



# **Coinage of Deccan Sultanate: Coin Legends and Epigraphic Evidence**

**Thesis Submitted in Partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree**

**of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

*Submitted by*

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**SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**MAULANA AZAD NATIONAL URDU UNIVERSITY**

Gachibowli, Hyderabad-500032

**May - 2022**

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I **SHAGUFTA PARVEEN** solemnly declare that the thesis entitled “*Coinage of Deccan Sultanate: Coin Legends and Epigraphic Evidence*” is my original work. The research has been completed under the supervision of **Dr. Danish Moin** Associate Professor and Head, **Department of History**, Maulana Azad National Urdu University (Central University), Gachibowli, Hyderabad, India. It is future declare that to the best of my knowledge and believe it has not been submitted earlier for the award of any degree by anyone.

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It is certified that the research work presented in the thesis entitled *Coinage of Deccan Sultanate: Coin Legends and Epigraphic Evidence* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in History has been carried out by **Shagufta Parveen**, under my guidance and supervision. She has fulfilled all the essential requirements for submitting the thesis, which has reached the requisite standard to the best of my knowledge. This thesis presented by her to the best of my knowledge and belief did not form the basis for the award of any other degree earlier.

**(Dr. Danish Moin)**

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*by* Shagufta Parveen

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## Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini
AH	After Hijrah
AR	Argentum (Silver)
ARADH	Annual Report of the Archaeological Department
AV	Aureus (Gold)
ANS	American Numismatic society.
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta
BDC	Bulletin of Deccan College Pune
BSOAS	Bulletin of the Scholl of Oriental and
African Studies	
CMH	Chronology of Modern Hyderabad by
Trimbak Raj	
CNG	Classical Numismatic Gallery
E & D	Elliot and Dowson
EIM	Epigraphia Indo Moslemica
EIAPS	Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian
Supplement	
EIAR	Encyclopaedia of Indo Aryan Research.
HMD	History of Medieval Deccan
HQSD	History of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty
Farishta	Tarikhe Farishta of Muhammad Qasim
Farishta	
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Islamic Culture Hyderabad
IIA	Indo Islamic Architecture
IIRNS	Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic
Studies, Nasik	
	Maharashtra.
IHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress

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IHRC	Indian Historical Records Commission
IMC	Indian Museum Catalogue
INC	Indian Numismatic Chronicle
JAS	Journal of Asiatic Society
JBBRAS Society	Journal of Bombay Branch of Asiatic
JBHS	Journal of Historical Society
JESA	Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India
JESHO of the Orient	Journal of the Economic and Social History
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JNSI	Journal of Numismatic Society of India
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JRASB	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JRASGBI Great Britain and Ireland	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland
JQS	Journal of Quranic Studies.
MQ	Muqarnas
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
ND	Numismatic Digest
NIA	New Indian Antiquary
NMCS	Newsletters Mumbai Coin Society.
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs
NS	Numismatic Supplement
ONS	Oriental Numismatic Society
Obv.	Obverse
p.	Page
Pl.	Plate

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PASB	Proceedings of the Asiatic society of Bengal
PHS	Pakistan Historical Society
PDHC Conference	Proceedings of the Deccan History
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
RY	Regnal Year
Ref.	Reference
Rev.	Reverse
SICIN Environment.	Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian
Wt.	Weight.

## **Introduction**

The current study “Coinage of Deccan Sultanate: Coin Legends and Epigraphic Evidence” aims to analyze the coins of Deccan sultanates with the help of coin legends/inscriptions appearing on them. Besides, it also proposes to analyze the epigraphic inscriptions of this period. Both the numismatic and epigraphic inscriptions will be examined, analyzed, and compared. The study covers the Bahmani sultanate and its five sequential realms; Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, Qutub Shahi of Golconda, Adil Shahi of Bijapur, Imad Shahi of Berar, and Barid Shahi of Bidar.

However, during the reigns of the dynasties mentioned above, a careful examination of the coinage and its inscriptional interpretation was required. This, however, led to the opting the above- mentioned topic. Thus, the unstudied aspect of the coinage in the region and latent knowledge concerning the topic, that will enrich the understanding of the socio-cultural patterns of the Deccan Sultanate, and will affect the existing known history, culture, and other aspects of the region. Thus, the above reasons led to the formation of an idea about the present topic of the study.

### **Objectives**

The present research aims to understand the coins of Deccan sultanates covering their typology and inscriptional analysis and also proposes to study the epigraphic inscription of Deccan sultanates with Arabic and Persian epigraphs to find any comparability with the numismatic and epigraphic inscriptions of the same period.

The objective may broadly be examined as under:

- ❖ To understand the typology of the coins of the Deccan sultanate
- ❖ To compare the typology of the coins of Deccan with that of the Delhi sultanate
- ❖ To find the continuity and change between the coins of the Delhi and Deccan sultanates

- ❖ To make an Inscriptional analysis of coins of the Deccan Sultanates
- ❖ To draw a comparison between coin inscriptions and epigraphic inscriptions of the Deccan Sultanates to understand the socio- religious-and cultural context of the period.
- ❖ To study different styles of calligraphy found on the coins of Deccan Sultanates and analyze their similarities and changes with epigraphic evidence

### **Significance of the Topic**

Coins are associated with the political, social, economic religious, and cultural existence of a particular period. They additionally affirm and represent history known from different sources. Additionally, they illuminate different parts of history for which no proof is accessible from different sources. Of all relics that appear to be long-lasting, coins are the most conspicuous. The present study investigates the coins of the Deccan sultanate in the light of inscriptions noticed on them to understand the political, social religious, and cultural traditions of the Deccan sultanates.

The study related to the interpretation of the coin's inscriptions and epigraphic inscriptions in medieval India in general and medieval Deccan, in particular, is very rare, hence this study intends to investigate, compare and interpret the coins and epigraphic inscriptions of Deccan Sultanates covering Bahmani and its successors.

### **Research Methodology**

Historical research could be either qualitative or quantitative in nature. The particular study falls under qualitative approach as the study conducted to analyse and interpret the two archaeological sources, 'numismatics and Epigraphic inscription'. The data has been collected from various published sources that includes, Museum and other catalogues, *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica and Epigraphic Arabic and Persian supplement*. A part from these, to verify the published epigraphic sources researcher had visited various historical places and consulted various coin collectors for the study of coins. Researcher had also

examined thousand original coins in the collection of Indian Institute Research of Numismatic Studies (IIRNS), Nasik.

The present research is chiefly established on the two prime sources, “numismatics and epigraphy”. Moreover, Persian sources and auxiliary sources are additionally counseled wherever it is required. The numismatic sources fundamentally concentrated with the assistance of coin catalogues published from various Museums. These are accessible in various libraries and Museums.

Most of the research material including consulting library, examination of original coins, the coin photo caudexes, etc. were carried out at the Indian Institute Research of Numismatic Studies (IIRNS), Nasik (Now, INHCRF), the premier research center on Indian coins in India. The candidate has examined more than one thousand original coins of Bahmani, Qutub Shahi, Nizam Shahi, Adil Shahi, Barid Shahi, and Imad Shah in the coin collection of IIRNS. Besides, researcher attended a practical workshop on Medieval Indian coins organized by IIRNS to get practical training on the subject. The coins of the Deccan sultanates in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, (BHU), Varanasi, Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, and Calcutta Numismatic Society, Kolkata have also been studied. Apart from the Museum collections, some of the coins of Bahmani, Qutub Shahi, Nizam Shahi, and Adil Shahi in the private collections have also been studied.

The necessary data concerning the accessible assortments of coins of the Deccan Sultanate and published materials are also studied. In addition to the numismatic inquiries, the study of the contemporary and non-contemporary, unpublished and published, and literary translation works is also examined. This assisted a great deal with knowing the respective dynasties, kings, general conditions, mints, and other relevant events and so on. However, a significant portion of detail came from the following coin catalogues, Journals, and Newsletters.

## **Coin Catalogues**

Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum, Hyderabad*, 1964

Abdul Wali Khan, *Copper Coins of Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur, Hyderabad*, 1980.

Abdul Wali Khan, *Qutub Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum, Hyderabad*, 1961

Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, *The Coins of Indian Sultanate*, 2001

Michael Mitchener, *Oriental Coins and their Values The world of Islam*, London, 1977.

Dilip Rajgor, *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India*, Mumbai, 1991

Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871

Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II, Oxford, 1907.

D Raja Reddy, and P Suryanarayana Reddy, *Copper Coins of the Bahmani*, 1983

D Raja Reddy, and P Suryanarayana Reddy., *Silver Coins of the Bahmani*. 1983, reprint, 1990.

## **Journals**

Journal of Numismatic Society of India

Numismatic Digest

Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society

Numismatic Supplement

Numismatic Chronicle

Numismatic Studies

Numismatic International Bulletin

Studies in South Indian Numismatic

## **Newsletters**

ONS Newsletters

IIRNS, Newslite

International Numismatic Bulletin

## American Numismatic Society

To comprehend and collect the numismatic and historical sources, regarding the research topic the researcher has visited libraries of institutions such as Sayed Hamid library of MANUU Hyderabad, University of Hyderabad, Asiatic Society of India, University of Calcutta, Banaras Hindu University, the Idarah e- Adbiyat e Urdu, Andhra Pradesh State Library (Asafiya) Hyderabad, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata and Numismatic Society of India, BHU, Varanasi, Archaeology Dept. of Telangana State. The appropriate utilization of these sources has assisted to unfold and understand the coin's engravings and epigraphic inscriptions of Deccan the Sultanate.

The Deccan region is full of medieval monuments with Arabic and Persian inscriptions. They provide a good amount of information about the rulers and contemporary society. The buildings of the period enlightened the valuable and different aspects of political and cultural history. Many of the buildings bear important epigraphic inscriptions which sheds light on the different socio-religious aspects. Several inscriptions were found, from Gulbarga, Golconda, Hyderabad, etc.

To study original epigraphs, the scholar visited different monuments at Bidar, Gulbarga, Golconda, etc. But the epigraphic sources have primarily been studied with the help of published epigraphs in *Epigraphia Indo Arabic Persian Supplement* and *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*.

More than one hundred thirty published epigraphs of the Deccan sultanates have been studied. The breakup is as under:

1. Bahmani Sultanate: 9 rulers, 36 epigraphic inscriptions
2. Qutub Shahi: 6 rulers, 25 epigraphic inscriptions
3. Nizam Shahi: 3 rulers, 10 epigraphic inscriptions
4. Adil Shahi: 7 rulers, 40 epigraphic inscriptions.



## Review of Literature

The source material used in the preparation of this work is broadly divided into the following categories.

### Numismatic Sources: Catalogues

The first representation of coins of the Bahmani sultanate has been noticed in a pioneer work by Edward Thomas<sup>1</sup>, *The Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*. It is the earliest work on the coins of medieval India. He has selected some kings of medieval dynasties which also includes some of the coins of the Delhi sultanates, provincial sultanates, and the Mughals. It's a very vast catalogue, describing historical background proving with contemporary chronicles, and mentioning their coins. The catalogue of Edward Thomas also includes the coins of Firoz Shah, Humayun Shah, Muhammad Shah II, Allaudin Ahmad Shah II, and Mahmud Shah II of Bahmani Sultanate.

The main objective of Edward's work was to collect materials for history, in the form of documents. He had not followed any uniform pattern in mention out the coins of different Sultanates. Similarly, there are no transliterations or interpretations of coins inscriptions or illustrative inscriptions in general. Yet the book has been considered a pioneer work on medieval Indian numismatic still considered a valuable work for reference.

The catalogues of Stanley Lane Pool<sup>2</sup> *The Coins of Muhammadans States of India in the British Museum* and C.J Rodgers<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum* added a few more fresh coins and poured new information. These are the early catalogues of Medieval coins in a public Museum. Lane Pool made an extensive catalogue with inscriptions in Arabic script. Rodger's catalogue has been considered as the earliest Museum catalogue of Indian Museums.

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London, 1871

<sup>2</sup> Stanley Lane Pool, *The Coins of Muhammadans States of India in the British Museum*, London, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> C.J Rodgers, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1893.

The next Important Catalogue is by H. Nelson Wright<sup>4</sup>. It is considered as the best of these above mentioned certainly. The first part involves the coins of Delhi Sultanates while the second part includes the coins of provincial sultanates, Bengal, Jaunpur Kashmir, Malwa, and also the Bahmanis of Gulbarga. The catalogue is represented in a very small number of coins.

The catalogues have their limitation as they only mention typology metrology, legends, transliteration, translation, etc., and don't provide much space for interpretation and analysis. Yet they were very valuable sources to understand the typology of the coins and to interpret the data in new dimensional studies.

The proper cataloguing of the coins of the Deccan sultanate has received great attention in 1960 when Abdul Wali Khan<sup>5</sup>, one of the leading scholars of the numismatics of medieval Deccan published catalogues covering all the dynasties of Deccan sultanates.

Abdul Wali Khan has contributed to the almost coins of all the Deccan Sultanates. However, his first two works are in great detail, covering types, mints, and metrology. These catalogues are the most authentic works for the inscriptional study of the coins of the Bahmani and Qutub Shahi Sultanate. Apart from the inscription, they also provide their transliteration and translation. The Arabic transliteration made by Wali Khan is very authentic and reliable. He uses the correct pronunciation for the Arabic inscriptions.

The next important work on the coins of the Deccan sultanate may be mentioned here is *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins in India* (1990) by Dilip Rajgor, which covers the coins of medieval sultanates before the Mughals. He incorporated the coins of the Deccan sultanates-Bahmani, Nizam Shahi, Qutub Shahi, Adil Shahi, Barid Shahi, and Imad Shahi, and included many new coin types and assortments which were left by Wali Khan and other researchers. But this work has many omissions errors and inconsistencies and he had not properly mentioned the

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<sup>4</sup> H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* Vol. II, Calcutta, 1907.

<sup>5</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, Hyderabad, 1964, *Qutub Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, Hyderabad, 1961, *Copper Coins of Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur*, Hyderabad, 1980.

coin's inscriptions. D Raja Reddy and P Suryanarayana Reddy<sup>6</sup> had also worked on the silver and copper coins of the Bahmani.

The most recent and updated work on the coins of the Indian sultanate including the Deccan sultanate may be mentioned here as *The Coins of the Indian sultanate* by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka<sup>7</sup>. They featured a proper representation of the coins of Indian Sultanates. The catalogue gives definite engravings, literal interpretation, and metrology. They have been able to refer to all previously published materials including the Rajgor's catalogue. This catalogue has been regarded as an advanced version of Rajgor's catalogue. It includes many new coin types and varieties, not found in any other catalogue.

### **Reporting articles in Numismatic**

Very limited work seems to have been done in the earlier years about the coinage of Deccan sultanates. Some of the numismatists had made their contribution through reporting new coins, new mints, dates, etc. published in various journals. Their contribution, however, can't be neglected, as they have provided valuable numismatic data of the particular period.

Early scholars such as Gibbs<sup>8</sup>, and O Codrington<sup>9</sup> have published their articles in the issues of the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay*. However, the first two authors made certain misreading and corollaries that contradict contemporary studies on the subject.

Richard Burn<sup>10</sup> made a few additions to Codrington's numismatic history of the Bahmani. This was followed by F J Thanawala's "note on some rare silver coins".

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<sup>6</sup> D Raja Reddy and P Suryanarayana Reddy, *Copper Coins of the Bahmani*, 1983, and *Silver Coins of the Bahmani*. 1983, reprint, 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Stan Goron and J P Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian sultanate*, Munshiram Manoharlal pub. Pvt. Ltd, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Joe Gibbs, "On the Gold and silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881. p. 91.

<sup>9</sup> O Codrington, "Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty", *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 18, 1898. p. 259-273.

<sup>10</sup> R Burn, "The Bahmani Kings", *Numismatic Supplement*, No. VII. 1907. p. 53-56.

H M Whittell<sup>11</sup> with the evidence of a coin of Allaudin Bahman Shah dated 760, disputed the last date of his reign noted in history. Another most important article is by E.E Speight<sup>12</sup>, who had done good work on the coins of Bahmani. He had dealt with over five hundred of the finer specimens of Bahmani coins. Along with all these eminent scholars, Richard K Bright<sup>13</sup> has also contributed his few articles on the coins of Bahmani, and those additional coins were listed by Abdul Wali Khan, in his Catalogue *Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum Hyderabad* was published in 1964. Sir Wolseley Haig<sup>14</sup>, Maulvi Abdul Wali<sup>15</sup>, Dinkar Rao<sup>16</sup>, P L Gupta<sup>17</sup>, A. H Siddiqui, and T D Rao<sup>18</sup>, had also contributed a few important reporting articles.

The coinage of Bijapur's Adil Shahi dynasty has also been ignored. A glance at the journals and earlier published articles shows that there only a few scholars contributed to the subject. G P Taylor<sup>19</sup> was the first to publish some copper coins and *larins* of the kings of Bijapur which were supplemented by three gold coins of Muhammad Adil Shah. Muhammad Ismail<sup>20</sup> discussed the epithet *Abla Bali*<sup>21</sup> of Ibrahim Adil Shah which is found on his copper coins. He further gave full and correct readings of the five available gold coins of Muhammad Adil Shah. Stan Goron<sup>22</sup> had also reported a gold *fanam* of the Adil Shahi, in the *Journal of Oriental*

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<sup>11</sup> H. M. Whittell, "The Coins of the Bahmani Kings of Gulbarga", *JASB, Numismatic Supplement XIX*, 1923. p. 234.

<sup>12</sup> E. E. Speight, "The Coins of the Bahmani Kings of Deccan", *Islamic Culture*, 1935. p. 268.

<sup>13</sup> Richard. K. Bright, "Bahmani's of Gulbarga", *Numismatic International Bulletin*, January 1973.

"More Coins of the Bahmani Shahs of Gulbarga", *Numismatic International Bulletin*, March 1973.

<sup>14</sup> M. W. Haig, "Notes on the Bahmani Dynasty", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, part I. 1904. pp. 1-15.

<sup>15</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, "The Bahmani Dynasty", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1909. p. 461.

<sup>16</sup> Dinkar Rao, "A rare coin of Muhammad Shah I Bahmani", *Numismatic Digest*, Part II, 1977. p. 32.

<sup>17</sup> P L Gupta, "A Gold Coin of Bahmani Muhammad Shah III", *Numismatic Digest*, Part II, 1977. p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> A. H. Siddiqui, and T. D. Rao, "A New type Gold Coin of Feroz Shah Bahmani", *Numismatic Digest*, 1997-1998. p. 67.

<sup>19</sup> G. P. Taylor, "On some Copper coins of the Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur", "On the Bijapur Lari and Larin *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1910. p. 678.

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Ismaeel, "Some remarks on the Coinage of the Adil Shahi Dynasty", *Numismatic Supplement XXI*, (Article No. 254). 1925. p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> Muhammad Ismaeel, "The epithet used on the Copper Coins of Ibrahim Adil Shah II", *Numismatic Supplement XXXVI*. (Article No. 231). 1922. p. N 37.

<sup>22</sup> Stan Goron, "A Gold Fanam of the Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur", *Oriental Numismatic Society*, Newsletter No. 74, 1981. p. 2.

*Numismatic Society*. A.H Siddiqui<sup>23</sup> had published a couplet type coin of Adil Shahi in *Numismatic Digest*.

The study on the coins of Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar was done by F J Thanawala<sup>24</sup>, who described the copper coins of Burhan Nizam Shah I, Murtaza Nizam Shah I, and Burhan Nizam Shah II and different mints, like Daulatabad, Burhanabada, etc. Arvind S Athavale<sup>25</sup> in his article covers a detailed study of the coins of the Nizam Shahi dynasty including the dating system. Danish Moin<sup>26</sup> has published a gold coin of Burhan Nizam Shah, noticed for the first time. Before the publication of this coin, it was generally believed that Nizam Shahi had issued coins only in copper, this may be considered a great contribution. J R Hunnarikar<sup>27</sup>, A H Siddiqui,<sup>28</sup> had also made some valuable contributions to the study of Nizam Shahi coins by publishing new types and new mints.

The coins of the Qutub Shahi dynasty in the early period find some attention from Richard Burn<sup>29</sup> who published the coins of Abdullah Qutub Shah and his successor Abul Hasan with dates 1068 *Hijri* and 1095 *Hijri* respectively. In recent years, Sanjay Godbole<sup>30</sup> had also contributed a reporting article on Qutub Shahi Coins.

Very little information is available on the coinage of the Imad Shahi Kings of Berar. However, an article by A.H. Siddiqui<sup>31</sup> has been published. Similarly, very little is known about the coins of Barid Shahi of Bidar. The first mention of their coin was

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<sup>23</sup> A H Siddiqui, "New Couplet on Bijapur Coins of Muhammad Adil Shah", *Numismatic Digest*, part, II, 1977. p. 33.

<sup>24</sup> F. J. Thanawala, "Some rare Copper Coins of the Nizam Shahi", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1907. Vol. III. p. 51-53.

<sup>25</sup> Arvind. S. Athavale, "Coins of Nizam Shahi Sultanate of Ahmednagar", *Numismatic Panorama*, 1996. p. 291.

<sup>26</sup> Danish Moin, "Two gold Coins of Burhan Nizam II of Nizam Shahi Dynasty", *Numismatic Digest*, 1997-1998. p. 71.

<sup>27</sup> J R Hunnarikar, "Some interesting Coins of the Nizam Shahi Dynasty", *Numismatic digest*, 1997-1998. p. 75.

<sup>28</sup> A. H. Siddiqui, "Copper Coins of Later Nizam Shahi Kings", *Numismatic Studies*, Vol. 3, 1993. p. 95.

<sup>29</sup> R Burn, "The Qutub Shahi of Hyderabad or Golconda", *Numismatic Supplement*, Vol. 5, 1909. p 317.

<sup>30</sup> Sanjay Godbole, "Copper coins of Abdullah Qutub Shah with the rare date", *Journal of Numismatic Society of India* (Part I And II), 2010. p 81.

<sup>31</sup> A. H. Siddiqui, "The Copper Coin of Imad Shahi Dynasty of Berar", *JNSI*, (part I). 1974. p 142.

done by H Kaus<sup>32</sup>, Abdul Hameed Siddiqui<sup>33</sup> has also published some coins of Barid Shahi, later on, Richard K Bright<sup>34</sup> had contributed a detailed article, on Barid Shahi Coins of Bidar.

Apart from the above-mentioned reporting articles, there are a few interesting works were produced that cover other aspects of medieval Indian coins in general. *Indian Coinage Tradition Origin, Continuity and Change* by Joe Cribb need to be mentioned here. This book provides the basic concept of Indian coinage with an emphasis on continuity and change. Joe Cribb says that “the Indian coinage tradition has furthermore shown distinctive ability to adapt and absorb aspects of foreign coinage traditions. This readiness is undoubtedly a response to the imperative created by numerous invading and trading forces carrying new coinage ideas into India”<sup>35</sup>. The first noticeable external impact on Indian coins was Greek coinage, which was followed by Indo Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, and the coinage of Islamic tradition. They all adopted the contemporary coinage tradition with additional of their ideas which formed a new coinage tradition. Hence, the longevity of many coinage traditions is another characteristic of Indian coins which differ from Europe and the Islamic world.

Even though the advent of Islamic rule in India brought about an evolution in Indian coins which is clear from the establishment of Delhi the sultanate, the Islamic coinage was “closely bound up with the history and transitions of their religion”<sup>36</sup>. In their initial age, they had also adopted the contemporary coinage system having pictorial motifs with a form of Bull and horseman, goddess Lakshmi.

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<sup>32</sup> H. Kaus, “The Copper Coins of the Barid Shahi Kings of Bidar”, *JNSI*, p 51. 1945. Also see Legend of Bareed Shahi Coins, *JNSI*, 1949 (part I) p. 38.

<sup>33</sup> A. H. Siddiqui, “Some copper coins of Barid Shahi”, *JNSI*, XXI, Part II, 1959. p. 58-66, Also see, “A new legend on a Copper Coin of Ibrahim Barid”. 1966 (part I). p. 82., “Some Barid Shahi Coins”. *JNSI*, 1974. (Part I). pp. 137. “A note on Copper Coins of Barid Shahi dynasty”. *JNSI*, 1989. (Part I and II). p. 118-121.

<sup>34</sup> Richard K Bright, “The Coins of the Barid Shahi of Bidar”, *Numismatic International Bulletin*, Vol. 7. No. 9, 1973

<sup>35</sup> Joe Cribb, *Indian Coinage Tradition Continuity and Change*, IIRNS. 2005

<sup>36</sup> C J Brown, *The Coins of India*, 1922, p. 67.

Although the concept of Islamic coinage tradition, promotes sovereignty, the issue of coins by the rulers is perhaps only a way to demonstrate sovereignty, the circulation of coins in the names of a ruler is considered a part of the process of confirming the high authority to rule. Sayed Ejaz Hussain, in his article<sup>37</sup>, explains “Islamic coins to the people in two ways-through the language of the inscription as well as through the language of art. The rulers used both these languages to legitimize and glorify their authority and power to create a sensory image in the mind of their subjects to win their faith and make them obey”

Danish Moin<sup>38</sup> has also contributed a survey article on the coins of the Deccan sultanate covering the Bahmani Sultanate and its disintegrated parts. But it has not included all the coins of these dynasties. This article, however, proposes a framework, to proceed with the present thesis.

For a better understanding of medieval Indian coinage which is generally been called Islamic type coins, the researcher had consulted books and articles, regarding the conceptual understanding of the type, which come from Arab countries. Inscriptions in Arabic is the prime feature of Islamic- type coins, it is constituted with, religious titles, *Kalima*, dates, and the name of caliphs. In the 9th century, the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mamun introduced the Islamic-type coins by inscribing his name on them.<sup>39</sup> Other Muslim rulers across the world, as well as Indian sultans, eventually began issuing coins on the pattern of Islamic tradition.

In the past, many eminent scholars had worked on Islamic- type coins in the Arab context. The work of Michael Mitchener<sup>40</sup> is worth mentioning here, it includes coins from throughout the Islamic world, as well as Islamic-style coinage from India. The content is primarily comprised of an opening section and brief notes on

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<sup>37</sup>Sayed Ejaz, “Symbolism and the state authority: Reflections from the art on the Indo Islamic Coins”, 2013, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication>.

<sup>38</sup> Danish Moin, “The Coinage of Deccan Sultans: Some Observations” *Numismatic Studies*, Vol. 6, (2001). p. 167.

<sup>39</sup> Tayeb Al Hibri, “Coinage Reform under Abbasid Caliph Al Mamun”. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1993. p. 58-83.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Mitchener, *Oriental Coins, and their Values: The World of Islam*, London, 1977.

each dynasty. The book is important as a guide to coin identification and understanding the evolution of Islamic coinage.

The second general handbook is, Jere L. Bacharach's<sup>41</sup> *Islamic History through Coins; An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage*, the handbook is beneficial since it clearly explains how to arrange and evaluate numismatic data for newcomers to the discipline. He presented an explanation of technical terms like obverse, reverse, die links, and degree of fineness. He had mainly focused on the coinage of Muhammad-ibn-Tughj- al- Ikhshid the founder of the Ikhshidid dynasty. In the last, he had produced a catalogue, keeping in mind how coin collectors and other scholars can use these materials. The last section of his book listed *dinars* and *dirhams* with images.

George C. Mile's<sup>42</sup> *Rare Islamic Coins*, according to the author, each unique Islamic coin contributes something to our understanding of Islamic numismatics and geography, sometimes insignificantly, sometimes significantly.

Richard J Plant<sup>43</sup> in his small book has tried to explain the Arabic inscription on Islamic coins and how to read them without studying Arabic. It is extremely helpful in interpreting the wide range of Arabic inscriptions found on coins throughout the Islamic world.

In a similar pattern, Danish Moin<sup>44</sup> had published an article where he mentions how to identify the medieval Indian coins without knowing the Arabic script with the help of calligraphy used in different coins of medieval Indian coins.

Codrington's<sup>45</sup> work *Manual of Musalman Numismatics* consists of a table of calendars, Arabic letters, and numerals, and it also proposes the lists of rulers and high authoritarian names, titles, religious inscriptions, and other visual components

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<sup>41</sup> Jere L. Bacharach's, *Islamic History through Coins; An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage*, 2015.

<sup>42</sup> C. Mile's, "Rare Islamic Coins", *The American Numismatic Society*, New York, 1950

<sup>43</sup> Richard. J. Plant, *Arabic Coins and How to Read Them*, Seaby. London. 1973.

<sup>44</sup> Danish Moin, "Medieval Indian Coins: A Calligraphic Aspect", *JNSI*, LVIII, 2007, p. 68-72.

<sup>45</sup> Codrington, *Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, Kessinger pub. 1904.



on coins which are particularly useful for newcomers to understand the Islamic numismatics.

Anna Tinner (2014)<sup>46</sup>, in his article, discussed four coins of Islamic rulers, which glimpsed the transition of the rule from the Byzantine Empire to the Islamic Caliphate. “He adopted a new technology called Reflective Transference Image to examine the coins (RTI). The technology enables high-resolution photos of the coins that can be adjusted for light and reflection. RTI coin images offer a unique perspective on the coin, revealing characteristics that are not visible to the naked eye”.<sup>47</sup> The transition from the Byzantine Empire to the Umayyad dynasty was shown on these four coins. Of course, this is a methodical and slow procedure with long-term consequences. Muwaiya took care to facilitate a smooth transition from Christianity to Islam, as well as from Greek to Arabic. In his approach, he had to be meticulous. For fear of rejection, Muwaiya was unable to make significant alterations to the currency. For his newly conquered subjects, he had to make a gradual adjustment. That can be applied in the Indian context as well because, during the inception of Muslim control in India, they did not immediately install Islamic currency; instead, they did so gradually, for the same reason.

Besides, the work of Tayeb El-Hibri<sup>48</sup> who has worked on the coins of Al- Mamun examining the monetary sphere and the different cultural changes in his coinage is discussed. He argues that the “transformation in style, type, and structure of Abbasid coinage can be described as the outcome of a structured policy of coinage reform ordered by the Caliph Mamun”. Another, general article by Michael Humphreys<sup>49</sup> wherein he described the numismatic tussle between the Arab and Byzantine, for their supremacy.

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<sup>46</sup> Anna Tiner, “A period of Transition: Early Islamic and Umayyad Coinage”. *Research Gate Publication*. 2016.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Tayeb El – Hibri, “Coinage Reform under the Abbasid Caliph Al Mamun”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 36, No. 1. 1993. p. 58-83.

<sup>49</sup> Micheal Humphreys, “The War of Images Revisited Justinians II; Coinage Reform and the Caliphate”, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 173, 1966. pp. 229-244.

In this category, the works of David J Wasserstein<sup>50</sup> and Wijdan Ali<sup>51</sup> needed to be mentioned here. Both of them discuss the early Islamic coinage of the Islamic world. The former contend that every feature of Islamic currency has a meaning and that these coins were not only coined for monetary purposes but also to transmit many messages expressing their faith. In his article, the latter analyses the emergence and conflict of the coins of the Umayyads, Abbasids, and Fatimids, as well as the Arab and Byzantine currency for deity image and inscription. Subsequently, Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik introduced the first Islamic type coinage. The Abbasid caliph Al- Mamun experimented further, introducing the name of the governor and dedicating the coins to the Abbasid caliph. He also made some other changes such as calligraphy, size of the coins, etc. However, the coins of the Fatimid dynasty portrayed the *Shia* identity declaring their bond to Ali. ‘Caliph Al Muiz’ issued coins with a clear *Shia* message and with a new design. Fatimid coins were so well-crafted and numerous that they became the most widely traded currencies in the Mediterranean. Michael L Bates<sup>52</sup>, Carl Wurtzel<sup>53</sup>, and Luke Treadwell<sup>54</sup> have also contributed to the development of Islamic coinage in the world context.

Wijdan Ali<sup>55</sup>, in his article, discussed very briefly, the development and struggle of the coins of Umayyad, Abbasids, the Andalusian coins, and Fatimid. He had mentioned how Arab and Byzantines were fighting for supremacy with the help of coin depictions and inscriptions.

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<sup>50</sup> David Wasserstein, “Coins as Agents of Cultural Definition of Islam”, *Poetics Today*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Cultural Process in Muslim and Arab Societies: Medieval and early modern Periods), 1993. pp. 303-322.

<sup>51</sup> Wijdan Ali, “Islamic Coins during the Umayyad, Abbasid, Andalusian and Fatimid dynasties”, *Foundation of science technology and civilization*, 2004. p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Michael L Bates, “Islamic Numismatics”. *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, vol. 12, No 3. December 1978. p. 2-18.

<sup>53</sup> Carl Wurtzel, “The Coinage of the Revolutionaries in the late Umayyad Period”, *Museum notes (American Numismatic Society)*, Vol. 23. 1978. p. 161-199.

<sup>54</sup> Luke Treadwell, “The Copper Coinage of Umayyad Iran”, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 168, 1966, 2008. p. 331-381.

<sup>55</sup> op. cit. p. 2.

Michael L Bate's<sup>56</sup> article is designed as a primer for historians as it proposes an introduction to the literature and some of the problems of Islamic numismatics. It is organized into four sections, firstly general surveys and reference works secondly research and study facilities on general problems in Islamic numismatics, and thirdly a survey of specialized research arranged chronologically and geographically. He had also cited published works according to the author's name and date in the bibliography at the end. Carl Wurtzel<sup>57</sup>, Luke Treadwell<sup>58</sup>, and Neal Evans very briefly introduced all points of development of Islamic coins.

### **Epigraphic sources**

Like numismatics, epigraphy is another important archeological source for interpreting the history of a particular period. To promote and strengthen the study of epigraphy the Govt. of India had established different branches for epigraphy under the control of Archeological Survey of India. In order to promote the study of Arabic and Persian epigraphy a separate branch with its headquarter in Nagpur was established. Most of the epigraphy inscriptions are been published in *Epigraphy Indica* and *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, which later became *Epigraphia Indica- Arabic and Persian Supplement*.

The present work focusses on the comparative study of epigraphs and numismatics, for a new interpretation of historical understanding. The researcher investigated several materials on Arabic and Persian inscription epigraphy published in *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, which later became *Epigraphia Indica- Arabic and Persian Supplement*.

Some of the world's most renowned scholars have studied epigraphs. Famous Orientalist E. Denison Ross, published the first issue of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica* in 1907-1908. Dr. J Horovitz, Ghulam Yazdani, and Z. A. Desai have made significant contributions to the study of Arabic and Persian epigraphs. All

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<sup>56</sup> op. cit. p. 2-18.

<sup>57</sup> op. cit. p. 161-199.

<sup>58</sup> op. cit. p. 331-381.

these famous scholars inspired the researcher considerably and provided a forum for the multidisciplinary study of history.

Apart from this, the archeological survey of India also published inscriptions in its series of Memoirs. The researcher had consulted, *A Monograph on the inscriptions of Bijapur*<sup>59</sup> which contains a record of all the Quranic and non-historical epigraphs of Bijapur, and also consulted Muhammad Ashraf Hussain's work, *Record of All the Quranic and Non- Historical Epigraphs of Delhi Province*<sup>60</sup>.

The major works on Arabic Persian Inscriptions are generally understood as *Gaur- Its Ruins and Inscriptions* by R H Ravenshaw<sup>61</sup> and the work *Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad through their Inscriptions* by M. A Chaghtai<sup>62</sup>. The work of Ghulam Yazdani entitled *Bidar Its History and Monuments*<sup>63</sup> and *The Antiquities of Bidar*<sup>64</sup> were the most important works in the epigraphical study of Arabic Persian Inscriptions. They contributed immensely to the study of Arabic Persian inscriptions and carried out many new information and interpretations in history. Many other prominent scholars such as Maulvi Bashiruddin Ahmad's *Waqita-e- Darul Hukumat*<sup>65</sup>, Sayed Asghar Ali Bilgrani who has written *Mathir Dakan* in Urdu which was translated into English as *Land Marks of Deccan*<sup>66</sup>. Henry Cousens<sup>67</sup> and V S Bendrey<sup>68</sup> have also contributed to the study with their good publications.

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<sup>59</sup> M Nazim, *A Monograph on the inscriptions of Bijapur*, Delhi, 1936.

<sup>60</sup> Muhammad Ashraf Hussain, *Record of All the Quranic and Non- Historical Epigraphs of Delhi Province* Archeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1926.

<sup>61</sup> R H Ravenshaw, *Gaur- Its Ruins and Inscriptions*, London, 1878.

<sup>62</sup> M. A Chaghtai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad Through Their Inscriptions*, Poona, 1942.

<sup>63</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar Its History and Monuments*, London, 1944

<sup>64</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *The Antiquities of Bidar*, Calcutta, 1917

<sup>65</sup> Maulvi Bashiruddin Ahmad, *Waqita-e-Mamlekate Bijapur*, Darul Hukumat, Agra, 1919

<sup>66</sup> Sayed Asghar Ali Bilgrani, *Mathir Dakan* Hyderabad 1925 and *Land Marks of Deccan*, Hyderabad 1927.

<sup>67</sup> Henry Cousens, *The Old Capital of the Adil Shahi Kings: A Guide to its Ruins with Historical Culture*, Poona, 1889.

<sup>68</sup> V S Bendrey, *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions*, Bombay, 1944.

In the recent past, some scholars such as A K M Yaqub Ali, *Epigraphs of Medieval Bengal: Mode of Decipherment and Utilization for History Writing*<sup>69</sup>. David P. Henige<sup>70</sup>, *Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a Vacuum*. Pratik Kumar Mitra, *Documentation on Some New Epigraphic Discoveries from Gaur*<sup>71</sup>. Muhammad Yusuf Siddiqui, *Epigraphy and Islamic History in South Asia*<sup>72</sup> had contributed their valuable works on epigraphs in various journals.

Thus, with their contribution, many unpublished epigraphs came into notice. These contributions, however, was restricted to epigraphy and a comparison has not been made with numismatic evidence.

### **Primary Persian Sources**

There are a few Persian sources which throw highlight in the history of the Deccan Sultanates. Abul Qasim Ferishta's *Gulshan Ibrahmi (Tarikh-i- Ferishta)* is perhaps the only source that covers the history of medieval Deccan in general and Deccan sultanates in particular. Besides, *Fatuh-us-Salatatin* of Isami, *Tazkirat-ul - Muluk* of Rafiuddin Shirazi, and *Burhan-Maasir* of Tabatabai is the most relevant sources to understand the history of the Deccan sultanate. The researcher had primarily consulted the translations of these Persian sources. Besides, many of the information has been gathered from Elliot and Downson.<sup>73</sup>

*Futuh-us-Salatin* of Isami is the most remarkable and early Persian work on Bahmani. The book is written in poetic form. Isami's work is very relevant for the

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<sup>69</sup> A K M Yaqub Ali, "Epigraphs of Medieval Bengal: Mode of Decipherment and Utilization for History Writing", *Bengal Muslim Research Institute - a historical reference point for books, articles, and biographies (bmri.org.uk)*.

<sup>70</sup> David P. Henige, "Some Phantom dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a vacuum". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London Vol. 38. 1975. P. 525-549.

<sup>71</sup> Pratik Kumar Mitra, "Documentation on Some New Epigraphic Discoveries from Gaur", [https://www.academia.edu/5788036/Documentation\\_on\\_Some\\_New\\_Epigraphic\\_Discoveries\\_from\\_Gaur](https://www.academia.edu/5788036/Documentation_on_Some_New_Epigraphic_Discoveries_from_Gaur).

<sup>72</sup> Muhammad Yusuf Siddiqui, "Epigraphy and Islamic History in South Asia". *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*. Vol. 2 Issue. 2, 2012. p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by its Own Historians*, Vol. III, London, 1871.

early period of Bahmani mainly Bahman Shah and the establishment of the Bahmani dynasty. Isami is generally been considered as *Shahnama* of medieval India. The translation of *Futuhus Salatin* was done by A Mahdi Hussain under the title *The Futuhus Salatin, or the Shahnama of Medieval India*<sup>74</sup>.

Another prominent work on Bahmani was *Gulshan i- Ibrahimi* or *Tarikh –i- Ferishta* by Muhammad Qasim. It consists of several books covering the kings of Ghazni and Lahore, Delhi Sultans and Dakini Sultans, Sultans of Malwa, Gujrat, Khandesh, Kashmir, Multan, etc. General J Briggs (1829)<sup>75</sup> translated the *Tarikh –i- Ferishta*. Brigg’s translation is widely quoted and respected in the academic circle. Scholars have noted that Briggs made several additions to the original works of Ferishta. Besides, the researcher had also consulted the Urdu translation of *Gulshan Ibrahimi* by Abdul Hayye Khwaja and D. Rashid

Ziauddin Barani’s<sup>76</sup> chronicle *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* was considered the most authentic source to write the history of Mamluk, Khalji, and Tughluq of the Delhi sultanate. The author witnessed the developments undergoing in Delhi and Deccan regions. Scholars have observed that Barni *Tarikh- Firoz Shahi* was a first-hand history of Delhi and Deccan as he witnessed all the happenings. It was recently translated into English, by Ishtiyaq Ahmad Zilli<sup>77</sup>.

Sayed Ali Tabatabai wrote a book named *Burhan -i- Massir* which is also a widely quoted chronicle. The book was in the manuscript form, and its part was translated into English by J S Kings, (1900)<sup>78</sup> which is also an authentic source of reference about the Bahmani kingdom. He had especially focused on the kingdom of Ahmednagar and its antecedents.

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<sup>74</sup> A Mahdi Hussain, *The Futuhus Salatin, or the Shahnama of Medieval India*, London, 1938.

<sup>75</sup> General J. Briggs, *The History of the Rise of Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol. V. London. 1829.

<sup>76</sup> Ziauddin, Barani, *Tarikh-e- Firoz Shahi*, (Henry Miers Elliot, John Dowson Translator). Sang-e-Meel- Publications, Lahore. 2006.

<sup>77</sup> Ishtiyaq Ahmad Zilli, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (English Translation), Delhi, 2019.

<sup>78</sup> J S King, *The History of The Bahmani Dynasty, Founded on the Burhan –i-Massir*, London, 1900.

## Secondary Sources: History

In order to comprehend the historical background of the Deccan, some of the important secondary works on the political and cultural history of the Deccan have also been studied. These include the works of Ghulam Yazdani<sup>79</sup>, H K Sherwani and P M Joshi (eds), S K Sinha, and others.

A very important secondary source to know the history and culture of the Bahmani Sultanate is the work done by H K Sherwani. He was a renowned Indian historian who lived in India from, 1891 to 1980. Historians had regarded his contributions to the study of Deccan history as authentic and excellent. He has authored a good number of notable works such as *The Bahmani's of Deccan an Objective Study*, *Mahmud Gawan: The Great Bahmani Wazir*, *Cultural Trends in Medieval India: Architecture, Painting, Literature & Language*, *Cultural Understanding in Medieval India*, *History of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty*, and *Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah, founder of Hyderabad*<sup>80</sup>.

These works have been properly studied to develop the understanding of the history of medieval Deccan. However, his work *The Bahmani's of Deccan An Objective Study* and *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*<sup>81</sup>, needs special mention these books are extensively used by the researcher. These books provide very relevant and minor details about the Bahmani and its successor's sultanate covering the political, socio-cultural, and economic developments of these dynasties.

Although Nilkhantha Sastri has written numerous books on south Indian and Deccan. His book *A History of South India from Prehistoric to the Fall of Vijayanagar*<sup>82</sup> has been considered as the most valuable work on the history of

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<sup>79</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar Its History and Monuments*, London, 1944.

<sup>80</sup> H K Sherwani, *The Bahmani's of Deccan an objective Study*, Hyderabad, 1946; *Mahmud Gawan The Great Bahmani Wazir*, Allahabad, 1942; *Cultural Trends in Medieval India: Architecture, Painting, Literature & Language* New York, 1968; *Cultural Understanding in Medieval India*, Hyderabad, 1962; *History of the Qutub Shahi dynasty*, 1974); *Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah, founder of Hyderabad*, London, 1967.

<sup>81</sup> H K Sherwani, *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724) Mainly Political and Military Aspects*, Andhra Pradesh. 1973.

<sup>82</sup> Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India from Prehistoric to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, oxford, 1997.

south India. It covers the political history of Bahmani and its successors, in addition to Vijayanagar. This work was extensively examined by the researcher to better comprehend the relationship between Vijayanagar and the Deccan Sultans.

*Historic Landmarks of the Deccan* by Haig's (1907)<sup>83</sup> provides relevant details of the Bahmani Kingdom. The scholar has dealt in broadly the boundaries of the Bahmani Kingdom, the history of the Bahmani dynasty, chronological details of Bahmani rule, the rise and fall of the Bahmani Sultanate, and other factors also. The work also provides comprehensive details of the rule of the Bahmani Sultans in general and their contributions to education, society, polity, and economy, and also the cultural progress of Deccan in particular. The scholar has also provided a detailed account of two old capitals of the Deccan namely, Gulbarga and Bidar.

The book of S A Q Hussiani's *Bahman Shah the Founder of the Bahmani Kingdom*<sup>84</sup> deals with the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom with a detailed account of Bahaman Shah. He wrote this book by quoting the evidence of a contemporary writer, several later authors, and transcribing some of the coins as well as by reproducing a contemporary epigraphic inscription.

The works of Stanley Lane Poole *Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule (712-1764 AD)*<sup>85</sup>. S. K. Sinha, *Medieval History of the Deccan Vol I Bahmani's*<sup>86</sup>, *Medieval History of the Deccan Vol II, Adil Shahi*<sup>87</sup>. George Michel and Mark Zebrowski, *The Cambridge History of India*<sup>88</sup>, and J L Mehta's *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*<sup>89</sup> are a few other important secondary sources were consulted to know the socio-cultural history of the southern half of the country.

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<sup>83</sup> Major, T W Haig, *Historic Land Marks of the Deccan*, Allahabad. 1907.

<sup>84</sup> S A Q Husseini, *Bahman Shah the Founder of the Bahmani Kingdom*, Calcutta. 1960

<sup>85</sup> Stanley Lane Pool, *Mediaeval India Under Muhammadan Rule*, Delhi, 2003, p. 410-430.

<sup>86</sup> S. K. Sinha, *Medieval History of the Deccan Vol. I Bahmani's*, Depart. Of Archaeology and Museums, Telangana. 2017

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> George Michel and Mark Zebrowski, *The Cambridge History of India; Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*, Cambridge University Press, 2006

<sup>89</sup> J. L. Mehta, *Advanced Study of the History of Medieval India*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi. 1987. p. 209-221.



## Chapterization

The present thesis is divided into six chapters, apart from introduction, conclusion, and bibliography. Besides, abbreviations, table of content, table of images, and illustrations are also included.

**The introduction** of this thesis deals with the selection of the topic, aim and objectives, significance of the topic, research methodology, and the literature review.

The Chapter first *Historical Context of the Deccan Sultanates* discusses the establishment of the Deccan Sultanates beginning from the rule of the Delhi sultanate in the region of the Deccan and subsequently formation of independent Bahmani Sultanates its rise and fall. The decline of Bahmani witnessed the emergence of five important sultanates in Deccan, they are known Qutub Shahi of Golconda, Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, Adil Shahi of Bijapur, Barid Shahi of Bidar, and Imad Shahi of Berar. These dynasties have been properly discussed in this chapter.

The Chapter second *Medieval Indian Coinage: Continuity and Change* begins with the introduction of Indian coinage with great emphasis on medieval Indian coinage. It is noticed that medieval Indian coinages were mainly issued in Islamic traditions where inscription became a prime feature. The chapter deals with the reason for the introduction of the new coin tradition in India and its impact on Indian coinages. Besides, it discusses typology and inscription found on them. The chapter is based on primary sources such as coin catalogues and original coins referred to in the various public and private collections. It also discussed the coinage of the Delhi Sultanate and also tried to examine, the changes and continuity in coinage, throughout the centuries.

The Chapter third *Typological and Inscriptional Analysis of the coinage of the Bahmani Sultanate* is a detailed chapter on the coinage of the Bahmani sultanate covering typology and metrology. Besides, it has a detailed analysis of the coin inscription of Bahmani sultans with continuity and change from their predecessors.

The Chapter fourth *Typological and Inscriptional Analysis of the coinage of the successors of the Bahmani* is a detailed chapter on the coinage of disintegrated parts of Bahmani sultanates, the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, Qutub Shahi of Golconda, Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, Barid Shahi of Bidar and Imad Shahi of Berar.

The Chapter fifth *Coins and Epigraphic Inscriptions of the Bahmani Sultanate: A Comparative Study* is a detailed comparative analysis of the coin inscription with epigraphic inscriptions. The researcher will also try to look at various aspects of the inscriptions, especially the secular, cultural, and religious aspects. It had been divided into two sections. First section deals with the importance of epigraphical inscriptions and calligraphy in medieval India. The second section is a detailed discussion of the epigraphical inscriptions of the Bahmani sultanates.

The Chapter Sixth *Coins and Epigraphic Inscriptions of the successor of Bahmani Sultanate: A Comparative Study* is a detailed comparative analysis of the coin inscription with epigraphic inscriptions. The researcher will also try to look into the various aspects, covering the secular, cultural, and religious contents of the inscriptions.

**Conclusion.** The researcher had completed all of the chapters by the end. Following extensive investigation and analysis, it became obvious that coin inscriptions and epigraphic inscriptions played a critical role in comprehending the monarchs' religious and cultural aspects. As a result, the new coinage tradition (Islamic style coins) established by the Delhi Sultanate remained dominant in India for centuries. The rulers of the Deccan Sultanates devised their own coinage pattern, which was more informational and artistic than that of the Delhi Sultanate. In inscriptional and calligraphic styles, they had separated themselves from the Delhi Sultanate. The comparison research, on the other hand, was extremely important. Religious information is the same as coins, according to epigraph analysis. The titles were nearly identical to those of the Bahmani Sultanate. However, owing of the lack of inscriptions on coins, the situation is different in its regime. Finally, the calligraphy of the Bahmani Sultanate differed from epigraphs. However, calligraphy from its regimes can be found alongside coins.

## Chapter I

### **Historical Context of Deccan Sultanates**

## Chapter I

### Historical Context of Deccan Sultanates

To comprehend the Deccan sultanate's numismatic and epigraphic tradition it is necessary to understand the historical background of the Deccan sultanates.

The first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is a period of unparalleled interest in the history of South India. During that period the Peninsula was unsettled. Although the Muslim power was firmly established in Northern India since the days of Muhammad Ghoris. However, Ghoris and his Turkish successor were not in a position to extend their monarchical territory until the closing years of the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. AD when Malik Gurshap nephew and son-in-law of Sultan Jalaluddin Firoz made a sudden attack upon Deogiri. Gurshap afterward assumed the throne in the name of Alauddin Khalji and the Deccan was subjected to intervention by the Delhi Sultanate throughout his tenure. Alauddin Muhammad Shah was succeeded by Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah he took great attention towards Deccan and Khalji's power of Delhi sultanate partially succeeded in establishing the rule of Delhi sultanate in Deccan.

It was during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq that systematic and effective control in the Deccan took place, and large portions of Deccan and South India acknowledged the sovereignty of the Delhi Sultans<sup>90</sup>. Now Muhammad Bin Tughlaq became the undisputed master of the whole of Deccan. However, the peninsula as a whole was not brought under the control of the Delhi Sultanate. Several states such as Kandhyana, Kampili, and Dwara Samudra still stood outside of the empire and displayed a tendency to create trouble against the Sultan. He even shifted his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad.<sup>91</sup>

Deccan however, did not remain under the rule of Tughlaq for a long time, as from time to time, revolt emerges for the independency. There was a turning point in

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<sup>90</sup> Sayed Moinul Haq, "The Deccan Policy of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq", *The Proceedings of Indian History Congress*. 1944. p. 269.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

Deccan 1333 when Vijayanagar Empire was emerged by Hari Har and Bukka with his capital at Hampi. The establishment of Vijayanagar and many other Deccani nobles revolted against the Tughlaq resulted in the foundation of the Madurai Sultanate by Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah in 1337. Subsequently, they were in a position to establish an independent dynasty in Deccan which is known as Bahmani Sultanate with its capital at Gulbarga and Bidar. Thus, the two important dynasties Vijayanagar and Bahmani came into existence in Deccan.

### **1.1 Foundation and Expansion of Deccan Sultanate**

The Bahmani was the first independent sultanate of the Deccan which was ruled by Muslim monarchs and continued for about a century and a half years. Bahmani sultanate has been considered one of the great medieval kingdoms of India, controlling the part of modern Maharashtra, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, and Karnataka. Deccan from the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the rule of two independent powers- Bahmani and Vijayanagar. Their rule continued till the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1347, Zafar Khan established the Bahmani kingdom and ascension to the throne as *Abul Muzaffar Alauddin Bahman Shah*. He conducted successful military expeditions in the south and his empire extended from river Ganga to river Krishna. In order to run the smooth functionary of his kingdom, he divided it into four *Taraf* (provinces) named Bidar, Gulbarga, and Daulatabad. After the death of Bahman Shah, he was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah I in 1358. He was better known as the organizer of the Bahmani Sultanate<sup>92</sup>.

Haig in his book mentions that Sultan Muhammad sends his mother to Mecca to get the formal sanction of the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt to issue coins in his name and to have his name mentioned in Friday prayers, which was a common practice of Muslim rulers. "In 1361 AD, his mother brought a patent recognizing her son as king of the Deccan, in consequence of which he assumed on his coins the title

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<sup>92</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 54.

‘Protector of the people of the Prophet of the Merciful God’<sup>93</sup>. The inscription on his coins inscribed as *Sulatanul Ahad Waz Zaman Hami Millat-ur rasul- ar- Rahman Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah bin Bahman Shah as-sultan*. Haig further informed that Bahman Shah, father of Muhammad Shah I appears to have sought and received this coveted acknowledgment in 1356<sup>94</sup>. Muhammad Shah I was one of the powerful kings of Bahmani and expanded his empire and died in 1375 AD. He was succeeded by his son Mujahid.

Following Muhammad Shah’s death in 1375, there was a period of unrest for the next two decades. Five distinct rulers, Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah Muhammad Shah Bahmani II, Ghyasuddin Tahmatan Shah, and Shamsuddin Daud Bahman Shah II ascended the throne of the Bahmani kingdom within two decades. During this period, the Bahmani experienced the entry of foreigners, known as *afaqis (gharibs)*, as well as the opposition of Deccani, who included northern colonists and Abyssinians, known as *habshis*. During this time, Persian culture began to have a greater effect on Bahmani's court.

The period of inundation between the death of Muhammad Shah I and the accession of Firoz Shah is extremely crucial. Tajuddin Firoz came to the throne after eliminating center upheavals and brief reigns, but his reign was surrounded by Persian, Arab, and Turk incursions. After 20 years of establishment, he became the ruler of the Bahmani kingdom. The Bahmani kingdom saw several positive changes and advances, including the blending of Hindu and Muslim civilizations.

Like his predecessors, Firoz Shah also fought with Vijayanagar and other powers in the south. He battled Vijayanagar twice, once in 1398 and again in 1406. But he was defeated in the third fight of the Warangal war. Firoz Shah Bahmani ruled the kingdom for almost 25 years. Firoz Shah succeeded by his brother Ahmad Shah in 1422. It was during his period the Bahmani capital was shifted to Bidar from

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<sup>93</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 375.

<sup>94</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 376.

Gulbarga. The shift of capital was a sign of the revolution, which was an image of the turmoil that occurred both within and externally in the Bahmani state.

During his reign, Unarial, Makhzumi- ad- Damaniens, an Egyptian grammarian, visited him and copied out his Arabic grammar. The king encouraged the ingress of learned men; poets and statesmen from abroad energized the inundation of learned men, artists, and legislators from abroad. He also greeted several Sufi holy figures, including Nimatullah Sufi Shah Nimatullah Kirmani<sup>95</sup>.

He expanded the Bahmani kingdom and raised its economic, strategic, and social stature. Ahmad Shah I, died in 1436 and was succeeded by his son generally known as Alauddin Ahmad Shah II. Bidar remained his capital. Unlike his father, he was a weak ruler. The sultan, however, treated both old and newcomers equally and promoted social cohesion. Everyone admired him for his honorable management. He added *Al Adil* (the just) to the list of his titles because he was proud of his dedication to the rule of law.<sup>96</sup>

Ahmad Shah died in the year 1458 and was succeeded by his son Alauddin Humayun Shah, he was a short temper and was a cruel man. There was such a lot of dismay and revolts among the aristocrats on his accession. He did not have any compassion toward the rioters. On seeing the example of events, he put to death all the aristocrats who opposed him. He appointed Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, *Malik-ut-Tujjar* of Bijapur and *Wakil e Sultanate*<sup>97</sup>.

The short reign of Humayun Shah is full of storms and stress mainly of his short-tempered. Because of his cruel and heartless nature, he was generally known as *Zalim*, “the oppressor” by which he is still remembered by the Deccan and tormented his subjects until “God the highest, the most merciful, and the succored of them that seek aid and answered the prayerful cries of his people and stretched

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<sup>95</sup> Nabisa L. *Some IL luminaries of Bahmani Period*, p. 45, 2015.

<sup>96</sup> Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. p. 407.

<sup>97</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 117.

the monster on a bed of sickness". Humayun reigned for less than three years and a half and died in 1461 AD<sup>98</sup>.

On Humayun's demise, his son Ahmad ascended the throne as Nizamuddin Ahmad-III in 1461 A.D at the age of eight. The new sultan was properly guided by the Queen's mother Makhdumah Jahan and nobles like Khwaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan a council of regency nominated by the last king<sup>99</sup>. He released the innocent persons who were tortured and imprisoned by his father. The regency was conducted very well and it did not take a long time for the Queen mother to restore peace and confidence<sup>100</sup>.

The Bahmani kings were able to accomplish noteworthy political success due to Prime Minister Mahmud Gawan, which was unparalleled in Deccan history. Gawan also attempted to achieve a meaningful balance between *Afaqis* and *Deccani*. After two years in power, the Sultan was assassinated by one of the court's nobles. He died on the night of his wedding, and his younger brother Muhammad Khan succeeded him as Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah-III<sup>101</sup> and assumed control of the Bahmani Empire.

The Sultan put his complete trust in Gawan and gave him complete control over the sultanate affairs. Muhammad Shah III was a highly educated person he had education from 'Sadr-i-Jahan Shustari', a renowned scholar who rose to become the most erudite person in the history of the Bahmani monarchy, second only to Firoz Shah, over some time<sup>102</sup>. Because of Mahmud Gawan's great leadership qualities, the Bahmani territories expanded to be exceedingly large to the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. Mahmud Gawan was one of the first ministers in Medieval India to commission a systematic survey of the land,

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<sup>98</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 412.

<sup>99</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 180.

<sup>100</sup> H K Sherwani and PM Joshi, *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724) Mainly Political and Military Aspects*, Vol. I. Govt. of Andhra Pradesh. 1974. p. 180.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. p. 183.

<sup>102</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 414.



establishing village and town boundaries, and conducting a detailed investigation into income assessment.<sup>103</sup>

A group of nobles were enraged by Mahmud Gawan's fame and plotted against him, preparing a forged document on Khwaja's behalf claiming that he wants the Deccan divided between him and Purushottum of Orissa. Sultan Muhammad Shah III misunderstood the conspiracy of the nobles and ordered to kill Mahmud Gawan on the 5th Safar 886 AH. Later sultan learned that Mahmud Gawan was not guilty<sup>104</sup>. Gawan's execution at the age of 78 was a disaster that caused the Bahmani Kingdom's downfall. This episode is remembered as the Sultan of Bahmani's worst failure and it is the worst chapter in the history of the Bahmani dynasty<sup>105</sup>. The death of Mahmud Gawan resulted in the decline of the Bahmani kingdom and the very next year Muhammad Shah III died.

In 1482 A.D., Muhammad Shah III was replaced by his son Mahmud Shah Bahmani. He was a weak monarch who became a puppet in the hands of Amir Qasim Barid, a great nobleman. Anarchy reigned during his reign, and the regional governors declared their independence. These were Ahmednagar's Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, Bijapur's Yusuf Adil Khan, and Berar's Fath-ul-lah Imad-ul-Mulk. Mahmud Shah died in 1518 and the sultanate of Bahmani fell into turmoil after Mahmud Shah Bahmani's death, and nobles rose to power, acting as kingmakers for the rulers.

Amir Barid's rise to power in the capital and desire to be king led him to recognize that whatever influence he had in Bidar would be no match for the powerful fief holders who had established themselves in Bijapur Ahmednagar and elsewhere. For this reason, he put Mahmud Shah's son Ahmad on the throne and used him as a puppet in his hand. The accession of the weak ruler Ahmad Shah III in 1518, provoked the provincial governors, Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Berar, and Telangana of the Bahmani kingdom to become practically independent but officially they were the parts of Bahmani kingdom.

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<sup>103</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 201.

<sup>104</sup> H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan the Great Bahmani Wazir*, Kitabistan Allahabad. 1942. p. 152.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

After the death of Mahmud Shah, Amir Barid the de-facto king of Bahmani crowned Waliullah the son of Mahmud to the throne and in 1526 AD Walli-ul-lah was dethroned and Kalimullah was put on the throne.

Kalimullah tried his best to throw away the Barids and requested help from Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar a new political force in India. Therefore, every tactic to overthrow the Baridis from power was unsuccessful. To protect his life from Baridis he fled to Ahmednagar where he died soon under pathetic circumstances in 1527 A.D. His body was sent to Bidar for the funeral. The forces of disintegration became very active after the death of the last Sultan which signaled the end of the Bahmani Kingdom<sup>106</sup>.

The death of Kalim-ul-lah is often regarded as the Bahmani dynasty's final breath. The Bahmani Sultanate was split into five kingdoms after his death, including the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, the Qutub Shahi of Golconda, the Imad Shahi of Berar, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, and the Barid Shahi of Bidar.

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<sup>106</sup> H. K. Sherwani, 1985. p. 246.

## 1.2 Successors of the Bahmani Sultanate

### 1.2.1 Imad Shahi of Berar (1490-1572 AD)

Fath-ul-lah Imad-ul- Mulk, the governor of Gawil, proclaimed his independence and founded the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar in 1490 with the capital at Elichpur, which lasted till 1574, when it was absorbed into the Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar.

Fathullah Imadul Mulk died in 1505 and was succeeded by Allaudin Imad Shah, who held off Ahmednagar's attack with the help of Bahadur Shah of the Gujarat Sultanate. The next monarch of Imad Shahi, Darya Imad Shah, tried unsuccessfully to ally with Bijapur to avoid Ahmednagar's attack. Burhan Imad Shah was deposed in 1568 by his minister Tuffail Khan, who seized the throne. This allowed Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar to raid Berar and execute Tuffail Khan, his son, and other members of his family, as well as annex Berar to his Ahmednagar Sultanate dominions.<sup>107</sup>

### 1.2.2 Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar (AH 895-1046/ 1490-1636 AD)

The breakdown of the Bahmani Sultanate coincided with the establishment of Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar in modern Maharashtra. It was founded by Malik Hasan Bahri a leading Deccani noble of the Bahmani court. He was brought to the court of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. His qualities allowed him to climb from slave to nobility, holding the titles of *Mir-i-Shikar*, *Mahi –i- Maratib*, and *Qush Begi*. He was also given the title of *Ashraf-i- Humayun- Nizamul Mulk* and designated as *Sarlashkar* of Telangana for his military exploits. Besides the title *Musnad-i- Ala and Ulugh-i- Azam* was also awarded to him.<sup>108</sup>

Although Ahmednagar was practically independent under the leadership of Malik Hasan Bahri formally it was his son Malik Ahmad who founded the Ahmednagar as an independent Sultanate in 3 Rajab 895/28-5 1490 which is known as the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar. He ascended the throne in the name of Sultan Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri. Malik Ahmad made his headquarters at Junnar in the

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<sup>107</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. p. 203.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. p. 116.

Poona district. He consolidated his position in the Konkan area by taking possession of the hill forts of Junnar, Lohgargh, Tung, and other significant forts of the Sahyadri range. From there, he marched to the Dandarajpuri fort and laid siege to it.<sup>109</sup> He fought with the authority at Bidar and also removed the names of the Bahmani rulers from the *Khutba* and replaced them with his name and also minted a few coins in his name entitling himself *Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri*<sup>110</sup>.

Although Sherwani had mentioned the coins issued in the names of Ahmad Shah Bahri, however no such coins had been reported so far. Initially, his capital was Junnar later renamed Shivneri, and in 1494 he established his new capital Ahmednagar. He was successful in extending his borders from the Bir to Chaul and Ravedanda on the sea coast and from the frontiers of Khandesh in the north to Poona Chakkan and Sholapur in the south. Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri died in 1510 A. D.<sup>111</sup>. Burhan, the seven-year-old son of Ahmad Nizam Shah succeeded him. The administrative responsibility of Burhan Nizam Shah was under the regents Mukammil Khan Dakhani and his son Jalaluddin Azizul Mulk, *the Sarai Naubat*. Both of them governed the state like dictators<sup>112</sup>. The Sultan had many disagreements with the kings of Bijapur, Khandesh, Berar, and Gujarat. Burhan Nizam Shah reigned for 45 years and died in 1553 at the age of 50.

Burhan was succeeded by his son Miran Shah Hussain. From the initial days of his reign, he had to deal with the conquests of Ramraja of Vijayanagar and Adil Shah of Adil Shahi, who constantly attacked his territory, as well as frequent conflicts with the kings of Berar.<sup>113</sup>

Husain formed a matrimonial alliance with the rulers of Bijapur, Golconda, and Bidar to put an end to the revolts. He conquered the forts of Antur, Galna, and Baglana and compelled Raja Dannayya Ruy Rai and Raja Bhariju to pay tribute<sup>114</sup>. He had also taken part in the battle of Talikota in 1565 to defeat Ramaraj. Husain

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> H. K. Sherwani, "Independence of The Bahmani Governors", *Indian History Congress*, 1945. p. 256.

<sup>111</sup> V S Bendrey, "Death of Ahmad Nizam Shah I Bahri", *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 1941-42. p. 242.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p. 212.

<sup>113</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 242, 1973.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

died in 1565, shortly after returning from the battle of Talikota. His sad passing was grieved across the country and the gravity of the loss that was felt by the people may be judged from the words, “the Sun of the Deccan has set”<sup>115</sup> 116 آفتاب دکن بشد یفہا

Murtaza Nizam Shah I succeeded his father Husain Nizam Shah I. The first six years of his reign were practically governed by his mother Khunza Humayun and her brother Ainul Mulk, as well as Taj Khan.<sup>117</sup>

During his rule, the influence of the Portuguese as a political and commercial force on the western coast increased, this frightened the Deccan regimes. Despite this fact, his reign also witnessed major territorial achievements; such as the recovery of north Konkan from Vijayanagar after the battle of Talikota. Murtaza Nizam Shah was executed in 1588, and his son, Miran Husain ascended the throne. Nizam Shah II who was succeeded by Ismail Nizam Shah (1589-91), they were ineffective and unremarkable.

Burhan ascended the throne under the title of Burhan Nizam Shah II in 1591 AD. This is the period when the mighty Mughal ruler Akbar turned his attention toward Nizam Shahi after the subjugation of Khandesh. Burhan Nizam Shah II however refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Mughal emperor. It is interesting Burhan II under the influence of some *Shia* Alims converted to *Shiaism* and declared *Shiaism* as a state religion which has been proved with his coins issued in *Shiete Kalima*<sup>118</sup>. After the death of Burhan Nizam Shah in 1325 the Nizam Shahi politics came into the hands of nobles which resulted in the increment of the fight between Dakhnis and Afaqis to attain the powers.

The period from 1595-1600 AD has generally been considered turmoil in the politics of the Nizam Shahi dynasty and the noble became the powerful and the kingmaker. The period also witnessed the rise of Chand Bibi widow of Ali Adil Shah I and daughter of Murtaza Nizam Shah. She even fought with the Mughal emperor Akbar. Though she was defeated.

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<sup>115</sup> A. M. Siddiqui, *History of the Golconda*, 1956. p. 105.

<sup>116</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. p. 152.

<sup>117</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 248.

<sup>118</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 326.

Finally, in 1599 Prince Daniyal, Akbar's second son took Ahmednagar fort and the city following the death of Chand Bibi. The king was imprisoned and Daniyal was made governor of Ahmednagar<sup>119</sup>. Although the Mughals occupied the capital city of Ahmednagar, the Nizam Shahi nobles continued to enjoy greater control of the other parts of the kingdom. Malik Ambar placed the grandson of Burhan I on the throne under the title of Murtaza Nizam Shah II at Parenda<sup>120</sup>. Malik Ambar shifted the Nizam Shahi capital Parenda to Junnar in order to suppress conflicts and secure political benefit. Malik Ambar killed Murtaza Nizam Shah- II, and raised his son Burhan III to the throne. After completing his military preparations to meet the Mughal army in 1612, he moved the capital to Daulatabad. The Mughals had suffered a devastating defeat as a result of Malik Ambar's superior tactics and Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung's rashness<sup>121</sup>.

In 1612 he switched his capital from Daulatabad to Khirki. Malik Ambar fought the Mughals aggressively between 1614 and 1620, conquering them in numerous places. At the age of 80, he died in 1627<sup>122</sup>. Following Malik Ambar's death, the Nizam Shahi dominion was once again troubled by internal conflict and external enmity.

After the death of Malik Ambar his son Fath Khan was appointed as the state's Diwan. In 1633, he got into a fight with Burhan-III and killed him. He replaced him with a young man named Husain Nizam Shah-III. Fath Khan was imprisoned alongside the boy king after the Mughal army sacked Daulatabad. Daulatabad was besieged by the Mughals, who took sanctuary in Fath Khan and the new Sultan. In 1633, Fath Khan surrendered and was permitted to leave the citadel with the puppet Sultan. The Mughal Empire annexed the state of Ahmednagar.

### **1.2.3 Adil Shahi of Bijapur (AH 895-1097/ 1490-1686 AD)**

The Adil Shahi dynasty was formed in 1490 by Yusuf Adil Shah, one of Bahmani's most powerful *Afaqi* nobles with its capital at Bijapur. During Mahmud Gawan's

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<sup>119</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 259-260.

<sup>120</sup> Radhey Shyam. *The kingdom of Ahmednagar*, 2008. pp. 242.

<sup>121</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 265.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. p. 269

administration, he gained notoriety. He was given the post of governorship of the province of Gulbarga and had control over the area of such as Goa, Sholapur, Gulbarga, and the Krishna River and declared independence. Yusuf Adil Shah was a practicing *Shia* Muslim and declared *Shia 'ism* his state religion. Although he was a tolerant ruler that he declared in the state, “My faith for myself and your faith for yourselves”<sup>123</sup>. It was during the reign of this Sultan that Vasco da Gama, the famous Portuguese discoverer of the route to India, landed at Calicut. Yusuf waged unsuccessful fights with these foreigners. Yusuf Adil Shah died at Bijapur in 1510 at the age of seventy-three.

Yusuf Adil was succeeded by his minor son Ismail Shah I in 1510 with Kamal Khan as his regent. He spent the majority of his time in revolts and faced several failed revolts. However, he had recaptured the Raichur Doab, the greatly contested territory between the Krishna and Tungabhadra, from Krishna Deva Raya, the legendary ruler of Vijayanagar. Like his father, he also promoted *Shiaism* as the official religion.

After the death of Ismail Shah in 1535, his son Mallu rose to the throne, but was ousted and slain by a competing faction, and Ibrahim became Sultan of Bijapur, with Asad Khan as his chief adviser. The Sultan succumbed to drink and luxury near the end of his life, dying in 1558 and being buried alongside his father and grandparents at Gogi.

