culmination in the reign of Mahmud⁷⁶. The reaction to the murder of Firuz by Mahmud enflamed the internal feud of the family and Mahmud's tactless move provoked Makhdum Alam to revolt. Short sighted Mahmud could not handle the situation and by ignoring Sher Khan's potentiality, his dependency on Lohanis and unable to read to politics of the period and inability to initiate the timely measure due to which Mahmud not only lost his Sultanat but lost the independent status of Bengal. Through the battles of Surajgarh in 1534, 1536's heavy indemnity to Sher Khan and ultimately by losing Gaud to Sher Khan in 1538 Mahmud was compelled to seek help from Humayun, the Mughal king. And as a fugitive at Khalgaon he died in 1538CE. Thus the two hundred year long independence of Bengal came to an end with the death of Mahmud.

According to Tarafdar "The year 1538 marks the end of a significant period of the history of Bengal and the beginning of an era of chaos and confusion which troubled her life down to the early seventeenth century⁷⁷. Like his predecessors Mahmud also issued coins in two metals, gold and silver⁷⁸. He reintroduced the secular coinage system following Nusrat and all his coins are of tola weight standard. No fractional coin of Mahmud is found in gold but some fractional coins in silver have been discovered. In comparison to other fractional coinage of the Sultani period Mahmud's fractional coins are generally available.

Gold coins

About seven gold coins of Mahmud are known. They are of two types one having in the center within a small circle the words *Badr Shāhī*, and another type only bearing the name of the Sultan without this special epithet:

⁷⁶ HSB, p. 82.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 89.

⁷⁸ One Copper coin was mentioned by Blochmann in JASB, 1874, p. 298 without any mint name or date. This coin was not followed the coin-trend that the obverse and reverse poses the same legend. So this coin may be left aside for discussion.

Type A 1: Gold Tanka

The obverse legend bears in a small circle in the center the words *Badar Shahi*. Around this small circle there is a bigger circle which contains *as Sulṭān ibn Sulṭān Ghīyās u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh*. 'The Sultan son of the Sultan succor of the world and the religion father of the conqueror Mahmud Shah.'

The reverse in a similar arrangement bears the legend *as Sultan bin Husaīn Shāh as Sulṭān khallada Allāhu mulkahu as Sulṭānahu*, 'The Sultan son of Husain Shah the Sultan may Allah perpetuate his power and kingdom'. No date or mint on the coin. The weight of the coin is 10.69 grams and 19 mm diameter. It is in the collection of BNM.

There is an unpublished coin of the same Type A1 in a private collection in India⁷⁹, another coin of the same type in the British Museum⁸⁰. Both the coins are dated 933 but without any mint name, weight of the coin is 10.8 gram and 10.66 grams respectively.

Type A2: Gold Tanka

The obverse and reverse legends are the same as Type A1 but without the central small circle and the epithet within it, i.e. '*Badar Shāhi*'. No date or mint name has been mentioned on the coin. The weight of the coin is 10.6 grams and 18 mm diameter. The coin is reported by Stan Goron in *ONS*, No. 149. There are two more coins of Type A2 one in the Kawale collection in India⁸¹ another one mentioned by Shere⁸². Karim mentioned one gold coin of Mahmud in the *Corpus* but its type has not been mentioned.

Silver coins

As the gold, Mahmud's silver coins of full tanka are of two types and fractional coins are of two types.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse bear the same legend as the gold Type A1. This type is issued from the mints Dar (Dar ud Darb?). Fathabad, Husainabad, Nusratabad, Muhammadabad, and Khalifatabad, all dated 933; from the mint 'Arsah date not sure, Rahindabad Badarpur dated 939, Arkan (?) with no date and without mint but dated 933, 944 and also coins with no mint name or date. Besides a coin bearing the mint name Fathabad with a mysterious date of only '8' is notable. These coins normally weight between 10.4 to 10.8 grams and diameter 24 mm to 28 mm, but most common is 26 mm.

⁷⁹ J. P. Goenka Collection, Calcutta.

⁸⁰ *ONS*, 149, p. 13.

⁸¹ *ONS*, 149, p. 13.

⁸² S. A. Shere, 'Some unique gold coins found in Bihar', *JNSI*, Vol. VII, 1945, pp. 41 - 45.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse and reverse bear the legend in a lettered surface the name of the Sultan is in the same manner as in Type A2. This type is struck from the mints Fathabad Nusratabad all without any date. But a coin only having the date 933 without the mint name is found from Dohar, Dhaka.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse is same as Type B2. The reverse is almost the same as Type B2's reverse but with an addition of "Husaini" before 'khallada Allahu mulkahu.' Type B3 coins are struck from the mints Muhammadabad dated 938, 'Arash date not sure (9-2), and Husainabad dated 945. The peculiarity of the Husainabad coin is that the date has been inscribed on the obverse while only the mint name is on the reverse. This type is also been found without the mint name and date.

Type B4: Silver Half Tanka

The obverse and reverse are the same as Type B1 i.e. the 'Badar Shahi' type but with the mints Fathabad dated 933 and also without date from the same mint. Only two half tankas are published in SCA⁸³ and the weight is 5.21 grams. Another half tanka of the same type is issued from Husainabad mint, date nil. The weight is 5.42 grams and diameter 20 mm, and is published in JNSI⁸⁴.

Type B5: Silver Quarter Tanka

The obverse and reverse are the same as Type B2 i.e. without the legend 'Badar Shahi' having no mint name or date. The weight of the coin is 2.62 grams and diameter 16 mm. Another quarter tanka of the Badar Shahi type without date and mint has been mentioned in JNSI⁸⁵. The Weight of the coin is 2.6 grams and diameter is 16.5 mm.

Type B6: Silver 1/16th Tanka

A one sixteenth tanka is also mentioned and illustrated in JNSI of Badr Shahi type without date and mint, weight of the coin is 0.69 grams dia 11 mm⁸⁶.

The coins of Mahmud show that following the tradition of the family he struck both gold and silver coins from various mints and with various dates. But none of his gold coins bear any date so it is not easy to assume whether there was any occasion behind the striking of these gold coins nor is there any indication on the coins themselves. The legends of his coins show that he followed the secular coin trend of Nusrat and did not use any religious formula both in his pre-ascendancy or post ascendancy coins. It is to be

⁸³ SCA, p. 60, coin no. 935.

⁸⁴ Munira Khatun, 'Some new coins of Alauddin Firuz Shah and Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah of Bengal', JNSI, XXII, 1960, pp. 214, 215.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 215.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 215.

remembered that during the reign of Nusrat, Mahmud rendered the service and responsibility of an Amir and he was allowed to issue coins in his own name during the reign of Nusrat. The 933 date of the various silver coins of Mahmud struck from several mints show it clearly. His coins from the mints Fathabad, Husainabad, Nusratbad, Muhammadabad and Khalifatabad are all dated 933, rather his coins bearing the date 933 are more numerous in comparison to other dated coins. Coins dated 934 and 935 are also found⁸⁷. It has also been mentioned in the history that Nusrat nominated Mahmud as an heir apparent⁸⁸. Though some historians take these coins as a sign of Mahmud's revolt as he assumed power by killing his nephew Firuz. But already we have seen that it became customary during the Husaini rule that the crown prince was allowed to strike coins in his own name as a prerogative of the power delegated to him. Prof. Tarafdar discussed the matter in detail in his *Husain Shahi Bengal* and also in a Bengali Journal, *Itihas*⁸⁹. According to Tarafdar "The four mint towns from which Mahmud issued coins in the lifetime of Nusrat, must have covered an extensive territory. It would have been impossible for him to rule over so vast a region without being opposed by his more powerful brother, Nusrat. But history does not preserve records of any civil war between the two brothers"⁹⁰.

All the gold and silver coins of Mahmud show that they are divisible into two broad types, one having the words *Badr Shāhī* in the center of the coin, another without that i.e. *Badr Shāhī*, only the name of the Sultan has been inscribed besides a little variation of using the family name *al Husānī* in some coins. But the word *Sayyid* was never been used by Mahmud in his coins. Therefore, the use of the words '*Badr Shāhī*' possesses great significance.

On the basis of the Shahpur inscription of Mahmud, where the words *al mashhūr bil 'abd al Badr Shāhī* for the first time outside coin epithet is known. A.B.M. Habibullah taking its meaning as 'popularly known as 'Abdul Badr', draws the conclusion that 'Abdul Badr' was Mahmud's popular name⁹¹. But a Muslim's nomenclature cannot be 'Abd al Badr' or slave of the moon. Ishaq raised the question and he suggested that it would be '*Badr Shāhī*'⁹². Several scholars have discussed the matter and from time to time gave the different readings, of the inscription. Karim in his recent work *CAPIB* discussed it in detail and his view seems to be correct. Following the corrected reading of the inscription along with the deliberations of Ishaq and Z.A. Desai and with the support of the copper coin's legend *al 'abd Ghīyās u'd dīn Maḥmūd Shāh al Badr Shāhī*, 'The slave Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah, the Badr Shāhī'. Prof. Karim concludes that 'Badr Shah is either the name of a saint or it might well be that Ghiyath al din Mahmud Shah's great

⁸⁷ Corpus, pp. 131 - 133 and Table II.

⁸⁸ HB, II, p. 159; Riyaz, p. 139.

⁸⁹ Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar, "Madhya Yuger Muslim Shashokder Mudra-Ankane Ekti Baticromdhrmi Baisishta", *Itihas* (Journal of the Bangladesh Itihas Parishad, Dhaka, [in Bangla]), Vol. IX, 1382BS, pp. 150 - 165.

⁹⁰ HSB, p. 354.

⁹¹ A. B. M. Habibullah, in HB, II, p. 159.

⁹² Quoted in Abdul Karim's *CAPIB*, p. 372.

attachment to the saint earned him the nick name or popular name of Badr Shahi⁹³. The use of this name on coins indicates that he was very popular with that name, as also indicated by the Shahpur inscription, or it may be due to Sultan's personal desire that he wanted to be known by the name 'Badr Shahi'. It may be mentioned that all his coins of pre-regnal dates are of the 'Badr Shahi' type. Therefore, it may be presumed that he earned this title or proclaimed it before his assumption of power.

Mahmud Shah's coins were struck from these mint cities' Fathabad, Husainabad, Nusratabad, Muhammadabad, Khalifatabad Rahindabad (?) Badrupur and socalled Arkan, Dar (?) and 'Arsah; probably Arkan would be Barbakabad. Some coins bear the mint name Dar (which was most probabably used for Darud Darb) and Barbakabad looks like 'Arkan'. Karim following Shamsuddin Ahmad mentioned a mint Khalifatabad Badrupur. But some thing else has been illustrated in Suppl. IMC II; it may be Rahinadabad, Badrupur. Moreover some coins are without the mint and date, some are only with date but without any mint. Mahmud's last dated coins are 944, and that has been accepted as the last year of his reign. But one coin of Husainabad mint (BNM 89. 1884) which bears the date on the obverse and the mint on the reverse, the date of which has been read by the scholars as 940 should be read as 945, because the cipher on the coins of Husain is like a dot and in Arabic Numerals digit 5 is generally written as hollow circle (٥) So, the date of the coin may be read as 945. In that case the coin sould be a product of his fugitive camp in North Bihar (Hajipur, Darwespur-Khalgaon). Mahmud lost Gaud to Sher Khan on 5th April 1538CE which corresponds to 5th Zul Qada 944AH⁹⁴ and about two months later the year 945AH.begins. Therefore, if the reading of the date as 945 is taken to be correct then it is possible that Mahmud might have struck coins in his own name after his defeat in the hands of Sher Khan, and his death may be placed in 945/1538. It may also be assumed that after defeat he was alive for at least two months and he struck coins till his death.

Like his brother Nusrat and nephew Firuz, Mahmud also struck coins with the epithet 'Tirhut Mardan" in his own name but following the tradition, without any date or mint name. It is obvious that he did not conquer Tirhut but most probably it was customary to strike coins in remembrance of the victory of Tirhut and Mahmud followed the custom..

Like the full tanka, fractional coins of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud are also of two types according to legend i.e. Badar Shahi type and non Badar Shahi type but according to the denominations they are of four types: half tanka, quarter thanka, one eighth tanka and one sixteenth tanka. Though the one-eighth tanka has not been found still the presence of the denomination, one-sixteenth tanka after quarter implies that it was also struck. Therefore, this division indicates that the tanka was divisible by sixteen annas and the Bengali uses of ' Shola anna" indicates the full tanka or 100 percent, with these fractional coins it may be inferred

⁹³ CAPIB, pp. 372, 373.

⁹⁴ HB, II, p. 164.

that upto 'anna' division of tanka was available in silver, further denominations, were in Kauri i.e. four Kauri make a 'gunda' and twenty 'gundas' make a pana or anna so a tanka was equivalent to 1280 Kauries, this Arithmetical counting was in use in the subcontinent upto the first half of the twentieth century, before the present adoption of decimal system for coinage.

Mahmud ruled from 939 to 945AH, five years some months, which are some how consistent with the Riyaz and other history books.

Chapter 4

Coins of the Sultans of Uncertain Attribution

The names of some of the Sultans whose identity and whereabouts are not been mentioned in the contemporary sources are found on their coins. These coins are the only source of their names. Although on some of the coin-dates and mint-names are given yet it is very difficult to assign their particular time and rule. Although few of the coins do not bear the date or mint name yet they are undoubtedly of Bengal origin and issued by the Bengal Sultans. They are five in number viz. i) Jalaluddin Mahmud 686-687/1287-1288; ii) Jalaluddin Kirman or Karman, 719 /1319; iii) Shamsuddin Daulat (No date); iv) Qutbuddin Azam (No date); v) Nasiruddin Ibrahim (date illegible). We may also include two other rulers viz. a) Daulat Shah bin Maudud (who issued joint coins with the name of Iltutmish and himself and has been identified as either Alauddin Jani (if the date is 627AH) or Saifuddin Aibak (in case of 629AH) (Further discussed in chapter II.) b) Ghiyasuddin Nusrat shah (837AH, has been identified as Nasir Khan, the slave of Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah [836-837AH] bin Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah [818-836AH] discussed in Chapter III). Their identifications are to some extent conjectural. Therefore, if we include these two rulers then the total number of coins of uncertain attribution rises to seven.

Coins of Jalaluddin Mahmud 686-687/1287-1288

Jalaluddin Mahmud as-Sultan bin as-Sultan (686-687/1287-1288) was known only through his coins. He was not been recognized in the history as an independent ruler but has misleadingly been identified as son of a Sultan, who had shared the right to issue coins concurrently with his father, Firuz within the limits of his father's realm i.e. Bengal. Modern historians, like Abdul Karim, Mohar Ali, and Sukhamoy Mukhapadhyay include him as a son of Shamsuddin Firuz (701-722 AH)¹. Stapleton informs us "Except for a mention of his unique coin in the Shillong supplementary Catalogue (P.106), this son has hitherto been unknown to history²". And the margin of the coin is incorrectly given in the Catalogue. Thomas, in his *Chronicles*, gives a genealogy (Balbani Rulers of Bengal) mentioning the four sons of Shamsuddin Firuz, viz, Shihabuddin Bughdah, Nasiruddin (Ibrahim), Ghiyasuddin Bahadur & Kutlu Khan. But he did not mention Jalaluddin Mahmud as Firuz's son³. Likewise Blochmann mentioned the names of five sons of Firuz, adding a new name Hatim Khan, but he has also not mentioned the name of Jalaluddin Mahmud⁴.

¹ Sultani Amol. p. 145; HMB, Part. A1, p.112.

² Stapleton, "Contributions to the History and Ethnology of North-Eastern India--IV: Bengal Chronology during the period of Independent Muslim Rule, Part I, 685-735 A.H. (1286-1334)", *JASB* [N.S. XVIII, 1922], p.415.

³ *Chronicles*, p.148.

⁴ Blochmann, "Contribution to the Geography and history of Bengal (Muhammadan Period), no. II", *JASB*, No.3, 1874, p.292.

It was Stapleton who included Jalaluddin Mahmud in the list of the coin issuing sons of Firuz for the first time. He discussed the theory of joint-rule by father and son with the prerogative of issuing coins individually that is sharing sovereign power simultaneously by father and son. Stapleton also propounded the theory of fratricidal conflicts among the sons of Firuz (discussed in chapter II).

All the historians who identified Jalaluddin Mahmud as the son of Firuz, have their source is the coin of Jalaluddin dated 607 or 609 AH as read by Stapleton. The reading however is doubtful because the unit digit is not clear and partially cut off. Until the recent discovery of Jalaluddin's clear-cut dated coin he has regarded as one among the four coin-issuing sons of Firuz. His coins of a single type have been published. The recent discovery is also of the same type bearing the marginal date clearly. It is a one tanka silver coin following the tola weight standard. His coins are dated 686 and 687 AH. Therefore, his chronological placement would be before his alleged father Shamsuddin Firuz (700 -722AH).

Type B 1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the name of the Abbasid Khalifa *al Imam al-Musta'sim amir ul mu'minin*, and marginal legend *haza al-Fiqdatu bi Hadrat Lakhnauti min kharaj Bang sanah Sab'a wa samaniin wa sittu miyah* i.e. 'This silver coin was struck in Hadrat Lakhnauti from the 'Land Tax' of Banga, year eighty seven and six hundred', i.e. 687AH. The coin dated 686 is also found.

On the reverse it bears the name of the Sultan with his titles, *alam, kunyah, al-Sultān ul a'zam Jalāl ud duniyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd as-Sultān bin as Sultān*, i.e. In this legend he claims himself the great Sultan, glory of the religion and world, father of the victory Mahmud the Sultan and son of the Sultan.

The deceased Abbasid Khalifa Musta'sim's name has been inscribed on the obverse as usual, the practice of the day. The marginal legend is very important and remarkable too. It informs us about the subjugation of Banga, whose land tax paid for the striking of this coin. Therefore, it evidently proves the subjugation of Banga in 686AH. We may recall here that just a decade ago Balban, while chasing Tughril made an agreement with Roy Danuj, Raja of Banga. It is worth mentioning that coins of all the three rulers viz, Jalaluddin Mahmud, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Ruknuddin Kaikaus, bear the same formula, i.e. 'from the land tax of Banga this coin was struck' continuously for half a decade from 686 to 691AH. The reverse of the coin bears the name of the Sultan, but unfortunately, he is still unknown. It has already been mentioned that other than these coins there are nothing known about this Jalaluddin Mahmud. The only clue to his identity is *as Sultān bin as Sultān* i.e. Sultan son of a Sultan, but like the son the father is also unknown. At that time the ruling Sultan of Bengal was Balban's son Nasiruddin Bughra, his two sons are known, one Kaiqubad who succeeded Balban in Delhi; another son and successor in Bengal was Kaikaus who used the term 'Sultan bin Sultan bin Sultan' i.e. his grand father and father both were sultans.

Therefore, if we suppose that Jalaluddin was the third son of Bughra Khan then he must have used that formula 'Sultan bin Sultan bin Sultan', but in his coin only 'son of Sultan' is mentioned. Another possibility is that he might be a son of Balban, a fact unknown at that time (and not been mentioned in contemporary sources). It is curious enough that both Bughra & Jalaluddin's coins are found with the same marginal legend, that from the land tax of Bang, both are striking coins from Lakhnauti and the dates are also same at least the dates 686 and 687AH. Both Bughra Khan and Jalaluddin claimed parentage of royal blood by using "bin sultan".

On the basis of the coin of Jalaluddin in the Shillong cabinet, he has once thought to be a son of Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz. Stan Goron has published a coin of Jalaluddin Mahmud dated 686AH⁵ Commenting on that paper P.L. Gupta expressed this view in an article "Thus, the earlier readings of the date on the coins of Jalaluddin Mahmud fade away, with them also wanes the belief that he was the son of Shamsuddin Firuz who had issued his own coins during the reign of his father. It now brings out that he existed earlier than the time of Shamsuddin Firuz⁶". But another difficulty arises from the discovery of a new coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud Boghra dated 687AH and also same dated coin of Jalaluddin Mahmud has been discovered, which has not been found or mentioned by either Goron or Gupta. For this reason the problem of assigning the coin of Jalaluddin Mahmud worsens, as both the coins are of the same date and from same mint, Lakhnauti, and struck from the land tax of Banga. History tells us only about Nasiruddin Mahmud's rule at that time as mentioned on the coins. Therefore, if it is admitted that Nasiruddin Mahmud used two *laqabs* (Nasiruddin and Jalaluddin) simultaneously in his coin then the problem can be solved. But there is no example of such usage in the history of Muslim coinage. Goron tried to promote this view of using two *laqabs* by a single Sultan i.e. by Nasiruddin Mahmud, the *alams* of both are same, Mahmud. Goron's reasoning are duly dealt with and nullified by P.L.Gupta for misleading reasoning. Gupta summaries that 'The two different *laqabs* on the coins by themselves indicate that the coins did not belong to one ruler⁷'. 'Was it possible that, a surviving son of the rebel Tughril was employed by Nasiruddin for the expedition to Banga who gradually annexed the whole of Banga within the Muslim realm. As reward he was allowed to strike coins in his own name from the same mint and from the same *kharāj* of Banga. Then the formula 'bin Sultan' can be adjusted with the situation.

An alternative conjecture that Jalaluddin Mahmud was the son of Roy Danuj who converted to Islam. He was retained in his father's realm, given the charge of an expedition and was also allowed to share the sovereignty by striking coin in his own name and used the phrase 'Sultan bin Sultan'.

⁵ Stan Goron, "Bengal Sultan Jalaluddin Mahmud Partial Reassessment", *ND*, xii-xiii, 1988-89, pp.83-90.

⁶ P.L.Gupta, "A Coin of Jalaluddin Mahmud Shah of Bengal", in P.L.Gupta's *Coins and History of Medieval India*, (Compiled & ed. by Sanjoy Garg), Delhi: Rahul Publishing House, p.79.

⁷ P.L.Gupta, *Ibid.* p.80.

All these are conjectures, and the problem remains. We can only be certain that one Jalaluddin Mahmud, so far an unknown Sultan of Bengal issued coins concurrently with Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra from Lakhnauti and from the land tax of Banga. Both the Sultans Nasiruddin Mahmud and Jalaluddin Mahmud issued coins in the same year from the same mint, even Jalaluddin's coins are dated 686 & 687AH while Nasiruddin's only 687AH but we have no clue to establish relations between the two. Perhaps one can conclude that Jalaluddin Mahmud had a role to play in the annexation of Banga to the Bengal Sultanat.

Sultan Jalaluddin Kirman Shah 719/1319

The next ruler with an uncertain identity is Jalaluddin Kirman (?) Shah. Two of his coins have been noticed so far and dealt by Dr. John S. Deyell for the first time. Originally these two silver coins were found by Mr. Stephen Album of California along with a large group of silver tankas of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah as has been reported by Dr. Deyell⁸. No further reference about this Bengal Sultan has been found in any other source, coins or literature, history or chronicles. These two coins are of silver and belong to one Tanka denomination. Both coins have similar legends and arrangements but have a slight difference in design. Still they may be regarded as one type though the calligraphic style is different and they are of the different dies.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse legend is in double square within a circle like the obverse. There is no margin. The legend in four lines is *al-Sultān ul a'ẓam Jalāl ud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Kirman/Karman Shāh as Sultān*, 'the great Sultan, glory of the world and religion, father of victory, Kirman/Karman shah the sultan.

The reverse bears the legend is also in a double square within a circle in three lines *al -Imām al Musta'sim amīr'il mu'minīn*, 'The leader al Musta'sim, Commander of the faithful'. The marginal circular legend is mostly cut off but a certain portion is retained on the coin *'ḍuriba ḥaḡḡil fidḡatu bi Khittah Lakhnauti*... 'This silver (coin) was struck in the Lakhnauti region...'

The second coin is the same as above but the decorative mark above the first 'mim' (م) of al-imam is a 'mad' (م) instead of cross (+). And its margin is almost gone except a portion... *sanah tisa' 'ashara* (year nineteen...).

The style of using *al Imām* on the obverse was introduced by Balban in 664 in his Delhi coins and following that the governor of Bengal Tatar Khan used it in 665AH in the Bengal coins of Balban. It was in use up to the reign of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur. After that the Tughlaq rulers changed it for 'al mujahid fi sabilillah'. The customary use of the name of the last Abbasid Khalifa al Musta'sim was also dropped and never reappeared. On the above coin the name of the Khalifa al Musta'sim was used though he was not alive and his Khilafat did not exist at that time.

Due to the absence of diacritical markings and also of the 'nuktas' (dots) of the proper name of the sultan it is very difficult to ascertain his actual name. Dr. Deyell has tried to ascertain the name and suggested the readings 'Kurban' (كربن) and 'Gozban' (گزن) but these are not convincing on the basis of phonetic

⁸ John S.Deyell, "Sultan Jalaluddin: A new and still unknown King of Bengal". ND, II, Part, II, 1978, pp.58-67.

analogy and grammar. Deyell proposes halfheartedly that "kurban should be used conventionally as the tentative reading of the new king's name" but for the spelling of Qurban the  with a couple of 'nuktas' is needed rather than  'kaf' without 'nukta'. The possible reading may be 'Kirman (?) Shah. The other possibility may be Karman (?) Shah.

We are lucky to have two coins in our disposal for the study; otherwise it would have been difficult to ascertain the sultan mentioned in the coin as a Bengal ruler. Because in the margin of one coin (partially present) indicates the mint name *Bi Khittā Lakhnauti*. The other coin has no mint name on the margin, but a portion of the date is present on the second coin. Without the mint name of the first coin it would have been very difficult to assign the Sultan as a Bengal ruler.

The second coin's margin contains the date and Deyell in his article suggested it as [7{19}] i.e. 719, which is convincing. Deyell has taken the task of assigning the date very efficiently and intelligently by analyzing the hoard association, legend, calligraphy and decorative mark in detail and summarizes, "We find that a person styling himself Jalaluddin Kurban (?) Shah assumed the sovereign prerogative of causing coins to be struck in his name at the capital of the Bengal Sultanat, Lakhnauti, sometime in the year AH 719 (AD. 1319)... The chronological sequence of mint output at Lakhnauti now stands as Bughdah Shah (son of Firuz) Kurban Shah- Firuz Shah/Bahadur Shah (son of Firuz)".

This new Sultan Kirman Shah did proclaim himself as 'the great Sultan' (as Sultan al a'zam) but did not mentioned *as sulṭān bin as sulṭān* at the end of the legend. So, he was not a son of a Sultan and probably was an intruder. Because Deyell has shown that the year 719 was void of coins from the Lakhnauti mints, no coins of Firuz (or his sons) are found of the year 719AH from Lakhnauti mint. Deyell propounded the theory of antagonism among the sons of Firuz and concludes - "...Antagonistic factionalism or even civil war, are the most credible conditions which would allow the rise of a pretender [Kirman Shah], other explanations are of course possible"⁹ Therefore, the whole period of Firuz's rule became very significant in the presence of these new coins of a new and unknown pretender, Sultan of Bengal, whose identity is still uncertain.

⁹ Ibid, p.67.

Shamsuddin Daulat Shah 6[99]/1299

The next Sultan with an uncertain attribution is Sultan Shamsuddin Daulat Shah of Bengal. Dr. B.B. Hazarika, of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, first noticed a silver coin of the ruler. This coin was found by the department in 1965 while digging in the village of *Kadaligaon* in the District in Nowgong in Assam¹⁰.

Manik Lal Gupta published a note on the same coin in the *JNSI* in 1978¹¹. But due to wrong interpretation, a reassessment was done by J.S. Deyell in the next issue of the journal¹². This is the only known coin of this Sultan. It is of silver, round in shape, weight 11 grams and measures 28 mm.

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend within a square in Arabic, as *Sulṭān u'l a'zam/Shams u'd dunyā wa'd-dīn / abū'l muẓaffar Daulat Shāh / as Sulṭān*, 'great Sultan, sun of the world and religion, father of victory Daulat Shah the sultan'. The coin was of one Tanka denomination and are of one *tola* weight standard.

The reverse bears the legend in double square within a circle. The Arabic legend is in three lines *al Imām al Mustāṣim amīrī'l mu'minīn*, 'The leader Al-Must'asim, Commander of the faithful'. The Margin is truncated, only partially retained *duriba haẓiḥī'l fidḍatu ... sittu miyah* i.e. this silver (coin) was struck... (in) Six hundred i.e. 600. The appearance of the coin show a Bengal fabric no doubt and both M.L. Gupta and John S. Deyell agreed on this¹³ apart from this single coin no reference is available in any source, history or archaeology. There is no mint name on the coin and the date is uncertain, only the six hundreds digit is retained. The Khalifa's name is the only clue and the decorative mark, a '*mad*' (م) over the *ma*' of *al-Imam* (الإمام) assigns the coin to a period. It should be noted here that M.L. Gupta has misunderstood this Shamsuddin Daulat Shah with the coin of Alauddin Daulat Shah bin Maudud who issued a coin from Bengal in the joint name of Iltutmish and himself bearing the date of 627 or 629AH. But Deyell has pointed out rightly that the coin of Daulat Shah bin Maudud's regnal title was '*alā u'd dīn*' and in the above coin the Sultan's title is Shamsuddin. Both the coins bear different Khalifa's name, Daulat Shah bin Maudud's coin bears the name of Khalifa al-Mustansir Billah who ruled from 623 to 640AH while Shamsuddin Daulat's coin bears the name of Khalifa al-Musta'sim Billah who ruled from 640 to 656AH up to his death and the extinction of the Khilafat of Baghdad by the Mongols. After a detailed discussion

¹⁰ 10. The quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Calcutta, Vol. XV (1975), part 3, pp. 173 - 175, reported by Manik Lal Gupta in *JNSI*, XL, 1978 p.130.

¹¹ Manik Lal Gupta, "A Rare coin of Sultan Shams ud Dunya wad Din Abu Al Muzaffar Daulat Shah of Bengal," *JNSI*, XL, 1978, pp.130-131.

¹² John S. Deyell, 'A Reassessment of the New Coin of Daulat Shah of Bengal', *JNSI*, XLI, 1979, pp.82-90.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 83.

Deyell concluded that Shamsuddin Daulat Shah of the coin reported by M. L. Gupta and Daulat Shah bin Maudud, issuer of the joint coin were different persons¹⁴.

On the basis of the legend of the Shamsuddin Daulat Shah's coin Deyell shown that the use of the legend *al Imām al-Mustaʿsim amīr al-muminin* introduced into Bengal in the Lakhnauti mint issues of Balban in c. AH 665 and continuing until AH 673... The Mustaʿsim inscription is then found on every silver issue of the independent Bengal kings commencing with Rukn u'd din Kaikaus in AH 690 until 'ala-ud-din 'Ali Shah in AH 745¹⁵. Use of the decorative mark above the 'ma' of *al-imām* on the obverse, with its various forms is invariably found on coins struck in Bengal bearing the *al imām* legend starting in 667AH and terminating in 722AH. Again the marginal legend, at least the hundreds digit of the date, which can be given in numerals as AH 6xx is within the range of dates cited above. Deyell has summarized that "it seems certain that the Daulat Shah coin comes after the Ruknuddin Kaikaus' coin of 698AH and before the coins of Nasiruddin Ibrahim / Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.... By a process of elimination, the date of the Daulat Shah coin can therefore be fixed at 698AH or more likely, 699/1299-1300¹⁶".

We already know from Chapter II that Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus bin Sultan Nasir ud din Mahmud bin Sultan Balban ruled Bengal independently from 689 to 699AH and Shamsuddin Fiuz Shah ruled from 700AH. Earlier information show that no Bengal coin found dated 699AH. Deyell also observed that since the publication of Karīm's Corpus (1960) he did not find any Bengal coin dated 699AH. JN Sarkar expressed in the HB II as well that "The period between 698 to 701AH is still dark and uncertain¹⁷". Considered all these Deyell has concluded that "Daulat Shah, who may have reigned any where between AH 698 and 701, but who at least left a memorial of his reign from AH 698/9". But our recent study shows that Kaikaus ruled up to 699 AH and the next ruler who succeeded him was Shamsuddin Firuz who was identified as the Bihar Governor of Kaikaus named Firuz Aitgin. Firuz's early coin is dated 700AH and he ruled till 722AH, then his son Ghiyasuddin Bahadur succeeded him and the history of this period is available from various sources.

