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Art. XXI.—*The Coins of Aḥmadābād.*

By Rev. G. P. Taylor, M.A., D.D., Aḥmadābād.

[Communicated, May 1900.]

The story of the founding of the city of Aḥmadābād has been told in considerable detail by more than one of the Muḥammadan historians of Gujarāt. From their writings we learn that Ẓafar Khān, a Tānk Rājpūt, whose father had embraced Islām and gained preferment at the court of Fīroz Taghlaq, was in 1891 A. D. appointed by the Sulṭān of Dehlī his viceroy in Gujarāt. The next few years witnessed a continual shrinkage of the Dehlī kingdom, province after province successfully revolting from under the imperial power, and in 1898 the invasion of the terrible Tīmūr Lang ("Tamerlane") practically completed the process of disintegration. It became thenceforward impossible for the Sulṭāns of Dehlī to maintain their hold over any province so remote as Gujarāt from the seat of Government, and though Ẓafar Khān seems, indeed, to have rendered a nominal allegiance till 1403, in that year he openly assumed independence, and in 1407, at the request of the chief men of the province, he formally mounted the throne under the title of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh. On his death in 1411 his grandson Aḥmad Shah succeeded to the Salṭanat of Gujārāt. This monarch, fond of the air and soil of Ashāval, a town already in the tenth century sufficiently important to be mentioned in the Tārīkh al Hind of Al Bīrūnī, determined to found there a city that should bear his own name and become the future capital of his kingdom. Accordingly, in the very year of his accession, he took counsel with the revered saint Shaikh Aḥmad Khattu, surnamed Ganj Bakhsh, or "the Treasure Giver," through whose aid the mysterious personage known to Muslim hagiographers as Al Khizr, held by some to be the prophet Elijah, and by others St. George, the patron saint of England, was invoked to appear before the royal presence. From him permission was obtained to found a city on the site desired, but on the singular proviso that four Aḥmads could be found who had never missed the afternoon prayer. The saint and the Sulṭān had each of them fulfilled this condition, and a search over Gujarāt yielded other two, a Shaikh Aḥmad and a Mullā Aḥmad. These four are said to have lined out with their own hands the four boundaries of the

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city and some six years thereafter its fortifications were finished. Under the fostering hand of royalty the new capital rapidly grew in importance. It soon extended beyond its original limits, so that in process of time this city with its suburbs included not merely the sites of the earlier Āshāval and Karaṇāvatī, but even covered, if tradition speaks truly, an area of thirty miles, while its population exceeded two millions. Firishta, in his brief but glowing description of the city, writes: —

"There are 360 different maḥallas, each maḥalla having a wal "surrounding it. The principal streets are sufficiently wide to admit "of ten carriages abreast. It is hardly necessary to add that this is "on the whole the handsomest city in Hindūstān, and perhaps in "the world."—*Briggs' Firishta*, IV. 14.

To the same effect are the words of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* at the close of its account of the founding of the city: —

"All four Aḥmads have ever since been praised, for by the blessing "of their instrumentality the city is so charming to behold that in "beauty it outrivals all the cities of the earth. Travellers have agreed "that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful and "charming and splendid."—*Bayley's History of Gujarāt*, 90, 91.

Now let us address ourselves to the question—What can one learn regarding the coins of Aḥmadābād? for it goes without saying that a city so important and so magnificent would certainly have a mint of its own. For a full century preceding the assumption of independence by Ẓafar Khān, or more accurately from 1297 till 1403, the province of Gujarāt had been tributary to Dehlī, and its coins were the coins of the Dehlī Sulṭāns. In those days two means were commonly employed for making widely known any change in the Government. First, the name of the new monarch was inserted in the Khutba, or oration delivered on Fridays in every mosque at the time of Ẓōhr, or midday prayer. By this means all the "sons of the faithful" would be advised of the fact that the sovereignty of the land had changed hands, and that their allegiance should now be transferred to the new ruler. But a second way of conveying this information—and for Hindū subjects at least a more effective way—was the issuing of a new coinage, which should bear engraven on it the name of the monarch who had recently gained the throne. These freshly struck coins, circulating from town to town and passing from hand to hand, admirably served the purpose of proclaiming to all and sundry throughout the province the accession of a new king.