Ali Adil Shah succeeded to the throne after Ibrahim's death in 1558. One of the Sultan's first actions was to reverse his predecessor's policy. He reintroduced the *Shia* faith in public and reinstated the degree of intolerance that his forefathers had avoided. In his service, he preferred outsiders. He formed an alliance with Vijayanagar to reclaim Kalyani and Sholapur. He created a temporary alliance with Ramaraja in 1558, but the Deccan Sultans quickly realized Ramaraj was their mutual enemy who was aiming to establish himself as a military dictator. This prompted the Sultanates to establish a grand alliance against Vijayanagar. Ultimately all the four Sultans of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmednagar, and Golconda understand the situation and they forget their rivals and combine in an irresistible

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<sup>123</sup> J D B Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, 1896. p.144.

league to affect the destruction of the infidel. The four allied sovereigns established their joint headquarters at the Talikota, where they fought against Vijayanagar and the king of Vijayanagar was defeated in the battle of Talikota. The sultan's unity, however, was short-lived, and when their common foe was destroyed, they fought even more. Ali Adil Shah was killed by a eunuch in 1580 AD.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II the son of Ali Adil Shah came to the throne when he was nine years old. His aunt, Chand Bibi, was his guardian while Kamil Khan was the regent. The Adil Shahi dynasty reached its golden period with the accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. He was extremely tolerant and commonly recognized as the most powerful ruler of this dynasty. He changed the state religion from *Shia* to *Sunni*. He agreed to pay tribute to Mughal emperor Jahangir and restore lands that he captured from the Mughals. Even he allowed preaching of Christianity freely. Ibrahim's dominions extended to the borders of Mysore. He survived until 1626. The last three monarchs, Muhammad Adil Shah, Ali Adil Shah II, and Sikandar Adil Shah had to deal with formidable foes. The great generals played a significant role during their reigns, and they were puppets in their hands. Therefore, the kingdom was held by four powerful generals who were at war with each other. Finally, during the reign of Aurangzeb the great Mughal ruler sieged Bijapur, and cities submerged it in April 1685 AD. The emperor himself came to the city on 13 July 1685 and prosecuted the siege vigorously. The city was surrendered on 22 September and Sultan Sikandar was captured and granted a pension of one lakh. He died in 1700 at Satara.

#### **1.2.4 Qutub Shahi of Golconda (AH 895-1098/ 1518-1687 AD)**

Sultan Quli Qutub Al-Mulk established the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda in 1518 and continued to rule by eight sultans till it was captured by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in 1687.

Sultan Quli proceeded to Delhi in the early 16th century, then to the Deccan, where he accompanied Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah. Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani



appointed him as his bodyguard. Sultan Quli rose from position to position and became the Governor of Telangana with his headquarters at Golconda. He was a trusted official of the Sultan and remained loyal to him. As a result, he was granted the titles of *Quli* and *Amirul Umra*. He lived to the ripe old age of ninety-two and was assassinated by his faithless son Jamshid in 1543<sup>124</sup>.

Jamshed Qutub Shah, whose original name was '*Yar Quli Jamshed Khan*', ascended the throne of Golconda in 1543 AD and ruled for seven years up to 1550 AD. His tenure of seven years is the ugliest chapter of Golconda history and bears no semblance to the glorious reigns of the later Qutub Shahs<sup>125</sup>. After Jamshed's death, his son Subhan Quli came to the throne, but he proved to be a weak ruler, so a group of nobles managed to ascend Jamshed's brother Ibrahim to the throne.

The reign of Ibrahim Qutub Shah witnessed a new era, popularly known as *Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Qutub Shah, or Malik Ibrahim* in Telangana. He was the real architect of the Qutub Shahi kingdom. After ascending the throne, he consolidated the empire and even developed the administration system in such a systematic way that, he got to know the details of every minute. Ibrahim was the first ruler to establish a detective department and a spy wing in the Deccan. Although Ibrahim was only twenty-four at the time of his accession, he possessed political vision and sagacity which go to make a successful king. Ibrahim Qutub Shah died in 1580.

Ibrahim Qutub Shah was succeeded by his son Muhammad Quli Qutub. Like his father, Muhammad Qutub Shah proved to be a successful king of Golconda at the age of fifteen years old. He was a far-sighted king, fully conscious, of the civil and military requirements of the kingdom. He laid out a new city Hyderabad and moved his capital there around 1595 AD. He was the ablest and the most enlightened king of the Qutub Shahi dynasty. During his reign, the Qutub Shahi dynasty raised to the highest point of glory. Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah died in 1611 AD.

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<sup>124</sup> Bilgrami, op. cit. 1927. p. 112.

<sup>125</sup> AM Siddiqui, op. cit. p.32.

Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah succeeded to Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah. His reign is generally considered as a period of peace and prosperity. Sultan Muhammad was a great devotee of art and culture and promoted literary and social activities in his court. After his death at the 34 in 1626 AD, the kingdom drifted slowly towards decadence and downfall.

Sultan Muhammad was succeeded by his twelve-year-old son Abdullah Qutub Shah. Initially, the administration was controlled by his (king) mother, later it was passed to the officers. Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the contemporary Mughal emperors, pursued a vigorous policy of aggression toward the Deccan states. Abdullah pursued a policy of caution and conciliation toward the Mughals. Abdullah's reign ended in 1672 AD. He left no male heirs, but three daughters, therefore his son-in-law Abul Hasan (Tana Shah) succeeded himself. The *Khutba* was read in his name while the *Sikka* were issued on the pattern of Abdullah Qutub Shah. Historians have discovered no clear lineage of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah<sup>126</sup>.

Abul Hasan Qutub Shah of Deccan is the most remarkable personality in history. He reigned for 14 years from 1672 to 1687 is as phenomenal as his marriage with the Golconda princess and his accession to the Qutub Shahi throne. He assumed the reins of government at a critical moment when the country was shaken by Maratha raids on the one hand and Mughal invasions on the other. It was a period of great upheaval in the Deccan he handled both internal and external affairs of the state. The siege of Golconda lasted for eight months and at last Abul Hasan surrendered and was sent as a prisoner to Daulatabad. In 1687 AD, Aurangzeb ultimately conquered Abul Hasan Tana Shah's weak dominion to the Mughal empire.

### **1.2.5. Barid Shahi of Bidar (AH 897-1028/ 1492-1619 AD)**

Qasim Barid a powerful noble of Mahmud Shah Bahmani practically acted as their own master from about the year 1492. But he and his son Amir Barid long-delayed to assume royal title, and even after the death of Mahmud in 1518 continued to rule in the name of Bahmani Sultans until 1527. The appointment of Bahmani Sultans

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<sup>126</sup> A M Siddiqui, op. cit. p. 218.

was in the hand of Amir Barid. The dynasty lasted until 1619 when the territory was annexed by the Adil Shahi of Bijapur.

During the time of Sultan Muhammad Shah III, Qasim Barid, a Turk from Georgia, became a part of the Bahmani Sultanate. He began his career as a *Sar-i- Naubat* before rising to the post of *Mir Jumla*. He became the de-facto ruler of Bahmani during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. After the death of Qasim Barid his son Amir Barid became Prime Minister of Bahmani.

After the death of Mahmud Shah Bahmani in 1518, four Sultans succeeded him one after the other, who were puppets in the hand of Amir Barid. Amir Barid during this period acted as an independent king but not assumed any royal titles.<sup>127</sup>

In 1542, his son Ali Barid succeeded him and for the first time took the title of 'Shah.' Ali Barid fought alongside the other Deccan Sultans in the Talikota fight against the Vijayanagar Empire in January 1565.

However, after defeating Amir Barid Shah III, the last Sultan of Bidar, Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur attacked Bidar and annexed the kingdom to Bijapur in 1619 AD.<sup>128</sup> And finally in 1657, it was annexed to Mughal emperor.

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<sup>127</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. p. 109.

<sup>128</sup>[https://gazetteers.maharashtra.gov.in/cultural.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/History%20Part/History\\_II/dynastic.pdf](https://gazetteers.maharashtra.gov.in/cultural.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/History%20Part/History_II/dynastic.pdf).

## Chapter II

### **Coinage of Delhi Sultanate: Continuity and Change**

## Chapter II

### Coinage of Delhi Sultanate: Continuity and Change

This chapter intends to do a general survey of the medieval Indian coinage from the early 11<sup>th</sup> century to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Ghaznavid to the Tughlaq) primarily covering its typology based on the inscriptions on the coins and metrology. Besides, it also proposes to examine the continuity and changes in the coinage under discussion over the period. The chapter has been divided into two sections. Section one begins with the introduction of Indian coinage to the arrival of Islamic coinage in India, while the second section deals with the coinage of the Delhi Sultanate.

### Section One

#### 2.1. Origin of Indian Coinage and the arrival of Islamic Coins

The origin of Indian coinage has generally been dated back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC with the introduction of punch-marked coins and later un-inscribed copper cast coins were introduced. The early coins of India, however, are un-inscribed and primarily bear the pictorial devices. The punch-marked coins were minted by punching technique with symbols (varies between 3 and 5 symbols) on the one side and blank on the other.

There is a distinction of assessment among researchers in regards to the issue of the vestige of the coinage in India and the question of whether coinage in India originated indigenously or was the result of some foreign influence. Some scholars like James Princep<sup>129</sup>, James Kennedy<sup>130</sup>, and V A Smith<sup>131</sup> attempt to prove that the invention of Indian coinage was not indigenous to India and that the Indians learned the art of stamping money from outsiders and foreigners. But on the other side

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<sup>129</sup> James Princep, *Princep Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, London. 1908.

<sup>130</sup> James Kennedy, "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India - 700-300 B.C". *Journal of the Asiatic Society*", 1898. p. 279.

<sup>131</sup> V A Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Oxford, 1906.

scholars like A S Altekar<sup>132</sup>, Bhandarkar<sup>133</sup>, and Prof. Rapson<sup>134</sup> proves that Indian coins are indigenous and bear no influence. Even A. Cunningham has argued, “If the Hindus had derived their knowledge of coinage from the Greeks, the types, the shapes, and standards of all their money would have been Greek”<sup>135</sup>. But the Greek and Indian coinages were different in shape, style, and standard. In these conditions, no one can deny that coinage existed in India before the Indians met the Greeks, and there is now ample evidence to support this view. The discovery at Taxila (Bhir Mound), in which over a thousand punch-stamped silver pieces were discovered alongside two coins of Alexander the Great and Philip Aridaeus, is the clearest illustration to support this argument<sup>136</sup>.

Therefore, this part of the discussion is never-ending. However, after the introduction and proper setting up of the currency system, Indian coins witnessed some new changes when India comes in contact with the outside world through trade and conquests.

The inscription on coins has the greatest noticeable impact on outsider coins. In Indian coins inscriptions first appeared on Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian, and Indo-Scythian coins around the third century BC. The first script used on Indian coinage was most likely Greek. Inscriptions in the Brahmi script were also adopted on Indian coins later or about the same time<sup>137</sup>. Subsequently or around the same time inscriptions in *Brahmi* script were also introduced on the Indian coins<sup>138</sup>. Besides, a few Indian coins are also reported with *Kharoshti* scripts. Later, *Sharda* and *Devanagari* and other scripts were also used<sup>139</sup>. These inscriptions, however, find a marginal space on the coins while most of the place has been occupied by pictorial

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<sup>132</sup> A. S. Altekar, “On the Origin and Antiquity of Coinage in India”, *JNSI*, XV, p. 126.

<sup>133</sup> D R Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Calcutta. 1921.

<sup>134</sup> E J Rapson, *Indian Coin*, Byculla, (Bombay Education press), 1898.

<sup>135</sup> A Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, 1891.

<sup>136</sup> EH C Walsh, “Punch Marked Coins from Taxila” *Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India*, No. 59. 1999 (E Source, <https://www.indianculture.gov.in/ebooks/punch-marked-coins-taxila>).

<sup>137</sup> Danish Moin, “Inscriptions of Medieval Indian Coins: An Analysis”, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. LVIII, 1996. p.67.

<sup>138</sup> Danish Moin, “Inscriptions of Medieval Indian Coins: An Analysis”, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. LVIII, 1996. p.67.

<sup>139</sup> Ajay Mitra Shastri, “James Prinsep and Study of Early Indian History”, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 80. 1999. p. 192-201.

devices. *Brahmi* was the most popular script on ancient Indian coins while *Devanagari* became prevalent in early medieval coins along with the diverse pictorial devices.

Inscription apart from the coming of Indo-Greek, Indo Parthians Indian coinage noticed a new monetary technique i.e., die striking and punching and casting techniques were replaced by this technique. Third century B.C onwards most of the Indian coins were minted by die-striking technique.

Indian coinage tradition in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries witnessed a remarkable change with the establishment of Ghaznavid and Ghorid rules. During this period Arabic script finds a little space on Indian coins but with the continuation of pictorial devices on local tradition.

The establishment of Mamluk or Turkish sovereignty in India, Arabic script was officially implemented on Indian coins and pictorial devices were gradually discarded from the coins. The beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a new coinage tradition in India where Arabic inscription in the Arabic language with Islamic content became the prime feature of the Indian coinage and these have been termed Islamic-type coins.

The Umayyad Caliph 'Abd Malik ibn Marwan' established the Islamic Coinage tradition<sup>140</sup>. On the coins, he introduced *Kalima*, *Quranic* Verses, and the *Hijri* date. Later, Abbasid Caliph 'Al Mansur' introduced the name of his son and nominated successor 'Al Mahdi' on the coins, which was one of the most significant changes. As a result, "Al Mahdi" became the first caliph to be commemorated on coins<sup>141</sup>. It had been regular practice towards the end of Harun Rashid's reign to engrave names other than caliphs on the reverse. Other Muslim rulers in the Islamic world were gradually inspired by this development and began to use the name of the Abbasid Caliph alongside their own name on the coins. The mint name and *Hijri* were also engraved on these coins.

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<sup>140</sup> Luke Treadwell, "Abd al Malik's Coinage Reforms: The Role of the Damascus Mint". *Revue Numismatique*, 2009. p. 357-381.

<sup>141</sup> Tayeb El Hibri, "Coinage Reform Under the Abbasid Al Mamun" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1993. p.58-83.

The Islamic coinage tradition in India dates from the 8th to 9th centuries AD, with Muhammad bin Qasim's conquest of Sindh in 712 AD<sup>142</sup>. Amir's of Sindh introduced the tiny silver coins bearing the name of Amir of Sindh<sup>143</sup>. These coins bear the name of the Amir on the one side and *Kalima/ Shahada* on the other. It has been inscribed as *Muhammad Rasul-lul-lah Amir Abdullah* on the one side *la ilaha illa allah Wahadahu la Sharik lahu*<sup>144</sup> on the other side.



Figure 1 Coins of Amirs of Sindh (Marudhar Art)

Although Islamic coinage was introduced in Sind and Multan but exerted no influence in the other region. Indian coinage with Islamic tradition was strengthened by Mahmud Ghazni between 1001 and 1021 AD. However, not many coins of Mahmud Ghazni have been noticed in India. He had issued some gold and silver coins. The gold coins bear the *Kalima* and the name of Abbasid Caliph Al Qadir Billah as *amir al- muminin* on the obverse, and a long inscription on the reverse, declaring that the *dinar* (the gold coins) was minted for the cities conquered during the holy war against India in 397 A.H<sup>145</sup>. This coin shows that the new caliph Al Qadir Billah allowed Mahmud the patent of the power of the domains which he had vanquished and offered to him the title *Yamin -al-daula amir al-Milla* in 389 A.H<sup>146</sup>. The legend of these coins also declares that the *dinar* was struck for the cities subdued during Jihad against India<sup>147</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Tanvir Anjum, "The Emergence of Muslim Rule in India: Some Historical Disconnects and Missing Links", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2007. p. 217.

<sup>143</sup> Danish Moin, *Coins of Delhi Sultanates*. IIRNS Publications. 2002.

<sup>144</sup> www. world of coins .eu.

<sup>145</sup> S. Jabir Raza, "Coinage and Metallurgy under the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 75, Platinum Jubilee. 2014. p. 224-231.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid. p. 227.

<sup>147</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. 2002.



However, Mahmud's bi-lingual (Arabic and Sanskrit) dirhams issued from India in Arabic and Sharada scripts are notable since they are widely regarded as the first bilingual coins featuring Arabic and Sanskrit. Mahmud was the first to initiate this approach.<sup>148</sup>

These coins were issued from Mahmudpur (Lahore) mint, bearing the *Kalima* followed by the legend *Amin al- daula wa Amin al- millat bismillah ad-dirham zarb be Mahmudpur zarb sana 419* in *Kufic* Script<sup>149</sup> on the obverse and Sanskrit Translation of the *Kalima* (*Avyaktamekam Muhammad Avatar*), *Nripati Mahmud and Ayan Tankam Hata Mahmudpur Samavati 418 or ayam Tankam Mhamudpur Ghatita Tajikiyer Samvat 418*<sup>150</sup> on the reverse. By translating *Kalima* into Sanskrit, he tried to understand the feelings of his conquered subjects.<sup>151</sup>



Figure 2 Bilingual Coins of Mahmud Ghazni (IIRNS&BSEAP)

Regarding the first bilingual coins (Arabic and Sanskrit), a recent study reveals that it was the Amirs of Multan who reigned in the tenth century and were the first to introduce bilingual coins. They began to issue bilingual series of *Dammas*, with *Sanskrit* (or *Prakrit*) legends inscribed in the regional script on the obverse and the Arabic legends *Lillah* (for Allah) inscribed in *Kufic* script on the reverse. The short Arabic inscription conveys the message of the issuing authority being subservient to the supreme ruler, i.e., Allah who rests all power and who has the ownership of all that is between the heavens and earth including the coins struck by the Amir<sup>152</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> Edward Thomas, "On the Coins of The Kings of Ghazni", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 9, p. 267-386, 1847.

<sup>149</sup> *Kufic* Script is the name of the earliest form of Arabic Script.

<sup>150</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. p. 5.

<sup>151</sup> S Jabir Raza, op. cit. p.224-231, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44158383>.

<sup>152</sup> Bilal Ahmed, Shailendra Bhandare and Pankaj Tandon. "Bilingual Coins of Sulayman: A Samid Amir of Medieval Multan". *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 2020. p. 15.

The coins of Mahmud Ghazni's successors were regarded as more significant since they were issued on the pattern of an existing coin-type of Hindu Shahi of Kabul (Bull/Horseman) of north India, with Nandi, Shiva's bull on one side and Horseman on the other, with marginal inscription in *Sharda* script. The Bull/ Horseman type coins were introduced by Hindu Shahi ruler Sapalapatideva in the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Kabul. Since then, this type became the most prominent and acceptable type in northern India and many rulers of north India issued their coins on this pattern. The Ghaznavid, to gain the support of subjects, (Indians) followed the local pattern so that coins can be easily accepted among the local population by retaining the name of Hindu Shahi, *Sri Samantadeva*, on the one side of the coin and adding their name in Arabic on the other side. Subsequently, some changes were introduced and the Arabic inscription replaced the horseman while the bull was retained. Such coins may be called bull/legend type coins. Slowly and steadily, pictorial motifs disappeared and Arabic inscription gained their place in coins.



Figure 3 Bull and Horseman coins Ghaznavid Ruler Masud (IIRNS&BSEAP)

The pictorial elements on the coins of Mahmud Ghazni's successors are brazen defiance of the worldwide Islamic ban on pictures. But Danish Moin<sup>153</sup> in his study declares that the issuing coins with the depiction of images have nothing to do with the Islamic prohibition but it was a continuation of the type so that people could easily accept these coins. Although the coinage tradition witnessed gradual changes from bull and horseman to the Arabic legend both the sides but the weight standard measured 3.5gms, introduced by the Hindu Shahi king. The silver content on the coins of later Ghaznavid was reduced.

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<sup>153</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. p. 6.

## 2.2 Section Two

There has been a significant alteration on the coins of Ghorid Kings Muhammad bin Sam. He established Muslim hegemony in India by overcoming Prithvi Raj Chauhan at the Battle of Tarain. He couldn't stay in India for a long time, therefore he delegated control of the conquered territories to his administrators.

Muhammad bin Sam has been represented in various continuity patterns both Islamic and local types than the current in the country. His Islamic-type coins were issued from Ghor, which we are not going to discuss here. The present discussion, however, is confined to his coins issued from India. He had imitated his coins on the local pattern and issued coins in gold, silver, billon, and copper. His Bull/Horseman coins were generally issued in billon. The contemporary chronicles termed it *jital*. The coins of Muhammad bin Sam may be understood in the three regions- northern, central, and eastern parts of India.

### 2.2.1 Northern India

From north India, he had issued coins on the Bull and Horseman pattern. The type was prevalent in the region before the Ghaznavid. On the one side, there is a bull with the *Devanagiri* legend *Sri Muhammada Sama*, while on the other side, there is a horseman with the *Devanagari* legend *Sri Hamira*<sup>154</sup>. Muhammad bin Sam's bull and horseman coins were also minted with an Arabic legend. The bull and horseman coins were first made in silver, but they were subsequently replaced with billon coins. Most of the coins of Muhammad bin Sam have been issued in billon and the type had been reported in different varieties with a weight standard of almost 3.5gms.

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<sup>154</sup> Hamira is a wrong pronunciation of Amir (leader)



Figure 4 Coin of Muhammad Bin Saam (IIRNS&BSEAP)

A few coins on bull/ horseman patterns issued jointly with the name of Muhammad bin Sam and Prithviraj Chauhan are also reported. The existing legend *Asavari Sri Samantadeva* around the bull on the obverse was replaced by the conqueror's name *Muhamamd Sam* while the reverse was retained unchanged which bears the horseman motif with the name *Sri Prithvirajadeva*.<sup>155</sup>

Here, we have on the coins the names of the conqueror and conquered together which is remarkable as in the medieval period this tradition is hardly noticed. It was noticed, however, in ancient coins with the names of the overlord or senior partner in kingship on the obverse and the feudatory, viceroy, or junior partner on the reverse<sup>156</sup>.

The joint issue coin was first published by Edward Thomas<sup>157</sup> and was incorporated by H.N. Wright in his catalogue *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*. Wright has remarked that the coin shows the transition stage, the obverse bearing the name of the conqueror and the reverse that of the conquered - Prithvijaraja. Cumingham<sup>158</sup> explains that the occurrence of these two names on the same coin shows that Prithvi Raj became tributary to Muhammad bin Sam.

### 2.2.2. Central India

From central India, he has minted a Lakshmi-type coin depicting the goddess Lakshmi on the one side and the *Devanagari* inscription on the other. The type was the continuation of the coinage of Gangadeva of the Kalachuri dynasty who had

<sup>155</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 17-18.

<sup>156</sup> P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi. 1979. p. 24

<sup>157</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. 17.

<sup>158</sup> Alexander Cuningham. *Coins of Medieval India*, 1894.

introduced Lakshmi-type coins<sup>159</sup>. Kalachuri apart, from the Lakshmi-type coins, were issued by some other dynasties of central India. These coins are reported both in gold and silver weighing around 4gms. Thus, the type was one of the main types of coinage during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. Therefore, it is remarkable to note that Muhammad bin Sam after capturing central India followed the existing coinage- i.e., Lakshmi type, issued in gold. He inscribed his name *Sri Mahammad bin Sam* in Nagari on the one side and depicted goddess Lakshmi on the other.



Figure 5 Lakshmi type coins of Muhammad Bin Sam (IIRNS&BSEAP)

### 2.2.3. Eastern India

Muhammad bin Sam never visited eastern India, the region was however, captured by his commander Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khalji who defeated the ruler of Gaud (Bengal). After conquering the Gaud, Bakhtiyar Khalji minted a few gold coins in the name of his patron Muhammad bin Sam with the legend as *As-sultan al- Muazzam Muizz-ud-Duniya waddin abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sam* on the one side and horse rider with mace in his hand on the other with the word Gaud Vijaya in *Devanagari* Script. The type is generally known as *Gaud Vijaya* type coins.

Muhammad bin Sam had also issued gold coins with the *Devanagari* legend and horseman, in addition to the *Gaud-Vijaya* style of coins. On the one side, there is a horse rider with a mace in his hand and a *Devanagari* inscription in the margin, and, *Srimad Mahammada Sam* in *Devanagari* on the other.

<sup>159</sup> P L Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 90.



Figure 6 Gaud Vijaya Type coins of Muhammad Bin Saam (Bhartiye Sikke Ek Aitehasik Parichay)

## 2.3 Coinage of Delhi Sultanate

### 2.3.1 Mamluk Dynasty

The Mamluk dynasty of Delhi was significant in the advancement and growth of India's new coinage tradition. Qutubuddin Aibak established the dynasty but surprisingly he has not been represented by his coins. Some of the scholars have attributed a few coins to Aibak but later it was found incorrect attribution. Thus, the beginning of the coinage of Mamluk of Delhi has generally been traced back to the reign of Iltutmish (1210-1236). Indian coinage with new features pertaining to Islamic tradition in India in a real sense was introduced by Iltutmish and it was continued by his successors. Researcher had already discussed in the above paragraph that the Islamic-type coinage was primarily inscriptional based and the inscription are reported in Arabic and Persian.

Iltutmish is credited to have issued coins in gold, silver, billon, and copper and different names have been assigned to the coins of these metals. The gold and silver coins were termed *tanka* while billon coins were known as *jital*. What name he assigned to the copper coins is not known. *Tanka* both gold and silver coins were issued in the weight standard of about 11gms and a few silver half (5.3gm) *tanka* coins were also reported. *Jital* weighed about 3.5gms while copper coins vary from 0.7gms to 4.3gms<sup>160</sup>. His coins are reported from Delhi, Lahore, Kuraman, Badaun, and Bengal mints. Some of the mints also use their epithets such as *Hazrat Delhi*

<sup>160</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 19.

etc. He gave a definite shape to the coinage of the Delhi Sultanate, combining Islamic conventions with local Indian traditions<sup>161</sup>. It is generally accepted that his early coins were issued in billon and copper, and in later days, struck coins, in gold, and silver also.

His gold coins were issued only from *Gauda* and other mints of Bengal and Delhi. The following paragraphs will discuss the coin types of Iltutmish. His gold coins are primarily reported from *Gaud* (Bengal) on the pattern of *Gaud Vijaya-type* coins of Muhammad bin Sam with some inscriptional changes. He discarded *Devanagari* words *Gaud Vijaya* and introduced *Kalima* in the margin. The type under discussion is known both in gold and silver. Gold coins are rare while silver coins are well reported. The weight of the gold coins varies between 4.6gms to 2.3gms while silver coins weighed around 10.8gms.



Figure 7 coins of Iltutmish from Gaud (IIRNS&BSEAP)

Most of the silver coins (*tanka*) of Iltutmish were issued with Islamic tradition bearing the name of Abbasid caliphs with the title on the one side and his name with the title on the other. His coins have the names of Abbasid caliphs *An-Nasir*, *Az-zahir*, and *Al-mustansir*, but *Al-mustansir* is the most commonly noticed<sup>162</sup>.

Gold coins of Iltutmish are quite rare. However, a gold *tanka* with the name of Abbasid caliph Al-Mustansir is known in legends, *Fi ahad al-Imam Al- Mustansir amir al- muminin* on the one side and *As-sultan Al-azam Shams-ud-duniya-waddin abu'l Muzaffar Iltutmish As-sultan* on the other<sup>163</sup>. His silver *tankas* from Delhi have been divided into the following types:

<sup>161</sup> Amiteshwar Jha, *Bhartiye Sikke ek Aiyetihasiik Parichay*, 2003. p. 90.

<sup>162</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p.19.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, p. 20.

1. *Kalima*, and name of the ruler (Iltutmish) along with the name of Abbasid caliph Al- Mustansir
2. Abbasid caliph's name and Iltutmish's name, but without *Kalima*



Figure 8 Silver Coins of Iltutmish, Kalima and the name of Abbasid Caliph. (IIRNS)



Figure 9 silver coins of Iltutmish Without Kalima 'Fi Ahd Type' (BSAAP/ IIRNS)

## Billon Coins

Billon has been the most common metal for the currency of the Delhi sultanate. The most popular coin series of north India i.e., Bull/ Horseman issued between the 11<sup>th</sup> and mid-13<sup>th</sup> centuries were primarily issued in billon. Iltutmish continued to issue his Bull/ Horseman type coins in billon which was termed as *Jital* and *Dehliwal* by the contemporary chroniclers. He, however, made some changes in bull/horseman types which have been classified into the following types by Danish Moin in his book *Coins of Delhi Sultanates*.

### a. Bull and Horseman coins with his name

Iltutmish continued the Bull/ Horseman type on the pattern of Muhammad bin Sam, it bears the legends in *Devanagiri*, *Suritana Sri Samsuddin* on the bull side and *Sri hamira* on the horseman side. The word *Suritana* stands for *Sultan* and *Samsdin* for *Shamsuddin*, the first name of Iltutmish. *Suritana Sri Samasadina* is the Sanskrit version of *Sultan Sri Shamsuddin*.<sup>164</sup> It may be mentioned here that the *Alam* of the

<sup>164</sup>Ibid p. 21. (D 45).



Sultan was Iltutmish and his *laqab* (title) was Shamsuddin. Here only his *laqab* is written and not the *Alam*. The reasons for the exclusion of his *Alam* on these coins seem to be nothing except the shortage of space<sup>165</sup>.



Figure 10 Bull and horseman coins with his name (Marudhar Art)

**b. Bull and Horseman coin with the name of Abbasid Caliph Al Mustansir<sup>166</sup>.**

The names of Abbasid caliph inscribed in Arabic have been commonly noticed on the silver coins of Iltutmish but a few billon coins are also reported with the name of Abbasid caliph Al- Mustansir in Devanagari inscribed as *Mustansir Amir al-muminin* with a bull to left on the obverse and horseman with the legend *Sri Shalifa* on the reverse.



Figure 11 Bull and Horseman coin with the name of Abbasid Caliph Al Mustansir (World of Coins)

**c. Horseman and legend type**

The Horseman and Arabic legend type coins are reported in different inscriptional arrangements in almost the same weight standard, 3.5-3.6gms. issued from Badaun,

<sup>165</sup> H. de. S. Shortt, "A Bull and Horseman Hoard from India", *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, Sixth Series, Vol. 16, 1956. p. 313-325.

<sup>166</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 52.

Delhi, Lahore, and Multan mints. Goron and Goenka<sup>167</sup> in their catalogue have classified them mint wise under the following types.

**Badaun Mint:**

- **Obverse:** *Shams-ud-duniya- waddin.*  
**Reverse:** Crude horseman
- **Obverse:** *Shams-ud-duniya- waddin Iltutmish as-sultan*  
**Reverse:** Crude Horseman
- **Obverse:** In square *As-sultan Iltutmish*  
**Reverse:** Crude Horseman

**Delhi Mint:**

- **Obverse:** legends within the square; *As-sultan Al-azam Shams-ud-duniya-waddin, Delhi*  
**Reverse:** Horseman to right; margin; *Iltutmish as-sultan*
- **Obverse:** *Shams-ud-duniya-waddin abu'l muzaffar Iltutmish*  
**Reverse:** Horseman to right; *Sri Hamira* in Devanagari
- **Obverse:** *Shams-ud-duniya wad-din abu'l muzaffar Iltutmish as-sultan*  
**Reverse:** Horseman to right; *Sri Hamira* in Devanagari.

**Lahore Mint:**

- **Obverse:** *As-sultan al -azam Iltutmish as-sultan*  
**Reverse:** Horseman with a lance to left.
- **Obverse:** *As-sultan al- muazzam Iltutmish as-sultan*  
**Reverse:** Horseman to right, *Sri Hamira* and a sign of star
- **Obverse:** *Shams-ud-duniya waddin Iltutmish As-sultan*  
**Reverse:** Horseman to Right, *Sri Hamira*

His coins from Multan mint were issued with the inscription *Shams-ud-duniya waddin abu'l muzaffar Iltutmish as-sultan* on the one side and horseman on the other. It was similar to the coins of Qarlugh, the Sultan of Sindh<sup>168</sup>.

**d. Legend types on both the sides:**

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<sup>167</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 19.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. p. 22.

Apart from bull/ horseman type coins, some of his coins in billon are also reported with the legend on both the sides, noticed in bi-lingual (Arabic and Devanagari) and also with Arabic on both the sides. The bi-lingual coins are reported from Delhi bearing legend as *as-sultan Iltutmish* within the circle, mint, and date in margin on the one side and *Sri-sultan Iltutmish*<sup>169</sup> in Devanagari on the other.



Figure 12 Iltutmish Bilingual Coins (Classical Numismatic gallery)

The billon coins with Arabic legend on both the sides are reported from Sind, inscribed *Sham-al-duniya-waddin abu'l muzaffar Iltutmish as-sultan* on the one side and Islamic Creed *Shahada/ Kalima*<sup>170</sup> on the other. The coins of Iltutmish with *Kalima* is known in silver but the use of *Kalima* in billon coin is a new practice and rarely noticed.

### Copper Coins

The copper coins of Iltutmish are reported with small Arabic legends bearing the name *Shams-ud-din, Iltutmish, shamsi, sultan,* and *adl,* etc. Copper coins are listed with the- legend *shamsi* on the one side and *adl* on the other. A coin with the inscription *adl* on the one side and *zarb Dehli* on the other is also reported. These coins are known in various weight standards which vary from 3.8gms to 0.8gms. Iltutmish has not given any name to his copper coins, but the smaller type with the word *adl* was probably called '*adlis*' as mentioned by Stan Goron and Goenka.

<sup>169</sup> H Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 1936. p. 30.

<sup>170</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 24.



Figure 13 Adli Coins of Iltutmish (Marudhar Art)

### 2.3.2. Ruknuddin Firoz

Ruknuddin Firoz, Iltutmish's son, rose to the throne of Delhi after his father's death. He carried on his father's coinage tradition and is known to have issued coins in silver (*tanka*) with a weight of about 10.8gms and billon (*jitals*) with the weight of about 3.5gms.

Like Iltutmish, he too issued his silver coins with the name of Abbasid caliph Al-Mustansir along with his name but prefer to write his name along with the name of his father Iltutmish. The inscription is inscribed as '*fi*' *Ahad al-imam Al-Mustansir amir-ul -muminin*, date in Arabic word and the mint-name *Delhi* on the obverse<sup>171</sup> and *As-Sultan al-Azam Shams-ud-duniya waddin, As-sultan Al-muazzam Rukn-ud-duniya-waddin Firoz Shah* on the reverse. Although Ruknuddin did not receive the 'diploma of investiture' from the *Khalifah* of Baghdad but continued to inscribe the name of the *Khalifah*. This shows his respect for the *Khalifah* to legitimize his rule in the eyes of Islam.

A significant change has been noticed on his coins as these bear the name of his father first followed by his name. The reason for this has been understood as Ruknuddin was not nominated by his father, Iltutmish but was chosen by the officials, so there was resistance from the supporters of Raziya. Hence, he was precarious to declare himself as an undeniable sultan. He supplicated his father's name in his coins to strengthen his reign by showing that he was the rightful heir of his father<sup>172</sup>. The present variety of coins is his earliest issue. He inscribed his father's name first with the title *As-sultan al-azam* followed by his name with the

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, p.25.

<sup>172</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 75.

title *As-sultan al-muazzam* as if he was ruling in the name of his father<sup>173</sup>. Therefore, the coin gives the impression of a joint issue. In later days when he understood that his position was secured, then, he dropped the name of his father and issued coins in his name.

He continued the coin type of Iltutmish with *Kalima* and the name of Abbasid *Khalifah* along with his name, inscribed as *Kalima Al-mustansir billaah amir-ul-muminin* in the center and the *Quranic* verse in the margin on the obverse.<sup>174</sup> Although the *Quranic* verse in the margin is not very clear, it is important to note that Ruknuddin was the first sultan of Delhi who used *Quranic* verses on coins. The reverse bears *As-sultan al-azam Rukn-ud-duniya-waddin abu'l Muzaffar Firoz Shah bin sultan* in the center and *Nasir amir-ul-muminin* in the margin. Here the name of his father is dispersed off and he assumed the highest regal title of *As-sultan al-azam* for himself<sup>175</sup>.

Apart from the above-mentioned types, there is another variety with a slight change in ornamentation, and design has been listed. The converse legend is also the same except that the last part *Nasir amir-ul-muminin* which is the designation of the Sultan is dropped here. Some of the scholars believe that the omission of *Nasir Amir-ul-muminin* was only due to a shortage of space<sup>176</sup>.



Figure 14 Silver coin of Ruknuddin Firoz Shah (Mintage World)

Ruknuddin Firoz continued the billon coins of Iltutmish. This may be classified into three types.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 25.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

**Type 1- Arabic Legend / Horseman type:**<sup>177</sup> It bears the Arabic legend *As-sultan al-azam Rukn-ud-duniya-waddin* on the one side and a crude horseman on the other.

**Type 2. Bi-lingual Legend /Horseman type**<sup>178</sup>: It bears Arabic legend *As-sultan al-azam Rukn-ud-duniya-waddin* on the one side and horseman and Devanagari inscription *Sri hamirah* on the other.

**Type 3. Bull and Horseman type with Devanagari legend:** It bears bull to the left and *Suritan Sri Rukn-ud-din* in Devanagari on the one side and horseman *Sri hamirah*<sup>179</sup> on the other.

### 2.3.3. Razia Sultana

Although Iltutmish wanted her daughter Razia to be his immediate successor but his will was not fulfilled by powerful nobles and his son Ruknuddin ascended the throne of Delhi. Razia however, managed to get the throne of Delhi from her brother and became the first women ruler of India who administered from Delhi.

Razia is reported to have been issued gold, silver, and billon coins from the Delhi, Lakhnauti, and Badaun mints, with the same weight and size of the as her father and brother Ruknuddin. Her gold coins are reported from Lakhnauti (Bengal) mint, and silver coins from Delhi. Like her brother, Ruknuddin Firoz, the early coins of Razia also bear the name of her father, and she calls herself *Nusrat*, (deputy) on her silver coins. This suggests that her sultanate was at risk, and she was governing in her father's name to gain the trust and support of the nobles and her subjects<sup>180</sup>. After some time when she became confident in her authority, she added her name with that of her father. The name of *Khalifah* on the other side remained on her coins.

All her *tankas* issued from Delhi and Lakhnauti mints have similar obverse, bearing legends *Fi ahad al imam al mustansir amir-ul-muminin*, but the reverse legends on the coin of the Lakhnauti mint are different from the Delhi mint. The legends on

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid. 26.

<sup>178</sup> C J Rodger, *Catalogue of the coins Miscellaneous Muhammadans Coins*, Part II, 1894. p. 67.

<sup>179</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 39.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid. p. 40.

her Lakhnauti mint are inscribed as *As-sultan al- azam Jalal-ud-duniya waddin Malikah Iltutmish ibnit as-sultan nusrat amir-ul-muminin*<sup>181</sup>. In this inscription, she inscribed her *laqab* but her name is absent.

It looks very strange that Razia had issued gold coins from such a distant province Lakhnauti and not from her capital Delhi. But the similar practice has also been seen on the coins of Iltutmish. Therefore, issuing gold coins from Lakhnauti may be considered as the continuity of type which was introduced by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji who had issued gold coins in the name of his master Muizzud-din Muhammad bin Sam. Later, Iltutmish and Razia continued to issue his gold coins from Lakhnauti. Apart from the gold, the silver coins were also issued from the Lakhnauti mint.

The inscription on the coins of Razia from the Delhi mint is inscribed as *Fi- ahad al-imam al- mustansir amir-ul-muminin* on the one side and *As-sultan al- azam Shams-ud-duniya waddin Iltutmish sultan nusrat Amir-ul-muminin*<sup>182</sup> on the other. Another variety of her silver coins bears the names of both Iltutmish and Raziya and inscribed *As-sultan al-azam Shams-ud-duniya wad-din As-sultan al-muazzam Razia-ud-duniya-waddin*<sup>183</sup>.



Figure 15 Coins of Razia from Lakhnauti Mint (Marudhar Art)

Although she had not received the degree of investiture from the caliph of Baghdad but continued to write his name on her coins just as an imitation of the coins of Iltutmish. A similar practice was noticed on the coins of Ruknuddin Firoz also.

<sup>181</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 153.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid. 26

<sup>183</sup> Nelson Wright. op. cit. p. 40.

## Billon coins

Like her father and brother, she had not issued her billon coins in bull/ horseman type but she continued the existing horseman/ Arabic legend type coins with the weight standard of 3.5gms. The legend is inscribed as *As-sultan al-muazzam Razia-ud-duniya-waddin bint As-sultan*<sup>184</sup> on the one side and horseman on the other. In another type of billon coin legend inscribed as *As- sultan al- azam Razia-ud-duniya-waddin* on the one side and horseman on the other<sup>185</sup>.

Another characteristic of these coins is that her name is mentioned as *Razia-ud-dunia waddin* in her billon coins, which appear to be a *laqab* (title) and not *Alam* (name).

She had minted bull / Arabic legend copper coins.<sup>186</sup> Her predecessors had not used copper for the bull and legend type. These copper coins, like the billon coins, were minted with a 3.5gms weight. It may be a billion coins; because of the quantity of metals combination.



Figure 16 Billon Coins of Razia (Mintage world)

### 2.3.4. Muizzuddin Bahram Shah

After Razia, her brother Muizzuddin Bahram, son of Iltutmish succeeded to the throne of Delhi. He is known to have issued coins in gold, silver, and billon. His coins are just a continuation of the coins of his predecessors, mainly Iltutmish. He, however, made a few minor inscripational changes. Like his predecessors, he continued his gold coins with the name Abbasid caliph Al-Mustansir bearing inscription as *Fi ahad al-imam amir-ul-muminin* on the one side and *As-sultan al-*

<sup>184</sup> Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid, p. 42.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, p. 43, Danish Moin, op. cit. p.15.



*azam Muiz-ud-duniya waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Bahram Shah ibn As- sultan nasir amir-ul-muminin.* on the other<sup>187</sup> A slight variation is noticed only on its reverse, here he added the epithet *Nasir*, before *Amir-ul-muminin* to denote that he was the deputy of *Amir-ul-muminin* i.e., *Khalifah*. Interesting information may be mentioned here that unlike his brother and sister Ruknuddin and Raziya he did not use the name of his father on the coins. This shows that he received full support and cooperation from the nobles and the throne was undisputed.

His silver coins were issued similar to that of his gold coins except for the absence of the word *Nasir amir-ul-muminin* on the silver coins.



Figure 17-18 Gold Tanka of Muizz-ud-din Bahram Shah (Mintage world)

Like his predecessor, he continued his billon coins on the pattern of bull/horseman and horseman/ legend types in the weight standard of 3.5gms. On the pattern of his predecessors. Goron and Goenka<sup>188</sup> have classified these coins as under:

1. **Obverse.** *Abu'l Muzaffar Bahram Shah bin sultan*  
**Reverse.** Crude horseman
2. **Obverse.** *As-sultan al-azam muizz-ud-duniya-waddin*  
**Reverse.** Horseman
3. **Obverse.** Bull to left; around *suritana muizz-ud-din* in Devanagari  
**Reverse.** Horseman, around *sri hamirah* in Devanagari

<sup>187</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 44, Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 27.

<sup>188</sup> op. cit. p. 27.



Figure 19 Billion Coins of Muizz-ud-din Bahram Shah (Numismata India)

### 2.3.5. Alaudin Masud Shah

He had issued coins in gold, silver, and billon. Gold and silver coins were issued from Bengal and Delhi mints, whereas billon coins (*jital*) were struck from Delhi and Badaun. Typologically, not much has been changed on the coins of Alauddin Masud. Like his predecessors, he continued to issue coins with the name of Abbasid Caliph *Al Mustansir* along with his name and titles. But later, his coins also witnessed the name of Abbasid caliph *Al- Mustansim* who succeeded *Al- Mustansir* in 640 AD after his death. Therefore, he issued *tanka*, replacing the name of *Al Mustansir* with *Al Mustasim*, and added the term *bin* on the reverse retaining the other formula of legend unchanged<sup>189</sup>. However, coins issued in the name of *Al- Mustansir* used the word *ibn*<sup>190</sup>. The only sultan of Delhi whose coins are represented by two Abbasid Caliphs named ‘*Al Mustansir*’ and ‘*Al Mustasim*’. All the coins of Alauddin Masud from Bengal are represented only with the name of Abbasid caliph *Al-Mustansir*. Not a single coin with the name of *Al-Mustansim* has come to light as yet.

<sup>189</sup> Edward Thomas, “The Initial Coinage of Bengal”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. II, No. 1. 1886 p. 145.

<sup>190</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. p. 16. It is necessary to mention here that both *ibn* and *bin* meant the same i.e., ‘Son’.



Figure 20 - 21 Gold and Silver coins of Ala-ud-din Masud (Mintage World)

## Billon

Like his predecessors, he followed the bull/horseman, horseman/ legend type coins in billon, and these are known in various types and varieties. These are broadly divided into the following types:

### 1. Bull / Horseman type

It bears on the obverse the recumbent bull to left with the name of the Sultan as *Suritana Sri Alavadin* (Sultan Sri Alauddin) in Nagari. on the obverse and horsemen to right and Nagari legend *Sri hamirah* on the reverse<sup>191</sup>. A Similar type has been issued by Iltutmish.

### 2. Bull / Horseman with Sri Shalifa type

It bears on the obverse the bull to left with the name of the Sultan as *Sri Alavada suritan* (Sultan Sri Alauddin) in Nagari on the obverse and horsemen to right and Nagari legend *Sri shalifa* on the reverse<sup>192</sup>. As these coins are undated it is difficult to say which *Khalifah* was meant by its Al-Mustansir or Al-Mustasim.

### 3. Arabic legend / Horseman type

The legend is inscribed as *As-sultan al-azam Ala-ud-duniya-waddin* on the one side and horseman with his name *Masud*<sup>193</sup> in Arabic on the other.

<sup>191</sup> H Nelson Wright, p. 47.

<sup>192</sup> op. cit. p. 49.

<sup>193</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 29.



Figure 22 Billon coin of Allaudin Masud Shah (Mintage world)

### 2.3.6. Nasiruddin Mahmud

*Tanka* and *Jital* have been the major currency of the Delhi sultanate since the time of Iltutmish. The types and metrology adopted by Iltutmish for his coinage by reforming those of his predecessors, Muhammad bin Sam, were followed by his immediate four successors without any significant change.

Nasiruddin Mahmud issued gold *tanka* for the first time from the Delhi mint which was continued by his successors. Besides, he also issued smaller denomination silver *tanka*, known as *nisf tanka* (half) and *masha* respectively. These two denominations did not exist in the currency before him. The *tankas* of Nasiruddin Mahmud followed the pattern of the coinage of his predecessors showing the *Khalifah's* name on the obverse in the specific formula of legend and his name and titles etc. on the reverse. The legends on his *tankas* from Delhi are inscribed as *Fi Ahad Al-imam al-mustasim amir-ul-muminin* on the obverse and *As-sultan al-azam Nasir-ud-duniya-waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Mahmud ibn (or bin) As-sultan*<sup>194</sup> on the reverse. The date and mint appear in the margin. He had issued *tankas* from Delhi and Badaun, the only difference noticed in Badaun coins is the absence of the marginal legend as all the inscriptions were inscribed in the double square<sup>195</sup>. Even though he had followed the pattern of his predecessors, his coins from Bengal noticed the name of two Abbasid Caliphs- *Al-mustansir billah* and *Al-mustasim*. Alongside, few coins preclude the word "Shah" from the ruler's name and titles<sup>196</sup>. Apart from these coins, a few joint issued coins bearing the names of Muizzud-din Yuzbik and Nasiruddin Mahmud are also reported. The legend is inscribed as *Fi*

<sup>194</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 127.

<sup>195</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 30.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, p. 156, B 71. Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 55.

*ahad al-imam al- mustansim amir-ul-muminin* with the date (651 AH) in the margin on the obverse and *As- sultan al- azam Nasir-ud-duniya-waddin Abu'l muzaffar Mahmud bin as-sultan fi naubat al abd Yuzbik as-sultani* on the reverse.<sup>197</sup> Some of the earlier coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud from Bengal, issued in 644 A.H. bear the name of caliph Al-Mustansir.

His gold and silver *tanka* of Bengal follows the pattern of his silver *tankas* of Delhi and has almost the same obverse and reverse except for some minor variation. On the obverse of the Delhi coins, the name of the *Khalifah* is mentioned simply as *Al-Mustansim* while the Bengal issue bears the word *billah* as suffixed to it. In half *tankas* (*nisf tanka*), the obverse and reverse are similar to the Delhi *tankas*, but there is also noticed the absence of marginal inscriptions i.e., date and mint, this will be probably because of a shortage of space.

The one-twelfth *tanka* (*masha* 0.9 gram) coins are very small with the legend *As-sultan al-muazzam* on the obverse and *Nasir-ud-duniya-waddin* on the reverse<sup>198</sup>.



Figure 23-24 Gold & Silver Coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud (Marudhar Art)

Like his predecessors, his billon coins have been issued in horseman/ legend patterns. These are listed as a horseman to right on one side and the Arabic legend *As-sultan al-muazzam Nasir-ud-duniya-waddin*<sup>199</sup> on the other. The other type is listed bearing the inscription *As-sultan al-azam Nasir-ud-duniya waddin* on the one side and horseman on the other side with his name *Mahmud* in Arabic and *Sri hamirah* in Nagari<sup>200</sup>.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid, pp 156, (B 74), Nelson Wright, p. 55.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid, p 30. H Nelson Wright, p. 56.

<sup>199</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 57.

<sup>200</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 30.



Figure 25 Billon coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud (Numista)

His copper coins are very scarce, however, a few small *adlis* are known. Goron and Goenka have classified them into three types with slight variations.

**Type 1. Obverse.** *As-sultan al-azam;*

**Reverse.** *Nasir-ud-duniya-waddin*

**Type 2. Obverse.** *Adl nasiri*

**Reverse.** *Hazrat Dehli*<sup>201</sup>

**Type 3. Obverse.** *Adli*

**Reverse.** *Hazrat Dehli*

### 2.3.7. Ghiyasuddin Balban

Started his career as a slave rose to the power of '*naib mamlakat*' and finally ascended to the throne of Delhi sultanate after the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud, the last scion of the Iltutmish family. He eliminated all the members of the *Shamsi* family (the family of Iltutmish) and also *shamsi* slaves to establish himself as an undisputed sultan. Ghiyasuddin Balban was one of the powerful sultans of the Delhi sultanate. He is known to have issued coins in gold, silver, billon, and copper primarily following the typology and metrology of his predecessors. Continued his gold and silver coins with the name of the *Khalifah*, 'Al-Mustasim' along with his name. He, however, made certain changes to the existing coin legend. On his previous issues, the legend was inscribed as *Fi-ahad al-imam al-mustasim amir-ul-muminin* (i.e., in the reign of the leader, Al-Mustasim, the commander of the faithful). Later, when he realized the fact that Caliph is no more, then, he found no justification for stating *Fi-ahad* (i.e., in the reign of). So, he dropped to inscribe *Fi*

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<sup>201</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 128.

*Ahad* and introduced *Al Imam* in that place and retained the rest part of the legend. However, all his *tankas*, both gold, and silver coins bear the obverse legend as *Al-imam al-mustasim amir-ul-muminin* and the reverse legend is mentioned as *As-sultan al- azam Ghiyas-ud-duniya-waddin Abu'l muzaffar Balban as- sultan*<sup>202</sup>. Both the faces of these coins have the same marginal legend bearing the mint name and date of issue in the common formula as *Zuriba hazih sikkah* (in case of gold) or *fiddah* (in case of silver *tanka*) *Ba-hazrat Delhi fi sanah*<sup>203</sup> (then the date in Arabic words).



Figure 26 Gold and Silver Coins of Balban (Mintage World and IIRNS)

Apart from Delhi, his silver *tankas* were issued from Alwar, Sultanpur, Lakhnauti,<sup>204</sup> etc. during his rule some new mints and epithets were introduced. Delhi mint is preceded by *Hazrat*, Alwar, Sultanpur, and Lakhnauti by *Khittah*. Although *Hazarat* as an epithet before Delhi was started by Iltutmish and was followed by his successors, the term *Khittah* before mint-name was first used by Balban.

All the silver *tankas* of Balban are of just one sort, yet they have some minor variation in their mint names and ornamental marks by which they might be distinguished into several varieties.

He had copied the tiny silver *tanka* (1/12) pattern of Nasiruddin Mahmud from Delhi mint. They bear *As-sultan al-azam* on one side and *Ghiyas-ud-duniya waddin* on the other<sup>205</sup>.

He made a significant change in his billon coins as he discarded the most popular bull / horseman type coinage but retained the *Devanagari* legend. Now, the legend

<sup>202</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 58.

<sup>203</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 135.

<sup>204</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. pp. 18.

<sup>205</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 60. Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 32.

on his billon coins is inscribed as *Balban* in Arabic within a circle, and the Nagari legend *Sri sultan Ghyasuddin* around it and on the reverse while the obverse bears *As- sultan al-azam Ghyas-ud-duniya waddin*<sup>206</sup>. The type introduced by Balban became common and was followed by Jalal-ud-din Firoz, Ala-ud-ddin Muhammad Shah, Ghyas-ud-din Tughluq, and Muhammad bin Tughluq.



Figure 27 Billon and Copper Coins of Balban (IIRNS&BSEAP)

His copper coins are also reported in two types: type one bears the legend *As-sultan al- azam* on the one side and *Ghyas-ud-duniya-waddin* on the other<sup>207</sup>. This type is known in three denominations viz., 4.5gms (*Paika* of 40 *rati*), 3.5gms (*Paika* of 32 *rati*), and 2.3gms (Half *Paika* of 20 *rati*). Type two bears *Adl Ghiyasi* in a hexagon on the one side and the mint name in a circle *ba-hazrat Dehli* on the other<sup>208</sup>.

### 2.3.8. Muizzuddin Kaiqubad

Kaiqubad issued coins in gold, silver, billon, and copper and followed the type, texture and metrology of the previous coinage. His gold and silver coins are minted from the Dehli mint. Like Balban the obverse legend of his coins also bear the name of perished *Khalifah Al-Mustasim*. It is inscribed as *Al-imam al-mustasim* on the one side and *As-sultan al-azam muizz-ud-duniya-wad-din Abu 'l muzaffar Kaiqubad as-sultan* on the other side<sup>209</sup> with the date and mint name Dehli.

Silver *tanka* apart, he had issued some silver fractional coins. The tradition of issuing fractional coins in silver started with Iltutmish who struck  $\frac{1}{2}$  *tanka*. Later, Nasiruddin Mahmud issued a *Masha* coin or  $\frac{1}{12}$  of *tanka* in addition to  $\frac{1}{4}$  *tanka*.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 135.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, p. 135.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid, p. 142.



Balban too issued coins with *masha* standard. In the reign of Kaiqubad, we notice the introduction of two more fractional denominations viz., 1/3 and 1/6 *tanka*.

The one-third *tankas* bear *As-sultan al-azam Muizz-ud-duniya-wad-din* on the obverse and *zuriba ba-hazrat Delhi fi sanah sitta wa samanina wa sitta miyah* with mint and date on the reverse. It is interesting to note that the date and mint name in this coin is inscribed in the center whereas the date and mint names on the coins of the Delhi sultanate generally appear in the marginal space.

The other two denominations (1.8gms and 0.9gms) bear small Arabic legends inscribed as *As-sultan al-azam* on one side and *Muizz-ud-duniya-waddin* on the other<sup>210</sup>.



Figure 28 Gold and Silver coins of Muizzuddin Kaiqubad (Indian Coins)

The billon coins of Kaiqubad are found in a single type. They follow the standard weight of 3.5gms and bear the Arabic legend *As-sultan al-azam Muizz-ud-duniya-waddin* on the obverse and *Kaiqubad* inscribed in Arabic at the top and the title *Sri sultan Muizz-ud-din*<sup>211</sup> in Nagari on the reverse.



Figure 29 Billon Coins Muizzuddin Kaiqubad (Marudhar Art)

<sup>210</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 34.

<sup>211</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 65.

A few copper coins<sup>212</sup> of Kaiqubad with the legend *As-sultan al-azam* on the one side and *Muizz-ud-duniya-waddin* on the other and the legend, *Adl-Muizzi* on one side and *Ba-hazrat Delhi* on the other are also reported.



Figure 30 copper coins of Muizzuddin Kaiqubad (Marudhar Art)

### 2.3.9. Shamsuddin Kayumars

After the death of Kaiqubad, the powerful nobles of the court placed his minor son Kayumars on the throne of the Delhi sultanate. Kayumars ruled only for three months and in this brief reign silver and copper coins were issued in his name in the pattern of those of his predecessors. Silver coins were issued in the name of the Abbasid Caliph bearing the legend as *Al-imam al mustasim* on the one side *As-sultan Al- azam Shams-ud-duniya-waddin Abu'l muzaffar Kayumar as-sultan*<sup>213</sup> on the other.

Similarly, copper coins bear the legend *As-sultan Al- azam* on one side and *Shams-ud-duniya-wad-din*<sup>214</sup> on the other side.

## 2.4 Coinage of the Khalji

In 1290 Delhi sultanate witnessed the end of the Mamluk dynasty and the beginning of the Khalji dynasty which was founded by Jalaluddin Firuz. The Khalji's controlled the Delhi sultanate between 1290 and 1320 AD, governed by five sultans with Allaudin Muhammad Shah as the most powerful sultan of this dynasty.

<sup>212</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 142.

<sup>213</sup> Nelson Wright, op. cit. p.66.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

The Khalji are well represented by their coins and made certain important changes which will be discussed in the coming paragraphs.

The period had a very important literary work named *Dravya Pariksh* by Thakura Pheru to act as our aide in the study and examination of the coinage of the Khalji. Thakura Pheru was a mint master of Delhi mint during the reign of Allaudin and Mubarak Khalji. It was written for them to understand the different aspects of mint and minting techniques. This book gives us very comprehensive information about these two rulers and also some coins of the preceding period. During this period billon/ copper coins were named *Gani* and it was issued in various denominations according to their metal content they were named *do-gani chaugani, athagani*, etc. They had also issued coins with epithets of mints, such as *Ba Hazrat Darul Khilafah, Darul Islam, and Qila Qutubabad*, etc. According to Thakura Pheru, the unit gold coins of all these three kings, viz., Allaudin', Umar and Mubarak were one *tola* i.e., 11.04gms / 170grains and were called *Hema tanka* (gold *tanka*)<sup>215</sup>.

#### **2.4.1 Jalaluddin Firoz**

The coins of Jalaluddin Firoz coins are the perfect imitations and continuation of the coinage of Balban, Kaiqubad, and Kayumars with the only change that the previous names were replaced by that his own. His coins have been discovered in gold, silver, billon, and copper. He had continued the name of Abbasid Caliph "Al Mustasim". In his gold and silver coins, he inscribed *As-sultan al-azam Jalal-ud-duniya-waddin Abu'l muzaffar Firoz Shah* on the one side and 'Al Imam' legend with 'caliph name' *Al mustasim* mint and date in the marginal area.<sup>216</sup> A fraction of 1/12 *tanka* (0.9 gm) of Jalaluddin Firoz is also reported in the legend, it bears *As-sultan al- azam* on the one side and *Jalal-ud-duniya waddin*<sup>217</sup> on the other.

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<sup>215</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. p. 22.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid. p. 83.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, p. 84, Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 36.



Figure 31-32 Gold & Silver coins of Jalaluddin Khalji (Marudhar art)

His billon coins are the continuation of Balban's bi-lingual coins with a change in geometrical design from round to square. It is inscribed as *As-sultan al-azam Jalal-ud-duniya-waddin* on the one side and *Firoz Shah* within a square with Devanagari legend *Sri sultan Jalal-ud-din*<sup>218</sup> in the margin on the other.



Figure 33 Billon coins of Jalaluddin Khalji (Marudhar art)

Like his predecessors his copper coins<sup>219</sup> are reported with small legends, bearing *As-sultan al-azam* on the one side and *Jalal-ud-duniya-waddin* on the other. This type is commonly found issued in the weight standard of about 4gms. The other coin type in copper is listed in about 2gms with the inscription *Adl Firoz Shah* on the one side and *Ba-hazrat Delhi* on the other side.



Figure 34 copper and Adli coins of Jalaluddin Khalji (Coin India)

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, p. 85.

<sup>219</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 145, Nelson Wright, p. 85, Goron and Goenka, p. 36.

### 2.4.2 Ruknuddin Ibrahim

When the news of the assassination of Jalal-ud-din Firoz by Allaudin Muhammad Shah reached Delhi. A group of nobles placed Ruk-nu-ddin Ibrahim son of Jalal-ud-din Firoz on the throne of Delhi. He had a very brief reign of only five months and is otherwise an obscure figure in the history of the Delhi Sultanate<sup>220</sup>. He had issued coins in gold, silver, billon and copper. Following his predecessors, he issued his initial coins in the name of his father Jalaluddin Firoz. On his silver *tanka*, he inscribed his name and title on the one side and his father's name and religious epithet on the other. It is important to note that he dropped the name of the Abbasid *Khalifah* which had been regularly inscribed on the coins of his predecessors. The abolition of the name of *Khalifah* from his coin cannot be considered as disrespect to the *Khalifah*, rather it was done probably because of no availability of Abbasid Caliph in Khilafat seat. The importance and significance of *Khalifah* are conveyed by the religious epithet *Nasir amir-ul-muminin* on the reverse. This coin may be compared to the coins of Ruknuddin Firoz (1235 A.D.) and Raziya (1236-1240 A.D) who had supplicated their father's name Iltutmish, on their coins to get the support from the nobles till their positions were strengthened. This reason is also valid for the coins of Ruknuddin Ibrahim.



Figure 35 -36 Gold&Silver Coin of Ruknuddin Ibrahim (Heritage auctions & World of Coins)

The full legend on his silver *tankas* is inscribed as *As-sultan al-azam Rukn-ud-duniya-waddin Abu'l muzaffar Ibrahim Shah as-sultan bin* on the obverse and *as-sultan al-azam Jalal-ud- duniya-waddin Firoz Shah nasir amir-ul-muminin* on the reverse<sup>221</sup> with mint name and date in the margin.

<sup>220</sup> Sanjay Garg, "Khalji Sultans and the Caliph", *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 29-30. 2005-2006. pp. 141-149.

<sup>221</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 87.

Ruknuddin is also reported to have issued billon coins but he did not continue the bi-lingual billon coin introduced by Balban, followed by his father Jalaluddin Firoz but he preferred to write Arabic on both the sides. His billon coins were issued in the weight standard of 3.5gms bearing the legends *As-sultan al-azam Rukn-ud-duniya-waddin* on the obverse and *Ibrahim Shah bin Firoz Shah*<sup>222</sup> on the reverse.



Figure 37 Billon coin of Ruknuddin Ibrahim (Marudhar Art)

He issued copper coins (*paika and adli*) that weighed about 4.1gms and 2.5gms. They bear simple and small legends, describing his name with his father's name. The *paika*<sup>223</sup> coins carry legends on the obverse *As-sultan al-azam* on the reverse *Ibrahim Shah bin Firuz Shah* while *adli* contains the legends *Adl Ibrahim Shah* on the one side and *bin Firuz Shah* on the other.

### 2.4.3 Alaudin Muhammad Shah

Allaudin Khalji minted gold, silver, billon, and copper coins. His coins are well-represented in all the four metals. Three locations struck gold and silver *tankas*: Delhi, Dar-ul-Islam, and Deogir. He also struck some square *tankas* in both metals, but they were uninscribed with the mint name. Some of these *tankas* are more substantial than others. He has two varieties of billon coins, both of which have the same weight. He minted gold coins in the same square style as Jalaluddin Khalji. He kept the old monetary system and made no modifications to the weight and fabric.

He, however, made several changes to the coin inscriptions. Firstly, he eliminated the name of Abbasid Caliph from his gold and silver coins and called himself *Yamin-ul khilafah* with a new legend, *Sikandar-us-sani yamin-ul khilafah nasir*

<sup>222</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 37.

<sup>223</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 155.

*amir-ul-muminin* on the one side and *As-sultan al-azam Alaud-duniya-wad-din abu'l muzaffar Muhammad Shah as-sultan*<sup>224</sup> on the other with date and mint in the margin. Secondly, he mentions himself as *Yami-nul khilafah amir-ul-muminin* (right hand of caliph). Here, calling himself as *Yamin-ul khilafah* means he is projecting his importance. The title *Yami-nu-daula*, was first given to Mahmud Ghazni, by 'Caliph Al Qadir'. *Yamin* means 'right hand', which means Mahmud Ghazni has been considered the right hand of 'Abdul Qadir'. The Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad was no more but the association of his name was of such great importance that it was not given up by the Delhi rulers. Hence, he adopted the title *Yamin-ul Khilafah*. Another interesting title *Sikandar-us-sani* (second Alexander) reveals the importance of Alexander in the eyes of Allaudin Muhammad Shah. Alexander as a greater conqueror was his role model therefore call himself the second Alexander. He was the first ruler of India who called himself *Sikandar-us-sani*<sup>225</sup>.



Figure 38 Gold and Silver Coins Alauddin Muhammad (IIRNS)

The gold and silver coins were issued with the same inscriptions. Thakkura Pheru has called the term *Rupaya* for his silver coins and *hema tanka* for the gold coins. According to Thakkura Pheru, apart from the regular weight standard (about 11gms) of his gold and silver *tanka* Allaudin had issued some higher denomination coins in gold and silver, however, they are not known so far. Classical Numismatic Gallery has listed a smaller denomination of gold coin of Allaudin Muhammad Shah with a weight of 3.6gms and termed it as *Asu* or *Gadayana Pagoda*. It is an

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, p. 163.

<sup>225</sup> Y. P. Sigh, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, 2015. pp. 40.

extremely rare coin bearing the legend *Alaud-duniya-wad-din* on the obverse and *Sikandar-us-sani* on the reverse<sup>226</sup>.



Figure 39 Gold Coins Alauddin Muhammad (Classical Numismatic Gallery)

He had issued plenty of billon coins in six and two *gani*. The billon coins were issued in 3.5gm and can be divided into three types.

**1. Six gani with abu'l muzaffar type<sup>227</sup>:**

**Obverse:** *As-sultan al-azam Alaud-duniya-wad-din*

**Reverse:** *Abu'l-muzaffar Muhammad Shah* with the dates in Arabic numerals

**2. Two gani bi-lingual types<sup>228</sup>:**

**Obverse:** *As-sultan al-azam Alaud-duniya-wad-din*

**Reverse:** *Muhammad Shah* in Arabic within the double circle with the marginal Nagari legend *Sri sultan Alawadin* and the date. It was a continuation of the Bilingual coins of Balban

**3. Jital (weight not known)**

**Obverse:** *Alaud-duniya-wad-din*

**Reverse:** *Muhammad Shah as-sultan.*<sup>229</sup>

A few copper coins (*Paika and Adli*) are also reported with the legend, *As-sultan al-azam* on the obverse and *Ala-ud-duniya-waddin*<sup>230</sup> on the reverse.

<sup>226</sup> <https://www.mintageworld.com/media/detail/3525-coins-of-delhi-sultan-muhammad-khalji/>

<sup>227</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 39.

<sup>228</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 93.

<sup>229</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 39.

<sup>230</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 172.





Figure 40 Billon and Copper coins of Alauddin Muhammad Shah (IIRNS and Mintage World)

#### 2.4.4 Shihabuddin Umar

After the death of Alauddin Khalji, his six-year son, Shihabuddin ascended the throne with the help of Malik Kafur. But he could retain the throne for only two months, was defeated and was killed by his brother Qutubuddin who usurped the throne of Delhi.

Though Shihabuddin Umar ruled for a short period, he is reported to have issued his gold, silver, and billon coins. His gold coins are extremely rare. He continued the coin types and weight standard of the coins of his father Alauddin Muhammad Shah in all three metals. The gold and silver coins are issued from Dehli mint, inscribed as *Sikandar-us-sani yamin-ul- khilafah nasir amir-ul-muminin* on the obverse and *As-sultan al-azam Shihabud-duniya-wad-din abu'l muzaffar Umar Shah as-sultan* on reverse<sup>231</sup>.

Umar did not issue smaller denomination coins in gold and silver. His billon coins are reported in good numbers with the legend *As-sultan al-azam Shihabud-duniya wad-din* on the obverse and *Abu'l muzaffar Umar Shah as-sultan* with the date in Arabic numerals on the reverse<sup>232</sup>.



Figure 41 Six Gani of Shihabddin Umar (Mintage World)

<sup>231</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 95.

<sup>232</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 40, D 242.

### 2.4.5 Qutubuddin Mubarak

Qutubuddin Mubarak Khalji, the son of Allaudin Khalji usurped the throne of Delhi from his brother Shihabudin Umar in 1316 and continued to rule till 1320. He is known to have issued coins in gold, silver, billon and copper both round and square. His coinage stands out for its boldness of design and the variety of its inscriptions. The coin legends of his reign reflect accurately the arrogant vanity of the Sultan, who took a delight in assuming very high-sounding titles he had gone a step further, he assumed the title of caliph. It would be because of his extended and strong empire inherited from his father. He might not have cared to pay homage like his predecessors to the caliph and thought that if there is no Caliph because to inscribe their names. And even he might have thought that if there is a caliph in Madinah, Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo Why not in India<sup>233</sup>.

His gold and silver coins were issued from *hazrat Dehli*, *hazrat dar-ul-khilafah*, *Qila Qutubabad*, and *dar-us- salam* and *dar-ul-mulk* mints. The mint epithet *hazrat* for Delhi was retained for a short period and was replaced by *dar-ul-mulk* now it is inscribed as *dar-ul-mulk Dehli*. The epithet *dar-ul- mulk* was also a temporary one, which was replaced with *dar-ul- khilafah*. This epithet was probably introduced after declaring himself as *Khalifah*. This type of coin is also known from Qutubabad<sup>234</sup>. Mubarak renamed Deogiri as Qutubabad.

His gold coins were mostly issued in the '*Al-imam*' pattern mentioned in type 2 while silver *tanka* was issued both within types 1& 2. His gold coins are mainly in the weight standard of about 11gm, however, a few gold coins with a weight of almost 3.6gms were also reported. Similarly, silver *tanka* is reported in the weight of about 11gms but a few half *tanka* (5.3gms) and one-sixteenth *tanka* (1.7gms) are also reported.

He however, made a remarkable change in his coin inscriptions. In this regard, the first notable change may be mentioned here as the discarding of the name of the Abbasid caliph from his coins and calling himself *Khalifah*, inscribed as

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<sup>233</sup> Y. P. Singh, op. cit. p. 44.

<sup>234</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 42. D 260.

*Khalifullah*<sup>235</sup> and *Khalifah rabil-amin*<sup>236</sup>. Discarding the name of the Abbasid caliph from the coins was not a new practice, this we have seen on the coins of Alauddin Muhammad Shah and Shihabuddin Umar too but these rulers never called themselves *Khalifah*. Thus, this act of Qutubuddin Mubarak was very daring and received great criticism from the *ulema* of his time. According to the *Ulama*, Caliphs were inherited from hazrat Prophet Muhammad not from Allah, therefore, no can claim *Khalifaht-ul-Allah*. Scholars give various reasons for his adoption of the titles. Thus, all those were only assumptions, it is not clear, why he had assumed these caliph titles.

Thus, on the use of title of Khalifat-ul-Allah the researcher considered that these titles are not a topic of criticism as Allah himself in ‘Quran Surah Baqarah’ No. 30. verse says that

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً قَالُوا أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَن يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ  
الِدِمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ قَالَ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ

Remember when your Lord said to the angels, “I am going to place a successive human authority on earth.” they asked Allah, will you place in it someone who will spread corruption there and shed blood while glorifying your praise and proclaiming your holiness? Allah responded, “I know what you do not know”<sup>237</sup>.

Therefore, from these verses of the Quran, one may consider that every single person in the world is Khalifa of Allah.

In the beginning of his period, he used the title of *Yamin-ul-khilafat nasir amir-ul-muminin*<sup>238</sup> and *Sikander -uz-zaman*<sup>239</sup> at the place of *Sikander-us- sani*.

The coin inscription in his *tanka* series has been divided into the following groups:

1. **Obverse:** *As-sultan al- azam Qutubud-duniya-wad-din abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah*

<sup>235</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 181.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid, p. 179.