Therefore we may assume that after the death of Kaikaus in 699AH one of his generals Daulat took over power in Lakhnauti in 699AH and issued coins from there with the title Shamsuddin Daulat Shah. But soon he was supplanted by the powerful governor of Bihar as the 'next kin' to the Balbani family and struck coins in 700AH from Lakhnauti. Probably Daulat was killed by Shamsuddin Firuz. But Deyell's speculation that Kaikaus was overthrown by Daulat Shah is not convincing in the light of new find of coins dated 699 and 700AH. Therefore, we may conclude that Shamsuddin Daulat Sahah an usurper or

¹⁴ Ibid. p.85.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.85.

¹⁶ Ibid. p.90.

¹⁷ HB. II, p.19.

intruder came to the Bengal throne in between Ruknuddin Kaikasu and Shamsuddin Firuz. And from the last dated coin of Kaikaus i.e. 699AH and first dated coin of Firuz (700AH) we can safely assume that Daulat ruled between late 699 and early 700AH for a short period.

Qutbuddin Azam [with no date or mint]

The next sultan who is known only through his coins is Qutbuddin Azam. No literature or chronicles mentioned his name. His coin was discovered in the Biyani Bazar hoard in the 1980s. Three coins bearing the names of the three new Sultans came to light through this hoard for the first time viz Qutbuddin Azam, Nasiruddin Ibrahim and Ghiyasuddin Nusrat. A few years later, some coins of Ibrahim and Nusrat were discovered in the old collections of BNM. But no coin of Qutbuddin Azam has yet been found from any other source but the Biyani Bazar hoard.

A unique coin hoard was found in 1987 – 88 in Biyani Bazar area situated about 30 miles south east of Sylhet town. It is said that there were about eight hundred silver coins, all of Sultani Bengal, most of them being of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah. No coin of this hoard has been collected with proper information in any Museum in Bangladesh. It is very difficult to find out the whereabouts of those coins at present. But it is presumed that some of them found their way to some private collections at home and abroad. Most of the coins of this hoard are at present out of reach for study¹⁸. However, in this hoard, the coins of three hitherto unknown Sultans were found for the first time. There were about twenty coins of Qutb u'd din Azam in this hoard, all of silver and of one tanka denomination.

From the available coins and photographs¹⁹ for the study of this new Sultan, only three types have been ascertained. None of the coins bear any marginal legend or mint name and date. The descriptions of the coins are as below:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in Arabic Naskh character in a rather crude form, starting from line two upwards *al musta'in billāhi 'l musta 'ān Qutbu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh as Sultān*, 'Seeker of help and Shelter from Musta 'an i.e. [Allah], pole star of the world and the religion, father of victory, Sultan A'zam Shah'.

The reverse bears the legend also in Arabic, *yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāsiru amīri 'l mu'minīn ghaṣu 'l Islām wa'l muslimīn khullida*, "right hand of the Khalifa of Allah i.e. prophet, helper of the leader of the believers, protector of Islam and Muslims, [may his kingdom] be perpetuated". There are no margin, date or mint name on the coin.

¹⁸ The present writer had the opportunity to see briefly only 252 coins of this hoard. On the basis of that and some other coins from the private collections in Dhaka, Bangladesh, an article was read at the International Seminar on *Local History: Sylhet*, organized by the *Bangladesh Itihās Samity*. It was published by the Samity in *Sylhet: History and Heritage*, Edited by Sharifuddin Ahmed in 1999. That Article is used here for necessary portions.

¹⁹ The writer had the opportunity to see eleven coins of the said Sultan and two photocopies of the coins were sent to him for identification by a collector of Dhaka, Late Mr. S. Z. Obidullah.

Type B2: Silver Tanka

The obverse bears the legend in Arabic in a plain area, *[billah] al musta'ān wa yadī 'l musta'in/Qutb u'd duniyā wa 'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh as Sultān,* (Seeker) shelter with Allah and on the hands of Musta'in (the Khalifa), pole star of the world and religion, father of victory A'zam Shah the Sultan.'

The reverse bears the same legend as the reverse of coin Type B1. There is no margin on the coin and no mint-name and date either.

Type B3: Silver Tanka

The obverse in a plain area, contains the legend in Arabic, *al musta'in billahī 'l Musta'ān Qutb u'd duniyā wa 'd dīn abū 'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh as Sultān.*

The Legend is the same as the obverse of coin Type B1 excepting that in the above coin the word al-Musta'in starts from the first line instead of line two. The meaning of the legend is the same as Type B1.

The reverse bears in a circle the legend in three lines, in Arabic, *nāṣiru amīri 'l mu'minīn/khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa Sultānahu,* "Helper of the leader of the faithful, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom".

There are no margin, mint name or date on the coins. The weight and measurement of the coin Type B2 is 10.88 grams and the diameter is 29mm, Type B3 is 11.05 grams and diameter 30mm. The weight and measurement of the type B1 is not available.

The obverse legend bears the name of the Sultan along with his titles. But the name of Qutbuddin A'zam has not been mentioned in any source, historical or archaeological, of Bengal or Delhi or even in the lists of Jaunpur, Gujrat, Malwa and Gulbarga (Bhamani) Sultans²⁰. The only Sultan mentioned in Bengal history whos 'alam (proper name) is A'zam was Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah, the son and successor of Sikandar Shah.

On the other hand Qutb as a title appears in Bengal history for Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah, an Abyssinian Sultan, the son and successor of Saifuddin Firuz Shah alias Malik Andil. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the identity of the new Sultan of the coin under discussion. This difficulty is further aggravated by the absence of date and mint name on the coins. The known history is also not helpful in determining the identity of the Sultan. So, to reconstruct the history of Qutbuddin A'zam we had to depend on the information revealed in the legends and other information available on the coins. At least twenty coins of

²⁰ M. Martin, *Eastern India*, II, pp.616-620; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (eng. Tran. Jarret), II, pp146-147; *Riyaz*, Contents, pp.v-vi; *BMC*, Index of Names, pp.195-214, and *JMC*, II, PP.2-3.

Qutbuddin A'zam were in the hoard of which the author had seen thirteen but got photographs of seven only for study.²¹ None of those coins bear any margin, mint name or date, already been mentioned earlier. But the coins were struck from several dies, which indicate that Qutbuddin's authority was not limited to a very short period.

The obverse legend, particularly the title used before the name of the Sultan is rather exceptional for Bengal coins as well as for the coins of the Muslim rulers of India. "al Musta'in Billahi'l Musta'an or Billahi 'l Musta'an wa yadi'l musta'in .." had never been inscribed on the known coins of the Sultans of Bengal. But use of exceptional legends is not unfamiliar at all in Sultani coins of Bengal²².

Another new Sultan of Bengal Ghiyasuddin Nusrat Shah, whose coins are also found in the Biyani Bazar hoard, used this type of formula as reverse legend in his coin's reverse. On comparison with the reverse legend of Nusrat, Qutbuddin's coins can be ascertained as from Bengal. Moreover, the reverse legend of Qutbuddin A'zam consistent with the reverse legends of the Bengal Sultans viz Sikandar Shah, Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah, Hamzah, Bayazid, Firuz, Jalaluddin Muhammad and Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah. Particularly, the above discussed coin Types B1 and B2's reverse legend completely tally with the reverse legends of Sikandar Shah and Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah's coins and never been used successively as a coin's reverse legend in that manner, i.e. using *yaminu khalifatullah, nasiru amiri'l mu'minin, ghausul islām wal muslimin* all the three formulas all on a coin's reverse. Subsequent to Ghiyasuddin Azam such use was gradually reduced. Use of such legend indicates that the coin of Qutbuddin A'zam was contemporary to the period of Sikandar and A'zam Shah. Of these three formulas except for *yaminu Khalifat Allah* the other two have been used in the coins of Bayazid, Alauddin Firuz, and Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah as a reverse legend. In a different way the Mahmud Shahi (Later Ilyas Shahi) Sultans used a part of it as reverse legend in their coins²³. These three formulas (i.e. *yaminul khilafat, nasiru amiri'l mu'minin, ghausu'l islam wa'l muslimin*) were used by the two Ilyas Shahi mints, Firuzabad and Muazzamabad. Though there is no margin or mint name of the coins of Qutbuddin A'zam Shah still it may be guessed that the coins were struck in one of the above two mints. Moreover, two coins of Sikandar Shah, having such triple reverse formula, struck in the Muazzamabad mint have been found at Kastabir mahalla, Sylhet²⁴. On the basis of the find place of the hoard (Biyani Bazar) and the reverse legend of the

²¹ One coin dealer of Dhaka allowed the author to have a photograph of five coins without cleaning. On the basis of that photograph the author had published an article in *Itihās*, named, "Qutbuddin Azam Shah: Banglar Ekjana Aprinjata Sultan" (in Bangla) in 1396 B.S. That photograph and relevant parts of the article are used here also.

²² *Sikandar uz Zaman al maksus bi 'inayat ar Rahman* had never been used by any Sultan except Ali Shah of Bengal.

Likewise, *nasiru li dinillah al Qahiru a'da Allah* Sikandar only used this formula, *Corpus*, pp. 39 - 49, and there are other such titles used exceptionally by a particular Sultan.

²³ *nasiru'l islam wa'l muslimin*, used by Ruknud din Barbak Shah, also used by Mahmud, *Corpus*, p.93, coin type "R".

²⁴ *Corpus*, pp.54-55.

coins it may be presumed that the coins of Qutbuddin A'zam may have been struck at Muazzamabad mint or Firuzabad mint. This short of legend was abandoned by Husain Shahi Sultans.

The use of the above mentioned triple formula of the coins' reverse legend and its gradual decrease on the coins of various Sultans is shown below.

Name of the Sultan	Reverse Legend
1. Shamsuddin Ilyas	1. Sikandar us $\bar{s}$ānī 2. Yaminu'l $\bar{K}$hilāfat 3. Nāṣiru Amīri'l Muminīn²⁵
2. Sikandar Shah	1. Yaminu $\bar{K}$halīfat Allāh 2. Nāṣiru Amīri'l Muminīn 3. $\bar{G}$haṣul Islām wa'l Muslimīn²⁶ 4. Kullida $\bar{K}$hilāfatuhu/Mulkahu
3. Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah	1. Do as above 2. Do as above 3. Do as above²⁷ 4. Khalladallahu Mulkahu
4. Saifuddin Hamzah Shah	1. Nāṣiru Amīri'l Muminīn 2. $\bar{G}$haṣul Islām wa'l Muslimīn or Yaminu $\bar{K}$halīfat Allāh 3. Nāṣiru Amīri'l Muminīn²⁸ 4. Sultān us Salāṭīn.
5. Shaihabuddin Bayazid	1. Nāṣiru Amīri'l Muminīn 2. $\bar{G}$haṣul Islām wa'l Muslimīn²⁹ 3. Khalladallāhu Mulkahu

²⁵ *IAIC*, II, P. 150, coin no. 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 154, coin no. 52 & 59.

²⁷ *Corpus*, p. 60, coin type K.

²⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 66-67.

6. Alauddin Firuz bin Bayazid	1. Nāṣiru Amīri'l Muminīn ³⁰
7. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah	1. <u>G</u> haṣul Islām wa'l Muslimīn ³¹ 2. <u>K</u> halladallāhu Mulkhahu
8. Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah	1. Nāṣiru Amīri'l Muminīn ³² 2. <u>G</u> haṣul Islām wa'l Muslimīn
9. Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah	1. Nāṣirul Islām wa'l Muslimīn or <u>G</u> haṣul Islām wa'l Muslimīn ³³
10. Ruknuddin Barbak Shah	1. Nāṣirul Islām wa'l Muslimīn

It may be seen from the above list that the three titles were not in use subsequent to the period of Sikandar and Azam Shah. Thereafter two titles were used simultaneously. Gradually it was reduced to one and ultimately abandoned.

But the Type B3 coin with the reverse legend *nasiru amiri'l muminin* extends this span of time further, up to Ahmad Shah's reign. So, type B3's reverse indicates that the coin's striking period may be extended up to 837 and after. Because this type of reverse legend ceased to appear after Ahmad Shah.

The obverse legend 'Billahil Mustain wal Mustaan' is an exceptional legend and interesting one. It probably indicates an exceptional political situation of the period. We know from history that after the death of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah the power of the Sultanat was transferred to a Hindu noble, Raja Ganesh and ultimately he seized the throne also. The later history after the ascension of Ganesh to the throne, Noor Qutbul Alam's (saint of Pandua) intervention in politics, his invitation to Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur, Jadu's conversion to Islam, abdication of Ganesh in Jadu's favour, Jadu's ascension to the throne, and Ganesh's recapturing of power and throne, all these may have been indicated through these legends. Amid chaos and conflict in the capital some one may venture to declare his own independence to renounce that what was happening in the capital at that time. That's why the pretender Qutbuddin Azam, away from the capital may have struck coins hoping that he would be helped by Allah as he was in favour of the cause of Islam. It is to be noted here that in the coin under discussion there is no mentioning of the

²⁹ Ibid, pp.70-71, coin types A-G.

³⁰ Ibid, p.74, coin types A-C.

³¹ Ibid, pp.76-78, coin types B, J.

³² Ibid, pp.84-85, coin types A, C, D.

³³ Ibid, p.93, coin type, R.

sultan's father's name or indication of his royal parentage, usually indicated by 'sultan bin Sultan'. Therefore, the issuer of those coins was a usurper. The other legend of the obverse i.e. coin Type B2 'wa yadi'l Mustain' is also significant, if it means the current Khalifa of Islam Al-Adil al Musta'in Billah, Cairo then the issuer is the seeker of help from Musta'an i.e. Allah and also of Mustain i.e. Khalifa. In that case the coin was struck in 1412 CE³⁴. This supports our assumption about the prevailing political condition of Bengal at that time and the circumstances under which this pretender felt the need of striking such coins.

It is probable that after the murder of Saifuddin Hamzah Shah in 815/1412 the commander of the forces Azam Khan brother of Noor Qutbu'l Alam and commander of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah fled from the capital with his family and forces to East Bengal and proclaimed himself Sultan.

Sonargaon was known as Iqlim Muazzamabad at that time and it was a base for Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah during his revolt against his father Sikandar. So it may be conceived that the place was favourable for the general also. Because it was not possible, probably, for Bayazid or Ganesh to extend control over Sonargaon during the great political crisis in the capital following the political struggle for power among the courtiers and the conspiracy of Ganesh.

It is possible that Azam Khan, one of the sons of the saint Alaul Haque and brother of Noor Qutbul Alam assumed the title of Qutbuddin and revolted in East Bengal like his master Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah.

The reverse legend of the coins of Qutbuddin which tally with the reverse legends of Sikandar and Azam Shah's coins of Muazzamabad mint. Until coins of Qutbuddin with mint and dates are available it may be presumed that those coins of Qutbuddin were also struck from Muazzamabad. History could not help us in this regard. The only information is that he was a general³⁵ and Wazir³⁶ during Sikandar and Azam Shah's reign respectively. Therefore, it may also be conceivable that for the political benefit of publicity his lineage with the family of Noor Qutbu'l Alam and for drawing the general support of the Muslims he may have proclaimed the title of Qutbuddin. How long he ruled or what was his end is impossible to know. As subsequently Bayazid, Firuz, Ganesh all struck coins from Muazzamabad mint. It is probable that at the march of the imperial forces of Firuzabad Qutbuddin slipped to the northern Sylhet area or to the south

³⁴ Three Mustains are known in the history of Islam as Khalifa i) Abul Abbas Ahmad Al-Mustain Billah 862/1457-58 ii) Al-Adil Al-Mustain 815/1412 C.E. iii) Saad al-Mustain Nasirid Sultan of Granada - 944-6/1453-61, P.K. Hitti *History of the Arabs*, London 1963 (8th ed.), pp. 466-7; 677 and 694, N.3; p. 553.

³⁵ "... In the reign of Sekundur, Makhdum Alalhuk, whose son, Azam Khan, was a commander of the troops, M. Martin, *Eastern India*, II, London 1885, p. 617.

³⁶ *Sultani Amol*, p. 249

It is also to be noted here that Khan I Azam Khan Jahan of Bagerhat and the Azam Khan of the coin are not identical. Because Khan Jahan Ali of Bagerhat did not proclaim independence and never issued any coins in his own name. Rather the Bagerhat hoard has coins of the Sultans of Bengal particularly Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah, during whose rule Azam Khan Jahan had flourished in the South Bengal. If the wazir, General Azam Khan and Khan Jahan of Bagerhat are identical as has been presumed by Habiba Khatun³⁷ then there must have been another Azam Khan who proclaimed independence and struck coins in his own name.

In this situation, we may cite the Social History of Bengal by Durga Chandra Sanyal in Bangla. All the modern historians rejects this book's narrative as fanciful gossip³⁸ Sanyal tells us that Saifuddin Hamzah's two sons Azimet and 'Nasiret' by his two wives quarreled with each other over the throne, and the courtiers were divided. Ultimately the brothers died in fighting. The source is not reliable. Because if they were the sons of Hamzah then they would mention their father's name on the coins, at least they could have used the formula 'Sultan bin Sultan'. But on the coins of Qutbuddin Azam we don't see this formula being used. But there is only a phonetic simily between the names 'Azimet and Azam (of Qutbuddin Azam? And Nasiret' with Nusrat (of Ghiyasuddin Nusrat), but both the mentioned were usurpers and pretenders. Based on the above discussions and other information gleaned from the coin legend of the coins of Qutbuddin Azam we may reach the following conclusions:

1. Qutbu'ddin Azam Shah is a newly discovered Sultan of Bengal and his full regal title is Qutb u'd dunya wa'd din abu'l muzaffar A'zam Shah as Sultan.
2. On the basis of the reverse legend of his coins Type B1 and B2 it may be said that his reign was subsequent to Sikandar Shah and Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah. On the basis of the reverse legend Type B3 coins the period may be extended up to Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah. Therefore, he may be regarded as Azam the second in the history of Bengal. The physical look of the coin i.e. the shape, size, and calligraphic style indicates that it was earlier than the coins of Ghiyasuddin Nusrat. So the reverse legend of Sultan Ghiyas ud din Nusrat. Shah's coins probably borrowed from the coin legend of Qutbuddin Azam Shah.
3. The obverse legend indicates the political situation of the time which necessitates the use of such a legend as al Mustain Billahil Mustaan and 'wa Yadi'l Mustain. If we accept yadi'l Mustain as on the hands of Mustain i.e. Khalifa then the coin was struck during the reign of the Khalifa in 1412

³⁷ Dr. Habiba thinks that both the wazir Azam Khan and Ulugh Khan Jahan of Bagerhat are identical person. "Khan al Azam Khan Jahan and Ulugh Khan Jahan" *Nibandhamala*, 5th vol. 1989, pp.42-51.

³⁸ *Coins and Chronology*, pp. 80-87. see for the story and comment; also in *Dusho Bachhar*, p.148; *Sultani Amol*, pp.225-226.

4. The use of the three titles at the same time as the reverse legend in his coins indicates close relationship with the coins of Bengal. And as the find place of these coins is Sylhet they may have been struck from the Muazzamabad mint.

On the basis of the information related to the mentioned coin the following probabilities may be considered about the identity of the newly discovered Sultan.

- a. Qutbuddin Azam was the commander of forces of Sikandar Shah and the Minister of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah. He was the son of Alaul Haque and brother of Noor Qutbu'l Alam. He fled away to East Bengal and revolted against the conspiracy of Raja Ganesh after the murder of Hamzah Shah and assumption of the throne by the puppet Shaihabudin Bayazid.
- b. Or may be Qutbuddin Azam was a rebel whose identity is not yet known. Striking of coins by usurpers like Qutbuddin and Ghiyasuddin may also be regarded as an action of contemporary Muslims or as well as the personal ambitions of the adventurers against the conspiracy of Raja Ghanesh and the continuous killing of the Sultans one after another and subsequent arrest of Jadu i.e. as a reaction against the loss of authority of the Muslims.

Nasiruddin Ibrahim

The last Sultan of uncertain attribution is Nasiruddin Ibrahim. The only source for this unknown Sultan is the coins bearing the respective name as already mentioned. No contemporary or modern chronicles or histories mention the name of Sultan Nasiruddin Ibrahim. It may be recalled here that the name of Sultan Nasiruddin Ibrahim bin Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz who struck joint coins with the Tughlaq Sultans, has no connection with the above mentioned Sultan. The simple difference of these two may be ascertained by their coin legend, one used the parentage 'Sultan bin as – Sultan' the other did not.

Only five coins of Sultan Nasiruddin Ibrahim are known. All are of silver and of one tanka weight standard following the tola weight.

This sultan's name for the first time came to be known through a coin hoard found at Biyani Bazar in Sylhet district in the north-eastern part of Bangladesh. There were only two coins of the said Sultan among almost eight hundred coins of the Sultans of Bengal³⁹. The whereabouts of these two coins are not known. The known five coins are; one preserved in the Bangladesh National Museum (BNM), two coins in two separate private collections in Dhaka⁴⁰, one in Deyell's collection in Canada and the last one published in an Auction list in Singapore recently in 1999⁴¹. The description of the coins are as follows:

Type B1: Silver Tanka

All the five coins bear on the obverse the name of the Sultan in full Tughra Characters either in a multifoil or in a plain area, that could be multifoil, the curves of which may have been cut off the flan completely. The Arabic legend is *Nāṣir u'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh as Sultān*, 'Helper of the world and religion, farther of victory Ibrahim Shah the Sultan'.

The reverse design is also have in a central multifoil of nine arcs. All five coins have the same design. The legend on the reverse is in the centre *nāṣir u'l Islām wa'l Muslimīn*, 'helper of Islam and the Muslims'. And the marginal legend is not clear, in some coins it is effaced or otherwise illegible due to the flan being cut off. A portion of the BNM coin bearing the mint name has somehow survived and it is certain that the reading is *Mu'azzamābād*. Until the discovery of this mint it was assumed to be a coin of a Bengal Sultan. But now with this mint name, though the Sultan's identity is not known, we can identify it as a coin of Bengal and of the Sultani period.

³⁹The hoard is not recorded and scattered. At present some of them are in the private collections in the country and abroad. The present writer had seen two photocopies, which were brought to him for identification.

⁴⁰Dr. Ishaq Imam and Mr. Iftekhar Alam, two collectors of Dhaka, possess one coin each.

⁴¹SCA, coin no.820, plate 49.

The name of the Sultan has been tentatively read as 'Nasiru'd dunya wa'd din Abu'l Muzaffar Ibrahim Shah as Sultan' the full legend inscribed in Tughra Character. As all five of these coins are crude in execution, the word 'Nasir' is not present in most of them except Deyell's, which bears the letter 'Ra' with another letter prefixed. It is presumed to be (س) 'sad' but 'Nā' (ن) of the word *Nāsir* is not present in any of the coins. Rather all the other coins starts with the word 'ad dunya'. Again the kunyah seems to be Abul Muzaffar but as the first 'mim' of 'al Muzaffar' is not present, it may be read with a 'mim' which is in a very crude form or it can be read as 'Abūz Zafar' with the same meaning. Another problem is about the proper name of the Sultan, it may be read as *Ibrāhīm Shāh Sultān* but it can not be *Shāhīm Shāh* (شاهیم) as read in the Singapore Auction Catalogue⁴². In that case the last part of the word 'as sultan' would not be included. The 'Ta' of 'sultan' is written very crudely. Considering all the alternatives it seem reasonable to read Nasir u'd dunya wa'd din Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Shah Sultan with first 'nā' and the 'ba' of Ibrahim missing. As he did not claim royal ancestry by using 'Sultan bin sultan' therefore, it is certain that he was a usurper.

As regards the reverse, the central legend 'Nasiru'l Islam wa'l Muslimin was first introduced in coins by Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah. And continued to be used in the coins up to Nasir u'd din Mahmud. The mint Iqlim Mu'azzamabad introduced by Sikandar Shah continued upto Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah. The multifoil design of the obverse and central multifoil of eight arcs also introduced by Azam Shah as an obverse design. It (multifoil) continued to be use up to Ahmad Shah. During the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud the arcs of the multifoil become flatter. Therefore, in the absence of dates and any reference in the chronicles, we may rely on coins for the identity of the sultan. Thus considering the design of the coin, the reverse legend, the use of Tughra character, this Sultan's reign may be assigned after 'Azam Shah and before Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah. The use of Tughra Character for the first time appeared in Bengal in the coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah. On this consideration this Ibrahim may have issued coins after Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah.

If we admit the reading of the name Nasiruddin Ibrahim as correct then what would be his date? We have some how fixed the time between Ghiyasuddin Azam and Nasiruddin Mahmud. Between this span there are two stages of disturbances. After the death of Hamzah Shah up to the resumption of the Sultanat for the second time by Jalaluddin and take over by Nasiruddin Mahmud (837-864AH.), after Ahmad Shah. Recent research shows that after Ahmad there is a new Sultan, Ghiyasuddin Nusrat 837AH. Ahmed's rule ended in 837, Ghiyasuddin Nusrat's date is 837, again Nasiruddin Mahmed's take over is also in 837AH. So, there may not be chance of another Sultan i.e. Ibrahim to take charge within that year 837, if he did it would have been for a very short time. During this year of chaos and confusion in the capital (Firuzabad), in Muazzaamabad, far from the capital, a parallel rule by some one may not be ruled out.

⁴² SCA, p.53, coin no.820

Another possible time for Nasiruddin Ibrahim could be from the death of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah to the take over of Jalaluddin i.e. from 712 to 721AH. But depending on historical reports and accepting Hamzah, Bayazid and Firuz's rule as admitted then only between the dates 817 to 821AH may have been the suitable time for a pretender, as he did not claim any parentage in his coins. Again we may deduct the reign of Jadu's first term 818AH and the first part of 819 say from Rabi I of 818AH up to 2 month of 819AH twelve months in all. So there would be a gap of 4 months from Shawwal 817 to Rabi I, 818. During this time Ganesh's first term usurpation happened and in this period he started his atrocities and conflict with the saints of Bengal. Therefore, during this period while there was chaos and conflict in the capital, Firuzabad, far away from in Muazzamabad one may venture to declare independence.

It may be questioned whether Nasiruddin Ibrahim was a Sultan of Bengal. If the marginal mint name Muazzamabad is taken to be correct and if we confirm the *laqab* (Nasir) of Nasir-ud dunya (there is no scope to read it as any thing else) as also correct, then it is certain that Nasiruddin Ibrahim was a Bengal Sultan. Because none of the sultans bearing the title of Nasiruddin, named Ibrahim are known from the list of the Bahmani⁴³, Gujarat⁴⁴ and Malwa⁴⁵ Sultans. Moreover, all the rulers outside Bengal bearing the name Ibrahim including Nasiruddin Ibrahim bin Firuz (700 – 722) of Bengal were sons of Sultans, this is revealed from their coins⁴⁶. So, there is no connection with this coin, which did not claim parentage by using 'Sultan bin as Sultan'⁴⁷.

Neither also the Ibrahim of the coin under discussion have any connection with Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur, whose coin-legend and style is completely different from that of the coin of Nasiruddin Ibrahim⁴⁸.

Thus the coin under discussion strengthens the argument that it belongs to a different Nasiruddin Ibrahim. Buchanan referred to one Ibrahim, citing the reference to the manuscript of Gaur mentioned in Martin's Eastern India that, "... obtained his (Qutbul Alam) forgiveness, by making his son Godu sen a Muhammadan. This convert assumed the government under the name of Jalaluddin... attacked Ibrahim shah, grandfather of Hoseyan shah and having put him to death seized on his government...Then sultan Huseyan shah, son of Saiud Ashraf, son of Ibrahim became king⁴⁹". It is to be noted here that except only

⁴³ *IMC*, II, P. 196.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 221.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 241.

⁴⁶ Ruknuddin Ibrahim Khalji of Delhi was son of Jalaluddin Firuz and he mentioned his father's name on the coins. *IMC*, II, p.38; Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi also mentioned his father's name, *IMC*, II, p.38. Ibrahim Shah Suri (*IMC*, II, p.127), Ibrahim Shah of Kashmir (*IMC*, II, p.139), Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur (*IMC*, II, p.208), none of them used Nasiruddin as their *laqabs*.

⁴⁷ In the joint coin Nasiruddin Ibrahim bin Firuz claimed the formula 'Sultan bin as Sultan', *Numismatic Suppl.*, XVI, p.699, Pl.XV, coin no. 3.

⁴⁸ For the coin of Sharqi Sultan see *IMC*, II, P.208 Coin no. 1.

⁴⁹ *Eastern India*, II, PP. 618-619.

the above mentioned reference of Buchanan not a single testimony is available related to Ibrahim in any works of Bengal history.

Most probably the seizure of Government by Jalaluddin happened in 818 or 819AH after his conversion. But Sukhamoy expresses doubt and comments that it was Ibrahim Sharqi who attacked Jalaluddin and Buchanan probably made a mistake in rendering the translation⁵⁰. In fact, it was Sukhamoy who mingled the two different Ibrahims into one i.e. Ibrahim Sharqi. His main argument was that during the last part of the 14th or first part of the 15th century (Probable time of the grand father of Husain Shah) there was none bearing the name of Ibrahim among the Sultans of Bengal. But we already have a coin bearing the name of Ibrahim other than Ibrahim Sharqi and from Bengal. There are so many Sultans whose names are only known through their coins namely Ikhtiyar u'd din Ghazi, Firuz bin Bayazid, Qutbuddin Azam and Ghiyusuddin Nusrat etc. Joa de Baros reports that one hundred years before the coming of the Portugess in Chittagong one Arab trader came to Bengal with two hundred men and ultimately usurped the power by killing the Bengal Sultan. This Ibrahim of our coin, grand father of Husain, and Joa de Barros' Arab trader may be identified as one person whom Jalaluddin killed and who's government had been seized. But whether he was the grand father of Husain or not we have no evidence at our disposal to prove it. On the testimony of this newly discovered coin we want to establish Nasiruddin Ibrahim, as a Sultan of Bengal. Until the discovery of dated coin we are not in a position to fix his chronology, but he was undoubtedly a Bengal Sultan.

On the basis of above discussions we may conclude as follows:

The coin adds a new name to the list of the Sultans of Bengal and the full regal name of the Sultan is Nasir u'd dunya wa'd din Abu'l Muzaffar (or Abu'z Zafar) Ibrahim Shah as Sultan. So, he was not Sahim Shah. The coin was struck at Mu'azzamabad, no date is available on the coin. On the basis of the mint name of the BNM coin we may now assign the Sultan as Sultan of Bengal with certainty and also of the Sultani period of Bengal.

As Mu'azzamabad mint was started in 760AH by Sultan Sikandar Shah and continued to survive up to the reign of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (836AH) circumstantial evidences show that this new Sultan struck coins between 817 to 821AH, may be during the crisis period which started at the assumption of the throne by Ghanesh.

According to the report of Buchanan, Jalaluddin seized the kingdom after attacking and killing Ibrahim. Thus his rule lasted for a very short time and probably ended in 818 or 819AH.

⁵⁰ *Dusho Bachhar*, pp.154-155.

Chapter 5

Socio-Economic Condition as Reflected Through Coins

When the Muslims came to India they found that two types of coins were current there. One Delhiwals with the effigy of a Chauhana horseman and a recumbent bull and the other, Lakshmi type of gold coins of Kanauj. After the coming of the Muslims upto Iltutmish the currency system was more or less the same, appropriation was made by changing the name of the Sultan. But it was Iltutmish who for the first time organized the coinage system of the Delhi Sultanate and remodeled it after the Ghazna type of coins. It is a general rule for coins everywhere that the introduction follows the prototype in the prevailing coin of a country. But in Bengal this phenomenon was completely absent because before the advent of the Muslims there was no metallic coin in circulation¹ which could serve as a prototype for Bakhtiyar Khalji.