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In conformity, then, with this recognized custom, coins were struck by the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt immediately on their defection from the Imperial Government of Dehlī. The earliest, however, of the new coins were issued not by Ẓafar Khan, the founder of the dynasty, but by his son Tātār Khān. Concerning this son very conflicting accounts have come down to us. The most probable story is" that Tātār Khan, taking advantage of the age and infirmities of his father, imprisoned him in the town of Āshāval, and forthwith caused himself to be proclaimed king. After a reign of little more than two months he died from poison administered in the interest, if not at the suggestion, of his father." Short though his reign was, the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* expressly mentions that Tātār Khān assumed the royal style of Muḥammad Shāh and the royal umbrella, and had the Khutba read and coins struck in his name. (See *Bayley's Gujarāt*, 82, note †.) His full title is variously given as either Ghiyāṯh, or Nāṣir, al Dunyā wa al Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. (See *ibid.* 81, note *.) The coins he struck are the earliest of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, but whether any have survived to the present day is doubtful. Nor, so far as I am aware, is a single specimen known of the coins issued a few years later by his father Ẓafar Khān. Reference to these occurs in the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, which states that Ẓa fa Khān, having in the year 810 H. (1407 A. D.) assumed the title of Muẓaffar Shāh, "struck coins in his own name, and appointed his "grandson, Aḥmad Shāh, to succeed him as his heir. He continued " to dispense justice, to punish the wicked, and to protect the poor, "till his grandson, Aḥmad Shāh, poisoned him in the year of the "Hijra 813."—*Bird's Gujarāt*, 183, 184.

"The *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* gives Muẓaffar Shāh's laqab, or title, as Shams al Dunyā wa al Dīn."—*Bayley's Gujarāt*, 84, note *.

Of Aḥmad Shāh's copper coins many are still to be found in the bāzārs of Gujarāt. Several are undated, but the earliest bearing a date would seem to be the silver coin represented on page 352 of Thomas's "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings of Dehlī." Its year 828 H. (1424 A. D.) is inscribed on the obverse, which further reads

Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muẓaffar Shāh. khald Khilāfat;

while the legend on the reverse reads

Al Sulṭān al 'uzm Nāṣir al Dunyā wa al Dīn, Abu'l Fatḥ.

The earliest dated copper coin of this reign is of the year 830 H. (1429 A. D.), and from that time onwards, till the close of the dynasty consequent on the subjugation of Gujarāt by the Emperor Akbar in 980 H. (1572 A. D.), coins seem to have been struck by

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the successive Sulṭāns in considerable abundance. A few billon coins have been met with bearing dates ranging between 861 and 869 H., but the earliest in gold, so far as I can learn, is of the year 929 H.

No catalogue has yet been published of even an approximately complete set of the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. The collection in the British Museum is exceedingly meagre. The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1889 (Vol. LVIII., Part I., No. I.) contains an interesting and helpful article by Mr. E. E. Oliver on "the Coins of the Muḥammadan Kings of Gujarāt," in which thirty-four of these coins, thirteen in silver and twenty-one in copper, are figured. The list given by Mr. Thomas in his "Chronicles" includes in all forty-seven, namely, six in gold, eleven in silver, twenty-nine in copper, and one in billon. As a resident for some years in Aḥmadābād, it has been my good fortune to be exceptionally favourably situated for making a collection of these special coins, and my cabinet contains—

110 specimens in silver,
590 ,, ,, copper,
10 ,, ,, billon;

or a total of 710 specimens.