<sup>237</sup> <http://en.noblequran.org/quran/surah-al-baqarah/ayat-30/>.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid, p.180.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid, p. 180.

**Reverse:** *As- sultan ibn-us- sultan Sikandar-uz-zaman yamin-ul- khilafat nasir amir-ul-muminin*<sup>240</sup>”.

2. **Obverse:** *Al-imam al- azam khalifah rabbil- alamin Qutbud-duniya- wad-din Abu’l muzaffar Mubarak Shah*

**Reverse:** *As-sultan ibn-us-sultan al-wasiq billah amir-ul-muminin*<sup>241</sup>”.



Figure 42- 43 Khalifullah & Khalifa Rabil Alamin Type coins of Qutubuddin Mubarak (IIRNS&BSEAP)



Figure 44-45 Sikandar- uz- Zaman Silver Coins of Qutubuddin Khalji (IIRNS&BSEAP)

Billon coins of Qutubuddin Mubarak are known in various types. On the basis of the metal contents (*gani*), it has been divided into five different categories such as twelve *gani*, eight *gani*, six *gani*, four *gani*, and two *gani*. They all differ in their silver content as well as the placement of the legends on the coins. The deduction of the weight results in missing out on the inscription because of the shortage of space. The billon coins were issued primarily in the weight standard of *jital* i.e., 3.5gms but his 12 *gani* billon coins were issued in between 5.3gms to 3.7gms. The legend is described as under:

**Twelve gani:**

**Obverse:** *Al- imam al-azam Qutub-ud-duniya waddin abu’l muzaffar*

**Reverse:** *Khalifat-ul-lah Mubarak Shah* within the circle, around: *As-sultan ibn-us-sultan*, date, and mint<sup>242</sup>.

<sup>240</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 41.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid, p. 41.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.



Figure 46-47 Twelve Gani & Eight Gani coins of Qutubuddin Mubarak (Marudhar Art)

### **Eight gani:**

**Obverse:** *Outub-ud-duniya waddin* within a square, around: *abu'l muzaffar khalifatullah*

**Reverse:** *Mubarak Shah as-sultan bin as-sultan*<sup>243</sup>

### **Six gani**

**Obverse:** *Khalifah rabbil-alamin Qutub-ud-duniya wad-din*

**Reverse:** *Mubarak Shah as-sultan bin as-sultan al-wasiq billah*<sup>244</sup>

**Four gani** (3.6-3.7 gram), is arranged in four different inscriptions.

1. Inscribing his title, *As-sultan al- azam Qutubud-duniya-wad-din* on the one side and *Abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah as-sultan bin as-sultan*<sup>245</sup>.
2. *Al Imam Al- azam Qutubud-duniya wad-din* in one side and *abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah as-sultan ibn-us-sultan*<sup>246</sup> on the other side
3. *Qutubud-duniya wad-din* on one side and *Mubarak Shah as-sultan ibn-us-sultan*<sup>247</sup>
4. *Khalifah rabil-alamin Qutubud-duniya wad-din* on the one side and *abu'l muzaffar Mubarak Shah as-sultan ibn-us-sultan al wasiq billah*<sup>248</sup> on other side.

He had also issued two gani coins, with a small legend, *Al imam al- azam Qutubud-duniya-wad-din* on the obverse and *Mubarak Shah as-sultan* on the reverse<sup>249</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 182.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 101.

<sup>248</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 182.

<sup>249</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p.44.



Figure 48- 49 Four gani Billon Coins of Qutubuddin Mubarak (IIRNS and Marudhar Art)

Mubarak is also represented in his copper coins. These coins are known by three different weight standards such as *paika* (4.6 gram), *Adli* (2.2 gram), and *visva* (one-fifth *paika* 0.8 gram).

His *paika* bears *Al imam al- azam* on the one side and *Qutubud-duniya-wad-din*<sup>250</sup> on the other. The *Adli* bears the small inscription *Adl Mubarak Shah* on the one side and *Ba hazrat dar-ul-khilafah*<sup>251</sup>. Apart from *Ba hazrat* Delhi, his copper coins are also represented from Qutubabad, with the inscription *Adl Mubarak Shah* on the one side and *Ba hazrat Qutubabad*<sup>252</sup> on another side. His *visva*-type coin has a very simple legend, *Mubarak Shah* on the obverse and *As-sultan*<sup>253</sup> on the reverse.



Figure 50 Copper Coin of Qutubuddin Mubarak (Marudhar Art)

#### 2.4.6 Nasiruddin Khusru

The last ruler of the Khalji dynasty, Nasiruddin Khusru had also issued coins in gold, silver, billon, and copper.

The gold and silver were issued from Hazrat Delhi and Qila Deogiri which bears the identical legend. On the obverse, it is inscribed as *As- sultan al-azam nasirud-duniya-wad-din abu'l muzaffar* and on the reverse '*Khusru Shah as-sultan al wasiq bi-nasir-ar -rahman wali amir-ul-muminin*<sup>254</sup> with the mint name.

<sup>250</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 102.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 44.

<sup>253</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 102.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.



Figure 51 Gold coin of Nasiruddin Khusarau (Classical Numismatic Gallery)

His billon coins are known in 12 *gani*, 6 *gani*, and 2 *gani* values in the weight standard of 3.5gms. The legend on the coins is inscribed as *As-sultan al-azam Nasirud-duniya wad-din*<sup>255</sup> on the obverse and *Abu'l muzaffar Khusru Shah as-sultan* with the date in Arabic numerals on the reverse.



Figure 52 -53 Gani coins of Nasiruddin Khusarau (C N G and Mintage world)

His *dugani* billon coins are quite similar to the bi-lingual (*Arabic/Devanagari*) coins of Alauddin Muhammad Shah but without Devanagari legend, inscribing on the obverse *As-sultan al-azam Nasirud-duniya wad-din* and on the reverse *Khusru Shah* in the center within the single circle and around it the marginal legend *As-sultan wali amir-ul-muminin*<sup>256</sup>. This reverse marginal legend on Alauddin's coins was in Nagari<sup>257</sup> but here it is changed into Arabic.

He continued his copper coins with the *paika* and *adli* types. The former is reported in two denominations *paika* (4.5 gram) with legend *as-sultan al-azam* on the one side and *Nasirud-duniya-wad-din* on the other and half *paika* (2.1 gram) bearing inscription *Khusru Shah* on the obverse and *as-sultan* on the reverse and *Adli* is reported in 1.6 gram with the legend *Adl Khusru Shah* on the one side and *Ba hazrat Delhi* on the other<sup>258</sup>.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid. p. 104.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 39, D 233.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid. p. 46.



Figure 54- 55 Paika and half Paika of Nasiruddin Khusarau (Mintage World)

## 2.5 Coinage of the Tughlaq Dynasty

Ghazi Malik, one of the senior nobles in the court of Khalji founded the Tughluq dynasty and ascended the throne of Delhi in the name Ghiyasuddin Tughluq in 1320 AD till 1325 A.D. He ruled for five years (1320-1325) and was succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughluq who ruled for about 25 years (1325-1351). Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was succeeded by his cousin Firoz Tughluq who continued to rule till 1389. These three were the most powerful sultans of this dynasty. The Tughlaq dynasty witnessed its disintegration from the time of Firoz Tughluq but remained in rule till 1431 AD by the weak successors of Firoz Tughluq. The coinage of the Tughluq dynasty is reported in plenty and has an important position in the numismatics history of India. Their coins will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

### 2.5.1 Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, the founder of this dynasty issued his coins in gold, silver, billon, and copper from Dar-ul-Islam Delhi and Deogiri mints. He followed the coin type of Khalji with minor modifications and had very frequently used the term *Al-Ghazi* on his coins. The term *ghazi* was first used in the coins of the Delhi sultanate by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. Based on the inscription Goron and Goenka<sup>259</sup> had divided his gold and silver coins into two major types:

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid, p. 47.



### 1. Inscription with Al ghazi type

It is inscribed as *As-sultan al ghazi Ghiyasud-duniya-wad-din Abu'l muzaffar* on one side and *Tughlaq Shah as-sultan nasir amir-ul-muminin* with the date and mint on the other. Dates on his coins are generally written in Arabic words.

### 2. Inscription without Al- ghazi with the word Al Mutawakkil Alal-lah:

It bears the legend *Ghiyasud-duniya-wad-din nasir amir-ul-muminin al mutawakkil alallah abu'l muzaffar Tughlaq Shah*.



Figure 56- 57 Gold and Silver coins of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (IIRNS and Mintage World)

The silver coins of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq from Bengal are very rare but interesting and needed to be discussed here as it is a joint issue with the local ruler of Bengal, Nasiruddin Ibrahim, and the name of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq<sup>260</sup>. The legends on these coins are as follows, *As-sultan al- muazzam nasirud-duniya-wad-din abu'l muzaffar Ibrahim Shah as-sultan bin-sultan* on its reverse and *As-sultan al-azam Ghiyasud-duniya wad-din abu'l muzaffar Tughlaq Shah as - sultan* on the obverse<sup>261</sup>. On these coins, the title *as-sultan al Muazzam* has been used for Nasiruddin Ibrahim. It gives us the idea that he was ruling under the suzerainty of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in Bengal.

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq is well reported for his billon coins. Nelson Wright<sup>262</sup> had listed three types of billon coins in the *Gani* pattern with the weight standard of 3.6gms with three different legends.

1. **Bi-lingual (Arabic and Devanagari) type:** The legend is inscribed as *As-sultan al-ghazi Ghiyasud-duniya-wad-din* on the obverse and *Tughlaq Shah*

<sup>260</sup> Ibid, pp.46 & 163.

<sup>261</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 163.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

in a single circle, around: *Sri sultan Ghiyasuddin* in Devanagari on the reverse with date in *Hijri* era.

2. **As-sultan al-ghazi type**<sup>263</sup>: legends are mentioned as *As-sultan al-ghazi Ghiyasud-duniya-wad-din* on the obverse and *abu'l muzaffar Tughlaq Shah as-sultan* on the reverse with date in *Hijri*.
3. **Tughlaq Shah type**: legends are described as *As-sultan al-ghazi Ghiyasud-duniya-wad-din* on the obverse and *Tughlaq Shah* within a double circle on the reverse
4. His copper coins (*paika*) in the weight standard of 3.5- 4gms and *adli* in the weight standard between 2gms and 2.3gms are also known.

**Paika:**

Type 1. **Obverse:** *As-sultan al ghazi*,

**Reverse:** *Ghiyasud-duniya-wad-din*

Type 2. **Obverse:** *Tughlaq*

**Reverse:** *Shah*



Figure 58 Paika coins of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (Marudhar Art)

**Adli:**

**Obverse:** *Adl Ghiyasi*

**Reverse:** *Bi-Fakhrabad*.<sup>264</sup>

The copper coins are reported from Fakhrabad, Sultanpur, and Qila Deogiri

<sup>263</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 47.

<sup>264</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 48.

### 2.5.2 Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

Fakhruddin Juna, the son of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq ascended the throne of Delhi in the name of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Edward Thomas called him as ‘Prince of Moneyers’. His coinage is the most complex and innovative of the whole series of Delhi sultanates. Habib and Nizami said that “perhaps no other sultan of medieval India has excited so much curiosity about him and provoked so much criticism of his policies as Muhammad Bin Tughlaq”<sup>265</sup>. He had surpassed his predecessors in the execution of coins, especially in the matter of inscriptions and calligraphy. But in the numismatic history of India, he occupies an important place because of his employment of different new varieties of inscription and experiments with the coinage, especially token or forced currency<sup>266</sup>.

He had done many new experiments with his coinage as; he reintroduced the use of *Kalima* and the name of Caliphs (both Abbasid and great caliphs) and many other innovative inscriptions on his coins. Besides, he had also made distinct changes in the weight standard of his coinage in all the gold, silver, billon, and copper. Along with the traditional coins in metals (gold, silver, copper, and billon), he also issued coins in bronze. One of the outstanding features of his coinage is the expansion of the mint system<sup>267</sup>. During his reign not less than nine mints were working. These include Delhi, Darul-Islam, Dhar, Lakhanuti, Darul Islam, Mulk-i- Tilang, etc. He issued coins from Deogiri under the name of Qutubabad and then for a short period he changed the name to Deogiri. But later on, he changed the name Deogiri to Daultabad<sup>268</sup>.

For proper understanding of coin type of the coinage of Muhammad bin Tughlaq has been divided into the following categories.

1. Coins struck in his father’s name
2. Coins in his name
3. Coins issued in the name of the Abbasid caliph

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<sup>265</sup> Muhammad Habib Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, New Delhi. Vol. 5. 1982. p. 476.

<sup>266</sup> C J Brown, op. cit. 1980. pp. 73.

<sup>267</sup> P L Gupta, op. cit. 1969. pp. 90.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

#### 4. Token currency.

##### **Coins struck in his father's name**

His early coins did not bear his name but were issued in the name of his father Ghiyasuddin Tughluq with a new title *As-Shaheed* (Martyr) and the legend ends with the words *Anarullahu burhanahu* (May Allah illumine his proof). The full legend is inscribed as *As-sultan as-saeed as-Shaheed al-ghazi Ghiyas-ud-duniya-waddin* on the one side and *abu'l muzaffar Tughlaq Shah as -sultan anarullah burhanahu* on the other side.

Regarding the use of the word *Shaheed*, there is a discussion among the scholars. Based on the information from the contemporary chronicler Ziauddin Barni and Ibn Batuta<sup>269</sup> it is generally accepted that Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq died due to the stage collapse and it was done deliberately with the instruction of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Modern scholars also believe that Muhammad bin Tughlaq made a conspiracy to murder his father this resulted in annoyance among the masses. Thus, to get the support of the masses, he used to call his father *Shaheed* in Islamic mythology and never dies and has always been considered the most pious soul before Allah. The term, however, enhances his position as his father before the masses. The legend of this coin ends with the words *Anarullahu Burhanahu* (May Allah illumine his proof). Probably these coins were issued more as a calculated hypocritical step to clear his name from the crime and appease his subjects and to give a good impression about his character, he issued coins in the name of his father to honor his memory and called him *Shaheed*<sup>270</sup>. The dates in gold and silver coins appear in Arabic words while billon coins bear dates in Arabic numerals. The gold coins of this type are generally reported in 11gms but a rare coin in the weight of 16gms is also listed by H Nelson Wright.<sup>271</sup> The mint name is not cleared but Nelson

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<sup>269</sup> Agha Mahdi Hussain, *The Rise, and fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq*, 1938. pp. 50.

<sup>270</sup> Danish Moin, "Inscriptions on Medieval Indian Coins; An Analysis", *Medieval Indian Coinage Social and Economic*. (ed. Amiteswar Jha) IIRNS Publications. 2001. p. 193.

<sup>271</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 116.

Wright considered it as *Mulk- e- Mabar*<sup>272</sup>. These coins were issued in his initial three years of reign.

### Coins issued in his name

In this type, he introduced many varieties and types. Only a few will be discussed here. Firstly, he reintroduced *Kalima* which was first noticed in the coins of Mahmud Ghazni<sup>273</sup> and was discarded from the coins after the reign of Iltutmish. Besides, *Kalima Tayibba*, he also introduced *Kalima Shahadat*<sup>274</sup> on his coins. Apart from *Kalima*, he is also known to have issued coins by inscribing the name of four great Caliphs along with *Kalima Taiyyaba*. The names of great caliphs have been noticed for the first time on the coins of the Delhi sultanate. Although this type is rarely found. His coins reflect his staunch orthodoxy, not for the reappearance of *Kalima* but the assumption of various new religious titles such as *Al Mujahid Fi Sabilillah*<sup>275</sup>, *Al Wasiq Rahman*<sup>276</sup>, *Raji Rahmatullah*<sup>277</sup>, *Fi Ahd type*,<sup>278</sup> etc. These types of coins were issued only in gold and silver at about 11 grams. Apart from standard denominations he also issued gold and silver coins in half and heavier (13 gram) denominations.



<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Muhammad S Tawfiq, A A Armada, *A Historical and Numismatic Study of the Dinars of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud B. Sabuktakin At Nishapur*, Comunicación de observaciones de evaluadores, 2020.

<sup>274</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. pp. 116.

<sup>275</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 208.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid. p. 207.

<sup>277</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 121.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.



Figure 59 60- 61- 62 Gold & silver coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (Mintage World. V Coins, Marudhar Art, Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

Like gold and silver, his billon and copper coins were also issued bearing the name of Muhammad bin Tughlaq with dates in Arabic words as well as numerical. These coins generally bear small inscriptions such as *Al-mujahid fi sabil- Allah* on the one side and *Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah* on the other, *Al-wasiq bi-Nasr- Allah* on the obverse and *Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah* on the reverse and *As-sultan al ahad*<sup>279</sup> on the one side and *Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah* with the date on the other. Besides, he is also reported to have issued bi-lingual (Arabic and Devanagari) type coins on the pattern of Balban bearing *as-sultan al-azam Ghiyas-ud-duniya-waddin* on the one side and *Muhammad Shah* within a circle Devanagari legend in the margin<sup>280</sup>. He was the last sultan of the Delhi sultanate who continued this type. Most of his billon coins are reported in about 3.5gms.

The copper coins in this category were issued with the legend, *As-sultan zill Allah* on the one side and *Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah* on the other in the weight of about 4.2gms and another type were issued with the legend *adl Muhammad Shah* and *hasb-i-rabbi* in the weight of about 3.4gms.

### **Coins issued in the name of Abbasid Caliph**

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was highly interested in having the reigning Caliph acknowledge his authority. After a long time when he got to know that one of the family members of Abbasid *Khalifah* is alive and the post of *Khalifah* was reinstated by the ruler of Egypt. He, therefore, sent his emissary to the Abbasid Caliph for a 'Degree of Investiture'. In the meantime, he inscribed the name of the

<sup>279</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 53.

<sup>280</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. 1999. p. 12.

contemporary Abbasid caliph of Egypt on his coins. After sometimes he had received a Degree of Investiture from the Caliph 'Al Mustakfi I' of Egypt.

Coins bearing the name of Abbasid Caliph were issued in past by almost all the rulers of Mamluk Sultanate and Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji. However, after Firoz, no coin of the Delhi Sultanate is noticed with the name of Abbasid Caliph till Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. The tradition was re-introduced by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and his coins find the appearance of the names of three Abbasid Caliphs—*Al Mustakfi*, *Abu'l- Abbas*, and *Al -Hakim*<sup>281</sup>.



Figure 63- 64 Coin in the Name of Abbasid Caliph (Ganga Numismatics and M S Kazi)

The type under discussion also bears the dates in both Arabic words and numerical. These coins were issued predominantly in gold<sup>282</sup> and billon<sup>283</sup> with a few silver<sup>284</sup> and copper<sup>285</sup> coins too. These were minted in Delhi and Daulatabad.

### Token Currency

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq in India is generally known for his unsuccessful five projects and Token Currency was one of these projects. Token currency means, a currency to which a token value, which does not have any relation with the intrinsic or metallic value, has been assigned<sup>286</sup>. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq introduced token currency in bronze with the weight of 9gms termed as *tanka* and he asked his people to accept these at the value of silver *tanka* which was in circulation at that time.

<sup>281</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 59.

<sup>282</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 122.

<sup>283</sup> Dilip Rajgor. *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate coins of India*, S. Nos. 1171, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176. Bombay, 1996.

<sup>284</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p.129.

<sup>285</sup> D Rajgor, op. cit. S. nos. 1146-47.

<sup>286</sup> Danish Moin., op. cit. 1999. P. 13.



Figure 65 Token Currency of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (IIRNS&BSEAP)

The main ambition of Muhammad bin Tughlaq behind the introduction of token currency was to reform the coinage system, which has been little understood and much condemned. This experiment was launched by him after expedition to Deogiri in 1329-30. A silver coin, in those days was known as *tanka*, a copper coin was known as *jital*. Muhammad bin Tughlaq issued bronze coins, in place of silver and demanded its acceptance as a token coin equivalent to the silver *tanka*<sup>287</sup>. Qublai Khan (1260-94) of China and Kaikhatu Khan of Khurasan (1293) had made similar attempts at introducing a token currency had been made. The former who introduced paper currency while later made in metallic. The currency of China was successfully accepted while it was not accepted in Khurasan. Similar happened to Muhammad Bin Tughlaq as he had without retained currency which result a great royal lost to the treasury.

The token currency of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was distinguished from the ordinary currency in the following respect.

- (a) According to Barani these coins were made of copper but Ferishta has suggested that it was of brass or bronze. The actual coins of token currency, however, confirm that Ferishta is more accurate in his observation<sup>288</sup>.
- (b) The legend in most of the base metal coins of medieval India are generally out of flan and difficult to decipher but in token currency special care had been taken to make the legend clearer and more legible.
- (c) The inscription on the coins of token currency is in bi-lingual (Arabic and Persian) bearing the Persian legend as *Muhr-e-shud tanka raj dar ruzgar-*

<sup>287</sup> Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, (reprinted), 1967, p. 245.

<sup>288</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 244 & 249.



*i-banda-i-ummidwar Muhammad Tughlaq* (minted *tanka*, current during the days of Muhammad (*bin*) *Tughlaq*, who hopes for divine favor)<sup>289</sup> on the one side. The word ‘current’ in the legend of this coins make it clear that coin owed its value to the credit of the Sultan and not to the value of its metal. The other sides bear Arabic legend *Man ata as-sultan faqad ata ar-rahman* (who obey the Sultan obeys the God) with date and mint name on the other. This was an appeal to the religious sentiments of the people to honor the token currency. Danish Moin in his article rightly suggests that Muhammad Tughlaq was the first sultan of India who introduced the bi-lingual coins with Arabic and Persian<sup>290</sup>.

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq introduced this token currency is well explained by Ziauddin Barni,<sup>291</sup> “he explains that the Sultan’s project to conquer foreign lands and his boundless generosity and munificence had depleted the treasury, and it was device to face the crisis of bankruptcy”.

The second reason for its adoption is closely related to the first: Muhammad Tughlaq governed the biggest territory of any sultan of the Delhi sultanate, therefore he required a metal for his coins that was plentiful, and he most likely never considered fabricating the coins.

This experiment is claimed to have been well ahead of its time. People were unfamiliar with the token currency and found it difficult to accept a low-value bronze coin worth more. According to the legend around his token currency, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq even appealed to the public to accept it.

### **2.5.3 Firoz Shah Tughlaq**

After the death of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, his cousin Firoz Tughlaq was declared as the king and a formal coronation in the name of Firoz Tughluq took place in Sind. However, in Delhi the Khwaja Jahan, the senior noble of Tughluq made Mahmud a minor boy as the successor of Muhammad Bin Muhammad. Some of

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<sup>289</sup> Goron Stan and Goenka. op. cit. p. 56.

<sup>290</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. 2001. pp. 200.

<sup>291</sup> Ziauddin Barani *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, (ed.). Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan, Calcutta, 1862, p. 475.

the contemporary writers claim that Mahmud was the son of Muhammad bin Tughlaq but another historian denied this claim. He was, however, defeated and killed by Firoz when he arrives to Delhi from Sind before formally ascended to the throne of Delhi. During his brief reign Mahmud bin Muhammad had issued coins in gold silver and billon under the name of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Tughlaq. His gold and silver coins bear the titles, *Yamin amir-ul-muminin ghiyasud-duniya-wad-din Abu'l Muzaffar* on one side and *Mahmud Shah bin muhammad Shah as-sultan* on the other side.

Firoz Shah struck several varieties of coins made of gold, silver, copper and billon, though his silver *tankas* are rare but billon coins are known in plenty. The coins made of gold and silver were generally issued with the name of 'Abbasid Caliph Abu'l Abbas Al-Hakim II, Abu'l Fatah Al Mustasid and Al-Mutawakkil I along with Firoz's name and title such as *Saif amir-ul-muminin* (swords of Caliph) etc. Coins without the name of Caliph are also issued by him. These coins carry the name and title of the Sultan and Firoz called himself as *naib amir-ul-muminin* (Deputy of the Commander of faithful) on these coins.

The billon coins are more or less followed the similar legend those are found in his gold ones. The legend is inscribed as *Al khalifah amir-ul-muminin khulidat khilafatahu* on one side and *Firoz Shah sultan zarbat ba hazrat Delhi* on the other. Besides, some of the billon coins were also issued in the name of Abbasid Caliph. His billon coins were issued in two denominations weighing about 9gms and 3.5gms.

Like the first two Tughlaq Sultans, the copper coins of Firoz too are having short legends inscribed as *Firoz Shah sultani* on obverse and *Dar-ul-mulk Dehli* on the reverse. The most common denomination in copper is of about 4.2 to 4.4gms. Though the coins are of at least three other denominations weighing about 9gms, 2gms and 1gms were also issued by him.

The billon and copper coins of Firoz Shah were so popular that they continued to be struck long after his death with posthumous dates. Dehli was the principal mint of Firoz Tughlaq but mint named *Sahat-i-Sindh* is also seen on some of his coins.

### 2.5.4 Fath Khan

Fath Khan was the son of Firoz Tughlaq and he was declared *wali ahad* (successor) by the sultan in his life time. The coins of Fath Khan are known in gold and billon. His gold coins bear his name along with of that of his father Firoz Tughlaq on one side and the name of Abbasid Caliph and the mint name on the other inscribed as *Fath khan firoz Shah Jal-lallahu zil-lalahu jalalahu* on obverse, and *Fi-zaman al imam amir-ul-muminin abu'l Fath al-mustasid billah khulidat khilafatuhu* on reverse side dated AH 761<sup>292</sup>. The billon coins too have the names of the Caliphs such as *Abu'l Fath* and *Abdullah*. These are found in two weight standards of 9.3gms and 3.5gms. The gold coins of Fath Khan are reported from *Shahr-e-Patna* and *Iqlim -al-sharq* mints.

The Tughlaq dynasty had started disintegrating during the time of Firoz Tughlaq itself. After his death, the influence of the Sultanate was confined to Delhi and adjoining areas only. Most of the ambitious and powerful viceroys and governors of the provinces, which were under the Delhi Sultanate, took advantage of the weekend control of central power, declared their independence and issued coins in their name.

### 2.6. Continuity and Change

Although the beginning of the coinage of Delhi sultanate has been traced back to the reign of Iltutmish but his coinage tradition witnessed both continuity and change. The continuity in his coinage is noticed from the existing coinage mainly (bull/horseman) issued by the Rajput rulers and also continued by Ghaznavid and Ghorid in northern India. While changes occurred when he introduced coinage on Islamic tradition.

The coinage of the period has been divided into two categories- Local and Islamic traditions. Former category primarily means the bull/ horseman type which was issued in about 3.5gms in billon and popularly circulated in north India.

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<sup>292</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 67.

The bull/ horseman type was the most popular currency in the region of north India which were introduced in 8-9<sup>th</sup> century AD by Hindu Shahi king-Sapalapatideva of Kabul. Since then, this type became most prominent and acceptable type in northern India, many rulers issued their coins in this pattern and the type was continued by the successors of Mahmud Ghazni and also by the Ghorid sultan- Muhammad bin Sam. The Ghaznavid ruler in beginning even inscribed the name of Hindu Shahi kings on their coins. But, gradually the Ghaznavid made some changes and introduced Arabic legends in the same pattern. Such coins may be called as bull / Arabic legend type. Slowly and steadily, pictorial motifs disappeared and the space was occupied by the inscriptions on the coins. Ghaznavid, however, continued to issue coins in the weight standard of 3.5gms.

The Ghorid sultan Muhammad Bin Sam continued to issue the same type in the region. He maintained the weight standard of 3.5gms but silver content in his coins was reduced and the type have been issued in billon (silver and copper mixed) with legend in Devanagari. Later, billon of weight 3.5gms. became an established standard of the type. It was also continued in the north India by the Mamluk sultans. It has been issued in various types and varieties including bi-lingual (Arabic and Devanagari). Thus, the type had witnessed a significant change in an over a period of time. The type, however, finds a remarkable change during the reign of Balban who discarded the bull/horseman series but continued the Devanagari legend on his billon coins and also maintained the weight standard of 3.5gms. The changes introduced by Balban in his billon coins became most popular coin type of Delhi sultanate and continued by Khalji sultans- Jalaluddin Firoz, Alauddin Muhammad Shah and Tughlaq sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq an exceptionally issued by Muhammad bin Tughluq too.

Gaud Vijaya type coins from Gaud of Iltutmish is also needed to be mentioned here. The type was the continuation of Gaud Vijaya type coins of Muhammad Bin Sam with some changes. He continued the horseman on the coins but introduced *Kalima* in the margin and do not mention the word *Gaud Vijaya* on the coins.

The most remarkable change on the Islamic- type coins of Delhi sultanate may be considered as the introduction of name of Abbasid Khalifah<sup>293</sup> of Baghdad- Al Mustansir on one side, with or without the Kalima. This particular type was followed up by seven succeeding rulers, (Ruknuddin Firoz Shah, Jalaluddin Razia, Muizzuddin Bahram Shah, Ghyasuddin Balban, Muizzuddin Kaiqubada and Shamsuddin Kayumra). The coins of Mamluk Sultans represent two Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mustansir and Al-Mustasim. Balban, however, made an inscriptional change in this type and dropped the word *fi-ahd* from the coins.

Inscriptional changes in the Khalji period have been first noticed on the coins of Ruknuddin Khalji. He had discontinued the long tradition of writing the name of Abbasid Caliph, and bi-lingual coins which were prevalent on the coins of his predecessors. Allaudin Muhammad Khalji had made significant inscriptional changes in the existing currency pattern. He dropped the name of Abbasid Caliph from his coins and substituted the self-laudatory titles, like, he called himself *yamin-ul-khilafah* and *Sikandar-us-sani*<sup>294</sup>.

Qutbuddin Mubarak further had taken a darer step by using more arrogant titles *khalifah rabu'l alamin* (the supreme head of Islam, the Khalifah the lord of heaven and earth), *khalifullah* (Caliph of Allah) and also calls himself *Sikandar -uz- zaman* (Alexander of the world). Mubarak was the first Indian ruler, who called himself *khalifah*, and his declaration of *khalifullah* has always been considered as very daring step.

The coins of Tughlaq dynasty also witnessed continuity and changes. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq issued coins in gold, silver, billon and copper and more or less continued the coin types and metrology of the Khalji's. It is interesting to note that after the conquest of Telangana, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq had used the title *ghazi*, "Champion

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<sup>293</sup> The Caliph in the Islamic world, considered the religious and political head of Islam, and writing the name of the Caliph, had been a long tradition in Islamic type coins. Thus, by issuing coins in the name of the Abbasid Caliph, Iltutmish was just following the tradition of his predecessors. Another fact to be considered is that Iltutmish had the respect and faith in the legal authority of the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad, which led him to adopt the title of Nasir Amir al-muminnin. This view gains strength from the fact that Iltutmish also received the 'decree of investiture' from the Caliph Al-Mustansir.

<sup>294</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 38.

of the faith”, and became the first Indian sovereign to use this title. Later his son Muhammad bin Tughlaq had made significant experiments with the coins. therefore, his period witnessed great changes in coinage pattern and established a distinct currency pattern.

Muhammad bin Tughlaq had continued the Islamic type coins of his predecessors. However, he introduced a significant inscriptional change on his coins. He reintroduced the use of *Kalima* which was not seen after Iltutmish; besides *Kalima Tayyaba* he introduced *kalima Shahadat*<sup>295</sup> on his coins. Apart from the *Kalima*, a few coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq are reported with the name of four great caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali) along with the *kalima*. Their names have been noticed for the first time on the coins of Delhi sultanate. Besides, new religious titles such as, *fi sabil allah al wasiq ar rahman, raji rahmatullah* etc. were also introduced.

Besides Muhammad Bin Tughlaq had also issued coin with the names of Abbasid Caliph stationed at Egypt. And he was the first ruler to introduce the name of great caliph on his coins. The token currency of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq in itself is an innovation in India in the currency system of India. He had introduced a different a new type of legends on his token currency in one side it bears religious appeals in Arabic and the other side Persian inscription requesting his subjects to accept this currency as a current coin. He was the first Indian ruler who introduce bilingual coins (Arabic and Persian).

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<sup>295</sup>H Nelson Wright, op. cit. p. 125.

## **Chapter III**

# **Typological and Inscriptional Analysis of the Coinage of Bahmani**

### Chapter III

#### Typological and Inscriptional Analysis of the Coinage of Bahmani

The present chapter intends to study the Coinage of Bahmani sultanate and to examine the continuity and changes in the coin inscriptions with the coins of Delhi sultanate, and it also proposes to find the historical significance of these inscriptions.

Bahmani sultanate is being considered as one of the most powerful Muslim dynasties of medieval Deccan. The writing of inscription on the coins has been well documented on the coins of medieval rulers of India in general and Deccan in particular. They had issued various new variants of inscription in Arabic and Persian languages on their coins to show their superiority to the subjects.

Luke Treadwell argues that “coins can only yield their full benefit to the historian if they are interpreted, not as disembodied and decontextualized object but in the light of the narrative provided by contemporary historian”<sup>296</sup>.

The inscription on the coins, is a combination of religious and secular messages. The names of rulers, governor, caliph, and mint are frequently noted on the coins. They generally name the mint town, the year, and sometimes even the month and the day. Religious inscriptions reveal the political views of the ruler who commissioned the coin. The appearance of the ruler's name on the coin (*Sikka*) and in the friday prayer (*khutba*) at the period served as proof of his identity. The rulers' hierarchy was engraved on coins for all time and was frequently duplicated as a

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<sup>296</sup> Luke Treadwell, “Shahanshah and Al Malik al Muayyad: The Legitimation of Power in Samanid and Buyid Iran”, *Cultural and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honor of Wilfred Madelung*, 2003. p. 318-337.



'bulletin of state.' They provide a new level of understanding to what are normally precisely datable archaeological artefacts<sup>297</sup>.

### 3.1 Pre-Bahmani Coins

The rulers of Delhi Sultanate like Alauddin Khalji first stepped to Deccan and issued coins from the Deogiri mint with the titles as *As-sultan al-azam alaud-duniya wad-din abul muzaffar muhammad Shah* on one side and *Sikandar-us-sani yamin-ul- khilafah amir-ul-muminin* on the other side. He had assumed the title of *Sikandar-us-sani*, for the reason of over-elated with his success of few expeditions. He unfolds his views in words, "I have wealth, and elephants, and forces, beyond all calculation. My wish is to place Delhi in charge of a vicegerent, and then I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitable world."<sup>298</sup> Later his kinsman Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah issued coins and renamed the mint name, Qutubabad (Deogiri) with the titles *Al-imam al-azam khalifah rabil alamin Qutub-ud-dunia waddin abul muzaffar mubarak shah as-sultan ibn-us-sultan al-wasiq billah amir-ul-muminin*. Even, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq has also issued coins from Deogiri mint, and Mulk-i- Tilang, (epithet for Warangal). He had changed the name of Warangal to Sultanpur after he was successful in conquering all over Telangana<sup>299</sup>. It was however, not till the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq the effective measures for colonization have been done to the Deccan. He had also issued coins with another different legend, *As-sultan as-saeed as-shaheed al-gazi Ghiyas-ud-duniya waddin abul muzaffar Tughlaq Shah as-sultan anarullah Burhan-nahu*. The term *As-saeed* means 'happy and Auspicious'. "Normally in the Samanids of Transoxania and Xurasan, the Amirs were addressed simply by their *Kunyas* during their lifetimes and after their deaths were referred to by an epithet like *As- said* 'the Fortunate one'"<sup>300</sup>.

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<sup>297</sup> Stefan Heidemann, "The Formation of the Islamic world, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries, Chapter 16, Numismatics" (ed. Chase Robinson). *The New Cambridge History of Islam, VI*. Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 649.

<sup>298</sup> Ziauddin Barni, op. cit. p. 169.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid. p. 233.

<sup>300</sup> C E Bosworth, op. cit. p. 210-233.

However, the Deccan did not remain under Tughlaq's for a long time. Deccan during the time of Muhammad bin Tughlaq witnessed rebellion of different chiefs. During this period Ali Shah Nattu proclaimed himself independent in 1339-40 at Dharur under the title *Ala-ud-din Ali Shah*, and joined by his brothers Hasan Gangu, Ahmad and Muhammad<sup>301</sup>. He struck copper coins<sup>302</sup> with the legends *Ala-ud-duniya waddin Ali Shah As-sultan*.<sup>303</sup> It is interesting to note that Ali Shah proclaimed king at Dharur with the title of Alauddin, the title later adopted by his brother the first Bahmani ruler, and it was really an adoption of Alauddin Khalji.

### **3.2 Coinage of the Bahmani Sultanate**

Bahmani rulers had continued the coinage pattern of Delhi sultanate but made changes time to time with some novel thoughts. Therefore, the incursion of the numismatic ideas of Bahmani kings with Delhi introduced a new numismatic tradition in medieval Deccan. The coinage of Bahmani's appreciated a peculiar status for their excellent calligraphy. They issued gold, silver, and copper coins but a few exceptions of billon coins.

The earlier rulers of Bahmani issued coins on the pattern of Delhi sultanate particularly Khalji's and Tughlaq. Among the 17 rulers of Bahmani Sultanate, only 9 rulers issued gold coins. These includes the names of Muhammad Shah I, Mujahid Shah, Muhammad Shah II, Firoz Shah, Ahmad Shah II, Humayun Shah, Ahmad Shah III, Muhammad Shah III and Mahmud Shah. The coins of all the rulers except Mujahid Shah and Firoz Shah followed the standard weight of the *Tanka* of the Delhi sultans. These two rulers adopted the weight of *Dinar* of Muhammad Shah Tughlaq. Apart from the last two rulers, Waliullah Shah and Kalimullah Shah, who were nominal sultans, all the other rulers issued silver coins. Mujahid Shah and Muhammad Shah II issued coins weighing a two third *Tanka*. Apart from these coins, some smaller coins were also issued by the early rulers.

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<sup>301</sup>H K Sherwani, *The Bahmani's of Deccan: An Objective Study*, 1946. p.22.

<sup>302</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 285.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid, pp. 289, only one type of coin in copper is reported for this precursor of the Bahmani's.

Almost all the rulers of this dynasty issued copper coins and they vary in weight and denominations. The weight of Bahmani copper coins ranged from 0.973 to 17.5gms. The larger coins were of same weight as of *Tanka* of about 15-16gms and coins called as *gani*. The copper coins were fractions of *gani*<sup>304</sup> were called *paika* (1/4th *Gani*), *adhva* (1/8th *Gani*), *sava biswa* (1/16 th *Gani*) and *Biswa* (1/20<sup>th</sup> *Gani*)<sup>305</sup>.

The weight standard of 9gms was followed by earlier kings, who minted coins in their variations and sub-variations. The coins issued after Firoz Shah signified a fundamental shift in the dynasty's coinage. During the reigns of the following kings, the weights of the coins gradually rose, and a few multiples of these coins were also introduced during this period. The rulers' titles and names began with sultan and concluded with *Shah* on the coinage, however these names and titles were often extrapolated from the coins. Along with the name of the king, some of the coins of this dynasty included the name of the father and grandfather.

The Bahmani Sultanate had produced many new types of inscriptions that declared them to be more powerful than the Delhi Sultanate. However, few monarchs adopted inscriptions in the style of the Delhi Sultanate, which included the names of the God's Caliphs.

### **3.2.1 Nasiruddin Ismail Shah (AH 747-748/1346-1347AD)**

In 1346 after Deccan independency from the imperial authority of the Delhi Ismail Mukh became the ruler for the very short period of time and issued only few copper and billon coins on the pattern of Delhi sultanate. The coins weighed in the proximity of 3.5gms and in all probability they followed the pattern of copper coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, which do not bear the mint name.<sup>306</sup> He issued with

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<sup>304</sup> Originally a *Gani* was a copper coin, in accordance with the Khalji coinage, would be of 284 grains (Gupta, P. L., *Coinage* Also see, *History of Medieval Deccan*, (Eds.) Sherwani, H. K., and Joshi, P. M., Hyderabad 1975, p: 434).

<sup>305</sup> Marie Martin, *Bahmani Coinage and Deccani and North Indian Metrological and Monetry Considerations, 1200-1600*. Unpublished Thesis Ph. D. Dissertation submitted University of Michigan . 1980. pp. 14-16.

<sup>306</sup> P L Gupta, op. cit. p. 107.

the simple legend, *Abu'l Fath Nasir-ud-din Ismail shah*<sup>307</sup>. The term *Abu'l* means father of and *Fath* is an Arabic word which means conqueror that in altogether reflects the meaning that Nasiruddin Ismaeel Shah is the father of conqueror because he became the first independent ruler of the first muslim dynasty of Deccan.



Figure 66 Jital coins of Nasiruddin Ismail Shah (Marudhar Art)

His billon coins bear the legend *Al-imam al-azam Nasir-ud-duniya waddin abul Fath Ismail shah*<sup>308</sup>. In Indian context the *Al-Imam* term was used by Balban of Mamluk Sultan of Delhi Sultanate. *Imam* refers to a prayer leader or religious leader in general. However, the *Shia* Muslim sect keeps the term for spiritual leaders descended from *Ali Ibn Abi Talib* and Fatima, the prophet's daughter<sup>309</sup>. The term *Al- Imam* might be viewed as a continuation of the previous type.



Figure 67 Billion Coins of Nasiruddin Ismail Shah

### 3.2.2 Alauddin Bahman Shah (AH 748-760/1347-1359AD)

Alauddin Bahman Shah was real the founder of the dynasty and issued coins in all the three metals gold and silver and copper. The *tankas* of Bahman Shah are astounding for their similarity to those of the Delhi Sultan 'Alauddin Khalji'. The two of them have a similar engraving, recorded in gold coins, *As-sultan-al-azam*

<sup>307</sup>Major H M Whittell, "The Coins of Bahmani Kings of Gulbarga" *Numismatic Supplement*, No. 23, XXXVII, 1923.

<sup>308</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 290.

<sup>309</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/imam>.

*Ala-ud-duniya waddin abu'l muzaffar Bahman Shah as-sultan* on the one side of the coins and *Sikandar-us-sani yamin-ul-khilafah nasir amir-ul-muminin*<sup>310</sup> on the other. It was issued from Fatahabad mint. The inscription defines that, Bahman Shah calls himself the great king father of victorious and considers himself the height of the religion and the world. The term *duniya waddin* is very common on the Islamic-type coins particularly on the coins of Delhi Sultanate, which indicates the importance given to the world and the faith. From the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, this phrase became widely prevalent. “The components *Din* and *Daula* seem interchangeable; the two words may be combined in a title to give a verbal effect of parallelism and alliteration, and in inscriptions, the exact form of a title may be altered to fit the space available or for artistic effect. But the *Daula* titles are first in chronological appearance; it is only with the Selcuqs that the *Din* ones become preponderant, although the Ghaznavids continued, on the whole”<sup>311</sup>.

The use of the title *Sikandar-us-sani* (second Alexander) and *yamin-ul-khilafah* (right hand of the caliph) however, had been adopted from the coins of Alauddin Muhammad Shah.



Figure 68- 69 Gold and Silver Coins of Alauddin Bahman Shah (Muhammad Shoib Kazi (Coin collector) and IIRNS)

The title *Yaminul Khilafa* (the right hand of Caliph) signifies the attempt of Bahman Shah to proclaim his important position. Sir Wolsely Haig quoted this line for the adoption of the particular title, “During one of his periods of repose the king, intoxicated with the success in war and pride of race, indulged in extravagant dreams of conquest, similar to those which had once deluded ‘Alauddin Khalji and

<sup>310</sup> Major H M Whittell, op. cit. 1923.

<sup>311</sup> C E Bosworth, op. cit. p. 216.

Muhammad Tughlaq, imitated the former by assuming, in the legends on his coins the vein glorious title of the Second Alexander.”<sup>312</sup> These coins also suggest their own faith in the authority of the *Allah* and caliph. The title *Nasir amir-ul-muminin*, on Indian coins was first used by Iltutmish and later it was used by Alauddin Muhammad Shah. However, the title *Amir-ul-muminin* was first introduced on the coins by Abdul Malik Marwan<sup>313</sup>.

In silver he issued various denominations like two third *tanka*, one sixth *tanka* and one twelfth *tanka* from Ahsanabad mint. The *tankas* of Bahman Shah come into two primary assortments, coins with dates in numerals at the bottom of the reverse known for the years 755-760 and second with the date in the reverse margin.



Figure 70 One third Tanka of Alauddin Bahman Shah (Mintage World)

In copper there is one basic type a falus weighing almost 3.3 -3.7gms and its fractions. The smaller fractions seem to be rare. The copper coins<sup>314</sup> merely got engraved the following simple legend *Ala-ud-duniya waddin* on the obverse and *Bahman Shah* (sometimes further added, *Al-Sultan*) on the reverse.



Figure 71 Copper of Alauddin Bahman Shah (Marudhar Art)

<sup>312</sup> Sir Woolseley Haig, *Cambridge history of India Vol. III* 1928. p. 375.

<sup>313</sup> Luke Treadwell, op. cit. 2009. p. 357-381.

<sup>314</sup> D Raja Reddy, P. Suryanarayana Reddy, *Copper coins of The Bahmani*, 1983. p. 25.

### 3.2. 3 Muhammad Shah I (AH 760-777/1359-1375 AD)

Muhammad Shah I issued coins in gold, silver and copper. He had issued heaviest gold coin weighing 12.8gms from Ahsanabad mint in 778 AH<sup>315</sup>. The legend of this coin differs from other coins. It is inscribed as *Sultan-ul ahd-i-waz-zaman hamiu millati rasul-ir-rahman*, on the obverse *Muhammad Hasan Bahmani* within the circle, mint and date in margin. The analysis of the inscriptions explains that he recognizes himself as the “king of the time and the age, the defender of the faith of the Prophet of the merciful one”. The reverse of his gold dinar has the legend *Muhammad Hasan Bahmani*; ‘Hasan’ is the pre-accession name of his father. He had introduced dynastic title ‘Bahmani’ on his coins. Inscribing the dynastic title is a new trend in medieval period. Similarly, Alauddin Mahmud Shah of Malwa had used the expression ‘Al Khalji’ on his coins which was followed by his predecessors. The mint name is read as Ahsanabad. One of the one-sixth *tanka* has the date 778; this is probably a posthumous issue.



Figure 72 Gold Coins of Muhammad Shah I (Mintage World)

Immediately, after the accession of Muhammad I his mother performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and either visited or communicated with Al Mutadid, the Abbasid Caliph in Egypt. She brought a patent recognition for his son as the king of the Deccan, and in consequence of which he assumed on his coins the title ‘Protector of the People of the Prophet of the merciful god’<sup>316</sup>.

<sup>315</sup> Philip B Wagoner and Pankaj Tendon, “The Bahmani Currency Reform of the Early Fifteenth Century in Light of the Akola Hoard,” *American Journal of Numismatics* Vol. 29. 2017. p. 227-268.

<sup>316</sup> Sir Woolsely Haig, op. cit. 1928. p. 376.

Silver *tanka*<sup>317</sup> bears the obverse legend as same as gold dinars but its reverse differs, which read as *Abu'l muzaffar Muhammad shah bin Bahman Shah as-sultan* within a square with date 765 AH and mint name written in the margin. The inscription defines that the king Muhammad Shah considers himself as father of victorious and the son of Bahman Shah the king. He had continued this legend in various weight standards in silver coins like *tanka* (10.8-11.0gms) two third *tanka* (7.25gms) etc.



Figure 73 Silver Coins of Muhammad Shah I (IIRNS & BSEAP)

He issued his one sixth *tanka* (1.7gms) with new inscription on obverse, *Binnadin Illah'* and on the reverse *Abu'l muzaffar muhammad shah*<sup>318</sup> on the reverse. This means that Muhammad Shah I consider himself as he is the builder of the faith of God and father of victorious of his reign. In his one sixth *tanka* (1.4gms) he inscribes *Abu'l mugazi* on obverse and *Muhammad shah* on the reverse which means that he feels that he was the conqueror of the reign. The mint date occurred is 778 A.H. The date suggests that the coin was a posthumous issue. Ferishta mentioned about an incident of Muhammad Shah I and Shaikh Ainuddin in which Shaikh called Muhammad Shah called him as *Ghazi*, and messaged that if he “would be like his father, promote the observance of the holy ordinances by discouraging vice, and abstaining from wine in public and by permitting the judges to execute the laws against those persons who offended in these instances, no one would be dearer to him. He had also sent few verses in his praise. Muhammad Shah was so much pleased with the appellation of *Ghazi*, given by him by the Shaikh, that he commanded it to be hereafter added to his titles”.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>317</sup> E. E Speight, “The Coins of the Bahmani Kings of the Deccan”, *Islamic Culture*, 1935. p. 268.

<sup>318</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 293.

<sup>319</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. Vol. II, 1829. p. 325.





Figure 74 Silver one sixth tanka Coin of Muhammad Shah I (Marudhar Art)

*Mughazi* is the superlative form of *ghazi*. The term in Indian context was for the first time adopted by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq on his gold and silver coins issued from *Darus- salam* and Deogiri mint. *Ghazi* means ‘to carry out a military expeditions’ or ‘one who defeats and slays infidels in war’. It also meant to ‘strive for’ thus, *Ghazi* shares a similar meaning to *Mujahid* or someone who struggles. Ibn Batutah mentions an Arabic inscription of Tughlaq on the Friday Mosque of Multan, which ran as follows: “I have encountered the Tatars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them: hence I am called *Malik-ul-ghazi*”. From this inscription it appears that there was never peace on the frontier<sup>320</sup>. Moreover, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni is also referred with the title of *ghazi*, while the absence of a coin record of the title of *Ghazi* indicates that it was not used as an official title. The Muhammadans highly value the concept of this title. Early Islamic literature used the term to denote expeditions undertaken by the Islamic prophet Muhammad, and it was later adopted by Turkic military chiefs to characterize their conquest wars<sup>321</sup>.

His one sixth *tanka* (1.7gms) was issued with another new inscription, with his full name *Abu'l muzaffar muhammad shah* on the obverse and *Al-hakim (bi Amrillah) (Nasrullah)* on the reverse<sup>322</sup>. The legend is not able to study clearly, whether it is *Amrillah* or *Nasrullah*. It may *Al Hakim bi Amrillah*, the name of caliph. In 1355, the sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq was given a robe of honor and a diploma from the Caliph *Al Hakim Bi Amrillah Abul Fath Abu Bakr Abu Al Rabi Sulaiman*, the

<sup>320</sup> Sir Wolseley Haig, op. cit. 1928. p. 112.

<sup>321</sup> Youssef H. Aboul Enein Sharifa Zuhur, *Islamic Rulings on Warfare*, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Diane Publishing Co., Darby PA. 2004. p 6.

<sup>322</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 293.

Khalifa of Egypt confirming on (the Sultan) the territories of Hindustan<sup>323</sup>. Therefore, Firoz Shah Tughlaq had not inscribed the whole name of the caliph and wrote only one part 'Abul Fath'. But, Muhammad Shah Bahmani had inscribed the whole *Al Hakim Bi Amrillah*, to show the caliph his recognition and respect. So, he may be considered as the ruler of Deccan.

*Al Hakim* means 'the all wise' ruler administrator. According to the Islamic scholar, *Al-hakim* means, who has wisdom, the wisdom that is meant is the knowledge of the best of things right perfect and good. The best knowledge is necessarily the knowledge of Allah Almighty, and no one knows him as good as himself. *Nasrullah* is an Arabic word that means "God's help", "God's support", help and support that comes from God. By issuing this particular type of legend Muhammad Shah tried to explain that with the help of one and only the god, he was the ruler who had do absolute justice, who counts everything without neglect who governs without negligence and defects; who punishes his servant with absolute justice; who speaks with rights; guides to the right path with wisdom and clear arguments; and the decisive rule of *qada* with power that no one can control and avoid. It is he who bestows on his chosen servant the wisdom and the ability to speak or the intellect to think. Therefore, by implementing these meaningful titles he explains his qualities and abilities.



Figure 75 Silver one sixth tanka Coin of Muhammad Shah I (Marudhar Art)

His copper coins are mainly divided into four types, issued in weight standard from 1.3gms to 3.6gms. the type one bear the inscription *Abu'l muzaffar Muhammad shah* on the one side and *ibn Bahman Shah as-sultan*<sup>324</sup> on the other side. It was

<sup>323</sup> H M Elliot, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians. (The Muhammadan Period)*. London. 1872 Vol. IV. p. 9.

<sup>324</sup> O Codrington, "Manual of Musalman Numismatics", *Asiatic Society Monograph*, Vol. VII, London 1904.

issued in weight of 3.0-3.5gms. The legends mean Muhammad Shah the father of victorious is the son of Bahman Shah the king. He inscribed his father's name Bahman the king. It's the beginning of a new noble practice of inscribing genealogy.



Figure 76 Copper Falus of Muhammad Shah I (Numista)

Another type bear *Al-muwaid be-nasrullah*<sup>325</sup> on the one side and *Abu'l muzaffar Muhammad shah* on the other side. *Al-muwaid* is an Arabic word which mean the supporter, seek religion and wisdom. *Al Muwaid* named peoples were as scientific and analytical and tolerant. Even they are leader's motivators and idealistic visionaries who are aware of their own innate powers. Therefore, the title used by the king to show that he was the man of above-mentioned qualities by the help of Allah (*be Nasrullah*).



Figure 77 Copper Falus (type III) of Muhammad Shah I (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

The type third bears, *Muhammad Shah* on the one side and *Abdillalah*<sup>326</sup> on the other side. The correct pronunciation and spell must be *Abdul-Ilah*, the slave or servant of God<sup>327</sup>. Another meaning of this word is the follower of God. *Abdul-Ilah* is an Arabic word and it has multiple meanings. *Abdul-Ilah* as a name means servant

<sup>325</sup> D Raja Reddy, P Suryanarayana, op. cit. p. 26.

<sup>326</sup> Dinkar Rao, "A Rare Coin of Muhammad Shah I Bahmani", *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 1 Part II, 1977. p. 30.

<sup>327</sup> It was finalized by the help of Dr. Abdul Quddoos, Associate Professor of Dept. of Arabic. MANUU, Lucknow Campus.

of Allah, and obedient to Allah. That means Muhammad Shah consider himself as the slave of God, and obedient and follower to God.



Figure 78 Two Third copper coin of Muhammad Shah (M S Kazi)

### 3.2.4 Alauddin Mujahid Shah (AH 777-779/ 1375/1378 AD)

Coins of Mujahid Shah are found in all the three metals. In gold both *dinars* (12gms) and *tankas* (10-11gms) were issued, the former known in his first year only. On his *dinar* he calls himself *As-sultan al- azam zill-ul -lah fil-alam* on the obverse and *Ala-ud-duniya waddin Mujahid shah As- sultan* date 777 mint Ahsanabad on the reverse side <sup>328</sup>. The legend explains that Mujahid was the supreme king and the ‘shadow of God’ in the world as well as the light and glory of the world and religion. Similar title was used by Balban, the ruler of Delhi sultanate who calls himself as *zillul-lah*, but he didn’t engrave it on his coins.



Figure 79 Gold Coins of Mujahid Shah (Numisbids)

In his silver *tanka*, he inscribed, *As-sultan-al-azam Ala-ud-duniya waddin abu'l mughazi Mujahid shah As-sultan* on the one side and *Al- Muwaid bi nasrallah yamin-ul-khilafah nasir amir-ul- muminin* on the other side. The legend meant that the Mujahid Shah is the supreme king and the glory of the world and religion, he calls himself as father of battles. He who is strengthen with the help of Allah, the right hand of caliphate the helper of the leader of the faithful the supreme sultan

<sup>328</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 294.

etc. The title *mughazi* used by Mujahid Shah had a great importance in history as it became clear from the history of the ruler that in his short period of reign, he has witnessed the victorious march against the kingdom of Vijayanagar<sup>329</sup>.



Figure 80 Silver Coins of Mujahid Shah (Numisbids)

The rulers of medieval India commonly preferred to start their titles with *As-sultan al-azam*. The pattern was followed by other Muslim dynasties including Bahmani Sultanate, initial rulers Alauddin Bahman Shah and Alauddin Mujahid Shah inscribed the title *As-sultan al-azam*. But from the period of Muhammad Shah I this title, was not used so regularly. Alauddin considers himself as the supporter and the right hand of the caliph. The title *Yamin-ul-khilafah nasir amir-ul-muminin* was first used by Alauddin Muhammad Shah on his coins<sup>330</sup>.

Only one type of copper coin of this ruler was found and first published by O Codrington<sup>331</sup>. The coins bear the legend *Abu'l mughazi* on the obverse and *Mujahid Shah* on the reverse.



Figure 81 Copper Coins of Mujahid Shah (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

<sup>329</sup> N. Venktaramanayya, "Mujahid Shah Bahmani and Vijayanagar", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 5. 1941. p. 572-582.

<sup>330</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 163.

<sup>331</sup> O Codrington, op. cit. p. 265.

### 3.2.5 Muhammad Shah II (AH 780-799/1378-1397AD)

He is known to have issued coins in gold, silver and copper. It is recorded that Muhammad Shah II was a strict promoter of the law of the Quran permitting no neglect on the smallest point which occasioned the judges to take cognizance of all deviations in points of morality<sup>332</sup>. It can be also analyzed by his coin legends.

In his gold *tankas* he inscribed, *Al- muqtafi bi Awamir ar- Rahman Al- Mustarshid billahil- Mannan/ An- Nasir li-Alwiyatul-Ahasan Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shah as-Sultan* that means 'he who follows the action of the merciful one, he who seeks direction in God the beneficent the supporter of the banners of good deeds etc'. *Al Muqtafi* means one who follows. *Awamir* is an Arabic word plural of *Amr*, to work. *Ar- Rahman* meant the one who is merciful and most beneficent. Again, *Al Mustarshid Billah Al Mannan An - Nasir* were the Arabic words and the names of Allah, which means, the servant of Benevolent and servant of the giver of all goods and benefits and *An -Nasir* means one who gives victory. All these titles were used to show that he is great and strong follower in his faith.



Figure 82 Gold Coins of Muhammad Shah II (Marudhar Art)

In his silver coins he inscribed another legend, *An-nasir lidini 'd-deyan al hami le' - ahli'l iman. Al- wasiq beta'idir- Rahman Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shah as-sultan*. The titles meant the supporter and helper of the religion of the requite, the defender of the people of the true Faith, he who trusts in the support of the merciful

<sup>332</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 352

one etc. The legends *Al-wasiq beta'idir Rahman* was first used by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, in his gold coin<sup>333</sup>.



Figure 83 Silver Coins of Muhammad Shah II (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

In his one third *tanka* he is mentioned as the possessor of peace and security, inscribed as *Zul Amani Wal Aman Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shah As-sultan*<sup>334</sup>. The very title explains his whole reign in few words. As the legends replicates the ruler as the possessor of peace and security, father of victorious Muhammad Shah. The historians believe he always tried to refrain from warfare as much as possible throughout his long reign of twenty years. “He never conducted a military expedition, throughout his reign and lived a happy and carefree life; it was for this reason that he was called ironically by his contemporaries as an Aristotle of age”<sup>335</sup>.

His copper coins are found with only one variety of the legend it is inscribed as *Muhammad Mahmud* with mint date in margin on the side reverse side and *Abd- e- Mabud (Slave of God)*<sup>336</sup> on the obverse. Here he considers himself, as the slave of God. It shows his faith and spirituality in his religion which is the important feature of their coins.



Figure 84 Copper Coin of Muhammad Shah II (IIRNS & BSEAP)

<sup>333</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 51.  
(<http://rajgors.com/lotdetailssold.aspx?LotID=1367&auid=5>).

<sup>334</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. 45.

<sup>335</sup> A M Siddiqi, “Muhammad Shah II Bahmani, the Pioneer of the Medieval Culture of the Deccan,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* Vol. 5, 1941. p. 582-586.

<sup>336</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins*, Hyderabad, 2017. p. 45.

### 3.2.6 Ghiyasuddin Tahmatan Shah (AH 799/ 1397 AD)

He is represented only in silver and copper coins. The copper coins are similar in style and weight to those of Muhammad II, though the legends are different. One silver coin with his name is reported from Ahsanabad mint.

The silver coins bear the legend *Al-mustawsiq billah Al-hannan abu'l muzafar ghiyasud-duniya wad-din* on one side and *Tahmatan shah as-sultan bin as-sultan*<sup>337</sup> on the other side. *Al Mustawsiq Billah* is a new inscription which means he who established his trust in Allah the most compassionate. *Al- hannan* is one of the names of Allah, means the one who is merciful to his servants. Father of Victorious, who asks for help for the goodness of religion and world to the god, is the Tahmatan shah the king, son of the king. Al though in this coin he considered as most religious, compassionate and victorious ruler and seeks help to Allah.



Figure 85 Silver Coins of Tahmatan Shah (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

In copper coins (4.5gms- 5.4gms) he issued coins with the title, *Al Muwaid Be Nasrillah Abul Muzaffar*, on the one side in other side *Tahmatan Shah bin Muhammad Shah* on the other side<sup>338</sup>. The legends meant that Tahmatan shah son of Muhammad Shah is the father of victorious, was strengthen with the help of Allah. He is the father of victorious, but for his strengthening he seeks help from. The religious aspect of the ruler can be understood from these inscriptions.

<sup>337</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 295.

<sup>338</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 51.





Figure 86 Copper Coins of Tahmatan Shah (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

O Codrington<sup>339</sup> described another variety of the coin of Tahmatan Shah with inscription *Ghyas-ud-duniya waddin* on the obverse and *As-sultan al- azam* on the reverse. The type was neither included in the catalogues of Stan Goron and Goenka nor in the catalogue of Abdul Wali Khan.

### 3.2.7 Shams Al Din Daud Shah II (AH799-800/1397AD)

He issued coins in silver and copper. His silver *tanka* was issued from *hazrat* Ahsanabad mint which weighs around 10.8gms. He copied the type of his predecessor. The legend is inscribed as *Al- mustawsiq billah al- hannan abu'l muzaffar Shamsud-duniya wad-din* on the one side and *Daud Shah as- sultan ibnus-sultan* on the other<sup>340</sup>, that means, the king Daud Shah Son of the king, was father of victorious and sun of the religion and the world and he who established his trust in Allah the most compassionate, etc. The title *Shams-ud-duniya waddin* had been first used by Ilutmish, therefore he considered himself as the sun of the religion and the world. He had followed the inscriptional pattern of Delhi Sultanate.



Figure 87 Silver Coins of Daud Shah (Numisbids)

The copper coins are rarely noticed. The type under discussions was issued in the weight of about 5.2gms. It is inscribed as *Daud Shah* in the center within the circle

<sup>339</sup> Codrington, op. cit. p. 264.

<sup>340</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 296.

on the one side and *Al-muwyyad Bi-Nasrullah*<sup>341</sup> on the other side. The inscription meant that Daud Shah is the king who was strengthened by the help of Allah. This coin was also the continuation of Delhi Sultanate.



Figure 88 Copper Coins of Daud Shah II (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

### 3.2.8 Tajuddin Firoz Shah (AH 800-825/1397-1422 AD)

He is known to have issued coins in gold, silver and copper. In his first year he issued few *tankas*, and a *dinar* which may be commemorative coin. It bears *Al-wasiq ba-taidir-rahman abu'l muzaffar Firoz Shah as-sultan*, on the one side and *Kalima Shahadat* on the other side<sup>342</sup>.

*Kalima Shahadat* was first noticed on the coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. It is inscribed as *Ashhadu alla ilaha illallah wahdahu la sharika lahu lahu wa-ash-hadu anna Muhammadan abduhoo wa rasooluhu*. It means that “I bear witness that there is none worthy of worship except Allah, the One alone, without partner, and I bear witness that Muhammad is his servant and messenger”.

Indian coins generally inscribed *Kalima Tayyeba* and it was first noticed on the coins of Mahmud Ghazni later Itutmish introduced which was followed by Ghyasuddin Iwaz of Bengal sultanate. The coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq bears both *Kalima Tayyeba* and *Kalima Shahada*. To inscribe *Shahada* on the coins was a part of the coinage reform of Abdul Malik in 697AD. Abdul Malik reform introduced a purely epigraphic coinage which created a complete break with the past. Images were replaced by *Quranic* verses and the profession of faith, ‘the *Shahada*’ in *Kufic* script<sup>343</sup>. The reverse legend *Al-wasiq bitaidir- Rahman abu'l*

<sup>341</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 53.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid. p. 55.

<sup>343</sup> Luke Treadwell, op. cit. 2009. p. 165.

*muzaffar Firoz Shah as Sultan* means “confiding in the help of the compassionate, the father of victories, Firoz Shah the king.” The legend of this coin is similar to the coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.

The gold *tanka* (11gms) bears the legend as *Al- mustansir billah al-mannan al-wasiq bataidir- Rahman abu'l muzaffar Tajuddin Firoz Shah As-sultan*<sup>344</sup>. The title *Al Mustansir Billah* would be considered as the regal title of the ruler, it means ‘seeking the assistance from Allah’. *Al Mannan* is one of the names of Allah, and considers himself, as the one who trusts in the supports of the merciful one. He also considered himself as the father of victorious and the most religious ruler.



Figure 89 Gold Coins of Tajuddin Firoz Shah (Marudhar Art)

His silver *tanka* came in two varieties; one from his first year with his kuniya *Abul Muzaffar* which is rare, and the usual one with his kuniya on the obverse. The legend on the silver *tanka* is; *Sultan-ul-ahad waz- zaman al- wasiq- bataidir- Rahman* on the one side, and *Abu'l muzaffar Tajud-duniya wad-din Firoz Shah as-sultan* on the other<sup>345</sup>. The inscription *Sultan-ul-Ahad waz Zaman* was firstly inscribed on the coins of Muhammad Shah I, and later part *Al-wasiq Batid-ir- Rahman* on the coins of Alauddin Mujahid Shah. He had used *Abul Mzaffar* as his *kunya*, which in total meant that the king crown of the world and religion, Firoz Shah is the king of the time and the age and he is the one who trusts in the support of the merciful one.

<sup>344</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 296.

<sup>345</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 55.



Figure 90 Silver Coins of Tajuddin Firoz Shah (IIRNS&BSEAP)

Firoz Shah surpassed his predecessors in power and splendor, according to numerous historical accounts, and the Bahmani dynasty reached its pinnacle during his reign. Neither had he failed to promote the true faith having undertaken a series of spectacular conquests, the success of which allowed him to substantially expand his dominions. That's why Firoz Shah called himself *Sultan-ul- ahad waz-zaman* the ruler of the time and the age. The title was a continued legend of the coins of Muhammad Shah.

Another interesting legend is inscribed on his one sixth silver *tanka* (1.8gms), in which he described himself as the 'king of the time' *Firoz Shah-i- Zaman*, on the one side and *Taj-i-barar-i- Bahman*, on the other. That means crown of the Berar of the Bahman. Though the reading is not certain. The long-standing peace between Deccan and Vijayanagar was interrupted under Tajuddin Firoz Shah's reign when the Gond Raja of Kerala attacked Berar and destroyed the province's eastern districts as far as Mahur. With the support of Ahmad Khan and Fazlullah Inju, Tajuddin Firoz Shah reclaimed Berar from Nara Singha's son, and Mir Fazlullah Inju was appointed governor of Berar<sup>346</sup>. The conflict between these two parties, Dev Ray and Tajuddin Firoz Shah, ended with a contract that stated that both kingdoms' borders should remain unchanged from before the war and that no party shall molest the inhabitants of the other<sup>347</sup>. It won't be wrong to think that the particular coin is one of the commemoration coins issued in the victory of getting back the control in Berar after a long time.

<sup>346</sup> Sir Woolsey Haig, op. cit. p. 390.

<sup>347</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. p. 375.

He issued different types of inscriptions on the copper coins. As many as four different types of inscriptions are seen on his copper coins. In his Falus of 4.7-5.5gms he inscribed, *Raji Rizwan* on the one side and *Muhaimini Firoz Shah Bahmani* on the other<sup>348</sup> with mint and date in the margin. In this coin he inscribed all his qualities, *Raji*, one who shines, *Rizwan* is the name of the keeper of the gates of heaven. *Muhaimin* is the fifth name of Allah in Islam, which means servant of the overseers that, is servant of Allah. Firoz Shah the king declared that he is the king who shines and accept that will the servant of Allah and gate keeper of heaven. He became the second ruler in Bahmani Sultanate after Muhammad Shah to inscribe his descendent as 'Bahmani'. Inscribing the dynastic title is a new trend in medieval period. After Tajuddin Firoz Shah this tradition was followed by his successors.



Figure 91 copper coin of Firoz Shah Bahmani (IIRNS&BSEAP)

His falus of 2.2-3.7gms inscribed, *Al- hakim bi Amrallah* on the one side and *Firoz Shah* on the other side<sup>349</sup>. The legends means that the judge, by the authority of Allah. The legend *Al- hakim bi-amrallah* is also found on the coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, who issued it in the name of Allah<sup>350</sup>. Therefore, this inscription may be a considered as a continuity of the type from Tuglaq period.



Figure 92 Copper two third falus of Tajuddin Firoz Shah (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

<sup>348</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 73.

<sup>349</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 70.

<sup>350</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 59.

On his third type *falus* (1.3-1.7gms) the inscription is inscribed as *Barguzidah-i-Allah* on the one side and *Firoz Shah* on the other<sup>351</sup>. It means that Firoz Shah was chosen or elected king by Allah. It was an honorific title in Persian. Therefore, the title of the king commonly occurs on the coins of the later Mabar or Madurai Sultans. The coins of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah<sup>352</sup> bear the legend *Barguzidah Illah or Barguzidah Illah Shah-i- Shahan*, meaning the elect of Allah and the glory of the King of Kings. Similarly, the coins of Alauddin Sikandar Shah (1368-1377) contain the honorific title *Barguzidah Rahman*, meaning ‘The elect of the compassionate’.



Figure 93 Copper one third *falus* of Tajuddin Firoz Shah (Mintage Word)

Tajuddin Firoz Shah was the first ruler in Bahmani sultanate to introduce Persian legends on coins, which was followed by Alauddin Ahmad Shah II. The use of Persian legends however been commonly used on the coins of Adil Shahi of Bijapur and Qutub Shahi of Golconda.

Arabic remained the language of the coins of the medieval Indian rulers since the introduction of the Islamic coinage traditions in India. It is generally believed that after coming of Mughlas the coin language changed from ‘Arabic to Persian’. However, it is not true, as much before Mughlas arrival in India, Persian had been used as the language of the royal court. Thus, it is not surprising that Persian also

<sup>351</sup> A H Siddiqui, “Some Bahmani Copper coins”, *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 6. 1982. p. 71.

<sup>352</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 283.

made its appearance on Indian coinage before the arrival of Mughals. The first reference of Persian legend is noticed on the token currency of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. Later, the Sultans of Gujarat Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah II had issued Persian couplet on their coins. He inscribed the Persian legends as *Sikka-i-sultan Ghiyasud-din Muhammad shah* on the obverse and *Ta Badar-uz-zarb gardun qurs-i-mihr-o-mah bad* on the reverse<sup>353</sup>. Even Hasan Shah Sultan of Kashmir had inscribed Persian couplet. Persian made guest appearance on coins of Tajuddin Firoz Shah, but their regular coinage continued to bear Arabic prose inscriptions like his predecessors. In his fourth type of copper coins the inscription bears *Al Muwaid Be Nasrillah* on the one side and *Firoz Shah* on the other<sup>354</sup>. This coin is newly noticed and not incorporated in any of the latest catalogue. The ruler said that he was strengthened with the help of Allah. The title was also used by Ghiyasuddin Tahmatan Shah on his copper coins.

### **3.2.9 Shahabuddin Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani I (AH 825 -838/1422-1435 AD)**

He had taken his throne at Gulbarga but transferred his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. His coins were found in silver and copper. Silver *tankas* have the mint name Ahsanabad for years 826 to 829 and Muhammadabad for 828 A.H. The king had reformed his copper currency after transferring his capital. He issued falus of around 5gms up to the year 828 AH. He also issued heavy copper coin of 16gms which is known as *gani*.