The Sena period was devoid of metal coins and *kauri*, shells were used to serve the purpose. Not a single coin of the Sena king has been found or that their influence can be traced in the subsequent coins of the Muslims either. Before the Senas the mighty Palas of Bengal had no coins. Therefore, it was Bakhtiyar Khalji who introduced and initiated the coinage system of Bengal in 601AH following the Ghazna type coins of Muhammad bin Sam but with the adoption of Central Asian influence in design² and adoption of indigenous weight of tola standard which ultimately became the standard for the national coins of the Delhi Sultanat. It may be recalled here that before the initiative taken by Iltutmish for organizing the coinage, Bengal already had her own coins, which was ultimately copied by the Delhi rulers. It has been observed in the coins of Sultan Iltutmish, which followed the coins of Bengal governor Iwad's coin type for his Delhi issues. So, Bengal and its governors contributed to the coinage system of the Delhi Sultanat. Bakhtiyar should also to be credited for initiating money based economy in Bengal, which gained currency in subsequent Sultani rule. Full gold tanka with its fractions and the fractional silver tankas introduced by Bakhtiyar in the name of Muhammad bin Sam in Bengal is proof of the starting of monetized economy from the very outset.

A currency system was introduced by the Muslims in Bengal, whose pattern was uniform throughout the entire Sultani Period. Gold and silver coins were prevalent all through, though silver currency dominated. Both gold and silver coinage were prevalent with its fractional denominations but gold fractions were almost nil during the reign of the independent Sultans, specially from 750/1349 to 945/1538. Likewise gold coins and fractional silver coins were generally less in number. Silver tanka was the main issue,

¹ HSB, p29.

² The prototype of the Gaud Vijoye coins of Muhammad bin Sam could be traced with the Dirhams of Seljuk Sultan Suleiman ibn Qilij Arslan, dated 1201, of Central Anatolia. Dr. Jhon S. Deyell, "Rupar Bangla the Politics and Religion of Medieval Bengal through Coins", *Marg of Kings and Coins*, Martha L. Carter (ed.) Vol. XLV, no.4, Bombay, 1994, p.70 (figure 2).

fractional coins were seldom found and was divided into halves, quarters, one-eighths, one-sixteenths and one thirty secondths ($1/32$). But half tankas and quarter tankas are generally dominant among the fractional coins. It is a fact that the popularization of silver tankas in Bengal and their continuous issuance particularly during the independent Sultani rule have been the result of a highly organized political system. The hoard coin shows that they were current throughout the whole of Bengal.

The first stage of coinage in Bengal was the issues in the name of Delhi Sultans by their respective governors there. It also shows that the Sultans of Delhi sometime shared the sovereign power of striking coins with their able Bengal governors, Daulat Shah bin Maudud, 'Iwad, Yuzbak, Nasiruddin Ibrahim, Ghiyasuddin Bahadur all these governors were allowed to exercise this privileges.

The next stage of coinage in Bengal is marked by the introduction of independent coinage by some governors who proclaimed independence. They are 'Ali Mardan Khalji, Yuzbak, Tughril, Shamsuddin Firuz and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, though their efforts were short lived and from time to time checked by the imperial Sultans of Delhi. But any one who proclaimed independence struck coins in his own name.

The final stage of currency of Bengal began with the introduction of dynastic currency, only after the treaty between the Tughlaq Sultan Ghiyasuddin Firuz of Delhi and Ilyas Shah of Bengal. Through this treaty for the first time Delhi recognized Bengal as an independent state. Therefore, from the time of Ilyas Shah down to the Husaini rule Bengal enjoyed complete political and economic independence and issued independent coins.

No contemporary treatise or inscriptions mention the currency system of Bengal. From the study of the actual coins we may derive some picture of the currency system, which is very incomplete. A few citing in histories and some reports of travelers are the main sources besides the actual coins for discussing the coins and commerce. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* reports that for a religious discourse (tazkir) Jamaluddin Ghaznavi received from Ghiyasuddin 'Iwad a gift of ten thousand tanka (gold and silver), 'Iwad also ordered to his courtiers, the Amirs and Maliks to bestow presents, so that amounted to another three thousand tankas. This reflects that within twenty years (622 AH) the circulation of coined money was so firmly established that the court could easily make presents of three thousand tanka. Another report of using coined money is also reported in *Tabaqat*, that in 622, 'Iwad made an indemnity of eighty laks of treasure to Ilutmish. But *Tazkaratul Muluk* states that his sum was in silver tanghas³. *TN* mentioned the term treasure but *Tazkaratul Muluk* mentioned the sum as silver tanka. Therefore, this proves that the court was able to produce 80 laks coined money. This reveals that within 22 years the currency system became so strong that it could produce this amount easily. No further reference about the coinage is found in the chronicles.

The best preserved silver coin of the Bengal Sultans does not surpass 11 grams. The standard weight of Sultanat coins in the whole of India is one *tola*, which is equivalent to 96 *rati* and on the calculation of 1.8 grain a *rati* the *tola* reaches to $96 \times 1.8 = 172.8$ grains⁴ (*tola* is equivalent to 11.66 grams) which is the standard of the Bengal gold and silver coins weight standard. The Gauda vijoye coin of Muhammad bin Sam, issued by Bakhtiyar Khalji weighs 172.4 grains. All the gold coins of the Bengal Sultan followed this weight standard for their gold and silver coins⁵. But in general the coins both in gold and silver are found one gram or up to 15 grains lighter. Generally the weight of the silver tanka of Sultani Bengal ranges from 10.4 grams to 11.00 grams each. The causes for this lightness are not known. One gram may have been lost due to wear and tear. Scholars hold, on the reference of Ibn Batuta that the ratio between gold and silver was one gold tanka equivalent to ten silver tankas. It may be presumed that the lightness of coins was for the maintenance of a proper ratio between silver and gold coins.

It has been observed that at the beginning of the Muslim rule the economy of Bengal was in a static condition particularly during the Sena period. But with the first onslaught of the Muslims the situation abruptly began to change. The Muslims were mostly soldiers and the immigrant Muslims afterwards had no connections with the land and land produce. Most of them were service holders. Therefore, they had to depend on purchases to meet the necessities of their life. In this way from the very beginning, a kind of internal trade gradually began to flourish. On the other hand, with the stately patronage growth of a feudal class began, gradually with the support of the state they began to engage themselves with trade and commerce. With the gradual expansions of the Sultanat and occupation of the river ports like Satgaon, Gauda, Sonargaon and the seaport Chatgaon, Bengal - commerce merged with the international sea route stretched from Coromandel up to Java. This in general facilitated small-scale traders to engage themselves as suppliers of the large-scale international trade. In this way, the growth of rich businessman and feudatories gradually emerged. Besides the ruling class, generals, *Iqtadar*, quadi and businessmen, middle class was expanding. Therefore, society was divided into three to four tiers, upper, middle, farmers and lower classes.

With the coming of the Muslims public works in various departments including the capital emerged and various administrative and religious centers began to be established. Centering on those institutions and establishments gradually new cities and urban centres were developed. It may not be out of place to mention that the process of urbanization in Bengal was rapid and numerous. "In fact, every settlement of foreigners in general, and Muslims in particular turned in course of time into a flourishing urban centre. Some of them not only succeeded in rapidly developing the economic functions of a true city but also

³ TN. (ravery). Vol.I. quoted in p.593, Fn-7.

⁴ *Coinage*, p.402.

⁵ M.R.Tarafdar. "The Gold Coinage and the Currency System in Pre Mughal Bengal". in *Cultural Interaction in South Asia*, S.I.A. Tirmizi (ed.), New Delhi, 1993, pp.154-156.

came up to Barani's definition of *misr-i-jami* (the perfect city)⁶. To meet the demand of the time, in keeping with the decentralization policy, and for assuring the smooth circulation of money in distant and remote places, many of these new cities became mint cities. Sometimes the decentralization policy was postponed and coins with no mint name or date and also coins with the term *Darud darb* and *Khazanah* were produced. Dynastic rulers in general issued coins with various mint names and dates, with no mint names or date, and also coins bearing *Darub Darb* and *Khazanah*. The number and quantity of coins having no mint name and date are not small. The name 'Dar ud Darb' and 'Khazanah' are not mint cities but are two institutions substitute of the mints. Probably they were serving as reserve banks to ensure the total circulation of coined money. Darub darb and Khazanah should indicate the central mint and treasury of the capital respectively. But the coins reveal that sometimes more than one central mint (i.e. Darud Darb) was functioning simultaneously. Or it may be assumed that the Darud Darb was a mobile mint which was attached to the Sultan and which moved from one place to another with the marching party of the Sultan. As an example, Nusrat Shah's coins show such mint as 'Darud Darb Fathabad' and 'Jalal ud Darb Husainabad' with the same date of 925AH. Jalal ud Darb indicates the royal mint of the capital Husainabad and Fathabad may be a provincial central mint or a mobile mint.

The mints ensure the purity of the metal, prevention of the fake issues, above all the smooth production of coins and their proper circulation. Sometimes, with the administrative unite for the protection and guarding of the mint establishments the mint sites become an important city. Mention may be made of the mint city Fathabad.

Sometimes in an old city a new mint was established, e.g. Lakhnauti, Sonargaon. In some others for the easy and smooth up keeping of trade and commerce and growing demand of circulation money the need for mints were felt, and sometimes new cities and mints were established simultaneously, e.g. Satgaon may be mentioned of this category. In some cases to ensure the smooth supply of the currency some business place was chosen for mints which ultimately turned into a great mint city like Satgaon or Chatgaon. Sometimes to commemorate some event or record some special occasion, a place was mentioned in the coins but these mints were short-lived, e.g. Chawlistan urf 'Arsah Kamru. Whatever may be the rank of the city, great or small, having a mint turned it to a mint city. Thus some capital cities, river ports, popular or obscure places alike became mint cities.

In all there are 36 mint cities and two mint organizations, thus 38 establishments were engaged in the production of coinage during the Sultani period in Bengal. It is hoped that in future with the discovery of new coins this number may be increas.

⁶ Md. Akhteruzzaman. " Process of Urbanization in Early Muslim Bengal", *JASBD*, no.46, Part.I, 2001, p.41.

The identification and location of these mint cities are yet to be completed, and with the new discovery of hoards, new mints are coming to light. There are in all 36 mint cities. They are given below:

List of known mint cities

Thomas	Blochmann	N. Wright	Bhattachali
1. Lakhnauti	8. Fathabad	11. Muzaffarabad	20. Pandunagar
2. Firuzabad	9. Khalifatabad	12. Chatgaon	21. Suvarnagram
3. Satgaon	10. Husainabad	13. Mahmudabad	22. Chatigram
4. Sonargaon		14. Muhammadabad	23. Chandrabad
5. Shahr-i-Naw		15. Rohtaspur	
6. Mu'azzamabad		16. Jannatabad	
7. Ghiyaspur		17. Barbakabad	
		18. 'Arsah	
		19. Kamru (Chawlistan)	

S. Ahmed	Mir Jahan	Present writer
24. Khalifatabad Badrpur	25. Sharifabad	26. Gaur
		27. Sikandrabad
		28. Dakhil Banjaliyah
		29. Nasirabad
		30. Sipur (Shuhur)
		31. Madaran [Mandaran]
		32. Shamsabad
		33. Mustafabad
		34. Khairabad
		35. Dawabad
		36. Rahindabad Badrpur

In 1866, Thomas wrote about seven mint towns. Blochmann added three new mints totaling ten in 1873. Wright gave eleven more in 1907 in IMC, ii, the total mint number reaching twenty-one. Bhattachali in 1922 named three more new mints though these three are only the renaming of the earlier known names viz Pandunager (Firuzabad) Suvarnagram (Sonargaon) and Chatigram (Chittagong). In 1936 Bhattachali wrote about a new mint (in Taifoor collection). Shamsuddin Ahmed in Suppl. IMC II gave another new name in 1936. Mir Jahan, in 1953 enumerating the earlier known mint towns added one more new mint in

to the total of twenty seven mint towns. Among these mint-towns due to doubtful reading or being synonyms subtracting eleven names Mir Jahan enumerated with a synoptic view of the rest sixteen mints. According to him "Rohtaspur is a doubtful reading; Jannatabad was the same as Gaur; Shahr-i-nau, Husainabad, Nusratabad and Mahmudabad may be synonyms for Gaur; Kamru and Arkan represent territorial area and not towns; Pandunagar was Pandua, Suvarnagram was Sonargaon, Chatigram was Chatgaon⁷. Abdul Karim named and discussed about twenty two mint towns in the *Corpus* in 1960. From the synoptic view of Mir Jahan and Abdul Karim's narration these 22 mint's location and identifications are to some extent known⁸. After 1960 twelve more new mints have come to light.

Among these 36 mint cities those related to the Sultans' name were capitals from time to time, e.g. Firuzabad, Sikandarabad, Mahmudabad, Muzaffarabad, Husainabad, Nusratabad, Shamsabad. Others were capitals time to time, e.g. Lakhnauti, Gaud, Jannatabad, and Daru Nur. The rest of the mints may be divided into two broad groups. Those that have been identified, e.g. Bang (East Bengal), Barbakabad (Mahi Santosh) Chatgaon (Chittagong), 'Arsah Kamru (Kamrup in Assam), Satgaon (in Hugly dist) Dakhil Bajaliyah (City of Bengala), Fathabad (Faridpur) Firuzabad (Gauda), Ghiyaspur (Mymensing), Jannatabad, (Gaud the Capital or its suburb), Khalifatabad (Bagerhat) Lakhnauti (Lakshmanavati), Madaran (Mandaran in Birbhum), Mu'azzamabad (Mujampur, near Sonargaon), Sonargaon (in Narayanganj dist.), Muhammadabad (Jessore), Chandrabad, Satgaon (near Hngli), Shahr-i-naw, the new city, most probably Lakhnauti or its suburbs. Shrifabad (in Birbhum), and those that have not been identified, e.g. Arkan, Khairabad, Mustafabad, Badrpur or Rahindabad Badarpur, Shahr-i-Naw and Dawabad.

Early Bengal mints are Gaur, Nadiya Lakhnauti, Sonargaon, Bang, Firuzabad, Ghiyaspur and Satgaon.

Among these Gaur, Lakhnauti, Sonargaon and Satgaon mints were active in producing coinage of the Delhi Sultans. These mints were organized and run by the Delhi Sultan's respective governors in Bengal. Gaur being the first mint produced the earliest coins, the ' Gauda Vijoye' coins of Bengal though the mint name was not present on the coin but it can be presumed that the coin was struck in Gauda. In later time Iltutmish's Bengal coins bear the mint 'bi Gaur' in 616AH issued by the Bengal governor 'Iwad. But very soon the name Gaud was replaced by Lakhnauti, which was the chief and only mint in Bengal for sometime. In 742 'Ali Shah transferred the capital from Lakhnauti to Pandua and Pandua alias Firuzabad became the chief mint and Lakhnauti was abandoned. In 705AH Sonargaon appeared on the coin as a mint during the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz, he also struck coins from the mint Bang in 702AH and Satgaon in the early part of the thirties during the rule of Mohammad bin Tughlaq.

⁷ M.Mir Jahan. "Mint Towns of Medieval Bengal". *Proceedings of the Pakistan Historical Conference, III, Dacca Session, 1953*, pp.225-226

⁸ *Corpus*, pp.157-165 and Table II.

During the period of early independent rule viz. 'Ali Mardan Yuzbak, Tughril, Nasiruddin Mahmud Boghra, Kaikaus and Shamsuddin Firuz those mints, (Viz. Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon) were active. But 'Ali Mardan and 'Iwad did not mention any mint name on their independent coins. Yuzbak for the first time issued a coin bearing the mint name Nadiya in 652AH. Probably, after the re-annexation of the city during this time. He also used the Lakhnauti mint from 653AH. Tughril's coins are also produced from the same mint. During the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud Boghra, the son of Balban, Lakhnauti was designated as Hadrat Lakhnauti, it indicates the royal residence of the Sultan or presence of the Sultan.

This use of Hadrat continued and used with other mint's names e.g. Hadrat Sonargaon, Hadrat Bang in later time, even, during the independent rule of the Sultans from 737AH onwards. It may be mentioned here that during the imperial rule of Delhi the epithets of the mints had administrative /territorial names such as Iqlim (province), 'Arsah (district), Sahar, (City) it may be recalled here that Muhammad bin Tughlaq divided the Bengal Subah in to three parts, Lakhnauti, Sonargaon and Satgaon. During early independent rule administrative epithets were also used by Firuz and his sons. Their coins bear Khitta (tract of land) and Qasbah (city). But during the independent rule of the Bengal Sultans the epithets such as Hadrat, al Balad, al Baladatul Mahrusah, al Baladatul mu'azzam were used qualifying the mint city. The Mubarak Shahi rulers i.e. Fakhruddin Mubarak and Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi issued their coins only from mint of Sonargaon, the honorific title of the mint was Hadrat Jalal, the royal presence, throughout the reign from 737-753AH.

Ali Shah the ruler of Lakhnauti struck coins from the only mint of Firuzabad in 742-744AH. During Ilyas Shahi rule mints increased. As Ilyas united the whole of Bengal and Sikandar averted the Delhi aggression and ruled for 33 years, mints were active during this period. Ilyas struck coins from the mints Firuzabad, Sonargaon, Shahr-i-Naw and Satgaon. On the other hand, Sikandar retaining the old one issued coins from a new mint from his new conquest Chawlistan urf 'Arsah Kamru and Sonargaon mint was transferred and renamed as Mu'azzamabad. After Sikandar Sonargaon never appeared on the coin but in a transformed form of Suvamagram in the coins of Danujmardan deva. It may be mentioned here that this time Firuzabad was designated as al Balad, Baladatul Mahrusah and Hadrat, and Mu'azzamabad has been designated as Iqlim and al Baladatul Mu'azzam, i.e. Iqlim Mu'azzamabad and al Baladatul Mu'azzam Mu'azzamabad. The rest of the three mints were designated as 'Arsah. Ghiyassuddin Azam Shah continued to strike coins from the three old mints of his father viz Firuzabad (with Hadrat), Mu'azzamabad and 'Arsah Satgaon. He also initiated two new mints, Jannatabad and Sikandarabad. Shahr-i-Naw never appeared on coins again. Therefore, it may be presumed that if Jannatabad is the name of the city of Gaud then Shahr-i-Naw established by Ilyas during Ghiyassuddin Azam no longer remains a new city and most probably Sikandarabad took the new name of Shahr-i-Naw. It may be mentioned here that the Sikandarabad mint appeared for the first time on the coins of Azam Shah and it was its last appearance also, during the short rule of Hamzah only three mints Firuzabad, Mu'azzamabad and Satgaon were

functioning and due to the political instability afterwards no one revived the mint Sikandrabad or perhaps the coins bearing this mint have not been discovered yet.

During the short reign of Bayazid and Firuz three mints, which worked during Hamzah Shah, were active and no new mints were found. Raja Ganesh alias Danujmardan Deva after coming to power issued coins in Bengali language from three mints viz Pandunagar, Suvamagram and Chatigram. These are the transformed names of Firuzabad, Sonargaon and Chatgaon or Chittagong respectively. It may be noted here that Chittagong for the first time appeared on the coins of Danujmardana Dev.

Though the father Ganesh issued coins from three mints only but his son Jadu, Jalaluddin after conversion, issued coins from several mints - Firuzabad, Jannatabad, Iqlim Mu'azzamabad, Dakhil Banjaliya, Chatgaon and Rotsapur. Among these mints Dhakil Banjaliya a completely new mint and most probably synonym to the city of Bengala and Jannatabad a new mint for Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah⁹. Sonargaon, Satgaon and Fathabad on the coins of Jalaluddin are not a doubt free reading¹⁰. Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah used only three mints for issuance of coinage, viz Firuzabad, Chatgawn and Dakhil Baujaliya, it may be mentioned here that not so many coins of Ahmad Shah have been found with clear marginal legends.

Nasiruddin Mahmud reigned for 26 years and struck various types of coins at least from nine mints. He retained all the old mints of Firuzabad, Mu'azzamabad, Dakhil Banjaliya Fathabad, Satgaon and Chatgaon. He introduced at least four new mints from new cities viz. Muhamadabad, Nasirabad, Mahmudabad and Khalifatabad besides Darud Darb and Khazanah were also been found in his coins.

Khalifatabad has been identified as Bagerhat. Earlier to that a city most probably at present Baro Bazar (at present in Jhenidah dist.) in the greater Jessore district was established. Some inscriptions with the legend 'Shahr Muhammadabad' have been discovered from this region. On the basis of which M.A. Qadir is inclined to identify Muhammadabad identical with BaroBazar instead of earlier identification of Muhammadpur also in the Jessore district¹¹. But A.B.M. Husain wants to identify Baro Bazar as Mahmudabad on the support of Ain-i-Akbari's Sarkar Mahmudabad¹². But Fath Shah's Sonargaon inscription dated 889AH reveals that Iqlim Mu'azzamabad was also known as Mahmudabad. Blochmann translating this text as "the territory of Mu'azzamabad, also known as Mahmudabad" identifies Mahmudabad with Mu'azzamabad¹³. But Dani translating the passage as "The territory of Mu'azzamabad and also the well known Mahmudabad", commented that 'The name does not survive in the Ain; It

⁹ Abdul Karim did not mention these two mints, *Corpus*, p.76.

¹⁰ Already discussed in Ch. III.

¹¹ M.A.Qadir, "Eight unpublished Sultanat Period Inscriptions of Bengal," In *Journal of Bengal Art*, Dr. Enamul Haque (ed.), Vol. 4, Dhaka: The International Center for Study of Bengal Art, 1999, pp.250-254.

¹² A.B.M. Hosain, "Baro Bazar: Was it the Mahmudabad of Sultani Bangla", in *Essays in Memory of Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar*, Dhaka University: Centre for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, 1999, pp.235-236.

¹³ Blochmann, *Contributions*, *JASB*, no.3, 1873, p.286.

remains to be identified. There is one Sarkar Mahmudabad in the Ain (Jarrett's Trans. Vol. II. pp. 132-33), but probably that is too far away¹⁴.

Abdul Qadir's plea in favour of Baro Bazar as Muhamadabad seems to have some strong ground, this is farther strengthened by the discovery of so many mosques of the Khan Jahani style from the single area of Baro Bazar. It is believed that the region of Baro Bazar up to Bagerhat was conquered and colonized during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud by the saint general Khan Jahan 'Ali. Nasirabad mint was established by Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah. This mint is not in the list of Mir Jahan or Abdul Karim's Corpus most probably it was the name of the capital like Husainabad.

Ruknuddin Barbak Shah established as new mint Barbakabad, after his name. Mir Jahan has identified it with Mahi Santosh of present Nawgaon district. It continued up to Ghiyasuddin Mahmud of Husaini family. Barbak struck coins from Fathabad, Muhammadabad Satgaon, Nasirabad and Barbakabad besides Khazanah and Dar ud darb.

Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah established a new mint city after his name as Shamsabad probably it was one of the capitals, old or new, Lakhnauti or Firuzabad which has been renamed after the Sultan's name. Shamsabad coins are found only with the date 884, probably it was a short lived mint. It is observed that during this period Dar ud darb and Khazanah coins were dominated among total available coins.

Fath Shah's reign also was dominant with Darud darb and Khazanah coins he also started a new mint named Madaran in Birbhm district, only one coin of the mint dated 887AH is known. Besides these, coins bearing the mint name Fathabad and Muhammadabad are also found. During the short rule of the Abyssinians no new mints are found and throughout their reign coins with the names Khazanah and Darud darb were many in number and only two mints Fathabad and Muhammadabad were known to have produced coins. During this period mints were probably centralized and was limited with Darud darb and Khazanah which continued in later period also or due to political chaos. During this period distant mints ceased to strike coins.

The Husain Shahi period is remarkable for their varied number of mints and minting activities. During the reign of Alauddin Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah the volume of circulated money was so abundant that till today their coins are found in the coin hoards which out numbered the others. Alauddin Husain Shah used nine mints to produce his coins including Khazanah and Darud darb. Karim enumerated seven mints in the corpus the other two are Sharifabad (present Bardhwan) and Barbakabad (Mahi Santosh). There is

¹⁴ A.H. Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal (down to AD 1538)*, Appendix to JASP, Vol. II, Dacca, p. 111.

another mint Daru Noor but the reading is not conclusive. It could be read as Darud darb also with shortage of an 'Alif'. But Abdul Qadir is in favor of reading it Daru Noor¹⁵.

Due to various conquests and consolidation during Alauddin's reign the number of mints were farther increased during the reign of Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah. He struck coins from a dozen mints excluding Darud darb and Khazanah. Abdul Karim in his *Corpus* gave seven mints for Nusrat Shah including Nusratabad a new mint started by Nusrat and is identified with a Mahal of the same name in Sarkar Ghoraghat of the Ain-i-Akbari. Other than these, six new mints of Nusrat came to light through his coins. They are Chatgaon, Arkan, Khairabad, Mustafabad, Dawabad and 'Arsah. Among these mints Chatgaon is identical with Chittagong but other five mint's location are difficult to assign. The reading of Arkan is doubtful it could be a corrupt form of Barbakabad. 'Arsah, name of an administrative unit and normally used as an adjective to qualify a place as 'Arsah Satgaon or Khitta Lakhnauti. But plain 'Arsah in the coins of Nusrat is a question. Whether it was name of a place is not certain, it may be presumed that the coins bearing the name 'Arsah were struck for the 'Arshahs in general. Khairabad and Mustafabad, two place-names no doubt but could not be identified. The mint Dawabad a completely new name for Sultani coins of Bengal, it could be read as Do Abad also and may be identified with Deopara or Dohar (the find place of the hoard) or Dewgaon of Sarkar Punjrah or Sarkar Sonargaon or Sarkar Chatgaon respectively¹⁶.

During the short rule of Alauddin Firuz mints were reduced and coins with only seven mints of this period were discovered. Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, the last ruler of Husain Shahi dynasty also struck coins from various mints of his father's time and one new mint of his period is Rahindabad Badrpur but the location is not known.

Therefore, all these mint cities and Khazanah and Dar ud darb were functioning during Sultani period to meet the demand of the country. It is strange that the volume of these silver coins appear at a time when commodities were cheap and general people did not need any coins. The *kauri* was sufficient for their sundry purchases. So the purpose of the large number of coins is a big question.

The texts of coin legends of the Sultani period show that like the mediaeval monarchs the Bengal Sultans were protectors of the religion. They claimed themselves as the succor of Islam and the Muslims, helper of Islam and helper of the commander of the believers. They used to inscribe Kalima and such words which relate to Islam, Muslims, Khalifa, or Khalifat Allah; even some of them proclaimed Khalifa. If all these claims are taken to be true then it may be presumed that the Sultans were up holder of the Islamic faith and protectors of the Muslims. Generally it may be assumed that religion had an important role in society and the rulers abided by the practices of Islam at least publicly otherwise such claims would not be

¹⁵ Abdul qadir, " Daru Nur ", *Dainik Sangram* (daily Newspaper in Bangla). July 1987, (dated 3,5,7 July).

made on the coins. The languages of coin legend indicate that they ruled in the name of religion, the Islamic Shari'a was in practice as 'Kharaj' was mentioned on the coins. Until Nasiruddin Nusrat's rule this trend of religious affiliations was followed. It was Nusrat who completely abandoned such religious epithets from the coins altogether for the first time.

Though the Sultans' allegiance was to Islam and religion still the local non-Muslim people were loyal to them and jointly stood against their foes whenever needed. Ilyas Shah and Sikandar fought the imperial Delhi Sultans jointly with local people in the very early phase of the Bengal Sultanat.

Local people were non conversant with Arabic which was the language of the coin legend throughout the Sultani period. In an interlude during these two hundred years of the Sultani rule Raja Ganesha introduced coins in the vernacular language for two to three years, but this could not create any impact on the coinage system during the Sultanat period.

About the trade and commerce of Bengal it may be remembered that during the Sena period, external trade appears to have come to an end and a sort of rural economy characterized the life of the people¹⁷. It may also be remembered that coin (sikka) was the prerogative of Muslim sovereignty. Probably from the very initial stage coins served as a medium of exchange also. First citation of business is found in the connection with Balban's pursuit of Tughril. There is evidence of Military Supplier group in the incidence of Tughril's flight from the imperial forces that some grocers through whom the imperial troop got the trail and trace of Tughril¹⁸. Therefore, the event indicates that during Tughril's time commerce of Bengal reached to a highly organized point. During the early Muslim period there were ups and downs about trade and commerce of Bengal and sometimes that was shattered by the onslaught of the imperial troops of Delhi. But after the independence particularly from the time of Mahmud Boghrah the commerce of Bengal gradually got impetus, which further enhanced with the foundation of the Independent Sultanat. Important ports like Satgaon, Sonargaon and Chatgaon began to function. At least thirty-five mint towns were functioning during this period. These indicate Bengal's sound economy and revival of Bengal's maritime commerce and her connection with the different parts of the world. According to Tarafdar ' Muslim rule was responsible for bringing Bengal back the rural to urban phase of civilization based on the introduction of money economy'¹⁹. Reports of Ibn Batuta, Varthema, Tome Pires and Chinese sources spoke highly about Bengal's sound trade and commerce.

¹⁶ M.Rezaul Karim, "Husain Shahi Amoler Kichhu Bishishta Roupya Mudra: Ekti Paryalochona," (In Bangla), *Essays in Memory of Tarafdar*, Dhaka university, 1999, pp.68-69 and 74.

¹⁷ HSB, p. 29; Nihar Ranjan Ray, *Bangalir Itihas*, p.199.

¹⁸ Riyaz, pp.81-82.

¹⁹ HSB, p.30.

Ibn Batuta visited Bengal in 1346CE and he saw a Chinese Ship (Junk) in Sonargaon bound for Java. He informed that gold coins were also in use in business at that time in Sonargaon and commodities were very cheap in Bengal. He told us that nowhere in the universe did he see a country where commodities sold so cheap as in Bengal²⁰. Both agricultural and industrial products were produced in abundance and were exported to the foreign countries. The main items were cotton cloth, rice, and sugar. We can get a clear picture of Bengal's exports and imports to China from the Chinese sources and these reveal that there was a good trade connection between the two countries during fifteenth century.

Bengal imports from China were gold, silver, satin fabric, coloured taffeta, blue and white porcelain, copper coin, musk, vermillion, quick silver, grass mats and paper. On the other hand Bengals exports to China were muslin, specially bafta, pearls, precious stones, horse, horse saddles with gold and silver work on them, opaque vessels with gold engravings, broad-cloth (Sakelat), woolens (sof), rhinoceros horns, crane's heads, kingfisher's feathers, crystal sugar, frankincense, black coarse cotton cloth, cotton velvet, parrots, parrot beaks, coarse rhubarb, gharuwood, catechu, ebony, sapanwood, pepper and areca-nut.²¹

Huraprasad Ray relates that 'the mode of procurement was on exchange or cash payment'. He also opined that balance of payment was in Bengal's favour in view of China's import of large number of articles²². Bengal generally took gold and precious metals in exchange for its cotton, silk stuffs and other commodities²³.

M. A. Rahim informs us quoting Ralph Fitch that the export items of Sonargaon port was cotton cloth and much rice to serve all of India, Ceylon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and many other places²⁴.

From Satgaon port the Portuguese merchants alone loaded thirty-five ships with rice, cotton-stuffs, lac, sugar, long pipper, mirabolans etc²⁵. Varthema informed us that every year fifty ships laden with cotton and silk stuffs sailed from the city of Bengalah. According to Ibn Batuta Bengal exports rice to Maldives in exchange of *kauri shells* which were used in Bengal as currency²⁶.

For all this export participation of the general people, irrespective of farmers or artisans (weavers), was a must and through their efforts Bengal became a prosperous country. The rich and higher class people of the society were the businessmen and provider of capital. They also organized the big business. The general people were engaged with production and small scale business to link up the big exports. Barbosa

²⁰ Ibn Batuta, *Rihla*, Trans. in Coins and Chronology, pp.135-136.