With twenty-six exceptions, every year between 830 and 980 H. (that is, between 1427 and 1572 A. D.) is represented in one or other of the metals. Though my collection is thus fairly adequate as far as dates are concerned, the coins unfortunately furnish only the scantiest information regarding the mint-towns at which they were struck. A few bear in their legends the name of Muṣṭafābād, and others apparently the name Meḥmadābād, both being towns founded by Maḥmūd Begaḍā within the first twenty years of his long reign. One may safely assume that many, if not indeed most, of the Gujarāt coins of this period must have issued from Aḥmadābād, the capital of the kingdom, yet none the less I have not come across a single coin in this series that can be assigned with absolute certainty to the Aḥmadābād mint. Numbers 4, 6, and 7 of Plate I. accompanying Mr. Oliver's article are, it is true, claimed by him for Aḥmadābād, but in all three specimens the correct reading seems to be Meḥmadābād. With the exception of a few silver and copper coins of Maḥmūd Begaḍā's reign, and possibly a very few of Aḥmad I.'s and Maḥmūd III.'s, none of the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, *i. e.*, none struck between 1403 and 1572 A. D., afford any indication as to their

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place of mintage. These coins have hitherto received such slight attention that a complete description of them would supply a missing chapter in numismatics. Their description, however, would be out of place in a paper such as the present, which is limited definitely to the coins of Aḥmadābād.

Before passing on to the next series, the coins issued in the name of the new conquerors of the province, special reference should be made to three coins, remarkable as forming a link between the earlier and the later types. The last independent Sulṭan of Gujarāt was Muẓaffar III. In the year 980 H. (1572 A.D.) his kingdom was annexed to the Empire of Dehli, and thereafter the victorious Akbar transported the erewhile monarch to enforced, if splendid, retirement in Āgra. Eleven years later, however, and thus in 991 H., Muẓaffar, who had meantime fallen under royal suspicion and suffered imprisonment, managed to effect his escape to Gujarāt. Here he again raised his banner, and after a brief struggle obtained possession of the city of Aḥmadābād. During the six short months that he was able to maintain his government of the province, rupees were struck in his name. These rupees, however, are quite of a different type from the Maḥmūdīs current in Gujarāt prior to his exile, but they bear a close resemblance to the Mughal rupees, meanwhile introduced by Akbar. The specimen in my possession (No. 1) is round, being ·85 of an inch in diameter and 170 grains in weight; thus a striking contrast to the issue of eleven years earlier, of which the weight was but 73 grains and measurement ·62 of an inch. The later and larger coin fortunately bears the record of both its date and mint, being struck at Aḥmadābād in the year 991 H. (1583 A. D.). Both on the obverse and on the reverse a square is inscribed, bordered by double lines, with dots between. The obverse reads within the square,

Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh,

with the Hijrī year 991 above the Sīn of Sulṭān. Outside the square the lower margin gives as the mint-town Aḥmadābād, but the three remaining margins are illegible.

The reverse contains, within the square, the Kalima—

Lā ilāha illa'l-lāh, Muḥammad rasūlu'l-lāh:
There is no God but Allāh, Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.

Its margins, also illegible, seem to have read on the specimen described by Mr. Oliver the names of the four Khalifas and their Virtues.

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Besides this very rare rupee, I have been able to secure two copper coins, which, though undated, I have no hesitation in ascribing to this same brief period of Muẓaffar's second reign. One weighs 170 grains and the other (No. 2)—a beautiful specimen—85 grains. The legend on each is identical, being on the obverse merely

Muẓaffar Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh,

and on the reverse,

Dār al Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

These simple readings, so widely different from those in the Gujarāt Salṭanat series, place the coins in a class of their own, while the title Dār al Ḍarb, "Seat of the Mint," a title never found on the regular coins of the Salṭanat, is met with on Mughal coins struck in Aḥmadābād in the years 982, 986, and 993 H. Hence one may safely conclude that these two dateless coins were issued from the Aḥmadābād mint during Muẓaffar's brief resumption of regal power in 991 H.