He introduced a new inscription on silver coins of 11gms bearing *As-sultan al-adil al-bazil an-nasirudi-nu- dayan abu'l mughazi* on the one side *Shahab-ud-duniya waddin Ahmad Shah as-sultan* on the other<sup>355</sup>. (The just and magnificent Sultan, the defender of the faith of the requite). The king is justice, equitable, religious, pious, and helper of the religion. He took the kuniya *Abul Mughazi*, father of warrior and meteor of the religion (Islam) and the world, is the king Ahmad Shah. The title 'As

<sup>353</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 363.

<sup>354</sup> Marudhar Arts, e-Auction#28.

<sup>355</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins*, Hyderabad. 2017. p. 79.

*Sultan Al Adil*<sup>356</sup> *Al Bazi*<sup>357</sup> was used by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq which means, the king, full of justice and endowed with munificence. The other part of the inscription was the continuation of his predecessor's coins inscriptions. He used the title *Ananasir-ud-dinud dayan* as his regal title and calls himself father of victorious for his successful campaigns and the title *Shahabuddin* was presented by Shah Niamat-ul-lah in addressing the king in his letter. He was so impressed by the title that he inscribed it on his signet even after he had received it<sup>358</sup>.



Figure 94 Silver coins of Alauddin Ahmad Shah I (Marudhar Art)

He introduced his heavy copper coins with a new inscription, he inscribed on the coins, *Al- mustawsiq billah- al-hannan al- mannan al ghani as-sultan Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad bin Al- hasan Al-Bahmani*.<sup>359</sup> The coins had great importance. It was the first time in Bahmani Sultan, that he scripted his short genealogy (pedigree) on coins.

The tradition of indicating the lineage is not a new concept. In Delhi Sultanate, the immediate two successors of Iltutmish had ruled in the name of father. After a long period of gap Muhammad Bin Tughlaq used the 'Tughlaq' part of his father's name. Almost every ruler after Muhammad bin Tughlaq had added their name that of his father to show their parentage. They might have used 'Tughlaq' instead if 'Tughlaq' had been a family name or if it had signified a class clan or tribe<sup>360</sup>. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was the only ruler who had used the term Tughlaq on his coins. His

<sup>356</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 54, (D 373).

<sup>357</sup> Ibid, p. 54 (D368).

<sup>358</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. p. 419.

<sup>359</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 79.

<sup>360</sup> Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise, and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq*. London 1938, p. 46



coins<sup>361</sup> bears ‘Muhammad bin Tughlaq<sup>362</sup>’, ‘Muhammad Tughlaq<sup>363</sup> etc. This clears the confusion that the term Tughlaq was not an essential part of the Sultan’s name but merely used to indicate their parentage. During that period, it was normal to use his name with that of father’s name in order to show his parentage. Therefore, Bahmani rulers had incorporated and developed the idea in more informative way by inscribing father’s name and grand father’s name.



Figure 95 Copper coins of Alauddin Ahmad Shah I (IIRNS and M S Kazi )

Muslim names were combined with the components of name his *kunya*, *ism*, *nasab* and *laqab*. The coin which explains the issuer history and his descent back to the founder of the dynasty is known as pedigree type coins. Therefore, medieval Indian rulers had followed the above- mentioned components on their coins. But they were only restricted to inscribe their fathers name (*Bin*), but in Bahmani Sultanate Shihabuddin Ahmad Shah I inscribed his father’s name even his grandfather’s name. The pattern was followed by Alauddin Ahmad Shah II, Alauddin Humayun Shah Nizamuddin Ahmad Shah III, Mahmud Shah, Waliullah and even Kalimullah Shah. The inscribing pedigree tradition was followed up Bengal Sultans<sup>364</sup>, Gujrat Sultans<sup>365</sup>, Jaunpur Sultans<sup>366</sup>; Malwa Sultan<sup>367</sup>.

<sup>361</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 301-318.

<sup>362</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 54.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid. p. 207-249.

<sup>364</sup> P L Gupta, *Coins*. 1969. p. 122.

<sup>365</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 351.

<sup>366</sup> Sayed Hasan Askari, “Discursive Notes on the Sharqi Monarchy of Jaunpur”, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 23, part I, 1960. p. 152-163. Sayed Ejaz Hussain, “Currency pattern and Money supply: A study of Coinage and mint of Jaunpur Sultanate”, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 6. 2005-2006. p. 363-378.

<sup>367</sup> L. White King, “History and Coinage of Malwa (continued)”, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, Fourth Series, Vol. 4. 1904. p. 62-100.

*Al Hannan and Al Mannan and Al Ghani* were the names of Allah in Islam. In these legends he describes himself as he was the one who places confidence in God the most compassionate the magnificent the wealthy *Sultan Ahmad Shah* son of *Ahmad* son of *Al Hasan Bahmani*.

The half gani, (8-8.6gms) was issued from Muhammadabad mint, with the inscription *Al- Muwaiyyad be- nasrillah al-malik-ul-Hannan* on the one side and *Abu'l mughazi Ahmad Shah As-sultan* on the other side<sup>368</sup>. In this legend the king calls himself that he is the father of battles and the most compassionate king and the one who is strengthened by the help of God.



Figure 96 Copper half Ghani coins of Alauddin Ahmad Shah I (IIRNS & BSEAP)

His third type inscription is issued in one third gani weighing 4.8-5.5g. He decorated these coins with the inscription, *Al-mansur be-nasrillah Al-Mannan abu'l mughazi Ahmad Shah as-sultan*. *Al-mansur be-nasrillah*<sup>369</sup> means 'the victor with the help of God'. *Al Mannan* is one of the names of Allah. He called himself the king Ahmad Shah is the father of warriors.



Figure 97 Copper one third Ghani coins of Alauddin Ahmad Shah I (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

<sup>368</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins*, Department of Archaeology and Museum, The Govt. of Telangana. 2017. p.80.

<sup>369</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 345-346.

His fourth type inscription in falus he introduced himself as *Dindar* (pious) with the legends, *Ahmad Shah Dindar* on the obverse and reverse is not satisfactorily read yet<sup>370</sup>. He considered himself as a religious and pious person as he patronized and present honor to the saints Gesu Daraz (Banda Nawaz) and Shah Niamatullah. The ruler was known as ‘*Wali*’ or ‘the saint’ by his contemporaries because of his spiritual learning and was once apparently successful in having rain fall during a severe drought through his intercession with the Almighty. He would have not called himself a saint on his coins but might well have taken the epithet, ‘the pious’. The reverse legend translates as ‘The destroyer of the generation of infidels’<sup>371</sup> and probably refers to Ahmad Shah’s victories over the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

### **3.2.10 Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (AH 838-862/ 1435-1457 AD)**

Alauddin Ahmad Shah II is said to have been eloquent, possessing great wit and fond of learning. He had ascended the throne and read the *khutba*, mentioning himself by the following titles, “The monarch just merciful, patient and liberal to the servant’s chief in worldly and religious affairs son of the most distinguished among Princes Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani”<sup>372</sup>. He is known to have issued coins in gold, silver and copper. His gold coins are represented in two different types of legends. The type one bears *As-sultan-ul- qawi- ul- Islam Jami Fazal wa- adl- wa al -Ahsan* on the obverse and *Abu’l muzaffar Alaud-duniya wad-din Ahmad Shah As-sultan* on the reverse. Another type noticed slightly change in the reverse inscription as *Abu’l muzaffar Alaud-duniya wad-din Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah as-sultan*. The king discussed in these inscriptions consider himself as the sultan who is strong in the faith of Islam replete with grace justice and good deeds. In the second type inscription he mentioned about his short genealogy, Ahmad Shah son of Ahmad Shah the king is the father of victorious and also the light and glory of the world and the religion.

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<sup>370</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 300.

<sup>371</sup> Richard K Bright, “More copper coins of the Bahmani Shah of Gulbarga”, *Numismatic International Bulletin*, 1973, p. 10.

<sup>372</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 450, 1829.



Figure 98 Gold coin Alaaddin Ahmad Shah II (Marudhar Art)

Alauddin Ahmad Shah though generally pious and benevolent, he kept keen eyes on his subject and tried his best to do justice. He finds pride in his love of justice, and his titles included *Al Adil (The Just)*.<sup>373</sup>

Silver coins were introduced with a new and beautiful inscription, *As-sultan ul Halim-ul- Karim-ur-rauf ali Ibadullah Al-ghani Al-muhaimini* on the one side and *Abu'l muzaffar Alaud-duniya wad-din Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah al wali Bahmani* on the other. The legends described the ruler as, the gracious and generous Sultan who is benevolence to the worshippers of Allah the rich the protector the father of the conqueror the glory of the world and faith Ahmad Shah son of Ahmad Shah the governor the Bahmani.

*Al-Halim* (the Forbearing) *Al-Karim* (the Generous). Glorious is Allah, Lord of the Magnificent Throne. The term *Rauf* means tender affection, the highest mercy and compassion, the upper limit of *Ar Rahim*. *Ala* means great, and *Ibadullah* meaning worshipper of God. *Al Ghani* is one of the 99 names of Allah which means one whose essential nature is independence, self-sufficiency and supreme wealth. *Al Muhaimini* means that he is the one who oversees his servants' action, who protect. All these qualities sustained in the father of victorious, Ahmad Shah son of Ahmad Shah who calls himself as governor of Al Bahmani and consider himself as the glory of world and the religion.

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<sup>373</sup> Sir Wolseley Haig, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 407.



Figure 99 Silver coin Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (Marudhar Art)

He also issued heavy copper coins (Gani, 15.5-16.5 gram) with the introduction of new legends on them. Six types of inscriptional coins had been described. The first new inscription on coins inscribed as, *Al-mutasim be- hablilah al- Mannan Sumi Khalil-ur- Rahmaan Abul Muzaffar* on the one side and *Alaud-duniya wad-din Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah as-sultan* on the other<sup>374</sup>. *Al Mutasim* means, the protector with the strength of God, the magnificent, elevated, and friend of the most gracious and merciful, and the father of victorious. In the reverse he continued to inscribe his short genealogy. *Al Mutasim Be Hablilah* is a short phrase from Quran. In Quran he says:

وَ اعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا<sup>375</sup>۔

*Wa Tasimu bihablillahi jami'an wala tafarraqoo.*" (Sura Aali Imran:103) "Hold firmly to the way, rope of Allah all together and do not become divided,"

These lines had a specific significance in our lives. It strengthens our faiths in all difficulties and hurdles of life if we will follow the path of Allah. "The book of Allah contains the right guidance the light and whoever adheres to it and holds it fast, he is upon right guidance and whosoever deviates from it goes astray"<sup>376</sup>. Therefore, these lines explained the ruler as the most religious and pious.

<sup>374</sup> Edward Thomas, op. cit. p. 346. Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 92.

<sup>375</sup> <https://www.dawateislami.net/quran/surah-al-imran/ayat-103/translation-1>

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.



Figure 100 Copper coin Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (Marudhar Art)

In his two third *Gani* (10.6-11.5g) he inscribed *Al- mutawakkil Alal-lah* on the one side and *Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah Al- wali al Bahmani* on the other<sup>377</sup>. *Al Mutawakkil Allalah* means he who trusts in God. *Al Ghani* means self-sufficient and rich. Therefore, he inscribed that who had a strong faith in Allah he is rich. He had not to worry about this world nor that world.



Figure 101 Copper Two third Ghani coin Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

In his half *Gani* (7-8 g) he inscribed *Al-wasiq bi-taid-il-Malik lilahu Abu'l Muzaffar* on the one side and *Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah Bahman Shah* on the other<sup>378</sup>. It means that Allah is the one who confides in the support of the king, Ahmad Shah son of Ahmad Shah Bahman Shah is the father of victorious. Another title which reflects a strong faith in Allah.



Figure 102 Copper Half Ghani coin Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

<sup>377</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, op. cit. p. 97.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid, p. 100.

In his one third gani (5-5.5g) he inscribed *Al -Mustansir billah Al Ghani Abu'l Muzaffar* on the obverse and reverse bears the same legend as his previous type<sup>379</sup>. Al Mustansir means, one who asks for victory through God, is very wealthy. Therefore, the person who seeks and ask for everything from Allah is the wealthiest person. Thus, he considers himself as wealthy person as he asks for victory from Allah, and no other than him.



Figure 103 Copper one third ghani coins Alauddin Ahmad Shah II

In his quarter Ghani (3.3-3.6g) he called himself as *Ahmad Shah* on the one side and *Zil-ilahi* on the other, that means Ahmad Shah is the Shadow of God. The similar coin was also issued by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq<sup>380</sup>. The title *Zill Lullah* of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq is also proved by his epigraphic records also<sup>381</sup>.



Figure 104 quarter Ghani coins Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (Marudhar Art)

A unique copper coin of Ahmad Shah II with the honorific title, *Barguzidah* had been noticed by P S Tarapore, and reported by A H Siddiqui<sup>382</sup>. The coin bears the following legend, on the obverse *Barguzidah Ahmad Shah* and *Bin Ahmad Shah as Sultan* on the reverse. The coin attributed to Ahmad Shah II of Bahmani because no other ruler of Bahmani had styled as Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah. The

<sup>379</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 301.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid, p. 55. (D 390).

<sup>381</sup> Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit. p. 48.

<sup>382</sup> A H Siddiqui, "A Note on Copper Coins of Firoz Shah Bahmani", *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*. XXVIII, 1966. p. 79.

authenticity of the coin is questionable as it was not added in undated catalogues. Thus, the title of *Barguzidah* was firstly used by Tajuddin Firiz Shah which means ‘the ruler son of Ahmad Shah is the king who was chosen by Allah’.

And the last the inscription of copper coin of Alauddin Ahmad Shah II, was in one ninth *gani* bears *Ahmad Shah* on the obverse and *Jahanpanah* on the reverse side. *Jahapanah* is a Persian word which means refuge of the world. The word was used by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq for a new city constructed to address the constant threat of Mongols. The word meant that ‘Refuge of the world’. The meaning of the word explains the whole meaning of the legend<sup>383</sup>. It may be assumed that it was inscribed as a mint name. The term on coin was coined by Sher Shah Suri of Delhi Sultanate. The ruler addressed himself as *Jahan Panah*, shelter of the world. He is supposed to be the shelter protector defender the one who create the environ where one can thrive. The word has used in multiple aspects, to address the ruler and the mint.



Figure 105 Copper one ninth Ghani coins Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (Anwars Coin Collection)

### 3.2.11 Humayun Shah (AH 862-866/1458-1461AD)

Humayun Shah followed the coinage types of his predecessors. His gold and silver coins are rare. One of his gold coin types has its reverse devoted to a quotation from the *Quran*. It bears *Ala-ud-duniya waddin Humayun Shah bin Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah Al- wali al Bahmani* on the obverse and extract from *Quran* on the reverse. In his *Tanka* (10.8gms) he inscribed an inscription like his predecessor Alauddin Ahmad Shah III two third *gani*<sup>384</sup>. He added just a single word *Al Qawi* which means, the powerful. The Quranic verses on coins dated back to the reform

<sup>383</sup> Rohit Priyadarshi Sanatani, “Jahanpanah: A city Forgotten”, *India Heritage Walks*. <https://www.indiaheritagewalks.org/blog/jahapanah-city-forgotten>.

<sup>384</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 302. (BH 94).



introduced by Abdul Malik. He had introduced some key Qur'anic passages in his new coins and that these same Quranic passages remained as the standard numismatic formulae for precious metal caliphal coins for centuries<sup>385</sup>. Therefore, during the early Islamic years, many of the caliph's subjects were supposed to be unable to read Arabic. Coinage inscriptions, on the other hand, did not require reading to gain notoriety in the community. The holy script was a memorized book that was recited (literally) in a variety of circumstances for most Muslims, including prayer, sermons, reading classes, and legal discussions, as well as acts of divination, magic, and healing, oath swearing, and religious feelings in ordinary speech. Because of the Quranic text's memorable aspect, small portions like those found on coins were not only comprehended for what they said directly, but also as triggers for a broader range of meanings linked with the text in which they were placed. The Quranic passages were frequently quoted in everyday life. Indeed, it was most likely the community's familiarity with many Qur'anic passages that led to them being chosen as the texts to be included on the coinage.

His silver coins bear the legends similar to gold. He issued six type of copper coin with different weight standard and with the legend similar to the gold and silver coins. On his third gani he inscribed a Persian legend *Dara-i-Nigahban* on the obverse which means 'God the guardian' and *Human Shah Bin Ahmad Shah as Sultan* on the reverse. The legends are origin of Persian. It is the universal truth that Allah is the guardian of those who believe in Allah. He brings them out of the darkness into the light. Therefore, he considered Allah his guardian of the world, and he is the guardian of his kingdom.



Figure 106 - 107 Gold and silver coin of Humayun Shah (Marudhar Art and IIRNS )

<sup>385</sup> Luke Treadwell, "Quranic Inscriptions on the Coins of the Alh-al-Bayt from the second to the fourth century AH". *Journal of Quranic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2012, p. 47-71.



Figure 108- 109 Copper Coins of Humayun Shah (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

### 3.2.12 Nizamuddin Ahmad Shah III (AH866-867/ 1461-1463 AD)

He is known to have issued coins in gold and copper. The legends on the gold *tankas* bears *Al- wasiq billah al- ghani abu'l muzaffar Nizam-ud-duniya waddin* on the one side and *Ahmad Shah bin Humayun Shah as-sultan Al Bahmani Khaldallahu Malkahu* on the other<sup>386</sup>. It means the king who is confident in Allah Ahmad Shah's son of Humayun Shah the king Bahmani was the one who confides in Allah, who is wealthy Father of victorious, and the one who systemize the faith of Islam in world. Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah of Delhi Sultanate took the pontifical title of *Al Wasiq Billah*. Ahmad Shah III's and his successors Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III and Mahmud Shah's reigns were marred not only by court intrigues, but also by outright revolts by their powerful nobles. Their reign effectively spells the end of the Bahmani empire<sup>387</sup>. The legends shows that they pray to Allah for the strengthened of the well-being of the kingdom. Besides it bears the title *Khadallah khilafatahu*. The title was issued by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq from Daulatabad mint<sup>388</sup>, for the strengthening of his power in Daultabad. So, it may consider as whenever, dynasties faced downfall or have to request to pray for their kingdom to the subjects they issued coins with these titles.



Figure 110 Gold coins of Nizamuddin Ahmad Shah III

<sup>386</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 303.

<sup>387</sup> Mir Ahmad Ali Khan, "The Condition of Education under the Bahmani's", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 5, 1941. p. 586-593.

<sup>388</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 59. (D425).

The copper coins were issued with various types of legends. In his *Gani* (16.2-16.6gms) coins he inscribed, *Al Mustansir Be-nasrillah al-Qawi al- ghani* on the one side and *Ahmad Shah Bin Humayun Al Bahmani* on the other<sup>389</sup>. The meaning of *Mustansir* is *nasrullah* one who asks for help for the victory to Allah who is rich and powerful. On the reverse we get to see his name along with his father's name and founder of the dynasty. The ruler is seeking help from Allah, as he was powerful and supreme.



Figure 111 Copper coins of Nizamuddin Ahmad Shah III (Anwars Coin Collection)

In his two third *gani* (10.4- 11.2 gram) it is inscribed as *Ar- raji be-taid-ir-Rahaman* on the one side and *Abu'l muzaffar Ahmad Shah as-sultan* on the other<sup>390</sup>. The legends meant that the he (sultan) hopes for the support of the merciful one. With the inscription the king tried to show that, he is one who trusts and hopes in the support of the Allah who is very merciful. This indicates in faith of Allah.

His inscription on half *gani* (8gms) *Al-mutie al-mannan be-amrillah* om the one side and *Abu'l muzaffar Ahmad Shah as-sultan* on the other side. Father of victorious Ahmad Shah the king, considers himself as obedient and beneficent by Allah grace. What he is, he is due to Allah's grace. *Al-mutie al-mannan* are the beautiful names of Allah which means the giver the possessor, and the beneficent ruler by Allah grace.



Figure 112- 113 Two third and half Gani coins of Nizamuddin Ahmad Shah III (Mintage World)

<sup>389</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. 303.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid, p. 51.

In one third Gani (5-5.5gms) he inscribed *Al Wasiq Billah Ar Rahman*. *Rahman* is one of the sacred epithets of Allah which means the most beneficent. Therefore, it may be described as the father of victorious Ahmad Shah the king is the one who believes in Allah who is the most beneficent and merciful.



Figure 114 One third Gani coins of Nizamuddin Ahmad Shah III (Anwar Coin Collection)

### 3.2.13 Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III (AH 867-887/ 1463-1482 AD)

He had issued coins in all the three metals gold silver and copper with different legends. The gold and silver coins are not commonly found but copper coins are common. The ruler styling himself *Al- mutasim Billah* (he who depends on God). The legends on most of the gold, silver and copper coins are inscribed as *Al- mutasim bil-lah abu'l muzaffar Shamsud-duniya wad-din Muhammad Shah bin Humayun Shah as-sultan khalda Mulkaḥu*<sup>391</sup>. He is the protector and father of victorious by the help of Allah and son of the world and religion, Muhammad Shah son of Humayun Shah the king.



Figure 115 -116 Gold and Silver coins of Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III (Nmisbids and IIRNS)

<sup>391</sup> P L Gupta, "A Gold Coin of Bahmani Muhammad Shah III", *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 1, part 1, 1977. p. 70.

His copper coins were issued with or without the title *Khallada Mulkahu*. The first reference of *Khaldallah Mulkh* on his coins, were deciphered by Harmuz kauz<sup>392</sup> inscribed the legends as *Al- mutasim billah Shams-ud-duniya waddin* on the obverse and *Muhammad Shah bin Humayun Shah as-sultan Khallada Mulkahu* on the reverse. In his one sixth gani he inscribed, *Muhammad Shah* on the obverse and *Bin Humayun Shah* on the reverse<sup>393</sup>.



Figure 117 One sixth gani of Muhammad Shah III (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

### 3.2.14 Mahmud Shah Bahmani (AH887-924/1482-1518 AD)

Mahmud Shah Bahmani ruled the longest period of reign and struck coins in gold silver and copper. The gold and silver coins are very scarce but the copper is copious and struck in a large number of varieties. The legends on the gold and silver coins, are mentioned as *Al-mutawakkil Alal-lah al-qawi al-ghani as-sultam al-azam abu'l mughazi Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah Al-wali Al- Bahmani*. The title *Al-mutawakkil Alal-lah*, means 'he who relies on God', the possessor of all strength, and rich the great king, father of warriors Mahmud Shah son of Muahmmad Shah the governor, Bahmani. The title *Al Wali* is a new honorific title used by the ruler. Its an Arabic word and one of the sacred names of Allah which means the governor, the one who owns things and manages them<sup>394</sup>. He considers himself powerful and rich in faith. He had continued his predecessors inscribing his short genealogy.

<sup>392</sup> H Kauz, An unpublished Copper Coin of Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah Bahmani, *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VII, (parts I-II). 1945. p. 61., Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 304.

<sup>393</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 304.

<sup>394</sup> <https://understandquran.com/answer-al-waliy/>.



Figure 118 Gold and silver coins of Mahmud Shah (Marudhar Art and M. Shoeb Kazi)

He had also issued coins from Goa, with the inscription *Gowah Fi* on the obverse and date, and stylized boat or bale on the reverse. In Bahmani history, Goa has been an important factor of rebels. Alauddin Bahman Shah during his last reign captured Goa from a vassal of Vijayanagar ruler. After some time, it was passed to Vijayanagar empire. Later, Mahmud Gawan during the reign of Muhammad Shah III deputed the campaign for the recapture. During this period, he recaptured all the forts of Konkan and Goa by attacking from sea as well as from the land. Later on, Goa was left under the administration of Kishwar Khan who kept there his deputy Nizamuddin Gilani<sup>395</sup>. He is also reported to have issued wherein he inscribed *Mahmud Shah* on the obverse and *Adil* on the reverse.

There are two main categories of copper coins, first one with an obverse commencing in *Al Mutawakkil Alallah* which means trusting in Allah. Second one is commencing *Al Muwayyd Be Nasrullah* which means he who is strengthened by the help of Allah. The first type inscribed as, *Al-mutawakkil alal-lah Al- hannan Al-mannan abu'l mughazi* on the obverse and *Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah as-sultan* on the reverse. Before describing the meaning, it is important to note that *Al Hannan* and *Al Mannan* were the two names of Allah which means, the one who is merciful to his servants and the one who is tremendous in giving. The statement describes that he who relies on Allah, the father of warriors Mahmud Shah son of Muhammad Shah the king.

<sup>395</sup> H K Sherwani and P M Joshi, op. cit. p. 188.



Figure 119 Copper coins of Mahmud Shah (IIRNS & BSEAP)

In the two third gani (11gms) he inscribed the legends used on his gold and silver coins. It is inscribed as *Al- mutawakil alal-lah al-qawi al- ghani* on the obverse and *Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah Al-Bahmani* on the reverse. In the one third Ghani (5.5g) he inscribed *Al mutawakkil alal-lah al-Mannan abu'l Mughazi Mahmud* on the obverse and *Shah sultan khallada mulkahu- wa- sultanahu* on the reverse.



Figure 120 Al Mutawakkil Alal-lah type (Muhammad Isamil Gulbarga)

Second type commencing with the legend *Al- muwayyad bi- nasrallah al- malik al- Hannan* on the obverse side and *Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah as-sultan* on the reverse side. He who is strengthened with the help of God, the most compassionate king along with the ruler's name Mahmud Shah son of Muhammad Shah the king. One of the copper coins bearing the legend *Naib Amirul Muminin*<sup>396</sup> on the obverse and Mahmud Shah on the reverse. This title was not assumed by any other Bahmani Ruler. Researcher is not able to trace the pictures of coins. This was adopted by one of the Jaunpur Sultan Mahmud Shah<sup>397</sup>.

<sup>396</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins*, Hyderabad 2017, p. 7.

<sup>397</sup> Sayed Ejaz Hussain, "Currency Pattern and Money Supply: A Study of Coinage and Mint of Jaunpur Sultanate", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* Vol. 66, 2005-2006, p. 363-378.

### 3.2.15 Waliullah Shah (AH 929-932/1523-1526AD)

He is not known to have issued any coins in gold and silver, but his copper coins are known in abundance. They all are issued with the inscription *Al-Muwaiyyad Be Nasrullah*. His coins do not bear the mint name but only one date is noticed.

The copper Gani (16.2-16.5g) is decorated with the inscription *Al-muwaid be-nasrullah al- malik al- qawi al- Gani* on the obverse and *Waliullah as-sultan ibn Mahmud Shah Al- Bahmani* on the reverse. Waliullah the king son of Mahmud Shah Al Bahmani is the one who is strengthened by the help of the god, the king, the strong and rich. He had continued the inscriptional pattern of his ancestors. He is a weak ruler and not issued coins in precious metals.

### 3.2.16 Kalimullah Shah (AH 932-944/1526-1538 AD).

Like Waliullah, Kalimllah he had also not issued coin in gold and silver, his coins are noticed only in copper. His copper coins can be divided into two types<sup>398</sup>, first type commending *Al Mwayyid Be Nasrullah Al malik Al Qawi Al Gani* and second type commending *Al Mutawakkill Alallah Al Adil Al Qawi Al Ghani*, the meaning of the statement is he who trusts in Allah the just, the strong and the rich.



Figure 121 Copper coins of Kalimullah Shah (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi and IIRNS)

### Inscriptional Analysis with continuity and change

The expansion of Delhi Sultanates Islamic type coins came into circulation in the Deccan as a currency of Delhi Sultanate. But after the establishment of Bahmani kingdom they developed their own currency system with Islamic influence. The Islamic coins were formed in a pattern from which we get many information related to the history of dynasty, ruler, religion, etc. therefore the information from the coin can be extracts in two sections- religious and secular. These include Kalima and the

<sup>398</sup> H Kauz, "Unrecorded Legends on the Coins of the Kalimullah Bahmani", *JNSI*, Vol. VII, 1945. p. 62, Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 309.



name of caliphs, rulers name often with their father and grandfather's name, date and mint etc.

The coins of Bahmani Sultanate have a distinctive and savored position in the coinage history of India. They issued their coins on Islamic tradition similar to the coinage pattern of Delhi sultanates, but gradually they introduced some changes and made them distinct than that of Delhi sultanate. The early coins of the Bahmani rulers strongly mirror the coinage patterns followed by the Delhi sultanate. The Bahmani ruler issued coins in gold silver, and copper. Though the gold coins are rare the copper coins are found in abundance. But after Mahmud Shah no coins either in gold or silver had been identified. No coins have been assigned to his immediate successors who were merely puppet in the hands of powerful nobles. The last two rulers of the dynasty coins have been noticed but they were may be issued by the aegis of Barid Shahis of Bidar in their names only in copper.

All The rulers issued gold coins in the weight standard of 10.8gram exceptionally Muhammad shah, Mujahid Shah and Firoz Shah who had followed the weight standard of 'Dinar' (12.8 gram) of Muhammad Shah Tughlaq. Silver coins were issued in 10.8-11 gram. The Bahmani adopted new weight standard for its copper coins and discarded billon currency. Heavy copper coins were introduced. The weight was increased up to 17gm. with its denominations varies from 1.5gms to 17gms. The gold and silver coins were issued in the weight of at about 11 grams. Similarly, as of the coins of Delhi sultanate. Few coins are reported are of the weight of Dinar. Among the seventeen rulers of the Bahmani dynasty, only nine rulers issued gold coins. Interestingly the gold coin of Tajuddin Firoz Shah and Alauddin Humayun Shah need special mention here as they inscribed Kalima and part of *Surah fateha* on their coins.

Silver and copper coins were issued by all the rulers. The coins bear no ornamental designs, though adorned by calligraphy of a high standard. Silver coins of Waliullah and kalimullah has not been yet published. Silver coins were of uniform weight whereas copper coins do not maintain a uniform weight standard. Usually, Bahmani rulers had issued their silver coins following one type of inscription exceptional

two rulers Bahman Shah and Muhammad Shah had issued with more than one inscription. Copper coins were issued with multiple no. of inscriptions they vary with their fractions. Contrasting the Bahmani coins with those of the coins of Sultanate period there are three important differences (1) the Bahmanis struck no billion coins, (2) the Bahmanis struck no square coins (3) the Bahmanis struck no bilingual coins.

The medieval muslim names in coins were composed of many parts. The structure of a Muslim name is important and involves a number of elements. Annemarie Schimmel<sup>399</sup> had mentioned that each Muslim name has four components, *Kuniya*, *Ism*, *Nasab*, and *Laqab*. Henceforth these components with the addition of mint and date had been found inscribed on Bahmani coins which altogether made a historical significance.

All the Bahmani rulers from Bahman Shah to Mahmud Shah include Kunya on their coinage except Waliullah and Kalimulalh. *Kuniya* is Arabic word which means 'to use metaphorically, to allude'. Bahmani ruler denoted their *kuniya* by inscribing the word 'abu' (father). The kuniya precedes the *ism*. Therefore, four rulers out of thirteen rulers had decorated themselves as '*Abul Mughazi*', (father of victorious), Mujahid Shah, Ahmad Shah, Humayun Shah and Mahmud Shah. The other remaining rulers had used '*Abul Muzaffar*' (father of victorious). No rulers had used both the Kuniya. The kunyas were inscribed on at least two metals or often all the three metals. Then after appears the name of the ruler (*Ism*). In other word we can say *Kuniya* is followed by *Ism*. The coins of last two rulers are different as it had not *Kuniya* or *Ism* on their coins. The names by which they are known are compounds 'Wali-Allah', 'Kalim-Allah'. The Arabic word Wali means 'to be near, to be close,' Waliullah menas friend of God. Kalim Allah means 'to address, speak, takl', and kalimullah means, 'spokesman or mouthpiece of God'. There is a gentle irony in these two names as both the rulers were puppet kings under powerful

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<sup>399</sup> Annemarie, Schimmel, *Islamic names An introduction*, 1995, p. 1-13.

nobles. Waliuallah was the titular ruler but was only 'close' to the actual ruler, while Kalimullah was the only 'spokesman' for the powerful nobles<sup>400</sup>.

Therefore, *ism* is followed by '*Nisbah*'. *Nisbah* is an Arabic word which means 'lineage, descent, origin and kingship. The *nisbah* on Bahmani coins states a genealogical relationship and its indicative term is 'bin' or 'ibn', means son of. Out of fifteen rulers and twelve rulers had issued coins by indicating their *nisbah*. Exceptional case occurred in Alauddin Bahman Shah; he had not indicated his *nisbah* on coins. Henceforth his origin is obscure and the only information on his coins noticed is that he styled himself as Bahman Shah Assultan. The last two rulers were also an obscure as their *Nisbah* was not known. Henceforth, it is quite possible that their name was not the one by which we know them. The rulers of Bahmani Sultanate were known to be not very much fond of using *laqab*, as few had used *laqab* on their coins but few missed it. Henceforth the mostly deciphered *laqab* is Ala-ud-duniya waddin which was used by Ala-uddin Bahman shah, Alauddin Mujahid Shah, Alauddin Ahmad Shah II and Alauddin Humyun Shah. Others had used Ghyasuddin, Shamsuddin, Tajuddin, Shihabuddin and Nizamuddin. In the following category the names Waliullah and Kalimullah is as usual omitted.

Apart from their typology and weight standard they introduced a distinct style of inscription on the coins. However, in the initial years of newly established dynasty Bahmani totally resemble the Khalji and the Tughlaq coins in their forms and executions. He adopted the Khiaji legends word for word on both sides of his coins. The Muslim rulers had issued coins with Kalima and other religious descriptions but most of the Bahmani rulers do not include the *Kalima* or other religious formula. The Bahmani rulers had experimented many inscriptions on their coins with the increased and fractions weight standard of the coins. The legends can be understood by dividing it in two parts firstly the inscription used for political claims, second the inscription used for religious claim.

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<sup>400</sup> Marie Martin Hamilton, *Bahmani coinage and Deccani and North Indian Metrological and Monetry consideration*, 1980.

To explain their political claims and capabilities they had used many legends often used by Delhi Sultanate. Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah declared himself *As-sultan Al-azam sikandaru sani*, Muhammad Shah and Tajuddin Firoz Shah called themselves as *Sultanul Ahad Waz Zaman*. *As-sultan Al Adil Al bazil* was pronounced by Shaihabuddin Ahmad Shah I. Alauddin Ahmad Shah II described himself as *As-sultan Al Qawi Al islam* and *Assultan Al halim Al karim* and so forth.

From the legends of the coins, rulers wanted to show that they were pious, religious minded and bent to perform the pious duties. They declared that they were believers in God, sought help of Him; they trust and rely on Him, the most compassionate, the merciful, the wealthy, etc. therefore, to claim their religious believes also they introduced many new inscriptions on coins which were not seen before. These includes the legend such as *Yaminul Khilafa Nasir Amirul muminin, hami-i millat-ul rasul-ur- Rahman, Binnah Dinallah abd Illah. Al Muwaiyyaed be Nasrillah, Al Muqtafi be Awamir Ar rahman Al Mustarshid Billah. Annasirud dinud dayaan. Al Wasiq bataidir rahman* and so forth. Besides, they had inscribed '*Asmaul Husan*' the 99 names of God on their coins. *Al mannan, Al hannan Ar rahman, Rizawan Muhaimini, Al hakim Al Malik Al Ghani, Khalilur Rahman*, are few known names of Allah mentioned on the coins of Bahmani sultanate.

Interestingly, apart, from using Arabic inscriptions Bahmani rulers also provide space to Persian inscriptions. Tajuddin Firoz Shah mentioned a Persian inscription, '*Barguzida Allah*'. Alauddin Ahmad Shah II inscribed the Persian word '*Jahapnah*', and Alauddin Humayun Shah had inscribed '*Dare nighahban*' on their respective coins.

## Chapter IV

# **Typological and Inscriptional Analysis of the Coinage of successors of the Bahmani**

## Chapter IV

### Typological and Inscriptional Analysis of the Coinage of successors of the Bahmani

As discussed in the earlier chapter that the disintegration of Bahmani resulted the rise of five Deccani sultanates and these include the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, Qutub Shahi of Golconda, Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, Barid Shahi of Bidar and Imad Shahi of Berar. The first three dynasties are well represented in their coinage; a few copper coins are represented in the name of Barid Shahi sultans while no coin of Imad Shahi sultanate is known so far. The present chapter focusses on the inscriptional and typological analysis of the above -mentioned dynasties. The coinage and Inscription of these dynasties are discussed in the following pages.

#### **4.1 Adil Shahi of Bijapur (AH 895-1097/1490-1686AD)**

The decline of the Bahmani dynasty began in the last quarter of the 15th century, when prominent court nobles began declaring themselves independent sultans in their own provinces. Yusuf Adil Khan, a powerful noble of Bahmani established Adil Shahi dynasty in 1490. Adil Shahi kingdom was comparatively larger than that of its other contemporary Deccani sultanate and it expanded even further after the fall of Vijayanagar Empire. The firmly established kingdom was extended from Gulbarga and Sholapore to Goa, being bounded on the east by Krishna, and on the west by the mountains of Konkan<sup>401</sup>.

##### **4.1.1 Coinage**

The Adil Shahi is the only successor of Bahmani known to have issued coins in gold, silver and copper. *Dabul* is the only mint of Adil Shahi, represented in silver coin (Larin).<sup>402</sup>The copper and gold do not mention the mint. The earlier rulers of

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<sup>401</sup> J D B Gribble, *A History of The Deccan*, 1896. p.144.

<sup>402</sup> Danish Moin, "The Coinage of Deccan Sultans: Some Observations", *Numismatic Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 171-72.

this dynasty did not style themselves as Shah and did not issue their coins. The coins of Adil Shahi are reported from the time of Ali Adil Shah I and his successors. The coins of Adil Shahi were first brought to our notice by G P Taylor<sup>403</sup>. He published copper coins of five Adil Shahi rulers, Ali Adil Shah I, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Ali Adil Shah II, Muhammad Adil Shah and Sikandar Adil Shah.

Although Adil Shahi dynasty was established in 1490 but their rulers did not use any imperial title till 1538 and it was Ibrahim Adil Shah who first started calling himself 'Sultan'. However, unlike Bahmani the Adil Shahi rulers did not use the title sultan on their coins; they prefer to write *Shah* on their coins. The dynasty was governed by as many as nine sultans but only five are represented in their coins. The coins and coin inscription of Adil Shahi are being discussed below metal wise followed by ruler wise.

#### 4.1.2 Gold Coins

Out of five rulers, three rulers (Muhammad Adil Shah, Ali Adil Shah II and Sikander Adil) had issued gold coins. However, the references of Adil Shahi's gold coins were confirmed from the literary evidence and travel accounts that Bijapur *huns* /*pagodas* were minted from the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah<sup>404</sup>. G H Khare mentions about *huns* issued by Muhammad Adil Shah<sup>405</sup>. The *huns* of Ali Adil Shah II were issued in 1659 AD from the mint at Bankapur where the Adil Shahi *huns* were called as *Nisahni Pagoda*<sup>406</sup>.

The gold *pagodas* can be classified into two main types; with inscriptions and without inscriptions. Some of the coins have an initial letter 'ain or seen' on them, suggesting that they were struck in the reign of Ali Adil Shah II and Sikandar Shah<sup>407</sup>.

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<sup>403</sup> G P Taylor, "On some Copper Coins of the Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910. *Numismatic Supplement*, Vol. VI, No. 11, p. 679.

<sup>404</sup> PM Joshi, "Presidential Address", *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 12 part II.

<sup>405</sup> G H Khare, "Some more information on the Huns of Muhammad Adil Shah", *JNSI*, XVI (I), 1954. p. 130-131.

<sup>406</sup> A H Siddiqui, "Some New type Copper Coins of Adil Shahi Rulers", *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, Vol. I, 1996. p. 139-148.

<sup>407</sup> Stan Goron and J. P. Goenka, op. cit. p. 314.

## Muhammad Adil Shah (1037-1068AH/ 1627-1656 AD)

He was the first king whose coins are reported in gold and it was issued with Persian couplet inscribed as *Jahan zin do Muhammad giraft zeenat jah yake* on the obverse and *Muhammad mursil duam Muhammad Shah*<sup>408</sup> on the reverse.



Figure 122 Gold Coins of Muhammad Adil Shah (Bombay Auctions)

The couplet meant, ‘The world received beauty and dignity from two Muhammad: the one is Muhammad the apostle the other Muhammad Shah.’ Ferishta, states that “after the dissolution of the Bahmani dynasty, the several kings of the Deccan assumed the *chutr*, or canopy and read the *Khutba* in their name but none struck gold coins in their own name,<sup>409</sup>”. It thus appears that Muhammad Shah was probably the first of the Adil Shahi rulers to issue gold coins in his name.

The couplet used by Muhammad Adil Shah, pulled in the consideration of the numismatist as no Muslim ruler had given coins with the engraving contrasting himself and Prophet Muhammad. Concerning the couplet, numismatist Abdul Wali Khan said, “Presumably this couplet is the work of a flatterer; otherwise, there is no comparison between Muhammad, the holy Prophet and the humble king Muhammad<sup>410</sup>”. G P Taylor had also mentioned gold coins of Muhammad Adil Shah which had a couplet and named them as Muhammad Shahi *huns* or the *hons* of

<sup>408</sup> G H Khare, op. cit. p.130.

<sup>409</sup> John Briggs, *History of the rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol III, pp. 87-115.

<sup>410</sup> Muhammad Abdul Wali Khan, *Copper Coins of Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur*, Hyderabad, 1980, pp. 5-6.



Muhammad Adil Shah<sup>411</sup>. Even G H Khare presumes that Muhammad Shahi *huns* were meant by the term *padShahi hons*<sup>412</sup>.

### **Ali Adil Shah II (1068-1083 AH/1656-1672 AD)**

Ali Adil Shah II was another king of Adil Shahi dynasty known to have issued gold coins but it is rarely reported. The coin inscribed as *Ali Adil* on the obverse and *Badshah* on the reverse<sup>413</sup>.



*Figure 123 Gold Coins of Ali Adil Shah II (M S Kazi)*

### **Sikandar Adil Shah (1083-1097 AH/ 1672-1688 AD)**

Sikandar Adil Shah was the last ruler of this dynasty who had also issued few gold fanams<sup>414</sup> bearing his name Sikandar on the one side and Sultan 1087 on other. These are extremely rare coins.



*Figure 124 Gold Coins of Sikandar Adil Shah II (oriental numismatic)*

Apart from the above- mentioned gold coins, there are some *pagodas* (3.3gms.) and half *pagodas* (1.6gms) are attributed to Adil Shahi sultanate. Some of them are without any inscription while a few are reported with Arabic letter Ain or Sin and

<sup>411</sup> G P Taylor, "On the Gold Coins of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1925, *Numismatic Supplement No. XXXIX*.

<sup>412</sup> G H Khare, op. cit. p.132.

<sup>413</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 318.

<sup>414</sup> Stan Goron, "A Gold Fanam of the Adil Shahi Dynasty", *Oriental Numismatic Society, Newsletter Number 74*. 1981. p. 1.

also with the word Ali. But exact attribution of these coins to a particular sultan of Bijapur is difficult.

### 4.1.3 Silver Coins

The medieval Indian coinages are generally issued in round and square shapes but the silver coins of Adil Shahi have been issued in different shapes which look like a hair pin, known as *Larin*. Like gold coins their silver coins are also not very common. Only one king, Ali Adil Shah II is represented in silver coins (*Larin*). However, a few silver coins (*Larin*) have also been attributed to Muhammad Adil Shah I but these are rarely reported.



Figure 125 Silver larins Ali Adil Shah II (IIRNS/BSAIP)

*Larin* as type of coin had originally been made in the district of *Lar* at the head of the Persian Gulf, it came to be known as *lari* or *larin* and the type was adopted by the Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur. The Adil Shahi *Lari* was issued from Dhabol mint bearing *Sultan Ali Adil Shah* on the obverse and *Zarb Dhabol* on the reverse<sup>415</sup>.

“The thick silver wire used for making a *Lari* was more than three inches in length, double in the middle and slightly flattened to receive an impression of the stamp. It contained good and fine quality silver without any alloy. The average weight of a *Larin* was about (4.2gms.), but the length differed; if a *Lari* was shorter than another it was also thicker and the weight was equal”<sup>416</sup>. A.R. Kulkarni points out that the “*Lari* was brought by Persian merchants to the Konkan and was accepted by the people and also by Sultans of Bijapur. We therefore, find different types of *Larins* bearing the names of places where they were struck, like Dabholi, Chauhi, Basra,

<sup>415</sup> <https://sarmaya.in/objects/numismatics/ali-adil-Shah-ii-silver-larin-of-dhabol-mint/>

<sup>416</sup> G H Khare, op. cit. p.130.

and Hurmuzi and so on"<sup>417</sup>. Therefore, the silver *Larins* were for use in the mercantile trade with Persia and other maritime nations that used that type of coinage.

Pietro Della Valle describes *larin* as, "the *lari* is a piece of money, most eccentric in form, for it is nothing but a little rod of silver, of a fixed weight, and bent double unequally. On the bend it is marked with some small stamp or other. It is called *Lari*, because it was the peculiar money of the princes of *Lar*, invented by them when they were separated from the kingdom of Persia"<sup>418</sup>. Because the monarchs of Bijapur ruled over a significant area of the Konkan littoral, it's likely that the Adil Shahi sultans ordered Larins to be struck in their own names in order to meet local demand for this odd money. However, it seems unlikely that these coins were used across the Adil Shahi dominions, and it is more likely that they were only used in a small coastal area.<sup>419</sup>

#### **4.1.4 Copper Coins**

Various types of copper coins (*falus*) have been issued by Adil Shahi kings beginning from fifth ruler Ali Adil Shah I to last ruler Sikandar Adil Shah. These were issued in various inscriptions and different weight standards. We are going to discuss the copper coins ruler wise.

##### **Ali Adil Shah I (AH 965-988/1558-1580AD)**

Ali Adil Shah on the day of his coronation abandoned the *Sunni* practices and reintroduced the *Shia khutba* and other *shiete* practices including the legend of his copper coins.

Quite a good number of his copper coins are reported and all of them were issued anonymous and the legend reads as *Asadullah Ghalib* on the one side and *Ali ibn Talib* on the other. Although, inscription wise his copper coins are known only in

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<sup>417</sup> A. R. Kulkarni, "Money and Banking under the Marathas" in Ameya Kumar Bagchi (ed.), *Money and Credit in Indian History*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 101-102.

<sup>418</sup> G.P. Taylor, op.cit. p. 687-88.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

one type, with *tughra* style of calligraphy. His coins are issued in different weight standard varies from 12gms to 4gms.



Figure 126 Copper coins Ali Adil Shah I (Marudhar Art)

Inscription on his coins is very interesting and hitherto not found on Indian coins. The word Ali in the inscription does not refer to Ali the Sultan but to Hazrat Ali, the first Imam of *Shia* and the fourth great Caliph of Sunni. The legend *Asadullah Ghalib*, is an attribute to Ali that literally means ‘the lion of God the victorious. *Talib* is the name of the father of Hazrat Ali. The legends clearly mention that he is the lion of God, Ali son of Abu Talib. Thus, the coins bearing the name of Hazrat Ali and his father Abu Talib and title reflect *Shia* faith of the ruler. Similar legend is also noticed on the coins of Caliph Al Muiz in 953 A.H, who issued *dinars* with new design and inscribing a clear *Shia* message *Ali ibn Abi Talib*<sup>420</sup>.

Ali Adil Shah I was the follower of *Shia* faith but his father was a Sunni. He felt very respectful with associating himself in every possible way to Hazrat Ali the first rightful Imam in *Shia* faith. By striking the name of Hazrat Ali on the coins he gave tribute to Hazrat Ali and showed his respect and believes to his oneness with the revered Imam and his faith in *Shiaism*.

### **Ibrahim Adil Shah II (AH988-1037/1580-1627 AD)**

All the copper coins of Ibrahim Adil Shah II are reported with the legend *Ghulam Ali Murtaza* on one side which means the servant of Ali the chosen and *Ibrahim Abla bali* on the other which means Ibrahim the protector and friend of weak.

<sup>420</sup> Wijdan Ali, op.cit. p. 10.

However, on the basis of the arrangement of the legend Stan Goron and Goenka have divided the type into three series.

**Series 1. With the word *taza* of Murtaza at the top**

**Obverse:** *Ghulam Ali Murtaza*

**Reverse:** *Ibrahim Abla bali*

**Series 2. With the word *Ali* at the top**

**Obverse:** *Ghulam Ali Murtaza*

**Reverse:** *Ibrahim Abla bali*

**Series 3. In square planchet**

**Obverse:** *Ghulam Ali Murtaza*

**Reverse:** *Ibrahim Abla bali*



Figure 127 First series Copper coins Ibrahim Adil Shah II (IIRNS)



Figure 128- 129 Second and Third series Copper coins Ibrahim Adil Shah II (Marudhar Art)

Like his predecessors, Ibrahim Adil Shah II professes the *Shia* faith which is well reflected from the legend of his coins, he called himself as *Ghulam Ali Murtaza* the chosen servant and slave of Murtaza Ali by the God, Murtaza is another title of Hazrat Ali. Another presumption is that the title *Abala Bali*, (the companion or the overseer of the weak or depressed). The literary sources records of Bijapur history take Ibrahim Adil Shah-II as the extraordinary social man, who developed

secularism in his realm. He was compelled by a solemn obligation and gave ideal opportunity towards the subject and state affairs<sup>421</sup>.

### **Muhammad Adil Shah (AH1037-1068/1627-1656AD)**

Good number of copper coins have been reported in the name of Muhammad Adil and these are issued in different weights varies from 17gms to 3gms. All of them were issued with Persian couplet similar to the couplet on his gold coins. It is inscribed as *Jahan zin do Muhammad girafat zeenat wa jah* on the one side and *yake- Muhammad Mursil duam Muhammad Shah* on the other<sup>422</sup>. However, on the basis of legend arrangement the copper coins may be classified as under<sup>423</sup> :

**First series:** *Jahan zin do* on first line of the obverse.

**Second series:** Ornate border both the sides' *Jahan* on the top of the obverse.

**Third Series:** *Jahan zin do* in two lines at the top of obverse

**Fourth Series:** The couplet arranged around the dotted leaf motif both the sides.



Figure 130- 131 Copper coins Muhammad Adil Shah II (Mintage World and Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

The couplet inscribed on the coins may be translated as “the world received beauty and dignity from two Muhammad’s, one is the Muhammad the apostle and other Muhammad. By issuing this particular Persian couplet he is trying to compare himself with the Prophet Muhammad. It was resented by orthodox religious leaders

<sup>421</sup>J D B Gribble, op. cit. p. 183

<sup>422</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 316.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid, p. 318.

and it was thought that the comparisons were odious and extended to far so that the king claimed parity with the prophet.

### **Ali Adil Shah II (AH 1068- 1083/ 1656-1672 AD)**

The copper coins of Ali Adil Shah II are known only in one type bearing legend *Ghulam Haider Safdar* on the one side and *Ali Adil Shah Sanah* on the other. The type is known in falus, 2/3 falus and 1/3 falus. The legend has been translated as Ali Adil Shah the king, the servant of Ali the brave. Here, Haider is term for Hazrat Ali, the first Imam of *Shia*.



*Figure 132- 133 Copper coins of Ali Adil Shah II (Mintage World and Muhammad Shoib Kazi)*

Like his predecessor, Ali Adil II had also issued coins with the sign of *Shia* faith by calling himself *Ghulam Haider Safdar*. In the legend *hazrat* Ali is presented as bravery, as in Islamic history he was well known for his bravery and strength and he was awarded by the honorific title *Haider*. The word *sanah* on the obverse is not very clearly seen. It is assumed that the word *sanah* on the coin denotes the date and it is perhaps inscribed 1068 H, which comes under the second reigning year of Ali Adil Shah II. Thus, he depicted legends defines that he had a great attachment and devotion for *hazrat* Ali. The king dedicated himself as his slave, over the kingship. Copper coins were the medium of trade and circulation; thus, the king declared his faith on these coins.

### **Sikandar Adil Shah (AH 1083-10977/1672-1688 AD)**

Sikandar Adil, the last ruler of this dynasty had also issued coins in copper with the legends, *Sultan Sikandar Qadari, sanah 1086 AH* on the obverse and '*Khusrau giti sattan*' on the reverse.



Figure 134 Copper coins of Sikandar Adil Shah I (Marudhar Art and M. Shoeb Kazi)

The translation of the legend may be read as *King Sikandar Qadri*, the conqueror of the world. The type is known in falus, 2/3 falus and 1/3 falus<sup>424</sup>. The obverse legend notices an interesting word *Qadri*, this simply refers to sultan's association with the *Qadria silsilah* of Sufism as he was the disciple of a *Qadri* Sufi. The reverse legend bear *khusrau* means conqueror the terms *Giti* and *satan* (originally *Istan*) are Sanskrit words. It is generally accepted that Urdu was developing during the reign of Adil Shahi, and these words were common on that stage of time. The title *khusruau* was noticed on the coins of Nadir Shah of Persia and also on the coins of some Durrani rulers.

A very few coins have been reported where influence of Sufism can be seen. The coin legend under discussion is a very rare example wherein the influence of Sufism is reflected on Indian coins.

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<sup>424</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 319.



## **4.2 Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar (AH 895-1046/ 1490-1636AD)**

The Nizam Shahi Kingdom of Ahmednagar was one of the five Successor states of the Bahmani Sultanate in the Deccan. The Nizam Shahi lineage came from Malik Hasan Bahri or Nizam-ul Mulk Bahri who was a governor of Ahmednagar. He rose in the prominence during the period of Mahmud Gawan, the powerful wazir of Bahmani. After the death of Mahmud Gawan, the authority of Bahmani dynasty declined rapidly and many powerful nobles were able to exercise their autonomy. Malik Hasan Bahri (Nizamul-Mulk) was one of them who exercised his autonomy in the region of Ahmednagar and its adjoining territories. After the death of Malik Hasan Bahri, his son Malik Ahmad declared his independence in Junnar entitling himself Sultan Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri in 1491. In 1490 he founded a city near the village of Bhingar, which he called Ahmednagar and made his capital. In 1636 Aurangzeb the Mughal viceroy of Deccan annexed the sultanate to the Mughal Empire.

### **4.2.1 Coinage**

The Coinage of Nizam Shahi dynasty was essentially issued in copper. However, a few gold coins of Murtaza Nizam Shah I and Burhan Nizam Shah II have been published in the past. Although the Nizam Shahi dynasty came into existence in 1490 and as many as fourteen kings ruled the dynasty but only four kings are represented in their coinage. Murtaza Nizam I (1564-1588) was the first king of this dynasty known to have issued coins both in gold and copper.

The gold coins of Nizam Shahi are reported in *pagoda* weight standard vary from 2.9gms to 3.5gms. While copper coins have been issued in varieties of the ranges from 14-15gms to 2.7gms. Stan Goron and Goenka have classified the weight standard of Nizam Shahi copper coins with basic unit falus weight about 14-15gms and its divisions,  $\frac{2}{3}$  falus (9.5-1gms.),  $\frac{1}{2}$  falus (6.5- 7.5gms.),  $\frac{1}{3}$  falus (4.5-5gms), and  $\frac{1}{6}$  (2.7gms).

The copper coins of Nizam Shahi are either anonymous, or bear the name of Burahn or Murtaza. The dates on the coins provide the sole testimony for their attribution. A significant aspect of the dates on Nizam Shahi coins is that they are specified in

the *Shuhure* era<sup>425</sup>. Here a clear clarification pertaining to the dating system of the Nizam Shahi coins is necessary. Arvind S Athavale remarks in his paper, mentioned that Nizam Shahi specified in the Shuhure Era. Strangely enough this aspect of the Nizam Shahi coins has been totally overlooked. The dates have been assumed to be in *Hijri* in all the published literature so far, even though the coins clearly bear the inscription *Fi Shuhure sanah*<sup>426</sup>. In this regard Ilyas Qudusi has assigned that is important to note that *Fi Shuhure Sanah is an Arabic Phrase*, meaning in the month of the year, and this Arabic legend is found inscribed in the coins of Delhi Sultan also reference to *Hijri year*<sup>427</sup>. Here in the case of Nizam Shahi also the phrase refers to the *Hijri* year not *Shuhre* era. For reference to the *shuhure* era an Arabic phrase on the Nizam Shahi coins would have been *Fi Sanah Shuhure (Fi Sanat I Shuhurain)*. on the other side the dates mentioned on their coins are in consonance with the *Hijri* era. Fully tallying to the ruling period of Nizam Shahi Kings. And it is in this perspective that Nizam Shahi rulers had adopted *Hijri* era on their coins<sup>428</sup>.

The coins of Nizam Shahi were minted at Ahmednagar or Murtaza-Nagar or just Nagar Burhanabad, Daulatabad, Murtazaabad, and Parenda but most of them were issued from Ahmednagar. The coins of Nizam Shahi are discussed metal wise and these are further classified into ruler wise.

#### 4.2.2 Gold Coins

As mentioned above that Murtaza Nizam Shah I and Burhan Nizam Shah II had issued coins in gold and Murtaza Nizam Shah was the first ruler of Nizam Shahi to issue coins in his name. His coins were found from the dates 989-996 AH. His gold coins are known as *Pagoda* which contains *Shia* version of *Kalima, La Ilaha Illa*

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<sup>425</sup> Arvind S Athavale, "Coins of Nizam Shahi Sultanate of Ahmednagar", *Numismatic Panorama*, New Delhi, 1996. p. 291.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid, also see, A H Siddiqui, "A Note on the Copper Coins of Murtaza Nizam Shah II", *JNSI*, Vol. 28, pp. 84-86. P L Gupta and Wali Khan, "Copper Coins of the Barid Shahi and Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar", *Numismatic Bulletin*. 1982.

<sup>427</sup> H Nelson Wright, op. cit. pp. 5, 17, 38, 41.

<sup>428</sup> M. Ilyas Qudusi, "A Copper Coin Hoard from Kalam in Yavatmal District of Maharashtra", *Medieval Indian Coinages: A Historical and Economic Perspective*. 2001. p. 179-186.

*Allahu Muhammad-ur- rasulul-lah Ali wali Allah* on it's the obverse and *Sultan Murtaza* with date in Arabic words on the reverse.<sup>429</sup>



Figure 135 Gold Coin of Murtaza Nizam Shah I (Coin Collector)

Burhan Nizam Shah II<sup>430</sup> was another ruler who had issued coins in gold wherein he inscribed *Shiete Kalima* on the obverse and *Zarb Burhanabad* with date in the margin on the reverse. (Margin inscription is not clear).



Figure 136 Gold Coin of Burhan Nizam Shah II (IIRNS)

Inscribing religious messages including *Kalima* has been noticed on the coins of Ghaznavid, Delhi sultanates and also on the coins of provincial sultanates but *shiete Kalima* (which includes two extra words *Ali- Waliullah*) has been noticed for the first time in India on the coins of Nizam Shahi dynasty. *Shiete Kalima*, however has been commonly noticed on the coins of Safavid rulers of Persia. The use of *Shiete Kalima* on the coins of both rulers simply suggests their faith in the *Shia* sect of Islam which has also been confirmed from the literary evidence. Burhan Nizam Shah I under the influence of Shah Tahir had converted to *Shiaism* and he had dropped the names of the first three Caliphs from the *khutba* and their names were substituted with the names of twelve Imams in the *Khutba*<sup>431</sup>. These coins were the

<sup>429</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 326.

<sup>430</sup> Danish Moin, "Two gold coins of Burhan Nizam Shah II of Nizam Shahi Dynasty" *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 21-22. 1997-1998. pp. 71-73.

<sup>431</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. p. 240.

solitary example of the use of *Shiite* creed in the entire series of Indian Islamic coins.

Another prominent feature of these coins may be considered their weight, as these were issued in the pagoda weight standard varies from 3 to 3.5gms. These rulers followed the weight standard of their gold coins to the south Indian rulers mainly Vijayanagar.

### 4.2.3 Silver Coin

Recently, a silver coin of Burhan Nizam Shah II weighed around 7.23g from Burhanabad mint has been noticed. It bears *Shiite Kalima* (Shahada) on the obverse and zarb Burhanabad within circle on the reverse. The type is similar to the gold coins of Burhan Nizam II as discussed above. “The calligraphy and design on the coin is strongly influenced by the Safavid coinage of Iran and points to the Persian influence that reached the *Shia* Sultanate of Ahmednagar through the influx of people and trade on the Konkan ports controlled by its rulers. The coin can therefore, be viewed as an excellent example of cross-cultural and trans-regional influences as they appear in the numismatics of the regional Deccani Sultanates”<sup>432</sup>.



Figure 137 Silver Coin of Burhan Nizam Shah II (Coin Collector)

<sup>432</sup> <https://www.marudhararts.com/printed-auction/auction-no-33/lot-no-120/coins-of-india/sultanate-coins/ahmadnagar-sultanate/07-burhan-nizam-Shah-ii-ah-1000--1003/1591--1595-ad/extremely-rare-silver-abbasi-coin-of-burhan-nizam-Shah-ii-of-ahmadnagar-sultanate-.html>

#### 4.2.4 Copper Coins

As mentioned above that coins of the Nizam Shahi are chiefly minted in copper and these are known in good numbers. Following paragraphs discuss the typology, metrology and inscriptions on the copper coins of Nizam Shahi.

#### **Murtaza Nizam Shah I (AH 973-997 / 1565-1588 AD)**

The copper coins of Murtaza I was issued from the Ahmednagar mint with a short inscription bearing *Zarb Murtaza Nagar* on the obverse and *Fi Shuhur Sanah* on the reverse. However, on the basis of the placement of coin inscription his coins can be divided into two varieties. First with *zarb* above *Murtaza* and the second with *zarb* below *Nagar*.



Figure 138 Copper Coin of Murtaza Nizam Shah I (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)

#### 4.2.5 Countermarks Coins of Murtaza Nizam Shah I

Counter struck coins in India are reported from the ancient time, the Satavahana king counter struck the coins of the Western Kshatrapa. Similarly, Babur counter struck on the coins of Shaibanid king. Counter struck coins were primarily issued to prove the supremacy over the other ruler. Interestingly some of the copper coins of Nizam Shahi have also been reported with counter struck and three types of counter struck coins are known and all of them were struck on the coins of Gujarat sultanate bearing the titles of Gujarat Sultan<sup>433</sup>. These are described as under:

The first counter struck coins of Nizam Shahi had the mint name Ahmednagar inscribed as *Shams-ud-duniya waddin muzaffar bin Mahmud Shah as-sultan* on the one side and *Murtaza Zarb Ahmednagar* on the other. The second types of counter-

<sup>433</sup> Sanjay Godbole, "Coins of Gujarat Restruck by Murtaza Nizam Shah I of Ahmednagar", *JNSI*, 2011. p. 86-88.

struck coins are inscribed as *Nasir-ud-duniya waddin Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah* on the one side and 993 *Murtaza Zarb Ahmednagar* on the other. The third counter struck coins bear the inscription as *Nasirud-duniya wad-din Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah* and Nizam Shahi legend *Murtaza Zarb Ahmednagar* on the other.

The above mentioned counter struck coins cannot be fit in the category of showing the supremacy of Nizam Shahi over the Gujarat sultanate as the kings of Gujarat sultanate mentioned above were not contemporary to Murtaza Nizam Shah I. These counter struck coins were issued just to meet the demand of copper coins of in the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah I and due to availability of the coins of Gujarat sultanate, these were counter struck. Similar example can be cited here for the coins of Mughal emperor Jahangir who has counter struck his copper coins on the copper coins of Islam Shah Suri. These coins were examined by my supervisor Dr. Danish Moin, but not published.

### **Burhan Nizam Shah II (AH 1000-1003/ 1591- 1595 AD)**

Burhan Nizam Shah II has primarily been represented in his copper coins with a few exceptions of gold and silver coins. Most of his coins were issued from Burhanabad (present Bhinger a place in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra) mint and a few from Murtazabad name given to Chaul in Konkan<sup>434</sup>. Burhan Nizam shifted his capital from Ahmednagar to Burhanabad. His copper coins are broadly divided into two types. The type 1 may be described as coins bearing mint name and date, inscribed as *zarb darul sultanate Burhanabad* on the one side and *fi Shahur sanah ahd wa alif* on the other. It means, in the *Shuhure* era one thousand and one. Based on the calligraphy these coins are divided into two varieties, first variety shows a high quality and beautiful artistic execution wherein date is appearing both in numerals (1001) and words, whereas second variety coins are crude and do not bear the numerical dates.

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<sup>434</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 326.



Figure 139 Copper Coin of Burhan Nizam Shah II (IIRNS&BSEAP)

The inscription explains a meaning that the coin struck at the seat of the Sultanate Burhanabad in the months of the years one thousand and one. Apart from the above, mentioned types another coin type with following legend has been reported. It was issued from Murtazabad mint and in a small fraction of 2.1gms Goron and Goenka read the inscription as *Burhan Shah Ghazi* on the one side, *Zarb Murtazabad* on the other<sup>435</sup>. The title *Ghazi* is probably used to show his partial successful campaign against Portuguese. Regarding the weight of this coin an interesting fact is revealed that the successor coinage of the Portuguese at Chaul followed the same denomination. It is probable that Burhan Nizam Shah II issued these coins during the protracted but unsuccessful campaign against the Portuguese<sup>436</sup>.

### **Burhan Nizam Shah III (AH 1019-1041/ 1610-1631 AD)**

He is well represented in his copper coins, issued from Ahmednagar and Daulatabad. Like other king of Nizam Shahi, he is also known to have issued coins in different weights such as *falus*,  $\frac{2}{3}$  *falus*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *falus* and  $\frac{1}{3}$  *falus*. The typological classifications of his coins are made on the basis of the mint names termed as Ahmednagar series and Daulatabad series<sup>437</sup>.

Ahmednagar series has been inscribed as *Zarb Murtaza Ahmednagar* on the one side and *Fi Shuhure Sanah* on the other. These coins bear very clear date in numerals and known in 1023, 1025, 1029, 1032, 1035, 1037, 1040. Apart from the above, mentioned denominations, Burhan Nizam III is also known in  $\frac{1}{6}$  *falus* (2.3gms).

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<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid, p. 329.



Figure 140 Copper Coin of Burhan Nizam Shah III 'Ahmadnagar series' (Numismita)

Daulatabad Series coins have been inscribed as *Burhan Nizam Shah Ghazi fi shuhur-e- sanah Daulatabad*. Stan Goron and Goenka<sup>438</sup> on the basis of slight variation in calligraphic arrangement of the legends have divided these coins as under:

**Variety I** with Nizam in top line inscribed as *Burhan Nizam Shah Ghazi Zarb* on the obverse and *fi shuhur-e- sanah Daulatabad* on the reverse.

**Variety II** bears the same legend but Nizam is inscribed in second line of the obverse.

**Variety III** bears *ghazi* in the top line and *Burhan Nizam Shah* in middle line. Another variety of Daulatabad is noticed without the word *ghazi*. These coins are known in falus, 2/3 falus, 1/2 falus and 1/3 falus.



Figure 141-142-143 Copper Coin of Burhan Nizam Shah III 'Daulatabad Series I, II, III' (Marudhar Art & Numista)

<sup>438</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 330.



### 4.3 Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golconda (AH 895-1098/1489-1687 AD)

The Qutub Shahi was one of the disintegrated sultanates of Bahmani, founded by Sultan Quli Qutub in 1518 A.H. He was a Persian noble, started his career during the reign of Mahmud Shah and Bahmani and was appointed as governor of Telangana. After the death of Mahmud Shah Bahmani he declared himself an independent king but he neither issued coins in his name nor read *Khutba* in his name. The dynasty continued to rule till it was captured by the Mughals in 1687. As many as eight sultans ruled this dynasty and all of them except Quli Qutub Shah, the founder is represented in their coins.

#### 4.3.1 Coinage

Jamsheed Quli was the first king who is known to have issued coins, his successors are represented in coins but all of them have issued coin only in copper (falus). Recently a few gold coins (*fanam*) of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah have also been brought to the notice. These coins were issued in different weight a standard varies from 17-18gms to 2.3gms. These are mostly issued in round shapes but some of the square shape coins are also listed. These coins were struck from different mints often with their epithets such as Golkonda: *Dar-ul- Sultanate*, Golkonda: *Mohammad Nagar*, *Hyderabad*, *Dar-ul-Sultanate (Shahr)*, *Ibrahimpattan*, and *Mukundnagar*. The Qutub Shahi rulers were not so much fond of their titles, they inscribed very simple titles. It is only Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah and Muhammad Qutub Shah, who adopted the title of Abul Muzaffar, whereas others kept it simple. Further their coins inscribed both Arabic and Persian legends. Stan Goron and Goenka<sup>439</sup>, have divided the copper coin legends of the Qutub Shahi into three main types;

1. Rulers name on obverse and mint name on reverse
2. Rulers name and mint on obverse and warning couplet on reverse.

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<sup>439</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 334.

### 3. Valedictory statement on obverse and mint on reverse.

All the rulers of Qutub Shahi except Abu Al-Hasan had issued Coins of the first type. The type two was issued by Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah from both Golconda and Hyderabad while type third were struck only by Abdullah Qutub Shah and Abu Al-Hasan<sup>440</sup> Qutub Shah.

#### 4.3.2 Jamshed Quli (AH 950-957 / 1543-1550 AD)

Jamshed Quli was the first renowned sultan who issued coins with his name and title. His copper coins had been issued in *falus* (10.7gms.) and two third falus (7gms) from Muhammad Nagar Golconda mint<sup>441</sup>. The legends on the coins are inscribed as *Sultan Jambshid Qutub Shah* on the one side and *Zarb Muhammad Nagar Golconda Sanah* on the other. The name of the ruler on the coin is written as *Jambshid*, but it will be pronounced *Jamshed*. The word *sanah* is found on these coins but the year area is cut off. No coin has yet been discovered with a clear date. The significance of the coins of Jamshed is that he used both the honorific title of his name, Sultan before the name and Shah at the end of his name.



Figure 144 Copper Coin of Jamshed Qutub Shah (Goron and Goenka)

#### 4.3.3 Subhan Quli Qutub Shah (AH 957/ 1550 AD)

His coin is extremely rare, so far only one copper coin had been noticed in the weight of about 10.8gms<sup>442</sup>. The coin was issued from Muhammad Nagar Golconda bearing inscription *Subhan Quli Qutub Shah Sultan* on the obverse and *Zarb Muhammad Nagar Golconda* on the reverse. The legend simply mentioned the name of the ruler and mint name. Thus, it does not need any analysis.

<sup>440</sup> Goron and Goenka, op.cit. p. 334.

<sup>441</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Qutub Shahi coins in the state Museum*, Department of Archeology and Museums. Hyderabad. 1961. p. 3.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid. p. 18.



Figure 145 Copper Coin of Subhan Qutub Shah (Goron and Goenka)

#### 4.3.4 Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah (AH 957-988/ 1550-1580 AD)

Although he had ruled for long period of thirty years but represented by a few copper coins. It is all possibilities that he might have issued number of coins but not brought to our notice or these were not properly deciphered yet. Schulman's White King sale catalogue mentions about the five coins in which the heaviest one weighed about 20gms and its half and 1/3 fractions<sup>443</sup>. The legend on his coin can be read as, *Falus-e-Jayez-e-Ibrahim Quli Saadatmand-e-Ali, Golconda* (legitimate Falus of Ibrahim Quli, obedient or dutiful towards Ali, Golconda).



Figure 146 Copper Coin of Ibrahim Qutub Shah (Marudhar Art)

From the above coin inscription, it is clear that the king wanted to show the authenticity of the coin, hence called it *Jayez*. It seemed that there would have been spurious currency in circulation in the kingdom, hence addressed to the state currency as authentic. Further, it is obvious that the king followed the *Shia* faith hence addressed himself *Saadat-mand* (who professes obedience towards *Hazrat Ali*, the son-in law of Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w)).