²¹ Haraprasad Ray, *Trade and Diplomacy in India China Relations: A Study of Bengal during the Fifteenth Century*, New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1993, p.114.

²² Ibid, p. 121.

²³ Muhammad Abdur Rahim, *Social and Cultural History of Bengal*, Vol. I, (henceforth SCHB), Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1963, p.399.

²⁴ Ibid, pp. 398-399, Purchas-His Pilgrims, Vol. X, p.185.

²⁵ SCHB, p. 399.

²⁶ Quoted in *Dusho Bachhar*, p.531.

writes about the Muslims of the city of Bengalah that "They are all great marchants, and own large ships of the same build as those of Mokah"²⁷. Eaton's comment in this regard is worth mentioning, "Clearly, Bengal had become a major centre of Asian trade and manufacture"²⁸.

Bengal maintained this favorable trade all through the Muslim period. As the balance of trade was in her favour there was a large flow of gold and precious metals and this has been expressed by Alexander Dow that 'Bengal was considered as a sink where gold and silver disappeared without the least prospect of return'²⁹.

²⁷ Hakluyat Society, Vol. II, pp.144-145, quoted in SCHB, p. 396.

²⁸ Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, Oxford, 1993, 1st Indian ed. 1994, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Paperback Indian ed. 1997, p. 97.

²⁹ Alexander Dow, *Indoostan*, p. CXIII, quoted in SCHB, p. 402.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The present study presents a critical analysis of the coinage of the Sultani period of Bengal and a complete chronology of the independent Sultans of Bengal covering the period of two centuries from 1338 to 1538CE on the basis of their coin-legends and information gleaned through the study. It also presents the chronology of the governors and fortune hunters who proclaimed independence in Bengal prior to that from 1205 to 1338CE.

The study has revealed the history of Sultani Bengal from 1205 up to 1538CE based on the analysis of the coinage and coin-legends of the period. The study revealed three new Sultans of Bengal not known earlier: Ghiyasuddin Nusrat Shah (dated 737AH), Qutbuddin Azam Shah and Nasiruddin Ibrahim. Among these three only Ghiyasuddin Nusrat has been identified and his reign has been located by his coin's date. But the other two Sultan's coins do not bear any date and only one, the last among the three bears a mint name Mu'azzamabad. Therefore, the last two sultans' identity and their reigns have not been ascertained but undoubtedly they were Bengal Sultans as evidenced in their coin style and legend. Apart from those rulers some adventurers' names have come to light whose identities have been reassessed. They are Jalaluddin Mahmud, who was once identified as one of the sons of Shamsuddin Firuz (700-722/1300-1322), Shamsuddin Daulat Shah (date uncertain) and Kirman Shah (dated 719/1319). Moreover, the regnal names of the known rulers have been corrected by their coin legends. For example Ali Mardan's regnal name should be 'Ruknuddin' Ali Mardan instead of Alaaddin, likewise Tughril's name should be 'Mu'izzuddin' instead of 'Mughisuddin'. Sikandar II's (son of Nasiruddin Mahmud) name should be Nuruddin of the Mahmud Shahis (so called Later Ilyas Shahi) and Abyssinian ruler Mahmud bin Firuz's regnal title should be Qutbuddin Mahmud.

The study has brought to light for the first time some new commemorative coins of the rulers, like the *Kūṭch mard Shāhī*, coins of Fath Shah, *Kāmtā mardan* coins of Muzaffar Shah, *Fath Kāmtā* (or Kamta Fath) and *al fatih li Kāmru wa Kāmtah wa Jājnagar* (without Orissa), coins of Alaaddin Husain Shah and *Tirhut Mardan* coins of Nasiruddin Nusrat, Alaaddin Firuz and Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah of the Husaini family.

This study has endeavoured to typify the Bengal Sultans' gold coins, which had so far been neglected for proper deliberations within the fold of Bengal coinage. A select catalogue of coin was made based on the coin legends and both the gold and silver coins were typified accordingly.

Some coins of the Sultans have been identified with the year including month. The month Sh'aban on the coin of Bayazid and the month Shawwal on the coin of Firuz bin Bayazid and Rabi I on the coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah may be mentioned which are known for the first time. From the discovery of new coins and hoards and re-reading of the old ones new information has been gathered which reveals the condition of trade and commerce of the period as well as the conditions of foreign trade and economy.

Some coins of new shape and type along with some new mints have come to light. The shape of coins of the Sultani Bengal is round as a convention but the present study revealed a unique shape which is known for the first time in Bengal. A hexagonal coin and an eight petalled coin of Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad are known for the first time. These two shapes never reappeared in Sultani coins of Bengal nor in the coins of any other Muslim rulers in India. Likewise three unique higher denominational coins of the Sultani period have come to light, a two tanka gold coin of Ilyas Shah and two and ten tanka silver coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah have been discovered.

At least four completely new mint names, which have been known for the first time as well as several new dates. The mints are Sikandarabad, Dakhil Banjaliyah (دخيل بنجلية), Dawabad (دواباد) or Doabad and Madaran [Mandaran]. Some of the coin legends which were earlier misread from the time of Blochmann to the present day have been corrected, e.g. 'yad-I-Hurmazad' which is clearly 'Tirhut Mardan'

The thesis has enriched our knowledge in the field of numismatics of Bengal. The fractional coin in silver (which are important and rare) of the Sultani Bengal have also been discussed. It is hoped that this research will encourage others to take the subject for further research.

Appendix: 1**An up to Date Chronology of the Sultans of Bengal**

Governors or usurpers who proclaimed independence and struck coins in Bengal

Name	Duration
Sultan Ruknuddin 'Ali Mardan	607 - 609/1210 - 1212
Sultan Ghiyasuddin 'Iwad	616 - 624/1219 - 1227
Sultan Mughisuddin Yuzbak	652 - 655/1254 - 1257
Sultan Mu'izuddin Tughril	678 - 681/1289 - 1281
Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (Bughra Khan, Son of Balban)	686 - 689/1287 - 1290
Sultan Jalaluddin Mahmud	687 - 688/1288 - 1289
Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus (Son of Bughra Khan)	689 - 699/1290 - 1299
Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz	700 - 722/1301 - 1322
Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahadur (Son of Firuz)	722 - 725/1322 - 1325 728 - 730/1328 - 1330

Independent Sultans of Bengal**Mubarak Shahis**

Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarak Shahi	737 - 750/1336 - 1349
Sultan Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi (Son of Mubarak Shah)	750 - 753/1349 - 1352
Sultan 'Alauddin 'Ali Shah	741 - 744/1340 - 1343

Ilyas Shahis

Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah	744 - 758/1343 - 1357
Sultan Sikandar Shah (I) (Son of Ilyas)	758 - c.791/1357 - c.1389
Sultan Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah (Son of Sikandar)	c.792 - 813/c.1390 - 1410
Sultan Saifuddin Hamzah (Son of A'zam)	813 - 815/1410 - 1412

Bayazid Sahis

Sultan Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah	815 - 817/1412 - 1414 (Sa'ban 815AH)
Sultan 'Alauddin Firuz (I) (Son of Bayazid)	817/1414 (Shawwal 817AH)

House of Raja Ganesh

Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (Jadu)	818 - 819/1415 - 1416
(Son of Ganesh)	(Rabi' I, 818, 1st term)
Raja Ganesh aliya Danujmardan Dev	819 - 820/1416 - 1417
	(1339 - 1340 Saka)
Raja Mahendra Dev	820/1417
(Son of Ganesh)	(1340 Saka)
Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (Jadu)	821 - 836/1418 - 1433
(Son of Ganesh)	(2nd term)
Sultan Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah	836 - 837/1433 - 1434
(Son of Muhammad)	
Sultan Ghiyasuddin Nusrat Shah (I)	837/1434

Mahmud Shahis (Later Ilyas Shahi)

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (I)	837 - 863/1434 - 1459
Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (I)	864 - 878/1459 - 1474
(Son of Mahmud)	
Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah	879 - 885/1474 - 1480
(Son of Barbak)	
Sultan Nuruddin Sikandar (II)	885/1490
(Son of Mahmud)	
Sultan Jalaluddin Fath Shah	886 - 893/1481 - 1486
(Son of Mahmud)	

Abyssinians

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Barbak Shah (II)	893/1486
(Shah-zadah Barbak)	
Sultan Saifuddin Firuz Shah (II)	893 - 896/1486 - 1490
Sultan Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah (II)	896/1490
(Son of Firuz II)	
Sultan Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah	896 - 898/1490 - 1493

Husain Shahis

Sultan 'Alauddin Husain Shah	899 - 925/1494 - 1519
Sultan Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah (II)	925 - 938/1519 - 1532
(Son of Husain)	
Sultan 'Alauddin Firuz Shah (III)	938 - 939/1532 -
(Son of Nusrat II)	
Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud (III)	939 - 945/1533 - 1538
(Son of Husain)	

Appendix: 2

Analysis of Percentage of Gold and Silver in the Coins of the Sultans of Bengal

In 1999 eleven silver coins of different Bengal Sultans were chemically analyzed as a part of a doctoral dissertation of Dhaka University by M.Jahan, in Chemistry. The method used for this analysis was x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy. The objective was to get the relative ratio of alloys present in the coins.

These coins cover three dynasties viz. Ilyas Shahi, Mahmud Shahi (Later Ilyas Shahi) and Abyssinian rulers. The names of the individual ruler with his coin/coins and the contents in their respective coins are shown in the chart given below.

Table 1: Results of Analysis of Silver Coins by XRF.

Name of the Sultan.	Concentration in %w						
	Date	Fe (iron)	Cu (copper)	Zn (zink)	Ag (silver)	Au (gold)	Pb (lead)
Ilyas Shah	C.1350 C.E.	-	0.22	-	57.0	1.20	0.16
Sikandar Shah	1382	0.13	0.12	-	42.1	0.77	0.12
Sikandar Shah	C.1390	0.10	0.13		58.2	0.75	0.07
Nasiruddin Mahmud	1455	0.06	0.2		76.4	1.10	0.25
Ruknuddin Barbak	1468	-	0.75		80.1	1.00	0.49
Yusuf Shah	1479	0.08	0.76	0.08	72.7	0.98	1.26
Yusuf Shah	1474-81 1490	0.10	1.12	0.09	67.4	0.93	1.01
Fath Shah	1491	-	0.37	-	59.3	0.97	0.75
Fath Shah	1490	-	0.68	-	58.5	1.39	0.97
Fath Shah	1487-90	-	0.58	-	60.4	0.93	0.92
Saifuddin Firuz		-	0.74	-	79.0	0.93	0.71

Sikandar's two coins are from the same mints, Firuzabad, but of different types and dates; Yusuf Shah's two coins are of the same mint, Dar ud Darb, but of different dates; Jalaluddin Fath Shah's three coins are of three different mints, Dar ud Darb, Khazanah and Fathabad of two dates. The above Table¹ shows that silver coins of the Sultani period contain in average 0.51% of copper, about 65% of silver and almost 1% (0.995) of gold and 0.61% of lead. It may be mentioned that the coin included in this study were the coins of a span of roughly 150 years from 1342-1490 C.E. It may also be mentioned here that the concentration of each sample (coin) does not amount 100% in this analysis due to some technical problems². The lowest content of silver percentage found in the coin of Sikandar Shah, which is 43% and the highest, found in the coins of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah, which is of 80%.

Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar reported the analysis of five gold coins of the Bangladesh National Museum, in an article in 1999³. Among these five coins only Fakhruddin's gold coin is of 97 to 98 % of purity. The other four rulers', viz. Jalaluddin Fath, Shamsuddin Muzaffar, Nasiruddin Nusrat and Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, coins are of 100% purity. Therefore, it is reasonable to hold the view that Bengal Sultans maintained all through a high standard of purity for their gold coins. Tarafdar presumed in his article (p.162) that coined gold had a direct function in relation to foreign trade. The retention of the gold coin's highest purity for over two hundred years indicate the precious metal's continuous supply from abroad in exchange of the industrial products. Which may be the result of the political stability, he opined. Tarafdar also opined that influx of huge Latin American silver to the European and Asian world in the sixteenth century probably affected the ratio between silver and gold coins which became extremely overvalued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and as a consequence most of the gold coins have been melted down⁴. This may be the reason for discovery of only a small number of gold coins.

¹ S. A. M. Monowar Jahan. *Physico-Chemical Investigations for the Conservation of Museum Objects and Archaeological Materials of Bangladesh*, Unpublished thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in Chemistry of the Dhaka University, 1995, p. 53, Table 2.3.

² Ibid, P.56-. Dr.Jahan elaborately explained the causes.

³ M.R. Tarafdar. "The Gold Coinage and The Currency System in pre-Mughal Bengal." *Cultural Interaction in South Asia*, (ed) S.I.A. Tirmizi, New Delhi, 1993, p.172A, Table-II.

⁴ Ibid, p. 162.

Table 2: The Gold Coins of Pre-Mughal Bengal in the National Museum, Dhaka

Sultans	Date	Mint	Weight	Purity of Gold	Remarks
Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah	737	Sunargaon	168.82grains	96.58% to 97.49%	
Jalaluddin Fath	886	Fathabad	163.32	100%	
Shamsuddin Muzaffar	896	Khazanah	162.50	100%	
Nasiruddin Nusrat	922	Disappeared	163.40	100%	
Ghiyasuddin Mahmud	Disappeared	Disappeared	165.07	100%	

Drawing of any conclusive result based on only five gold and eleven silver coins' sample analysis is not reasonable or desirable. But the coins are of different periods, of a span of two centuries and one and half centuries respectively. So, agreeing with both M. Jahan and Tarafdar we may conclude that there was no convincing example of coin debasement during the Sultani period of Bengal.

Appendix: 3

Bengal Sultans with their Coin Titles

Sultan Ali Mardan Khalji (607-609/1210-1212)

- as Sultānu'l mu'azzam Ruknu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar 'Alī Mardān.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin 'Iwāḍ Khalji (616-622/1219-1225)

- as Sultānu'l mu'azzam Ghīyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l fath 'Iwāḍ bin al Ḥusyan nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin.
- as Sultānu'l a'zam Ghīyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l fath 'Iwāḍ bin al Husayn qasīmu amīri'l mu'minin Sultānu's Salāṭin.

Sultan Mughisuddin Yuzbak (652-655/1254-1257)

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Mughīsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l fath Yūzbak as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin.
- as Sultānu'l a'zam Mughīsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Yūzbak as Sultān.

Sultan Mu'izuddin Tughril (678-681/1279-1281)

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Mu'izu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Tughril as Sultan.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra (686-689/1287-1290)

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd as Sultān bin as Sultān.

Sultan Jalaluddin Mahmud (687-688/1288-1289)

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd as Sultān bin as Sultān.

Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus (Son of Mahmud) 689-699/1290-1299

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Ruknu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Kaykā'us as Sultān bin as Sultān bin as Sultān

Sultan Shamsuddin Daulat Shah 6--7/12-- ?

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Dāwlat Shah as Sultān.

Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz Shah 700-722/1300-1322

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Firūz Shāh as Sultān

Sultan Shihabuddin Bughdah Shah (son of Firuz) 717-718/1317-1318

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Shihābu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bughdah Shāh as Sultān bin as sultān.

Sultan Jalaluddin Kirman Shah 719/1319

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Kirman Shāh as Sultān.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahdur Shah (son of Firuz) 710-722/1310-1322 (with father), (723-724/1323-1324 & 728-730/1327-1329)

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bhādur Shāh as Sultān bin Sultān

Sultan 'Alau'ddin 'Ali Shah 741-744/1340-1343

- as Sultānu'l a'zam 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn Abū'l muẓaffar 'Alī Shāh as Sultān sikandaruzzaman al makḥṣuṣ bi'ināyat ar Raḥmān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn.

Mubarak Shahis

Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah 737-750/1336-1349

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Fakḥru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh/yamīnu'l khalīfat nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn.

Sultan Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah 750-753/1349-1352

- as Sultānu'l a'zam Ikhtiyāru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ghāzī Shāh as Sultān bin as Sultān yamīnu'l khalīfat nāṣiru amīri'l ma'minīn.

Ilyas Shahis

Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah 744-758/1343-1357

- as Sultānu'l ghāzī / as Sultānu'l 'ādil Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Ilyās Shāh as Sultān sikandar us ṣānī yamīnu'l khalīfat amīri'l mu'minīn/ nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn

Sultan Sikandar Shah 758-791(?) / 1357-1389

- as Sultānu'l mu'azzam Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l muminīn.
- al mujāhid fi sabīl ar-Raḥmān Shāh Sikandar ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn.
- abū'l Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh as Sultān ibnu's Sultān an nāṣiru li dīnillāh al qāhiru ada' Allāh.
- al Imām al a'zam abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn.
- al wāṣiq ba tāyyid ar Raḥmān abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minīn.

- abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin A'zam Shah 792?-813/1390-1410

- Sultan Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh as Sultān
- al muwayyid batāyyid ar Raḥmān Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh as Sultān nāşiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn yamīnu amīri'l mu'minīn.
- as Sultānu'l a'zam al muwayyid batāyyid al Malik ar Raḥmān Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh as Sultān nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- al muwayyid batāyyid al Malik al Mannān Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh ibn Sikandar Shāh as Sultān nāşiru amīri'l muminīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- as Sultānu'l a'zam al muwayyid batāyyidi'l Malik ar Raḥmān Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh ibn Sikandar shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh ibn Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh bin Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān al Imām yamīnu'l khalīfat nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn.
- al muwayyid ba tāyyid ar Raḥmān Ghiyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar A'zam Shāh ibn Sikandar Shāh ibn Ilyās Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.

Sultan Saifuddin Hamzah Shah 813-815/ 1410-1412

- Sayfu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Ḥamzah Shāh bin A'zam Shāh bin Sikandar Shāh bin Ilyās Shāh as Sultān nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- al muwayyid batāyyid ar Raḥmān Sayfu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Ḥamzah Shāh ibn A'zam Shāh as Sultān nāşiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- al Imām al a'zam al bāzil Sayfu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Ḥamzah Shāh as Sultān yamīnu khalīfat Allāh nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn Sultān us Salātīn iskandar us ṣānī.
- Saifud dunyā wa'd dīn al mujāhid fī sabīl ar Raḥmān khalīfatu'l 'ahd wa'z zaman Ḥamzah Shāh as Sultān yamīnu'l khalīfat nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn Sultan as Salātīn iskandaru's ṣānī.

Bayazid Shahis

Sultan Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah 815-817/1412-1414

- al muwayyid ba tāyyid ar Raḥmān Shihābu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān nāşiru amīri'l mu'minīn ghausu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- as Sultānu'l a'zam al muwayyid ba tāyyidi'l malik ar Raḥmān Shihābu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān.

- *Shihābu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin Ḡhaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.*
- *Shihābu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin.*

Sultan 'Alauddin Firuz bin Bayazid Shah 817/1414

- *'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Firūz Shāh bin Bāyazīd Shāh as Sultān.*

Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah 818-819/1415-1416 & 821-836/1418-1432

- *Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.*
- *as Sultānu'l 'ādil Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin ḡhaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.*
- *Same as above but *abū'l mujāhid* in stead of 'abu'l muẓaffar'.*
- *al mujāhid fī sabīl ar Raḥmān Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin ḡhaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.*
- *Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān.*
- *al muwayyid ba tāyyid ar Raḥmān Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān.*
- *Same as above but at the end with 'abdu'l Jabbār.*
- *Same as above but at the end instead of *abdu'l Jabbar*, *khalīfat Allāh nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn*.'*
- *Same as above but at the end *khalīfat Allāh fī'l ardīn nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn*.'*
- *Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān nar Kishar/Kisan abtār.*

Sultan Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah 836-837/1432-1433

- *Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin Ḡhaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.*
- *as Sultānu'l a'ẓam Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn al mujāhid Aḥmad Shāh ibn Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān.*
- *al muwayyid batāyyid ad Dayān Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh ibn Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin ḡhaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.*
- *as Sultānu'l a'ẓam Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn al mujāhid Aḥmad Shāh ibn Muḥammad Shāh as Sultān nāṣiru amīri'l mu'minin ḡhaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.*

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Nusrat Shah 837/1433

- *Ḡhiyāṣu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Nuṣrat Shāh Sultān Billāhi'l musta'in wa'l musta'ān.*

Mahmud Shahis

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah 837-863/1433-1459

- as Sultān al 'ādil Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān al muwayyid batāyyid ar Raḥmān khalīfat Allāh bi'l ḥujjat wa'l burhān.
- Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān al muwayyid batāyyid ar Raḥmān khalīfat Allāh bi'l ḥujjat wa'l burhān.
- Nāṣiru'd dunyā wad dīn abū'l mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh [or Shah Sultān] nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- Same as above but *abū'l muẓaffar* instead of 'abū'l mujāhid'.
- as Sultan al 'ādil Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān.
- Same as above but with the addition of *Ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn*.
- Same as above but abū'l mujāhid.
- Same as above but in addition of *khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa sultānahu* at the end.
- Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān nā'ib ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- Nāṣir Shāh Sultān nā'ib ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- Nāṣir Shāh Sultān al muwayyid ba tāyyid ar Raḥmān khalīfat Allāh bi'l ḥujjat wa'l burhān.
- as Sultan Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh.
- Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l Muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.

Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah 864-878/1459-1474

- as Sultān ibnu's Sultān Ruknu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Bārbak Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān
- Ruknu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān.
- al 'ālim al 'adal al a'ẓam al mu'azzam Bārbak Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān.
- Darb as Sultān al 'adal al a'ẓam Bārbak Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh Sultān khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa sultānahu.
- Ruknu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Bārbak Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān - as Sultān ibnu's Sultān.
- Ruknu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Bārbak Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān ghaṣu'l Islām wa'l muslimīn.
- Ruknu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Bārbak Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān al muwayyid ba tāyyid ar Raḥmān khalīfat Allāh bi'l ḥujjat wa'l burhān.
- Same as above but *abū'l muẓaffar* instead of 'abū'l Mujāhid'.

- Same as above but in addition of *nāṣiru'l Islām wa'l muslimīn* at the end.

Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah 880-885/1460-1440

- *Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Yūsuf Shāh as Sultān ibn Bārbak Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān.*
- Same as above but *abū'l muẓaffar* instead of 'Mujahid'.
- Same as above but with the addition of 'al muwayyid batāyyid ar Raḥmān khalīfat Allāh bi'l ḥujjat wa'l burhān'.

Sultan Nuru'd din Sikandar II Shah 885/1480

- as Sultān bin as Sultān Nurū'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Sikandar Shāh Sultan ibn Maḥmūd Shah Sultān.

Sultan Jalaluddin Fath Shah 886-893/1481-1487

- *Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān ka junayd Shāhī.*
- as Sultān ibn as Sultān Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān suwayad Shāhī.
- as Sultān al munawwar bi nūri'l mustafwī Ilāhī al mukhātab Sultān az zāhidīn fī'l yaqzat ba muṣḥahidah aṣḥ Shaikhul mujāwar li qadam ar Rasūl Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān.
- as Sultān bin as Sultān Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abu'l mujāhid Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān.
- Same as above but *abū'l muẓaffar* instead of 'mujahid'.
- Same as above but in addition of *Kūchmard Shāhī* at the end.
- *Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar wa murīdu'n Nabī wa nāṣiru aṣḥābihi Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān.*
- as Sultān ush shahīr ba murīd [an Nabī] wa khāmisu aṣḥābihi ... al Kḥalīfat Allāh [līānāt Allah] wa li buwayil kḥilafat .. wa akḥḍar li Misr al munawwar wa'l Gaffār Jalālu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abu'l muẓaffar Fath Shāh as Sultān ibn Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān.

Abyssinians

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Barbak Shah 893/1487

- *Ghiyāṣu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Bārbak Shāh as Sultān .*

Sultan Saifuddin Firuz Shah 893-896/1487-1490

- *Saifu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Firūz Shāh as Sultān .*

Sultan Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah 896/1490

- Qutbu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh as Sultān ibn Firūz Shāh as Sultān.

Sultan Shamsuddin Muzaḥḥar Shah 896-898/1490-1493

- Shamsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'n naṣr Muzaḥḥar Shāh as Sultān.
- Shamsud dunyā wad dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Muzaḥḥar Shāh as Sultān.
- Faṭḥul mulk al 'ādil al mujāhid Sa'du'd dīn nāṣiru amīrī'l mu'minīn abū'n naṣr Muzaḥḥar Shāh as Sultān.

Sultan Alaḥḥudīn Ḥusayn Shah 899-925/1494-1519

- as Sultān al 'ādil al bāzil walade Sayyidu'l Mursalīn 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān.
- 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l mujāhid Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān.
- 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn Shāh Sultān ibn Sayyid Aṣḥraf.
- as Sultānu'l 'ādil 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn Shāh Sultān bin Sayyid Aṣḥraf al Ḥusaynī.
- 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān.
- as Sultān al Fāṭih li Kāmru wa Kāmṭah wa Jājnagar wa Orīssa 'Alāud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn /Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān bin Sayyid Aṣḥraf al Ḥusaynī.
- as Sultan al mutawakkil 'alā Allāh al Fāṭih li Kāmru wa'l Kāmṭah ba 'ināyat Allāh Sayyid 'Alāud dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān.
- as Sultānu'l fāṭih li Kāmru wa'l Kāmṭah wa Jājnagar al 'ināyat Allāh 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn Shāh bin Sayyid Aṣḥraf al Ḥusaynī.
- as Sultān 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Ḥusayn Shāh Sultān bin Sayyid Aṣḥraf al Ḥusaynī.

Sultan Nasiruddin Nuṣrat Shah 925-938/1519-1532

- as Sultān ibnu's Sultān Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Nuṣrat Shāh bin Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān al Ḥusaynī.
- as Sultān bin as Sultān Nāṣiru'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Nuṣrat Shāh Sultān ibn Ḥusayn Shāh Sultān Sayyid Ḥusaynī.

Sultan Alaḥḥudīn Firuz bin Nuṣrat 938-939/1532-1533

- as Sultān bin as Sultān bin as Sultān 'Alāu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muzaḥḥar Firūz Shāh as Sultān bin Nuṣrat Shāh as Sultān bin Ḥusayn Shāh as Sultān Ḥusaynī.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah 939-945/1533-1538

- as Sulṭān ibnu's Sulṭān Ghīyāsu'd dunyā wa'd dīn abū'l muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh as Sulṭān ibn Ḥusayn Shāh as Sulṭān, Badar Shāhī.
- Same as above but omitting "Badar shahī".
- al 'abd Ghīyāsu'd dīn Maḥmūd Shāh al Badar Shāhī.

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Part II

Select Catalogue of the Sultani Coins of Bengal

Muhammad bin Sam 599-602/1202-1206

Sl No	Type	Mint / Date	Metal Measure Weight	Shape & Denomi.	Obverse, design & Legend	Reverse design & Legend	Location Reference Provenance	Remarks
1	A1	Not recorded (Gaud)	AV 23 mm 11.17 gram	5 Round Tanka	6 In a circle a galloping horseman to left, holding a mace by his right hand and in the left the rein of the horse in the margin a circular bilingual legend encircled by another circle في منتصف رمضان سنة احدى وستماية	7 In a circle السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام	8 Not known One coin in the National Museum, Delhi, Coin age, P.6.No.3A One in the British Museum, London, JNSI.XXXV (1973) P.197 No-1 the last one in Smithsonian Institute, Washington, USA. JNSI.XXXV,P.	9 Plate
2	A2	Not recorded	AV 2,30 gram	Round Quarter Tanka	In a circle horseman to left holding a mace in his right hand brandishing a loft. Traces of marginal legend around.	Within a circular border of dots Nagri legend in bold letters in three lines. [Sri]ma[ha] mira [Mahama] d Samah	Bengal, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras., India. ND,X,(1986)Nasik, India,p.107, coin No.1	P.L.Gupt a read the marginal legend of a coin Bhadra-Padadi
3	Not recorded date illegible	AV 16 mm	Round quarter tanka	Same as No.2 Margin illegible	Same as No.2		Northern Bangladesh,Dr. Imam collection , Dhaka.	Plate

8	B1	Gand 616	Round tanka Silver 34 mm. 10.84 gram	Same as No.7 above the horse ضرب below بكر Margin : Same as No.7	Same as No. 7 but instead of 'burhan' ناصر امير المؤمنين	Not known JNSI. XXXV (1973), P.200. Also in SCA Pl, 39 coin No.672	Plate
9	B2	616	Round tanka Silver (10.88)	Same as No.7 Margin : Same as No.7.	Same as No.8 Same as above Type B1	K.F.M. (Berlin) ICB.II, P.16 coin No.3 Coinage, P.16 coin No.49i Type B2 also appeared in SCA, Pl.39 No.673.	Plate
10	B2(a)		Silver 1.15 inch (165 grains)	Same as No.7 but margin partly truncated and undeciphered	Same as No.8 but a Nagri letter (Sa) بَلْتَمَش over the word	Coinage, P.16 coin No.49J. Dr. Imam collection, Dhaka.	Plate
11	B3	622	Round Tanka Silver 1.2 inch 166.7 grain	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين هذا الضرب في شهر سنة الثي عشرين وستماية	In plain area السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر ايلتتمش السلطاني يمين خاينة الله ناصر امير المو منين	ICB.II P.23(o) now in Berlin	
12	B4	62	Round Tanka Silver 1 inch 155.3	Same as No. 11 but margin ... عشرين وستمة مائة	In circle السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ايلتتمش السلطان ناصر امير	Coinage P.17 Coin No.50	

المومنين							
13	B5	624	Silver 1.1 inch 168.2 grains		In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الظاهر بامر الله امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه ... شهور سنة اربع وعشرين وستماية	Same as No. 12	ICB II, No.24 coin no. 10 Berlin. Coinage, P.18 Coin No 50A
14	B6	Lakhnauti 626	Silver 164 grain 10.7 gram	Round Tanka	In double square scrollwork in segments لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	In double square within circle في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه السكة بلكهنوتى في شهور سنة ست وعشرين وستماية	JNSI XLI, P II (1979) PP.98-102 if. Coinage P.18 coin No 50c if PMC. coin No 34. Thomas, chronicles P.46.
15	B1	627 A.H or 629	Silver .0.925" 168 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In Plain area المستنصر بالله امير المومنين السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح ايلنتمش السلطان برهان امير المومنين	In a circle, margin outside السلطان العادل شهنشاه بادل علا الدنيا والدين ابو الغازى دولت شاه بن مودود عماد خليقة الله ظهير امير المومنين Margin: ... شهور سنة سبع وعشرين وستماية	ICB II, (JASB 1873) P. 364 Corpus P.12. A second coin is known in J.P.Goenka collection.

16	B7	632	Silver 1.15 inches 188.9 grains	Round Tanka	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر بامر الله امير المو منين Margin : اثني وثلاثين وستماية	In double square, scroll work in segments السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر التتمش السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين	Present location Berlin KFM. Coinage P.19 coin No. 50D. Thomas- chronicles P.52 (XXIX)	
17	B7	630		Round Tanka	Same as No.16 but margin ضرب هذا التكة في شهر سنة ثلثين وستمماية	Same as No. 16, but السلطان الاعظم	SCA.Pl.40 Coin No.68u First mention of the term Tanka	Plate التكة
18	B7(a)	Lakhnanti [Lakur]sic] 633	Silver 1.15 inch 167.5 grains	Round Tanka	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين Margin: ضرب هذه الشرفة بلكور في شهور سنة ثلث وثلاثين وستماية	In double square same as No.17 السلطان الاعظم	Coinage, P.20 coin No. 52 A IMC, II P, coin No.38	الشرقة
19		62?	Silver 30-31 mm 10.5 gram	Round	Within double circle of line and dots لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ناصر امير المؤمنين	Within a circle of dots السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر التتمش عو السلطاني يمين خليفة الله	Not mentioned JNSI XL (1978), P.42	

					Margin around is almost obliterated	عشرين وستماية	the fifth line is illegible		
20	B8	633	Silver 30 mm 10.6 grains	Round	In double square within a circle. السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر التمش السلطان		In double square within a circle في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين	The coin is broken in to four pieces J.P. GoenkaCollection. Calcutta.	Plate
					Margin around ...من خراج رال و برند في شهور سنة ثلث و ثلثين وستماية		Margin : partly truin kated ...لكهنوتي مضافات		
					Ruknuddin Firuz 633-634/1235-1236				
21	B1	Lakhnauti	Silver 29 mm 10.51 gram	Round	In double square السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه بن السلطان		In double square within a circle في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين	SCA Pl. 40 coin No. 684	
							Margin : legend outside the circle encircled by another circle ضرب هذا الفضة بلكهنوتي في شهور سنة اربع و ثلثين وستماية		
22		Lanhnauti 634	Silver 30 mm 10.78 gram	Round	Same as No. 21		Same as No. 21 margin: ضرب هذه الفضة بلكهنوتي في شهور سنة اربع و ثلثين	SCA Plate 40 coin No.685	Plate

وستماية

Jalalatuddin Radiya 634-637/1236-1240								
23	A1		Gold NA 10 gram	Round	In a lettered surface السلطان الاعظم جلالة الدنيا والدين ملكه ايلتتمش اينت السلطان نصرة امير المومنين	In triple square within a circle, margin outside. في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين	Not known JNSI XVI, 1954	
24	B1	Lankhauti 634	Silver 29 mm 10.70 gram	Round Tanka	In a circle Same as No.23	Margin : illegible In double square within a circle same as No.23 but margin ضرب هذا الفضة بلكهنوتى في شهر سنة اربع و ثلثين وستماية	SCA Pl.No. 40 coin No.686	Plate
Alauddin Masud Shah 639-644/1242-1244								
25	A1	NM ND	Gold .92 inch 166.4 grains	Round Tanka	In double square within circle, scroll work in segments. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر مسعود شاه بن سلطان No margin.	In double square within circle, three dots in each segment في عهد الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين الله	JASB, 1910, P.149 Coinage P.46 coin No.187A	
26	B1	NM ND	Silver 1.1 inch 163 gram	Round Tanka	Same as No. 25	1MC,II Pl.II, No.119		
27	B1(a)	NM ND	Silver 28 mm	Round Tanka	Same as No. 25	Same as No. 25, but ends with احمد instead	SCA, Pl40 coin No.693	

28	B2	NM ND	Silver 30 mm 10.64 grams	10.68 grams	Round Tanka	Same as No.25	Same as No.25, but omitting the words المستعصر بالله المومنين احمد	Four coins have been illustrated in SCA. Pl. 40, coin Nos.691-695 omitting 694. SCA.Pl. 40 coin No.692.	Plate
Nasiruddin Mahmud 644-664/1246-1266									
29	A1	NM ND	Gold 1 inch 166.6 grams		Round Tanka	In double square السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه بن سلطان	In double square within circle, four dots in segments في عهد الامام المستعصر بالله امير المومنين لله	JASB, 1910 Vol.VI, No.4, P.149. Coinage,P.53. coin No.219 A.	
30	B1	NM ND	Silver 1.1 inch 164 grains		Round Tanka	In double square with ornamental scroll in segments Legend as Type A1	Same as No. 29 but 3 dots in segments	IMC. II. P.31, coin No. 134 (Pl) coinage, P.56 coin No.225 E.	
31	B2		Silver 1.1 inch 169 grains		Round Tanka	Same as No.29, but margin in Top segment ضرب Left segment بلاد Bottom segment ? Right segment هند	Same as No. 29. but 2 dots in segments and في عهد الامام المستعصر امير المومنين	IMC II, P.31, Coin No	
32	B3	Lakhnauti 65(I)?	Silver 1.1 inch 40 grains		Round Tanka	In a circle or in plain area السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو	Margin: ...هذه التكة بلكنوتي.. In double square within a circle في عهد الامام المستعصر امير	Chronicles P.129, No.110 IMC II, P.33 No. 140 (Pl) Coinage. P.55 No.225D JASB,	

33	(Joint coin)	Lakhnauti 651	Silver 29 mm 10.03 grams	Round Tanka	In a plain area السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود بن السلطان في نوبة العبد يوزيك السلطاني	المظفر محمود بن السلطان في نوبة العبد يوزيك Segments are blank and margin : هذا الضرب .. بلكهنوتي .. خمسين وستماية In double square within a circle في عهد الامام المستصم امير المومنين Margin: ضرب لكهنوتي في سنة احدى وخمسين وستماية Same as No.29 but no dots in segments Margin: ضرب هذه التكة بلكهنوتي في صفر سنة خمس و خمسين وستماية Ref. JASB, 1881, P.69, IMC II, P.31 coin No.138.(Pl) Coinage P.55 coin No.225c. SCA, No. 707	1881, P.68 Corpus SCA Pl. 41, coin No.708 date is clear Plate
34	B4	Lakhnauti 655	Silver 1.23 inch .170 grains	Round Tanka	In double square within circle, scrollwork in segments. Legend same as No. 29, but no margin	الامام المتعصم امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه الفضة بخط لكهنوتي في سنة سبع و ستين وستماية	IMC II, P.34 Coin No.155
35	B1	Lakhnauti 667	Silver 169.7 grains	Round Tanka	In a square within circle, annulets in top and bottom segments السلطان الاعظم نعمان الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بلبن السلطان Margin: ضرب هذه الفضة (بخط) لكهنوتي في سنة سبع ستين و ستماية	الامام المتعصم امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه الفضة بخط لكهنوتي في سنة سبع و ستين وستماية	

Ghiyasuddin Balban 664-686/1266-1287

36		Lakhnauti 672	Silver 30 mm 12 grams	Round Tanka	Same as No.35 Margin : Partly effaced partly truncated but لكهنوتى في شوال	Same as No.35 but margin : ضرب هذه الفضة بخطة لكهنوتى في شوال سنة اثني وسبعين وستمائة	ND, Vol VIII 1984, Pt.I+II PP.73-74. Also the Month Muharram and Jumada 673 A.H, in SCA. Coin Nos 716,717.	Plate
37	B1	Lakhnauti ND	Silver 1.1 inch 169.2 grains (10.9 grams)	Round Tanka	In a square السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر تغلق شاه السلطان No. margin	In a square السلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه السلطان بن السلطان No margin	(struck in Bengal) Coinage. P.13 No.442 A	Plate
38	B2		Silver 1.1 inch 166.9	Round Tanka	In double square within a circle السلطان الا عظم محمد شاه السل طان بن سلطان	In double square السلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه السلطان بن السلطان	Ref. B.M.,Coinage, P.129 Coin No.505 B	Plate
39	A1	Sonarkanw 728	Silver .9 inch 165	Round Tanka	In a circle ضرب بامر الواثق بأله محمد بن تغلقشاه Margin: هذا المبكة بحضرة ستاركانو سنة ثمان و عشرين وسبعماية	In a circle السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بهادر شاه السلطان ابن السلطان	Ref. BM Coinage, P.125 coin No.492F	Plate
40	A2	Sonarkanw	Silver 17 mm 5.45 gram	Round Half Tanka	In a square within circle legend is same as Type A1 omitting the first word ضرب.	In a square السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين	One came with the photograph in 1999 for identification and kindly allows the	Plate(enla rged)

writer to have it. It is said that has been found in Comilla Bangladesh. In a Private collection, Dhaka

بامر الواقع
بالحمد بن
تغلقشاه

41	B1	Sonarkanw 728	Silver 164 grains	Round Tanka	In a square within a circle legend same as No.39 A1 Margin: بسنار كانو سنة ثمان وعشرين وسبعماية	In double square legend same No.39	Ref. H.R.N. Coinage, P.130 Coin No.505c.	Plate
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Muhammad bin Tughlaq 725-752/1325-1351

42	A1	Lakhnauti 734	Silver 172 grain	Round Tanka	In a circle the Kalima لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Margin: ضرب هذه السكة بشهر لکنوتی فی سنة اربع وثلاثين وسبعماية	In a plain area or circle ابو بكر المجاهد في سبيل الله محمد بن تغلقشاه	Delhi Museum Ref. N.S.35 (H.R.N) Coinage, P.118 Coin No. 479 A (H)	Plate
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43	A2	Satganw (Satgaon) 734	Gold .7 inch 198.6 grains	Round Tanka	Same as No. 42, but Margin: هذا الدينار بسنكانون في سنة اربع وثلاثين وسبعماية	In a lettered surface ضرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن تغلق	Wh. Type I observed dots 734,735 (198.3 grains) Coinage, P.120 Coin No.485 (Pl.)	
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44	B1	Lakhnauti 729	Silver 1 inch 167.5 grains	Round Tanka	In a square within a circle the Kalima same as No.42, but Margin: في لکھنؤی سنہ تسع و عشرين سبعماية	In a square legend same as No.42, with slight variation in line arrangements.	Ref. B.M. IMC II, P. Coin No.410, Coinage, P 128 Coin No.500A(H)
45	B1(a)	Shahr Lakhnauti	Silver 1 inch 167.2 grains	Round Tanka	Same as No.42 but margin: شهر لکھنؤی سنہ	Same as No. 42	Ref. Wh. Type I Coinage, P.127 coin No. 500.
46		Shahr Sonarkanw 733	Silver NA	Round Tanka	observed dates are 727,728,729,730,733 Same as No. 42, but شهر سنارکانو	Same as No. 42	Ref. JASB, 1922, P.425 Coinage, P.127 coin No.499A
47		Satkanw 729	Silver .95 inch 166.5 grains	Round Tanka	Same as No. 42 observed dates 730, 733	Same as No.42	Coinage, P.127 coinNo.499(Pl.) A) Plate AlsoinSCA,no741, dated 733
48	C1	Arsah Satganw 731	Silver .8 inch 139 grains	Round Copper Tanka	In a circle من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن Margin: در عرصہ سنگانو سی یک	In double circle مهر شد تنکھ رائج در روزکار بنده امیدوار محمد تغلق	Ref. Coinage P. 142 coin No. 593
49		Iqlim + Lakhnauti 730	Silver .75 inch 141.5 grains	Round Copper Tanka	Same as No. 48 but در اقلیم لکھنؤی سی	Same as No.48	Ref. BMC 305 b. IMC. Coinage, P.142 coin No. 593 B.

Ali Mardan Khalji 607-609/1210-1212

Sl. No.	Type	Mint / Date	Metal Measure Weight	Shape & Denomi.	Obverse, design & Legend	Reverse design & Legend	Location Reference Provenance	Remarks
50	A1	(Gaud) NA	Gold 17 mm 2.26 gram	Round 1/5th Tanka	In a circle horseman to left at the charge, carrying a mace In the margin لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	In a dotted circle السلطان المعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر علي مردان	Not know British Museum JNSI. XXXV (1973) pp. 198-99	
51		(Gaud) NA	Gold 17 mm 2.26 gram	Round 1/5th Tanka	Same as No. 50 a die duplicate	Same as No. 50	Not know, Spink and Sons Numismatic Ltd., Zurich, Auction sale catalogue, 18, 18 th Feb. 1986 JNSI, XLIX, (1987) p. 52	
52	B1	(Gaud)	Silver 26 mm 10.5 grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle horseman to left at charge, club/mace in right hand the rein in the left hand. Margin: outside the circle illegible probably Kalima and date. Same as No. 52	In a circle السلطان المعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر علي (مردان)	Northern Bangladesh Private Collection Dr. Ishaq Imam, Dhaka. Unpublished.	Plate
53		(Gaud) 609	Silver NA	Round 1 Tanka	Margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بتارخ رمضان سنة تسع وستماية	In plain area السلطان المعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر علي مردان	Not known (Bangladesh) Private collection Mr. Ifekhar Alam, Dhaka, Unpublished	Plate

54		(Gaud)	Silver 10.88 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as above	Same as No. 53 but al muazzam is written as 1 st mim is missing	Deyell, Living without Silver, p. 364. Coin no. 298
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Ghiyasuddin Iwad 616-624/1219-1227

55	B1	NR (but Gaud) 616	Silver .75" 161 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle Kalima لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Margin: ضرب هذه السكة في شهور سنة ست عشرين وستماية	In a circle السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين ناصر امير المؤمنين	Ref. Thomas ICB. II, JASB, 1873, p. 354, coin No. 4, (Also Dated 617, Ibid, No. 5)	
56	B2	NR (but Gaud) 617	Silver 0.8" 169 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين Margin: ضرب هذه السكة في شهور سنة سبع عشرة و ستمماية	In a dotted circle السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابر الفتح عوض بن الحسين ناصر امير المؤمنين و ولي عهده علا الحق والدين	Ref. Thomas ICB. II, JASB, 1873, p. 356 coin No. 6.	
57		NR (but Gaud) Rabi II 617		Round Tanka	Same as No. 56 but margin. ضرب هذه السكة في ربيع الآخر سنة سبع ستمماية	Same as No. 56	Ibid coin No. 6a	Plate
58	B3	NR (but Gaud) 20 th of	Silver 0.9" 169 grains	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 56 but margin: في التاريخ العشرين من شهر	In a dotted circle غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح عو	Ibid, p. 357 coin No. 7, Thomas read we have followed the	

		Rabi II 620			ربيع الاخر سنة عشرين وستماية	ض بن الحسين قسيم امير المومنين سلطان السلاطين معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر على شير امير المومنين	reading of Z:A. Desai. E.I, A&P Supplement, 1975 pp. 7-8. BMC, p. 9 coin No. 1 (pl)	Plate
59	B3(a)	NR (but Gaud) 620	Silver 1.2 163 grains	Round Tanka	Same as No. 58	Same as No. 58 but in addition with ملكه at the end. And Lane Poole read 'Mu'iz' as نور Nur instead of (Sher) شير Burhan برهان		
60	B4	NR (but Gaud) 622	Silver 31 mm 10.70 gram	Round 1Tanka	In a double circle, the outer one is dotted. Same as No. 56, but Margin: بتاريخ العشرين... سنة اثنى عشرين وستماية	In a dotted circle السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا الدين ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين قسيم امير المومنين والسلطان السلاطين معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر على شير بن عوض ناصر امير المومنين	SCA. Plate No. 39, coin No. 671 Most interesting is that the coin mentioned the على شير بن عوض Sher.	Plate

Mughisuddin Yuzbak 652-655/1254-1257

61	B1	Nudiya 652	Silver	Round 1Tanka	In a circle السلطان الاعظم مغيث الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح يوزبك السلطان ناصر امير المومنين	In double square within circle في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المومنين Margin: ضرب نوديا في شهور سنة اثنى و خمس مائة وستماية	JNSI. XLV (1983) p. 180, Plate IX, 2 (Photograph) only Single coin known	Plate
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62	B2	Lakhnauti (Ramadan) 653	Silver 30 mm 10.42 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In double square within a circle, Scroll work on the segments السلطان الاعظم مغيث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر يوزيك السلطان	Same as No. 61, but Margin: هذا الضرب لكهنوتى من خراج ازمردين و نوڊيا في رمضان سنة ثلث و خمسين و ستمائة	SCA pl. 41, No. 709 JNSI. XLI, 1979 p. 137. <i>min kharaj i</i> <i>Az Mardan wa Nudia</i>
63		Lakhnauti 654	Silver 28 mm 9.20 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 61	Same as No. 61, but Margin: في شهور سنة اربع و خمسين وستمائة	SCA pl. 41, No. 710 JNSI. XLV (1983) pl. IX, No. 3
64		Lakhnauti 655	Silver 28 mm 10.1 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 61	Same as No. 61, but margin ends with في شهور سنة خمس و و خمسين و ستمائة	SCA pl. 41, coin No. 711, with the date 655, Single piece known.
Mu'izudduin Tughril 678-681/1279-1281							
65	B1	Lakhnauti 678	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a square within circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين Margin: لكهنوتى سنة ثمان و سبعين و ستمائة	In double square within circle السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر طغرل السلطان	In the collection of Deptt. of Archaeology, Govt. of Bangladesh, two coins, one is dated, 678. Adi Parva, one coin, p.236, no. 4.
Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra 686-689/1287-1290							
66	B1	Hadrat Lakhnauti	Silver 24 mm	Round Tanka	In double square within circle, small circles on	In double square within circle	ND. XII-XIII 1988-89

686		11.04 gram	four segments	الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين	pp. 91-93
				Margin: ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت لكهوتى من خراج بنك سنة سنة و ثمانين وستماية	
67				Same as No. 66, but date سنة سبع وثمانين وستماية	Private collection, Mr. Ishaq Imam & Mr. Iftekhar Alam, Dhaka, each one coin.
68				Same as No. 66, but date سنة ثمان وثمانين وستماية	Private collection Mr. Iftekhar Alam, Dhaka,
Jalaluddin Mahmud 687-688/1288-1289					
69	B1			Same as No. 66, but Margin: ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت لكهوتى من خراج بنك سنة سنة ثمانين وستماية	Not known SCA, coin No. 720, p. 46, pl. 42 ND, XII-XIII 1988-89, pp. 83-90 Also SCA No. 722, pl. 42, dt. 686, wt. 10.98, measurement- 29 mm
				السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود السلطان بن السلطان	
70	B1			Same as No. 66, but the date is سبع ثمانين	Private collections, Dhaka. Mr. Mozammel Haque Also Mr. Iftekhar Alam
				السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود السلطان بن السلطان	
				Same as No. 69	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 28 mm 11.01 gram	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 686	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 24 mm 11. gram	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 687	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 28mm NA	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 688	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 24 mm 11. gram	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 687	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 28 mm 11.01 gram	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 686	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 24 mm 11. gram	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 687	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 28mm NA	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 688	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 24 mm 11. gram	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 687	
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				Silver 28mm NA	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 688	
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				Silver 28mm NA	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 688	
				Round 1 Tanka	
				Silver 24 mm 11. gram	
				Hadrat Lakhnauti 6	

Ruknuddin Kaikaus 689-699/1290-1299

71	A1	-	Gold .85 mm .94gram	Round Fractional	In circle كيكائوس	In circle ابن السلطان	VRM, No. 5199, Muslim Amole Banglar Tankshal Nagari, p. 77a, pl. no. 1.	
72	B1	Hadrat Lakhnauti 689	Silver 28 mm 10.91 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In double square within a circle السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر كيكائوس السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان	In double square within a circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرة لكهنوتى من خراج بنك سنة تسع وثمانين وستمائة	Sylhet, BNM Acc. No. 83.861	min kharaj i Bang. Plate
73	B1	Hadrat Lanknanti 689	Silver 30 mm 10.83 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 72	Same as No. 72, but Fatah above الامام of	BNM 83.894	min kharaj i Bang
74	B1	Hadrat Lakhnauti 690	Silver 29 mm 11.00 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 72.	Same as No. 72, but date سنة تسعين وستمائة	BNM 83.929	min kharaj i Bang
75	B1	Hadrat Lakhnauti 698	Silver 29 mm 10.84 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 72	Same as No. 72, but Margin: ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرة لكهنوتى سنة ثمان وتسعين وستمائة	BNM 83.882	

76	B1	Hadrat Lakhnauti	Silver 28 mm 10.87 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No.72.	Same as No. 72, but date سنة تسع وتسعين وستماية	BNM 83.884	Plate
Shamsuddin Daulat Shah 6--/12--								
77	B1	NA NA 6 ??	Silver 28 mm 11 grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a square السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر دولت شاه السلطان	In double square within a circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه الفضة... سنة مائة	JNSI, XL, 1979 pp. 130-31, only one coin known	Uncertain attribution.
Shamsuddin Firuz 700-722/1301-1322								
78	A1	NM ND	Silver 0.95" 170 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In double square السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان	In double square within circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين	IMC, II, p.147 coin No. 9	
79	B1	Hadrat Lakhnauti 700	Silver -- 10.75 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In double square السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان	In double square within a circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت لكهنوتى سنة سبعماية	Stan Goron ND. IX (1985) Parts I+II pp. 101-102	Hadrat Lakhnau ti Plate

80	B1	Khitta Lakhnauti 716	Silver 28 mm 10.8grams	Round Tanka	Same as No. 79	Same as No. 79, but Margin: ضرب هذا الفضة بحظرة لکهنوتی سنة ستة عشر وسبعماية	BNM, Acc.no.70.513 Also-715 (70.522) 712 (70.743)	Khitta Lakhnau ti
81	B1	Hadrat Sunargaon 705/715 ?	Silver 1.06" 168.9 grain	Round 1Tanka	Same as No. 79, As above	Same as No. 79, but Margin: بحضرت سنارکانو سنة خمس عشر/عشرين وسبعماية	Purinda Dhaka 1/12 Suppl. Shillong Catalogue pp. 100-101	
82	B1	Hadrat Banga [70]5	Silver 1.05" 168.5 grain	Round 1Tanka	Same as No. 79.	Same as No. 79, but Margin: بحضرت بنک سنة خمس	Rupaibari, Nawgaon Assam, 1/13, Suppl. Shillong Catalogue, (pl. I, No.1) pp. 102-103	
83	B1	Khitta Firuzabad	Silver 28mm 10.7grams	Round 1Tanka	Same as No. 79	Same as No. 79, but Margin: ضرب هذا الفضة بخطه فیروز (آباد)	BNM Acc. No. , 72. 152	

Shihabuddin Bughdah Shah 717-718/1317-1318

84	B1	Khittah Lakhnauti ND	Silver 27 mm 10.8grams	Round 1Tanka	In double square within a circle السلطان الاعظم شهاب الدنيا الدين ابو المظفر بغده شاه السلطان بن السلطان	In double square within a circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين Margin: هذا الفضة بخطه لکهنوتی	BNM Acc. No. 70. 750 70. 748 70. 749 Corpus- Dated- 718 p. 31-32	
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85	B1	Khittah Lakhnauti 718	Silver 27 mm 10.8grams	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 84	Same as no. 84, but Margin سنة ضرب هذا الفضة بخطه لكهنوتى سنة ثمان عشرين وسبعماية	BNM Acc. No. 83.1096	Plate
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Sultan Jalaluddin Kirman Shah 719/1319

86	B1	Lakhnauti ND	Silver 28 mm 11 grams	Round 1 Tanka	In double square within a circle السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر كرم شاه السلطان	In a double square within a circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين	Numismatic Digest, Vol. II Part- II (1978) pp. 58-67	
87	B1	-- Lakhnauti 719	Silver 28 mm 11 grams	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 86	Same as No. 86, but الامام	Same as No. 86	Plate
Margin: ضرب هذه الفضة بخطه لكهنوتى								
Margin سنة تسع عشر ...								

Ghiyasuddin Bahadur 722-725/1322-1325 & 728-730/1328-1330

88	B1	Khitta Lakhnauti 710	Silver 1.06" 167.9 grain	Round 1 Tanka	In double square السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بهادر شاه السلطان بن سلطان	In double square within a circle الامام المستعصم امير المومنين	Enayatpur, Mymensingh Shillong Cabinat Assam, p. 140, No. 2	Struck during his reign as a joint
Margin								

ruler to
strike
coinsضرب هذه الفضة بخطه
لكهنوتي سنة عشر و سبعماية

89	Sonargaon 717	Silver 27mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 88	Same as No. 88, but Margin ضرب هذه الفضة سناركانو سنة سبع عشر وسبعماية	BNM.Acc.no. 89.1676; Acc.no. 70.512(Shahr Lakhnauti, dt.721) 89.1676		
90	Khitta Lakhnauti 721	Silver 27 mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 88	Same as No. 88, but Margin ضرب هذه الفضة بخطه لكهنوتي سنة احدى عشر وسبعماية			
91	Qasbah Ghiyaspur 722	Silver 1.06 " 167.9grains	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 88	Same as No. 88, but Margin ضرب هذه السكه قصبه غياثور صفر سنة اثني عشرين وسبعماية	Enayatpur, Mymensingh, Shillong, Cat, Assam p. 140, No. 1	Indepen dent Coins	
92	Khitta Lakhnauti 723	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 88	Same as No. 88, but Margin بخطه لكهنوتي سنة ثلث وعشرين و سبعماية	Also dated 722, Same mint Stapleton (NS. XVII) JASB, 1922, p. 428	Indepen dent Coins Plate	
93	Quasbah Ghiyaspur 730	Silver 166 grains NA	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 88	Same as No. 88, but Margin: هذا السكه قصبه غياثور سنة ثلاثين	Col. Guthrie Chronicles, P. 201	Indepen dent Coins	

Fakhruddin Mubarak 737-750/1336-1349

Sl No	Type	Mint / Date	Metal Measure Weight	Shape & Denomi.	Obverse, design & Legend	Reverse design & Legend	Location Reference Provenance	Remarks
94	2 A1	3 Sonargaon 739	4 Gold .875 168.82 grains, 10.94grams 23mm.	5 Round Gold Tanka	6 In a square with pillet in each side. السلطان الاعظم فخر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر مبارکشاه	7 In a square within a circle يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين Margin: ...سنة تسع وثلاثين سيعماية	8 BNM Acc. No. 67.322	9 Plate
95	A2	NM ND	Gold 13 mm 2.7 grams	Round 1/4 Tanka	In a plain area فخر الدين والدنيا	In a plain area ابو المظفر مبارکشاه السلطان No margin.	Kawale collection, India Ref. Stan Coins of the Sultans I. Oriental Numismatic Society News Letters (henceforth ONS) No.147 (winter) 1996 P.12.	Crude and dumpy.
96	B1		Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In square within a circle, legend same as No.94.	In square within a circle. Same as No. 94, but Margin : illegible, mostly cut off the flan.	SCA No.744 Pl.44 Raigor, P.18, Type 180	

97	B1(a)		Silver 25 mm 10.86 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In a square within a circle with an annulet at the centre of each side, legend same as No.94	In a square within a circle with annulets at the centre of each side. Legend same as No.94, but margin illegible.	BNM, 98. 1799 Suppl. Shillong Coin No.2/39 (pp.118-19) Pl.1 No.3	
98	B1(b)	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 737	Silver 25 mm 10.70 grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a square within a circle with an annulet at the centre of each side. Same as No.94	In a circle. Same as No.94, but date 737 AH.	BNM Acc.no. 78.1839 (737)	Plate
99		738	Silver 25 mm 10.73 grams		Same as No.94, but ضرب هذا الدينار في حضرة جلال سناركانو سنة ثمان و ثلثين وسبعماية	81.413 (758) unpublished not found earlier		Plate
100	B1(c)	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 744	Silver 26 mm 10.85 grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle Same as No.94	In a circle Same as No.94 but margin. ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة جلال سناركانو سنة اربع واربعين وسبعماية	BNM Acc.no. 75.698	Plate
101	B2	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 744	Silver 26 mm 12.90 grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle same as No. 94	In a circle يمين الخليفة ناصر امير المؤمنين Margin : ضرب هذا السكة بحضرة جلال سناركانو سنة اربع واربعين و سبعماية	BNM 75.429	Plate

102	B2	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 750	Silver 25 mm 10.88 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 94	Same as No. 101, but date	BNM 81.403
Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah 750-753/1349-1352							
103	B1	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 750	Silver Wt. 167.9 grains 0.98" inch	Round 1 Tanka	In a lettered surface السلطان الاعظم اختيار الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر غازي شاه السلطان بن السلطان	In a circle يحيى الخليفة ناصر امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في حضرة جلال سناركانو سنة خمسين و سبعماية	Shillong Cat P.146 SCA, Pl.44, No.747
104		Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 753			Same as No. 103	Same as No. 103, but date ثلاث وخمسين	ICB, I, P.60 Pl. I, No.9.
105	B2 error coin	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 752			Same as No. 103	Same as No. 103 but the date اثني وخمسين	Mr. Ifekhar Alam Collection, Dhaka. Plate
Alauddin Ali Shah 741-744/1340-1343							
106	B1	Firuzabad 742	Silver 166.7 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In a square السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر علي شاه السلطان	In a square within circle سكنر الزمان المخصوص بغاية الرحمن ناصر امير المومنين	ICB, I, P. 58, Pl.2, No.8. Chronicles P.265 No. 221.

Margin:

ضرب هذا الفضة
السكة في البلد فيروز اباد سنة
اثنا اربعين وسبعماية

Same as No.106 but
سنة ثلث واربعين وسبعماية

IMC, P.150 No.22
BMC, P.14. No.15

Same as No. 106 but
the date

اربع واربعين

Mr. Mozammel Haq
Dhaka. Unpublished

Plate

In double square a
circle

الامام
المستعصم امير
المومنين

Suppl. IMC,II, P.43,
No. 21(Pl.)

B NM Acc. No.
93.399 (Pl.)

Margin:

هذه السكة في فيروز اباد سنة

Ilyas Shah 744-758/1343-1357

In square within double
circle, a pellet
on the left segment.