<sup>443</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 335.

### 4.3.5 Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah (AH 988-1020/ 1580-1611 AD)

The coinage of Qutub Shahi in real sense starts with the rule of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah. He has been reported in various coin types and varieties in copper both in round and square shapes. He was the only sultan of Qutub Shahi known to have issued gold coins but these are extremely rare. His copper coins were issued in different weight a standard varies from 13-14gms to 5-6gms. Besides, a few copper coins are listed in the heavy weight of 18gms. The gold coins are issued in the *fanam* weight standard (0.4gms.). All the copper coins were issued from Golconda and Hyderabad mints. In order to understand the coinage of Muhammad Quli Qutub in proper manner, his coins may be classified<sup>444</sup> in the following types. The typological classification is, however, based on coin inscription.

**1. Obverse:** *Quli Muhammad Sultan*

**Reverse:** *date 98x and Shah*

**2. Obverse:** *Sultan Quli Muhammad*

**Reverse:** *Qutub Shah Sanah 98x*

**3. Obverse:** *Shah Muhammad Quli*

**Reverse:** Feather on either side, said to represent the *Alam* or standard of *Ali* (once again *Shia* persuasion)<sup>445</sup>

A few copper coins in the light weight with the inscription *Quli Muhammad sultan* on the one side and *Shah with date 98x* and on the other are reported. The weights of these coins are not very clear, however, one coin which weighed around 2.65gms is listed. These coins professed different legend arrangements.

**Coins with the warning/curse couplet in Persian:** the type was issued from Golconda in square and round shapes with the inscription *Paivasta Ba-Laanat-e-Ilahi Tayar-dah Falus -e-Shahi* (God's curse be on him who finds fault (or doubts) with the royal Flus) on the obverse and *Adl Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah Zarb Dar Al-Saltanat Golconda* (Justice or equitable Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, capital of kingdom Golconda) on the other. This type of couplet has not been noticed on

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<sup>444</sup> Ibid.

<sup>445</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 336.

the coins of any sultanate in India in general and Deccan in particular. Inscription with an appeal and request has been noticed on the coins (token currency) of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The reported dates for the type under discussion are 1583, 1584 and 1586.



Figure 147 - 148 Copper Coin of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah (Marudhar Art)

The above coin has interesting legends as on the obverse it is cursed that a person, who finds faults or doubts the royal *falus* would face curse of God. It appeared that the subjects questioned the authority or legitimacy of the coins of the state. Hence to make certainty among his subjects to acknowledge the genuine worth of coin the king got engraved the legend of revile. It implies he took backing of religion, and made a dread of revile of God that if there should be an occurrence of issue with the state money. That touched the religious feelings of the subjects. As such, the curse epigraphs were found with the Adil Shahis of Bijapur state. When the royal orders of general natures were passed, at that time it was warned to the people (the Hindus and Muslims) that whoever finds fault, or disobeys the royal order, if he was Hindu, it means that he killed cow in Kashi (Banaras), if he was Muslim, it was taken that he would not get intercession of Prophet on the Day of Judgment. Such warnings were also found on the *farmans* (rhetoric government orders). The reverse legend of the same coin states the character or nature of the king that he was equitable, justice and loved equity and fair play.

**Coins with the name of ruler and mint:** Another category of copper coins bear name of ruler on obverse and mint on the reverse. They were all struck at Hyderabad with much better graving comparable to first category. They were minted in 1603 and 1608<sup>446</sup> and were issued in the weight standard of 17-18 gms. The legend is

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<sup>446</sup>Ibid, p. 335.

inscribed as *Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah Abul Muzaffar*, (Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah father of victory) on the obverse and *Zarb Darul Sultanate Hyderabad* (mint, capital of the kingdom, Hyderabad) on the reverse. The obverse legend states that the king enjoyed the title of *Abul Muzaffar*, as of his Bahmani predecessors. Few lighter weight coins were also issued with this particular legend. These coins come in two legend arrangements and were struck to a heavier weight standard.

In addition, some gold *fanams* have recently come to light with the weight of 0.4 gms *fanam* bearing the inscriptions *Muhammad Quli or Fakhre Ali* on the obverse and *Qutub Shah* on the reverse. The visual meaning of the inscription is Muhammad Quli or Proud of Ali, (*Hazrat Ali*) Qutub Shahi. John Briggs had quoted an extract from the work of Sadre Jahan the author of *Margoobul Qulub*, that “Sultan Quli Swore of the Prophet and his descendent Ali, that if he ever succeeded in establishing his independence, he would promote the faith of the followers of the twelve Imams”<sup>447</sup>.

#### **4.3.6 Muhammad Qutub Shah (AH 1020-1035/1611-1626 AD)**

His coins are extremely rare; only two copper coins are listed so far in his name. These coins were issued in two different denominations *falus* (17-17.5gms.) and 1/3 *falus* (6gms.), minted from *Darul Sultanate Shahr-i-Hyderabad* bearing date 1025.AH. The legends on these coins are inscribed as *Abul muzaffar Muhammad Shah Sultan* on the obverse and *Zarb Darul Sultanate Shahr Hyderabad* on the reverse. The legends manifest that like some of his predecessors, he too enjoyed the title of *Abul Muzaffar* while on the other side of the coin he added a word *Shahr* (city) before Hyderabad apart from the epithet *dar-ul sultanate*.

#### **4.3.7 Abdullah Qutub Shah (AH 1035-1083/ 1626-1672 AD)**

His coins are known only in copper and these are represented in good numbers. Typologically, his coins may broadly be divided into two types:

1. Coins with the title of the king and mint name *Dar-ul-Sultanate Hyderabad*.

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<sup>447</sup> John Briggs, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 211.

2. Without the name of the ruler with valedictory the legend *Khatima bilkhair wasaadat*

The coins of type 1 bear the inscription as *Sultan Abdullah Badshah Ghazi* on the obverse and *Dar-ul- sultanate Hyderabad* on the reverse. The obverse legend of this type is very interesting as the king here preferred to call himself as *Badshah Ghazi*, instead of inscribing *Shah* or *Sultan*. It ought to be noted here that after the Treaty of 1636 of the Mughals, the Qutub Shahi state had been decreased to the position of subordination of the Mughals. Despite the subordination state Shah Jahan had given Abdullah Qutub Shah free-hands to decrease the southern clan leaders of Carnatic region. All the while not the subjugation, by the same treaty Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur was empowered to have free access in the far southern region. His capable commanders took the campaigns and brought the southern chiefs under the Adil Shahi suzerainty. It brought about the augmentation of Bijapur boundaries from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. After achieving success, the king styled himself as Ghazi (the victor). Similarly, Abdullah Qutub Shah also under took the campaigns in the south and got success. His territory of political influence was also spread a lot. Subsequently, in impersonation with his equivalent ruler of Bijapur, he also assumed the title of *Badshah Ghazi*.



Figure 149 Copper Coin of Abdullah Qutub Shah (M. S Kazi)

The coins of type 1 have been further classified into two varieties- the variety one is decorated with a small multifoil both the sides in the center and legend at the top and bottom. These coins were issued in various denominations including a very rare double falus (24gms). The variety two bear the same legend but without the

multifoil both the sides. These were also issued in different denominations but their weight standards were changed to the lighter weight.

Type 2 anonymous coin with valedictory legend *Khatama Bilkhair wa-al Saadah* on the obverse and *Dar Al-Sultanate Zarb Hyderabad* on the reverse. Some of the coins bear frozen date 1068 *Hijri* on the obverse; however, many of these coins are undated. On the basis of this date, these coins have been attributed to Abdullah Qutub Shah. The type under discussion is the most common coins of Qutub Shahi dynasty and it believed that after defeating Abdullah Qutub or having control over Qutub Shahi by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, the latter asked to Abdullah Qutub Shah not to issue coins in his name. He, therefore, issued coins without inscribing his name but used a different legend *Khatama Bilkhair Wa-Saadat* marked the ending of some certain disasters that over-shadowed the reign, henceforth the ruler issued a coin having this legend, as a mark of sigh of relief<sup>448</sup>.



Figure 150 Copper Coin of Abdullah Qutub Shah Valedictory Statement Coins (Marudhar Art)

#### 4.3.8 Abul Hasan Qutub Shah (AH 1083-1098/1672-1687 AD)

He was the son-in-law and successor of Abdullah Qutub Shah, popularly known as Abul Hasan Tana Shah. He is known to have issued coins only in copper and continued the valedictory type *Khatama bilkhair* bearing the legend *Khatama Bilkhair wa Saadat* on the obverse and *Zarb Darul Sultanate Hyderabad* date AH. 1095 on the reverse. The date 1095 AH (A.D.1683) helps us to attribute the coins to Abdullah Qutub Shah. Similar type coins with date 1068 are attributed to Abdullah Qutub Shah.

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<sup>448</sup> P L Gupta, op. cit. 2006. p. 14.



Thus, the coins dates to 1095/1683 cannot be considered as the end of the king's or dynastical rule, as it had come in 1687. Thus, the valedictory statement denotes the successful rule of the kings not the end of their reigns. The date 1095 was a frozen date as 1068.



*Figure 151 Copper Coin of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah Valedictory Statement Coins (Muhammad Shoeb Kazi)*

#### **4.4 Barid Shahi of Bidar (AH 897-1028/1492-1619 AD)**

Qasim Barid was appointed as prime minister Mahmud Shah of Bahmani in 1492. Gradually he became a de-facto king of Bahmani and Mahmud was merely a puppet in his hand. He was succeeded by his son Amir Barid in 1504 who was following the path of his father had larger control over the kingdom of Bahmani. The last two sultans of Bahmani - Waliullah and Kalimullah had hardly any say in their kingdom; they were living a life of a prisoner. The Barid Shahi dynasty continued to rule till 1618 as one of the successors of Bahmani in Deccan. The dynasty was ruled by the descendants of the Qasim Barid and as many as nine sultans ruled the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar.

##### **4.4.1 Coinage**

The coins of Barid Shahi are not very common. Out of nine sultans, only three are represented in their coins and all the three exclusively issued coins in copper. Ibrahim Barid Shah was the first sultan who is properly represented in his coinage. The coins of this dynasty were issued on the pattern of Bahmani sultans. It is generally believed that Amir Barid-I (successor of Qasim Barid-I) might have issued coins and in this regard Muhammad Qasim Ferishta in his book *Tarikh-e-Ferishta* mentions that Amir Barid was a *Sahib-e-Sikka* (a king of coin), which suggests that he did strike coins. But the numismatics evidence does not support Farishtahs' view as no coin in his name is known so far. Here, it may be mentioned that the last three Bahmani kings, despite being weak their coins are known in plenty. These coins may be considered as real issues of Barid Shahi, which were issued in the name of Waliullah and Kalimullah.

The coinage of the Barid Shahi followed the coin types of last three sultans of Bahmani. Their coins were exclusively issued in copper and without the mint name. These coins were issued in falus weight (15.5 to 18 gram). No coin of Barid Shahi is reported before 993. However, we do get coins of Kalimullah Shah in this date; this may be considered that Ali Barid issued coins with the name of Kalimullah Shah.

Besides, some of the counter struck coins are attributed to Amir Barid Shah. These are counter struck with small legend such as Ali Barid, Barid Shah on the coins Bahmani. The type is listed by Rajgor in his catalogue but Goron and Goenka have not included the same as many of the scholars are not considering these issues as Barid Shahi but of a later period.

#### **4.4.2 Ali Amir Barid Shah (AH 949-987/ 1542-1579 AD)**

Amir Barid died in 1542 AD and he was succeeded by Ali Barid Shah who later adopted the title of Shah. He was the first one in Barid Shahi ruler to adopt the title of Shah<sup>449</sup>. As mentioned above that *Tarikh-e Ferishta* has used the epithet *Sahib-i-Sikka* for Ali Barid Shah, which suggests that he did strike coins. Besides, present researcher found an epigraphic inscription of Amir Barid Shah I in Rangin Mahal Bidar Fort which refers Amir Barid Shah as *Barid-ul-Mumalik* with the following legend. *Al-musatnasir Be Nasr-ul-lah Al-malik-ul-Mumalik Al-Majlis Al-akram wa Al-humayun Al-mukarram Barid-ul-Mumalik Ali*<sup>450</sup>. The invoker of divine help, the supreme king, the Benevolent Council, the most fortunate, the messenger of Empire Ali.

A H Siddqui<sup>451</sup>, has attributed few coins to Ali Amir Barid Shah and read the legend as *Be Amr Nasrullah Al Muwuyyid Baridul Mulk Shah* on the obverse and *As-sultan Al Adil Amir Barid Shah Bar* on the reverse followed by date. The date (9)62 coupled with the title *Baridul Mumalik* which was conferred by the Bahmani rulers on Qasim Barid I and his son Amir Barid I, and the title Shah added to the name of Amir Barid<sup>452</sup> has led him to suggest its attribution to the period of Amir Barid I. But his attribution was questioned by the numismatists Abdul Wali Khan<sup>453</sup> on two reasons. Firstly, the coins dated with 993 AH falls in the reign of Amir Barid Shah I, with the name of Bahmani king Kalimullah Shah<sup>454</sup>. Secondly, Siddiqui suggests

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<sup>449</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar its History and Monuments*, 1944. p. 13.

<sup>450</sup> Epigraphia Indo Moselmica 1927-1928, p. 25. Ghulam Yazdani, *Ibid*.

<sup>451</sup> AH Siddiqui, "Some Copper Coins of the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar", *J N S I*, 1959 (XXI). pp.58-66.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid*, "Some Barid Shahi coins", *J N S I*, 1974. p. 137.

<sup>453</sup> Abdul Wali Khan and P L Gupta, *Copper Coins of Barid Shahi of Bidar and Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar*, *Numismatic Bulletin*. No. 2, 1982. p. 5.

<sup>454</sup> D Raja Reddy and P Suryanarayana Reddy, *op. cit.* p. 66.

a word in the reverse legend that has the initial part as ‘*Ba*’. This is generally restored as *Bani or Barak*, either of these epithets are not known in any period earlier than Ibrahim Barid Shah. As such Siddqui’s attributed coin is a much later issue and does not belong to the period of Ali Barid Shah I<sup>455</sup>. But so far, no coin with certainty has been attributed to this ruler. Although we get many coins of his period that bear the name of the Bahmani ruler Kalimullah even after his death. Therefore, it is possible that the coins in the name of the demise king were issued by Barid Shahis rulers.

#### **4.4.3 Ibrahim Barid Shah (AH 987-995/ 1580-1587AD)**

Ibrahim Barid Shah, the fourth rulers of this dynasty were the first sultan of Barid Shahi known to have issued coins and attribution of his coins may be with certainty. Although coins do not bear his name but date 993 *Hijri* on the coins helps us to attribute these coins to Ibrahim Barid. The coins bear the inscription *al-muayyad be -nasr allah al-ghani* on the obverse and *Be Amar As-sultan Barid Shah* on the reverse. The meaning of these legends is “He who is strengthened by the help of Allah, the rich”. Besides, another type of coin listed in quarter *gani* (4.3gms), with the name *Kalimullah* has been attributed to Ibrahim Barid. It bears *Kalimullah* 993 on the one side and *al-muayyad be -nasr allah al-ghani* on the other. On the basis of the date the coin has been attributed to Ibrahim Barid. The legend clearly mentions that it was issued by Barid Shah. Such coins are dated in 993 A.H<sup>456</sup>.

#### **4.4.4 Qasim Barid Shah II (AH 994-1000/1587-1592AD)**

The fifth king Qasim Barid Shah II had also issued coins in copper where the date is read as 997. The legend is inscribed as *Al-muwaiyyad bi nasril-lah sultani* (The Sultan is strengthened by the help of Allah) in one side and *ba Amr as-sultan Barid Shah* on the other. Dates on his coin are 997 AH. According Hurmuz Kaus<sup>457</sup> and Abdul Hameed Siddqui<sup>458</sup> the term *Sultani* represents denomination, but this seems by comparing the coins of both the King ‘*Ibrahim Barid Shah and Qasim Barid*

<sup>455</sup> Abdul Wali Khan and P L Gupta, op. cit. p. 3.

<sup>456</sup> D Raja Reddy and P Suryanarayan Reddy, op. cit. p. 67.

<sup>457</sup> H Kaus, “The Copper Coins of the Barid Shahi of Bidar”, *JNSI*, 1945 (I&II), p. 51.

<sup>458</sup> A H Siddiqui, op. cit. 1959. p. 62 .

*Shah*’ the weight standard is not same one is double of the other. Moreover, it could be assumed that the term *Sultani* is an indicative term by a king who is originated from Sultan.

#### **4.4.5 Amir Barid Shah III (AH 1018-1028/ 1609-1618 AD)**

The eight rulers Amir Barid Shah III was another king of this dynasty who has been represented in his copper coins with the legend *Al- muwayyaid bi Nasrillah Al Malik Al Qawi Al Ghani* on obverse, and *As-sultan Al Adil Amir Barid Shah Barak* on the reverse. These coins are reported in 1017, 1018. The meaning of the legend is ‘strengthened by the help of Allah, who is a Lord, Powerful, the rich an act of just king Barid Shah’. The obverse inscription is continuity of Bahmani type, and the reverse legend starts with the royal title, *As-sultan al- adil* which means the king, the justice Amir Barid Shah. On the reverse side of the coin a new word is noticed, which can be read as *Barika, Barik or Barak*. Out of the three words, Barak seems to be appropriate, because the word *Barak* along with the word *Barid*, give the meaning of post-carrier or messenger. This view is further supported by the fact that Qasim Barid Shah-I and Amir Barid Shah-I were conferred with the title of *Barid-ul- Mumalik* (messenger of the empire). This explicitly shows that the family title Amir Barid, which was assumed by all members refers to the position of royal courier held by the earlier members of this dynasty<sup>459</sup>.

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<sup>459</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter V

# **Coins and Epigraphic Inscriptions of Bahmani Sultanate: A Comparative Study**

## Chapter V

### Coins and Epigraphic Inscriptions of Bahmani Sultanate:

#### A Comparative Study

*“Unless knowledge of epigraphy develops, no ancient or medieval history of this country can be studied” Japanese scholar Noboru Karashima*

The Indian subcontinent is very rich in Epigraphical sources in general and Arabic and Persian inscriptions in particular. These inscriptions reveal various untold information of history. In order to understand or to explore the historical data with epigraphical sources one need to decipher the inscription. Thus, the decipherment of the inscriptions is an extremely important aspect of epigraphy and has a wider application which involves the exploration and understanding of the history of a particular period. The present chapter intends to discuss the epigraphical inscriptions of Bahmani sultanate in comparison with the coin inscription. The chapter has been divided into two parts-- the first part discusses the importance of epigraphical inscriptions, the languages and the calligraphy used on them while the second part explains the epigraphical inscriptions of Bahmani sultanate.

#### **5.1 Importance of Epigraphical Inscriptions in Medieval India**

Historians have shifted their focus in multidisciplinary study of history and generated systematic epigraphic data on socio-economic and cultural history and came out with new light in understanding society and culture. Recent historiography offers extremely important clues to understand and the political processes and formations through epigraphy. It has provided the empirical backbone to understand the state system of medieval period. Therefore, historians admitted that epigraphic evidence acquires the first place in the list of sources of history. Epigraphs elucidate many points such as (a) they immortalize the builder as well as the monument and supply correct dates, names and titles of the

personalities, (b) bring light on the art of calligraphy (c) describe events which have been completely missing or incorrectly recorded in the contemporary chronicles. (d) literary and cultural development of the period may also be followed on them. (e) furnish chronology, the missing details from the literary sources.

Sometimes indirectly the epitaph location described the political expansion. Tomb-inscriptions frequently mention their subject's birthplace, and there by provide evidence for the extent of immigration and for the settlement pattern of foreign groups. Epigraphs also informed invaluable information about administrative and economic details. The most of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions were engraved on religious buildings (tombs, mosques, Idgahs, Imambaras, madrasas) and military works (forts gates bastions cavalries towers), or on public utilities (bridges *tankas* baolis, dams). Besides, some of the inscriptions are also found in palaces, gardens, pavilions etc.<sup>460</sup>

### 5.1.1 Languages

As regards to the languages in which the inscriptions have been written, the vast majority are of Persian and Arabic and some are bilingual Arabic and Persian, and few were also in local trending languages like Marathi, Bengali, Sanskrit, and Urdu. The earliest Persian inscription in India is dated 589 AH, and little later Arabic is noticed<sup>461</sup>. Arabic however, maintained its premier position, and Persian also continued side by side. The emergence of Islamic inscription in India found from period of Ghori conquest of Delhi. The Arabic inscriptions remain regular till the end of the 13th century, when they were replaced by Persian. Non-historical epigraphs tend to remain in Arabic somewhat longer, and of course Arabic persists up to the present day for Quranic quotations on mosque and tomb inscriptions<sup>462</sup>.

There are many bilingual and trilingual inscriptions are found in the Deccan covering (Persian/ Devanagari, Persian/Marathi, Persian/Kannada, etc.). Few inscriptions are reported in Deccani too in the Deccan regions. The dates were

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<sup>460</sup> John Burton, *Indian Islamic Architecture*, Boston, 2008. p. 19.

<sup>461</sup> J Horowitz, "List of the Published Muhammadan Inscriptions of India", *Epigraphia Indo Moselmica*. 1909-1910. p. 31.

<sup>462</sup> John Burton, op. cit. p.38.



inscribed in Arabic words and figures.<sup>463</sup> The date in north Indian inscriptions is regularly expressed in *Hijri* years, except for a few inscriptions of the time of Akbar and Jahangir which use the *Ilahi* date with regnal years. In the Deccan, various solar calendars are occasionally used, especially the *Shuhure sanah* in the Adil Shahi Sultanate of Bijapur, and a *Fasli Sanah* in Golkonda and under the Nizams of Hyderabad. In Mysore under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan the *Mauludi* era is used<sup>464</sup>.

### 5.1.2. Epigraphy and Islamic Calligraphy

Calligraphy is one of the important features of epigraphy and varied styles of calligraphy have been noticed in Arabic and Persian epigraphy in India. Calligraphy is a powerful visual tool for expressing aesthetic and cultural themes in the Islamic tradition. Because of its association with the penning of the ‘Wahi’ or revelation that came to the prophet, Islamic calligraphy has grown in popularity. The language of Islam, Arabic, was enthusiastically mastered by its adherents, and writing it in a magnificent hand was considered a sign of great virtue<sup>465</sup>. Muslim painters are forbidden to depict live things as a decorative form of object according to Islamic law. As a result, Muslim painters strove to distinguish between animate and inanimate materials for aesthetic purposes, and could not dare to depict any pictorial art forms. Thus, no copies of the Quran or Masjid had been decorated with any kind of pictorial devices<sup>466</sup>.

“Calligraphy is considered as strong tradition of religious iconography and symbolism. The written form of Allah in Arabic was a great source of consolation providing a mental image that could be used for contemplating and meditating about God”<sup>467</sup>.

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<sup>463</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid. p. 36.

<sup>465</sup> A K M Yaqub Ali, “Muslim Calligraphy; Its Beginning and Major Styles”, *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1984. p. 373-379.

<sup>466</sup> A K M Yaqub, op. cit. p. 1.

<sup>467</sup> Muhammad Yusuf Siddqui, “Calligraphy and Islamic Culture. Reflections on some New Epigraphical Discoveries and Pandua, Two Early Capitals of Muslim Bengal”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 68, No. 1, 2005. p. 21-58.

Arabic calligraphy is also known as Islamic calligraphy. It is the elastic quality of Arabic that Arabic script has undergone alterations and experimentation which brought many new calligraphic styles and a proliferation of names for each variation. Often a new name was given to a script even if it showed only slight differences from the others<sup>468</sup>. While there is a unity and coherent continuity in the calligraphic legacy of the Islamic world, regional developments have further enriched this unique cultural heritage<sup>469</sup>.

*Kufic* and *Naskh* calligraphy are the two main styles of Islamic calligraphy. Each has various varieties, as well as locally distinct styles. As a result, Islamic calligraphy has been used in a variety of architectural decorative materials. Calligraphers must frequently adapt new approaches and practices in order to generate aesthetic meanings and beauty. In general, Islamic inscriptions are rich in both literary content and calligraphic beauty<sup>470</sup>. By the time this art began to take root in India, it had already achieved perfection in the majority of its various letters in other Islamic countries, particularly in West Asia, Iran, and Central Asia<sup>471</sup>.

“The Arabic calligraphy reached its zenith in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century by Ibn Muqallah during the time of Abbasid caliphs- Al Muqtadir billah, Al Qahir billah and Razi billah (908-934 AD). Ibn Muqalal inherited calligraphy from his ancestors. His grandfather Muaqallah, father Ali bin Hassan and brother were well known calligraphers. But Ibn Muqallah made important contribution to Islamic calligraphy by inventing and standardizing *Naskhi* script along with creation of *Thuluth*, *Muhaqqaq*, *Rayhani Tawqi*, and *Riqa*. These style of cursive writing, (known as *Shish Qalam*), achieved perfection alongside other and reached the status of major scripts with the adoption of strict calligraphy rules”<sup>472</sup>.

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<sup>468</sup> Ibid. p. 24.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid. p. 35.

<sup>471</sup> Z A Desai, “Contribution of Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India to Islamic Calligraphy” <https://www.academia.edu/39112887>.

<sup>472</sup> Danish Moin, *Islamic Calligraphy on Medieval Indian Coins an Artistic Perspective*, 2019, p. 16.

Thomas Arnold relates that “No art has been so much honored or assiduously cultivated as that of calligraphy”<sup>473</sup>. Calligraphy started by the Arabs but was received its highest fulfilment at the hands of the Persians.

In India a rich calligraphic tradition began to evolve soon after the Muslims advent. Once Muslim rule took a firm hold in India, and they started using Arabic and Persian as court official language<sup>474</sup>. Muslims influenced their architectural activities (mosques, madrasas, palaces, castles and forts), coins seals, *Farman's* with this art form.

When Muslim control came to India, they concentrated on numerous political and social issues, including cultural establishment, and so began a phase of calligraphy innovation and mixing attempts. India had also produced some magnificent works of calligraphy, both in epigraphy and numismatics.

Almost all the medieval period monuments were decorated and beautified with some kind of inscriptions and backgrounds. The writing styles may be produced in a variety of traditional ways that vary depending on the period, location, and creativity of the calligraphers. Arabic calligraphy was originally used to communicate and preserve God’s word through the Quran. However, it developed as a significant component in coins and for architectural decorations over a period of time. On the basis of Arabic and Persian alphabets Zafar Hasan<sup>475</sup> classified the Arabic Calligraphy into four main divisions, (i) *Kufic*, (ii) *Naskh*, (iii) *Nastaliq* and (iv) *Shikastah*. But at the same time, he considers the *Shikastah* to be a simple variation of the *Nastaliq* style<sup>476</sup>.

### **Kufic Style of Calligraphy**

*Kufic* is thought to be the first version of the Arabic script. The style, which appears to be a modified variant of the old Nabataean writing, stresses hard and angular strokes. *Kufic* script, according to some academics, was established towards the end

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<sup>473</sup> Cited in Ziauddin, *A Monograph on Muslim calligraphy*, 1979.

<sup>474</sup> Danish Moin, *Ibid*.

<sup>475</sup> Zafar Hasan, “Specimen of Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archeology”, *Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India*, No. 29. 1926, p. 1. (E-Book, [Indianculture.gov.in](http://Indianculture.gov.in)).

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

of the 7th century in Kufa, Iraq, from which it gets its name. This form of calligraphy is used to transcribe the Quran and engrave inscriptions on stone and coinage<sup>477</sup>.

It is generally speculated that a few *Kufic* inscriptions were identified on early Muslim architectures in India, and they conveyed religious messages such as *Bismillah*, *Quranic* verses, and Allah's names, and ornamental designs<sup>478</sup>. In later period little development occurred in several varieties, including floral, foliated, plaited or interlaced<sup>479</sup>, bordered, and square *Kufic*<sup>480</sup>. *Kufic* was broadly applied in ornamental stone carving and on coins because to its straight and tidy lettering style. It was the primary script for copying Qurans from the eighth to the tenth centuries, but it lost popularity in the 12th century when the *Naskh* form became more practical. Despite this, it was used as a decorative element to contrast with the dominant forms. The angular, linear shapes of the characters were the only thing that the *Kufic* script had in common; there were no set processes for using it<sup>481</sup>.

### **Naskh Style of Calligraphy**

*Naskh* is an Arabic calligraphy style that developed alongside *Kufic*. It became the most extensively used script and the most preferred style for executing inscriptions as a result of its consistency and ease of writing and reading. It has supplanted both the *Thuluth* and *Kufic* scripts in the writing of the Quran since its inception in the 4th century A.H. (10th century A.D.). With short horizontal stems and nearly similar depth above and below the medial line, the letters were rounded and the lines were thin. The words are well spaced and the curves are full and deep. The uprights are straight and vertical<sup>482</sup>.

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<sup>477</sup> Zafar Hasan, op. cit. p. 2.

<sup>478</sup> Archaeological Survey of India “*The Arabic calligraphy in India*”. (n.d). <https://docplayer.net/40333530-The-arabic-calligraphy-in-india.html>.

<sup>479</sup> Façade of Quwatul Isalm Mosque near Qutub Minar and façade of Adhai Din ka Jhopda Mosque Ajmer, are good examples of Plaited *Kufic* style.

<sup>480</sup> Epitaphs from Baliapatnam (Kerala) and Bhadreswar (Gujarat) are the earliest example of *Suqre Kufi*.

<sup>481</sup> John Burton op. cit. p. 37.

<sup>482</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. 2019. p. 16.

It was the style used for ordinary purposes. In the 10th century, calligrapher Ibn Muqlah established the *Naskh* script, which was later improved by Ibn-ul Bawwad in the early 11th century. During the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad in the 13th century, this writing achieved its pinnacle in the hands of scribe Yakut Al-Mutassim<sup>483</sup>

The introduction of *Naskh* script “brought an important period of renaissance in the history of Islamic calligraphy”<sup>484</sup>. The *Naskh* has extended throughout the Islamic world, with many notable calligraphers from Egypt and Turkey to Persia, Afghanistan, and India contributing to the development of this elegant script that is now generally associated with writing the Qur’an.

The style of calligraphy was used by most of the medieval Indian empires, including the Turks, Khalji’s, Tughlaq, Lodhis, and early Mughals. Similarly, all pre-Mughal coins were inscribed in the *Naskh* style. It is now considered to be one of the highest scripts.

### **Thuluth Style of Calligraphy**

*Thuluth* is a variant of *Naskh*. In terms of modifying the letter form measurement in writing or fulfillment, *Thuluth* is the most difficult form of Arabic calligraphy. Arabs and other Muslims used the *Thuluth* script for writing Quran verses and other social uses on paper when the *Kufic* script became prominent. Until the emergence of another cursive script, *Naskh*, which was used to write the verses of the Quran on paper instead, it was limited to writing the heads of the verses of the Quran. The *Thuluth* was designed to write Quran verses on Islamic buildings and is still in use today. It created the most graceful and finest monumental inscriptional bands in Islamic architecture.

During the Umayyad caliphate, the *Thuluth* script was developed for the first time. However, it was not fully established until the late ninth century. Because of the proportion of straight lines to curves, or simply because the script was a third the size of another prominent contemporary script, the term *Thuluth* signifies 'one

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<sup>483</sup> Ahmad Syed Barakat, *Introduction to Quranic Script*, 1999. p. 121.

<sup>484</sup> A.R. Siddiqui, *The Story of Islamic Calligraphy*, 1990. p. 12.

third.' It was only occasionally used to write the Quran. Thuluth had a huge following as a decorative script for calligraphic inscriptions, titles, and headings. Of all the ornamental scripts, it is still the most important. The decorative splendor of the Thuluth script was formerly associated with the *Kufian* script in the 13th century. *Thuluth* was far more dignified and artistic. It has a high ornamental value for decorative bands on mosques' central mihrab.<sup>485</sup> Qutub Shahi and Mughal calligraphers used this style very generously.

### **Riqa Style of Calligraphy**

*Riqa* comes from the Arabic noun ruq'a, which literally means "a patch or piece of cloth." Because it was frequently written on small pieces of paper to petition royalty, the script was given that name.<sup>486</sup> The most graceful *Riqa* is found in ornamentation, more decorative than Thuluth. *Riqa* was an Ottoman calligrapher's favourite script, and it was modified by the eminent calligraphy Shaykh Hamdullah al Amasi (d. 1520). It was gradually simplified, and it is now the preferred handwriting script throughout the Arab world.<sup>487</sup>

Ruqah script (small sheet) has evolved from *Naskh*, and Thuluth. It is the most commonly used script for everyday use; it is simple and easy to write. The letter Alif is never written with a barbed head, while *Riqa* is spherical and densely formed with short horizontal stems. Later, other calligraphers improved *Riqa*, and it became the most popular and extensively used script. *Riqa* has become the most prominent handwriting script among Muslim calligraphers across the world. In medieval India, the scripts indicated above gained popularity and held their positions successfully. These various types of Arabic calligraphy were generally seen on wall surfaces, in manuscript writing, on miniature paintings to describe the theme, and in poetry writing by various poets. Under Muslim monarchs, these were

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<sup>485</sup> Ahmad Syed Barakat, op. cit. p.123.

<sup>486</sup> <https://calligraphyqalam.com/styles/tawqi-Riqa.html>.

<sup>487</sup> Hee Sook Lee Niinioja, *Islamic Calligraphy and Muslim Identity A Case Study of Kuwait*, 2018. Novel and Noble Communications. Helsinki. p. 27.

quite popular. They favored and encouraged the use of Arabic calligraphy for ornamental purposes.<sup>488</sup>

### **Taliq and Nastaliq Style of Calligraphy**

The Persians created the *Nastaliq* calligraphy style in the late 15th century. This script was created by the Persian calligrapher Mir Ali Sultan al Tabrizi (d. 1416). Mir Ali, a pious Muslim, is said to have prayed diligently for the talent of producing a beautiful new calligraphic style. In a dream, Imam Ali appeared to him and him to study a specific bird. Soon later, a flying grouse visited him in his dreams, inspiring him to model his letters after the shape of its wings. *Nastaliq's* powerful and crisp lines, as well as its elegantly rounded curves, evoke a bird in flight. *Nastaliq's* clarity and geometric purity give it a casual charm that belies its sophistication. Its clarity and geometric purity give *Nastaliq* a casual elegance which belies its highly sophisticated and strictly applied rules<sup>489</sup>. The curves evolve into a most seductive form: round, crescent, or oval, as the latest style. It has long, highly pointed strokes in the shape of a straight sword<sup>490</sup>.

Following their conversion to Islam and Arab conquest, the Persians began using Arabic script instead of their own. The Persians introduced the Taliq and *Nastaliq* styles to Arabic calligraphy. The *Nastaliq* writing style is very cursive, with very lengthy horizontal strokes. Arabs today favour the script, which is also popular among Persian, Indian, and Turkish Muslims in various calligraphic forms. The Iranian Safavid calligraphers have had a significant influence on Islamic calligraphy in India. Mughals were the primary patrons of this style in India. Except for Quranic writing, the Mughals prefer *Nastaliq*<sup>491</sup>.

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<sup>488</sup> Malik-Al-Markaz, Buhut Faysal Lil; “*Arabic Calligraphy in Manuscripts: An Exhibition of Arabic calligraphy at the Islamic art Gallery*”, Riyad, Saudi Arabia. The Center, 1987. p.142.

<sup>489</sup> Y H Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy*, London, Thames and Hudson. 1978. p. 27.

<sup>490</sup> Hee Sook Lee Niinioja, op. cit. p. 30.

<sup>491</sup> Archeological Survey of India, op. cit. <https://docplayer.net/40333530-The-arabic-calligraphy-in-india.html>.

### **Tughra Style of Calligraphy**

Taghara is an Arabic word that means "bird," and Tughra is derived from it<sup>492</sup>. Tughra is a script known as Tawqi-al-Sultan (Sultan signet), in which Allah's names, Quranic verses, and king's names are formed in the shapes of birds, animals, or geometric designs. This form was employed by the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey to write their names and titles on royal orders and papers<sup>493</sup>. *Tughra* traditionally had the Sultan's name written from the bottom up, along with a propaganda phrase for the Sultan, in a shape that ended at the upper-left, with two half-circled turns driven down to the right into a thinner parallel line. Tughra was first designed as a calligraphic monogram or signature by the second emperor, Orhan I. rule of later Sultans, tughra was also stamped on coins<sup>494</sup>. As a result, each Sultan of the dynasty painstakingly created their Tughra names. *Tughra's* design evolved gradually throughout time, reaching a climax during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. The style was also utilized by Egyptian Mamluk monarchs, and it eventually made its way to India during the Sultanate period. The *Tughra* is a unique form of visual art. It was a symbol of spirituality and strength. Certain letters have their own personality and meaning in Arabic calligraphy in general, and in the tughra style in particular. The initial letter of Allah, the Supreme Name of God in Islam, is alif, the Arabic alphabet's origin. '...the Divine Majesty and the Transcendent Principle are symbolized by its verticality<sup>495</sup>. In India the *Tughra* style of calligraphy was used by all most all the Muslim dynasties but more prominently used in Bengal and Jaunpur Sultanates.

#### **5.1.3 Calligraphy on Coins.**

Islamic coinage in general, and medieval Indian coinage in particular, were the other means in which the art of Islamic calligraphy prospered. In 692 AH, the Islamic caliphate reformed the coinage of the Near East by replacing Byzantine

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<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

<sup>493</sup> Hee Sook Lee Niinioja, op. cit. p. 34.

<sup>494</sup> Anchi Hoh. "The Sultans Tughra", *Library of Congress International Collections*. 2021. p. 4.

<sup>495</sup> Nasr Sayyed, Hussain, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, State University of New York. 1986. pp. 30.



Christian imagery with Islamic phrases inscribed in Arabic. The Quran was widely engraved on these coins, and early Islamic coins used the *Kufic* style of calligraphy.

However, during more than fifty years following the introduction of the epigraphic coins (Islamic coins), the style of script gradually changed. During the reign of Al Mamun, the first major move toward changing the writing style on coins was taken. During his reign, the Arabic script evolved from an angular *Kufic* style to a refined curvilinear and systematic *Kufic* style. This alteration in calligraphy appears to be a clear break from the past, and it appears on both sides of the coins. Al-Muizzud Din-Allah (341-365/953-975), the Fatimid emperor, altered the layout of the inscriptions and developed a visually different currency. Three concentric circles of writing in *Kufic* script carried *Shia* messages. After that they shifted their concern towards calligraphy and slowly and steadily, they introduce *Naskh* on the coins. Ayyubids followed and expanded and sustained use of *Naskh* script. Later, another beautiful calligraphy- *Tughra* style had been noticed. The first coin in *tughra* style was struck by the Ottoman ruler Amir Sulaiman (1403–10).

The first reference of Arabic calligraphy on Indian coins is noticed on the coins of Amir's of Sindh<sup>496</sup> and these coins were inscribed in *Kufic* style of calligraphy. During that period Arabs inscribed Islamic inscription with *Kufic* style of calligraphy on their coins<sup>497</sup>. The style became a major form of Islamic art. It was regularly used for Quranic headings, on coins, and also architecture. The reforms done by Umayyads and Abbasid caliphs on their coins played a major role in the development of variations in the *Kufic* style of calligraphy. Abbasid caliph Al Mamun had adopted a different style of *Kufic* scripts which mainly distinguished the new style Abbasid dinars and dirhams from the earlier ones. That type was known as eastern *Kufic* style as this type was stuck from eastern provinces<sup>498</sup>. Through the coinage reform of Al-Mamun it became clear that they established

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<sup>496</sup> Tanvir Anjum, "The emergence of Muslim Rule in India: Some Historical Disconnects and Missing Links", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2007. p. 217-240.

<sup>497</sup> Stefen Heidmen, "Calligraphy on Islamic Coins", Jurgen Wasim Frembgen, (ed), *The Aura of Alif. The Art of Writing in Islam*, 2010. pp. 161-171.

<sup>498</sup> Jere L. Bacharach, *Islamic History Through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikshidid Coinage*. The American University in Cairo Press. New York. 2006. p. 18.

coins as a cultural agent of Islam.<sup>499</sup> Thus we get to see eastern *Kufic* style of calligraphy on the coins of Ghazni rulers, who came to India in late 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, issued coins with a combination of standard *Kufic* and eastern *Kufic* styles<sup>500</sup>. The coins of Ghazni rulers have achieved a distinct position in medieval Indian coinage because of bilingual coins (Devanagari and Arabic), in which they adopted eastern *Kufic* calligraphy and Devanagari script<sup>501</sup>.

Arabic calligraphy is not only the style of writing but a form of art which was developed all over the world, with gradual changes and development. The calligraphy on coins was never consonant and had its own process of evolution and development, hence we get to see another calligraphic style on '*Naskh*'. It makes first appearance on the coins of Fatimid Dinar in Egypt<sup>502</sup>. In Indian context the *Kufic* style was continued till the reign of Iltutmish, who legitimized his rule by implementing the names of Abbasid Caliph and *Hijri* year with mint. Iltutmish is also credited with the introduction of *Naskh* script on coins<sup>503</sup>. After him, other Mamluk rulers Khalji and Tughlaq till the Lodhis used the *Naskh* style of calligraphy. *Naskh* was one of earliest scripts became popular in the tenth century. The type was continued with regional variations by the succeeding dynasties of Delhi and Provincial Sultanates; Kashmir, Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa Gujarat, Madurai, Bahmani, Qutub Shahi, Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi.

Apart from *Naskh* style of calligraphy, these dynasties along with provincial sultanate had followed different calligraphical styles on coins. Few references of *Muhaqqaq* calligraphy on coins of Tughlaq dynasty was also noticed. *Muhaqqaq* meaning is "fully-realized, and also "strongly expressed". *Muhaqqaq* was less angular than *Kufic* with well-spaced ligatures. During the caliphate of Al Ma'mun

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<sup>499</sup> David J Wasserstein, "Coins as agents of Cultural Definition in Islam", *Cultural Process in Muslim and Arab Societies; Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1993. pp. 303-322.

<sup>500</sup> Danish Moin, "Medieval Indian Coins a Calligraphic Aspect", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, 1996. p. 68-69.

<sup>501</sup> Danish Moin, "Understanding transitions in Indian History in the Light of Numismatic evidence", *Researching Transition in Indian History (edit) Radhika Sheshan and Shraddha Kambhojkar*. Routledge India. London. 2018. p.147.

<sup>502</sup> Stefan Heidman op. cit. pp. 167.

<sup>503</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. 2019. p. 19.

(813-33), the script acquired certain roundness for easier writing. Although Ibn Muqala did modification and reproduction, it kept the main features of extended upstrokes. Ibn al Bawwab made the perfection of *Muhaqqaq*, giving it shallow and sweeping horizontal sub-linear flourishes for impetus and more extended upstrokes for grandeur<sup>504</sup>.

This script developed in 10th century and refined in 15th century by Seyh Hamdullah and at the 17th century end, it grants its place to *Thuluth*. This script was used all over Islamic world to write Qurans and fine architecture inscriptions. Now, this script is obsolete but by practice still used to write the “bismillah.”<sup>505</sup> .

The calligraphic development in India got a further boost as Indians applied the *Tughra* style of calligraphy on their coins. The first reference of the *Tughra* style was noticed on the coins of Ottoman Ruler Amir Sulaiman (1403-10)<sup>506</sup>. The *Tughra* style of calligraphy on Indian coinages was introduced sometime in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and well noticed on the coins of the rulers of Jaunpur and Bengal sultanates<sup>507</sup> . Few coins of Adil Shahi and Mughals are also reported with *tughra* style of calligraphy.

India acknowledged great impact of Safavid dynasty in the form of culture, religion and inscriptions. It also impacted in calligraphy<sup>508</sup> and *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy was also found space on Indian Coins. The calligraphy was developed in 16<sup>th</sup> century in Persia and Persians did most of their writings in *Nastaliq*. The beauty and strength of *Nastaliq* lie in the balanced distribution of thick and thin, open and closed, and short and tall strokes, in the graceful shaping of the letter and letter combinations, and in the symmetry and consistency with which the letters and words are juxtaposed. The particular type of calligraphy gained popularity in the areas under Persian cultural influence which stretched from Ottomans Turks

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<sup>504</sup> Hee Sook Lee Niinioja, op. cit. p. 38.

<sup>505</sup> Amjad Parvez, “Origination, Development, and Types of Islamic calligraphy”. *Al-Adwa Research Journal, Sheikh Zayed Islamic Centre*, University of Punjab. 2016. p. 3.

<sup>506</sup> Hee Sook Lee Niinioja, op. cit. p. 34.

<sup>507</sup> Sayed Ejaz Hussain, “Symbolism and the state Authority: Reflections from the Art on Indo Islamic Coins”, *Indian Historical Review* Sage Publications London. 2013. p. 17-40.

<sup>508</sup> Mahnaz Shayesteh Far, “The impact of the Religion on the Painting and Inscriptions of the Timurid and the early Safavid Period”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2003. p. 250-293.

Egyptians to Muslims in India<sup>509</sup>. The great age of *Nastaliq* in Persia was the first half of the Safavid period which witnessed the great calligraphers such as Sultan Ali Mashadi and Mir Imad Hussaini Sayfi. The type was patronized by Mughals in their coins<sup>510</sup>. Kashmir Sultan had also used *Nastaliq* calligraphy in their later period of rule.

Great cultural impact of Delhi Sultanate has also been noticed in Deccan Sultanates. The early rulers of Bahmani Sultanate issued their coins on the pattern of Delhi sultanates using *Naskh* style of calligraphy. Later they introduced their own style of coinage and adopted distinct style of calligraphy. Allaudin Bahman Shah issued coins in *Naskhi* style of calligraphy. His successors, however, adopted new calligraphy ‘*Raiyhani*’ or rather *Muhaqqaq*<sup>511</sup> on their coins. *Rayhani* first developed during the ninth century and was probably derived from *Naskh*. It has characteristics in common with *Naskh*, *Thuluth*, and *Muhaqqaq*. It also has some of the features of *Thuluth*, despite more delicacy. Another feature of *Rayhani*, as compared with *Thuluth*, is that its vertical strokes are straight and extended. The curves of *Rayhani* like those of *Muhaqqaq* are little angular, pointing almost horizontally leftwards. The script became close to *Muhaqqaq*, considered as a sister script, but wrote with a pen about half as wide as that used for *Muhaqqaq*. *Rayhani* was a favorite script for large Qurans and preferred in Persia under the Il Khanid sultans who were contemporary with the Mamluk sultans of Egypt<sup>512</sup>. However, its later rulers might have used the *Thuluth* style of calligraphy also<sup>513</sup>.

The successors of the Bahmani dynasty were also not in the back step, in adopting their coins calligraphy, Adil Shahi of Bijapur adopted the Tughra Style of Calligraphy, and Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar and Qutub Shahi of Golconda had

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<sup>509</sup> Annemarie Schimmel and Barbar Rivolta, “Islamic Calligraphy”, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* New Series, Vol. 50, 1992. p. 32.

<sup>510</sup> Danish Moin, “Decorative Art on Mughal and Sultanate coins”, *Numismatic Digest* Vol. 34-35. 2011. p. 134.

<sup>511</sup> B N Mukherjee, “Some Aspects of Art in the coins of the Early Medieval India”, *Numismatic Studies* Vol. 7. 2005. p. 84.

<sup>512</sup> Hee Sook Lee- Niinioja, op. cit. 2018. p. 30.

<sup>513</sup> B N Mukherjee, op. cit. p. 88.

adopted *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy<sup>514</sup>. The Mughal emperors added a new chapter to the medieval coinage by producing coins with elegant calligraphy on them. Their coinage was primarily issued with the *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy

## **5.2. Epigraphic Inscriptions of the Bahmani Sultanates**

Deccan is very rich in Arabic and Persian epigraphs which are found in great numbers. The numismatic evidence also reveals good number of coins containing both Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The coins inscriptions had been explained in the previous chapter this chapter will be focusing on the epigraphic inscription and the comparative study of coin and epigraphic inscriptions.

The epigraphic inscriptions increase with the passage of centuries. These seek to commemorate the buildings of forts, religious edifices, works of public utility, etc., while quite a few contain texts of royal orders. In short, they provide a valuable source for the history of Deccan of the period to which they belong. There are also some epigraphs that contain administrative orders connected with various departments of government and public activity. Some of these epigraphs indicate boundaries of the kingdom and also immovable property and some other serve as road signs<sup>515</sup>.

The Epigraphical inscriptions of the Bahmani and its inherited regimes are found in large numbers except the; Imad Shahis of Berar and the Barid Shahis of Bidar. These records provide valuable and precise evidence in determining the political status of certain regions of the Deccan<sup>516</sup>.

Epitaphs were large in size they acquired more space and consist of large descriptions of the building, whereas coins were small in size and only few noticeable inscriptions can be inscribed on them. Therefore, the comparative study of both the primary sources is very distinct in nature.

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<sup>514</sup> Danish Moin, op. cit. 2018. p. 56.

<sup>515</sup> J Horovitz, op. cit. 1910. p. 30-144.

<sup>516</sup> Ibid.

Muslims kings used Quranic Verses in stones, in the starting of writing, the inscription; the recitation of the Quran is considered by Muslims a meritorious act and forms an important part of their religiosity. In India, Muslims recite the Quran avidly, but generally without understanding the literal meaning. Nevertheless, they still see it as an act that brings the reciter closer to God and wins him or her divine grace (*Brakat*) and light (*nur*)<sup>517</sup>. One *hadith* is particular common in Indian epitaphs although it was rarely found in other countries epitaphs. “Who so build it for God a place of worship, be it like a nest of a Qata bird, God will build for him a house in Paradise”<sup>518</sup>.

The inscriptions on mosques were inscribed with the date of their erection and therefore, it is considered as a valuable source for the history of architecture. The inscriptions on tomb-stones too are very often proved to be historical importance as many of them records the death of a ruler or a member of the ruling family, of a saint famous during that period or other well-known legends. The well-known reference of this is the tombs of Qutub Shahi rulers of Golconda. As on their tombs short biography is inscribed such as name date of birth and date of death. Apart from the tombs of rulers there also found tombs of their relatives. A large number of officials—ministers, governors, commanders, and also the name of the departments, find mention. Important links in the succession-lists of official and governors at different levels are furnished by them. They list the names and titles of prominent officials who are not even mentioned in histories and chronicles. Thus, we get names of Khalji, Tughlaq, Bahmani and Sultanate officials about whom we would not have known anything but for these inscriptions. The epigraph also informs about the purposes of the building, whether it works of charity, or public utility like endowments for religious or secular purposes, construction of bunds and embankments, tanks, wells, public rest houses and *Sarai*'s, milestones etc.

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<sup>517</sup> Tahera Qutubuddin, “Arabic in India: A Survey and Classification of its Uses, Compared with Persian”. *Journal of The American Oriental Society*, Vol. 127. (No.3), 2007. p. 315-338.

<sup>518</sup> J Horovitz, op. cit. p. 32.

Following epigraphical information have been gathered in order to understand the relation between numismatic and epigraphy. These inscriptions mainly cover the content of the inscriptions and calligraphy published in *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, and *Epigraphic Indo Arabic Persian Supplement*.

The data has been collected to analyze the similarities and divergence between the coin's inscription and epigraphic inscription. As many as nine rulers and their 47 epigraphic inscriptions have been selected.

### **5.2.1 Alauddin Bahman Shah (AH748- 760/ 1347-1359 AD)**

Alauddin Bahman had issued coins, following the pattern of Delhi Sultan 'Alauddin Muhammad. He had minted coins in gold silver and copper inscribing different types of legends on them. In his gold and silver coins, he inscribed the legend *As-sultan Al Azam Ala-ud-duniya waddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah* on the one side and *Sikandar-us sani yamin-ul- Khilfa Nasir Amir-ul- Muminin* on the other. He inscribed small legend in his copper coins, bearing *Ala-ud-duniya waddin* on the one obverse and *Bahman Shah as sultan* on the reverse”.

The epigraphs of Bahman Shah have been published in a very few numbers. The present study, however, includes one epigraphic inscription of Bahman Shah.

### **Inscription No. 1**

#### **Contents of the Epitaph Inscriptions**

The inscription was found in the mosque of Zanjiri gate<sup>519</sup>, Gulbarga. It records the construction of the mosque by Saif-ud-daulah Shah Zalibiyya in in the year AH. 754 (A.D. 1353) during the reign of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah.

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<sup>519</sup> E. Denison Ross, Major T. W. Haig, LA, “Inscriptions in Gulbarga”, *Epigraphia Indo Moselmica*. 1907-1908, p. 1.

### Description of the coin and Epitaph inscription



**Obverse.** *As-sultan Al-Azam Ala-ud-duniya waddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah Shah As-sultan*

**Reverse:** *Sikanadar-us-sani Yamin-ul-Khilafah Nasir Amir-ul-Muminin. Date not clear*

Courtesy- Rajgor Auction Catalogue



Epigraph No. 1 Courtesy EIM 1959-61

این مسجد مبارک الله تعالی و تبارک بعهد بانى  
مبانى و قبله اقبال سعادات خدایگان سلاطین  
علاالدنیا والدين ابوالمظفر بهمن شاه عمر الله دولته  
بناه امیدوار حضر کبریا سیف الوله شاه زکریا در  
شهور سنه اربع و خمسين ا سبعمأه عمارت کرد تا  
ابد الابد آباد باد بحق عامر بیت معمور و کعبه  
مشهو

### Inscriptural Analysis

The inscription inscribed in the epitaph styled the ruler as, '*Ala-ud-duniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah*<sup>520</sup>.

In this inscription the title of the sultan inscribed as, *Alaudduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah*. The similar title we can see on his gold and silver coins inscribed as, *As-sultanul Azam Alaudduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah As-sultan*<sup>521</sup>.

Besides, there is similarity in calligraphical style, both, the epitaph as well as coins inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

The religious content in this epitaph described that the mosque was built in the name of Allah and except the praised to Allah no other religious information are found. However, the coin inscription mentions *Yaminul Khilafah Nasir -Amirul Mumineen*. The epitaph was inscribed in Arabic and Persian with *Naskh* style of calligraphy while the coins inscription is inscribed in Arabic language similar to

<sup>520</sup> Ibid.

<sup>521</sup> Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins*, Department of Archaeology and Museums the Govt. of Telangana (reprinted) 2017, Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 290



*Naskh* style of calligraphy. The epitaph recorded the name of the builder as Saifud Daullah Shah Zakariaya. It's important to note that Arabic and Persian are two different languages but the script of the both the languages are same generally called Arabic inscription. It does not bear the name of calligrapher.

### **5.2.2 Muhammad Shah I (AH 760-777/ 1359-1375 AD)**

Muhammad Shah I in the beginning had issued coins on the pattern of Delhi sultanate. Over the time he made some important inscriptional changes in his coinage. The inscription in his gold and silver coins mentions *Sultanul Ahd Waz Zaman Hamie Millat Rasulur Rahman*. In his gold coins (Dinar)<sup>522</sup> he also refers to himself as *Muhammad Hasan Bahmani*. His copper coins also witnessed varieties of inscriptions different from those of Delhi Sultanate. A detailed discussion had been made in the previous chapter.

He has been represented in various types of inscriptions both in coins and epitaphs. The present study has selected five epigraphic inscriptions of the ruler and these are being analyzed here. The inscriptions were gathered from various places such as, Gulbarga fort, Mihrab of the Eidgah at Daulatabad, on the well's wall etc.

### **Inscription No. 1**

#### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

This inscription<sup>523</sup> found engraved in Gulbarga, in Arabic language, which was beautifully calligraphed in *Naskh*. The inscriptions commemorate about the completion of the large masjid.

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<sup>522</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 292 (BH25)

<sup>523</sup> E. Denison Ross, op. cit. p. 6

## Description of the Coin and Epitaph inscription



Courtesy- IIRNS

**Obverse:** *Sultanul Ahad Wa-  
zaman Hami Millate Rasulur  
Rahman*

**Reverse:** *Abul Muzaffar  
Muhammad Shah Bin Bahman*

هذا المسجد احوج عباد الله الى رحمته ومغفرته  
وبالهامه اللطيف وتوفيقه الشريف رفيع بن شمس  
بن منصور القزويني في عهد السلطان المعظم  
القهرمان المكرم ابي المظفر محمد شاه السلطان  
بن السلطان شيد الله اركان دولته داعيا منه  
التجنب عن السمعة والريا راجيا منه القبول  
بالرحمة والرضا في الرابع من شهر الاول سنة  
تسع وستين وسبعمائة والله اعلم بالصواب

*Epigraph No. 2 Courtesy- EIM 1907-1908*

### Inscriptional Analysis

In the present epitaph the ruler was honored with various titles. In the first inscription it is inscribed as *As-sultan Al- Muazzam Al- Qahraman Al- Mukkaram Muhammad Shah As-sultan Bin As-sultan*.

*As-sultan* is a Persianized Arabic title literally meaning authority/ sovereign for autonomous rulers since the Abbasid era of Islamic history. The title was used by Delhi Sultans and the provincial sultans. However, the pattern had been perpetuated by the first Bahmani Sultans as well. Muhammad Shah did not engrave the phrase on coins, but he did engrave it on his epigraphs. Interestingly the legend *Al-muazzam Al- qahraman Al- mukkaram* are new words in the inscription and have never been noticed on the coin inscription while other title is commonly used.

*Al Muazzam* is an Arabic word which means honored respected and great. The term was used by Delhi Sultans on their coins. Iltutmish was the first ruler to inscribe it on his coins and followed by his successors, whereas, Bahmani rulers had not used the term on their coins. It's the first evidence of the term in epigraphs.

*Al Qahraman* is the Persian word used for hero. A prose has been composed in Persian in the name of *Qahraman-e- Qatil*. It's romance of chivalry and

adventure<sup>524</sup>. It's a popular term in Persian, and Bahmani Sultans were patrons of the Persian language culture and literature. *Al- mukkaram* is a Perso- Arabic title which means honorable and generous. The vary title was used by Mughals. Therefore, he had used all these titles to show himself a great and powerful king.

In this inscription we can contrast two types of information first it confirms that Muhammad Shah was the believer of *Sunni* faith of Islam, secondly his *kuniyah* and *laqab* was '*Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah*'. Similar *kuniya* and *laqab* were inscribed on his all coins. The full legends on the coins can be read as, *Muhammad Shah as Sultan Ibn- Sultan* on the side and *Sultan-ul Ahde Wa Zaman Abul Muzaffar* on the other side<sup>525</sup>.

Besides, its similarities of *Kunya* and *Laqab* there is not found similarity in calligraphical style. The coins were inscribed in *Rayhani* style of calligraphy while epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The inscription was denoted in the praise of Allah which needs his kindness and forgiveness and mercy, as well as his loving guidance. The inscribed praises to Allah is for the strengthen of the kingdom. Altogether he shows his great piousness to Allah which is biggest pillar of Muslims, 'to be faith in Allah'. Therefore, the coin inscription, *Sultan-ul Ahad Wa-zaman Hami Millate Rasulur Rahman* strengthen our assumption of his piousness.

## **Inscription No. 2**

### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>526</sup> is found in central mihrab of the Eidgah at Daulatabad, in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. The inscription is decorated by *Thuluth* characters and in Persian Language. It mentions that the *Namazgah* was constructed during the reign of Muhammad Shah by Ulug Qutlugh Bahram Khan in 1359 AD.

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<sup>524</sup> Ulrich Marzolph, "Persian Popular Literature in the Qajar Period", *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 60, No. 2, 2001, p. 215-236.

<sup>525</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 292 (BH 27).

<sup>526</sup> A. A. Kadiri, "Inscriptions of the Bahmani's of Deccan", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moslemica), 1964, p. 21.

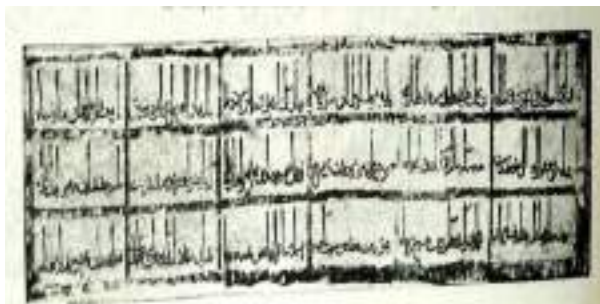
## Description of the coin and Epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *Abul Muzaffar*

**Reverse:** *Ibn Bahman Shah  
Shah As-sultan*

Courtesy- Numista



نماز گاه همایون زعون و فضل اله بشکل طرفه  
مدار دنیا سلطان مشرق و در آمد بعهد ظل الله  
بنا مغرب جهان کشا محمد شه ابن شاهنشاه  
نهاد الغ قتلغ زمان و زمین یل معظم بهر امخخان  
بماه فرخ شوال و سال هفصد و ستاره سپا  
شست چه مه که سال دگر آورد چهارم  
ماه

*Epigraph No. 3 Courtesy- EIM 1964*

## Inscriptural Analysis

This inscription mentioned the ruler as,

در آمد بعهد ظل الله مدار دنیا سلطان مشرق و مغرب جهان کشا محمد شه ابن شاهنشاه

*Dar Amad Baahd Zill-ul Allah madar-e- duniya Sultan Mashriq wa Maghrib Jahan  
Kusha Muhammad Shah ibn Shahanshah*

The legdns means the shadow of Allah, the pivot of world, ruler of the east and west, world conqueror, Muhammad Shah son of the late emperor.

In this inscription ruler was mentioned as Zill-ul- Allah (ظل الله) Shadow of God, and conqueror of east and west, the particular inscription does not match with coin inscription, but, the last part of inscription, محمد شه ابن شاهنشاه (the son of the emperor) some way matches with the coins inscription as it is inscribed as محمد شاه محمد شاه بن بهمن شاه السلطان (Muhammad Shah bin Bahman Shah as Sultan) which are similar to coin inscription<sup>527</sup>. The inscription also bears the *Hijri* dates in Arabic words 760 AH, and the same date in numerals is also noticed on the copper coins of

<sup>527</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 293, (BH 37).`

Muhammad Shah. Besides, its similarities of names of the rulers there is not found similarity in calligraphical style. The coins were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy whereas epigraphs were inscribed in *Thuluth* style of calligraphy. There is no religious information is mentioned in this inscription.

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

This inscription<sup>528</sup> is in Persian, found in the outer northern wall of a well near the tomb of Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad Sirajuddin Junaidi, at Gulbarga. It was inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. It records the constructions of the well by the Amir of Turks, Abu Muhammad Tabrizi, under the supervision of Khwaja Kabir, a descendent of Muhammad Khalkhali in 1367 AD. During the reign of Muhammad Shah, son of Bahman Shah. Nothing is known about the builder and the supervisor beyond what is inscribed in the epitaph.

#### Description of the coin and Epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *Abul Muzaffar  
Muhammad Shah*

**Reverse:** *Ibn Bahman Shah Shah  
As-sultan*

Courtesy- Numista



Epigraph No. 4 Courtesy, EIM 1964

خاصه آن صاحب جودی که بنا کرد ز اخلاص  
مسجدی را که شده از برکت طاق بگیهان  
.....شده دهر و سلیمان زمانه که عیان  
گشت ز ملکش همه ملک سلیمان  
شاه دین پرور و دیندار محمد شه اعظم  
.....جهانگیر جهان بخش جهان بان  
گشت چون هفتصد هشتاد و یک از روی سنین  
شد عمارت.....از کرم و رحمت یزدان

<sup>528</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964, p. 23

## Inscriptional Analysis

The inscription recorded the name of the ruler and his father. The epitaph described him as

زمانه محمد شه بن بهمن شاه هست مهر جهان تاب و سایه یزدان  
*Zamanah Muhammad Shah Bin Bahman Shah Hast Mahar-e- Jahan Taab w Saya Yazdan...*

The king of the time *Muhammad Shah son of Bahman Shah*, and distributor of the world dispenser of justice of the age, shadow of God.

The name and the title of the king are the only similarity between epitaph and coin. In both the places the title *Muhammad Shah bin Bahman Shah* have been inscribed. The full legend can be read as, *Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah bin Bahman Shah*<sup>529</sup>. Besides, the similarities in names of the rulers there is similarity in calligraphical style as the inscription in both the places are inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. Like previous epitaph, this inscription too does not mention any religious information.

## Inscription No. 4

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The fourth inscription<sup>530</sup> is found in the Dargah of Hazrat Burhanuddin at Khuldabad in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. It is inscribed in Persian verse and in *Naskh* characters. It records the construction of a well, by Khan-i- Azam Asdar Khan in 1370-71 AD during the reign of Muhammad Shah I.

### Description of the coin and Epitaph Inscription:



**Obverse:** *Abul Mughazi*

**Reverse:** *Muhammad Shah*

Courtesy- Marudhar Art

<sup>529</sup> Stan Goron an Goenka, op. cit. p. 293, (BH 37).

<sup>530</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. p. 21.



Epigraph No. 5 Courtesy - EIM, 1964

شد این باین بنا لیکن چه باین که دیگر  
 هم مناسب نیست یا این  
 بعهد دولت شاه محمد که عمرش باد  
 افزون یا رب آمین  
 جهانگیر زمان اسکندر عهد که سایه پای  
 تختش فرق پروین  
 عز و تمکین

### Inscriptional Analysis

In the inscription Muhammad Shah I was honored with the titles,

بعهد دولت شاه محمد جهانگیر زمان اسکندر عهد که سایه پای تختش فرق پروین

*Ba Ahde Daulat Shah Muhammad Jahnagir Zamana-e Askandar Ahade kah Sayad Paye Takhtash Farq-e- Parwin*

The conqueror of the time and Alexander of the age and also mention that his foot touches the forehead of Pleiades. From this inscription he tried to explain the king's sovereignty and superiority throughout the reign. With this statement it became clear that his period was full of success, and happiness. Although he had not used the title Alexander on his coins, but it was found mentioned in his epigraphic evidence, which very clearly define his power in his period. Although his silver coins<sup>531</sup> bear the inscription as 'Abul Mughazi Muhammad Shah' father of conqueror Muhammad Shah. In the epitaph he was called as conqueror of the time. There is similarity in the meaning of the coin and epitaph inscription.

Besides, its similarities, there is found similarity in calligraphical style. The coins and epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy and no religious information is mentioned.

### Inscription No. 5

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription:

The inscriptional<sup>532</sup> slab is fixed over the main gate of the Bari Masjid in Gulbarga. It was in Persian lines and verse was executed in *Naskh* and *Tughra* styles of

<sup>531</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 293, (BH 33).

<sup>532</sup> A. Kadiri, op. cit. p. 21.

calligraphy. The epigraph states that a mosque and a well were constructed by Rajab son of Jalal, an official of high status, in 1372 AD., during the reign of Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



#### اللہ کی تعریفیں

ظل اللہ فی الارضین خلیفۃ الرحمن امیر ذو الامن و  
الامان لاهل الایمان وارث ملک سلیمان ابو المظفر  
محمد شاہ السلطان بن السلطان خلد اللی ملکہ و  
سلطانہ و اعلی امرہ و شانہ این مسجد فرقد سا.  
تاریخ پنجم ماہ ربیع الاول سال بر ہفتصد ہفتاد  
چہار از ہجرت نبی مختار خاتم المرسلین رسول

Epigraph No. 6 Courtesy – EIM, 1964

### Inscriptional Analysis

The epitaph inscription records the title of the ruler as

ظل اللہ فی الارضین خلیفۃ الرحمن امیر ذو الامن و الامان لاهل الایمان ملک سلیمان ابو المظفر محمد  
شاہ السلطان بن السلطان خلد اللی ملکہ و سلطانہ

*Zill-ul- Allah Fi Arzaine Khalifatu Ar-Rahman Amir Zul Aman Wal Amani Li Ahlil  
Iman Mulk Sulaiman Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Assultan Bin Assultna  
Khllad- Allahu wa Mulkahu wa Sultnahu.*

That means shadow of Allah in the worlds (the present world and the world after death) vicegerent of the merciful, leader who provides peace and security to the believer's heir to the kingdom of Solomon, *Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah the Sultan, son of the Sultan.*

The coins of Muhammad Shah were issued with a common title such as *Abul Muzaffar* and followed by honorific titles like, *Sultna-ul Ahad Waz -zaman, Binna Dinal Lah, Abul Mughazi, Al Hakim... Allah, Al Muwayyaed Be Nasrillah, Abd Illallah* etc. whereas in epitaph he called himself as *Zillullah fi Ar-zaine* means shadow of Allah in both the worlds, vicegerent of the merciful, he considered himself as the leader who provides peace and security to the believers.



The particular title *امير ذو الامن و الامان لاهل الايمان* found inscribed in the epitaph, was not noticed on the coins of Muhammad Shah but the same title was inscribed on the coins of his successor Mujahid Shah<sup>533</sup>.

It bears *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* in the name of Allah, the most merciful, the most benevolent. Muslims begins their all actions with these words, to remember that everything is for his sake and begins in Allah's name in the hope that will be successful rewarded and blessed.

### **5.2.3 Muhammad Shah II (AH 780-799/1378-1397 AD)**

Muhammad Shah II had issued coins in gold silver and copper. His gold coins inscribed as, *Al Muqtafi Be Awamir Rahman Al- mustarshid Billah Al Mannan Annasir Li Alwiyat Al Ahsan Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah As-sultan* while silver coins bear the legends, *Annasirudinud Dayyan Al Hami Li Ahlil Iman Al- wasiq Batidir Rahman Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah As-sultan* and his copper coins bear another legend, "*Muhammad Mahmud Abde Mahmud*."

His three epigraphic inscriptions have been studied which were gathered from various places such as from mosques in Gulbarga, Ashur Khana and Raichur. These inscriptions however, do not bear the similar inscription of coins but *kunya* and *laqabs* were same. The data gathered from epitaphs can be classified into the following groups.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>534</sup> is noticed in Sagar (Nusratabad). It is earliest record of the reign of Muhammad Shah II and is dated 793 AH. It records the building of an inn and an enclosure (the town walls) under the order of the king by the Kotwal whose name was Mubarak. The inscriptional tablet is fixed in the southern wall of a building styled the Ashur Khana, which is situated to the North West of Hazrat

<sup>533</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 295, (BH 52).

<sup>534</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions of Shahpur, Gogi and Sagar, Gulbarga District", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In Continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moselmica), 1931. p. 9.

Munawwar Badshah's shrine. The inscription consists of Persian verses written in *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

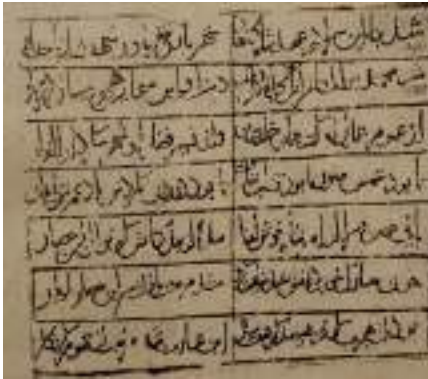
### Description of the coin and epitaph inscription



**Obverse:** *Al Muqtafi be Awamir  
Ar Rahman Al Mustarshid Billah  
Al Mannan*

**Reverse:** *Annasir Li Alwiyat Al  
Ahsan Abul Muzaffar Muhammad  
Shah As-sultan*

Courtesy: Marudhar Art



Epigraph No. 7 Courtesy- EIAPS 1931

شد بناً این سرا در عهد شاه کامگار شهریار تیغ یاور  
شهنشاه تاجدار  
شه محمد ابوالمظفر آنک گاه فضل ..... دست ار ابر  
سختیست .....  
از عموم عدل او کشته جهان خلد برین و از نسیم فضل  
او شهر سکو دارالقرار

### Inscriptural Analysis

The epitaph records the name and titles of the ruler as

در عهد شاه کامگار شهریار تیغ یاور شهنشاه تاجدار شه محمد ابوالمظفر...