سكندر الثاني
يمين الخلافة
امير المومنين

Not known
(found in
Bangladesh)
Goenka Collection,
India. Unpublished

Plate

Margin:

هذا السكة.. فيروز اباد سنة
سبع اربعين وسبعماية

111	A2	Firuzabad ?	Gold .94 inch 166 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In a lettered surface السلطان العا (زي) شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المعطر الياس شاه السلطان	In square within a circle legend same as type A1 margin : illegible but mint هذا الفضة السكة في البلد فيروز سنة خمسين وسبعماية	IMC II, P.150, No.23(a) Cultural International in South Asia, P.165 coin No.12, ONS, No.147; <u>294</u>	Plate
112	A3		Gold 17 mm 5.5 grams	Round Half Tanka	In a plain area السلطان الغازي	In a circle شمس الدنيا والدين	Not known Kawale Collection, India. ONS, 147, Ibid, P.12	
113	B1	Firuzabad 744	Silver 26 mm 10.8 gram	Round Tanka	In a square within a circle السلطان الغازي شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المعطر الياس شاه السلطان	In a square within a circle سكندر الثاني يعين الخلافة امير المومنين Margin:	BNM Acc. No. 85.1696 10.08 gram/25mm 85.1752	Corpus E (but) In (Corpus مادد) Plate
114	B1	al Balad Firuzabad 747	Silver 26 mm 10.9 gram	Round Tanka	In a square Same as No.113	In square within a circle, a pellet in the left segment. Legend as No.113 Margin: السكة في البلد فيروز اباد سنة سبع اربعين وسبعماية	BNM 83.505	Same pillet also been found on the coin of Ali Shah.BN M 83.500

115	B2	al Balad Firuzabad 754	Silver 25 mm 10.73 gram	Round Tanka	In a lettered surface (or in a circle) Same as No.113	In a circle سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين Margin: هذا الفضة السكة في اليد فيروز اباد اربع وخسين وسبعماية	Sripur BNM 82.147	BNM 82.146 In square 10.75 25 mm
116	B2	al Balad Satgaon	26 mm 10.72 .98 164grains	Round Tanka	In a square within a circle. Same as No.113.	In a square within a circle. Same as No.115, but mint and date اليد سكتانو .. سبع اربعين	IMC, II P.152, No .33. Corpus type E	Plate الخارجي
117	B3	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon P.18. 754	Silver 26 mm 10.8 gram	Round Tanka	In a square within circle السلطان العادل شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المعظم الياس شاه السلطان Margin: ضرب هذا السكة بحضرت جلال سناكارانو سنة اربع خمسين وسبعماية	In a circle سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة امير المؤمنين Margin: اليد سكتانو .. سبع اربعين	BNM 81.433 Corpus type D but with	Plate
118	-	Shahar-i- Naw 757	10.86grams	Round Tanka	In Plain area Same as No.117	In a circle. Same as No.117, but بشهر نو سنة سبع وخسين وسبعماية	75.349 Corpus type A	

119	B3	Sonargaon 757	Silver 26 mm 10.51 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In double square within a circle. Same as No. 117.	Same as No.117 ناصر but after خلافة and date سنة سبع وخمسين وسبعماية	BNM Acc.no. 83.522 IMC type C but omitting Corpus type C	
120	B4	ND NM	Silver 20mm 5.34grams	Round Half Tanka	In plain area السلطان الغازي شمس الدنيا و الدين	In a circle المظفر الياس شاه السلطان	83.18.9 Corpus type F	Plate
121	B5	NM ND	Silver 15mm 2.73grams	Round Quarter Tanka	In plain area شمس الدنيا والدين	In a circle ابو المظفر الياس شاه	SCA, no.751.	
122	A1	Baldat Firuzabad -	Gold NA NA	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle شاه سكندر ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In a multifoil ناصر المومنين امير غوث الاسلام والمسلمين	Rajgor Type-220 P. 21	New for Corpus
Sikandar Shah 758-791/1357-1389								
123	A2	Baldat al mu'azzam Mu'azzam abad	Gold 26 mm NA	Rond	In a circle الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In an eightfoil يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام المسلمين خالد	Same as type A2 in ICB I, P.72 No.30 one coin Wt. 158 grains, size-.75 inch. Mint and date	
Margin: Top in a small circle (ابو بكر) anti- clockwise (الواثق (عمر) بتائيد (عثمان) الرحمن ابو (علي) المجاهد						Margin: ضرب هذه السكة في بلدة فيروز اباد سنة		

124	A3	NA NA	Gold 25 mm	Round 1 Tanka	Margin: arrangement of the names of the 4 Khalifas, Same as No. 122 but names cut off, seemed to be started from lower left الامام الاعظم وخليفة المعظم	Margin: خلافت بلدة المعظم معظما باد سنة	gone. Karim mentioned in Corpus as type E معتزلا باد سنة	Plate
125		NA NA	Gold 25 mm	Round 1 Tanka	In a lettered surface الامام الاعظم ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In a circle يعين خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله خلا فته	J.P Goenka collection India unpublished there is another coin of the same type in the Goenka collection and also unpublished	Corpus type D Plate
126		Obliterated	Not recorded		Same as No. 124	Same as No. 124	One coin published in JASB 1889 PP. 32-33 Pl. IV No. 5	Corpus type D
127		-	Gold 167 grains Size not recorded		Same as No. 124	Same as No. 124	JNSI XVI (1954) Pt. I P. 129 Pl. III. No. 6.	Corpus Type-D
127		-	Gold 25 mm 11.00 grams		Same as No. 124	Same as No. 124	One coin in the Kawale collection in India ONS 147(1996)p.12	Corpus Type-D

128	B1	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 758	Silver 164.5 grains 1 inch	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle	السلطان المعظم سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In a circle يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين Margin: ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة جلال سناركتو سنة ثمان وخمسين وسبعماية	IMC, No.63, P.156 Also dated 759 (IMC. No.64) Pl. P.156 759 (SCA, No.753) Pl.45.	Corpus Type I
129	B2	Chawlistan urf Arsah Kamru 759	Silver 29 mm 10.66	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle	المجاهد في سبيل الرحمن شاه سكندر ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In a circle same as No.128, but margin ضرب هذه السكة ملك جاوولستان عرف عرصه كامرو سنة تسع و خمسين وسبعماية	BNM (unpublished) Acc No. 81.440	Single coin known inIMC, No.38 Plate
130	B2(a)	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 759	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No.129		Same as No.129, but margin ضرب بحضرت جلال سناركتو سنة date same.	BNM Acc No.70.1178	Also IMC,II,N o.39,p.15 -3. Plate
131	B2(b)	Iqlim Mu'azzam abad 761	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 129		Same as No. 129, but margin ... اقليم معظم اباد سنة سنتين و سبعماية	BNM Acc No. 73.586,	Also BMC,no, 29,p.18. Plate
132	B3	Al-Balad Firuzabad 759	Silver 26 mm 10.40	Round Tanka	In a circle	شاه سكندر ايه الياس شاه السلطان	In a circle المجاهد في سبيل الرحمن Margin:	BNM Acc No. 66.121	Plate

133	B3(a)	Iqlim Mu'azzam abad ?	NA	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 132	ضرب هذه الفضة السكه في البلد فيروزباد سنة تسع وخمسين وسبعماية	Same as No. 132 but اقلیم معظم اباد Musazzamabad dt.? SCA No.752 Date off flan	Also of Iqlim Musazzamabad dt.? SCA No.752	Plate
134	B3(b)	Shahr Naw 763	NA	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 132	شهر نو ... و ستین وسبعماية	Same as No. 132, but margin: شهر نو ... و ستین وسبعماية	SCA No. 752, but letterings slightly different	Plate
135	B3(c)	Satgaon ?	25 mm 10.43	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 132	في سكتانو سنة...	Same as No. 132, but في سكتانو سنة...	BNM (unpublished) Acc. No. 81.459 dt. cut off.	Plate
136	B4	'Arsah Satgaon NA. on coin	Silver 23 mm	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle	ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه السلطان ابن السلطان	In a circle	BNM Acc. No. 83.556 Date cut off Corpus Type-C	Plate
137	B4(a)	Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon 758	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 136	ابو المجاهد شاه سكندر السلطان ابن السلطان	Margin: ...عرصه سكتانو.... Same as No. 136 but the legend in 3 lines,	BNM 84.2071	Plate

Margin: date

حصرت جلال سناركانو؟

ثمان وخمسين وسبعماية

138	B5	Hadrat Firuzabad 770	Silver 28 mm	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle الامام الاعظم ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In a circle يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله خلافته Margin: ضرب هذه السكه بحضور فيروز اباد سنة سبعين وسبعماية	SCA 757 (pl.45) Corpus-Type-D	Also dt 772&774 in BNM, Acc.no. 66.109,66 .124
139	B5 (a)	Iqlim Muazzama bad ?	Silver 30mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 138 but instead of (الامام)	Same as No. 138, but in 5 lines, last two lines الله خلا نته Margin: ضرب هذه الكه اقليم معظما باد سنة	BNM Acc.no.87.7378 Corpus ,Type D	Date illegible
140	B5(b)	Iqlim Muazzama bad ?	Silver 27mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 138, but arrangement differs الامام الاعظم ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	Same as No. 138 but last line only omitting اقليم معظما باد	SCA No.758 Pl.45 Corpus-D	

141	B5(c)	ND NM	Silver 27 mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 139	Same as No. 139 but, without date and mint	BNM 66.106
142	B6	Baldat al- mahrusah Firuzabad 782	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان Margin: Top within a small circle ابو بكر عثمان bottom left right in between / الاعظم / الامام الخليفة / المعظم	In an octofoiled area/multifoil with 8 arcs. يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلدت خلافته Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في بلدة المحروسه فيروز اباد سنة اثني وثمانين وسبعماية	SCA, No. 761(i) Corpus Type-E Also inBNM 783-786 &780 BNM .Acc.nos 70.1193,7 0.842,70. 918,70.83 5, &66.14 2,90.2159
143	B6(a)	Baldatul Mu'azzam Mu'azzam abad 781	Silver 29 mm 10.7grams	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 142	Same as No. 142, but margin ضرب هذه السكه المباركة في بلدة معظم معظم اباد سنة احدى ثمانين وسبعماية	BNM, Acc.no.70.82 9& 81.438 as Sikkatul mubarak tu
144	B6(b)	Baladat Firuzabad 784	Silver 29mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 142	Same as No. 142, but in a hexagon with loops and ضرب هذه السكه المباركة في بلدة فيروز اباد سنة اربع وثمانين وسبعماية	BNM 90.2159 as Sikkatul mubarak tu

145	B6(c)	Bi Hadrat Firuzabad ?	Silver 29mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No.142	Same as No.142, but in a hexagon, margin: ضرب هذه السكة بحضرت فيروز اباد سنة	SCA only one coin No. 763 Pl.45	only one coin known
146	B7	'Arsah Satgaon 787	27 mm 10.7mm	-	Within a quarterfoil in the centre, سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In a hexagonal star يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله خلافته	BNM.Acc.no.77.75 8,acc.no. 70.872 31mm) SCA. 760 Corpus, Type G.	Plate
147	B7 (a)	'Arsah Satgaon	Silver 30mm. 10.5grams	Round 1 Tanka	margin outside الامام (ابوبكر) العالم (عمر) اهداك دعتان (ابوهاذو دعتان)	Margin: Top r. ضرب هذه / السكة المباركة / في عرصه/سكانو سنة/ سبع وثمانين / وسبعماية	BNM.Acc.no. 90.2130 New for Corpus	Corpus Type
148	B8	Baladat Firuzabad 787	Silver 30mm	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In a hexagon, loops out side, creating 6 spaces. يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملكه	BNM.Acc.no.82.113 3 SCA. no. 764,pl.45	Plate
					Margin: الامام: (ابو بكر) الاعظم ل. اعظم ل. (عمر) Bottom l. الوافي عثمان بن عثمان f. الرحمن (مولى) بتاتير	Margin: ضرب هذه السكة المبارك في بلدة فيروز اباد سنة سبع وثمانين و سبعماية	Corpus Type H	

149	B9	Shahr-i-Naw 783	-	In an octagon	In an ornamental lozenge	BNM 90.2131 SCA, 759 Corpus Type F
				سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	يعين خليقة الله ناصر امير المومنين خلد ملكه	
				Margin: الوائق/(ابوبكر)/بتايد/(عمو)/ الرحمن ابو / (عثمان)/المجاهد	Margin: I segment. هذه السكه 2nd. " في عرصه شهر نو" 3rd " ثلاث وثمانين" 4th " وسبعماية"	
150	Fractional B10	Iqlim Mu'azzam abad ND	Silver 5.12 gram 21 mm	Round Half Tanka	In a circle	SCA No. 765 Also been struck from Firuzabad probably? Another of the same type published in SCA No. 766 wt. 4.96 gram 18 mm
				شاه سكندر ابن الياس شاه	السلطان ابن الياس شاه	Plate
151	B11	ND.NM	Silver 5.0 gram 18 mm	Round Half Tanka	In plain area	SCA, No. 767.
				السلطان المعظم	سكندر شاه السلطان	
152	B12	ND.NM	Silver 2.54 gram 15 mm	Round Quarter Tanka	In plain area	SCA No. 768
				شاه سكندر	ابن الياس شاه	Plate

153	B13	ND. NM	Silver 2.7 gram 15 mm	Round Quarter Tanka	In a circle	المجا هد	In a circle	سنيبل الرحمن	SCA, No. 769	
Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah 792-813/1390-1410										
154	A1	NM ND	Gold 25 mm 10.56grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a quarterfoil	غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظم شاه السلطان	In a circle	 غوٹ الاسلام والمسلمين خلد..	Comilla, Bangladesh BNM, Acc, No.86.2257	Hammerd reverse legend effaced Plate
155	A2	NM ND	Gold 23 mm 10.56grams	Round 1 Tanka	In plain surface	المويو بتائيد الرحمن غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظم شاه ابن سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	In plain area	يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين غوٹ الاسلام والمسلمين خلد الله ملكه	Kawale Collection ONS, 147 P,13 Rajgor (Type-237) p.22, wt. 10.7grams	
156	A3	NM ND	Gold 23 mm 10.9 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In a lettered surface Same as No.154,but اعظم شاه بن سكندر بن الياس شاه	In a lettered surface Same as No.155,but خلد خلافته			J.P. Goenka Collection, India.	
157	B1	Satgaon 793	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a square	المويو بتائيد الرحمن غياث الدنيا والدين	In an octagonal star	ناصر الاسلام و	IMC, Type-D Coin No. 74, 66.188	Bhattasali raised question

158	B1(a)	Jannatabad 790	Silver 28mm 10.7grams	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 157	In a circle same as No. 157, date not clear. Mint	المسلمين يحين امير المؤمنين	70.957	about the date,no coin with clear date
In segments:									
Margin: عثمان علي ابو بكر عمر									
159	B1(b)	'Arsah Satgaon 790	Silver 1.05" 163.87grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a square area having four mihrahs at four sides (Corpus, loops) Same as No. 157 In 4 mihrahs/loops names of the 4 Khalifahs ابو بكر - عمر - عثمان - علي	In a quarter foil/or quadri lobe Same as No. 157	ضرب هذه السكه في البلد معظم اباد في الثالث تسعين وسبعماية	BMC,p.24,no.53 BNM,Acc .no.87.6725 IMC ,no80,Type F BNM 72.43 (790 10.71 gram 30 mm	Plate
Margin: illegible but mint Satgaon (سكانو) ضرب هذه السكه في عمر ستان سنة تسعين وسبعماية									
160	B1(c)	Mu'azzam abad 790	Silver 27mm 10.6grams	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 159	In an octafoil. Same as No. 157, but معظم اباد سنة تسعين و سبعماية	المسلمين يحين امير المؤمنين	BMC No. 57 (Pl.III) Corpus Type F(a)	
161	B2	NM ND	Silver 27mm. 10.5gram	Round 1 Tanka	In a square Same as No. 157, but in the 4th line شاه سلطان بن شاه سكندر	In a square within circle	ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين امير المؤمنين خالد ملكه	SCA 773(b) Crude execution	
Margin: 4 Khalifas names in segments?									

162	B3	'Arsah Satgaon	Silver 0.85" 166grains	Round 1Tanka	In a circle سلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظمشاه السلطان Margin: في عرصه ستكانو	In a circle ابن الله نولته خلد الله ملكه IMC, II, no.84. Corpus Type H.
163	B4	Hazrat Firuzabad 793 ?	Silver 29mm 10.7grams	Round 1Tanka	In a circle غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظمشاه السلطان Margin: السلطان الاعظم المؤيد بن ناصر الملك العزيز In a circle ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه Also from Satgaon dt. not clear BNM 79,922, 70.1128 ND date of BNM Coin is 776, Plate, صلاه 795 A.H. Plate.	IMC, Type B Nos. 67& 68(Pl) Corpus Type-B Plate
164	B5	'Arsah Satgaon 813	Silver 29mm 10.4grams	Round 1Tanka	In a quadri foil with ogee curve غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظمشاه ابن سكندر شاه Margin: Top المؤيد Bottom بنانيد الملك المنان In a circle ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكة Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في عرصه ستكانو سنة ثلث وعشرو ثمانماية	InSuppl. IMC Type C no.95 pl.II Starts from top left.

165	B5	Sikandra bad 813	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 164	Same as No. 164 but the mint سكندر آباد سنة ٨١٣	BNM.Acc.no. 70.993	New mint Plate
166	B5(a)	Arsah Satgaon 812	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a quadri lobe same as No. 164 margin arrangement differs.	Same as No. 164, but date, ٨١٢	BNM.Acc.no. 66.200	
167	B6	Hadrat Firuzabad 793	Silver 1.15" 166.5 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In a quadri foil غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظمشاه ابن سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان Margin: as Type B-4	In a circle same as No. 164, but Margin: ضرب هذه مسكه في حضرت فيروز آباد سنة ثلث وتسعين وسبعماية	IMC, No.73 Type C	Bhattasali examined the coin, fix the date as 806
168	B7	Hadrat Firuzabad 812	Silver 29mm 10.5 grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a quadri lobe غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظمشاه ابن سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان Margin: الموید / بتا/نیر / الرحمن	In a square ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكة Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في حضرة الفيروز آباد سنة ٨١٢	BNM. Acc.no 66.220(dt812) BNM.Acc.no. 66.227, dt 813 IMC. Type-A No. 66 (Pl.) obv. margin not cited and date is not in words as in IMC	Almost same as Type B4 but obv. marginal legend differs and rev. design Plate
169	B8	-	Silver 28 mm 10.6mm	Round 1 Tanka	In a quadri lobe غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظمشاه بن سكندر شاه	In an octagonal star يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين	BNM, 66.194	Corpus Type K but khullida

mulkuhu.

				ابن الياس شاه السلطان	غوث الاسلام خلة خلافته	Margin: illegible	Suppl. IMC. Type F No. 104 (P.52)
170	B9	-	Silver 1.02" 160grains	In a circle	In a circle	In a circle	IMC II, P. 159 Coin no. 85 (not illustrated)
				غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظم شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان	الاسام يمين الخليفة ناصر غوث الاسلام والمسلمين		
171	B10	-	Silver 0.97" 162grains	In a circle or plain	In a multifoil	In a multifoil	IMC II, P. 159 Coin No. 86 (not illustrated) Corpus Type I
				المريد بتاتير الرحمن غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظم شاه ابن سكندر شاه السلطان	legend not given in IMC		
172	B11	NM ND	Silver 2.56 gram 17 mm	In a circle	In a circle	In a circle	Two coins in SCA. Pl.46 No. 776 & 777
				غياث الدنيا و الدين	ابو المظفر اعظم شاه السلطان		
173	B12	NM ND	Silver 2.20 gram 15 mm	In plain are	In plain area	In plain area	SCA, Pl.46, No.778 Plate
				شاه اعظم بن سكندر	ابن الياس شاه السلطان		
174	B13	NM ND	Silver 1.26 gram 10 mm	In plain ? area	In plain area	In plain area	SCA, Pl.46 No. 779
				مظفر اعظم	خلة الله خلافته		Plate

Saifuddin Hamzah 813-815/1410-1412									
175	B1	Hadrat Firuzabad 813	Silver 1.22" 165grains	Round 1 Tanka	In multifoil الدينيا و الدين ابو المجاهد حمزة شاه بن اعظم شاه بن سكرتير شاه بن الياس شاه السلطان	In a quarter foil with concave sides ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكة	IMC. P.160 Coin No.88, P.160 but date 814. Corpus A Plate Photo Shoa. S. Deyell.		
					Margin: Top ضرب هذه left السكه في below حضرة فيروز اباد right سنة ٨١٣				
176	B1(a)	Iqlim Muazzama bad -	Silver 1.05" 166grains	Round 1 Tanka	Same as no.175	In a circle Same as no.175 but margin: اقليم السكه في اقليم معظم اباد سنة	Suppl. IMC.II, p.53 no.111 Corpus-C		
177	B1(b)	Baldatul Mahrusah Firuzabad 813	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In multifoil within circle Same as no. 175	In quarter foil with concave sides Same as no.175 Margin: Top ضرب هذه السكه Left في بلدة المحروسه Bottom الفيروز اباد Right سنة ٨١٣	SCA Pl. 46. Coin No. 781		
178	B1(c)	Satgaon 814	Silver 1.1" 163.8grains	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle/plain area Same as No. 175	In a circle Same as No. 175 ضرب هذه السكه.. متكاو سنة اربع عشر وثمانماية Margin:	Suppl. IMC, P.54, No.113 (Type E) Corpus Type-E		

179	B2	-	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a square	سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد حمزة شاه بن اعظم شاه السلطان Margin: المريد/ بتا/ نيد/ الرحمن	In a circle	Same as No.175 but margin: .. سنة.. ضرب هذه السكه.. سنة..	Corpus Type B, P.67	
180	B3	-	Silver 1.1" 159.5 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In lettered surface	المريد بتا نيد الرحمن سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد حمزة شاه ابن اعظم شاه السلطان	In a circle	ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين يمين امير المؤمنين	Suppl.IMC.II, p.55 No.116 Type G	Date not clear
181	B4	NM ND	Silver 1.05 inch 163.5 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In plain area	الامام الاعظم البائل سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد حمزه شاه السلطان	In plain area	يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين سلطان السلطين اسكندر الثاني خلد خلافته	Suppl. IMC, P.54, No.115, Pl.III (Type F) reading is ours.	No. margin or date and mint Plate
182	B5	Muazzama bad 815	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a plain area	سيف الدنيا والدين المجاهد في سبيل الرحمن خليفة العهد والزمان حمزة شاه السلطان	In a hexagon	يمين الخلافت ناصر امير المؤمنين سلطان السلطين اسكندر الثاني خلد خلافته	Biyani Bazar, Sylhet, Private Collection in Dhaka. [Aithy a: Sylhet] ^{Shyhet} ^{History and Heritage} 1.677.	Plate

Margin: First three
segments are illegible,
4th باد سنة 5th معظما
٨١٥

183	B6	NM ND	Silver 20mm 5.12 grams	Round Half Tanka	In an octagonal star سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد حمزه شاه السلطان	In a circle ناصر امير المومنين	Not known SCA Pl.47 Coin No.785	Half Tanka Plate
184	B7	NM ND	Silver 12 mm 1.25 grams	Round One-eighth Tanka	In a plain area حمزه شاه	In a plain area السلطان ابن اعظمشاه	Not known SCA Pl.47 Coin No.786	
Bayazid Shah 815-817/1412-1414								
Sl No	Type	Mint / Date	Metal Measure Weight	Shape & Denomi.	Obverse, design & Legend	Reverse design & Legend	Location Referece Provenance	Remarks
185	2 B1	3 Hadrat Firuzabad 815	4 Silver 30 mm 10.7grams	5 Round 1 Tanka	6 In plain area الموید بتائید الرحمن شهاب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بايزيد شاه السلطان	7 In a circle ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام المسلمين خلد ملكه Margin: ضرب هذه السكة في حضرت فيروز اباد سنة خمس و ثمانماية	8 BNM Acc. No.89.516 80.1045	9 With the same design also found from Muazzam abad mint. Also with different lettering

186	B1(a)	NM 817	Silver 30 mm 10.6grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle legend as no. 185 , but in four lines	In a square within circle Same as no. 185, but margin: Top شعبان Left: سنة سبع Bottom: عشر Right: وثمانماية	BNM 70.865	Plate
187	B2	Firuzabad 816	Silver 31 mm 10.5grams	Round 1 Tanka	In multifoil المويو بتائيد الرحمن شهاب الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بايزيد شاه السلطان	In an inverted scallop of eight arcs within circle ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين Margin: in eight curves (١) ابو بكر (٢) ضرب (٣) عمر (٤) فيروز (٥) عثمان (٦) اباد سنة (٧) على (٨) ٨١٦	BNM Tangail hoard	
188	B3	- 816	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a hexagon شهاد الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بايزيد شاه السلطان Margin outside the hexagon starting from top right. ١. السلطان ٢. الاعظم ٣. المويو ٤. بتائير ٥. الملك ٦. الرحمن	In a circle same as No.185 but omitting the end line. خلد ملكه Margin: ضرب هذه السكه.... سنة ٨١٦	BNM 90.2287 Tangail Loard Plate	This type and design alsofound from 'Arsah Satgaon & Satgaon with different design

189	B4	Firuzabad 817	Silver 32, 31 10.7grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a multifoil شهاب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بايزيد شاه السلطان	In an inverted scallop of eight arcs within a circle, Legend and ناصر امير المومنين غوٹ الاسلام والمسلمين Margin same as No.187 but date is 817. ١. ابو بكر ٢. ضرب ٣. عمر ٤. فيروز ٥. عثمان ٦. اباد ٧. علي ٨. ٨١٧	BNM 89.508 89.510	Plate
190	B5	Firuzabad 815	-	Round 1 Tanka	In multifoil, legend Same as No. 185	In a circle, same as No.185 but in last line ناصر امير المومنين غوٹ الاسلام والمسلمين خلدت خلافت dated 815.	Suppl. IMC II, P.57, Coin No.127.	
191	B6	NM ND	Silver 26 mm 4.94 grams	Round Half Tanka	In a plain area شهاب الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد بايزيد شاه السلطان	In a circle ناصر امير المومنين خلد ملكه	SCA, P.47 No. 790.	
192	B 1	-	Silver 29 mm	Round 1 Tanka	'Ala uddin Firuz bin Bayazid Shah 817/1414 In a circle with vertical lines outside (In a rayed circle) علا الدنيا و		In an eight inverted scallop of eight arcs ناصر امير المومنين غوٹ الاسلام	BNM 90.2339

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196	(II)	Pandu Nagar 1339	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a rayed circle with four half circles on four sides of the margin same as No. 195 but last line only নগর not দেবস JPASB, XXVI 1930 Pl. 2. No.1	Same as No. 195 but there are four small half circle with a dot on four sides, which may be the moon. JPASB, XXVI 1930 Pl. 1 No.1	JPASB [NS XXVI, 1930] Pl. 1 and 2 Coin No.1 Also in Coins and Chronology, pp 119- 20, coin no.4.
197	(iii)	Suvana Gram 1339 (Saka)	Silver 1.20" 153.4 grains	Round 1 Tanka	Same as 196 তস	Same as No. 195 Top Segment সুবর্ণ Right Segment illegible Bottom Segment শকাব্দ Left Segment ১৩৩৯	Coins and Chronology PP. 118-119, coin no.2.
198	B1(iv)	-	Silver 27 mm	-	In a circle Same as No 195 but in a smaller flan.	In a circle Same as No. 195 Margin: illegible but probably সুবর্ণগ্রাম partly off the flan	JPASB [NS XXVI 1930] Pl. 1 & 2 No. 4 The last two letters of both obv. & rev. are same.
199	(v)	-	-	-	In double hexagon with circle legend as No. 198	In a scalloped circle Same as No. 195 Margin: circular legend চাণ্ডিগ্রামত - ১৩৩৯	Ketun, Raipara, Dhaka. Coins and Chronology Pl. 19. No. 3 Plate ১৩৩৯

Mahendra 820/1417 (1340 Saka)								
200	B1	Pandu Nagar 1340 Saka	Silver 1.17 inch 166 grains	Round 1 Tanka	In a scalloped circle within a circle, a dot in each angle between two scallop শ্রী শ্রীম নরেন্দ্র দেবস্য	In a square within a circle, a at on four sides inside the circle শ্রী চক্ৰী চরণ প রায়ণ Margin: Top segment পাছন, Right গরাত, Bottom শকাব্দ Left [1]340	Ketun, Dhaka Coins and Chronology P. 122	
201	-	Chatigram 1340 (Saka)	Silver NA -	Round 1 Tanka	In square within circle, double half circles on four segments within circle legend same as no. 200	In double square within circle legend same as no. 200 but margin: Top শকাব্দ Right ১৩৪০ Bottom চাটিগ্রা Left মাত	Numismatic Suppl. XXVI; 1930 (JPASB) Pl. 1 & 2 Coin no. 9	
Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah 818-819 & 821-836/1415-1433								
202	A1	Firuzabad 821	Gold 24 mm NA	Round 1 Tanka	In multifoil/Scalloped circle جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	In a square within a circle ناصر الاسلام والسليمين خلد ملكه Margin: Top ضرب هذه Left: illegible Bottom: فيروز اباد Right: ٨٢١	Not known J.P. Goenka collection Calcutta, India unpublished	Plate
203	A2	NM ND	Gold 1 inch (26 mm)	Round 1 Tanka	In plain surface in Tughra character جلال الدنيا والدين	In plain area in Tughra character خليفة الله ناصر الاسلام	Not known British Museum BMC. P.34 Coin no. 81 Pl.	In BMC the legend is

208	A7	NM ND	Not given	Round 1 Tanka	In plain area legend in crude letterings جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	In plain area ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه	Not known. Rajgor, P.26 Type 301(Singapore 302).
209	B1	NM ND	Silver NA	Round 1 Tanka	In multifoil السلطان العادل جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	In reverted multifoil of eight arcs within a circle ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين	Dhaka Private collection Plate
210	B1 (a)	NM 818	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	Same as 209	Margin: From 1 segments (1) ابو بكر (2) صديق (3) عمر (4) خطاب (5) عثمان (6) عفان (7) علي (8) مرتضى Same as 209 but the segments are 1. سنة 2. ابو بكر 3. عثمان 4. عمر 5. عثمان 6. عمر 7. علي 8. وثناماية	-
211	B1(b)	NM .818 Rabi-I	Silver 30 mm 10.23 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In multifoil Same as No.209 but legend in 4 lines. السلطان العادل جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	Same as no. 209 but the legends in the segments starts from 1 عمر 2. ربيع الاول عثمان 3. سنة عثمان عمر 5. عثمان ابو بكر 8. وثناماية	Tangail, BNM, Acc. No. 90.2350, 90.2351 Plate

212	B2	Firuzabad 81-?	Silver 32 mm 10.59 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle legend as Type B1 but المجاهد at the beginning of line four instead of المظفر	In a square within another square, lewend Same as No.209 but arrangement differs ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين Margin: in the four corner triangular segments Top left, فيروز اباد Lower left ثمان Lower right عشر Top right ثمانماية In quarterfoil	BNM. Acc.no.90.2353 Tangail hoard.	Plate
213	B3	A1 Firuzabad 818	Silver 30 mm 10.5gram	Round 1 Tanka	In a scalloped circle جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه Margin: from top right anti clock wise ضرب هذه/ السكة في/ الفيروز اباد/ سنة ٨١٨	- BNM, Acc. no. 89.519 Also dated 819, mint is same, BNM (Acc.no.89.520)	
214	B3	Jannatabad 819	Silver 32 mm 10.6grams	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No.213	Same as No.213 but the mint is جنة باد ٨١٩	BNM, No. 89.521	Plate
215	B3 (a)	illegible 819	Silver 28 mm 10.06 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In circle, Same as No. 213	In circle Same as No. 213 Margin: illegible but date	BNM 90.2354 Tangail hoard	

216	-	Iqlim Muazzama bad 82-?	Silver NR	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle Same as No. 213	In a circle Same as No. 213 but the mint is ضرب هذه السكه في اقليم معظم آباد ۷۲	SCA. No. 796
217	B3(b)	Hadrat Firuzabad 821	Silver 30 mm NA	Round 1 Tanka	In scalloped circle made by eight arcs. Legend same as No. 213.	In a circle Same as No. 213 but Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في حضر فيروز آباد سنة ۸۲۱	Jhon S. Deyell collection, Canada
218	B3(c)	Dakhil Banjaliyah 831	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 213 in Tughra character	Same as No. 213, but ضرب هذه السكه في داخل بنجلية ۸۳۱	SCA, no. 799 BNM Acc. No. 90.2375
219	(d)	NM ND	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In lettered surface or in a circle same as no. 213	In square within a circle same as no. 213 no mint or date	BNM Tangail board.
220	B4	Disappeare d 81?	Silver 32 mm 10.22	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle Same as no. 213	In a square within a circle. Same as the reverse of no. 209 with an addition of خالد ملكه Margin: عشر وثمانماية unit digit disappeared	BNM. Acc. no 90.2356 Tangail board
221	B4	Dakhil Banjaliyah	Silver 30mm	Round 1 Tanka	In a scallop within a circle	In a square within a circle same as no. 220	SCA No. 797

834		10.7grams	Same as No.213	Margin: Starts from Right ضرب هذه Top سكه في Left داخل بنجلية Bottom ٨٣٢			
222	B5	Mu'azzam abad	Silver 25mm 10.5grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle سبيل الرحمن المجاهد في جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	BNM 90.2372 SCA, No. 798.	Plate
223	B6	Dakhil Banjaliyah	Silver 28mm 10.6grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في داخل بنجلية سنة ٨٢١	In Tughra Character جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	BNM, 90.2375 Plate
224	B7	'Arsah Chatgaon 827	Silver 30 mm	Round 1 Tanka	Same as No. 223 Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في عرصه جتكانو سنة سبع وعشرين وثمانماية	In a lettered surface in Tughra Character الموید بتائید الرحمن جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	BNM 74.199 SCA, No. 804

225	B8	NM 834	Silver NA	Round 1 Tanka	Same as no. 223's reverse in Tughra character	In a small circle in the centre Surrounded by a broad circle of arabesque. Date below Same as no. 225 date also the same i.e.	Biyani Bazar hoard, Sylhet, Private collection, Dr. Ishaq Imam, Dhaka.		
226	B9	NM 834	Silver NA	Eight Petalled 1 Tanka	Same as no. 225 in Tughra character		Private collection Mr. Iftekhar Alam, Dhaka. Unpub lished.	Plate	
227	B10	'Arsah Chatgaon 831	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle/lettered surface in Tughra Character same as no. 225	In a circle/lettered surface in Tughra character خليفة الله ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين في عرصه جتكانو ٨٣١	BNM. Acc.no. 90.2376		
228	B10	Dakhil Banjaliyah 832	Silver 10.6 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Tughra character in a circle Same as no. 225	Tughra character in a circle Same as no. 227 but on left flank داخل right flank بنجلية ٨٣١	BNM 90.2363	Plate	Sametype misread by Blochman, cf. JAS B, 1874, p. 294
229	B10	Muazzama bad ?	Silver 10.5grams	Round 1 Tanka	Tughra character Same as no. 225	Tughra character same as no. 227 but mint معظماباد date illegible	BNM 90.2379		

230	B11	'Arsha Chatgaon 836	Silver 31 mm 10.08 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In circle Same as no. 225	In a circle in Tughra Character خليفة الله في الارضين ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين Margin: ضرب هذه السكة في عرصه جتكانو سنة ٨٣٦ this circular legend enclosed by another circle	BNM 90.2388	Plate
231	B12	NM ND	Silver	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle decorated with triangular rays and dot in each triangle. جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان	In a multifoil stylized lion to right and a line of Arabic legend above lion نر كسر ايتار	SCA, Pl. 48 coin no. 795	
232	B 12 (a)	NM ND	Silver 31 mm 11.61 gram	Round 1 Tanka	Same as no. 231	Same as no. 231 but the lion to left and the legend in two lines above the lion نر كسر ايتار	J.P. Goenka collection in India.	Plate
233	B13	NM ND	Silver NA NA	Hexagon 1 Tanka	In a hexagonal multifoil Same as no. 231	In a hexagon Same as No.231 and the legend above the lion	Rajgor P. 25 Type 282	

234	B14	NM ND	Silver 21.44 gram	Round 2 Tanka	Same as no. 231	Same as no. 231	Akhirpara Nawgaon private collection 1 in Bangladesh Dr. Ishaq Imam, 1 in India, 1 in Canada rest two's location unknown
235	B15	Al Firuzabad 824	Silver 67 mm 105 grams	Round 10 Tanka	In a square within a circle in Tughra character Same as No. 223 جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان Margin: Top هذه ضرب السكة Left العنقية في الفير Bottom وزاياد سنة اربع و Right عشرين و ثمانماية	In a circle, a figure of a lion facing right with its left paw raised, legend above the lion نركسر اوتار	At present in a private collection in Bombay India, (Published) JNSI, xxxviii, 1976, PP. 88-95.
236	B16	NM ND	Silver 22 mm 5.41 grams	Round Half Tanka	In a decorative circle جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر	In a decorative circle محمد شاه السلطان خلد ملكه	SCA, Pl. 49 Coin no. 810
237	B17	NM ND	Silver 12 mm 1.24 grams	Round 1/8 Tanka	In plain area ابو المظفر محمد شاه	In lettered surface السلطان ملكه وسلطانه	SCA Pl. 49 Coin No. 811

Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah 836 837/1433-1434										
238	A1	Firuzabad 837	Gold -	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle	شمس الدنيا والدين احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه السلطان	In a circle	ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين	Not known Private collection J.P. Goenka Calcutta India, unpublished	Plate
						السلطان	Margin:	ضرب هذه السكة في فيروز اباد سنة ٨٣٧		
239	B1	Dakhil Banjaliyah 836	Silver 28 mm 10.71 gram	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	In a decorative circle almost cut off	السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين المجاهد احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه السلطان	SCA, Pl. 49, Coin no. 817	
					Margin:	ضرب هذه السكة في داخل بنجلية سنة ٨٣٦.				
240	B2	Mint cut off 836	Silver NA NA	Round 1 Tanka	In lettered surface. Same as no. 239 reverse		In a circle	ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكة	Private collection Dr. Ishaq Imam, Dhaka. un published	
							Margin:	ضرب... سنة ٨٣٦		
241	B3	836 (retrograded)	Silver 10.6grams	Round 1 Tanka	In lettered surface	بتائيد الديان شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد (احمد) شاه ابن محمد شاه السلطان	In a circle	ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكة	BNM No. 90.2511	'Alif of Ahmad is missing
							Margin:	cut off the flan except on top سنة ٢٣٨ (٨٣٦)		Plate

242	B3	'Arsah Chatgaon 836	Silver 31mm 10.5grams	Round 1 Tanka	In a circle الموید بنائیر الديان شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر احمد شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان	In a circle ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد الله	Biyani Bazarboard Private collection Dr. Ishaq Imam, Dhaka.
243		NM ND (Crude Type)	Silver	-	Same as no. 242	Margin: ضرب هذه السكة في عرصه چنگانو سنة ۸۳۶	
					Same as no. 242	Margin: Cut off.	
Ghiyasuddin Nusrat Shah 837/1434							
SI No	Type	Mint / Date	Metal Measure Weight	Shape & Denomi.	Obverse, design & Legend	Reverse design & Legend	Location Referece Provenance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
244	31	Al- Firuzabad 877	Silver 10.6 gram 26 mm	Round 1 tanka	In scalloped circle غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد نصره شاه سلطان	In scloped circle in the centre	1st published in Itihas journal of the Bangladesh Itihas Parisad vol. 29, P.1- 3, 1402 B.S. بائش المستعین والمستعان BMM Acc. No. 72.74.
					Note: A new name in the list of the Sultans of Bengal and has been identified with the slave	Margin: ضرب هذا السكة (في)	Plate

					of Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah, who succeed live in 837, named Nasir Khan	الفيروز ٨٣٧ بار		
245	-	Iqlim Muazzama bad 837	Silver 10.74 gram 25 mm	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 244, but the name Nusrat Partially off the flan	Same as No. 244 but greater part of the margin has been effaced the date is inscribed as retrograded the mint seems to be	Purchased in Dhaka It is said that the coin came from the northern part of Bangladesh	Plate
اقليم معظمًا باد								
Nasiruddin Mahmud 837-863/1434-1459								
246	A1	-	Gold 10.72 gram 21 mm	Round 1 tanka	In lettered surface السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان	In a circle الموید بتائید الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجت والبرهان	ONS-148 P.20. No.13	
247	A2 Var.(1)	-	Gold 10.8 gram 18 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان	Margin: illegible In lettered surface Same as No. 246	Private collection in India J.P. Goenka	Plate
248	A2 Var.(2)	-	10.97 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه سلطان	No mint, no date In a circle الموید بتائید الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجت والبرهان	BNM acc No. 82.171	Plate
249	A2 Var.(3)	-	10.7 gram 21 mm	-	In double circle. Same as No. 248	In a decorative circle. Same as No. 248 NM. ND	Kawali collection India. ONS-148 P.19, Coin No.7 Karim, Corpus Type Q	

250	A3 Var.(1)	-	Gold 10.9 gram 24 mm	-	In a decorative circle ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه It seemed to be in a rayed circle	In a decorative circle ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكة seemed to be in a rayed circle.	Goenka Collection, India	Plate
251	A3 Var.(2)	-	10.8 gram 19 mm	-	In a rayed circle with dots in each tringle, same as No. 250	In a circle (rayed?) same as No.250 NM. ND.	Kawali Collectioin, India. ONS 148-P.20, No.11 corpus Type-H	
252	A3 Var.(3)	-	10.7 gram 22 mm	-	Same as No. 250 Crude form	Same as No. 250 Crude form	Kawali Collection ONS 148, P. 20. No.12	
253	A4	-	166 grains .85 inch	-	In plain surface ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان	المويد بتائيد الرحمن خليفة الله بالحج والبرهان	JASB, 1904 P.381. P.1X. No.3 1 coin in Goenka Collection 10.8 gram 20 mm	Plate
254	A5	-	10.7 gram 22 mm	-	In lettered surface ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه سلطان	In a decorative fordered circle ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكة	ONS 148 P.19, No.10 Cprpus Type G	
255	A6	-	-	-	In a circle the figure of a lion standing to right, forepaw raised and the	In a circle of decorative margin: المويد بتائيد	In coinage and Economy of North Eastern States of	

					circular marginal legend same as No.254	الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجت والبرهان خزانة ٨٤٩	India. Rajgor Type 361	
256	B1	Firuzabad 837	Silver NA. NA	Rond 1 tanka	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Margin around: ضرب هذه السكة في الفيروز اباد سنة ٧٣٨ (٨٣٧)	In multifoil السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان	No known Canada Deyell Collection Published Sharifuddin Ahmed (ed). Sylhet : History and Heritage, Bangaldesh Itihas Samiti, 1999 P. 678. Coin No.F.	Plate
257	B1(a)	Arsah Chatganw 839	Silver 24 mm NA.	Round 1 tanka	In a circle Kalima Same as No.256 but margin ضرب هذه السكة (في) عرصه جتكانو سنة ٨٣٩	In a circle legend same as No.256.	Ibid, P.680. No.G&H (A)	
258	B1(b)	Firuzabad 848	Silver 27 mm 10.42 gram	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 256, but mint فيروز اباد سنة ٨٤٨	In a circle legend same as No.256	Bagerhat BNM, No.83.148	
259	B2	838	Silver 24 mm NA.	Round 1 tanka	In a circle السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان	In a circle الاسلام غوٹ والمسلمين Margin: mostly cut off and illegible.	Biyani Bazar, Sylhet. Dr. Ishaq Imam Collection. Dhaka. Published Ibid, P.680, No.G&H (A)	

260	B2(a)	Muazzama bad	Silver 28 mm 10.58 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a square legend same as No. 259	In a circle same as No.259 but Margin: معطباد.. Date illegible	Bagerhat BNM, Coin No. 83.150	Plate
261	B3	839	Silver 24 mm also 26 mm 9.25 gram	Round 1 tanka	In multifoil legend same as Type A1 i.e. السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان	In a circle Same as the legend of Type A1. i.e. المريد بتائيد الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجت والبرهان Margin: ضرب هذه ... سنة ٨٣٩	Bagerhat BNM 83.146 most probably داخل بجلب	Plate
262	B4	841	Silver 10.42 gram 27 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle with scroll work ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان	In a decorative circle with arabesques design	Bagerhat 83.149	
263	B4(a)	Dakhil Bangladesh	Silver 30 mm	-	Very ornate boarder legend same as No.262	Same as No.261, but Margin: داخل بنجلية	SCA 825 Pl. 50. BNM, ٨٥٠. 87.6739	Plate
264	B5	-	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In plain a rea ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه سلطان	In a circle ناصر الاسلام المسلمين خلد ملكه		

265	B5(a)	-	Silver	-	Legend same as No. 264 in a circle margin having a decoration of double half circles with a couple of dots in each	Legend same as No.264, but in a double circle the inner one is made of eight arcs. Margin: illegible.	SCA No. 831	
266	B5(b)	-	-	Round 1 tanka	In a rayed circle having a dot in each triangle legend same as No.264	In a circle legend same as Type B5(a) Margin: illegible Probably Firuzabad فیروز اباد ۸۴۱	SCA 831	
267	B6	- NM. ND	Silver 24 mm 25 mm 26 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a circle legend same as No. 264 but ابو المظفر instead of Abul Mujahid	In a circle same as No. 264	BNM Crude exicution	
268	B7	Muhamma dabad	Silver 23 mm 10.62	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle legend same as No. 267	In a decorative circle الموید بتائید الرحمن خلیفۃ اللہ بالحجت والبرهان	Bagerhat BNM	
269	7(a)	? 856	Silver 22 mm 23 mm	-	Under a fringed umbrella having a stick legend same as No.267	In a multifoil legend same as 268 but date mint illegible	Bagerhat BNM No. 83.183	Plate
270	7(b)	Satkanw 856	-	-	In a circle same as Type B7	In a circlce same Type B1	No.? also with illegible mints	

271	B7(c)	Satknaw 858	Silver 21 mm 10.64 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle legend as Type B7	In a decorative circle legend same No. 268 ستكانو ۸۵۸	Bagerhat, BNM 83.172	Plate
272	B7	Muhamma dabad 8-7	Silver 23 mm 10.73	Round 1 tanka	In a circle having design like spearhead legend same as No.267	In a circle having design like spear head in full Tughra character legend same as No.268	Bagerhat 83.156	
273	B7(e)	Muazzama bad 856	Silver 21 mm 10.56 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a half circle within a circle ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان	In a circle Same as No. 268 but معظماباد ۸۵۶	Bagerhat BNM No. 83.149	Plate
274	B8	Muhamma dabad 858	Silver .9 inch 165 grains	Round 1 tanka	In plain area ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه سلطان	In a circle غوٹ الاسلام والمسلمين خلد الله محمد اباد ۸۵۸	A.S.B. IMC P.164 Coin No. 116	
275	B8(a)	Suhur Sitpur	Silver .95 inch 162 grains	Round 1 tanka	In double multifoil same as No. 274	In a circle same as 274 غوٹ الاسلام والمسلمين خلد الله	ASB IMC P. 164 Coin No. 117	
276	B8(b)	Fathabad	Silver 1.05 inch 157 grains	Round 1 tanka	In multifoil legend same as No. 274	In multifoil legend same as No. 274 but فتح باد ۸۵۶	A.S.B IMC P. 165 Coin No.119	

277	B8(c)	Suhur	Silver 1.2 inch 154 grains	Round 1 tanka	In multifoil same as No.274	In multifoil غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد الله ملكه وسلطان ٨٦٠ Coin No. 121	ASB IMC P. 165 Coin No. 121
278	B8(d)	Suhur	Silver 1.2 inch 164.5	-	Same as No. 277	Same as No. 277 but legend only no mint, date غوث الاسلام والمسلمين ٨٥١	IMC P. 165 Coin No. 120
279	B9	-	-	-	Same as No. 274	In a decorative circle غوث الاسلام والمسلمين ناصر	Bagerhat ?
280	B10	Muhamma dabad 858	Silver 23 mm 10.63	Round 1 tanka	In plain area ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المعظفر محمود شاه سلطان	In a circle غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد الله محمود اباد ٨٥٨	Bagerhat BNM, No. 83.152
281	B10(a)	Nasirabad 858	Silver 23 mm 10.78	Round 1 tanka	In multifoil legend same as No.280	Legend same as No. 280 but mint ناصر اباد ٨٥٨	Bagerhat BNM No. 83.183
282	B10(b)	Darud Darb 859	Silver 27 mm	-	In a decorative circle with a cluster of dgee curved motifs legend same as No. 280	In a decorative circle ogee curved motifs, but same as No. 280 دار الصرب ٨٥٩	Bagerhat BNM No. 83.183

283	B10(c)	Darud Darb Shuhur?	Silver 25 mm	-	In double multifoil same as No. 280	In a circle with arabesques design in the margin. Same as No 280, but mint ضرب شهر/سمور ٨٥٦	Bagerhat BNM, No.
284	B10(d)	Darud Darb Khazaua 858	Silver 31 mm	-	In a decorative circle of froad border legend same as No. 280	In between two circles the broad decorative bordered circle Legend same as No. 280, but دار الضرب ٨٥٨	Nazrana
285	B10(e)	Darud Darb 858	Silver 25 mm 24 mm	Round 1 tanka	In circular area made by forder of dots and a circle chhatra above having 5 fringes legend same as No. 280 in two lines.	In a decorative border of scrolls between two line legend same as No. 280 دار الضرب ٨٥٨	Bagerhat BNM, 83.181
286	B10(f)	Fathabad 858 857	24 mm 25mm	-	In multifoil having Chhatra above (simple Chhatra)	In an ornamented circle-Cluster of semi- circles in the border	There are varieties of Chhatra also
287	B10(g)	NM ND	-	-	In a circle legend same as No. 280	In a circle same as No. 280, but crude lettering	
288	B11	NM 856	Silver 25 mm 10.55 gram	Round 1 tanka	In double multifoil same as No. 280	In a rayed circle same as No. 280, but at the end instead of no mint, date نائب غوث الاسلام والمسلمين ناصر ٨٥٦	Bagerhat BNM,

289	B11(a)	Darud Darb 862	Silver 25 mm 10.5 grams	Round 1 tanka	In an octagon formed by interfacing squares having small cross in each segment. Legend same as No. 280	In a shallow multifoiled circle having a reverse course inside and two dots in each curve of the inner reverse foil legend same as No. 288, but دار الضرب ٨٦٣	Bagerhat BNM, There are also with no date or mint
290	B11(b)	NM, ND	Silver 25 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a rayed circle, same as No. 280	In a rayed circle same as No. 288 no date or mint	
291	B11(c)	ND, NM	25 mm		In a plain area, same as No. 280	In a circle, design out side is not clear, same as No. 288 but at the end محمود اباد محو محمد اباد	
292	B12	Fathabad or Baujaliya 854	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In seven small circles within a circle شاه ناصر and سلطان has been placed alternate by, the central on bears	In a decorative circle legend same as No. 288 but mint not clear, it may be فتحباد / بنجلوہ	Bagerhat Plate
293	B12(a)	Mahmuda bad or Muhamma dabad 895	Silver	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 292	In a circle, same as No. 288 but محمود اباد ٨٥٩	

294	B13	Mint+date illegible	Silver 22 mm 10.56 gram	-	In seven circlets legend same as No. 292	In a decorative circle legend same as (Type B7) No. 268 الموید بتائید الرحمن خلیفۃ اللہ بالحجۃ والبرہان Date and mint illegible	Bagerhat	
295	B14	Darud Darb 849	Silver	-	In a circle figure of a lion to left, right four leg raised, tail bends upwards, the circular legend around hte circle السلطان ناصر الدنیا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاہ	In a decorative circle الموید بتائید الرحمن خلیفۃ اللہ بالحجۃ والبرہان ۸۴۹ دار ضرب	Bagerhat BNM	Plate
296	- 849	Silver 23 mm 10.69 grams	-	In a circlce figure of a lion to right same as No. 295	Same as No. 295 date mint illegible	SCA Pl. 49 Coin No. 822		
297	B15	Khalifatabad 846	Silver 26 mm	-	In a circle, the first two lines are in Tughra Character السلطان ناصر الدنیا والدين ابو المجاہد محمود شاہ	In a circle خدا اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ Margin: ضرب هذه السكة (فی) خلیفۃ باد ۶۴۸	87.6737 also dated	Plate
298	B16	NM, ND	Silver 22 mm 5.85 gram	Round Half tanka	Same as Type B8, i.e. No.274 ناصر الدنیا	In a circle عوث الاسلام والمسلمين	SCA Pl. No. 50 Coin No. 841	

304	B3	Darud Darb 867	Silver 30 mm 10.75grams	Round 1 tanka	In a circle the borders outside decorated with rays made with triangles of a bit inclined and small circles in between same as No.303	In a circle, border outside decorated with rayed half circles, 10 in number. رکن الدنیا والدین ابو المظفر باریکشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان	SCA 851
305	B4	Darud Darb 873	NA	Round 1 tanka -	In a decorative circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله اربع ۸۷۳	In a decorative circle ضرب السلطان الاعلى الاعظم باریکشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان خدا الله ملکه وسلطانه	BNM.Accno.81.535 In SCA, 853 BMC, as Jannataba d Also Khazanah dated 873 Probably
306	B3	Barbaka bad	NA	Round 1 tanka-	In a circle with,indistinct margin due to shroff markings, with two horizontal lines dividing the legend in 3 chambers. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله سلطان العالم العادل ..نیرکاباد؟	In a circle with borders as obverse الاعظم المعظم باریکشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان	SCA,coin no. 848(c),p.55 BNM, Coin No.88.3439 (No mint) Plate

307	B6	Dar ud Darb 864	NA	Round 1 tanka	In Tughra Character رکن الدنیا والدین ابو المجاهد باریکشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان	In a circle	SCA, 847 السلطان ابن السلطان دار الضرب ۸۶۴
					Margin traces of lettering indistinct		
308	B7	Nasirabad 864	Silver 34mm 10.79grams	Round 1 tanka	In Tughra Character in a circle same as No. 307 ابو المجاهد	In a circle	SCA-846, P.51 BNM, Acc.no. 81.539, 27mm, Khazanah 864 الاسلام غوث والمسلمین ناصر اباد ۸۶۴
					Margin: خلد الله ملكه و سلطان و اعلى امره و شانه encircled by another circle		Plate
309	B8	Iqlim Mu'azzam abad ?	Silver 28mm 10.7grams	- Round 1 tanka	In Tughra Character Same as No. 307	In a circle	SCA, 843 Also Nasirabad, Dar ud Darb & Khazanah dated 868, SCA, no 844, 845 , 854
					Margin indistinct		
310	B9	Darud Darb 867	Silver 29 mm	Round 1 tanka -	In Tughra Character Same as No. 307 but ابو المظفر	In a circle same as No 309 but	BNM, Acc. no 81.551 Taifoor collection p.23, coin no 120.

311	B10	Illegible 8...	Silver 1.08 inch NA	Round 1 tanka	In Tughra Character Same as No.310	In a circle الموید بتائید الرحمن خلیفہ اللہ بالحیث والبرہان ناصر الاسلام والمسلمین	Hakim Collection,p.22, Coin No.113 Corpus Type-R	?
312	B11	Khazanah 867	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a double circle with ornaments or writing in between رکن دنیا والدين ابو المظفر باریکشاہ السلطان بن محمود شاہ السلطان	In an ornamented circle Same as No. 309 خزانہ ۸۶۷	Suppl. Shillong Cabinet No.2/117 PP. 142-43 Corpus Type-D	
313	B11(a)	-	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a circle with Arabesques in the margin same as No.312	In a circle or a plain area same as No. 312	Corpus Type-F	
314	B11(b)	NM 867	Silver 1.05 inch 164 grains	Round 1 tanka	In a rayed circle, same as No. 312	In a rayed circle Same as No. 312. No mint, date	IMC, P.168 Coin No.144, Corpus Type-G.	
315	B11(c)	NM Date illegible	Silver 28 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a circle with a thick ornamental border with disks of the sun made of two concentric rayed arcs. Same as No. 312	In a rayed circle, Same as No. 312	BNM 70.1081 Taifoor Collection Pl. IV, Coin No.133	
316	C1 Copper	-	Copper 0.7 inch	Round 1 tanka	In a plain surface ابو المجاهد	In a plain area خلیفہ اللہ	-	

74 grains			باريكشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه			بالحيث والبرهان			Crude Calligraphy	
Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah 879-885/1474-1480										
317	B1	NM, ND	Silver 24 mm 9.23 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle or lettered surface the Kalima in 3 lines	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	In circle or lettered surface	شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باريكشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان	SCA, 856 Pl. 52 . BNM.Acc.no. 81.798((27mm)	
318	B2	NM, ND	Silver 27 mm	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 317		Same as No. 317 but	ابو المنظر	SCA,no. 856(a) Pl. 52 BNM 81.799	
319	B3	Darud Darb 880	Silver 25 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a circle	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله دار الضرب ٨٨٠	In a circle		SCA,no.859. BNM.Acc.no 81.561 also dated 881,883,& 884.	
320	B3(a)	Khazanah (mausul) 880	Silver 10.11 gram 30 mm	Round 1 tanka	In an ornate border Same as No.319, but mint	خزانة موصول ٨٨٠	In an ornate border Same as No.319		BNM.Acc.No. 94.2552	Plate
321	B3(b)	Khazanah 881	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative border of trilobs Same as No. 319 but mint	خزانة ٨٨٠	Same as obv. design Same as No. 319		BNM.Acc.no73.553	

322	B3(c)	Shamsa bad 884	Silver 10.41 gram 26 mm	Round 1 tanka	In an ornate border the Kalima but mint شمسباد ۸۸۴	In ornate border same as No.319	BNM.Acc.no. 77.395	Plate
323	B4	NM ND	Silver 10.55 gram 27 mm	Round 1 tanka	Kalima in a square divided by a horizontal line creating four segments contains names of the 4 Khalifas ابو بكر صديق/عمر الفارق/ عثمان بن عفان/ علي مرتضى لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	Seems to be in a plain area but the legend divided by three horizontal lines. شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان	BNM.Acc.no, 72.366	
324	B5	NM 883	Silver 10.58 gram 26 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a lettered surface والدين يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باركشاه السل ابن محمود شاه السلطان	In a lettered surface المويد بتائيد الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجت والبرهان ۸۸۳ No mint	SCA,coin no. 863	
325	B6	NM ND	Silver 5.22 gram 20 mm	Round Half tanka	In lettered surface ابو المجاهد سف شاه ابن باركشاه	In a lettered surface المويد بتائيد الرحمن خليفة ... هان	SCA.coin no.864	Probably struck from a full tanka die?
Nuruddin Sikandar Shah 885/1480								
326	B1	NM, ND	Silver 27 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle the Kalima in three lines لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله No mint	In a decorative circle السلطان بن السلطان نور الدنيا والدين المجاهد سكندر شاه سلطان بن محمود شاه سلطان	BNM, unpublished Acc.No.82.139	

327	B1(a)	Khazanah 885	Silver 25 mm 10.57 gram	Round 1 tanka	In circle the Kalima in two lines, mint لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانه ٨٨٤ and the third line	In lettered surface (plain area) السلطان بن السلطان نور الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان	BNM, Unpublished Acc.No.72.644	
328	-	Darud Darb ?85	Silver 10.4 gram 25 mm	-	In plain area Kalima and دار الضرب ٨٥ ؟	In a plain area السلطان بن السلطان نور الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه سلطان بن محمود شاه سلطان	BNM. Acc.No93.397 Also in SCA, Pl.52 No.865	Plate
Jalaluddin Fath Shah 886-893/1481-1486								
329	A1	Fathabad 886	Gold 22 mm 10.58 gram	Round 1 tanka	In an ornamented circle having floral motif placed alternately with a domical motif جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه سلطان	Same as obverse design ابن محمود شاه السلطان كجنيد شاهي فتحاباد ٨٨٦	BNM.Acc.no77.729 Published in Cultural Interaction in South Asia, Table I, P.167	Plate
330	A2	Khazanah [8]87	Gold .82 inch 160 grains	Round 1 tanka	In an ornamented circle having floral motif. السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	Same as obverse design of No.330 فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان سويد شاهي خزانه ٨٨٧	IMC, P.169 Coin No. 152,Pl.	

336	B2	NM 887	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a circle margin indistinct the Kalima same as No.334 but with date only. No mint ٨٨٧	In a plain area السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان In a plain area same as No.336	SCA, 871(b) IMC/158 NM/ BNM.Acc.No. 83.566 (Khazanah,88?)	Plate
337	B2(a)	Khazanah	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a plain area the Kalima but mint خزانة No date	In a plain area same as No.336	BMC No.97 P.39, Pl.V BNM.Acc. No.83.566	
338	B2(b)	NM 886	Silver 10.6grams	Round 1 tanka	In double circle the Kalima in two lines and date only لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ٨٨٦	In a decorative circle having a cluster of small half circles Same as No.336	BNM, Acc.No.72.804	
339	B3	Fathabad 890	Silver 31 mm 10.56 gram	Round 1 tanka	In circle with eight double reverse arcs inside and an intersecting arcaded bond around the circle السلطان بن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	Design same as obverse فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان كوجمرد شاهی فتحباد ٨٩٠	BNM,Acc.no. 85.1800 Also Barbakbad date890(BNM.70.1 372),Khazanah,date 890(BNM.70.1299)	

340	B4	Darud Darb 886	Silver 28 mm 10.5gram	Round 1 tanka	Within a double eight foiled circle having an indistinct decorative border. السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	Within a double eight foiled circle فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان دار الضرب ٨٨٦	BNM.Acc.No. 81.612 SCA,no.874 (B)
341	B4(a)	DarudDarb 888	Silver 24 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle Same as No.340	In a decorative circle, creeper like motif around the circle placed shaped design Same as No.340	SCA, NO.874(a)
342	B5	Daruddarb 888	Silver 25 mm 10.6grams	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle Same as No.34	In a decorative circle same as No.340 but before the mint name سويد شاهي دار الضرب ٨٨٨	BNM,Acc.no. No.81.597 also 85.1816
343	B5(a)	Daruddarb 890	Silver 27mm 10.54grams	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle Same as No.340	In a decorative circle Same as No.342 but the last two lines are سكه شاهي دار الضرب ٨٩٠	SCA.No.875 BNM.Acc.no 85.1805,also

Plate

Plate

344	B6	Fathabad 886	Silver 26 mm 10.56 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle with floral motif placed alternately with a domical motif جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه سلطان	Same as the obverse design ابن محمود شاه السلطان كجنيد شاهي فتحباد ۸۸۶	BNM, Acc. No. 81.603 SCA, 876 30 mm, 10.6 grams Also BNM, 85.1817	Plate
345	B6(a)	NM ND	Silver 25 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a rayed circle surrounded by another circle, a dot in each triangle of the ray. Same as No. 344 but ends with فتحشاه	Design same as the obverse Same as No. 344 but begins with السلطان	BNM, Acc. No. 81.594 SCA, No. 878(b)	
346	B6(b)	Madaran 887	Silver 25 mm 10.61 gram	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 344	Same as No. 344 but without the horizontal stroke of لحمه شاهي مدارن ۸۸۷	SCA, No. 877	New mint. Plate
347	B7	Darud Darb 890	Silver 26 mm 10.24 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle, Same as No. 333 (Type A3).	In a decorative circle Same as No. 333.	BNM, Acc. No. 85.1807 SCA, No. 879 Decorations are not intelligible	
348	B8	Khazanah 890	Silver NA NA	Round 1 tanka	In a rayed circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانة ۸۹۰	In a rayed circle, mostly cut off. جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ومريد النبي و	Private Collection, Dhaka. Mr. Iftekhar Alam	Plate

349	B9	Khazanah 892	Silver 31 mm 11 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a rayed circle السلطان الشهر بمرید... (النبي) وخامس اصحابه ... الخليفة الله (لاعانة) الله... وليوى الخلافة ... واخضر (لمصر)	In a rayed circle المنور و الغفار ... جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خزانه ٨٩٢	Numismatic Digest vol. II Part, II, (1978), PP. 72-73	Plate
350	B10	Mahmuda bad 888	Silver 25 mm 10.6 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a circle figure of a lion to right. Margin illegible.	In a circle ابو المظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان محمود اباد AAA	SCA, No.867 Pl. 53	
351	B11	NM, ND	Silver 24 mm 10.31 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle figure of a lion to left	In a circle جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان	SCA, No. 868 Pl. 52	
352	B12	NM, ND	Silver 26 mm 10.43 gram	Round 1 tanka	In centre wheel or sun of seven flaps having a broad margin outside contains the Kalima لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله mint and date indistinct	Same design as obverse in the broad margin the name of the Sultan partly off the flan	BNM, No 81.635 Rajgor Type 414 SCA.No.869	

ناصر اصحابه فتحشاه
السلطان ابن محمود
شاه السلطان

353	B13	NM 889	Silver 21 mm 5.28 gram	Round Half tanka	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ٨٨٩	In a circle السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه سلطان	SCA, No.881 Pl.54
354	B14	Khazanah 890	Silver 16 mm 2.57 grams	Round Quarter tanka	In a circle legend same as No.342(Type B5)	In a circle, legend same as No.342 (Type B5)	SCA, No.882 Pl.54

Ghiyasuddin Barbak / (Shazada Barbak) 893/1486

Sl. No.	Type	Mint / Date	Metal Measure Weight	Shape & Denomi.	Obverse, design & Legend	Reverse design & Legend	Location Reference Provenance	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
355	B1	Fathabad 893	Silver 30 mm 10.5gram	Round 1 tanka	In ornamented circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله فتح باد ٨٩٣	In ornamented circle غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بار بكشاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه	BNM.Acc.No. 81.969,unpublished. Also in a private collection in Dhaka, Mr. Mozammel Haq SCA,Pl. 54,No. 884	Plate
356	B1(a)	Darud Darb 893	Silver 26 mm 10.6 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative border Same as No. 355, but mint دار نور ٨٩٣ it may be read as دار الضرب accepting the 'alif' of ad Dzarb missing	In a decorated border probably same as obv. but the edged circle cut of totally Same as No. 355	Private collection in Dhaka Dr. Ishaq Islam .Also SCA,no.883.Pl.54	
357	B1(b)	Khazanah 893	Silver 10.39 gram 30 mm	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 356, but mint خزانه ٨٩٣	Same as No. 356	SCA Pl. 54 Coin No. 885	