*Dar Ahad Shah Kamgar Shahriar Teeg yawar Shahan Shah Tajdar Shah  
Muhammad Abul Muzaffar.*

That means he was the powerful king and wielder as sword and a wearer of crown *Muhammad Shah Abul Muzaffar*. The epitaph very clearly mentioned the name and *kunya* of the rulers; *Muhammad Shah Abul Muzaffar*. The same mentioned titles were noticed on his gold and silver coins<sup>535</sup>. Similarities apart, it also noticed a new type of calligraphy '*Muhaqqaq*' on the coins whereas the epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. There is not found any mention of religious faith.

<sup>535</sup> Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 295, (BH 51, BH 52).

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>536</sup> is carved near the tomb of Hazrat Sufi Sarmast<sup>537</sup> situated near a tank about a mile to the north of Sagar. The epigraph consists of Persian verse, and the date of the erection of the building is mentioned in the last line. It was inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

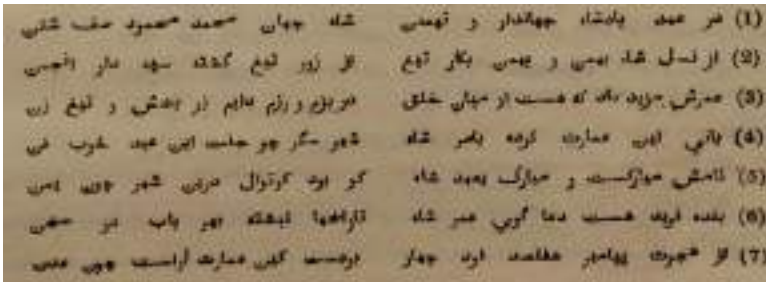
### Description of the coin and Epitaph



**Obverse:** *Muhammad Mahmud*

**Reverse:** *Abde Mabud*

Courtesy - IIRNS



*Epigraph No. 8. Courtesy- EIAPS 1931*

### Inscriptural Analysis

The inscription records the name of the ruler as

بادشاه جهاندار و تهمن شاه جهان محمد محمود از نسل شاه بهمن و بهمن

<sup>536</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p. 11

<sup>537</sup> S K Aruni, "Sagar Provincial Headquarters of the Islamic Deccan", *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute*, Vol. 56-57, 1996-1997, pp. 219-229.

*Bad Shah Jahandar wa Tahmatan Shah Jahan Muhammad Mahmud* from the descendent of *Shah Bahman wa Bahman*.

He had used the title '*Jahandar*' which is of Persian origin means possessor of the world. The full name of the king being in epitaph is Muhammad Mahmud that is corroborated by the inscriptions of his copper coin<sup>538</sup>. With this information before us it is not difficult to tackle the secret of the appellation, for the word Muhammad has unmistakably of genitive consummation and just implies that he was the child of Prince Mahmud son of Bahman Shah. Haig<sup>539</sup> had called the ruler as Muhammad Shah II. Besides, its similarities there is found similarity in calligraphical style. The coins as well as epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy and no religious information is noticed.

### **Inscription No. 3**

#### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>540</sup> is noticed in the mosque of Shah Bazar Mahalla at Gulbarga which was in Persian verse and beautified by *Naskh* style of calligraphy. It records that the construction of a mosque took place between 11 December 1379 AD. And 9<sup>th</sup> January 1380 AD. During the reign of Muhammad Shah II.

#### **Description of the coin and Epitaph Inscription**



**Obverse:** *Al- muqtafi be Awamir  
Ar- Rahman Al- mustarshid Billah  
Al- mannan*

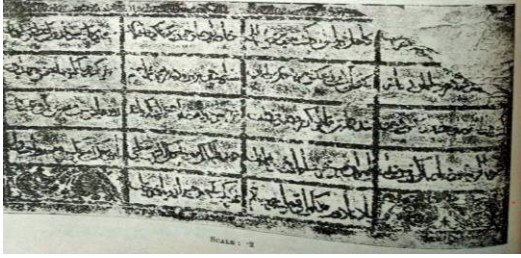
**Reverse:** *An-nasir Li Alwiyat Al  
Ahsan Abul Muzaffar Muhammad  
Shah As-sultan*

. Courtesy: Marudhar Art

<sup>538</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op.cit. p. 295, (BH 53).

<sup>539</sup> Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, 1928. p. 384.

<sup>540</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964. p. 21.



Epigraph No. 9 Courtesy: EIAPS 1964

این مسجد مبارک و ..... اهل دین  
 کز ..... بر آسمان زمین  
 در عهد شهر یاد جهاندار دین پناه سلطان کے  
 جم نگین  
 شاه جهان محمد کز سعی او شد است ارکان  
 شرع عالی بنیاد ذو  
 سنین ..... در سال  
 هفصد و نود و هفت شد تمام میمون مکان از

### Inscriptional Analysis

The third epitaph mentioned the ruler as

ملک سلیمان شاه دین پرور و دیندار محمد شه اعظم ..... جهانگیر جهان بخش جهان بان

*Mulke Sulaiman Shah Deene Parwar wa Deendar Muhammad Shah Azam Jahnagir Jahan Bakhsh Jahan Ban* (the king of the world and Solomon of the time.

The faith nourishing and religious minded king Muhammad Shah, the great ruler of the world conquering world bestowing and world protecting).

The title *Malik Sulaiman*, had not been used by him on his coins. Both the terms were in Arabic. *Malik* means king, ruler and *Sulaiman* means man of peace. *Jahangir Jahan* is a Persian word which made up of two words, *Jahan* means world and *gir* means to seize, to grab. Thus, it became Jahangir, conqueror of the world and forgiver<sup>541</sup>. He considered himself the ruler of peace, religious, pious and conqueror.

On his coins he had used religious titles denoting his faith to Allah like *Al-muqtafi be Awamir Rahman Al-mustarshid Bil-lah Al-mannan, An-nasirud- Dinud- Dayan Al-hami li-ahlil Iman Al-wasiq be Taidir- Rahman*, and same meaning or faith of the king could be extract from epigraphic inscription as in the epitaph he inscribed the words like *دین پرور و دیندار*. There is no similarity in calligraphical style. The coins are inscribed in *Muhaqqaq* style of calligraphy whereas epigraphs are inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

### 5.2.4 Tajuddin Firoz Shah (AH 800-825/ 1397/1422 AD)

Tajuddin Firoz Shah had inscribed religious inscriptions such as *Al Mustansir Billah*' with the title, *Al- wasiq Ba-taid-ir- rahman Abu'l Muzaffar Firoz Shah As-sultan* on his gold coins. A few rare coins are reported with *Kalima*. The silver and

<sup>541</sup> <https://www.definitions.net/definition/jahangir>.

copper coins were inscribed with various other legends. Three epigraphic inscriptions of Firoz Shah have been studied.

## Inscription No. 1

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The earliest inscription<sup>542</sup> of Tajuddin Firoz Shah comes from Manvi, Raichur district. The epigraph reported to be fixed above the door of a mosque. The inscription is in Persian verses and inscribed in *Naskh* calligraphy. The inscription records about the Bahmani king's campaign in the doab and their success. The epigraph refers to the conquest of the fort, evidently Manvi, by Abul Fath Firoz Shah Bahmani, who further, placed Malik Safdar, the chief of the chiefs as in charge.

### Description of Coin and Epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *Raji Rizwan*  
*Muuhaimini*  
**Reverse:** *Firoz Shah*  
*Bahmani*  
Courtesy- IIRNS



هو العلام بحمد الله از حکم پروردگار : ز بتخانه  
شد مسجد دین شعاریعسر شهنشاه کشور کشاه: شه  
دین پنه خسرو تاجدار جوان ملک فیروز شاه بهمنی  
که در باغ دینست از نو بهار  
ابو الفتاح شاهی که بر پشت امپ بیک عزم دل فلح  
کرد این حصاربس از فتح شاهنشاه این قلعه یافت  
سر سرودان صفدر روزدر بنا ساز این سجدبگاه  
شریف محمد ظهیر اقهی دین مدا  
بهیصد نه از هجرت مصطفا بنا کرده چون کعبه این  
یادگار

*Epigraph No. 10 Courtesy- EIAPS 1961-1962*

### Inscriptural Analysis

The ruler was honored with the title

عسر شهنشاه کشور کشاه: شه دین پنه خسرو تاجدار ابو الفتاح شاهی

*Asre Shahan Shah Kishwar Kusha Shah Deen Panah Khusarau Tajdar Abul Fatah*

<sup>542</sup> A A Kadiri, "Bahmani Inscriptions from the Raichur District", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1961-1962, p. 53.

The ruler was honored with the titles, conqueror of the world, asylum of faith Firoz Shah Bahmani, father of victory.

He had issued coins with a common *kunya* 'Abul Muzaffar' with his name Tajudduniya Waddin, with the addition of different types of honorific titles. He honored himself with titles as *Al Wasiq Ba taidir Rahman, Al Mustansir Bil-lah Al Mannan, Sultan-ul ahad wa-zaman, Raji Rizwan Muhaimini, Al Hakim Be Amrillah and Barguzidah Billah etc.* However, in the epitaph of his reign he mentions as the conqueror of the world, emperor, the king who is the asylum of Faith and possessor spring of the crown, whose kingdom is young (flourishing) Firoz Shah Bahmani, who is the cause of exuberant spring in the garden of religion

Ferishta and modern historians Rafiuddin Shirazi, H.K. Sherwani, considered him as generous and pious and best sultan of the Bahmani dynasty. His piousness can be understood from his legends used on coins as well as in epigraphs. In this epigraph he had used two *kunyah*, *Abul Muzaffar* and *Abul Fath*. The *kunyah Abul Fath* is generally do not find place on his coins. But use of *Abul fath* in his epigraph may be understood as he had used this *kunyah* to celebrate his victory of Doab.

There is similarity in calligraphical style in both the sources. The inscription in coins and epigraphs are inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The epitaph starts with the name of Allah and devoting thanks to Allah and said that from the house it became a mosque of religion.

## **Inscription No. 2**

### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>543</sup> of Firoz Shah studied here was found in the Shah Dongri Masjid in Momin Mahalla at Miraj in Sangli district of Maharashtra. The inscription is inscribed in Arabic and Persian verses and calligraphed it by *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

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<sup>543</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964. p. 21.

## Description of the Coin and Epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *Sultan-ul-Ahad Waz-zaman Al-wasiq Ba-taidir Rahman*

**Reverse:** *Abul Muzaffar Tajudduniya Waddin Firoz Shah Assultan*

Courtesy- IIRNS



Epigraph No. 11 Courtesy- EIAPS 1964

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله لا اله الا هو هاب يا  
 وهاب الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه.....  
 سنه و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
 من الذى يشفع عنده الا يا انه يعلم ما بين  
 يوده حفظهما و هو العلى المعظم  
 السلطان العهد و الزمان تاج الدنيا و الدين ابو  
 المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان  
 فرمايش بنده درگاه خدايگان سهيل سلطاني كوتو  
 و البك شهر مشهور

## Inscriptional Analysis

In the second inscription the title of the ruler was mentioned as

هو العلى المعظم السلطان العهد و الزمان تاج الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان

*Ali-ul- Muazzam As-sultan Al ahad waz-zaman Taj-ud-duniya waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Firoz Shah as-sultan.*

The title used in the epigraph is similar to the title used on his silver coins<sup>544</sup>, inscribed as *As-sulatan-ul ahad waz-zaman Al wasiq Ba-taidir Rahman Abu'l-Muzaffar Taj-ud-duniya waddin Firoz Shah As-sultan.*

The coins inscriptions were inscribed in *Rayhani* style of calligraphy whereas epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh*. Therefore, there is no similarity in calligraphical styles. The epitaphs start with the praises to Allah that he is omniscient and also inscribed *As-maul Husna* and verses from Quran, '*Ayatul Kursi*'

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله لا اله الا هو هاب يا وهاب الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه.....

<sup>544</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 297, (BH 62).



سنه و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
”من ذا الذى يشفع عنده الا يا ذنه يعلم ما بين

The meaning of this *Ayat's* is “Allah there is no deity except Him, the ever living, the sustained of all existence; neither drowsiness overtakes him nor sleep. To him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Who is it that can intercede with Him except by his permission? He knows what is presently and what will be before them and what will be after them”. The epitaphs were ended with a prayer for the intermediary who offers prayers, recites the Quran there.

The representation of *Ayatul Kursi* in epitaph is the first reference before that we didn't notice the same *Ayats* on the epitaph. However, the *Ayats* on epitaph and *Kalima Shahada* on coins represented the king, Tajuddin Firoz Shah as one of the most pious rulers of Bahmani dynasty.

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>545</sup> is inscribed in entrance of the mosque in Firozabad; it contains the text in Arabic. It states about the construction of mosque. The text ends with a prayer for the intermediary and the builder as also for one who strives for keeping it in a fair condition, who offers prayers, recites the Quran there in and prays for the builder and the intermediary.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انشأ هذا المسجد  
المبارك السلطان الاعظم المعظم افضل  
سلاطين العرب و العجم ابو المظفر تاج الدنيا و  
الدين فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و  
سلطانه فى سلخ شهر المبارك رجب سنه ثمانو  
ثمانية و كان سبب انشائه العبد الفقير الى الله  
تعالى احمد بن حسيني الحصنى كيفى غفر الله

Epigraph No. 12 Courtesy: EIAPS 1972

<sup>545</sup> Akbaruddin Siddiqi, “Two Unique Inscriptions of the Bahmani Period from Firozabad”, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1972. p. 39.

### Inscriptional Analysis

The inscription recorded the ruler's titles as,

السلطان الاعظم المعظم افضل سلاطين العرب و العجم ابو المظفر تاج الدنيا و الدين فيروز شاه السلطان  
 خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

*As-sultan Al-azam Al-muazzam Afzal-us-salateen Al Arab wa Ajam Abul Muzaffar Tajud-duniya waddin Firoz Shah As-sultan Khaldallah Mulka hu wa Sultanahu.*

The titles means that the ruler was the Sultans of Arabia and Ajam (other Islamic countries), Abul Muzaffar (Father of the victorious) Tajud-duniya-waddin (crown of the state and the faith), Firoz Shah the sultan May Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty.

The titles *As-sultan al-azam Al-muazzam* had been used on coins by Delhi Sultans very vividly. the inscription in epithet bears the word *Afzal*, is an epithet used for a learned man which means best of all. *Salateen* is plural of Arabic word Sultan, which means king. The title of *Salateen* was used by medieval rulers of India and Muslim rulers of other countries. *Al Ajam* refers to Iran. The term was used by the Ottoman to refer to the Safavid dynasty<sup>546</sup>.

The inscription clearly assigns the construction of the mosque to the Sultan. The king's titles, *Tajud-duniya waddin* and *Kunyah Abul Muzaffar*<sup>547</sup> are used, as found on his coins<sup>548</sup>. However, the present inscription also uses for him a set of high-sounding epithets like the greatest and the magnificent Sultan and the lord of Arabia and Ajam.

The coins inscriptions were inscribed in *Rayhani*<sup>549</sup> style of calligraphy whereas epigraphs were inscribed in *Tughra* style of calligraphy. Therefore, there is no similarity in calligraphical styles.

<sup>546</sup><https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ajam#:~:text='Ajam%20was%20used%20by%20the,refer%20to%20the%20Shia%20Persians.>

<sup>547</sup> The Manvi inscription which is in Persian verse uses the Kunya Abul Fath (father of victory) which seems to have been used by the composer in place of Abul Muzaffar (father of victorious) due to exigencies of meter.

<sup>548</sup> H N Wright, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II Oxford 1907. p. 199.

<sup>549</sup> Danish Moin, *Islamic Calligraphy on Medieval Indian Coins*, 2019, p. 52

It bears بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ as mentioned earlier that Muslims generally begin their action with these pious words. Beginning in Allah's name in the hope that will be successful rewarded and blessed.

### 5.2.5 Shahabuddin Ahmad Shah I (Wali) (AH 825-838/1422-1435 AD)

Shahabuddin Ahmad Shah I was a religious and pious ruler. He minted coins in silver and copper with various types of legends. Silver coins are inscribed with a single legend, *As-sulatan Al- adil Al- bazil An-nasir Din-ud-dayyan Abul Mughazi Shahabud-duniya waddin Ahmad Shah As-sultan*, while his copper coins were issued with four different types of inscriptions. The detail study of the inscription has been done in the previous chapter.

Two epigraphic inscriptions have been selected for the present study which were gathered from mosque at Rauza, and in the tomb of Ahmad Shah. The data gathered from epitaphs can be classified as under:

#### Inscription No. 1

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>550</sup> is found in city walls of Sagar. The tablet on which the inscription is inscribed is now built into the prayer niche of an old mosque at Rauza, a suburb of Sagar. The inscription consists of Persian verses, composed by one Muhammad Fakhr. The style of calligraphy is *Naskh*. The epitaphs explain about the construction of mosques and building and tombs. It also contains the victory verses and names of the rulers with dates.

##### Description of Coin and Epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *As- sultan Al-adil Al Badhil Al Nasirud Di-Nud Dayyan Abul Mughazi*

**Reverse:** *Shahabudduniya Waddin Ahmad Shah as sultan*  
Courtesy- Marudhar Art

<sup>550</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, 1931-1932. op. cit. p.15.



Epigraph No. 13 Courtesy- 1931-1932

بحمد الله ز عين عون علام بامر بادشاه ملك اسلام  
ستوده حامى شرع حجازى شهابالدين احمد شاه غازيد  
بهار باغ بهمن شاه مغفور خدایا زين چمن چشم خزان  
دور  
ز هجرت بود هيصد و بيست و نه راست كے اين  
دروازه سمت كعبه شد آراست  
شد از دارد تعمير... اين عمارت كه هست او كوتوال با  
عدالت  
محمد فخر كين سلک كهر ساخت ز بهر زيور تاريخ  
پرداخت  
الها اين حصار نصرت آباد الى يوم التناد اباديش ... باد

### Inscriptional Analysis

The epitaph mentioned the full name of the ruler as

شهابالدين احمد شاه غازيد بهار باغ بهمن شاه مغفور خدایا

*Shahabuddin Ahmad Shah Ghazid Bahar bagh Bahman Shah Maghfur Khudya.*

Shahabuddin Ahmad Shah Ghazi along with that it's also mentioned about his genealogy, that he was the bloom of Bahman Shah. It is cleared that he was the son of Ahmad Khan one of the sons of Bahman Shah. The full name and the title were collaborated with the coin inscription on silver and the epigraphs. Besides he had inscribed a new title on his silver coins which makes him more religious, pious and powerful. In the silver coins<sup>551</sup> his full name *Abul Mughazi Shahabud-duniya waddin Ahmad Shah As-sultan* has been inscribed while in his copper coin<sup>552</sup> the name of his grandfather *Al Hasan* was inscribed.

The coins inscriptions were inscribed in *Naskh* as well as *Thuluth* style of calligraphy whereas epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh*. Therefore, there is found minor similarity in calligraphical styles. The epitaph starts with the praises of Allah and his messenger.

<sup>551</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 299, (BH 71)

<sup>552</sup> Ibid, (BH 72).

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph

The inscription<sup>553</sup> is found carved on the tomb of Ahmad Shah Al Wali Bahmani at Bidar, engraved in *Tughra and Thuluth*, style of calligraphy. The epitaph contains the victory verses, the name of the king, and dates of his accession to the throne.

### Description of Coin and Epitaph the Inscription



Epigraph No. 14 Courtesy: EIAPS 1925-1926

### Inscriptional Analysis

The inscriptions contain very detailed information of the ruler as it recorded the name and titles. the ruler was honored with the titles, *As-sultan Al-salatin Afzal Khlifa-tullah Fil- alamin Al- wasiq Bataidir- rahman Abul Mughazi Shihabud-duniya waddin Ahmad Shah Al- wali Al- Bahmani* Along with the Inscriptional Analysis it is also stated that the affairs of government were entrusted to Ahmad Shah in 825 AH (1422 AD) and expired on the night of Tuesday, 839 AH (1436 AD). The title *Al Wasiq Bataidir Rahman* is not found on his coins but the other part of the legend *Abul Mughazi Shihabudduniya Waddin Ahmad Shah* is found on his silver coins. However, in history he was well known as Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, but the term ‘Wali’ was not inscribed on his coins while it was inscribed after his death on the tomb epitaph.

The coins inscription was engraved in *Naskh* style of calligraphy and tombs inscriptions were engraved with more than two styles of calligraphy, *Tughra*, and *Thuluth* style of calligraphy. There is no trace of *Naskh* style of calligraphy on the tomb. Thus, there is no similarity in calligraphical style. The epitaph starts with the praises of Allah and his messenger.

<sup>553</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar Its History and Monuments*, London. 1944, p.114, also EIM, 1925-1926, 21.

### 5.2.6 Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (AH 838-862/ 1435-1457 AD)

Different types of inscriptions are noticed on his coinage. The gold coins bear the legends as *As-sultan Al- qawi Al- isalm Jami Al- fazal wal Adl wal- ahsan* on one side and *Abul Muzaffar Alaudduniya Waddin Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah Al Wali Bahmani* on the other side. His silver coin bears the legends, *As-sultan Al- halim Al- karim Ar- rauf Ali Ibadullah Al- ghani Al Muhaimini* on the one side, while other side inscribed the legend mentioned in his gold coins. The copper coins were inscribed with various types of legends, discussed in the previous chapter.

Three epigraphic inscriptions have been studied for the present research

#### Inscription No. 1

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>554</sup> is found in Bidar, near the shrine of Shah Khalilullah. It was inscribed in Persian verses and scripted in *Naskh* characters. It bears a record of Sultan Alauddin Ahmad's reign, mentioning about the building of a charitable institution by Nasir Khan in 1446 AD. During the reign of Alauddin, son of Ahmad Shah, who had descended from Bahman and Faridun.

##### Description of the coin and Epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *As-sultan Al-Halim Al-karim Ar-Rauf Ali Ibadullaah Al-Ghani Al-Muhaimini*  
**Reverse:** *Abul Muzaffar Al-uddunya Waddin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al-Wali al-Bahmani*

Courtesy- Marudhar Art

<sup>554</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions of Bidar", *Epigraphia Indo Moselmica*, 1927-1928. p. 20.



Epigraph No. 15 . Courtesy 1927-1928

کھ این بالین موزون مرنب شد برقت معد و میمون  
 ز هجرت بود هیصد سال و پنجه نهم تاریخ ماه رب  
 بیچین  
 بعهد بادشاه بو المظفر علاالدین شاه ربع مسکون  
 شهنشاه احمد ابن شاه احمد که دست از نصل بهمن و از  
 فریدون  
 نیابش کرد مجموع ممالک که قدرش برنرسست از اوج  
 کردون  
 نصیر ابن علا خانشه کے دارد فضایل بیحد و خیرات  
 افزون

### Inscriptional Analysis

The first epitaph mentioned that the charitable institution was built during the reign of the Ahmad Shah II inscribed as,

بادشاه بو المظفر علاالدین شاه ربع مسکون شهنشاه احمد ابن شاه احمد که دست از نصل بهمن و از  
 فریدون

*Bad Shah Abul Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Shah Ahmad Nasal Bahman.*

From the epitaph a small pedigree was noticed the same pedigree is also found on his coins<sup>555</sup>. Therefore, it had the similarity in the titles of the rulers. It had also the similarity in calligraphical style. Both the inscriptions, coin and epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy and no religious information is mentioned in this epigraph.

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>556</sup> of Alauddin Ahmad Shah II found on the tomb near the Masjid-i- Langar Khana at Gulbarga. It was inscribed in Arabic. The inscriptions states that the tomb of a saint Haji Zaida of Maragha, a disciple of the eminent saint Sayyidi

<sup>555</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 300, (BH 83).

<sup>556</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964. p. 35.

Ahmad al Kabir was constructed in Shawal A.H 837, (434 AD), during the reign of Alauddin Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah.

### Description of the coin and Epitaph Inscription



Courtesy- Marudhar art

**Obverse:** *Al-Mutasim Bi-Hailul  
Lallah Al-Mannan Sammi Khalilur  
Rahman Abul Muzaffar*

**Reverse:** *Alauddunya Wa ddiin  
Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah As-*



Epigraph No. 16 Courtesy- EIAPS 1964

نورالله روحه و ضريحه فى ايام السلطان  
الاعظم علاو الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر احمد شاه  
اين احمد شاه السلطان نصرالله تعالى

فى تاريخ شهر شوال المعظم سنة سبع و ثلاثين  
و ثمانماية من الهجرة النبوية على صاحبها  
افضل الصلوة و السلام

### Inscriptiional Analysis

The epitaph honored the title to the ruler as

السلطان الاعظم علاو الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر احمد شاه اين احمد شاه السلطان نصرالله تعالى

*The great sultan Ala-ud-duniya wad-din Abu'l Muzaffar Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, the Sultan.*

The very title mentioned in the epitaph is as similar as he had inscribed on his gold coins<sup>557</sup>. Another aspect can be extract from the epigraph, that Ahmad Shah II, had started his reign from 837 AH. Thus, this may help to remove uncertainty in the date of the accession of the king. Regarding the date of his death, the contemporary chronicles mentioned that Ahmad Shah I died on the 28<sup>th</sup> Rajab AH, 838, while modern scholars prefer 29<sup>th</sup> or 30<sup>th</sup> Ramazan 839 AH on the basis of the inscription on his tomb at Bidar<sup>558</sup> Haig has pointed that, he might have died between 837 AH-

<sup>557</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. pp. 300.

<sup>558</sup> Sherwani, op. cit. 1946. p. 210.



839 AH. Unfortunately, Yazdani<sup>559</sup> and Bashiruddin<sup>560</sup> published the text of this epigraph without its illustrations and therefore it is difficult to be definite about the year. The inscription published by Ghulam Yazdani stated that “the affairs of govt. were entrusted to Ahmad Shah in 825 AH and he expired on the night of Tuesday the 29<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan 839 AH (1436 AD)”<sup>561</sup>. He had also quoted the date for the death of Ahmad Shah II was 838 AH according to Ferishta and considered it as apparently wrong<sup>562</sup>. Bashiruddin Ahmad had also quoted the same date in the Arabic word in the following epigraphs.

روضة شريفته بسلاطين ظل الله و خليفة في العالمين الواثق بتأييد الله القوي الغازي  
شهاب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه ولي البهمنى قدس الله ارواحه و ضريحه و نور مكانه افوض اليه امر الا  
مارة في سنة خمس و عشرين و ثمانماية<sup>563</sup>

On the other hand, Sherwani, calculated the death of Ahmad Shah II as 837 AH. but he also subsequently accepted the year 839 AH as the date of the death on the basis of the said epigraph. However, many of the modern scholars on the basis of numismatic evidence accepted 838 AH as death date of Ahmad Shah I and beginning of the rule of Ahmad Shah II<sup>564</sup>.

The coins inscriptions were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy and epitaphs inscriptions evident the *Thuluth* style of calligraphy. Therefore, there is not found similarities in calligraphical styles. In the epitaph, a prayer has been inscribed that May Allah illuminate his soul and his grave.

### **Inscription No. 3**

#### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>565</sup> was recorded from the south wall of the old mosque near the tomb of the saint Burhanuddin Gharib at Khuldabad. The epigraph was inscribed in

<sup>559</sup>Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1947, p. 125.

<sup>560</sup> Bashiruddin Ahmad, *Waqiate-i-Mamlekate, Bijapur*, Agra Matba Mufid Am. 1915. Vol. III, p. 125.

<sup>561</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, Ibid. 1947, p. 125.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid.

<sup>563</sup> Bashiruddin Ahmad, ibid.

<sup>564</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 300.

<sup>565</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964. pp. 38-39,

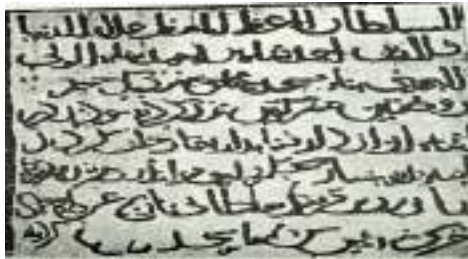
Persian and in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The epigraph credits the late Sultan Ahmad Shah II with the intention of constructing a Jami Mosque in the enclosure of the tombs of the two saints Burhanuddin Gharib, and Zainuddin Shirazi, but before his wish could take a concrete shape, he died. Consequently, the mosque was constructed under the orders of his heir apparent-wali ahd-whose name, it may be noted in particular, is not specified, by Parwiz, son of Qaranfal Sultnai of the previous record. The mosque was completed in 1458 AD.

### Description of the coin and epitaph inscription



**Obverse:** *As-sultan Al-Halim Al-karim Ar-Rauf Ali Ibadullaah Al-Ghani Al-Muhaimini*

**Reverse:** *Abul Muzaffar Al-uddunya Waddin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al-Wali al-Bahmani*  
Courtesy- Marudhar Art



السلطان الاعظم المعظم علاالدنيا و الدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولی البهمنی بنا مسجد جامع لزدیک حضرت روضتین متبر کتین نذر کرده بودند در اثنا آن از دار فنا بدار بقا رحلت کر دند تا بنا نذر ایشان بحکم و ليعهد از دست بنده درگاه یزدانی پرویز قرنفل سلطانی بتاریخ عشر ماه جماد الاخر سنة اثنتین ستین و ثمنمایه مسجد جامع تعمیر گردید.

*Epigraph No. 17. Courtesy- EIAPS 1964*

### Inscriptional Analysis

The third inscription credits the late Sultan Ahmad Shah II titles as

السلطان الاعظم المعظم علاالدنيا و الدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولی البهمنی

*Sultan Ala-ud-duniya waddin Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Al Wali al Bahmani.*

The very title mentioned in the epitaph is similar to the inscription on his silver coins<sup>566</sup>. But the important point to be notice here is that he had used for himself the honorific title *Al-Azam* as well as *Al-Muazzam*, in the epigraph which is not common on his coins. The term *Wali Ahd* also refers that the ruler who had built

<sup>566</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, p. 300 (BH 83).

this mosque was a legal heir of Ahmad Shah II. It is extremely interesting to note that there is a hustle and bustle about the death date of the king. Like Nizamuddin Ahmad said 21<sup>st</sup> Jumada 862 AH. Tabataba makes it close of that month and Ferishta does not give any month at all<sup>567</sup>. Later H K Sherwani after considering these data has come to the conclusion that Ahmad Shah II must have expired before the 18<sup>th</sup> Jumada I<sup>568</sup>. The epitaph under the study seems to corroborate this finding. From the text, it appears that Ahmad Shah II was died for quite some time before the 10<sup>th</sup> Jumada II, the date of the completion of the mosque.

The coins and epigraphs inscriptions were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. Therefore, there is found similarities in calligraphical styles. This inscriptions does not mention any religious messages.

### **5.2.7 Allaudin Humayun Shah (AH 862-866/1458-1461 AD)**

The coins of Alauddin Humayun Shah inscribed very interesting legends. His gold coins were inscribed with a part of *Surah Fateha* on the one side and *Ala-ud-duniya waddin Humyun Shah bin Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah Al Wali Bahmani* on the other. He had also issued gold coins with the legends *Al Mutawakkil Allalah Al Qawi Al Ghani Abul Mughazi*. His copper coins were issued with three different legends.

Two epigraphic inscriptions had been analyzed of the ruler. The inscriptions were gathered from different areas Baoli Qalandhar Shah at Gulbarga, Jami Masjid at Pargi. The data gathered from epitaphs can be classified into the following groups:

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

This a bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) epigraph<sup>569</sup>, which is fixed on the wall of the Baoli Qalandhar Shah at Gulbarga. The Persian portion was inscribed in *Naskh* script of a fairly good type, and the Sanskrit text is written in *Nagari* characters. It

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<sup>567</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964. p. 38-39.

<sup>568</sup> H K Sherwani, op. cit. 1946. pp. 248.

<sup>569</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. p. 40.

seems to record that a step well was constructed in 1458 AD, during the reign of Humayun Shah. The Sanskrit version seems to name the builder as Ijalidevi.

### Description of the coin and epitaph inscription



**Obverse:** *Al Mutawakkil Alal*

*Allah Al Hannan Al Ghani*

**Reverse:** *Humayun Shah Bin*

*Ahmad Shah Al Wali Al Bahmani*

Courtesy- M S Kazi



شکر مر خلاق لایق حمد بی اندازه باد دین متاع  
قیمتی و رایگان هر سو بباد

آمده عهد شه همایون شه بهمن نژاد انک در عهدش  
ذکی ملک فخر راستان

*Epigraph No. 18 Courtesy- EIAPS 1964*

### Inscriptional Analysis

In this epitaph<sup>570</sup> the ruler was entitled as **عهد شه همایون شه بهمن** the time of the king Humayun Shah, descended from Bahman with mention of the date of accession 862 AH. All the coins of Humayun Shah inscribed his name. Therefore, there is a similarity in the name of the ruler. This epitaph could be considered as a stepping stone of Humayun Shah, as it mentions the year, when he had ascended the throne. His coins with the year 862 AH have also been found, which led no confusion of the year of his accession of the throne.

The inscriptions of coins and epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy along with *Nagari* legends in epitaph with similarity in calligraphic style. The Devanagari legends had been used by Delhi Sultans on their coins while Bahmani's had not used the Devanagari script on their coins. This may be

<sup>570</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964. p. 40.

considered as the first inscriptional evidence of Devanagari script in Bahmani Sultanate. The epitaphs were not inscribed with any religious information.

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>571</sup> is found from the Jami Masjid at Pargi in the Mahbub Nagar district of Telangana. The text was in Arabic and beautifully executed in *Naskh* letters of fairly good type. The epigraphs record the construction of a mosque by Ali, son of Shaikh Hasan Dhasherwani in September-October 1460 AD, during the reign of Humayun Shah son of Ahmad Shah Bahmani.

### Description of the coin and epitaph inscription:



**Obverse:** *Al Mutawakkil Allah Alqawi Al Gani Abul Mughazi*  
**Reverse:** *Alaudduniya Waddin Humayun Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al Wali Bahmani*  
 Courtesy- Marudhar Art



Epigraph No. 19 Courtesy- EIAPS 1964

ابتدأ هذه المسجد في العهد و الزمان السلطان  
 العادل | الاحسان الواثق بتأييد الملك الغنى  
 همايون شاه بن احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولي  
 البهمنى الفقير الى الله الربانى على بن شيخ  
 حسن ذاشر وانه تمت في ماه ذى الاحجة سنة

### Inscriptional Analysis

The second inscription<sup>572</sup> records the ruler's titles as

في العهد و الزمان السلطان العادل | الاحسان الواثق بتأييد الملك الغنى همايون شاه بن احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولي البهمنى الفقير الى الله الربانى

<sup>571</sup> Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid. p. 41.

*Fi Ahad waz- zaman as-sultan Al- adil Al- ahsan Al- wasiq ba-taidir- rahman Al- ghani Humayun Shah bin Ahmad Shah Al- wali Bahmani.*

The meaning of the legends is as, time of the sultan, master of justice and kindness, reliant on the support of the Allah Humayun Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Al Wali Bahmani. It records the date as 864 A H. (1460 AD). The title inscribed in the epitaph and on the coin is almost same, but in the epitaph, he had dedicated new titles for himself like *As-sultan Al-adil Al- ahsan*, السلطان العادل<sup>١</sup> الاحسان الواثق بتأييد الملك which were not found on his coins so commonly. The date may be considered as his closing point of his reign.

Inscription on the coins and epigraphs were inscribed in both on the coina and epigraph *Naskh* style of calligraphy. There are similarities in calligraphic style. The inscription does not contain any religious information.

### **5.2.8 Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III (AH 867-887/1463-1482 AD)**

Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III had struck coins in gold silver and copper but not much variations in the legends are seen. In most of the coins he was styled as “*Al Mutasim Billah Abul Muzaffar Shamsudduniya Waddin Muhammad Shah Bin Humayun Shah As-sultan Khaldallah Mulakhu.*”

Three epitaph inscriptions of the ruler have been studied. These inscriptions were collected from different places such as, park, fort and gate.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The first inscription<sup>573</sup> of Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III, originated from the fort of Raichur, which is originally belonged to the kamani gate and at present it was fixed inside the gate called Kati Darwaza. The information is executed in *Naskh* in Persian language. The inscription informs that the gate was constructed by Mallu Khan Hafiz in 1468-69 AD. in the reign of Muhammad Shah, son of Humayun

<sup>573</sup> A A Kadiri, “Bahmani Inscriptions from the Raichur District”, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moselmica*), 1961-1962, p. 53.

Shah, son of Sultan Allaudin. It also invokes prayers for the endurances and propitiousness of the structure.

### Description of coins and Epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *Al-Mutasim Billah (Abul Muzaffar) Shamsudduniya Waddin*  
**Reverse:** *Muhammad Shah Bin Humayun Shah As-Sultan (khallada mulkahu),*

Courtesy- Numisbids



#### Upper Slab Islamic Creed

در عهد محمد شاه بن همایون شاه بن سلطان  
 علاوالدین بنا کرده خان اعظم ملو خان حافظ  
 سنه ثلاث و سبعین و شمانمایه این در همیشه در  
 همه عالم کشاده باد دشمن بزیر خاک درین در  
 یا رب مباد این در خالی ز خان چنین قتاده باد  
 اقبال و عز و دولت و شادی مدام باد

*Epigraph No. 20 . Courtesy- EIAPS 1961-1962*

### Inscriptural Analysis

The first epitaph noted the name of the ruler as

در عهد محمد شاه بن همایون شاه بن سلطان علاوالدین

*Dar Ahad Muhammad Shah Bin Humayun Shah bin Sultan Allaudin.*

In this concise title Humayun Shah inscribed his two predecessors, one his father, Humayun Shah, after his grandfather, Allaudin Ahmad Shah II. The titles used in his coin inscription by the ruler were little bit similar to title of his coin's inscriptions<sup>574</sup>. In coins, he inscribed his name along with his father's name but not mention his grandfather's name. The following epitaphs inscribed the first creed of Islam "there is no god but Allah and Prophet Muhammad is his messenger" which is not found in any other Bahmani ruler's epitaph studied in the present work.

### Inscription No. 2

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

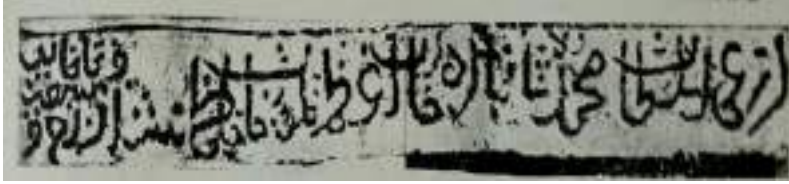
The second inscription<sup>575</sup> was from the gate of the Makki Darwaza of the Raichur Fort. It contains writing in Persian and *Naskh* calligraphy in epitaph. The record

<sup>574</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 303. (BH 110).

<sup>575</sup> A A Kadiri, "Bahmani Inscriptions from the Raichur District", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moselmica*), 1961-1962, pp. 53.

mentions the construction of the gate by the same Mallu Khan Hafiz in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



در عهد سلطان محمد شاه بنا کرده خان اعظم  
ملو خان حافظ سنه اربع سبعين و ثمانمائه

*Epigraph No. 21 . Courtesy: EIAPS 1961-1962*

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>576</sup> is found engraved in the park called Mahbub Gulshan in Raichur. It consists of Persian prose and written in *Naskh* characters. The epitaph refers that Khan-I Azam Mallu Khan Hafiz as the builder of the structure in 1480-81 AD, built during the reign of Muhammad Shah.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



در عهد  
افضل سلاطين  
محمد شاه بن همايون شاه  
بنا کرد خان اعظم  
ملو خان حافظ  
سنه خمسة و ثمانينو ثمانيه

*Epigraph No. 22 Courtesy: EIAPS 1961-1962*

The epitaphs second and third had mentioned only the name of the ruler as Muhammad Shah son of Humayun Shah and called him as the greatest ruler. This

<sup>576</sup> Kadiri, Bahmani Inscriptions from the Raichur District, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moselmica*, 1961-1962, pp. 53.



is quite similar to the coin's inscription. Both the coins and the epigraphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

### 5.2.9 Mahmud Shah (AH 887-924/1482-1518 AD)

Mahmud Shah had issued coins in gold silver and copper. His coins in first two metals are rare while his copper coins were found in abundant. The coin inscriptions of Mahmud Shah can be divided into two main types. Type one bear the legends, *Al Mutawakkil Alal lah Al- qawi Al- ghani As-sultan Al- azam Abul- mughazi Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah Al- wali Al- Bahmani* while type two inscribed the legends, *Al Muwaid Be- Nasr-allah Al- malik Al- hannan Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah As-sultan.*

Five epigraphic inscriptions have been analyzed. These have been gathered from Masjid, fort, and walls.

## Inscription No. 1

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The earliest inscription<sup>577</sup> of Mahmud Shah is fixed over the doorway of the Jami Masjid which was built by Sultan Quli the founder of Qutub Shahi dynasty when he was the governor of the fort under the Bahmani king Mahmud Shah. The inscription is in Arabic and is carved in *Tughra* style of calligraphy.

### Description of the coin and epitaph Inscription



**Obverse:** *Al-Mutawakkil Alallah  
Al Qawi Al Ghani*

**Reverse:** *Mahmud Shah Bin  
Muhammad Shah Al Bahmani*

Courtesy- IIRNS

<sup>577</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions in Golconda Fort", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*). 1913-1914. p. 47.



بناء هذا المسجد الجامع في زمان السلطان  
الاعظم المتوكل على الله الغنى ابي المغازى  
محمود شاه بن محمد شاه البهمنى خلد الله  
ملكه و سلطانه و بانيتها المبتهل الى الله  
مالك الملك سلطان قلى المخاطب بقطب  
الملك فى سنه اربع و عشرين و تسعمائة

Epigraph No. 23 Courtesy- EIAPS 1913-1914.

### Inscriptional Analysis

In the first epitaph<sup>578</sup> the ruler was honoured with the title,

الجامع فى زمان السلطان الاعظم المتوكل على الله الغنى ابي المغازى محمود شاه بن محمد شاه البهمنى  
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

*Al Jame Fi Zaman Asultan Al Azam AL Mutawakkil Ala Allah Al Ghani Abi Al Mughazi Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammad Shah Al Bahmani Khaladallahu Mulkahu Wa Sultnahau.*

The title ‘Al Bahmani’ for the king in the inscription is identical with those noticed on his coins. The legend *Al Mutawakkil Alalah Al Ghani As-sutan Al Azam Aby Al Mughazi Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah Al Bahmani*<sup>579</sup> has commonly been found on his copper coins.

The coins inscriptions were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy whereas epigraphs inscriptions were inscribed in *Tughra* style of calligraphy. Hence, do not find similarities in calligraphic styles.

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>580</sup> is carved over the second gateway of the Bidar fort. The style of writing is *Naskh* and *Tughra*, and consists of Persian verses. The inscription is stating that the gateway was built by Saif Khan in 909 AH (1503 AD) by the order of *Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah As- sultan*.

<sup>578</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1913-1914. p. 47.

<sup>579</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p. 306.

<sup>580</sup> Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, “Two Inscriptions from Bidar”, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moslemica) 1925-26. p. 18-19.

### Description of the Coin and Epitaph inscription:



**Obverse:** *Al-Mutawakkil Alallah  
Al-Qawi Al Ghani As-Sultan Al  
Azam*

**Reverse:** *Abul Mughazi Mahmud  
Shah bin Muhammad Shah Al Wali  
Al Bahmani*

Courtesy: Marudhar Art



اے آستانت زمین آسمان ملک و دین آسمانی  
آسمان گر نقش بندد بر زمین  
.....بانی هذا  
الباب ایار المخاطب بسفیخان کوتوالیک فی  
سنه تسع و تسعمایه کتبه محمود شاه بین  
محمد شاه السلطان البهمنی

Epigraph No. 24 Courtesy: EIAPS 1925-1926

### Inscriptional Analysis

The second epitaph mentions the ruler as **محمود شاه بین محمد شاه السلطان البهمنی**  
*Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah as sultan Al Bahmani.*

The name of the ruler was found similar mentioned in the coins as well as on epigraphs. There was also calligraphical similarities. The epigraphs were inscribed with *Naskh* style of calligraphy along with *Tughra* style of calligraphy while *Naskh* style is used on the coins.

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>581</sup> is carved on the wall of a spring styled *Chasmah* of Sayyidus Sadat. The *Chashma* is situated to the Baridi Tombs within a few yards of Sayyidus Sadat's shrine. The inscription is carved in Persian and in *Naskh* characters. The inscription stated that this fountain, at the holy spot, the sacred garden of Sayyidus sadat, Al Makhdum as Sayyid Hanif, during the reign of *Al Mutawakkil Allalah*

<sup>581</sup> Ibid.

*Qawi Ghani Abul Mughazi Shihabudduniya Waddin Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah, Al Wali Bahmani.*

Along with the ruler's name and titles two other important names are inscribed. The first being that of Sayyidus Sadat Sayyid Muhammad Hanif, a holy saint in direct descent from the Prophet<sup>582</sup>. The second name is of one Darwish Husseini Mashadi who may be a relative of Sayyid Mirza Mashadi, who saved the life of Mahmud Shah in the rebellion of 896 AH<sup>583</sup>. There is general belief about the inscriptional tablet, it has some miraculous power to cure diseases and people while bathing pour water over the tablet and wash them from the spray which falls from it. It is also believed that the water contained Sulphur and people suffering from rheumatism or diseases relating to impurity of blood bath there and often cured<sup>584</sup>.

### Description of Epitaph Inscription



*Epigraph No. 25 Courtesy- EIAPS 1925-26*

بنا كرد عمارت ابن چشمه حیات درین مقام شریف و  
روضه مطهر لحضرة سيد السادات المخدوم السيد  
نورالله مرقدفي زمان السلطان الاعظم المتوكل على  
الله القوى الغنى ابو المغازى شهاب الدنيا والدين  
محمود شاه بن محمد شاه الولي اليهمنى-  
فى سابع من شعبان سنة عشر تسعمائة الهجرية  
النبوية.

### Inscriptional Analysis

The epitaph inscription inscribed the ruler as

فى زمان السلطان الاعظم المتوكل على الله القوى الغنى ابو المغازى شهاب الدنيا والدين محمود شاه بن  
محمد شاه الولي اليهمنى

*Al Mutawakkil Allalah Qawi Ghani Abul Mughazi Shihabudduniya Waddin Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah, Al Wali Bahmani.*

<sup>582</sup> Briggs, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 520

<sup>583</sup> Ibid. p, 532-33

<sup>584</sup> Ibid.

In this epitaph the honorific titles were the same as mentioned in the coins except the regal title Shahabuddin. Therefore, it may be considered that, Shahabuddin was his regal title. His predecessors used a regal title like Shahabuddin, Allaudin, Nizamuddin, Shamsuddin, but his coins were omitted with these titles.

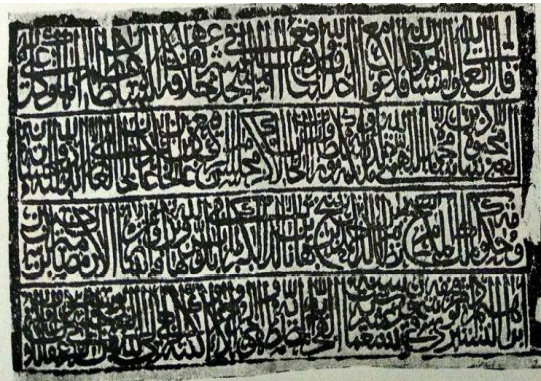
Along with the similarities of the titles, there is similarities in calligraphical styles. Both the sources were inscribed with *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

## Inscription No. 4

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>585</sup> is found in a mosque in Arabic verses. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque during the reign of Ismail Adil Shah and it also mentioned the name of Mahmud Shah Bahmani.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 26 Courtesy-EIAPS 1939-1940

١- قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله  
احدا قد وقع بنا هذا المسجد الشريف في عهد خلافة  
السلطان الاعظم المتوكل على الله الغنى محمود شاه  
بن محمد شاه البهمنى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و  
وزارت الخان الاكرم مجلس الرفيع عادل خان بن  
عادل خان الغازى ابد الله دولته و احسانه .....

### Inscriptional Analysis

The inscription entitled the ruler as

فى عهد خلافة السلطان الاعظم المتوكل على الله الغنى محمود شاه بن محمد شاه البهمنى خلد الله ملكه و  
سلطانه و

*Sultanul Azam al Mutawakkil Allah Ghani. Mahmud Shah bins Muhammad Shah Al Bahmani*, May god perpetuate his kingdom. It also records the name of the Ismail Adil Shah as the builder.

<sup>585</sup> K. M. Ahmad, "Inscriptions of Raichur in the Hyderabad Museum", *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*. 1939-40 (edited by Ghulam Yazdani). pp. 15.

In this epitaph the name of Mahmud Shah of Bahmani as well as Ismail Adil Shah of Adil Shahi occurred. It clearly indicates that the epitaph was inscribed in the transitional period in which the empire was gradually being dissolved. The sovereignty was transferred from the king to his governors, and they were becoming strong and assuming the royal powers, in the same time they also paid respect to his old masters. The titles used in this inscription with the name of Mahmud Shah are partly those used in the last inscription. The title *Shamsudduniya Waddin* has been wrongly used with Mahmud Shah's name in the next inscription does not occur. The title *Majlis-i- Rafi* used for Ismail Adil Khan was conferred upon his father by Muhammad III.

There are no similarities in calligraphic styles, as the coins are inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy while epigraphs consist of *Thuluth* and *Tughra* styles of calligraphy.

## Inscription No. 5

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>586</sup> is found carved from Fath Burj. The epitaph is inscribed in Arabic. The epitaph refers about the construction of the building Fath Burj during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



لا اله الا الله محمد ﷺ على ولي الله  
بنى هذا المقام الرفيع المسمى ببرج الفتح في  
عهد خلافة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين محمود شاه  
البهمنى  
و وزارة الخان الاكرم مجلس الرفيع عادل خان بن العادلخان  
الغازى  
و حكومة الملك المكرم نظام الدين احمد الكرمانى فى شهر  
سنه ست عشر و تسعمائة.

Epigraph No. 27 Courtesy – EAIPS 1939-1940

<sup>586</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

### Inscriptional Analysis

The inscription referred the sultan as عهد خلافة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين محمود شاه البيهمن *Sultan Al Azam Shamsudduniya waddin Mahmud Shah Al Bahmani*.

It also records the name of Adil Khan as *Al Akram, Majlis ar Rafi Adil Khan bin Al Adil Khan*.

The inscribed *Shiete durud* indicates that new dynasty with new changes had been started, but to pay tribute and show faith to earlier Bahmani ruler, they inscribed the name of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. But the title they used in the epitaph is wrong, as Mahmud Shah didn't use the title Shamsuddin for his name. however, we do not find any any reference.

The coins of Mahmud Shah were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy and his epigraphs were decorated in *Thuluth* style of calligraphy. There are no similarities in the style of calligraphy.

Most of the inscriptions were missed the religious information but we get reference of the ruler as the follower of *Sunni* faith of Islam. While there is also an evidence of *Shia* influence too. The epitaph is decorated with the *Shiete* creed<sup>587</sup> and no reference of *Shia* influence in Bahmani sultanate has been noticed prior to these inscriptions. The inscribed *Shiete durud* indicates that new dynasty has started new changes in their inscriptions, but to pay tribute and show faith to earlier Bahmani ruler, they inscribed the name of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. But the title they used in the epitaph is wrong, as Mahmud Shah didn't used the title Shamsuddin for his name.

The study reveals that coins and epitaphs inscriptions generally reveal the name and title of the king. Besides they also furnish information related to their religious faith. The cultural influence in the terms of art have been observed with the help of style of calligraphy both in numismatic and epigraphy. Interestingly both in many places bears the similar style of calligraphy and titles.

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<sup>587</sup> K. M. Ahmad, op. cit. 1939-1940. p. 15.

## Chapter VI

### **Coins and Epigraphical Inscriptions of Successors of the Bahmani Sultanate: A Comparative Study**



## Chapter VI

### Coins and Epigraphic Inscriptions of the Successors of the Bahmani Sultanate: A Comparative Study

The present section covers the comparative study of epigraphic and coin inscriptions of the successors of Bahmani; Adil Shahi, Qutub Shahi, and Nizam Shahi. These epigraphical informations have been gathered in order to understand the relation between numismatic and epigraphy. Inscriptional analysis is based on the inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica* and *Epigraphia Indica Arabic Persian supplement*. The study includes 95 epigraphs covering seventeen rulers of the successors of the Bahmani. The analysis has been made on the basis of all the epigraphic inscriptions but only a few are illustrated in the text while remaining are attested in the appendix.

As compared to previous chapter this chapter includes a greater number of epigraphs. As the coin inscriptions of these dynasties are limited content while epographs epigraphs contain the large contents. Therefore, we have tried to analyse a greater number of inscriptions in order get comparssion with the coin inscriptuions. Thus, the comparison will be primarily the title and the religious forth etc.

#### 6.1. Adil Shahi Dynasty (AH 895-1097/ 1490-1686 AD)

As many as 7 rulers and 40 epigraphical inscriptions have been selected for the discussion in the following paragraphs.

Adil Shahi of Bijapur is one of the successors of Bahmani ruled by nine sultans from 1490 to 1686 AD. The first three rulers of this dynasty Yusuf Adil Khan, Ismail Adil Khan, Mallu Adil Khan, and Ibrahim Adil Shah had neither assumed royal titles nor issued any coins in their names. Although they have not issued

coins, the epigraphic evidence is available for Mallu Adil Khan<sup>588</sup>. It is found in the Raichur Fort in the Arabic language. The inscription bears the names of Mallu and his father Ismail and both the names are accompanied by the title *Sawai*.

As mentioned above that the first three Adil Shahi rulers never accompanied royal titles in their inscriptions. However, the fourth ruler Ibrahim Adil Shah had assumed the title *Shah* either about the end of 943 AH or the early part of 944 AH. An inscription<sup>589</sup> of Ibrahim Adil Shah dated 943 AH wherein he styles himself as *Majlise Rafi* and *Adil Khan*, while in another inscription<sup>590</sup> dated 944 AH the name of Ibrahim is accompanied with the title of *Shah*. The above statement was proved by numismatic evidence as the coins of first four rulers of Adil Shahi have not been discovered yet. Ali Adil Shah was the first sultan of this dynasty known to have properly represented in their coinage.

### **6.1.1 Ibrahim Adil Shah I (941-965 AH/1535-1558 AD)**

Ibrahim Adil Shah had not issued any coins but we get eight epigraphic references of Ibrahim Adil Shah I. In the following studied epigraphic inscriptions, we get the information of about the religious faith, name of the Builder, dates in chronogram, the titles of the rulers and sometimes only the name of the dynasty.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>591</sup> is carved in Talim Burj, Andheri- Baoli in Raichur fort with ordinary *Nastaliq* calligraphy and in Persian verses. It mentions the construction of the bastion through the efforts of Ahmad Haji Gunabadi during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I. The date is contained in a chronogram.

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<sup>588</sup> K. M. Ahmad, op. cit. 1939-40. p. 16.

<sup>589</sup> M Nazim. "Bijapur Inscriptions". *Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India* No. 49. 1936. pp. 26.

<sup>590</sup> Ibid. p. 47

<sup>591</sup> A. A. Kadiri, "Adil Shahi Inscriptions from Raichur", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (In continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moslemica, 1963, p. 62*

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



Epigraph No. 28 Courtesy EIM 1963

معمار و قضا چو هست در حسن عمل  
بانی بنائے نیلگون برج حمل  
تاریخ بنائش بیدحتل آمدہ است  
برج فلک دولت و اقبال ازل  
بدور خسرو عادل کہ روز خصم ازو شب  
شدبسی احمد حاجی گونابادی مرتب شد

### Inscription No. 2

#### Content of the epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>592</sup> of Ibrahim Adil Shah I fixed on the facade of the bastion near the Khusrau Burj. The epitaph contains Persian poetry which is executed in *Nastaliq* calligraphy. It mentions about the construction of the bastion in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I. The date is 1548-49 AD, according to the chronogram occurring in the last line.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



Epigraph No. 29 courtesy EIM 1963

بستم درین حصار بتوفیق کردگار ؛ برجی کہ  
کوته است ازو دست اهل غدر  
چون سر زند و مطلع او طلعت هلال؛ باشد ز  
روے مرتبه چون بر سپهر بدور  
در روزگار عادل دوران تمام شد؛ آن عادلی  
کہ ساخته جا بر سریر صدر  
چون نسبت رفیع ز قدرش نیست؛ تاریخ او ست  
برج رفیع بلند قدر۔

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>593</sup> is fixed on the Kati gate of the fort. It contains Arabic and Persian prose executed in *Naskh* Characters. A major portion of the epigraph consists of religious text with the scant historical information that the gate was constructed by Shamsirul Mulk in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I in 1550 AD.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid. p. 63.

<sup>593</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. p. 64.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على الله فا  
الله خيرا حافظا و هوا الرحم الراحمين سنه ٩٠٧  
اللهم صل على محمد مصطفى و على المرتضى و الحسن و الحسين و العباد و الباقر و  
الصادق الكاظم و الرضا و التقى و العسكرى و المهدي در عهد همايون سلطان  
ابراهيم عادلشاه بنا كرده شمشير الملك غره ماه رمضان سنه خمسين و تسعمايه

Epigraph No. 30 Courtesy EIM 1963

### Inscription No. 4

#### Conetnt of the epitaph Inscription

The fourth inscription<sup>594</sup> is noted on the façade of the middle gate of the Tin Darwaza gate of the fort. The text is written in Persian in the *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy. The epigraph states that in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah the building at Panhala, which is spoken of as the seat of govt. were either repaired or built a new in AH, 954 (1547-48 AD). During the regime of Malik Daud Aqa, the *Naib – i- Ghaibat*,(deputy of the king).

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



بسم اله كذا الرحمن الرحيم هست كليلد در گينج حكيم  
تجديد و تجديد عمارت دار السلطنت قلعه پناله دو ايام  
دولت خسروم جهانانے سلطنت پناهے ابراهيم عادلشاه  
خلد ملكه في تاريخ سنه اربع خمسين تسعمايه دركار كرد  
ملك داود آقا نايب غيببت كاتب سالار بن احمد دبیر

Epigraph No. 31 Courtesy EIM 1970-1971

<sup>594</sup> A. A. Kadiri, "Adil Shahi Inscriptions from Panhala", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (in the continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moslemica)*, 1970-1971, p. 69.

### Inscriptional Analysis

The inscription inscribed in the epitaph styled the ruler as *Humayun Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah*<sup>595</sup>. The ruler was given the title, the King, Adil of the age, the Adil Shah, in the reign of Humayun Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah I. He has given the title the king, having sovereignty over the world, the asylum of the kingdom, Ibrahim Adil Shah, may his kingdom be perpetuated. These titles were only found in epitaphs not in coins as his coins are not reported yet.

Most of the inscriptions start with a praise of God in Arabic and praise of king in Persian. The Epitaph was decorated with a Shiite Durud<sup>596</sup> and with short Quranic *Ayats*<sup>597</sup>. Sometimes it is noticed the first<sup>598</sup> and second<sup>599</sup> *Shahada* (creed of Islam) in the epitaph.

The epigraph has perpetuated the name of the Adil Shahi's official and had also preserved small bit of information about the posts connected with the royal person like *Abdar*<sup>600</sup>. In the inscription there is also mention of some posts such as *Dabir*<sup>601</sup> (secretary) and *Naib Ghaibat*<sup>602</sup> deputy of king.

The epitaphs of Ibrahim Adil Shah I were very informative and the inscriptions were so finely executed. There also mention the name of calligrapher's and builders often with the signatures appears. These mentioned the name such as Ahmad Haji Gunabadi<sup>603</sup>, Shamshirul Mulk, Khan Malik<sup>604</sup>, Yusuf the Royal Abdar. Salar Son of Ahmad the Dabir<sup>605</sup> and Daud Aqa<sup>606</sup>.

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<sup>595</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963. p. 62.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid. p. 64.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>598</sup> A. A. Kadiri, "Adil Shahi Inscription from Bankapur", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moslemica), 1968, p. 45.

<sup>599</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1964.

<sup>600</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-1971. p. 71.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid.

<sup>603</sup> A. A. Kadiri. op. cit. 1963. p. 62.

<sup>604</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1968. p. 45.

<sup>605</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-1971. p. 69.

<sup>606</sup> Ibid. p. 71.

Most of the inscriptions were written in Arabic and Persian and most of the epitaphs contain the *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy and a few were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The dates were gradually given in the chronogram and sometimes the dates were also inscribed in figures too.

### 6.1.2 Ali Adil Shah I (AH 965-988 / 1558-1580 AD)

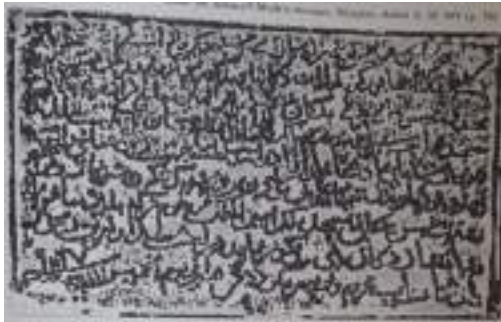
Unlike Ibrahim Adil Shah I, Ali Adil Shah was well represented in their coinage. He inscribed *Asadullah Ghalib Ali Ibn Abi Talib*. The inscription does not bear the name of the king but reflect his religious inclination towards *Shia* faith of Islam by inscribing the above title on his coins. This particular legend has a great significance on the coinage history of India as they reflect the influence of *Shia* faith of Islam in Adil Shahi dynasty. *Shiaism* was promoted by the Adil Shah I and Ali Adil Shah II. As many as twelve epitaphs of Ali Adil Shah I have been studied.

### Inscription No. 1

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The first inscription<sup>607</sup> engraved on a stone preserved in the Athar Mahal. It was in Persian prose and executed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. It purports to the building and endowment of five shops for meeting various items of expenditure incurred for the upkeep of the mosque of Aminul Mulk. The builder of the shops, Khan –i-Azam Jannat Khan is stated to have been the *Naib-i-Ghaibat* under Ali Adil Shah I (1558-80 AD). The epigraph is written on Thursday, 11<sup>th</sup> Rabi, I, A H. 967

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 32 Courtesy EIAPS 1955-1956

Fifth Line

در زمان شاه علی عادلشاه خلد ایام دولته  
و سلطانه جهت روشنائی و آب سبیل

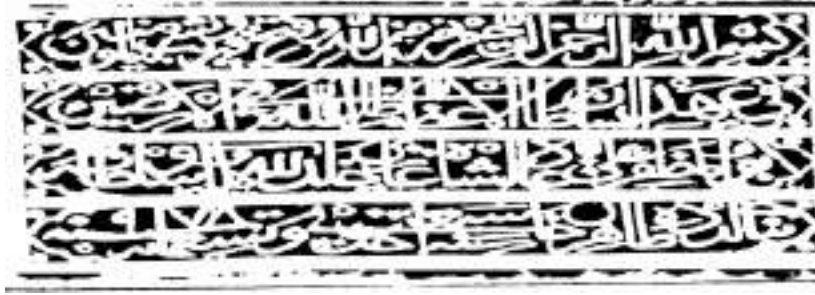
<sup>607</sup> S. B. Samadi, "Inscriptions from the archaeological Museum, Bijapur", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1955-1956, pp-74.

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>608</sup> is found in the southern wall of the mosque Naurang Darwaza of the fort. The text of the epigraph is in Persian and inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The record mentions Tahir Khan as the builder and refers itself to the reign of Ali Adil Shah.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



بسم لله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله و فتح قريب و  
 بشر المومنين فى عهد السلطان الاعظم ظل الله فى  
 الارضين ابو المظفر على عادلشاه غازى خلد الله  
 ملكه و سلطانه بنا کرده طاهر خان سنه احدے  
 سبعين و تسع مایه سنه ۹۷۸

*Epigraph No. 33 courtesy EIAPS 1963*

## Inscription No. 3

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third epigraph<sup>609</sup> reported from the mihrab of the Jami- mosque inside the fort of Raichur. The text is in Arabic and carved in a *Naskh* and *Tughra* style of calligraphy. The inscription starts with *Bismillah* and bears *Shiete durud* and creeds. It also contained historical content which mentioned about the construction of the mosque in the reign of Ali Adil Shah in 1577-78 AD.

<sup>608</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963, pp. 65,

<sup>609</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963, p. 66

## Description of the Epitaph inscription



در زمان دولت شاه عالمیناه جمجاه علی عادلشاه سنه  
۷۸۵

*Epigraph No. 34 Courtesy EIAPS 1963*

## Inscription No. 4

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The fourth inscription<sup>610</sup> was found near Amba Bai's temple at Panhala and preserved in the Kolhapur -Museum. It was generally believed to have originally belonged to the Tiger Gate<sup>611</sup>. A portrait of Lion was engraved and while the remaining portion was inscribed with Persian text, with *Naskh* and *Thuluth* calligraphy. The inscription records that Ahmad 'Ali, son of Raun Ali, entitled Shamsir-ul- mulk a devoted servant of Ali (I) constructed a bastion in AH 987 (1579-80 AD).

### Description of the Epitaph inscription:



اسد الله الغالب  
علی ابن ابی طالب  
از دل و جان  
هست غلام علی احمد  
علی بن (؟) دو نعلی المخا  
طب بشمشیر الملک  
در تواریخ برج این عمارتی که بست  
که بود و هشتاد و هفت از هجرت

*Epigraph No. 35 Courtesy EIAPS, 1970-1971*

<sup>610</sup> A. A. Kadiri, 1970-1971, p. 72

<sup>611</sup> Gazetteers of Bombay Presidency, Kolhapur, 1886, No. 11, p. 424



### Inscriptional Analysis

The epitaph mentioned that Ali Adil Shah was the first ruler of Adil Shahi dynasty who had adopted the title of 'Abul Muzaffar'. The title on the epitaph inscribed as, '*Jahanpanah Zillullah Mahar Sa pahar Sarfarazi Abul Muzaffar Ali Adil Shah Ghazi Khald -allahu Mulkahu wa Sultanahu*<sup>612</sup>'. He was also known as '*Shah Ali Jah Alam Panah Mahar Sapahr Sarfarazi Abul Muzaaffar Ali Adil Shah Ghazi Khalad- allahu Mulkahu wa Afaz Alal Alameen*<sup>613</sup> and also inscribed as '*Al azam Zillullah Fil Arzaine*<sup>614</sup>.

The kunya *Abul Muzaffar* used in the epitaph has also been noticed on the coins as listed by Goron<sup>615</sup>. But he has not illustrated the coins neither he has seen the coins.

In the epigraph the name of the ruler was mentioned as Ali Adil Shah the King. The ruler was also given the title of *Ali Jah Alam Panah Mahar Sapahr Sarfarazi Abul Muzaffar Ali Adil Shah Ghazi Khald-allahu Mulkahu wa Sultanahu*<sup>616</sup>. The titles of the rulers were very much influenced with emerging languages such as Persian, Urdu and Arabic. However, the title *Jahnapanah* and *Alam Panah* were Persian terms means 'Refuge of the world' and Refuge of the universe. *Mehar Sa Pahar* is urdu term means 'Kindness' and explains the Islamic divisions of time. One *Pahar* nominally equals three hours and there are eight pahars in a day. *Sarfarazi* is another Urdu term which means advancements. *Zillullaha fil Arzaine* and *Afaz Alal Alameen* and were Arabic word means 'Shadow of God in both the worlds' and biggest of the world.

The ruler was addressed with a new title *Alijah and Jamjah*. The terms used for the king or to denote the highest authority. Along with all these high - sounding titles he considered himself as *Abul Muzaffar* and *Ghazi* which means Father of protector and father of conqueror. In the last part of his titles of the epigraphs he prayed to

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<sup>612</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 2.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid.

<sup>614</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963. p. 65.

<sup>615</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka. op. cit. p. 315.

<sup>616</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. p. 65.

God for the well-being of his kingdom and dynasty ‘*Khaldallahu Mulkaḥu wa Sultanahu*’. The title was very first noticed on the coins of later rulers of Delhi Sultanate and gained popularity in the Mughals coins issued by Babar, Humyun, and Akbar. Although, the prayer was not found inscribed on the coins of Adil Shahi dynasty but it was very much found inscribed on epigraphs. This may be considered as the continuation of the title.

The one of his epitaph inscriptions<sup>617</sup> was found from the gate known as Tiger gate wherein a portrait of lion was engraved while the remaining portion was inscribed with Persian text with *Naskh* and *Thuluth* style of calligraphy, inscribed as *Ali son of Abi Talib, the Lion of Allah the overpowering*”.

### Description of the Epitaph and Coin Inscription



**Obverse:** *Asadullah Al Ghalib*

**Reverse:** *Ali Ibn Abi Talib*

*Courtesy: Marudhar Art*



اسد علی ابن ابی طالب  
از دل و جان  
هست غلام علی احمد  
علی بن (۴) دو نعلی المخا  
طب بشمشیر الملک  
در تواریخ برج این عمارتی که بست که  
بود و هشتاد و هفت از هجرت  
الله الغالب

*Courtesy, 1970-1971*

The particular title used on the epigraph of Tiger gate was also noticed in his copper coins as mentioned earlier it is inscribed as *Abul Muzaffar Asadullah Ghalib Ali Ibn Abi Talib*<sup>618</sup>. Therefore, it was also noticed on the epitaph also. The coins as well as the epitaph, clearly explains the profession faith of Ali Adil Shah I. He had reflected his feelings and faith with picturing the reflection of a roaring Lion, to

<sup>617</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-1971, p. 72

<sup>618</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka. op. cit. p. 315

show the real meaning of the title inscribed in the epitaph. It also suggests that may be the ruler also considered himself as the 'lion' of his reign.

The inscription on the coins were inscribed in *Tughra* style of calligraphy whereas epitaphs inscriptions were inscribed in *Naskh* and *Thuluth* calligraphy. In accordance to the ruler's title there is found similarity on coins and epitaphs but there is not found similarity in calligraphy. The inscription consists of largely pious *Quranic Ayat* and praises for the king and his kingdom. He was the follower of *Shia* faith of Islam. Since he was the follower of *Shia* faith of Islam he preferred to mentioned the name of *hazrat Ali* on the epitaph. He proclaimed Ali as the manifestations of marvels<sup>619</sup>. The verses were the evidence of the popularity of *Shia* doctrines during the reign of Ali Adil Shah I. He considered himself as '*Ghulam of Ali*'<sup>620</sup>, and there is mention of the name Ahmad Ali, therefore it may be considered Ahmad as his real and regnal name which was not found on his coins. It is imp. To mentioned that the name of Ali is also noticed on his coins.

Ali Adil Shah was the generous ruler, as he respects all the types of believers of Islam whether it is *Shia* or *Sunni*. Many of his epitaphs were inscribed with the reflections of *Shia* faith and also *sunni* faith. The reflection of *sunni* faith on the epitaphs may be considered, issued by governor or any officials.

Like Ibrahim Adil Shah the epigraphs also perpetuated the name of officials of Ali Adil Shah I such as *Naib-i-Ghaibat*<sup>621</sup> (Kings Deputy). Babaji Zabit Khan was the Lieutenant (kings deputy) of Ahsanabad Gulbarga in the absence of the governor. The title Babaji is very peculiar in nature and may perhaps indicate that Zabit Khan was a converted Hindu. Khan-I-Azam Jannat Khan is being another *Naib-i-Ghaibat* under Ali Adil Shah I (1558-80 AD). *Naib-e-Kamgar*<sup>622</sup> (deputy) is another post functioned in the reign of Ali Adil Shah I.

The epitaph mentions the names of calligraphers and builders. Some of the names are mentioned in the inscription of Ali Adil Shah I. These includes the names such

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<sup>619</sup> T.W. Haig, op. cit. 1907-1908. p. 4.