Saifuddin Firoz 893-896/1486-1490

358	A1	Khazanah 893	Silver 22 mm 10.6 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative border لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله حزاة ٨٩٣	In a plain surface or could be a circle سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه والسلطان	Kawale collection, India ONS, No. 146 P. 21, coin No. 16
359	A1(a)	Fathabad 893	Silver - 10.94 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative border Same as No. 358	In decorative border Same as No. 358	British Museum ONS, No. 146 P. 21, coin No. 17
360	B1	Fathabad 893	Silver 25 mm 10.5grams	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle most by cut off لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله فتحباد ٨٩٣	In a decorative circle سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطان	BNM.Acc.No. 94.2568
361	B1(a)	Mahmudabad 894	Silver 27 mm 10.45gram	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 360, but mint and date محمود اباد ٨٩٤	In a decorative circle Same as No. 366	BNM.Acc.no94.2564
362	B1(b)	Fathabad 893	Silver 27mm 10.35grams	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 360, but فتحباد ٨٩٣	Same as No. 360, but سيف الدنيا	BNM.Acc.no87.3127
363	B1(c)	Firuzabad ?		Round 1 tanka	In a circle enclosed by another circle of dots, Same as No. 360 فيروز اباد	In a circle enclosed by another circle of dots. Same as No. 360	Plate of designs exist SCA, Pl. 54 Coin No. 887

364	B2	Daru Nur 896	Silver 20 mm 5.22 gram	Round 1/2 tanka	In a plain surface Same as No. 360	In a plain area Same as No. 360	SCA, Pl. 54 Coin No. 889
Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah 896/1490							
365	B1	Darud Darb 896	Silver 31mm 10.52 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle enclosed by another circle of dots لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله دار الضرب ٨٩٦	In a circle enclosed by another circle of dots قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان ابن فيروز شاه السلطان	BNM.Acc.No.71.122 Plate
366	B1(a)	Khazanah 896	Silver 10.59 gram 28 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a circle enclosed by a dotted circle Same as No. 365 خزانة ٨٩٦	In a circle enclosed by another circle of dots SCA, Pl. 54, No. 891	SCA,Pl.54,coin no. 891
367	B1(b)	Fathabad 892(?)	Silver 28 mm 10.02grams	Round 1 tanka	In circle enclosed by a circle of dots لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله فتحاباد ٨٩٢	Same design as no.365 قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان ابن فيروز شاه السلطان	SCA, Pl. 54,coin No. 890

Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah 896-898/1490-1493								
368	A1	Khazanah 896	Gold 28mm 10.53grams	Round 1 tanka	In a scalloped circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانه ٨٩٦ Margin: outside the circle encircled by another scalloped circle ابا بكر صديق عمر خطاب عثمان عفان على مرتضى	Within double scalloped circle شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	BNM H.H.C P. 23, No. 119, Pl. There are three more coins of the same type, in JASB, XLII, p.312; B MC, p.45(note); NS, X VI, p.697-98.	Plate
369	A1	Khazanah 898	Gold 21 mm 10.7 grams	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 368, but mint and date خزانه ٨٩٨	Same as No. 368	ONS, No. 148 1999, P. 21	
370	B1	Khazanah 896	Silver 27 mm 10.6grams	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 368 (Gold Type A1)	In double scalloped circle Same as No.368 شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	BNM, ACC No. 73.1542 Variety exist. The same type struck also from Fathabad, Daru Nur, Barbakabad, all dated 896, BNM.	
371	B2	NM 897	Silver 26 mm 28 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a circle encircled by another circle of dots لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ٨٩٧	In a circle شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	BNM 73.961 (oval shape) rev. double struck but is clear.	Plate

372	B3	NM (Kamta Mardan)	Silver 32 mm 10.9 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a circle divided by two horizontal lines, in upper part لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله in lower part Margin: begins with 8 مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه كمتا مردن في ٨٩٨	In a circle فتح الملك العادل الباذل المجاهد سعد الدين ناصر امير المؤمنين المخاطب شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر	BNM.Acc.no.73.401 -73.403 There are three coins with three different sizes. 32 mm, 29 mm and 27 mm but the legends are same	Very good conditio n Plate
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Alauddin Husain Shah 899-925/1494-1519

Sl. No.	Type	Mint / Date	Metal Measure Weight	Shape & Denomi.	Obverse, design & Legend	Reverse design & Legend	Location Reference Provenance	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
373	A1	Kazanah 899	Gold 25 mm 10.5 grams IMC. 97 163.5 grains	Round 1 tanka	In ornamented double eight-foil (ornamentar- tions are of four petalled floral motif). لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله حزانه ٨٩٩	In a circle السلطان العادل البازل ولسيد المرسلين علا والدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه سلطان	IMC II, Pl. 172 No. 167, Pl. V BN Mukharjee <i>The Indian Gold.</i> Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1990, P. 68, coin No. 126	BMC has a coin of same type, p.44,no. 108,Pl.
374	A2	Khazanah 899	Gold 20 mm 10.7 grams	Round 1 tanka	In ornamented circle but the designs are almost cut off. Same as No. 373	Legend within a similar circle as obv. علا والدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	ONS, 149 Summer 1996 P. 11	

375	A3	Khazanah 899	Gold 20 mm 10.7 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a lettered surface or plain area Same as No. 373	In a lettered surface Same as No. 374 but Kuniyah is (ابو المظفر)	ONS, 149 Ibid, P. 11	
376	A4	Mustafa bad 906	164.5 grains .89"	Round 1 tanka	In double circle with arabesque in between Same as NO.373 معطى باد ٩٠٧	Within a similar ornamented circle as obverse علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه سلطان ابن سيد اشرف خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه	IMC, P. 172, coin No. 168 reading of the mint is necessary in the case of There is a coin of the sametype in a private collection in Dhaka. BM collection ONS, No. 149, P. 11 Another coin of the same but dumpier in Kawale collection 10.7 grams, 17 mm	Dr. Ishaq Imam Plate
377	A5	Khazanah 904	Gold 23 mm 10.57 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a circle السلطان العادل علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In a circle شاه سلطان حسين بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خدا ملكه خزانه ٩٠٤		
378	A6	NM ND	Gold 17 mm 10.7 grams	Round 1 tanka	In double circle علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In double circle شاه حسين السلطان خدا الله ملكه	Kawale collection, India. ONS, No. 149, P. 12	

379	A7	Khazanah 919	Gold 26 mm 10.7grams	Round 1 tanka	In double circle السلطان الفتاح لكامرو وكتمته وجانكر واريسه علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In double circle شاه حسين السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خزانه ٩١٩	Unpublished, J.P. Goenka collection, India Another coin cited by Goron in ONS, no. 149 P.12. His reading of the last line ul it could be	Bigger flan. [Plate] Also medium flan, 18m m. 10.5 gr. [Plate]
380	A7 (a)	Fathabad 89	Gold 14 mm 10.5gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle Same as No. 379	In a circle Same as No. 379 but, فتح باد ٨٩	J.P. Goenka collection, India	Small flan dumpler Plate
381	A8	Khazanah 905	Gold 15 mm 2.7 grams	Round 1/4 tanka	Seemed to be in a circle Same as No. 379	In a circle Same as No. 379	Kawale collection, India. ONS, No. 149, p. 11	
382	B1	NM ND	Silver 30 mm 10.63 grams	Round 1 tanka	In ornamented double eight-foil the Kalima in three lines لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله In the margin four ابو بكر - عمر - عثمان - علي	In a circle السلطان المتوكل علي الله الفاتح لكامرو والكامته باعناية الله سيد علاو الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان كامتا فتح	BNM. Acc. No. 74.15 Kamtah Fath/ Fath Kamtah type. Varity exist	No mints and no dates Plate

383	B1 (a)	Sharifabad 899	Silver 30 mm 10.64 grams	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 382, but the Kalima is in two lines and the third line mint and date شریفا باد ۸۹۹	Same as No. 382 but ends with engraved reversely as س لا ح	BNM Acc. No. 77.812 In this coin the date looks almost 888, in some coins 899 is inscribed as Also found from Barbakabad (Dt.900) Darud Darb(Dt.900) Daru Nur (Dt.900) BNM,Acc.no. 88.4129 This type also found from the mints Khazanah,Barbakaba d and Husainubad, all dated 899 and Husainubad dated 900 .Also with NM& ND. BNM collection	Plate
384	B2	Sharifabad 899	Silver 28 mm 10.64 grams	Round 1 tanka	Same as No. 373 (gold Type A1)	Same as No. 373 السلطان العادل البازل ولد سيد المرسلين علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه		
385	B3	Fathabad 89	Silver 26 mm 10.50 grams	Round 1 tanka	In plain area السلطان الفاتح لكامرو و الكاتمه و جاجنكر العناية الله علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In plain area حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه فتحباد ۸۹	BNM, Acc. No. 81.92,also from the mint Muhammadabad dated 924 (BNM, Acc. No. 73.1917)	Plate
386	B4	Fathabad 899	Silver 27-32 mm 10.51	Round 1 tanka	In ornamented circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	In ornamented circle علا والدين والدين ابو المظفر حسين	Dohar, Dhaka, BNM Acc. No. 88.4166 Also from the mints	

			grams		فتحاباد ۸۹۹	شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	Khazanah (d. 899), BNM (88.4189) and Chandrabad (date illegible) BNM (88.4187) Indian Museum, Calcutta IMC, Pl. 176, No. 199
387	B5	Husain abad ?	Silver 1 164 grains	Round 1 tanka	In a circle لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله حسينا باد	In a circle علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد ملكه	
388	B6	Fathabad 89	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a circle السلطان القاتح لكامرو وكمته وجابنك وارشه علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In a circle حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه فتحاباد ۸۹	Dohar hoard,Dhaka BNM. Acc. No. 88.4202. Also found from Khazanah Husainabad dated 919,925, Muhammudabad dated 917,919,920, Darud Darb, dt. 912, 922, Khazanah dt. 919, 921, 925 and without mint dt. 913 [Dohar hoard]
389	B7	Khazanah 899	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a circle السلطان العادل علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In a circle شاه حسين سلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد ملكه خزانه ۸۹۹	BNM.Acc.no. 77.815 Also found form Darud Darb, dt. 902, 904, without mint dt. 913, in Dohar hoard

390	B7(a)	Husain abad 89	Silver	Round tanka	In a circle	السلطان العادل علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان	In a circle	ابن سيد اشرف حسيني خليل ؟ الله ملكه وسلطانه حسينه باد ٨٩	BNM Acc.no.88.4360 Also found from Barbakabad, dt. 904, Darud Darb dt. 902 and Husainabad dt. 8 hoard
391	B8	Darud Darb 904	Silver 1.18 c.c 162 grains	Round 1 tanka	In a circle	السلطان علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In a circle	حسين شاه سلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خالد ملكه دار الضرب ٩٠٤	Indian Museum, Calcutta. IMC, II, No. 191 Pl. 175
392	B9	Khazanah 914	Silver NR 5.3 grams	Round 1/2 tanka	Same as No.389		Same as No.389 but date [sic]914 ?		<i>Coin</i> . Annual issue of the Numismatic Society of Calcutta, 1999, P. 22, Pl. V, coin No. 26
393	B10	Khazanah Husain abad	Silver NR 2.6 grams	Round 1/4 tanka	Same as No.388.		Same as No.388 but [919] خزانه حسينباد ٩١٩		Ibid, Coin No. 27
394	B10(a)	NM ND	Silver 17 mm 2.43 grams	Round Quarter (1/4) tanka	In circle	السلطان علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In lettered surface	حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني	SCA, Pl. 56 Coin No. 911

395	B11	NM ND	Silver NR 1.4 grams	Round one- eighth ($\frac{1}{8}$ th) tanka	In a plain area علا و الدنيا والدين	In a plain area شاه حسن السلطان	<i>Coin. Annual issue of the Numismatic Society of Calcutta, 1999, P. 22, Pl. V, coin No. 28</i>
396	B12	NM ND	Silver NR 0.7 grams	Round one- sixteenth ($\frac{1}{16}$ th) tanka	Lettered surface شاه الدنيا والدين	Lettered surface شاه حسين السلطان	<i>Ibid, Coin No. 29</i>
397	B13	NM ND	Silver NR 0.4 grams	$\frac{1}{32}$ one- Thirty Secondth tanka	الدنيا والدين	شاه حسين السلطان	<i>Ibid No. 30</i>

Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah 925-938/1519-1532

398	A1	- 922	Gold 15 mm 10.6 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circleh السلطان ابن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين (ابو المظفر)	Seems to be in a plain surface نصر شاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد ملكه ٩٢٢	BNM. Acc.no, No.75.709 Itihas, X(1382 B.S.) P.139 ff. The same without date & mint, in Goenka collection, unpublished. Goron mentioned several examples in ONS(No.149,pp.12- 13) of Kawale collection	Plate
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398a	A1(a)	'Arsah [9]28	Gold 17mm 10.6grams	Round 1tanka	In a plain area السلطان ابن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In a lettered surface نصرة شاه حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد الله ملكه عرصه ٢٦٨ (٨٢٦)	J.P.Goenka collection, India Goron reported three more of the same in ONS, 149, pp.12-13. BNM.Acc.No.78.55 unpublished. Three more, one in BNM another in Goenka collection, 3rd one in ONS, No 149, p.13.	Plate
399	A1(b)	NM ND	Gold 13 mm 10.46 gram	Round 1 tanka	In an ornate border same as No.398	In an ornate border Same as No. 398	ONS, 149, P. 13	Plate
400	A2	ND NM	Gold 7 mm 2.7 grams (3mm thickness)	Round 1/4 th (Quarter) tanka	In a decorative circle السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و	In a decorative circle (design not clear) شاه السلطان نصرة بن حسين شاه		
401	B1	Nusrat abad 927	Silver 23 mm	Round 1 tanka	In double circle a dotted one in between السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In double circle a dotted one in between نصرت شاه سلطان بن حسين شاه سلطان الحسيني خلد الله ملكه نصرت آباد ٩٢٧	Dohar hoard, BNM collection Also from Muhammadabad dated 925-928& 930-934	
402	B1	Khairabad 926	Silver 10.5 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle Same as No.401	In a circle Same as No.401 but خير آباد ٩٢٦	Dohar hoard BNM. Acc. no. 88.4395	Plate

403	B1	Khelfata bad (Khalifata bad) 922	Silver 10.8 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a circle Same as No.401	In a circle Same as No.401 خلفیات ۹۲۲	Dohar Hoard BNM.Acc.no. 88.4394	Plate
404	B1	Barbaka bad (Arkan or Makan)? 938	Silver 10.6 gram	Round 1 tanka -	In a decorative border Same as No. 401	In a decorative border Same as No. 401 but باریکباد ۹۳۸	Dohar Hoard BNM Acc. no 88.4369	Plate
405	B1	Mustafa bad Date not clear	Silver 10.6 grams	Round 1 tanka	Seems to be is a plain area Same as No.401	Seems to be in a plain area Same as No. 401 but مصطفی باد date illegible	Dohar Hoard BNM Acc. no 88.4400	Plate
406	B1(a)	Dawabad 928	Silver 27 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a designed circle السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المغفر	In a designed circle نصر تشاه السلطان بن حسین شاه السلطان الحسنی خلد الله ملكه دواباد ۹۶۸	BNM,Acc.no. 81.630 Known for the first time. Same type from 'Arsah, BNM. Acc. no. 88.4398	Plate
407	B1(a)	Chatganw 932 retrogated	Silver 10.5 grams	Round 1 tanka	In double circle the outer one is dotted Same as No.406	In double circle the outer one is dotted Same as No. 406 but حکاتو ۲۳۹	Dohar Hoard BNM Acc. no 88.4398	Also dated 939 Plate

408	B1(b)	Fathabad 98 Darud Darb 925	Silver 27 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a circle/plain area السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتحاباد ٨٩	In a circle / plain area شاه السلطان نصرة حسين شاه السلطان بن الحسيني حكيم ملكه (٩٢٥) ٩٦٤ دار الضرب	Dohar Hoard BNM, Acc. no 88.4405	Plate
409	B1(c)	Jalud Darb Husaina bad 925	Silver 28 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative border of leaf motif Same as No.408 but, ^{٩٢٥} جلال الضرب حاكمه الحسيني حاكمه ملكه	In a decorative border of leaf motif Same as No. 408 but, →	Dohar Hoard BNM collection Variations in designs exist (Type A1(a)'s design, cross and dots also)	Plate
410	B2	Husaina bad 925	Silver 29 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative border of leaf motif السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسيناباد	In a decorative border of leaf motif نصر تشاه سلطان ابن حسينشاه سلطان سيد حسيني خلد الله ملكه ٩٢٥ سلطاناه	Dohar Hoard BNM collection	
411	B3	No mint Tirhutmad an ND	Silver 25 mm 10.6 grams	Round 1 tanka	In an ornamented circle السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنياو الدين ابو المظفر	In an ornamented circle نصر تشاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان خلد ملكه ترهت مردين	Dohar Hoard BNM Acc. no 88.4402	Plate
412	B4	Darud Darb ND	18 mm 5.19 grams	Half tanka	In a decorative border of cross and dots. Same as No. 411	In a decorative border of cross and dots. Same as No.406 but last line خلد و سلطاناه دار الضرب	SCA Pl. 57, No.919	

Alauddin Firuz bin Nusrat 938-939/1532

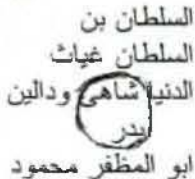
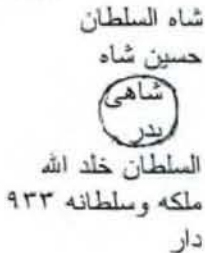
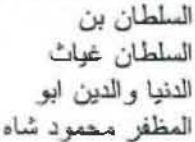
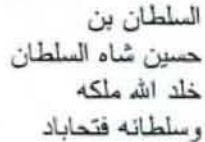
413	AI	NM (Disappeared) ND	Gold 18 mm 10.6 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a lettered surface		Plate
					In a lettered surface	In a lettered surface	
					سلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز	بن نصر شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خدا الله ملكه	BNM Acc, No.93,400 unpublished
414	AI(a)	Fathabad ND	Gold 23 mm 10.6 grams	Round 1 tanka	In a plain area		ONS, No. 149, P.13
					السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان	بن شاه نصرت السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان حسيني خدا الله ملكه وسلطانه فتحاباد	
415	BI	Husain abad 939	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle with leafy motif, crescents at four sides on the margin.		Dohar hoard, Dhaka BNM, unpublished. Also found from Fathabad & Nusratabad mints with ND, and from 'Arsah dated 939, Khalifatab ad dated 922, Muhamma dabad, dated 938 and Barbakabad & husainabad, ND. N.D, vol. 19, 1995, p.122 (So called Bibban Shah ?)
					السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان	بن نصر شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان حسيني خدا الله ملكه وسلطانه حسيني باد ٩٣٩	
415a	BI	Husaina bad 938	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a decorative circle Same as No.415		Read by Syed Ejaz as Bibban Shah
					In a decorative circle Same as No.415 but date 938	In a decorative circle Same as No.415 but date 938	

416	B2	NM, ND Tirhut Mandan	Silver	Round 1 tanka	In a circle السلطان بن السلطان علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر	In a circle فیروز شاہ سلطان بن ناصر تشاہ سلطان خالد ملکہ ترہت مرین	Mr. Iftekhar Alam collection, Dhaka.	Plate
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Ghiyasuddin Mahmud 939-945/1533-1538

417	A1	NM ND	Gold 19 mm 10.69 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle السلطان ابن السلطان الدنيا شاہی غیاث والدين بدر ابو المظفر محمود شاہ	In lettered surface السلطان ابن حسین شاہ السلطان خالد شاہی السلطان بدر ملکہ وسلطانہ In the centre within a small circle	BNM, Acc. No. 77.730. There are other two coins of the same type, one in B.M.(ONS, No.149, p.13), another in a private collection in India (Goenka coll.)	Plate
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418	A2	NM ND	Gold 18 mm 10.6 grams	Round 1 tanka	In the centre within a small circle Same as No.417 but without the central circle and the words within.	Same as No.417 but without the central circle.	Rajgor, Type 570 There are two coins of the same type, one in Kawale collection (ONS, NO.149, p.13) , another in JNSI, vol. VII , 1945, p.41	
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419	B1	Dar ? 933	Silver 25 mm	Round 1 tanka	In a small circle in the and the legend within a bigger circle 	In a small circle in the and the legend within a bigger circle 	Dohar hoard, Dhaka BNM collection, Also found from FathabadHusainabd, Nusratabad Muhammadabad and Khalifatabad all dated 933.	Plate
420	B2	Fathabad ND	Silver 26 mm	Round 1 tanka	In lettered surface 	In plain area 	Dohar hoard, BNM collection,Also of Nusratabad mint ND, and with date only, 933.	Plate
421	B3	Husaina bad 945	Silver 26 mm	Round 1 tanka	Same as No.420 but in addition of date ٩٤٥	Same as No.420 but with الحسيني خلد الله mint حسيننا باد	BNM, 89.1884 Also found from Muhammadabad dt.938. 'Arsah dt. 9- 2, and ND & NM	
422	B4	Fathabad 933	Silver 5.21 grams	Round Half tanka	In plain surface, same as No.419 (Badar Shahi Type)	Same as No.419 (Badar Shahi Type) but mint فتحاباد	SCA Pl.58, No.935	

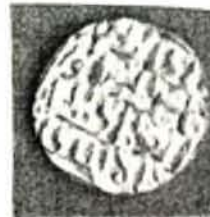
423	B5	Fathabad ND	Silver	Round Quarter tanka	In plain surface same as No. 419 (Badar Shahi Type)	In plain surface same as No. 419 (Badar Shahi Type) but mint فتحاباد no date	SCA, Pl. 58, No.936
424	B5	NM ND	Silver 16 mm 2.62 grams	Round Quarter tanka	In plain surface same as No. 420 (without Badar Shahi)	In plain surface same as No.420 (Without Badar Shahi)	SCA, Pl.58, No.940
425	B6	NM, ND	Silver 11 mm 0.69 grams	1/16 tanka	Same as No.419 (Badar Shahi Type)	Same as No. 419 (Badar Shahi Type)	JNSI, XXII P.215.
426	C1	NM, ND	Copper Not available	Round not known	العبد غياث الدين شاه البدر شاهي	العبد غياث الدين محمود شاه البدر شاهي	JASB 1873, P.298
Qutbudddin A'zam (ND)							
427	B1	NM ND	NA	Round 1 tanka	In plain area	In plain area يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد	Biyani Bazar hoard, Sylhet.Private Collection, Jhon S. Deyell, Canada.
428	B2	NM	29 mm 10.88 gram	Round 1 tanka	In plain area	In a plain area Same as No.427	Private collection Dr. Ishaq Imam,Dhaka.
					ويث المستعين قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظم السلطان		Plate

429	B3	NM, ND	Silver 28 mm 11.05 gram	Round 1 tanka	In a circle المستعين ياالله المستعين قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر العظمشاه	In a circle ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	Private collection Dr. Ishaq Imam,Dhaka	Plate
					Nasiruddin Ibrahim Shah (N D)	No margin		
430	B1	Illegible but Mu'azzam abad	Silver 26 mm	Round 1 tanka	In multifoil in Tughra Character ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه السلطان	In multifoil made of nine arcs ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين	BNM, Acc. No. Also found in a plain obverse area but the reverse design is the same.	Plate
						Margin: ... معظم اباد ...		

The Gold Coins of the Independent Sultans of Bengal in the Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka



94



111



154



248



329



368



398



399



399



413



417



The Gold Coins of the Bengal Sultans in the Collection of J. P. Goenka, Calcutta



Silver Coins:



82

1



3



81



5



8



10



17



20



22



24



28



33



36



Silver Coins:



37



38



39



40



N



41



N

42



47



52



53



57



58



60



Silver Coins:



61



64



65



67



68



70



72



76



79



85



87



92



Silver Coins:



98



99



100



101



105



108



113



110

110



116



117



120



129



Silver Coins:



130



131



132



134



136



146



148



150



152



159



165



163



163



Silver Coins:



168



173



174



183



175



181



182



185



186



189



188



193



194



195



Silver Coins:



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Silver Coins:



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Silver Coins:



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Silver Coins:



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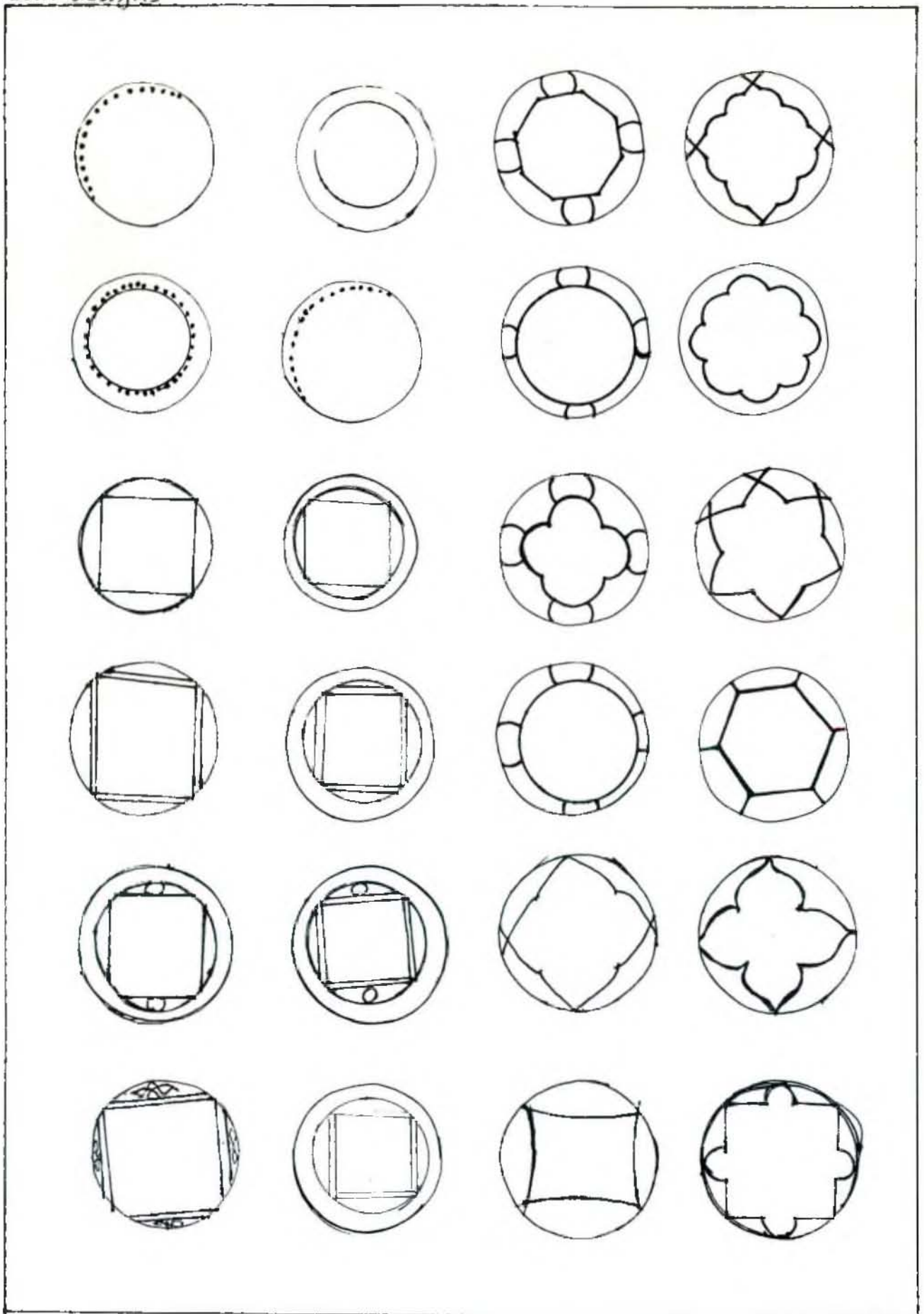
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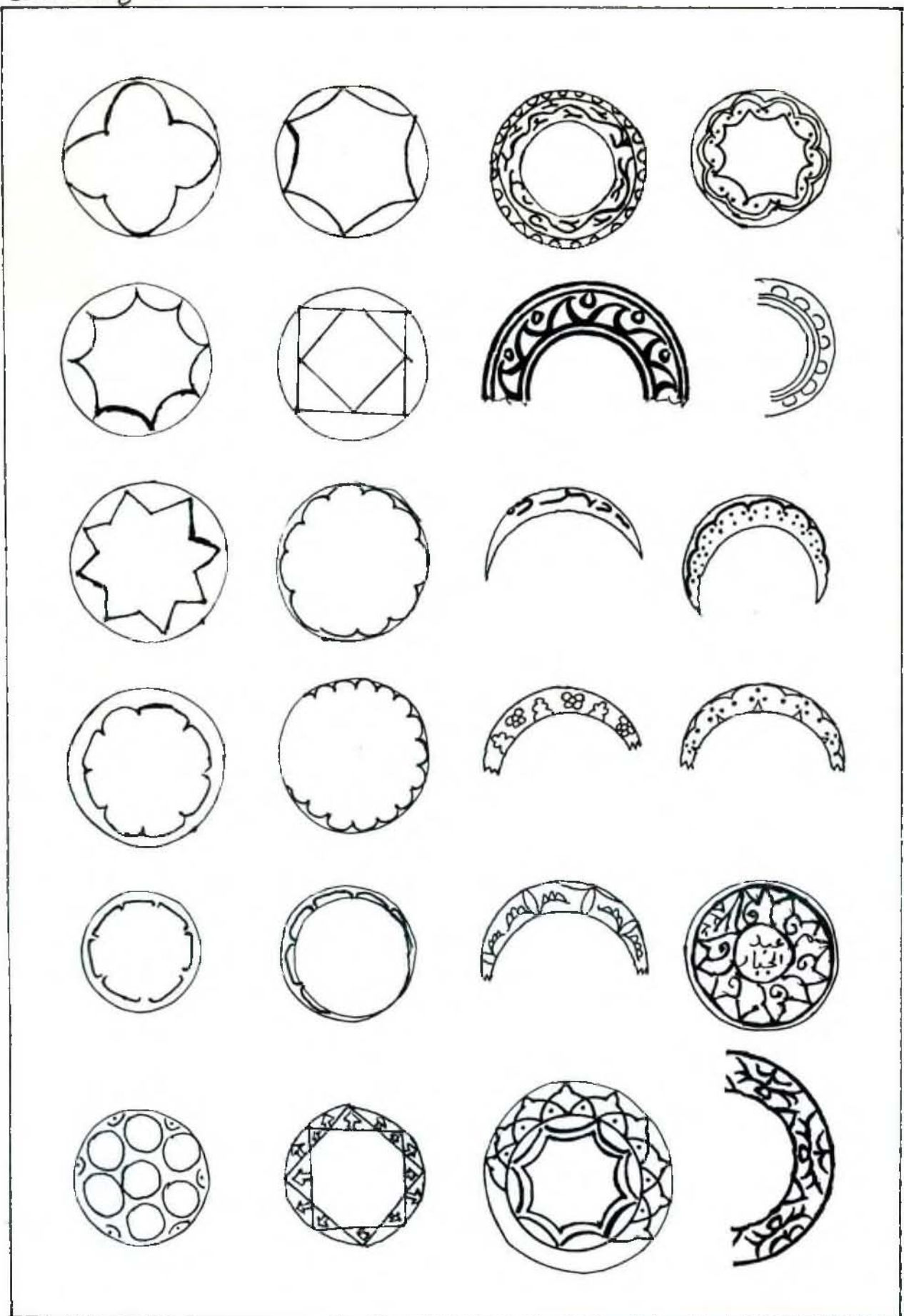
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Coin-designs



Coin-designs



Coin-designs