<sup>620</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-71. p. 72.

<sup>621</sup> T. W. Haig, op. cit. 1907-1908). p. 3.

<sup>622</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-1971, p. 72.

as Izzat Khan<sup>623</sup>, Zabit Khan (Babaji Zabit Khan), <sup>624</sup>Haji Imad Khan<sup>625</sup>, Khan –i-Azam Jannat Khan (*Naib-I- Ghaibat*) Tahir Khan<sup>626</sup>, Shamsuddin<sup>627</sup> (*Naib-i-Kamgar*), and Niamatullah, son of Khwaja Isamil Kurd Khiraji of Nihawand<sup>628</sup>.

The epitaph also records the genealogy of constructor as ‘Ahmad Ali son of Raun Ali entitled Shamshirul Mulk’ a devoted servant of Ali and Niamatullah, son of khwaja Ismail Kurd Khiraji of Nihawand<sup>629</sup>. It also records the name of an expert rider and victorious deputy ‘Shamsuddin’ who built the *Burj-i-Qudrat* (Bastion of Might)<sup>630</sup> Most of the inscriptions were written in Arabic and Persian languages. Out of thirteen inscriptions, six inscriptions style of calligraphy is not clear. Since the most of the epigraphs of Ali Adil Shah were in *Naskh, Tughra, Nastaliq*, and *Thuluth*. Therefore, it may be assumed all these epigraphs must be in use as the calligraphy in Adil Shahi. It contains the date in Arabic numerals in *Hijri* era and sometimes it was also found in Arabic words. The epigraphs of Ali Adil Shah I with dates in Persian words are also reported.

### **6.1.3. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (AH 988-1037 / 1580-1627 AD)**

Ibrahim Adil Shah had issued coins only in copper with a single legend *Ghulam-e-Murtaza Ali Ibrahim Abla Bal’*”. Fifteen epitaph inscriptions had been studied of the ruler.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The first inscription<sup>631</sup> noticed from Ali Burj, from Raichur in Hyderabad Museum. It contains a quotation from the Quran and Persian couplets. The script is *Thuluth*.

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<sup>623</sup> Major T.W. Haig, op. cit. p. 4.

<sup>624</sup> Ibid.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid.

<sup>626</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963. p. 65.

<sup>627</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-1971, p. 72.

<sup>628</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, “Inscriptions of Bijapur Kings, Ali Adil Shah I and Ibrahim Adil Shah II, From Naldrug, Nizams Dominions”, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1917-1918, p. 1.

<sup>629</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p. 1.

<sup>630</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-1971. p. 72.

<sup>631</sup> K. M. Ahmad, op. cit. 1939-1940, p. 18.

This inscription explained that the Burj was built During the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah, by his one slave named Khawas Khan.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



Epigraph No. 36 courtesy EIM 1939

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين يا محمد يا  
 على بدور شاه ابراهيم عادل بنائى برج کرد آن مرد  
 عاقلغلام شه خواص خان به ششماپتمامش کرد آن  
 دانای آگاه چو از خان بد محب سرور غالبهاد آن  
 برج را نام علی ابن ابی طالب.....

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>632</sup> is reported from bastion of the Raichur fort, in Persian language. The bastion inscription refers that it was constructed by Malik Raihan and Malik Yaqut, in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. Malik Yaqut and Malik Raihan were to be in charge of the Raichur. But no definite reference to these persons is to be found in contemporary history.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 37 Courtesy EIM 1939-1940

نهایت برج گشت ز توفیق احد :  
 بامدادی شفیعی ما محمددر عهد  
 ابراهیم عادل شاه معظم : که ابتدا  
 این برج گشت پایه محکمز عون  
 همت ملک و یحان صاحب : بنا  
 کردند برجه ملک یاقوت نایب که  
 تاریخس یکهزار و هجده هجره

## Inscription No. 3

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>633</sup> recorded a bastion inscribed in Persian legends in *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy. It records about the bastion constructed in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

<sup>632</sup> K. M. Ahmad, op. cit. 1939-40, p. 19

<sup>633</sup> Ibid. 20

### Description of the Epitaph inscription



Epigraph No. 38 Courtesy EIM 1939-1940

جو هر درج كرامت اختر برج  
كمال: آفتاب اوج حشمت سايه  
لطف اله  
شهسوار عرصه ابراهيم عادل  
شاه: والى والا جناب دوارے  
دوراں پناه

### Inscription No. 4

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The fourth inscription<sup>634</sup> from the wall of a mosque at Kontewana Bablad Jath State. It was in Persian language and in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The epigraphs record the construction of a mosque by one Abdar Khan (?) during the rule of Ibrahim Adil Shah II in the year one thousand 1000 AH. (1592 AD).

#### Description of the Epitaph inscription:



Epigraph No. 39 Courtesy EIM 1939-1940

الله محمد على  
(قل) ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا  
بنا كرد اين مسجد در زمان ابراهيم عادلشاه  
بنده كمتريں ايدا و خان ؟ سنه الف من الهجرية

#### Inscriptional Analysis

The ruler's title ascribed on the epitaphs as, '*Humayun Arfae Aqdas Ala Ibrahim Adil Shah Khaldallahu Mulkahu wa Sultnahu*<sup>635</sup>'. He was also known as Ghazi<sup>636</sup>. In one of the epitaphs, he was called as '*Tajudduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar*

<sup>634</sup> Shamsuddin Ahmad, "Five Inscriptions from Bijapur, District", *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1939-1940, p. 33.

<sup>635</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 5.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid.

*Ibrahim Adil Shah*<sup>637</sup>”. He denoted himself as *Muazzam*<sup>638</sup>, *Malik Waqqa-bul-Umam Sumiye Khalilluah Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah*<sup>639</sup>. *Dar Zaman Sultanate Shah Alijah Mahar Sapahar Jalalat Badaure Muneer Adalat Sami Khalillulah Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Adil Shah*<sup>640</sup>. The epigraph purports the reign of the king as ‘*Alijah Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Adil Shah II*’. It will be seen that the text quotes the full titles of Ibrahim II including the one Alijah which is not found in all the records of this king. The titles of the rulers were the combination of Persian and Arabic, *Humayun* is a Persian term which means ‘fortunate’. *Arfae Aqdas Ala* were Arabic terms which means ‘the biggest and the most sacred person’. All these titles were found in epitaphs. His coins do not find variety of the legends but restricted to particular type of legends.

Religion has been an important component on the coins and in epigraphic inscriptions. It has also been noticed on the coins and epitaphs of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. He inscribed *Quranic Ayats* in praise of Allah<sup>641</sup>, Muhammad and Hazrat Ali<sup>642</sup>, even he had named a Burj, as *Ali Ibn Abi Talib Burj*<sup>643</sup>. Ali Adil Shah most of the epigraphs were inscribed with Quranic Ayats, besides, he had also inscribed *Ayatul Qursi*<sup>644</sup> in one of the epitaphs. The mention of builder on the epitaph performs as a great importance, such as Babaji zabit Khan<sup>645</sup>, Muhammad Haidar<sup>646</sup>, Bada Malik son of Malik Sandal<sup>647</sup>, Khawas Khan<sup>648</sup>, Shaikh Allaudin son of Shams Khayyat<sup>649</sup>, Abdar Khan, Malik Raihan and Malik Yaqut<sup>650</sup>. Malik Yaqut and Malik Raihan were to be in charge of the Raichur. But no definite reference to these persons is to be found in contemporary history. Even from epitaphs, it became

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<sup>637</sup> Ibid.

<sup>638</sup> K M Ahmad, op. cit. p. 19

<sup>639</sup> Ibid. p. 21

<sup>640</sup> A. A. Kadiri, 1968, p. 41-50

<sup>641</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 7

<sup>642</sup> K M Ahmad, op. cit.

<sup>643</sup> Ibid.

<sup>644</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1968, p. 41-50

<sup>645</sup> Haig, op. cit. p. 6.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid. p. 7

<sup>648</sup> K M Ahmad, op. cit. p. 18

<sup>649</sup> Shamsuddin Ahmad, op. cit. p. 33

<sup>650</sup> Ibid.

possible to understand the relations of the two *Naib*, Malik Yaqut, was the son in law of Malik Raihan. The epitaphs constructed by them were very much ornamented with beautiful flowers and design. It shows their taste of architecture even its calligraphic style is very fine. A small gate was constructed by Yusuf Adil Qandildar<sup>651</sup>. The builder Yusuf Ali Qandildar does not mention in contemporary records. He was an official of the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. The sobriquet appended to his name. In all together three to four inscriptions, his name was mentioned that means he was in charge of the lighting arrangements in the royal court of households.

The epitaphs were inscribed in Persian and Arabic languages. Out of fifteen epitaphs four epitaph's calligraphical style is not able to understand. However, *Thuluth*, *Nastaliq*, and *Naskh* styles of calligraphy have been used in remaining epitaphs. The dates were mentioned in Arabic numerals and words. One of the epitaphs<sup>652</sup> is very interesting in accordance to its date. It mentions 23-24 (2+50+1+1+10+3+50+10+50+100+90+200+70+1+30+10+40+300+10+40+300+10+4= AH 1032 (1622-23 AD). numbers adding to each other's. By adding them it occurs 1032 AH. It seems that the dating system is based on Abjad system. There is no such reference of using date in Abjad system on the coins of medieval period. However little letter, the date in Abjad system has been reported on the copper coins of Haider Ali <sup>653</sup>. In few epitaphs dates were mentioned words in poetic style.

#### **6.1.4 Muhammad Adil Shah (AH 1037-1068 /1627-1657 AD)**

Muhammad Adil Shah had issued coins mostly in copper but a few gold coins are also reported with the following Persian couplet, *Jahan zin do Muhammad giraft zeenat jah yake* on the obverse and *Muhammad mursil duam Muhammad Shah*<sup>654</sup> on the reverse.

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<sup>651</sup> A. A Kadiri, op. cit. 1963. p. 61

<sup>652</sup> Ibid. p. 70

<sup>653</sup> Danish Moin, *Coinage of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan: A typological Study*, p. 55.

<sup>654</sup> G H Khare, op. cit. p.130.



## Inscription No. 1

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The first inscription<sup>655</sup> of Muhammad Adil Shah has been found from Gharyali Burj (the clock makers bastion), in Persian language. This shrine was built during Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription

کتابه باد بدارت همیشه این درگاه  
 هذا القبر نظر کرده بیدر تعمیر لاله حسین رحمت و بستانه اهل دکن  
 بنده نواز معلوم دین و دنیا سید محمد حمیدی گیسو نواز بی محمد السلطان ابوالمظفر  
 سلطان محمد خانلار خانجی خنده ملکه ابنا زبانه کشین غلامی علی رفا این  
 محمد آنا سنه تدلی و خمیسین و الف -

*Epigraph No. 40 Courtesy EIM 1907-08*

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>656</sup> is found in Kala Pahar Burj (bastion of black hill), in Persian language. It explains Muhammad Adil Shah as a ruler of land and sea, from whom Dakkan received many respects and glory.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:

به امر محمد شاه بحر و بر • کزو یافت ملک دکن زیب و فر  
 سخن منع نور الله سرخیل ملک • که هست از اولاد خیر البشر  
 دگر احسن باد و داد زیب • بتعمیر هر برج و دیوار و در  
 چو تعداد شد گشت تاریخ سال • شده حصن گلبرگه محکم دگر

*Epigraph No. 41 courtesy EIM 1907-1908*

### Inscriptural Analysis

In the epitaphs Sultan had been inscribed by various titles which were not noticed on his coins. These are inscribed as *As-sultan Abul Muzaffar Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah Ghazi Khalla Dallahu Mulkahu*<sup>657</sup>. He was even called as **به امر محمد شاه** the ruler of the land and the sea, from whom the

<sup>655</sup> Major T.W. Haig, op. cit. p. 7

<sup>656</sup> Ibid.

<sup>657</sup> Ibid.

Deccan received adornment and glory<sup>658</sup>. The coins however, bear the Persian couplet wherein he praises the Prophet Muhammad and dared to compare himself with Prophet. Though the legend was questioned by the Ulama of the period.

Although these epigraphs do not contain any religious information such as *Kalima* etc, but it inscribed the praise of Gesu Daraz, who has been a spiritual figure in the eyes of the king and people.

The epitaphs mentioned the names of scribe and builder such as Ali Raza son of Aqa<sup>659</sup> and Sayyid Hussain son of Fathullah. The name of the scribe has been given in the inscription as Sayyid Hussain, son of Fazlullah<sup>660</sup>. He was one of the best calligraphers of the of Adil Shahi period and that he had attained a very high standard in his art. The letters are so fine that it shines like a mirror.

The inscriptions were composition of Arabic and Persian language. Some of the epitaph's inscriptions are very crude in nature. The dates are mentioned both in Arabic words and numerals and also in chronograms.

### **6.1.5 Ali Adil Shah II AH, 1068-1083 AH, 1657-1672 AD**

Ali Adil Shah II had issued mostly copper coins by calling himself *Ghulam Haider Safdar Ali Adil Shah* "the servant of Ali the brave", and few coins in gold, laris in silver with preferring a simple legend 'Ali Adil Shah the King'. Two epitaph inscriptions have been studied.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The first inscription<sup>661</sup> noticed from Khusrau Burj, now preserved in Hyderabad Museum. It was in Persian language. The inscription records the construction of Khusrau Burj by Aqa Khusrau in the reign of Ali Adil Shah II.

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<sup>658</sup> Ibid

<sup>659</sup> Ibid.

<sup>660</sup> K. M. Ahmad, op. cit. 1939-40 p. 21

<sup>661</sup> Ibid. p. 22,

### Description of the Epitaph inscription:



Epigraph No. 42 Courtesy EIM 1939-1940

بدور شاه دین پرور علی عادل شه جمجاه  
 مهیا کرد این برجے آقا خسرو غلام شاه  
 چون جستم سال تاریخس رسید از خاطر م ناگاه  
 کہ برج خسروی باشد کزین حرفم شوی آگاه سنہ  
 ۱۰۸۱ هـ

### Inscription No. 2

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>662</sup> found from Shahpur inscribed in Persian language.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 43 EIAPS 1959-1960

بعهد سلطنت سلطان علی عادلشاه ثانی در عمل  
 مملکتہ  
 ملک عبدالمحمد شیخ ابو الحسن ابن قاضی عبد  
 العزیز قرشی؟ تعمیر ساخت... ۱۰۷۸ هـ

#### Inscriptional Analysis

The epitaphs of Ali Adil Shah mentioned about the names of the builder as Aqa Khusaru<sup>663</sup>, and by the order of Abdul Muhammad, Shaikh Abul Hasan's son of Qazi Abdul Quraishi<sup>664</sup>, during the reign of Ali Adil Shah Sani (II). The inscriptions were inscribed in Arabic and Persian languages. Since the coin inscription is restricted to the name of the ruler and mints name while epitaph gives furnished

<sup>662</sup> Z. A. Desai, "Inscriptions from the state museum Hyderabad", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1959-1960, pp. 27

<sup>663</sup> K. M. Ahmad, op. cit. 1939-40. p. 22

<sup>664</sup> Z. A. Desai, *Ibid*, p. 27

many information including the name of the king. Here only the name and style of calligraphy can be compared.

### 6.1.6 Sikandar Adil Shah 1083 -1097 AH, 1672- 1686 AD.

Sikandar Adil Shah had issued most of his coins in copper by calling himself *Sultan Sikandar Qadri Sanah Khusrau Giti Satan* and few coins in gold. Two epitaph inscriptions have been selected these are illustrated below.

#### Inscription No. 1

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The first inscription<sup>665</sup> of Sikandar Adil Shah found on a stone known as Fil Burj or ‘elephant bastion’. It was in Persian language; this bastion was built by Sikandar Adil Shah in his initial age of reign.

##### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



Epigraph No. 44 Courtesy EIM 1907

#### Inscription No. 2

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>666</sup> found on the façade of the Sikandari gate of the fort situated near the dargah of Sayyid Abdal Husaini. It was in Persian and in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The text records that the gate was constructed in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Qadiri by Aqa Khusraw, the slave of the king in the year 1673-74 AD.

<sup>665</sup> Major T.W. Haig, op. cit. p. 11.

<sup>666</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963, pp. 77.

## Description of the Epitaph Inscription



در زمان خسرو سکندر قادرے شد مہیا کار این دہلیز باصنعتگرے  
چون تامل کردم از تاریخ آن گفتا خرد کو در فرخ و زین تاریخ ختمس بنکرے

*Epigraph No. 45 courtesy EIAPS 1963*

## Inscriptional Analysis

The epitaph mentioned the full title of the ruler as *Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah Qadiri Alghazi bin Ali Adil Shah*<sup>667</sup>. In another epitaph he was styled as *Khusarau Sikandar Qadri*<sup>668</sup>.

## Description of the Epitaph and Coin Inscription



**Obverse:** *Sultan Sikandar  
Qadri sanah*

**Reverse:** *Khusaru Giti Satan*  
Courtesy Marudhar Art



در زمان خسرو سکندر قادرے شد  
مہیا کار این دہلیز  
باصنعتگرے چون تامل کردم از  
تاریخ آن گفتا خرد کو در فرخ و  
زین تاریخ ختمس بنکرے  
Courtesy- EIM 1907-1908

<sup>667</sup> Major T.W. Haig, op. cit. 1907-1908. p. 12.

<sup>668</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963. p. 77.

It is clear from the epitaph that he was the son of Ali Adil Shah and also a follower of Qadiri Silsila which was emerging at that time. The titles of the king were same as he had inscribed on his copper coins<sup>669</sup>. Therefore, in accordance to the titles and calligraphy style of the ruler there is noticed similarity in both the aspects.

The builder of the bastions, and gates, were Siddi Sumbul, son of Malik Ambar, Subadar and Havaladar<sup>670</sup>, Aqa Khusraw<sup>671</sup>. In one of the epitaphs<sup>672</sup>, the name of calligrapher is missing, but gives a clue of the name of calligrapher in poetic style. He is *Sikander* (Alexander) in name and also Sikandar in quality'. Epigraphs, suggests that it may be considered that the ruler himself inscribed the inscription. The epigraphic inscriptions were mainly written in Arabic and Persian languages. The epitaphs were inscribed by *Naskh* and *Thuluth* style of calligraphy.

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<sup>669</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. p.319.

<sup>670</sup> Ibid

<sup>671</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1963, p. 77,

<sup>672</sup> A. A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1970-1971, p. 67,

## **6. 2 Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golconda (AH 895-1098/ 1489-1687AD)**

The present section covers the epigraphs of Qutub Shahi dynasty for the comparative analysis of coins inscription and epigraphic inscription. As many as six rulers and their thirty-five epigraphs have been studied.

Qutub Shahi dynasty was established in 1489 and continued to rule till 1687 AD, and ruled by eight sultans. The coins of the first ruler Quli Qutub Shah is not reported while his successors Jamshed Quli Qutub Shah are represented in a few copper coins. In the recent past a copper coin of Subhan Quli Qutub Shah and Ibrahim Qutub Shah have been published. The actual coinage of this dynasty, however, begun from the reign of Muhammad Qutub Shah.

The epigraphic inscriptions of Qutub Shahi dynasty are well reported and noticed from the reign of the very first ruler Sultan Quli Qutub Shah. Besides, the epigraphic inscription of Ibrahim Qutub Shah Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, Muhammad Qutub Shah, Abdullah Qutub Shah and Abul Hasan Qutub Shah have also been published. It is interesting to note that, no epigraphic evidences of Jamshid Qutub Shah and Subhan Quli Qutub Shah have been notice so far.

### **6.2.1 Sultan Quli Qutub Shah (AH 895-950 / 1489-1543 AD)**

As mentioned above that the first king Sultan Quli Qutub Shah had not issued any coins and probably *khutba* was also not read in his name. This is probably to show the respect to his masters Mahmud Shah of the Bahmani Sultanate. Quli Qutub Shah is well represented in the epigraphs. Three epigraphic inscriptions have been studied.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

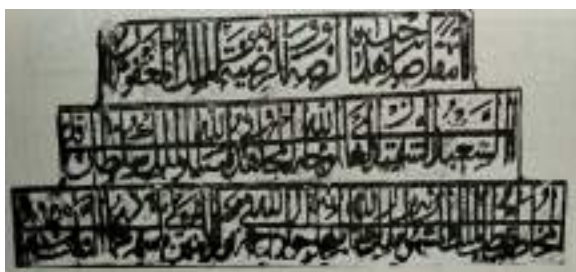
The inscription<sup>673</sup> was found in the tomb, which is inscribed in Arabic and used *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The first two bands contain the throne verse. The third

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<sup>673</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions in Golconda Tombs", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1915- 1916, p. 19.

band contains the *Shite Kalima*<sup>674</sup> which with the throne verse, is repeated on all the Qutub Shahi graves to invoke blessing on the soul of the deceased. The inscription giving the name and the titles of the deceased king and the exact date of death is carved in three lines at the foot of the grave.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



Epigraph No. 46 courtesy EIAPS 1915-1916

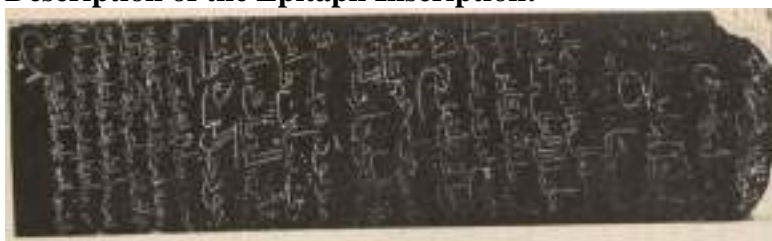
انتقل صاحب هذه الروضة الرضوية و  
هو الملك المغفور السعيد الشهيد الغازي  
لوجه الله المجاهد  
في سبيل الله الملك سلطان قلى المخاطب  
بقطب الملك المشهور به برى ملك انار  
الله برهانه  
الى جوار رحمة الله فى يوم الاثنين ثانى  
شهر جمادى الثانية فى سنة ٩٥٠ هـ

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>675</sup> is reported from Malkapuram road at Kondapalli near Bezwada in Krishna District, inscribed in Arabic and Persian language in *Naskh* style of Calligraphy. In the same stone is inscribed the Telugu epigraph also. The record mentions the establishment of a langar set up in the name of the Prophet Khidr and the endowment of two villages, viz. Kavrur, and Khidrabad, and some income for the maintenance of the said langar.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



<sup>674</sup> Most of the epigraphists used the wor Shiite durud for shiete Kalima.

<sup>675</sup> Z. A. Desai, "Qutub Shahi Inscriptions from Andhra state", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1953-1954, p. 23



لعنته الله على  
 القوم الظالمين بسم الله الذى .....  
 المراد أنك بتاريخ سنه احدى ثلاثين تسعمائه بندگان  
 حضرت مسند عالی ملک قطب الملک خلد ظلاله  
 العالی بر کفار فتحموضوع کوردو و خضرآباد

*Epigraph No. 47 Courtesy EIAPS 1953*

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>676</sup> was inscribed on a stone set up near the Erukula house inscribed in Arabic and Persian languages. The inscription is executed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. It records that Malik Qutub-ul- mulk had remitted the tax known as *Anddi Santa Sunkam* after he had obtained possession of Kondapalli; the order was not carried out, whereupon he reordered the remission with strict instructions that the tax should be deemed remitted till the day of Resurrection. It was written on 29<sup>th</sup> Rabi I AH, 1538 AD.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



هو الغنى بتاريخ ٢٩ ماه ربيع الاول سنه  
 ٩٣٠ تحریر یافت  
 که بندگان حضرت خداوند مسند عالی و  
 منصب معالی الغ الكرم  
 ملك قطب الملک خلد ایام دولته و زید  
 جلاله به طرف تانگ جهت اسلام.....  
 کوندیل.....

*Epigraph No. 48 Courtesy EIAPS 1953-54*

<sup>676</sup> Ibid.

### Inscriptional Analysis

Sultan Quli Qutub-ul – mulk (Quli Qutub Shah) did not designate himself as king but noted himself in as, *Masnad-i-Ala*<sup>677</sup>, *Mansab-i- Maali*<sup>678</sup>, that were conferred upon him by his Bahmani sovereign; not a single title suggesting royalty is to be found therein. It is questioned that when Qutub-ul- mulk had proclaimed his sovereignty. It was generally believed that Qutub-ul- mulk did not declare his independence until 918 AH/1512 AD. The epitaph on Sultan Quli’s grave records his name and titles as *Malik Sultan Quli* entitled Qutub-ul- mulk known as *Bare Malik* (the great Prince<sup>679</sup>) which can hardly be constructed to connote regal titles. The epithets mentioned the ruler as

هو الملك المغفور السعيد الشهيد الغازي لوجه الله المجاهد في سبيل الله الملك سلطان قلى  
*Huwal Malik Al Maghfur Al Saeed Ash- Shaheed Al-Ghazi Li wajhil Allah Al-  
 Mujahis Fi Sabi-lilah Al Malik Sultan Quli*

From the epitaph it became clear that he is not mentioned with any royal title at all as late as 931 AH, and 945 AH, Sultan Quli was formally a great nobleman who, though a virtual ruler of Telangana was only a great noble in charge of the government of that country and not a king<sup>680</sup>.

In the grave epitaphs, ruler was called as *as-saeed as-Shaheed al-ghazi*, the fortunate prince, the martyr the warrior for God’s sake the strive in God’s way. The title of the king as given in the epitaph “المجاهد في سبيل الله الغازي لوجه الله” verify the statement made in contemporary histories regarding his zeal in his warfare with the infields. The title Shaheed “الشهيد” shows that he died as a martyr which is a most happy end for Muslim. It is impot. To note that the term Shaheed was also used by MBT in his coins issued in his father’s names Ghyasuddin Tughlaq and calling ghyasuddi Tughlaq as a shaheed. Although ghyasuddin was not matyr in the barrle filed but died of stage collapse, but MBT considered him as Shaheed. in the context to the abov iinscription it may be considered the scriber had simply considered the

<sup>677</sup>Z. A. Desai, op. cit. 1953-1953. p. 23.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid. p. 25.

<sup>679</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1915-1916. p. 19.

<sup>680</sup> Ibid.

ruler as Shaheed. The inscription also gives the pet's name of the king, *Bade Malik* which is not to be found in any contemporary writing.

The epitaphs were started with the *Shiete Kalima* and with the throne verses. Sometimes it starts with the praises of Hazrat Ali. In most of the epitaphs we get the reference of the names of scribe and builder but in the epitaphs of Sultan Quli Qutubul Mulk or Bade Malik we didn't get any reference.

Most of the epitaphs were inscribed in Persian and Arabic languages, and sometimes bi-lingual inscription Persian and Arabic are also noticed. The legends are inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

### **6.2.2 Ibrahim Qutub Shah (957-988 AH/ 1550-1580 AD)**

After the reign of Sultan Quli Qutub-ul- mulk or Bade Malik two other rulers, Jamshid Qutub Shah and Subhan Qutub Shah had ruled the dynasty. Their few coins were reported with a single type legend while their epigraphic evidence had not been noticed yet. Like Jamshed and Subhan Quli Qutub Shah the coins of Ibrahim Qutub Shah are rarely known. However, a few copper coins with the legend *Fuluse Jaiz Ibrahim Quli Sa-adat mand Ali Golconda* have been noticed. The inscriptions of coins reflect his religious inclination towards *Shia* faith of Islam.

Four inscriptions had been studied found in various places such as Golconda Tombs, Pangal tanks (Nalgonda), Jallad *Burj* etc.

### **Inscription No. 1**

#### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>681</sup> is reported from Golconda tombs. The epitaph is in Arabic language and in *Naskh* and *Tughra* style of calligraphy. The epitaph contains the *Shiete* creed and Quranic verse. The inscription records the name of the deceased king and the year of his death.

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<sup>681</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *Ibid.* p. 19.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 49 Courtesy EIM 1915-1916

قد انتقل ساكن هذه الحاضرة العالمة و هو  
السلطان المغفور وا الخاقان المرحوم الميرور  
المكسو بحل رضوان الملك الاله السلطان  
ابراهيم قطبشاه  
انار الله برهانه واسكنه مع اوليائه جنانه الى  
جوار رحمة الله يوم الخميس الحادى و  
العشرين من شهر ربيع الثانى سنة ثمان و  
ثمانين و تسع مائة من الهجرة النبوية

### Inscription No.2

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>682</sup> had been noticed from Jallad Burj, Naya Qila, and Golconda. It was in Arabic language and *Thuluth* style of calligraphy. The mosque recorded that it was constructed by Mulla Khiyali, who was one of the court poets of Ibrahim Qutub Shah.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



Epigraph No. 50 Courtesy EIM 1937-1938

و ان المساجد الله فلا تدعوا مع الله  
احد اصدق الله مننت  
يزد وا كه در دران شاه دين پناه  
قطب  
عالم شاه ابراهيم آن نيكوشرشت

<sup>682</sup> Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, "Some new inscriptions from the Golconda Fort", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1937-1938, p. 47.

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>683</sup> is found in Nalakonda district of Andhra Pradesh. It was in Persian language and with *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The epigraphs explains that the mosque designated in one of them as Bait-i-Ibrahim Qutub Shahi (house of Ibrahim Qutub Shah), was constructed in 1576-77. The epitaph did not record the name of the builder of the mosque. Its text comprises the first creed of *Shias* and a tradition of the prophet. It also records that the mosque, built through the will of God, was named the house of Ibrahim Qutub Shah and it was 984 AH (1576=77 AD.)

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 51 Courtesy EIAPS 1966

Right Panel.  
این مسجد معموده بنا شد از خواست الهی نام  
نهاده شد بیت ابراهیم قطبشاهی  
Middle panel , Tradition of  
Prophet  
فی المسجد احبط الله من عمل بیکتہ سبعین  
سنہ

#### Inscriptonal Analysis

The inscription under discussion noticed in graves and that's why it is full of Durud and prays. In the grave inscriptions of Sultam Quli Qutub Shah and Ibrahim Qutub Shah noticed common title in last of their epitaph *Anaralla Burhanahu*<sup>684</sup>, i.e., انار الله برهانه.

The title *Anarallah Burhanahu* means may Allah illuminate his proof was firstly used by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq on his coins issued in the name of his father. Therefore, it's a pray inscribed in the graveyard stone so that Allah enlightened his soul. Along with that the demise king had given the title, *As-sultan Al- maghfur wa Al Khaqan Al- marhoom Al- mabroor Al- maksoo Be- Hail-ir- rizawan Al- malikullah As-sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah.*

<sup>683</sup> M. K. Khan, "Inscriptions of the Qutub Shahi kings", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (In continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moslemica, 1966, pp. 27.*

<sup>684</sup> T.W. Haig, op. cit. 1907-1908. p. 17.

Ibrahim Qutub Shah had repaired a fort and fixed a stone and adopted the title of *Abul Muzaffar Sultan Qutub Shah* (Ibrahim)<sup>685</sup>. The particular epitaph was also written in Telugu version in which the king was titled as *Sriman Mahamamddalesvara Yiburahim Kutubu Sa Rajyamu Seyamaganu vari*<sup>686</sup> .....

In the Persian text, his name Ibrahim is missing, but the title he had used in the epitaph *Abul Muzaffar Sultan Qutub Shah* is deciphered and in Telugu, his name Ibrahim can be seen clearly. The dates mentioned in both the inscription is different, it may be Telugu version date which is wrongly placed. Mulla Khiyali, one of the court poets of Ibrahim Qutub Shah had titled the ruler as شاه دین پناه قطب عالم شاه ابراهیم the king who is the defender of faith and is like a pole star to the world that is King Ibrahim of good nature<sup>687</sup>. Thus, the coins inscriptions and epitaphs inscription is totally different.

The epitaphs began with the *Shiite durud / Shia Kalima* and with the throne verses<sup>688</sup>. Sometimes, it also started with the praises of Hazrat Ali and sometimes the text comprises the first *Shia Kalima* a tradition of the Prophet<sup>689</sup>.

In most of the epitaphs we get the reference of the names of scribe and builder such as Mulla Khayali<sup>690</sup>, but in the epitaphs of Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah we didn't get any reference

The epitaphs were inscribed in Arabic, Persian and Telugu languages by using *Naskh, Tughra, and Thuluth* styles of Arabic calligraphy.

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<sup>685</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1925-1926. p-23.

<sup>686</sup> Ibid.

<sup>687</sup> Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, "Some new inscriptions from the Golconda Fort", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1937-1938. p. 47.

<sup>688</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions in Golconda Tombs", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1915- 1916, p. 19.

<sup>689</sup> M. K. Khan, op. cit.

<sup>690</sup> Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, op. cit. p. 47.

### 6.2.3 Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah (AH 988- 1020 / 1580-1611 AD)

The coinage tradition in Qutub Shahi in actual sense begins from the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah. He had issued few very small gold coins in which he inscribed *Muhammad Quli or fakhr-i-Ali or Quli*. His main currency was mainly issued in copper which can be divided into two major inscriptional types, first type with the warning couplet and second type with ruler's name on the obverse and mint on the reverse. The inscription on the warning couplet follows as, *Paivasta Be lanate Ilahi Ba Tair Dah Fuluse Shahi; Adl Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah Zarb Darul sultanate Golconda*. The inscription on the second type is described as, *Quli Muhammad Sultna Qutub Shah Sanah*.

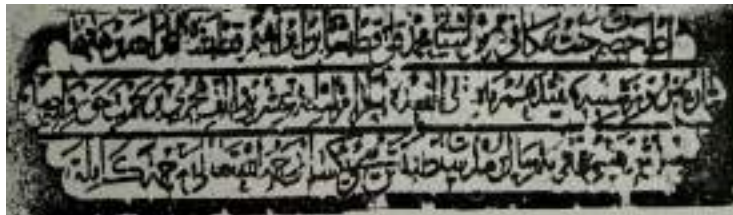
The study includes five inscriptions Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah found in various places such as Tombs, Mughalpura, Khazana Building, Bala Hisar Fort etc.

#### Inscription No.1

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The first inscription<sup>691</sup> was found in Golconda Tombs in Persians calligraphed in *Naskh* and *Tughra*. It contains the *Shiite* creed and Quranic verse 16 chapt. III in *Tughra* style. The inscription mentioned the name of the king.

##### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



على حضرت جنت مکانی عرش اشیانی محمد قلی  
 قطبشاه بناپراهم قطبشاه انارالله  
 برهانها بتاریخ روز شنبه هفتدهم ماه ذی لقعه الحرام  
 سنه ۱۰۲۰ عشرين و الف هجرى برحمت حق واصل  
 شد سن شریفش چهل و نه سال و مدت سلطنتش سی و  
 یک سال رحمه الله تعالى رحمة كاملة

*Epigraph No. 52 Courtesy EIM 1915-16*

<sup>691</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1915- 1916, p.3.

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>692</sup> was recorded from Khazana Building Golconda, it was in Persian, and in *Nastaliq* calligraphy. It contains a farman of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, recording the grant of 30 bighas of land to a saint family. It only quotes the dynasty name Qutubul Mulk for the king. It will be seen that the upper part of the slab is inscribed with a three-pronged figure, which may stand for the hand impression found on certain categories of royal letters.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



چون یک قطعہ زمین بموجب فرمان محمد قلی  
قطب الملک ارا ضی سی بیگہ زمین باسم  
سیادت پناه

*Epigraph No. 53 Courtesy EIAPS 1966*

## Inscription No. 3

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>693</sup> is recorded from Bala Hisar fort of Medak. The record is in Persian and in *Thuluth* style of calligraphy. The epigraph records that the bastion of Medak was completed in the month of Rabi I, 1011 (August-September 1602), during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah and that it was constructed by Ahmad.

<sup>692</sup> M. K. Khan, op. cit. 1966. p. 30

<sup>693</sup> Ibid. p.27



### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



بنا کرد احمد بتاريخ ربيع الاول ماه ؛ دو ايام، سلطان  
محمد قلی قطب شاه ؛ هجرة محمد عليه الصلوة عليه  
السلامهزاد و شش پنج سالو ماه برج میدک شد تمام

*Epigraph No. 54 courtesy EIAPS 1966*

### Inscriptional Analysis

In grave epitaph he was honored with many praises and the title, Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah bin Ibrahim Qutub Shah *Anarullah Burhanahu*<sup>694</sup>. In his coins he did not mention his fathers, (محمد قلی قطبشاه بن ابراهیم قطبشاه) name but in epitaph he had added his father's name along with their all-time title, انار الله برهانها. As the inscription is engraved in a grave, it clears his death date, Zil Qadah 17 AH. 1020 (January 24 AD. 1612). The inscription confirms the ruler died at the age of 49 and he ruled for 31 years.

In the epitaphs he was entitled as, the most benevolent Sultan, the greatest sovereign, Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah<sup>695</sup> and Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah<sup>696</sup>, (May God perpetuate his kingdom). The title of Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah had been used by him on his copper coins<sup>697</sup> and interestingly the place of the epitaph and the Darul Sultanate is the same place Hyderabad. The epitaph contains the Shiite creed and *Shiite Durud* and verse from the Quran written in Tughra style<sup>698</sup>. The epitaphs mentioned the names of scribe and builder such as, Muhammad son of Hussain, Al Fakhkhar at Shiraz,<sup>699</sup> and Ahmad<sup>700</sup>.

<sup>694</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1925-1926. p. 25.

<sup>695</sup> M. K. Khan, op. cit. p. 27.

<sup>696</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p. 25.

<sup>697</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. 2002. p. 339.

<sup>698</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p. 31.

<sup>699</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p.31.

<sup>700</sup> M. K. Khan. op. cit. p. 27.

Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah was a man of great patron of fine arts and architecture and poetry as well. He wrote poetry in Persian, Telugu and Deccani. But the epitaphs were mostly inscribed in Persian and a few were found in Arabic. In his reign the art of calligraphy also developed considerably, as his epitaphs evident the different styles of calligraphy such as *Naskh Tughra*, *Nastaliq* and *Thuluth*.

#### 6.2.4 Muhammad Qutub Shah (AH 1020-1035 /1611-1626 AD)

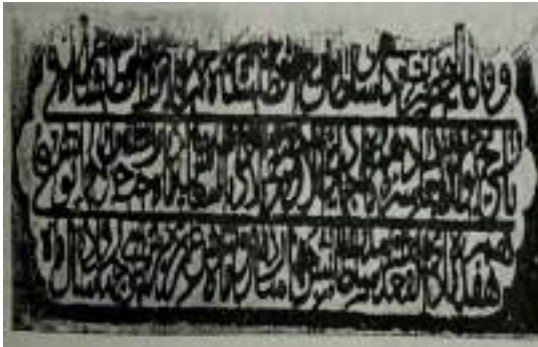
Muhammad Qutub Shah had issued coins in copper with a single legend, *Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Qutub Shah Sultan zarb Darul Sultanate Shahr Hyderabad*. To made the comparison and analysis of the coin and epigraphic inscription researcher selected three epitaph inscriptions found in various places such Tombs, mosques bastion etc.

#### Inscription No. 1

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The first inscription<sup>701</sup> of the king has been recorded from Golconda tombs. It was in Persian language and scribed in *Naskh* and *Tughra* style of calligraphy. The epitaph was carved with *Shiite* creed and Quranic verses along with the date his death.

##### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



و فات علیحضرت جنت مکانی سلطان محمد  
قطبشاه بن میرزا محمد امین بن ابراهیم قطبشاه  
فی تاریخ یوم الاربعاء سیودهم ماه جمادے  
الاولی سنه ۱۰۳۵ ولادت بسعدتیش درماه  
رجب سنه ۱۰۰۱ جلوس همایونش فی هفدهم  
ماه ذی القعد سنه ۱۰۲۰ مدت سلطنتش  
چهارده سال رشش ماه عمر عزیزش سی سال  
و ده ماه.

Epigraph No. 55 courtesy EIM 1915-16

<sup>701</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1915- 1916, p. 32.

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>702</sup> is recorded from the tomb of Miyan Mishk, whereas it was also in Persian and its calligraphy is not clear. It records the erection of a building in 1035 AH (1625 AD.), during the reign of Muhammad Qutub Shah.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



حمد لله و المنة كه باتمام رسيد اين عمارت فايض  
النور مسمى بجادر خانه حضور نامدار حسب الحكم  
شاه اعظم خقان معظم ابوالمظفر محمد شاه خلد ملكه  
ابدا يميلغ يكهزار چهار صد هن رايچ دارالسلطنته  
سلطانگر حرسه الله تعالى عن كل شر و الخطر  
بتاريخ شهر محرم و سنه خمس ثلاثين بعد الف  
*Epigraph No. 56 Courtesy EIM 1917-18*

### Inscriptural Analysis

In the king's own grave epitaph we get to know pedigree of Muhammad Qutub Shah as he had mentioned that he was the son of Muhammad Qutub Shah, the son of Mirza Muhammad Amin (the youngest son of Ibrahim Qutub Shah), the son of Ibrahim Qutub Shah<sup>703</sup>. This epitaph also clears all doubts, related to him, as in it mentioned the date of birth, ascended throne, period of his reign, his age at the time of his death.

In the grave of Kulsum, daughter of Muhammad Qutub Shah, the ruler was titled as *Marjumin Nurullah*<sup>704</sup>. This title has not been used by any ruler of India. It's the combination of Arabic and Persian terms, which means May Allah give his light.

In one of the epitaphs, he was styled as *Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Qutub Shah*-Father of victorious May God perpetuate his kingdom<sup>705</sup>. The title used in the

<sup>702</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1917-1918, p. 43-56.

<sup>703</sup> T.W. Haig, op. cit. 1907-1908. p. 26.

<sup>704</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1915-1916. p. 19.

<sup>705</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1917-1918. p. 43-56.

epitaph is same as mentioned in his copper coins<sup>706</sup>. The inscription on the coins is generally used with a very small legend as the coin's flan are small, therefore, the coin inscription has to be concise. The epitaphs are generally inscribed with the larger inscription as they have sufficient space to accommodate large legends. Therefore, epitaph generally inscribed a high sounding and large title for the king.

### **6.2.5 Abdullah Qutub Shah (AH 1035-1083 / 1626-1672 AD).**

Abdullah Qutub Shah had issued coins mainly in copper which can be divided into two major types. Type I bears the inscription *Abdullah Sultan Bad Shah Ghazi* on the one side and *Zarb Darul Sultanate Hyderabad* on the other. The type II is generally known as valedictory statement type coins in which he stated, *Khatama Bil Khair wa- sadat* on the one side and *Darul sultanate zarb Hyderabad* on the other. These coins are well reported.

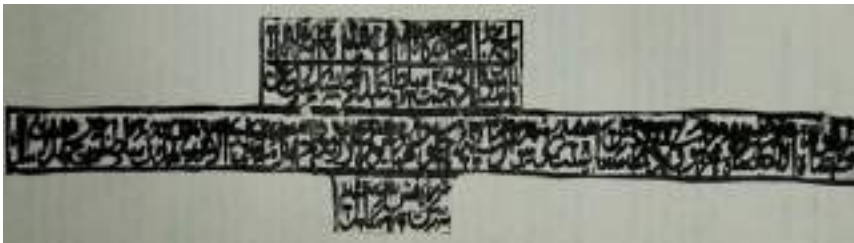
Good number of epigraphic inscriptions of Abdullah Qutub Shah are published fifteen epitaphs have been selected for the present study. The epitaphs of Abdullah Qutub Shah described various aspects of the king and his kingdom.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The inscription<sup>707</sup> is noted from the tomb of Abdullah Qutub Shah in Persian language and with *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The sarcophagus is decorated with religious texts and Quranic verses. The inscription mentions the date of the death of Abdullah Qutub Shah

##### **Description of the Epitaph Inscription:**



<sup>706</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka, op. cit. 2002. p. 340.

<sup>707</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, ibid. 1917-1918.

تاریخ وفات بادشاہ جنت بارگاہ سلطان عبداللہ قطبشاہ بن محمد قطبشاہ یوم الحد سیم ماہ محرم سنہ ۱۰۸۳ و ولادت باسعادتش بیست و ہشتم شہر شوال سنہ جلوس ہمایونش یوم الربعا چہاردم ماہ جمادی الاولی سنہ ۱۰۳۵ مدت سلطنتش چہل و ہشت سال سن سرفیش

*Epigraph No. 57 Courtesy EIM 1917-1918*

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>708</sup> was recorded from Golconda Fort. The inscription is in Arabic. The style of writing is *Naskh* but a part of the inscription is arranged in oval and circular Tughra devices which are quite pleasing. During the reign of later Qutub Shahi rulers the danger of the Mughal invasion was always imminent, so they made extensive improvements for the fortifications of the fort.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



لله

All are in Circle

اللہ محمد علی مدد سلطان عبداللہ

اللہ محمد علی

ناد علیہ مظهر العجايب تجده عوناللك في العوايب

كل هم و غم سينجلي بولا يتك يا علي

لا فتى الا علي لا سيف الاذوالفقار

All these were in marginal area.

مرمت ديوار قلعه محمد نگر درکار

ملک یوسف کارگرفته ملک نور محمد

کرد سلطان نواب عبداللہ قطبشاہ گشت

شہور سنہ تسع و عشرين و الف بتاریخ سلخ ماہ شعبان

سنہ ۱۰۳۸

*Epigraph No. 58 Courtesy EIM 1917-*

<sup>708</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions in Golconda Fort", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (In continuation of Epigraphia Indo Moslemica)*, 1913-1920, Director General Archaeological Survey of India, Jan path, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 47

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>709</sup> is recorded from Musa Burj, the inscription is in Persian, and inscribed in *Naskh*. The inscription mentions about a violent war and the death of Mir-i-Miran, an important officer. Another historical personage mentioned in the inscriptions is Musa Khan<sup>710</sup>. The inscription has also a counterpart in Telugu which has been deciphered and translated by Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri (not included here).

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



قائم کرده و نقب را نزدیک این برج تا بخندق رسانید  
چون درینجا. برج کرچک بود اما حکم جهانمطاع عالم  
مطیع خسرو زمان شهنشاه درران السلطان العادل ظل  
الله ابو المظفر ابو المنصور ابو الغازی سلطان عبدالله  
قطب شاه بدستور الوزرا فی زمان مقرب

Epigraph No. 59 Courtesy EIM 1913-1914

<sup>709</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p. 52.

<sup>710</sup> In the war of succession which ensued on the death of Abdullah Qutub Shah (1083 AH) Musa Khan supported the claim of Abul Hasan.

### Inscriptional Analysis

The grave epitaph is blessed with brief introduction of Abdullah Qutub Shah, related to his birth, ascended the throne, death, reigned etc. Along with all these, it also mentions a small pedigree<sup>711</sup>.

The ruler Abdullah Qutub Shah was called as *Nawaab*,

خسرو زمان شهنشاه درران السلطان العادل ظل الله ابو المظفر ابو المنصور ابو الغازی سلطان عبدالله  
قطب شاه

*Khusaru Zaman Shahanshah dar-e-ran As-sultan Al Adil Zilulah Abul Muzaffar Abul Mansur Abul Mughazi Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah.*

The emperor of the period the just sultan, the shadow of God Abul Muzaffar Abul Mansur Abul Ghazi Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah to the wazir of the wazirs of the time the confidence of the royal court in the epitaphs<sup>712</sup>. He was also called as

در زمان خلافت سلطنة بادشاه جمجاه ملایک سپاه ظل اله سلطان عبدالله قطب شاه<sup>713</sup> خلدالله ملکہ

*Dar-e- Zaman Salishta Baadshah Jamjah Malaik Sipaha Zillulah Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah Khaldallahu Mulkahu*

The shelter of the people, having Soloman like; audience hall Shadow of God Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah<sup>714</sup>.

One epitaph is found inscribed in bilingual – Telugu and Persian.<sup>715</sup> In Persian the king was called as بادشاه جمجاه ملایک سپاه ظل اله سلطان عبدالله قطب شاه<sup>716</sup> خلدالله ملکہ. *Jamjah Malayek-e- Sipah Zillullah Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah* whereas in the Telugu version<sup>717</sup> he was titled as *Hajarati Alampana Sulutanu Abdulla Kutupu Saharajugaru* the lord of the Golconda throne.

The term *Nawab* is used in various Indian languages such as Hindi, Urdu and Bengali etc. its origin is from Arabic, honorific plural of *Naib*, or deputy. The term

<sup>711</sup> T.W. Haig, op. cit. 1907-1908. p. 33.

<sup>712</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p. 47.

<sup>713</sup> The title of Sultan Abdullah given here as the same as those given in the Ambar Kahna, “Inscription of Golconda fort”, *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1913-1914, p.57.

<sup>714</sup> Z. A. Desai, op. cit. 1953-54. p. 23.

<sup>715</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1937-1938. p.52-59.

<sup>716</sup> The title of Sultan Abdullah given here as the same as those given in the Ambar Khana, “Inscription of Golconda fort”. *EIM*, 1913-1914, p.57.

<sup>717</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1937-1938. p. 52-59.

*nawab* was often used to refer any Muslim ruler in north or south India. But he was the first sultan of Deccan who adopted the title of *Nawaab* along with *Shah*. The term *Khusaru* and *Salsha* were Persian term which is also used to denote the ruler. *Jamjah* is another Persian term used in praise of the king which means glorious and generous<sup>718</sup>. He was also called as shadow of God. Along with all these titles, he inscribed the prayer to God for well-being of kingdom. The prayers were found very commonly in the epigraphs of the rulers of Qutub Shahi dynasty.

One of the epigraphs is of the considerable historical importance as it gives an account from the Qutub Shahi point of view of the siege of Golconda by Prince Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb in 1066 AH. (1656 AD).

The epitaph contains the *Shiete Kalima* (creed) and the *Quranic Verses*<sup>719</sup> *Aayatul Kursi*<sup>720</sup> and *nate Ali*<sup>721</sup> and *Asmaul Husna*<sup>722</sup>. These verses are recited by the Shiites to get out of misery. He mentioned that there is no soldier like Ali, no sword like *Zulfaqar*<sup>723</sup>.

The epitaphs mentioned the names of scribe and builder such as Malik Yusuf Malik Nur supervised to repairs the walls of Muhammad Nagar Fort<sup>724</sup>. It mentions the name of calligraphers such as Lutfullah Al Hussaini at Tabrezi<sup>725</sup>, Muhammad Ali, Mir Ali, son of Mir Ali Jan Mashhadi<sup>726</sup>. It also mentioned the name of the architect of bastion, gardens, as Dharmschar<sup>727</sup>, Khairat Khan<sup>728</sup> and Mir Jumla<sup>729</sup>

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<sup>718</sup> <https://www.rekhtadictionary.com/meaning-of-Jam-Jaah>.

<sup>719</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1915- 1916, p. 40.

<sup>720</sup> Z. A. Desai, "Qutub Shahi Inscriptions from Andhra state," *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1953-1954, p. 30.

<sup>721</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1987, p. 47.

<sup>722</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *Some Muslim Inscriptions from the Madras Presidency and Orissa, Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1937-1938, p. 52-59.

<sup>723</sup> A name of Ali's sword. This word mostly found in Shiite literature.

<sup>724</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1987, p. 47.

<sup>725</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1917-1918. p. 43-56.

<sup>726</sup> M. K. Khan, op. cit. 1966, p. 27.

<sup>727</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit., 1987, pp. 52.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid.

<sup>729</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, *Some Muslim Inscriptions from the Madras Presidency and Orissa, Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1937-1938, p- 52-59



the well-known Qutub Shahi general, who established Qutub Shahi ruled in Carnatic.

The epitaphs recorded in it the name of the royal officer who had erected the mosque, Mir Hussian Ashrafi Mazandarani, the Sayyid, the noble the Hawaldar of Kaman<sup>730</sup>. *Naskh*, *Nastaliq*, *Thuluth* and *Tughra* are the most common style of calligraphy found in the epigraph of Muhammad Qutub Shah.

### 6.2.6 Abul Hasan Qutub Shah (AH 1083-1098 / 1672-1687 AD).

Abul Hasan Qutub Shah has continued the coin type of his father-in-law (Abdullah Qutub Shah) both in inscription and weight standard. Two epitaph's inscriptions had been studied of the ruler found from gates, mosques etc.

#### Inscription No. 1

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The first inscription<sup>731</sup> of the king is originated from the tomb of Miyan Mishk Hyderabad from the eastern gateway. The epitaph bears the names of ruler and twelve Imams.

##### Description of the Epitaph Inscription

##### Inscriptions over the eastern Gateway



Epigraph No. 60 Courtesy EIM 1917-1918

Arranged in a circle: the names of the 12 imams and the following verses.  
مودی کہ بتاید .... حق دکن است محب قطب بجان علی  
ابوالحسن است

<sup>730</sup> Z. A. Desai, "Qutub Shahi Inscriptions from Andhra state", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1953-1954, p. 23

<sup>731</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions of the Qutub Shahi kings in Hyderabad City and Suburbs", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1917-1918. pp. 43-56

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>732</sup> is noted from Saraiwali Masjid in Shaikpet, Golconda. It was in Persian verse and Arabic prose and written in *Naskh* calligraphy.

It recorded the religious and Quranic texts and also contained the name of the scribe and the date both in words and figures. The mosque having been built in or before 1089 AH (1678-1679 AD) in the time of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



و بعهد جها ندار فرخ لقا و بنا کرد مسجد بنام خدا کتبه  
حسن علی الف  
هشتاد نه سنه ۱۰۸۹

*Epigraph No. 61 Courtesy EIAPS 1973*

### Inscriptional Analysis

In both the epitaph only the name Abul Hasan is decipherable. But unfortunately, no titles were found on coins or epitaphs. In the epitaph he ordered to inscribed the name of twelve Imams of *Shia*. The epitaphs mention the names of scribe and builder. ‘Hasan son of Ali’ is one of the scribes whose name is mention in the epitaph of Abul Hasan.

The epitaphs were inscribed both in Arabic and Persian in *Naskh*, *Thuluth* and *Tughra*. calligraphy styles, besides *Shikasta*, is also noticed.

<sup>732</sup> Z. A. Desai, and SS Hussain, “Two new Qutub Shahi Inscriptions from Golconda”, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*), 1973, p. 58.

### **6.3 Nizam Shahi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar (AH 895-1046/ 1490-1636AD)**

The present section covers the epigraphic inscriptions of Nizam Shahi dynasty and it proposes to analyze and compare them with the numismatic inscription. As many as 3 rulers, Murtaza Nizam Shah I, Burhan Nizam Shah II, and Burhan Nizam Shah III- had been studied, covering ten Epigraphic evidences.

Nizam Shahi dynasty was one of the disintegrated powers of Bahmani Sultanate which came into existence in 1409 and continued to rule till it was captured by Mughals in 1636 AD. The dynasty was ruled by 14 kings only four are represented in their coinage. Murtaza Nizam Shah I was the first king known to have issued coins and he was also credited to have issued first epigraphic inscription<sup>733</sup>.

#### **6.3.1 Murtaza Nizam Shah I (AH 973-997 / 1565-1588 AD)**

Nizam Shahi rulers in general and Murtaza Nizam Shah in particular are represented in copper coins. But Murtaza Nizam Shah is also known to have issued gold coins with the *Shia Shahada*. His copper coins bear the inscription *Zarb Murtaza Nagar Fi Shuhure Sanah*. It is attributed to the ruler with the help of the date. Four epigraphic inscriptions have been found and studied. The epitaph was found carved on the wall of the fort at Qandhar, *Jami Masjid*, *Chandini Burj* etc.

#### **Inscription No. 1**

##### **Content of the Epitaph Inscription**

The first inscription<sup>734</sup> of Murtaza Nizam Shah I had been carved on the western wall of the fort at Qandhar. It was inscribed in *Naskh*. It records the construction of certain bastions and walls by Polad Khan and Ghorri Khan during the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah I (1565-86 AD).

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<sup>733</sup> This information is based on the published inscription in EIM As no inscription prior to Murtaza Nizam Shah I has been listed.

<sup>734</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions in the fort at Qandhar, Nanded district" *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1919-1920, p.22.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



بدور همایون شهنشاہ مرتضا سنہ اربع و سبعین و تسعمآہ  
این بهانج ز پولاد خان چاکرشہ ولا

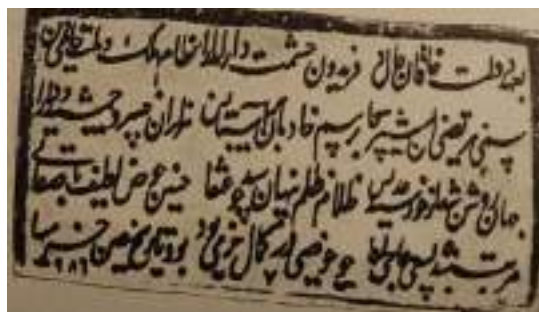
Epigraph No. 62 Courtesy EIM 1919-20

## Inscription No. 2

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The second inscription<sup>735</sup> found carved near the cistern of Diwan Ahmad's Mosque. It is in Persian and inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The inscription recorded the name of king, Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar who ruled from 973-996 AH. It also recorded the name of the builder, Haji Aqa. The name of Haji Aqa is not mentioned in any history of the period.

### Description of the Epitaph Inscription



بعهد دولت خاقان عادل فریدون حشمت دارا مدارا  
نظام ملک و ملت حامی دین سمی مرتضی آن شیر  
هیجا

مرتب شدبسعۃ حاجی آقا ۹۸۶

Figure 152 Epigraph No 61. EIAPS 1933-1934

## Inscription No. 3

### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The third inscription<sup>736</sup> is reported from a mosque close to *Arhhai Gumbad* in Ahmednagar, inscribed in Persian. The epitaph recorded the name of the king

<sup>735</sup> M Nazim, "Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic Persian Supplement*, 1933-1934, p. 20.

<sup>736</sup> C H Shaikh, "Some unpublished Inscriptions from Ahmednagar", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic Persian Supplement*, 1939-1940, p. 30.

Nizam Shah and the name of builder as Bisat Khan who is a loyal servant to the king. The inscription states that Bisat Khan had endowed land from the garden as *inam* for the lights of the mosque and dome.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



در عهد شاه عادل کامل نظام شاه بساط خان که هست از  
جان چاکری  
هر که منع کند برزن او خر

Epigraph No. 63 Courtesy EIM 1939-40

#### Inscriptional Analysis

Most of the inscriptions were issued without date and the name of the ruler. It only mentions the name of the dynasty, 'Nizam Shah'. However, in a few epitaphs the ruler was mentioned with his name *Murtaza* and date<sup>737</sup>. In one of the epitaph *Murtaza* was called as *Abul Ghazi Nizam Shah and Shah Alam Murtza Nizam Shah Sultani*<sup>738</sup>.

The below illustrated inscription includes the name of the ruler *Murtaza* along with the name *Hazrat Ali* and *Shiete Durud*<sup>739</sup>. *Shiete durud* was also noticed in the epitaphs of *Adil Shahi* but *Shiete Kalima* has been notice on the coins of *Nizam Shahi* dynasty only.

<sup>737</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1919-1920. p-20

<sup>738</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1927-1928. p. 18

<sup>739</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, "Inscriptions in the fort at Qandhar, Nanded district H E H the Nizam dominions", *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, pp-22., 1919-1920

## Description of the Epitaph and Coin Inscription



Courtesy: Bhavesh Busa Coin collector

**Obverse:** *Shia version of kalmia with Ali Waliullah added to the usual Muhammad Rasulalalh*

**Reverse:** *At the top of the name of the Sultan Murtaza Fi Shuhure Sanah*

Legends in two parts the lower of which is the Ah date 993 in words



EIM 1919-1920

بنا شد خدا و محمد علی اولیاً  
بدور همایون شهنشاہ مرتضا سنہ اربع و  
سبعی  
و تسعمأه این بهانج زیولاد خان چاکرشہ  
ولا

The epitaph stamped the chronicler's statement, that he was a *Shia* follower. The inscribed legends it is clearly mentioned about, Muhammad, Ali and their saints. Murtaza nizam shah is known to have issue a gold coins with the *Shia* Shahada and the ruler's name 'Murtaza'. Thus, from both numismatic and epigraphic evidence the *Shia* faith of Islam is reflected. There is divergence in the calligraphical styles. Coins were inscribed in beautiful *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy while epitaphs were inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy has become very common on medieval Indian coins in 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The coins of Mughlas are the best example of *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy.

The epitaphs were started with the *Shiite durud* and with the throne verses. It sometimes also started with the praises of Hazrat Ali. It records the construction of certain bastions and walls by Polad Khan and Ghori Khan name of the supervisor<sup>740</sup>, Aflatun Khan, Mahmood Ali Khan or Hushi the composer<sup>741</sup>, not

<sup>740</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1919-1920, p.20.

<sup>741</sup> A.A. Kadiri, op. cit. 1967, p. 43

been able to gather any information. The Chandini Burj was manufactured by Muhammad ibn Husain Rumi, the manufacturer of the renowned Malik Maidan gun of Bijapur<sup>742</sup>. And lastly, a building found in Bidar its Arch was constructed Marjan Farhad Khani<sup>743</sup>, 983 A H (1575-1576 AD). Most of the inscriptions were inscribed in Persian and in *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

### 6.3.2 Burhan Nizam Shah II (AH 1000-1003 /1591-1595 AD)

Like Murtaza Nizam Shah I he also issued copper coins with few gold coins. His gold coins were issued with *Shia* Shahada and copper coins with a single legend inscribing in it, “*Zarb Darul Sultanah Burhanabad Fi Shuhure Sanah Ahdy wa Alf*”. Only one epigraphic inscription of Burhan Nizam Shah II found at Antur has been studied analyzed has been made.

#### Inscription No. 1

##### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>744</sup> has been reported from Antur, in inscribed in Persian and calligraphed in *Nastaliq*. This inscription mentioned about the direction of Nagpur and Jalna on the east, Antur and Burhanpur on the north, Daulatabad and Ahmadnagar on the south and Maihwan and Chalisgaon on the west. It also contains the *Hijri* date 1004 AH. And records that the pillar was erected during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah.

##### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 64 Courtesy EIAPS 1927-1928

On the eastern side of the pillar  
در زمان حضرت برهان نظام شاه فی شہور  
سنہ الف  
شرف راہ ناگاپور و جالناپور  
On the southern side of the pillar  
جنوب راہ دولت آباد و احمد نگر  
On the western side of the pillar  
راہ مہون و چالیسکام  
On the northern side of the pillar  
راہ انتور و برہانپور

<sup>742</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1927-1928. p. 18.

<sup>743</sup> Ibid. p. 18.

<sup>744</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p-12.

### Inscriptional Analysis

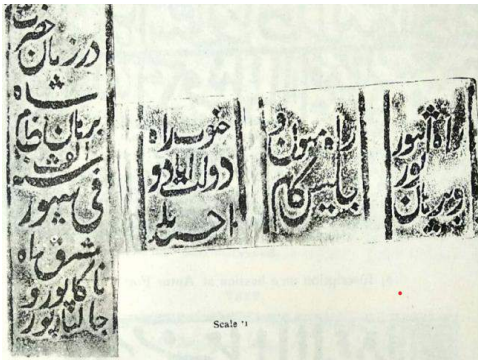
The pillar records only the name and date of Burhan Nizam Shah II. However, the coin inscription of Nizam Shhahi either bear the name of the name of Murtaza or Burhan. All these rulers were attributed on the basis of dates.

### Description of the Epitaph and Coin Inscription



**Obverse:** *Zarb Darul Sultanate  
Burhanabad*

**Reverse:** *fi shuhure Sanah Ahda  
wa Alf with date at top*  
Courtesy: Mintage world



در زمان حضرت برهان نظام شاه فی شہور  
سنہ الف  
شرف راہ ناگاپور و جالناپور  
جنوب راہ دولت آباد و احمد نگر  
راہ مہون و چالیسکام  
راہ انتور و برہانپور  
Courtesy EIAPS 1927-1928

Thus, the names inscribed on both the primary sources are same. In the epitaph the date is mentioned as 1001 AH while his copper coins inscribe date 1001 in words<sup>745</sup> Ahda wa Alf. The writing style of both the sources are same. The inscriptions were beautifully carved in *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy.

Like Murtaza Nizam Shah a few gold coins of Burhan Nizam Shah were also issued with *Shia* Shahada. So far, no epitaph has been found with *Shia Shahada*.

### 6.3.2 Burhan Nizam Shah III (AH 1019-1041 / 1610-1631 AD)

Although Murtaza Nizam Shah II the predecessor of Burhan Nizam Shah II is not reported in the epitaphs but his successors Burham Nizam shah III is well represented in both epigraphs and coins.

<sup>745</sup> Stan Goron and Goenka. op. cit. 2002. p. 327.



Burhan Nizam Shah III has been primarily represented in copper coins with the legend *Zarb Murtaza Ahmadnagar Fi Shuhure Sanah*. The present study includes four epigraphic inscriptions and these are being analyzed as under.

### Inscription No. 1

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>746</sup> is found from the fort of Antur, inscribed in Persian and in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. It states about the construction of the gateway in the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah III.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 65 courtesy EIM 1919-1920

کشاده باد بدولت شه این درگاه ، بحق اشهد ان لا اله الا الله دور شاه عادل خسرو کامل ظل اله سلیمان جاه خلیق پناه السلطان برهان نظام شاه خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و افاض علی العالمین بره و احسانه بامر مرید مالک البحر و البر مملکت مدار ... ملک عنبر دام عزه و اقبال شد بانی این درگاه علیه مالک خان عالی شان نتیجتاً الاعیان شجاعتشان ناصر الخوانین فی الزمان ناصر فرهاد خان عزة در تاریخ سنه خمس و ثلاثین و الف هجرت النبى على مشرفها الصلوة تحیه-

### Inscription No. 2

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>747</sup> is found from the fort of Antur, inscription is inscribed in Persian and in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. This inscription refers about the mosque that was built during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



Epigraph No. 66 Courtesy EIM 1919-1920

در دور اشرف همایون ظل اله برهان نظام شاه خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه بامر موید دین متین پیغمبر ملک عنبر شد بانی مسجد از بهر ثاراب دارین اسمعیل حسین در ربع عشرين ساخته شد ۱۰۲۳

<sup>746</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1919-1920, p-12

<sup>747</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. p-12.,

### Inscription No. 3

#### Content of the Epitaph Inscription

The inscription<sup>748</sup> is found from the fort of Antur. Like the first two inscription it is also inscribed in Persian and in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. The inscription is engraved on the bastion, refers that it was built during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah, by the order of Malik Ambar.

#### Description of the Epitaph Inscription:



شهد شه برج بنا در عهد ظل اله برهان نظام  
شاه  
بحکم نافع الیشر ملک عنبر بنور زد هم رجب  
در سنه تسع عشر الف.

Epigraph No. 67 Courtesy EIM 1919-1920

#### Inscriptural Analysis

In the epitaph the king was designated as the just king, the accomplished ruler, the shadow of God (on mankind) the one possessing Soloman's dignity, the refuge of people the Sultan, Burhan Nizam Shah<sup>749</sup>. He was also called as *Ashrafe Humayun Zillulah Burhan Nizam Shah Khaldallah Mulka hu wa Sultanahu*<sup>750</sup>. Similar titles were used by his predecessors.

The epitaph was inscribed by *Kalima Shahada* and Islamic Creed there is no God but Allah<sup>751</sup>. The building was constructed by Nasir Farhad Khan by the order of Malik Ambar<sup>752</sup>. Even the mosque was built by Ismail Hussain by the order of Malik Ambar<sup>753</sup>. Similarly, an arch was built by Sikandar Beg Thanedar of Paithan

<sup>748</sup> Ibid

<sup>749</sup> Ghulam Yazdani. op. cit. 1919-1920. p-12.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid.

<sup>751</sup> Ghulam Yazdani, op. cit. 1919-1920. pp-12.

<sup>752</sup> Ibid.

<sup>753</sup> Ibid.

by the order of Malik Ambar<sup>754</sup> in the reign Burhan Nizam Shah. Malik Ambar played a very important role during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah III. During the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah Persian was used in writing the epitaph with the help of beautiful *Naskh* style of calligraphy.

Ninety five epigraphic inscriptions have been studied in this chapter. These inscriptions were found in various places covering different aspects related to these dynasties. While analyzing, the study reveals that the influence of *Shiasm* very much evident both from epigraphic and numismatic inscriptions. However, the influence of *Shiasm* is not noticed in all the inscriptions. The coins of Ali Adil Shah I Ibrahim Adil Shah II and Burhan Nizam Shah II are the best example of the influence of the *Shiasm* reflected from the coins. These are the only examples of *Shia* faith inscribed on the Indian coins. Similarly, the epigraphs of Murtaza Nizam Shah I, and Ali Adil Shah II are the example of *Shiaism* in epigraphic inscriptions.

Although the inscriptions on the coins of Qutub Shahi do not reflect the *Shia* faith but the epigraphic inscription of many of these rulers including the rulers of Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi bears the *Shia* Durud and Kalima.

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<sup>754</sup> Mr. Syed Yusuf, "Muslim Inscriptions from Paithan", *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1949-1950, p. 5.

## **Conclusion**

## Conclusion

The analysis of *Coinage of Deccan Sultanate: Coin Legends and Epigraphic Evidence*”, shows that the legends in coins and epitaphs provide an authentic source for reconstructing the history of the medieval period. These records throw sufficient light, on the basis of which the socio-religious, as well as the cultural history of the Deccan Sultanate and its regimes, may be understood. Coins are reproduced like a bulletin of ‘state’. It provides both religious and secular messages in nature. The inscriptions inscribed on coins mentioned the names of the ruler, hierarchy of powers, and religious faith. It works like a message bearer. Therefore, through the interpretations of medieval Indian coins inscription, their full meaning can be yielded.

After a deep analysis of all the factors of Islamic type coins in India and their impact on the Deccan Sultanate, it can be concluded that the firmness of Muslim rule in India in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, gradually promoted the Arabic and Persian legends and abandon figural image on coins and epitaphs. Therefore, an era of Islamic-type coins begins. The coins and epitaphs are primarily based on Islamic contents which include *kalima*, name of caliph (both Abbasid and great caliph) titles of the ruler, the name of the ruler, dates, mints, and epithets.

In India, the Islamic-type coins were first noticed from the coins of the Amir of Sindh. The coins were inscribed with the name of the ruler and *Shahadat*. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate nourished a new coinage system termed as ‘Islamic type coins’ which made a decisive break with pictorial motifs coins. Three powerful dynasties Mamluk, Khalji, and Tughlaq, ruled in the Delhi Sultanate. They took a great interest in the formalization of their coinage which witnessed both continuity and change.

The Islamization of Indian coins had taken a long period of time and cognitive thoughts, ideas, and proficiency of the Islamic knowledge of the rulers led to formalizing a perfect shape of the Islamic type coins. Therefore, Islamic coins

featured in the Delhi sultanate as, *Kalimas*, Quranic Verses, names of Abbasid Caliph, names of four Caliphs, rulers' name dates, and mints. Rulers like Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Muhammad, and Muhammad Bin Tughlaq played a great important role in forming the actual shape of the coinage of the Delhi Sultanate. The changes done by these rulers had continued by their immediate successors.

Initially, the Delhi Sultans had minted coins in local Indian traditions by combining small Islamic conventions on them. Most of the Mamluk Sultan of Delhi Sultanate had continued the prominent coin type bull/ horseman type by executing some changes on it.

The actual period of coinage in Islamic tradition in India begin with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate during the reign of Iltutmish who gave a definite shape to the coinage of the Delhi Sultanate. He introduced Islamic-type coins featuring the first *Kalima*, names of Abbasid Caliph along with his name, mint, and date. Later other rulers like Ruknuddin Firoz (Quranic Verses) and Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (Kalima Shahadat and names of four great Caliphs) had incorporated new variants of Islamic information in their respective coins.

The names of Abbasid Caliphs were followed up by almost all the rulers of the Delhi sultanate to show respect to the seat of the Caliph who is the head of Muslims and also to legitimize their rules. Although, the rulers had not received any decree of investiture like Iltutmish, but had continued to inscribe the names of Caliphs. Along with Caliphs names, the rulers had incorporated their names by writing as *Yaminul Khilafa* (right hand of caliph), *Nasir Amirul Mumineen* (helper of the leader of the faithful), *Saif Amirul Mumineen* (Sword of the caliph), *Naib Amirul Mumineen* (Deputy of the commander of the faithful), *Wali Amirul Mumineen* (trustee of the faithful), etc. Even Sultan Razia the first woman ruler in India has also called her *Nusart Amirul Mimineen* in the place of *Nasir Amirul Mumineen*. *Nusrat* is the female version of *Nasir* (deputy). They all had adopted these titles to project and highlight their connection with the caliphs so that no one can oppose their sovereignty.

Although, few rulers such as Alauddin Muhammad, Shihabuddin Umar, and Qutubuddin Mubarak had discarded the names of Abbasid Caliph they had adopted the title of Nasir *Amirul Muninin* which suggests that they had not discarded the institution of Khilafat. In history, the name of Qutubuddin Mubarak was highlighted the most because he called himself *Khalifa* and *Khalifatullah*. The *Ulama* (Muslim religious scholar) of that time had criticized him. According to the *Ulama*, Caliphs were inherited from Hazrat Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, no one can claim *Khalifatullah*. Scholars give various reasons for his adoption of the titles. Thus, all those were only assumptions, it is not clear, why he had assumed these caliph titles.

However, the present researcher on the basis of ‘Quran Suran Baqarah’ verse No. 30. analyzed the use of these titles was not a topic of criticism because Allah himself in *Quran Suran Baqarah* verse No. 30 says that

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً قَالُوا أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَنْ يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ  
الدِّمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ قَالَ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ

Remember when your Lord said to the angels, “I am going to place a successive human authority on earth.” they asked Allah, will you place in it someone who will spread corruption there and shed blood while glorifying your praise and proclaim your holiness? Allah responded, “I know what you do not know”<sup>755</sup>.

Therefore, from these verses of the Quran, one may consider that every single person in the world is Khalifa of Allah.

However, a very remarkable change and a new era of inscriptions had been noticed during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. He had done great experimentation with his coins and inscribed various new inscriptions which were not used by any Muslim ruler. He reintroduced the names of Abbasid Caliphs after getting a decree of investiture from the Caliph of Egypt and the *Kalima* on coins that were discarded after Iltutmish. Along with *Kalima Tayyeba* he introduced *Kalima Shahadat*.

He designated himself with very religious high-sounding titles which refer to him as a staunch orthodox ruler such as *Al Mujahid Fi Sabilillah*, *Al Wasiq Bataidir*

<sup>755</sup> <http://en.noblequran.org/quran/surah-al-baqarah/ayat-30/>

*Rahman, Raji Rahmatullah*, and even declared himself as *Muhi-us- Sunan Khatamun Nabyyein* the reviver of the laws of the prophet'. Even he had added a few verses of the Quran. In the initial years of the Delhi Sultanate rulers tried to establish and consolidate their sultanate. The writing of Quranic verses is one step toward consolidation. Mamluk Sultan Ruknuddin Mubarak and later Muhammad Bin Tughlaq had also used Quranic verses on coins. The use of Quranic verses was a new practice in India. However, it remained a standard numismatic formula of caliphs to inscribe it on precious metals.

The most wonderful and noteworthy change is the introduction of forced (Token) currency. Token currency had created a great buzz on the coins of the Delhi Sultanate firstly for its inscription and secondly, the language of the inscription. The inscription on the token currency had attained great attention from the scholars as it is the first coin issued by any ruler who appeals to the people to accept the coin and also indirectly requests the people 'who obey the sultan obey the God'. the legends read as, *Muhr Shud Tanka –i- Raijdar Rozgar Banda Umeedwar Muhammad Tughlaq* and *Man Ata as Sutna Faqad Ataur Ranham*. Secondly, the language of the inscription, to appeal to his subjects he preferred to write couplets in Persian and Arabic. As Delhi Sultans had issued coins mostly in Arabic and few in Bilingual (Arabic and Devanagari). Hence it is the first evidence of Bilingual coins in Arabic and Persian introduced by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.

The coinage pattern of the Delhi Sultanate had very much influenced the Deccan sultanate. The initial rulers of the Bahmani Sultanate Alauddin Bahman Shah, and Alauddin Mujahid Shah had minted coins in the prevailing inscriptional style of the Delhi Sultanate by inscribing them as *Sikandar-us- Sani Yaminul Khilafat Nasir Amirul Mumineen* with the names of caliphs. This was the continuation of the coin prevalent there. Later other rulers had made changes with some novel titles which were different from those of the Delhi Sultans. The incursion of the numismatic ideas of Bahmani Sultans with Delhi introduced a new numismatic tradition in medieval Deccan. The coinage of Bahmani's appreciated a peculiar status for their coins in general and the use of excellent calligraphy in particular. The Bahmani ruler had discarded the use of billon currency prevalent in the time of the Delhi



sultanate, they however, continued to issue gold silver, and copper. The Bahmani Sultanate coins inscription provides various forms of secular information *like Ism, Laqab, Kunya genealogy, honorific titles, religious faith, Asmaul Husna, dates, and mints*. While Delhi Sultanate coins provide the name of the ruler, honorific titles, mints and dates, and sometimes the father's name. The depiction of Islamic-type coins by the Bahmani Sultans differs from that of the Delhi Sultanate. They depicted the rulers as stronger and more religious by using *Asmaul Husna*. As a result, the inscriptional value of Bahmani coins has increased in comparison to other Indian Sultanate's coinage. Although Bahmani had developed their own form of coins, besides, they had issued a few coins with Quranic verses and *kalima* Shahadat also but these are rarely known. The *Kalimas* were inscribed on coins to promote the true faith of Islam. One remarkable coin has been issued by Humayun Shah, who devoted a quotation from the Quran *Surah Fateha*.

With the exception of the *Surah Fateha, Kalima Shahada, and Asmaul Husna*, Bahmani Sultans had inscribed some short phrases, such as *Al Mutasim Be Halilillahi*, which appears in the Quran, do occur on the coinage, but are brief and found in several different Quranic verses. They are used as pious ejaculations rather than references to specific Quranic passages. In other words, these short texts would not have automatically reminded the coin user of particular Quranic verses.

The kings of medieval India adopted the term *As-sultan Al Azam* and ended their titles with '*Aduniya wa Din*', but Bahmani had distinguished themselves from the Delhi Sultanate by developing their own pattern of coinage inscriptions rather than following the vestige of Delhi Sultanate.

Bahmani sultans had taken a great interest in their coin's inscription. Delhi sultanate had inscribed large titles on gold and silver coins they had not given any importance to the copper coins inscriptions. However, Bahmani had given proper space for the inscription containing different aspects- religious and secular themes on their copper coins. the selection of calligraphy by the Bahmani kings helps to accommodate large legends on their coins.

The first interesting inscription of Bahmani Sultanate is of Muhammad Shah I, who had introduced a new legend *Sulthaul Ahad Wa Zaman Hamiu Millatur Rasulur Rahman* (king of the time and the age, the protector of the people of the community of the Prophet of the Merciful One). The legends were not inscribed by any medieval ruler. He became the first Bahmani ruler who had received a decree of investiture after Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. The decree of investiture from the caliph Al Mutadid of Egypt was brought by his mother and in consequence of which he assumed on his coins the title '*Protector of the People of the Prophet of the merciful God*'<sup>756</sup>. This title was supported by his numismatic sources. In coins, he had inscribed *Hamiye Millatur rasulur Rahman* and not the name of Caliph from he had received the degree of investiture. Here in spite of the caliph's name he preferred to write the Prophet's name.

The titles of Bahmani Sultans on coins were intended to represent the ruler as more powerful, pious, and a great follower and believer of Allah 'obedient of Allah, Champion of Islam, and seeks help for everything from Allah. These were the remarkable feature of the inscriptions of the coins of Bahmani Sultanate they inscribed titles such as *Al Muqtafi Bi Awamir Arrahman: Annasirudin Ad-Dayan Al-Hami Li Ahlel Iman Al Wasiq Bi Tayedr Rahman: Asultan ul Halimul Karimur Rauf Ali Ibadullah Alghani Al Muhaimin: Assultanul Qawi ul Islam Jami Fazal wa adl wa Al Ahsan: Al Mutasim Be Hailillah Al Mannan Sami Khalilur Rahmaan: Al Mustawsiq Billah Alhannan: Al Muwaid Be Nasrullah Abul Muzaffar*

They had used small legends inscribing their faiths and feeling such as *Binnadin Illah*' (consider himself as he is the builder of the faith of God), *Abdillalah* (Abdullah name meaning is Servant of Allah, Obedient,) *Abde mambud* (*slave of God*) that means Muhammad Shah considers himself as the slave of God, and obedient and follower to God. *Zillul Lah Fil Alam* the Shadow of God in the world as well as the light and glory of the world and religion.

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<sup>756</sup> Sir Woosely Haig, op. cit. pp. 376, 1928.

Bahmani rulers had also inscribed the names of Allah *Asmaul Husna*. The following names are found in coins: *Ar- Rahman, Ar- Rahim, Al Mumin, Al Muhaimini, Al Ali, Al Ghani*.

Interestingly reviewing thoroughly, the history of Bahmani Sultanate and the coin legends explains that few rulers had used the titles on coins that were received by any Shaikh or Sufi Saint such as the title *Abul Mughazi* used by Muhammad Shah I was presented by 'Shaikh Ainuddin'. Therefore, Muhammad Shah was so much pleased with the title that he commanded it to be hereafter added to his title. The title was presented by 'Shaikh Niamatullah'. Therefore, the title flattered him so much that he added it to his coin.

Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah had introduced dynastic titles as 'Bahmani' on his coins which was preceded by Tajuddin Firoz Shah. Shihabuddin Ahmad Shah I had scripted his short genealogy (pedigree) on the coins for the first in Deccan. It is interesting to note that before Bahmani, no medieval ruler mentions their name with dynastic title or pedigree. Inscribing the dynastic title is a new tradition in the medieval period. This tradition, however, was not noticed in Delhi Sultanate but it is well reported on the coins of Bengal Sultans, Gujarat Sultans, Jaunpur Sultans, and Malwa Sultan.

Another interesting feature of Bahmani coins is the legends found inscribed during the last reigning rulers. The last rulers of the dynasty had inscribed *Khadallah khilafatahu* on their coins. They pray to God for the strengthened well-being of the kingdom because their reign really heralds the downfall of the Bahmani kingdom. The title *Khadallah khilafatahu* was issued by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq from Daulatabad mint, for the strengthening of his power in Daulatabad. So, one can argue may consider as whenever dynasties faced downfall or had to request to pray for their kingdom to the subjects, they issued coins with these titles.

Therefore, their coins also show the slow and steady development of the Persian language after the single instance of the Delhi Sultanate. The Persian inscriptions had been inscribed in marginal areas with small legends such as *Barguzidah Allah* (elected king by Allah), and *Jahapanah* (the refuge of the world). *Darai-Nigahban*

(God the guardian). *etc.* However, Persian made guest appearances on coins, and thus regular coinage continued to be Arabic during Bahmani Sultanate but after the disintegration of the Bahmani Sultanate, its precursors had issued coins in Persian legends. In 16th century Persian had been developed and flourished very well, thus, Adil Shahi of Bijapur and Qutub Shahi of Golconda had issued coins with Persian couplet legends. The Persian couplets used in these dynasties had great importance in Indian history.

The successors of the Bahmani Sultanate had mostly followed the *Shia* faith of Islam. *Shia* followers were the supporters and followers of Hazrat Ali. Rulers felt very respectful with associating themselves in every possible way with Ali the fourth Caliph in Sunni faith and the first rightful Imam in *Shia* faith.

The rulers of the Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi dynasties practiced the *Shia* faith of Islam which is confirmed by their coins. They inscribed legends by calling themselves, *Asadullah Ghalib Ali Ibn Talib.* The legend *Asadullah Ghalib* is an attribute to Ali that means ‘the lion of God the victorious. The title reflects the *Shia* faith of the ruler. Whereas Ibrahim Adil Shah II called himself *Ghulam Ali Murtaza*’ *Ibrahim Abla Bali* (the servant of Ali the chosen Ibrahim the protector and friend of the weak). Murtaza is another title for Ali. Ali Adil Shah II called himself *Ghulam Haider Safdar* the servant of Ali the brave. Here, Haider is used to denote Hazrat Ali. The titles define that they had a great attachment and devotion to Hazrat Ali. The king dedicated himself as his slave, over the kingship.

Even, Murtaza Nizam Shah I had introduced for the first time *Shia* Shahada on Indian coins. Shiite *Kalima* has been commonly noticed on the coins of Safavid rulers of Persia. The use of Shiite *Kalima* on the coins of the rulers simply suggests their faith in the *Shia* sect of Islam which has also been confirmed from the literary evidence. These coins were the solitary example of the use of the Shiite creed in the entire series of Indian Islamic coins. This coin, however, suggests that during these periods of time *Shia* faith had gained popularity and glory.

Qutub Shahi rulers were least fastidious about the titles. They had evidently differentiated themselves in adopting the coin inscriptions from the Bahmani rulers.

The kings preferred the simple legend devoid of any high-sounding titles, except Shah, *Qutub*, *Sultan*, *BadShah*, *Ghazi*, and *Abu Al-Muzaffar*. Further, they liked to have legends in Persian than Arabic. In almost coins of Qutub Shahi clearly occurred the mint towns and dates, etc. therefore the coins indicate the shifting of capital from Golconda to Hyderabad. The legends on the coins describe the faith and religious perspective of the kings. Therefore, legends like ‘*Saadatmand-e-Ali*’, inscribed on the coins show their influence on the *Shia* faith of Islam.

Knowledge of coin’s inscriptions helped to corroborate the evidence gathered from the epigraphic evidence which shows that the inscriptions were the most reliable source of information for reconstructing the history during the medieval period. These records throw abundant light on the socio-economic, religious as well as cultural history of medieval India.

The religious and cultural aspects of the sultanates of medieval deccan have been analysed with the help of 130 epigraphs published in *Epigraphic Indo Moslemica and Epigraphic Arabic and Persian Supplement* and the coin inscription published in different catalogues. The researcher had tried to bring both the sources into one platform and tried to compare the sources with each other.

The epigraphs were found in both in prose and verses mainly in Persian language. These provide various information such as religious-secular and historical. In some of the epigraph we found small geneology of the king with date. The inscripational analysis reveals different aspects of the rukers, titles, religious inclination, and various styles of calligraphy.

Bahmani Sultans had promoted, *Naskh*, *Rayhani*, and *Muhaqqaq* calligraphy on their coins, while their epigraphs inscribed in *Naskh*, *Thuluth*, *Tughra*, *Nastaliq*, style of calligraphy and some of the epigraphs are also reported in Devanagiri script. The successors of Bahmani had not very much fond and focused on their coin inscriptions which lacked the analysis of the calligraphy depicted on their coins. However, we get references of *Tughra and Nastaliq* style of calligraphy on the coins of the Adil Shahi dynasty and the epigraphs of this dynasty noticed *Nastaliq*,

*Naskh, Tughra, and Thuluth* style calligraphy. Similar style of calligraphy used by Nizam Shahi dynasty and Qutub Shahi.

Another remarkable feature of epigraphs is the presence of the names of Calligraphers. The ruler had also shown good concern for the development of the art of calligraphy. They patronized and promoted the calligraphers and art of calligraphy, and writing the name of the calligrapher on the epitaphs reflect the importance of the artist (calligraphers).

Apart from the secular messages and artistic sense Coins and epitaphs offers religious messages in the form of Kalima, Bismillah, Quranic verses, Asamul Husna, Shiete Kalima, and Shiete durud. etc. most of epigraphs starts with praise of God in Arabic and praise of the king in Persian.

The analyzed rulers of Bahmani had issued various types of titles on their coins and these titles also collaborated with the epitaph titles. There is found similarity in the adoption of the title on coins and epitaphs.

But about its successors, the case is totally different. They have not used any prolific titles on their coins, but all these dynasties had adopted different sets of inscriptions on the coins and epigraphs.

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# **Appendix**

## Appendix I

### Papers Presented to the Seminars and Conferences

<b>Name</b>	<b>Paper Title</b>	<b>Presented</b>
Shagufta Parveen	<i>Currency Pattern and Coin Inscription of Bahmani Sultanate</i>	Two Day National Seminar on “Bahmanis and their Contributions to the Deccan Polity, Society, Economy Culture and Literature”. 2019
Shagufta Parveen	<i>Coin inscriptions of Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golconda: An Analysis</i>	Two-day National Seminar on “The Socio-Political and Cultural Significance of Deccan: Celebrating 500 years of Qutub Shahi of Golconda”2018
Shagufta Parveen	<i>The coins of Nizam Shahi dynasty: An inscriptional Analysis</i>	Second National Urdu Social Science Congress 2018.
Shagufta Parveen	<i>Relevance of Islamic Coin Inscription in Understanding Medieval Indian History</i>	International Conference on Socio- Political, Economic and Cultural Relations of Deccan with Iran from 14 <sup>th</sup> -18 <sup>th</sup> century. 2019.




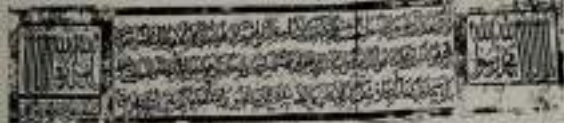


## Papers Published in Journals

<b>Name</b>	<b>Article Title</b>	<b>Journal Name</b>
Shagufta Parveen	<i>Analysis of Coin inscription of Nizam Shahi Dynasty</i>	Indian Journal Research <i>A peer Reviewed, Referred, Refereed and Indexed International Journal 2021</i>
Shagufta Parveen	<i>Relevance of Coin Inscription in Understanding Medieval Indian History</i>	Global Journal for Research Analysis <i>A peer Reviewed, Referred, Refereed and Indexed International Journal 2021</i>





## Attended Workshops





<b>Name</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Organized by</b>
Shagufta Parveen	<i>One week Workshop on “ICT Applications for Research”</i>	Organized by Center for Information Technology in Co-ordination with UGC -HRDC. MANUU Hyderabad
Shagufta Parveen	<i>Research Methodology Workshop</i>	UGC sponsored Professional Development Programme HRDC, MANUU, Hyderabad.
Shagufta Parveen	<i>Research Methodology Workshop</i>	Indian Council of Social Science Research University of Lucknow
Shagufta Parveen	<i>12<sup>th</sup> Introductory Workshop on Medieval Indian Coins</i>	Indian Numismatic, Historical and Cultural Research Foundation

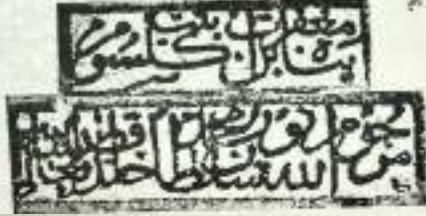
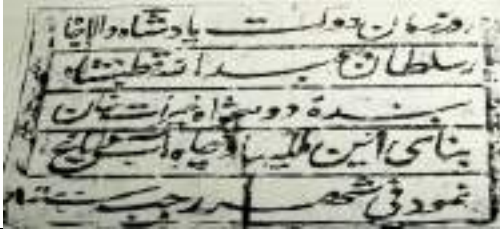

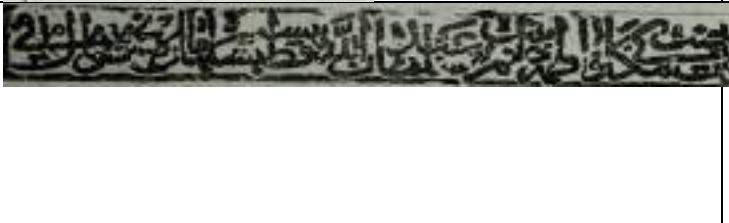
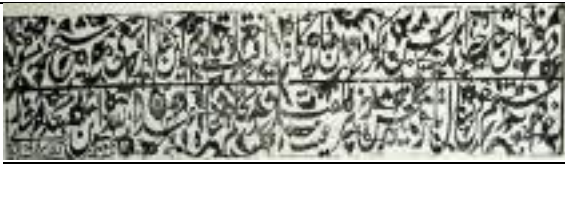
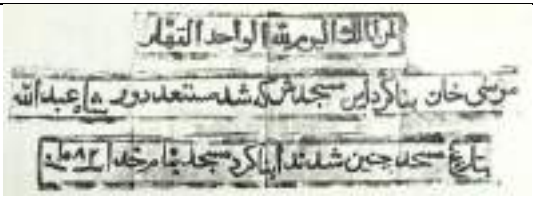
## Appendix II

Rulers' Name	Epigraphic Inscription	Reference
Ibrahim Adil Shah		EIAPS 1964
		EIAPS 1968
		EIAPS 1970-1971
		EIAPS 1970-1971
Ali Adil Shah I	<p style="text-align: center;">                     أحمد الله رب العالمين والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله اجمعين                      بعد سلطنت شاهنشاه جهان پناه غل الله مهر جیور مرقرانی اور انظر شاه علی عادلشاه                      بر تازی خلق الله ملکه و سلطانه و افسر علی العالمین بر و احسانه کثیرین بقدری درگه عزمعلی                      آتین برج نوبت عمارت نمود سنه ۹۶۹ هـ  <b>AHD' HAROLONGHOLIA</b> </p>	EIM 1907-1908
	<p style="text-align: center;">                     بعد سلطنت شاه عالیجاه عالم پناه مهر جیور مرقرانی اور انظر علی عادلشاه تازی                      خلق الله ملکه و سلطانه و افسر علی العالمین بر و احسانه بنا کرده چاه نخل                      و در تنه برج و یک لشمسگه بدین خلقن نزدیک                      نالب نوبت شهر احسانه علی انظم حیدر خان یعنی سنه ست و ثمانی و تسعمال                      چندی الی سنه ۹۸۲ هجری                 </p>	EIM 1907-1908
	<p style="text-align: center;">                     بلیغ این عمارت برج در عهد شیخ علی عادلشاه سلطانی                      بهر جنب امر خدمتگاری کرده بابا جی احمداطوب نوابان نالب نوبت شهر احسانه                 </p>	EIM 1907-1908


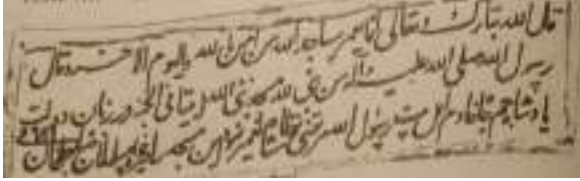


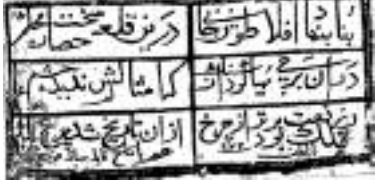
	<p style="text-align: center;">         بنا حله السلطنة في عهد السلطان          علي شاه خلد الله ملكه و تاجه          برهان تامل ۱۰۹۹ سنه       </p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">         در عهد سلطنة شاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و تاجه       </p>	EIM 1907- 1908
	<p style="text-align: center;">         بعد سلطنة شاه عالم شاه مير سيرانواري ابراهيم          علي شاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه          بنده درگاه حاجي معاذ خلد الله عمارت نموده سنه       </p>	EIM 1907- 1908
		EIM 1965
		EIM 1970- 1971
		EIM 1917-198
Ibrahim Adil Shah II	<p>         مضمون نواب اعيان گزین اقتدار عثمانی اربع اکتوبر ۱۰۹۹ سنه          خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ترجمه بوزارت طبه القلعه شيراز          محرم حید محمد حسینی گیسو دروازه قدس شيراز نموده سنه ۱۰۹۹ سنه          سنه ۱۰۹۹ سنه مع عمارت مظفر منیر برین بقعه منزل فرمودت و حضرت علی زلی محرم          علی و والد نواب ملک القلعه رحمت شعار و هدایت آتک لظ (معاذ فرمودت) بشما آب و باغ و شجر          انبار بنا فرموده فی الفراج از شهر معجم احرار مشهور سنه ۱۰۹۹ سنه از امور القلعه علیه السلام          یا رب این آتک درگاه را الی اربع اکتوبر فرمودت التلی علیه السلام          نگاه دانه پسته و کرمه آسین       </p>	EIM 1907- 1908
	<p>         بنا نموده بیست عامل آباء یکصدت داخل باغ دریاکین در عهد          سلطان ابراهیم شاه تازی بموجب امر خد متکبری نمود          پایا جی الحظاظ به ضابطتان نائب نوبت شهر اصفهان مشهور          سنه اربع و تسعين و تسعمائة *جریه       </p>	EIM 1907- 1908

	<p>أحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله أجمعين      في عهد سلطنة بادشاهه مانجهه عام ١٠٤٠ هـ من جوار مرقد النبي في المدينة المنورة      إبراهيم خان شاهه غزني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و الناس على العالمين بوزر العلماء بنها      درگاه محمد حيدر ابن بروج ببلخات نعم نمود</p>	EIM 1907- 1908
	<p>ابن بروج طوبى لواءه غزني در عهد      ابن المظفر ابراهيم خان شاهه خلد ملكه ابدآ      عمارت كرد بره ملك ملك سنبل سنه ١٠٣٣</p>	EIM 1907- 1908
		EIM 1939-40
		EIM 1939- 1940
		EIM 1963
		EIAPS 1963

		EIAPS 1963
		EIM 1963
		EIAPS 1968
Sikandar Adil Shah	<p>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله</p> <p>تم زوال جلوس سلطان سلفه شاهنشاه قاسم الثاني بن علي شاهنشاه اعلم آصف زمان خواجه علي وزير مشهور فرستاد گشت لشكاري الف بانه كشتياري تركه سدي سلطان ملك سلفه سويهار و حمله فار صخره اين برج ملك تلكه كه ممدون به مشهور برجست نود سنه ١٠٥٣ هـ</p> <p>از بنيد برج قلقل كمانه نكستگه لوب ز دم قرني ز بصيره مساعده كرده ده</p>	EIM 1907- 1908
Sultan Quli Qutub Shah		
Ibrahim Qutub Shah		EIM 1915- 1916
Muhamm d Quli Qutub Shah	<p>اعلم حضرت جنت مكنى مرشد آسمانى محمد قلى قطبشاه بن ابراهيم قطبشاه البراند رفاهيه بازيج وزير شاه وقتندم مله نبي القعدة اصحاب سنه ١٠٣٠ هجرى و الف مورى برجسته حق واصل شد من شريفش چهل و نه سال مدت سلطنتش سى و اثنان و مده الله تعالى رحمة الامنة</p>	EIM 1907- 1908
	<p>(1) نه امدت هذا محمد الملك في زمن السلطان الاكبر و اعمالي العظم ابوالقاسم محمد قلى قطبشاه (2) خاند الله ملكه و جرى في بحر البراندات فلكه رستم ابنه قاسم قيل مور لفته ز محمد بن حسين القنار شيرازي في سنه ١٠٠٩ هـ</p>	1925- 1926.

Muhamma d Qutub Shah		1915- 1916
Abdullah Qutub Shah		EIAPS, 1913- 1914
		EIAPS 1913- 1914
		EIM 1915- 1916
		EIM 1917 - 1918
		EIM 1917- 1918

		<p>EIAPS, 1937-38</p>
		<p>EIAPS 1953- 1954</p>
		<p>EIAPS 1951-54</p>
		<p>EIAPS 1966- 1967</p>
		<p>EIAPS 1966</p>

<p>Abul Hasan Qutub Shah</p>		<p>EIM 1917- 1918</p>
<p>Murtaza Nziam Shah I</p>		<p>EIM 1933- 1934</p>
		<p>EIAPS 1957- 1958</p>
		<p>EIAPS 1957- 1958</p>
		<p>EIAPS 1967</p>



		<p>EIAPS 1919- 1920</p>
<p>Burhan Nizam Shah III</p>		<p>EIM 1949- 1950</p>

**Table of Epigraphic Inscription of Bahmani and Its Successors**

SL. No	Rulers Name	No. of Inscriptions	Place	Year	Type of Architecture	Language of the Engravings	Contents	Titles on Stone	Titles on Coins	Builder's Name	Style of Calligraphy	References
1	<b>Alauddin Bahman Shah 1347-1359</b>	1	Gulbar ga	754 AH/1354	Mosque	Persian	It records the construction of the mosque.	Alaudduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah	Assultan Al Azam Aludduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah Assultan (BH 10)	Saifuddaulah Zalibiyya	Naskh	EIM 1907-1908
2	<b>Muhammad Shah I 1359-1375</b>	6 (1)	Gulbar ga	770 AH/1367	Mosque	Persian	The inscription commemorates the completion of the large masjid, a building unique among the mosques of India	Assultan Al Muazzam Al Qahraman Al Mukarram Aby Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Assultan Bin Assultan	Abul Muzaffar Muhamad Shah Assultan Bin Assultan (BH 29)	Rafi Bin Shams Bin Mansur Qazwaini	Naskh	EIM 1907-1908
		2)	Daulata bad	760 AH	Mihrab of the Idgah	Persian	It mention about the construction of Namazgah	Muhammad Shah Ibn Shahanshah	-----	Ulugh Khan, Qutulug Khan	Naskh	EIM 1964 pp. 22

		(3)	Gulbar ga	768 AH	Tomb of Khwaja Shaikh Muhamma d Sirajuddin Junaidi	Persian	It record the construction of the well and explains that whosoever drinks water or perform any ablutions should pray for the builder and recite fatiha.	Muhammad Shah Bin Bahman Shah	Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Ibn Bahman Shah Assultan (BH 37)	Amir of turks, Abu Muhammad Tabrizi, Khwaja Kabir	Naskh	EIM 1964 pp. 23
		(4)	Khulda bad	772 AH 1370- 71 AD	Dargah	Persian	It records the construction of well by Khan-i- Azam safdar Khan. The well commemorate the name of one of the first tarafdars of the Bahmani kingdom who enjoyed the high post. It also indicates that Khuldabad was included in the province of Berar.	Shah Muhammad	----	Safadar Khan	Naskh	EIM 1964 pp. 25
		(5)	Gulbar ga	774 AH 1372 AD	Bari Masjid	Persian	The epigraph states that a mosque and a well were constructed by Rajab son of Jalal, an official of high status.	Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Assultan Bin Assultan Khalallahu Mulkaahu Wa Sultanahu .	Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Assultan bin Assultan	Malikul Umara	Naskh and Tughra	EIM 1964 pp. 25

		(6)	Koppal	Date not clear	Koppal fort	Persian	It records the construction of a well in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwaja-i-Jahan Azam –i-Humayun.	Badshah Muhammad Bin Sultan Shah Muazzam Bahman Shah	----	Azam Humayun and Tajuddin Muhammad	Naskh	EIM 1964 pp. 28
(3)	<b>Muhammad Shah II 1378-1397</b>	2 (1)	Gulbar ga	1379 AD	Mosque Shah Bazar mahalla	Persian	It records the construction of a mosque	Muhammad Shah Azam Jahnagire Jahan Bakhsh Jahan	--	Malikus Sharq Abbaji	Naskh	EIM 1964 pp. 29
		(2)	Gulbar ga	1394-1395	Mosque	Persian	It records the construction of the mosque.	Shah Jahan Muhammad	----		Naskh	EIM 1964 pp. 31
(4)	<b>Tajuddin Firoz Shah 1397-1422</b>	4 (1)	Manvi	1406-1407	Door of a mosque	Persian	It records about The Bahmani king's campaign in the doab and their success. The epigraph refers to the conquest of the fort.	Tajdare Jawan Malik Firoz Shah Bahmani Abul Fattah Shahi	Riji Rizwan Muhaimini Firoz Shah Bahmani (BH 66)	Muhammad Zahir Aqehi	Naskh	EIM 1961-1962 pp. 53
		(2)	Momin Mahala Mahara shtra	816 AH/1416 AD	Shah Dongri Masjid	Arabic and Persian	The inscription states the reign of Tajuddin Firoz Shah and the actual date of the construction of the mosque.	Huwal Ali Al Muazzam Assultan Al Ahd Wazzaman Tajudduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Firoz shah Assultan	Sultanul Ahad Wazzaman Abul Muzaffar Tajudduniya Waddin Firoz Shah Assultan (BH 62)	Suhail Sultani Kotwalbek	Naskh	EIM 1964 pp.21

		(3)	Gulbar ga	819 AH/ 1416 AD	Kharbuza Gumbad	Persian and Arabic	It records the construction of the mosque	Firoz Shah Bahman	Raji Rizwan Muhaimini Firoz Shah Bahmani	Not clear	Naskh	EIM 1964. Pp. 21
		(4)	Firozab ad	808 AH/ 1406 AD	Mosque attached to the Dargah	Arabic	The epigraph states that the auspicious mosque was built by the king, and it with the prayer that whosoever perform namaz should pray for the builder and recite fatiha.	Assultan Al Azam Al Muazzam Afzal Salatin Al Arab Wal Ajam Abul Muzaffar Tajudduniya Waddin Firoz Shah Assultan	Sultanul Ahad Wazzaman Abul Muzaffar Tajudduniya Waddin Firoz Shah  (BH 62)	Ahmad Son of Hussain Al Hisni Kaifi	Naskh and Riqa	EIM 1972 pp. 39
(5)	<b>Shihabuddin Ahmad Shah I (Wali) 1422- 1436</b>	(1)	Gulbar ga	892 AH	Narnala Fort	Arabic	The inscription starts with Quranic lines including the names of Khulafaye Rashedeen.. And the lower portion was inscribed with the pedigree of Bahmanis which is inscribed by Kamal Jung.	Fi Zaman Assultan Al Azam Al Muaali Al Ghazi Shihabudduniya Waddin Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammad Shah Humayun Shah Ahmad Shah Al Wali Al Bahmani Khalidallau Mulkau.	Not clear	Muhammad Abdullah	Naskh	EIM 1907-08 ,PP. 12
		(2)	Bidar	850 AH	Near Shah Khalilulas shrine.	Persian	It mentions the building of a charitable institutions.	Ba- Ahad Badshah Abul Muzaffar Alauddin Shah Shahanshah	.....	Nasir son of Ala Khan Shah	Naskh	EIM 1927- 1928,

								Ahmad Shah Ibn Shah Ahmad				pp. 20
(6)	<b>Alauddin Ahmad Shah II 1436-1458</b>	6 (1)	Bidar	1444 AD	Step well	Persian Arabic and Sanskrit	It records the construction of a step well. The climate of Bidar is bracing but there is great scarcity of water. The inscription signifies the construction of a beautiful well overflowing with fresh water, the approach to water was made by steps.	Descended of Bahman Shah and Dara Shah namely Ahmad Shah	-----	Makhduma-i- Jahan, Bibi Shahnaz	Naskh	EIM 1959-1960 pp. 34
		(2)	Daulatabad	849 1445 AD	Chand Minar (Daulatabad fort)	Persian	It records that when this inscription was cut Alauddin Ahmad Shah, the tenth king of the Bahmani dynasty and the son of Ahmad Shah, mentioned in the fourth couplet was reigning at Bidar.	Jamshid Sukhan Batras Gaweed Ahmad Shah Bahnist	No match	Parviz son of Qaranfal	Not known	EIM 1907-08, pp. 21
		(3)	Gulbarga		Masjide Langar Khana	Arabic	The inscriptions states that the tomb of a saint Haji Zaida of maragha, a disciple of the	Assultan Al Azam Alaudduniya Waddin ABul Muzaffar	Assultan Al Halim Al Karim Ar Rauf Ali Ibadullah Al Ghani Al	Saint Sayyidi Ahmad al Kabir	Naskh	EIM 1964, pp. 35

							eminent saint Sayyidi Ahmad al Kabir	Ahmad Shah ibn Ahmad Shah Assultan nasrullah Taala.	Muhaimini Abul Muzaffar Alaudduniya Waddin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani			
		(4)	Daulatabad	Undated	Yak Minar Mosque	Persian	The text merely invokes prayers for the happiness of the king Alauddin, i.e. Ahmad Shah II and expresses a wish that the edifice may prove auspicious for him.	Alauddin Dalit Shad Mubarak Bad Ain Farkhanda Buniyad.	---	----	Naskh	EIM 1964, pp.35
		(5)	Daulatabad	861 AH/ 1457 AD	Masjid Haud, Kagazipura	Persian	The text, states that the mosque situated on the tank Zainsar was constructed in 1458 AD. During the reign of Sultan Alaudduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah .	The Sultan of Sultan, Aludduniya waddin Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, the Sultan, al Wali al Bahmani,	Assultan Abul Muzaffar Alaudduniya Waddin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al Wali Bahmani. (BH 83)	Malikus Sharq Parviz, son of Qaranfal Sultani	Naskh	EIM 1964, pp. 37
		(6)	Khaladabad	1458 AD	Tomb, Burhanuddin in Gharib	Persian	The epigraph states that Sultan Ahmad Shah II wanted to construct a mosque but before it could take a concrete shape he died. Later	Assultan Al Azam AL Muazzam Aladduniya Waddin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al	Assultan Al Azam Aladduniya Waddin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al Wali Al Bahmani	Burhanuddin Gharib, and Zainuddin Shirazi	Naskh	EIM 1964 pp. 38-39

							it was completed by Parwiz Qaranful.	Wali Al Bahmani.	(BH 83)			
(7)	<b>Alauddin Humayun Shah 1458-1461</b>	2 (1)	Gulbar ga	1458 AD	Baoli Qalandar Shah	Persian and Sanskrit	It seems to record that a step well was constructed in 1458 AD. During the reign of Humayun Shah. The Sanskrit version seems to name the builder as Ijalidevi.	Ahad Shah Humayun Shah Bahman	-----	Ijalidevi	Naskh and Devanagiri	EIM 1964 pp. 40
		(2)	Andhra Pradesh	1460 AD	Jami Masjid Mahbubnagar	Arabic	The epigraphs records the construction of a mosque by Ali, son of Shaikh Hasan Dhasherwani in September-october 1460 AD, during the reign of Humayun Shah Son of Ahmad Shah Bahmani.	Fi Ahad Waz Zaman Assltan Al Adil Al Ahsan Al Wasiq Batidir Rahman Al Malik Al Ghani Humayun Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al Wali Al Bahmani.	Alaudduniya Waddin Humayun Sah Bin Ahmad Shah Bin Ahmad Shah Al Wali Al Bahmani, (BH 94, BH 95)	Shaikh Hasan Dhasherwani	Naskh	EIM 1964, PP. 21
(8)	<b>Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III 1463- 1482</b>	3 (1)	Raichur Fort	1468-1469 AD	Kamani gate	Persian	The gate was constructed by Mallu Khan Hafiz in 1468-69 AD. In the reign of Muhammad Shah, son of Humayun Shah, son of Sultan	Dar Ahad Muhammad Shah Bin Humayun Shah Bin Sultan Alauddin	AL Mutasim Billah Shamsudduniya Waddin Mhammad Shah Bin Humayun Shah Assultan	Khan I Azam Mallu Khan Hafiz	Naskh	EIM 1961-1962 pp. 53



							Alauddin. And also invokes prayers for the endurances and propitiousness of the structure.		Khaldallahu Mulkah.			
		(2)	Raichur Fort	1469 AD	Makki Darwaza	Persian	The record mentions the construction of the gate by the same MAllu Khan Hafiz in the reign of Sultan Muahmmad Shah.	Dar Ahad Muhammad Shah	----	Khan I Azam Mallu Khan Hafiz	Naskh	EIM 1961-62 pp. 53
		(3)	Raichur	1480-81 AD	Mahbub Gulshan Park	Persian	This epitaph refers that Khan-I Azam Mallu Khan Hafiz as the builder of the structure in 1480-81 AD, built during the reign of Muhammad Shah.	Dar Ahad Afzal Salateen Muhammad Shah Bin Humayun Shah	----	Khan I Azam Mallu Khan Hafiz	Naskh	EIM 1961-62 pp. 53
(9)	<b>Mahmud Shah 1482-1518</b>	9 (1)	Golconda Fort	1518 AD	Jami Masjid	Arabic	This epitaph refers that this mosque was built by Sultan Quli when he was a governor of the fort under the Bahmani	Assultan Al Azam Al Mutawakkil Allalah Al Gani Al Mughazi Mahmud Shah	Al Mutawakkil Allalah Al Qawi Al Ghani Assultan Al Azam Abul Mughazi Mahmud Shah	Sultan Quli entitled by Qtubul Mulk.	Tughra	EIM 1913-1920 p. 47

							ruler Mahmud Shah.	Bin Humayun Shah Bin Muhammad Shah Ak Bahmani Khaldallah Mulkahu wa Sultanahu.	Bin Muhammad Shah Al Wali Bahmani.			
		(2)	Bidar	1503 AD	Bidar Fort	Persian	The inscription is stating that the gateway was built by Saif Khan in 909 AH (1503 AD) by the order of Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah Assultan.	Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammad Shah Assultan Al Bahmani	-----	Ayaz entitled Saif Khan	Naskh and Tughra	EIM 1925-26 Pp. 18-19
		(3)	Bidar	1504 AD	Chasmah Sayyidus Sadat	Persian	The inscription stating that this fountain, at the holy spot, the sacred garden of Sayyidus sadat, Al Makhdum as Sayyid Hanif	Fi Zaman Assultan Al Azam Al Mutawakkil Allalah Al Qawi Al Ghani Abul Mughazi Shihabdduniya Waddin Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammad shah Al Wali Al Bahmani	Al Mutawakkil Allalah Al Qawi Al Ghani Assultan Al Azam Abul Mughazi Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammad Shah Al Wali Bahmani.	Sayyidus sadat, Al Makhdum as Sayyid Hanif	Naskh	EIM 1925-26 pp. 18-19

		(4)	Hyderabad Museum	1515 AD	Mosque	Arabic	The epigraph records the construction of a mosque during the reign of Ismail Adil Shah. But as the Bahmnai Dynasty had not become extinct the name of Mahmud Shah Bahmani has also been mentioned.	Fi Ahad Khilafat As- sultan Al Azam Al Mutawakkil Allalah Al Ghani Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammad Shah AL Bahmani Khalallahu Mulkahu wa Sultanahu.	Al Mutawakkil Allah Al Qawi Al Ghani, Assultan Al Azam Abul Mughazi Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammad Shah Al Wali Al Bahmani, Shah Sultan Khalallahu Mulkahu Sultanahu (BH 120, BH 139)	Khan Akram, Majlise ar raji, Adil Khan bin Adil Khan al Ghazi	Not Clear	EIM 1939-  1940  pp. 15
		(5)	Hyderabad Museum	916 AH	Fath Burj	Arabic	This epitaph refers about the construction of the building Fath Burj during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani.	Fi Ahde Khilafat Assultan AL Azam Shamsdduniya Waddin Mahmud Shah Al Bahmani.	-----	Hussain son of Yusuf of Yazd.	Not Known	EIM 1939-40 pp. 15
		(6)	Hazra Baig	Not cleared	Mosque	Arabic	The record refers to the construction of a mosque during the time of Adil Khan II, that is to say, Ismail Adil of Bijapur, by khwaja Sumbul.	Fi Zaman Assultan Mahmud Shah	-----	Adil Khan II, that is to say, Ismail Adil of Bijapur, by khwaja Sumbul.	Naskh	EIM 1961-62  pp. 53

		(7)	Kolhapur Museum	1511-1512 AD	Panhala Tank	Persian	The text records the construction of a tank Panala	Dar Zaman Badshah Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani Khaldallahu Tala Mulkahu wa Sultanahu.	-----	Malik Sikandar Haidari	Nastaliq	EIM 1964 pp. 43
		(8)	Paithan	1057	Dargah	Persian	It records the erection of the shrine during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani in the month of Muharram, 913 AH. 1057 AD.	Fi Ahde Assultan Al Azam Al Muazzam Mahmud Shah Bin Muhammd Shah Al Bahmani Khaldallahu Mulkahu.		Maulana Makhdum Husain Ahmad Subhani	Naskh	EIM 1949-50 pp. 47

**Table of Epigraphic Inscription of Adil Shahi Dynasty**

SL. No	Rulers Name	No. of inscriptions	Place	Year	Type of Architecture	Language of Engravings	Content	Titles on Stone	Titles on Coins	Builder's Name	Style of Calligraphy	References
(1)	<b>Mallu Adil Khan- 941 AH, 1534 AD</b>	2 (1)	Raichur		Fort	Arabic	The inscription bears the name of Mallu and his father Ismail, both the names are accompanied with the title Sawai.	Sawai Mallu Khan son of Adil Khan Sawai	.....	.....	Not Known	EIM 1939-1940.
(2)	<b>Ibrahim Adil Shah I, 941-965 AH, 1535-1558 AD</b>	9 (1)	Raichur		Talim Burj Andheri Baoli	Persian	It mentions about the construction of the bastion	Badaure Khusrau Adil	.....	.....	Nastaliq	EIM 1963 pp. 62
		(2)	Raichur	1548-49	Khusrau Burj	Persian	It mention about the construction of the bastion in the reign of Ibrahim Adil shah I	Badaure Dar Adil daur	.....	.....	Nastaliq	EIM 1963 pp. 63
		(3)	Raichur	1550 AD	Kati Gate	Arabic and Persian	A major portion of the epigraph consist of religious text with the scant historical information that the	Dar Ahde Humayun Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah	.....	Shamshirul Mulk	Naskh	EIM 1963 pp. 64

							gate was constructed by Shamshirul Mulk in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I in 1550 AD.					
		(4)	Raichur		Andheri Baoli	Persian	It records date of the construction of the gate	Ba ahde Adil Shah			Nastaliq	EIM 1963 pp. 64
		(5)	Bankapur	945 AH	Mosque	Persian	It records the foundation of the mosque by Khan Malik.	Sultan Adil Shahi	.....	Khan Malik	Naskh	EIM 1968 pp. 45
		(6)	Panhala	946 AH	Andhra Baoli	Persian	It records about the construction of a bastion and a tank.	Zamana Adil Shah	.....	Yusuf the Abdar	Nastaliq	EIM 1970-71 pp. 64
		(7)	Panhala	954 AH	Tin Darwaza Gate	Persian	The epigraph states that in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah the building at Panhala	Jahanaye Sultanate Panahe Ibrahim Adil Shah Khladallahu Mulkah Fi Tareekh Sanah.....	.....	Malik Daud Aqa, the Naib -i- Ghaibat. Its writer is Salar son of Ahmad ,the Dabir (Secretary	Nastaliq	EIM 1970-71 pp. 69
		(8)	Panhala	955 AH	Nag Jhari Fort	Persian	It records the construction of a fort.	Dar Daure Ibrahim Adil Shah date in Arabic	.....	Daud Aqa	Nastaliq	EIM 1970-71 pp. 71

		(9)	Panhala	964 AH	Dargah of Saduddin	Persian	It records the construction of a tank.	Ba ahde Shahanshah Naam Afreen Zafar Qarbar Ibrahim Shah	.....	Malik Khidr the Sar Khawass	Nastaliq	EIM 1970-71pp. 71
(3)	<b>Ali Adil Shah I - 965-988 AH, 1558-1580 AD</b>	13 (1)	Gulbar ga	965 AH	Zanjiri Gate	Persian and Arabic	It explains about the building of mosques.	Baahde Sultanate Shahanshah Jahan Panah Zillullah Mahar Sa Pahar Sarfarazi ABul Muzaffar Ali Adil Shah Ghazi Khladallau Mulkhu Wa Sultanahu wa Afaz Alal Alameen.	.....	Izzat Khan	Nastaliq	EIM, 1907-1908, pp. 2
		(2)	Gulbar ga	986 AH	Gulbarga	Persian	The inscription explains about the construction of two bastions.	Dar Ahad Shah Adil Shah Sultan	.....	Babaji Zabit Kban	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908 pp. 3
		(3)	Gulbar ga	986 AH	Bala Hisar	Persian	The inscription refers about the construction of well.	Baahde Sultante Shah Ali Jah Alam Panah Mahar Sapahar Sarfarazi Abul Muzaffar Ali Adil Shah Ghazi Khaldallahu Mulkahu Wa Sultanahu wa	.....	Babaji Zabit Khan	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908, pp. 3

								Afaz Alal Alameen				
		(4)	Gulbar ga	981 AH	Building	Persian	It refers to the construction of a building	Dar Shah Adil Shah Sultan	.....	Zabit Khan	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908, pp. 3
		(5)	Gulbar ga	undated	Mosque	Arabic	It refers to the construction of a mosque	Fi Ahde Assultan Ali Adil Shah Khaldallahu Mulkahu	.....	Izzat Khan	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908, pp. 4
		(6)	Gulbar ga	Undated	Building	Persian	It refers to the construction of a building	Ba Ahde Sultantae Shah Ali Jah Alam Panah Mahar Sapahar Sarfarazi Abul Muzaffar Ali Adil Shah Ghazi Khaldallal Mulakahu wa Sultanahu.	.....	Haji Imad Khan	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908,
		(7)	Bijapur	967 AH	Athar Mahal	Persian	It purports to the building and endowment of five shops for meeting various items of expenditure incurred for the upkeep of the	Dar Zaman Shah Ali Adil Shah Khaldallahu	.....	Khan I Azam Jannat Khan	Naskh	EIM, 1955-1956, pp-74.



							mosque of Aminul Mulk.					
		(8)	Raichur	978 AH	Naurang Darwaza	Arabic and Persian	The record mentions Tahir Khan as the builder and refers itself to the reign of Ali Adil Shah	Fi Ahde Assultan Al Azam Zillulah Fil Arzaini ABul Muzaffar Ali Adil shah Ghazi Khaldallahu Mlkahu Wa Sultanahu, Arabic Date.	.....	Tahir Khan	Naskh	EIM, 1963, pp. 65
		(9)	Raichur	985 AH	Jami mosque	Arabic and Persian	It mentioned about the construction of the mosque	Dar Zaman Daulat Shah Alam Panah Jamjah Ali Adil Shah date in Arabic numerals.	.....	...	Naskh and Tughra	EIM, 1963, pp. 66
		(10)	Goa	978 AH	Fortress of Ponda	Persian	The record contains the text of an interesting farman issues on the authority of Ali Adil Shah I in the year AH. 978 (1570-71 AD)	Sulaiman Bargah Abl Muzaffar Shah Ali Adil Shah Khaldallahu Tala Mulkahu Wa Sultanahu.	.....	.....	Nastaliq	EIM 1965, pp. 39
		(11)	Panhala	987 AH	Amba Bai temple	Persian and Arabic	It records the construction of a bastion.	Asadullah Ghalib Ali Ibn Aby Talib	.....	Raun Ali, entitled	Thulth and Naskh	EIM 1970-

										Shamshirul Mulk.		1971, pp. 72
		(12)	Panhala	985 AH	Kolhapur Museum	Persian	It records the construction of a bastion called Burj-i- Qudrat	Ba Ahde Shahanshah Ali Badshah	.....	Shamsuddin the kings deputy.	Naskh	EIM 1970-1971, pp. 72
		(13)	Bijapur	968 AH	Mosque	Arabic	It records the building of a mosque	Fi Ahde Assultan Abul Muzaffar Ali Adil Shah Khaldallahu Mulkahu.	.....	Niamatullah, son of khwaja ismail Kurd Khiraji of Nihawand	Tughra	EIM1917-1918, pp. 1
(4)	<b>Ibrahim Adil Shah II 988-1037AH, 1580-1627</b>	14 (1)	Gulbar ga	994 AH	well	Persian	It records the construction of a well	Ali Ibrahim Adil Shah Khaldallahu Mulkahu Wa Sultanahu	Ghulam Murtaza Ali Ibrahim Abla Bali.	.....	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908,
		(2)	Gulbar ga	994 AH	Adilabad	Persian	The inscription refers that, the city Adilabad was built by Ibrahim Adil Shah II.	Dar Ahad Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah Ghazi Shahar Ahsanabad Mashhoor Sanah Arabic dates in words.	.....	Babaji, entitles Zabir Khan	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908
		(3)	Gulbar ga	Un dated	Fath Burj	Arabic and Persian	The inscription explains that this bastion was built during the reign of Tajudduniya Waddin Abul	Dar Ahad Sultanate Padshah Ali Jah Alam Panah Mahar Sapahar Sarfarazi	.....	Muhammad Haidar	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908 pp. 6

							Muzaffar Ibrahim Adil Shah.	Tajudduniya Waddin Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Adil Shah Ghazi Khaldallahu Mulkahu Wa Sultanahu.				
		(4)	Gulbar ga	Un dated	twelve yard gun	Persian	The inscription mentioned about that formation of the twelve yard gun	Dar Ahad Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Adil Shah Khaldallah Mlkahu Date in Arabic numerals.	.....	.....	.....	EIM 1907-1908, pp. 7
		(5)	Raichur	Undate d	Ali Burj	Persian	The inscription explained the construction of Burj	Badaure Shah Ibrahim Adil	.....	Khawas Khan	Thulth	EIM 1939-1940 pp. 18
		(6)	Raichur	Undate d	Bastion	Persian	The bastion inscription refers that it was constructed by Malik Raihan and Malik Yaqut, in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II	Dar Ahd Ibrahim Adil Shah Muazzam	....	Malim Yaqut Naib.	Not Known	EIM 1939-1940 pp. 19
		(7)	Raichur	undated	Bastion	Persian	It records about the bastion constructed in the reign of	Ibrahim Adil Shah	.....	.....	Nastaliq	EIM 1939-1940

							Ibrahim Adil Shah II.					pp. 20
		(8)	Raichur	1039 AH	Qadiriyyah Burj	Persian and Arabic	The inscription records the commencement of the construction of the bastion	Humaynil Al Azam Khaqan Al Muazzam Waqqab AL Ummim Sami Khalilullah Sultna Ibrahim Adil Shah, Abuk Muzaffar Muhammad Adil Shah Dates in Arabic words	.....	Abdul Wahhab , son of Raihan Inscribed by Sayyid Hssain son of Fathullah.	Thulth	EIM 1939-1940 pp. 20
		(9)	Bablad Jath State	1000 AH	Kontewana	Persian	The epigraphs records the construction of a mosque	Dar Zaman Ibrahim Adil Shah	.....	Abdar Khan	Naskh	EIM 1939-40 pp. 33
		(10)	Segaon Jath State	1002 AH	dargah	Persian	It records the erection of a mosque and the endowment of some land	Dar Waqt Ibrahim Adil Shah	.....	Shaikh Alauddin, son of Shams Khayyat	Naskh	EIM 1939-40 pp. 33
		(11)	Raichur facade of the Diddi	991 AH	Banda Boali	Persian	It records the construction of the diddi (small gate) and the ditch	Shah Alam Panah Ibrahim	.....	Yusuf Ali Qandildar	Naskh	EIM 1963, pp. 61
		(12)	Raichur	1583 AD	Parkota Darwaza	Persian	It records that yusuf Ali Khan the servant of the king, constructed the	Ba Daure Shah Ibrahim Adil	..	Yusuf Ali Khan	Naskh	EIM 1963, pp. 61

							diddi after cutting out the rock in 1583 AD					
		(13)	Raichur	1622-23 AD	Kati gate	Arabic and Persian	The record assigns the constructions of nine mihrabs and a room.	Dar Ahad Shahsawad Ibrahim Adil	.....	Abdul Muhammad.	Naskh	EIM 1963, pp. 61
		(14)	Bankapur	1011 AH	Jami Masjid	Persian	The epigraph purports about the construction of the mosque,	Dar Zaman Sultanate Shah Ali Jah Mahar Sapahar Jalalat Badaure Muneer Adalat Sammi Khalilul Lah Abul Muzaffar Ibrahim Adil Shah	.....	.....	Naskh and Nastaliq	EIM 1968, pp. 41
(5)	<b>Muhammad Adil Shah 1037-1068 AH, 1627-1657 AD</b>	2 (1)	Gulbar ga	1058 AH	Gharyali Burj	Persian	It records about the construction of Shrine during Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah	Fi Ahad Assultan Abul Muzaffar Sultan Mhammad Adil Shah Ghazi Khaldallah Mulkahu	.....	Ali Raza, the son of Muhammad Aqa	Not known	EIM 1907-1908
		(2)	Gulbar ga	1066 AH	Kala Pahar burj	Persian	It explains Muhammad Adil Shah as a ruler of land and sea, from whom Dakkan	Amar Muhammad Shah	.....	.....	Not Known	EIM 1907-1908

							received many resect and glory.					
(6)	<b>Ali Adil Shah II AH, 1068- 1083 AH, 1657- 1672 AD</b>	2 (1)	Raichur	1081 AH	Khusrau Burj	Persian	The inscription records the construction of Khusrau Burj	Ali Adil Shah Jamjah	Ali Adil Sultan BJ 36	Aqa Khusaru	Naskh	EIM 1939-40
		(2)	Hydera bad Museu m	1083 AH	Shahpur	Persian	It records the construction of a mosque	Ba Ahd Sultanate Sultan Ali Adil Shah Sani	.....	Abdul Muhammad, Shaikh Abul Hasan son of Qazi Abdul Quraishi	Not Known	EIM 1959- 1960, pp. 27
(7)	<b>Sikandar Adil Shah 1083 - 1097 AH, 1672- 1686 AD</b>	3 (1)	Gulbar ga	1083 AH	Fil Burj or elephant bastion-	Persian	It records the construction of a bastion	Dar Arayeel Juls Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah Qadri Al Ghazi Bin Ali Adil Shah	Sikandar Sultan	Asaf of the age, Khavas Khan	Not Known	EIM 1907- 1908
		(2)	Raichur		Sikandari gate of the fort	Persian	The text records the construction of the gate	Dar Zaman Khusaru Sikandar Qadry	Sultan Sikandar Qadry Sanah Khusrau Giti satan	Aqa Khusrau	Naskh	EIM 1963, pp. 61
		(3)	Panhala	918 AH	Dargah of Saifuddin	Persian	It records the construction of a bastion	Gaush Dar Sikandar Banaam wa Sikandar Shuaar	.....	..	Thulth	EIM 1970- 1971, pp. 67

**Table of Epigraphic Inscription of Nizam Shahi Dynasty**

SL.No	Rulers Name	No. of Inscriptions	Place	Year	Type of Architecture	Language of Engravings	Content	Titles on Stone	Titles on Coins	Builder's Name	Style of Calligraphy	References
1	<b>Murtaza Nizam Shah I, 973-997 AH, 1565-1588</b>	1 (1)	Nanded	1565-86 AD	Qandhar Fo	Persian	It record the construction of certain bastions and walls by Polad Khan and Ghori Khan during the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah I (1565-86 AD).	Badaure Humayun Shahanshah Murtaza Sanah, Date.	Zarb Murtaza Nagar Fi Shuhure Sanah	Ghori Khan.	Naskh	EIM 1919-1920
		(2)	Bidar		Chandini Burj	Persian	The inscription state that it was manufactured during the reign of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar by Muhammad ibn Husain Rumi, the manufacturer of the renowned Malik Maidan gun of Bijapur.	Abul Ghazi Nizam Shah	.....	Muhammad Ibn Hussian Rumi.	unknown	EIM 1927-28 pp. 18

		(3)	Bidar	983 AH	Arch	Persian	The inscriptions commemorate the occupation of the fort by the Nizam Shahi Kings.	Shah Alam Murtaza Nizam Shah Sultani	.....	Marjan Farhad Khani	Not Known	EIM 1927-28 pp. 18
2	<b>Burhan Nizam Shah II, 1000-1003 AH, 1591-1595 AD</b>	1	Aurang abad	1000 AH	Antur fort	Persian	The inscription mentioned about the direction of Nagpur and Jalna on the east, Antur and Burhanpur on the north, Daulatabad and Ahmadnagar on the south and Maihwan and Chalisgaon on the west.	Dar Zaman Hazrat Burhan Nizam Shah Fi Shuhure Sanah Ahdy Wa Alf ...	Zarb Darul Sultanate Burhanabad Fi Shuhure Sanah Ahdy wa Alf	.....	Naskh	EIM 1919-1920 pp. 12
3	<b>Burhan Nizam Shah III- 1019-1041 AH, 1610-1631</b>	5 (1)	Aurang abad	1035 AH	Antur Fort	Persian	It mentioned about the construction of gate	Burhan Nizam Shah Khaldallahu Mulakahu wa Sultanahu	Zarb Murtaza Ahmadnagar Fi Shuhure Sanah	Nasir Farhad Khan	Naskh	EIM 1919-1920, pp. 12
		(2)	Aurang abad	1024 AH	Antur Fort	Persian	The inscription refers that this mosque was built during the reign of Burhan Nizam shah.	Dar Daure Ashraf Humayun Zillullah Burhan Nizam Shah Khaldallahu	Zarb Murtaza Ahmadnagar Fi Shuhure Sanah	Malik Ambar	Naskh	EIM 1919-1920, pp. 12



								Mulkahu Wa Sultanahu				
		(3)	Aurangabad	1019 AH	Antur Fort Royal Bastion	Persian	The inscription on the bastion refers that it was during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah, by the order of Malik Ambar.	Ahde Zillulah Burhan Nizam Shah Dar sanah...	Zarb Murtaza Ahmadnagar Fi Shuhure Sanah	Malik Ambar	Naskh	EIM 1919-1920, pp. 12
		(4)	Paithan	1022 AH	Chauk Gateway	Persian	It records the building of an edifice and an arch by Sikandar Beg, thanadar of Paithan.	Shahanshah Jahan Burhan Nizam Shah	Zarb Murtaza Ahmadnagar Fi Shuhure Sanah	Malik Ambar	Nastaliq	EIM 1949-1950 pp. 1

**Table of Epigraphic Inscription of Qutub Shahi Dynasty**

SL. No	Rulers Name	No. of Inscriptions.	Place	Year	Type of Architecture	Language of Engravings	Content	Titles on Stone	Titles on Coins	Builder's Name	Style of Calligraphy	References
1	Sultan Quli Qutub Shah (895) 918-950 AH, (1489) 1512-1543	3 (1)	Hyderabad	950 AH	Golconda Tombs	Arabic	The epitaph states the date of death of Sultan Qutubul Mulk, and pray for him.  Date in numerals	Al Malik AL Magfur Assaid Ash shaheed Al Gazi Li Wajhul Lahu Al Mujahid Fi Sabilillahi Al Malik Sultan Quli Qutubul Mulk Mashhoor Bade Malik Anarullah Burhanahu	.....	.....	Not known	EIM 1907-1908 pp. 23,  1915-1916, pp. 19
		(2)	Kondapalli	931 AH	Langar	Persian and Arabic	The record mentions the establishment of a langar set up in the name of the Prophet Khidr and the endowment of teo villages, viz. Kavrur, and Khidrabad, and some income for	Masnade Ali Malik Qutubl Mulk Khald Zalalahul Aali Bir Kuffar Fateh	.....	.....	Naskh	EIM 1953-1954, pp. 23

							the maintenance of the said langar.					
		(3)	Kondapalli	1538 AD	Erukula House	Persian and Telugu	it records that Malik Qutubul Mulk had remitted the tax known as <i>Anddi Santa Sunkam</i> after he had obtained possession of Kondapalli	Masnade Ali Wa Mansabe Muaali ulugh AlKarm Malik Qutbul Mulk	.....	.....	Naskh	EIM 1953-1954, pp. 25
(2)	<b>Ibrahim Qutub Shah 957-988 AH, 1550-1580 AD</b>	5 (1)	Golconda	988 AH	Tomb	Arabic	The inscription praises to Abdullah and fixed his death date	Assultan Al Maghfoor wa Al Khaqan Al Mahroom Al Maksood Be Halilir Riwan Al Malik illalah Assultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah Anarullah Burhanah	Fuluse Jayez Ibrahim Qli Saaadat Mand Ali Golconda	.....	Naskh	EIM 1907-1908
		(2)	Golconda	1580 AD	Tombs	Arabic	The inscription which records the name of the deceased king and the year of his death	Assultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah Anarullah Burhanahu Dates in words	Same as above	.....	Naskh and Tughra	EIM 1915-1916 pp. 19
		(3)	Nalgon da	958 AH	Pangal Tank	Persian and Telugu	The epitaph refers that this fort was repaired by Ibrahim Qutub Shah and fixed a	Qutub Shah Abul Muzaffar Sultan .	Same as above	.....	Naskh	EIM 1925-1926 pp. 23

							slab tablet inscribing his name and date					
		(4)	Golconda		Jallad Burj, Naya Qila	Arabic	It records the construction of mosque.	Qutub Alam Shah Ibrahim	Same as above	Mulla Khiyali	Thulth	EIM 1937-1938 pp. 47
		(5)	Nalakonda district of Andhra Pradesh	1576-77	Mosque	Persian	The epigraphs purport that the mosque designated in one of them as Bait-i-Ibrahim Qutub Shahi	Baite Ibrahim Qutub Shahi	Same as above	.....	Naskh	EIM 1966, pp- 27, (34)
(3)	<b>Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah 988- 1020 AH. 1580-1611 AD</b>	5 (1)	Golconda	1020 AH	Tombs	Arabic	The inscription mentioned the name of the king and date of the demise.	Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, son of Ibrahim Qutub Shah	Quli Muhammad Sultan Qutub Shah Sanah.	.....	Naskh	EIM 1907-1908 pp. 32
		(2)	Mughul pura Hyderabad	1008 AH	Tombs	Arabic	It mentions the name of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, who ruled from 1580-1612 AD.	Fi Zaman Assultan Al Akram Wa Al Khaqan Al Azam Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah Khaldallahu Mulkahu	Same as above	Muhammad son of Hussain, Al Fakhkhar	Tughra	EIM 1925-1926. pp. 25

		(3)	Hyderabad	1020 AH	Golconda Tombs	Persian	The tomb inscription contains the Shiite creed and the name of the king	Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah Bin Ibrahim Qutub Shah Anarullah Burhanahu date.	.....	.....	Naskh, and Tughra	EIM 1915-1916, pp. 19
		(4)	Golconda	undated	Khazana building	Persian	It contain a farman of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, recording the grant of 30 bighas of land to a saint family.	Muhammad Quli Qutub Al Malik	.....	.....	Nastaliq	EIM, 1966, pp- 27
		(5)	Medak		Bala Hisar Fort	Persian	The epigraph records the date of the construction of bastion of Medak	Sultan Muahmmad Quli Qutub Shah.	.....	Ahmad	Thulth	EIM, 1966, pp- 27,
(4)	<b>Muhammad Qutub Shah 1020-1035 AH, 1611-1626 AD</b>	4 (1)	Golconda	1020 AH	Tombs	Arabic	It refers the death date of the Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah.	Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub shah Bin Mirza Muhammad AMeen Bin Ibrahim Qutub Shah	.....	.....	Not known	EIM 1907-1908 pp. 26, 1915-1916, pp. 19
		(2)	Golconda		Tombs	Persian	The inscription contained the names of princess Kulsum and his father Muhammad Qutub Shah.	Marjum Min Nurillah Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah Khaldallahu Tala.	.....	.....	Not Known	EIM 1915-1916, p. 19

		(3)	Golconda		Tomb of Miyan Mishk	Persian	It records the erection of a building in 1035 AH (1625 AD.), during the reign of Muhammad Qutub Shah	Al Hakam Shah Azam Khaqan Muazzam Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Khald Mulkahu	Abul Muzaffar Muhammad QutubShah Sultan Zarb Darul Sultante Shahr Hyderabad	.....	Not Known	EIM 1917-1918, pp. 43-56
(5)	<b>Abdullah Qutub Shah 1035-1083 AH, 1626-1672 AD</b>	15 (1)	Golconda	1083 AH	Tomb of Abdullah Qutub Shah	Persian	It mention the death date of Abdullah Qutub Shah	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah, the son of Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah	Sultan Abdullah Badshah Ghazi Zarb Darul Sultante Hyderabad	.....	Naskh	EIM, 1907-1908 pp. 33
		(2)	Golconda	1038 AH	Fort	Arabic	It describe the construction of the wall of the Muhammad Nagar fort.	Sultan Nawab Abdullah Qutub Shah date.	.....	Malik Yusuf and Malik Nur Muhammad	Not Known	EIM 1913-1920
		(3)	Golconda	1066 AH	Musa Burj	Persian	The inscription explains the siege of Golconda by prince Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb in 1066 AH	Zaman Shahanshah Dar Ran Assultan Al Adil Zillulah Abul Muzaffar Abu Mansur Abul Ghazi Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	Same as above	Dharmshchar	Naskh	EIM 1913-1920 pp. 52
		(4)	Golconda	1050 AH	Musa Burj	Persian	The inscription records the building	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	Khairat Khan	Nastaliq	EIM 1913-

							of some shops a well and a garden		(Q 65)			1920 pp. 55
		(5)	Golconda	1052 AH	Ambar Khana	Persian	The inscription is about the construction of granary	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah (Q 65)	Khairat Khan	Nastaliq	EIM 1913-1920 pp. 57
		(6)	Golconda	1087 AH	Tomb of Fatima Khanam	Persian	On the sarcophagus names of Allah, Muhammad, and Ali, Quran and the date 1087 AH. Occurred. The inscription contained the name of the lady and his father	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah (Q 65)	.....	Not Known	EIM 1915-1916 pp. 19
		(7)	Golconda	1083 AH	Tomb of Abdullah Qutub Shah	Persian	The inscription giving the date of Adullah Qutub Shah death	Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah Bin Muhammad Qutub Shah	.....	.....	Naskh	EIM 1915-1916 pp. 19
		(8)	Hyderabad	1043 AH	Toli Masjid	Persian	It records the erection of a mosque	Shah Abdullah	.....	Lutfullah Al Hussaini at Tabrezi	Nastaliq	EIM 1917-1918 pp. 43-56
		(9)	Hyderabad	1082 AH	Toli Masjid	Persian	It records the erection of a mosque	Shah Abdullah	.....	.....	Naskh	EIM 1917-1918 pp. 43-50

		(10)	Chingleput district	1063 AH	mosque at Poonamalle	Persian and Telugu	It records the erection of a bastion	Badshah jamjah Malaek Sipah Zillullah Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah Khaldallah Mulkahu.	.....	....	Nastaliq	EIM 1937-1938 pp. 52-59
		(11)	Vinukonda	1050 AH	Jami Mosque	Persian	Inscriptions contain the words Allah, Muhammad and Ali written round and round four times as to present a floral and geometrical decoration. In the marginal area it contains Shiite durud. Along with that it also contain Ayatul Kursi, Nadi-Ali and the date of construction	Jam Jah Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah Khaldallah Mulkahu.	.....	.....	Thulth and Tughra and Nastaliq	EIM 1953-1954, pp. 30.
		(12)	Cumbum	1059 AH	Jami Mosque	Persian	It records the erection of the mosque	Dar Ahad badshah Falak Qadar Qutub Shah Abdullah Dar ZamanKhilafat Padshah Jamjah Zillllah Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	.....	.....	Naskh	EIM 1953-1954, pp. 23



		(13)	Golconda	1069 AH	Qutub Shahi Masjid	Persian	It records the erection of the mosque	Dar zaman Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	.....	Saliha, wife of Bade Sahab	Thulth	EIM 1966, pp. 27
		(14)	Hyderabad	1045 AH	Hussaini Masjid	Arabic and Persian	It records the erection of the mosque	Dar Ahad Baadshah Bakht Kamran Qutubshah Panah umam Zillun Kargan Abdullah	.....	Mir Ali, son of Mir Ali Jan Mashhadi	Naskh	EIM, 1966, pp- 27
		(15)	Golconda	1077 AH	Musa Burj	Persian	It records the erection of a small bastion	Zaman Shahanshah Dauran Assultan Al Adil Zillullah Abul Muzaffar Abul Mansur Abul Ghazi Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah	.....	.....	.....	EIM 1937-1938, pp. 47
(6)	<b>Abul Hasan Qutub Shah 1083-1098 AH, 1672-1687 AD</b>	(1)	Hyderabad		Miyan Mishk,	Persian	It records the name of the twelve Imam	Sultan Abul Hasan Qutub Shah	Khutima Bil Khaire Wasaadt Darul Sultanate Hyderabad	.....	.....	EIM 1917-1918. pp. 45-56