Besides Dār al Ḍarb, two other honorific epithets of Aḥmadābād are occasionally found engraven on its coins: to wit—

Dār al Khilāfat, "Seat of the Caliphate," and

Dār al Salṭanat, "Seat of the Empire";

but none of these titles occur in the coin-legends after the year 993 H. Just once again, however, the Aḥmadābād mint was associated with an honorific title, for a rupee struck in that city during the six months of the reign of Rafī' al Darajāt in 1131 H. (1719 A. D.) supplies us with the charming title Zīnat al Bilād, "the Beauty of Towns."

Pass we now to the Mughal coins of Aḥmadābād, the coins, that is to say, struck at the Aḥmadābād mint in the name of the Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān subsequent to Akbar's annexation of Gujarāt in 1572, and prior to the issue by the Honourable East India Company of a general British currency in 1835, hence during the period covering the 270 Hijrī years from 980 to 1250. For the coins which we shall now proceed to describe in some detail, I have depended for the most part on my own cabinet, but note has been taken of all the Aḥmadābād coins entered in the published Catalogues of the British Museum (B. M.), the Lāhor Museum (L. M.), and

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the Calcutta Museum (C. M.). The following Table gives the number of coins comprised in each of the four collections:—

Collection.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Total.
B. M.	14	45	2	61
L. M.	2	55	4	61
C. M.	5	20	6	31
Taylor Cabinet.	0	187	102	289

Deducting duplicates, we obtain from the above four sources a resultant aggregate collection of 370 varieties, 17 being of gold, 243 of silver, and 110 of copper, and all issuing from the Aḥmadābād mint.

Both muhrs and rupees have come down to us of the year 980 H. (1572-73 A. D.), the year that witnessed the conquest of Gujarāt, and the type of coin then adopted continued with but slight variation till 986 H. The muhr of 980 (see British Museum Catalogue, No. 48) reads on its obverse in the central area,

جلال الدين محمد اكبر پاد شاه غازي

Muḥammad Akbar, the Glory of the Faith, the Victorious King,

with the year 980 fairly in the middle of the coin.

Below the central area comes

دار الخلافة احمد اباد

Aḥmadābād, Seat of the Caliphate,

and above it

خلد الله تعالى ملكه

Allah, the Exalted, keep the kingdom for ever.

The inscription on the reverse contains the Kalima within an ornamental quatrefoil, and in the four marginal segments occur the names of the four Khalīfas with their virtues, thus—

بصدق ابوبكر بعدل عمر بحيای عثمان بعلم علي

By the veracity of Abū Bakr, by the rectitude of 'Ŏmar, by the modesty of 'Ŏthmān, by the learning of 'Ali.

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The 980 rupee (No. 3) is very similar to the muhr, but, instead of the Dār al Khilāfat Aḥmadābād, it has merely Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, and on the reverse a simple linear square takes the place of the ornamental quatrefoil.

Between 982 and 986 H. the rupee (No. 4) had on both the obverse and the reverse a large central square bounded by double lines with dots between. Both year and mint are entered on the obverse, the former in the right-hand corner of the square, the latter on the lower margin.

The rupees that have thus far engaged our attention are all round and broad and thin, their diameter measuring generally a full inch. It would seem, however, that in the year 987 H. (1579 A. D.) square coins (No. 5) were for the first time struck at the Aḥmadābād mint, and the type of coin then adopted continued current till the year 1000 H. While of the same weight as the previously issued round rupees, they are of smaller dimensions, the length of each side being only ·8 of an inch, but increased thickness compensates for this reduction in size. The earlier legends are still retained both on the obverse and the reverse, but a new arrangement of them is now adopted. The obverse consists of four lines, the [illegible] four sides are ingeniously formed by lengthening some of the letters occurring in the names and virtues of the Four Companions, the remaining letters occupying the margins.

After the year 1000 the Hijrī date never appears on any of Akbar's coins struck in Aḥmadābād. In its place is substituted the

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(solar) year reckoned according to the Ilāhī San, or 'Divine Era,' instituted by Akbar, and dating from the vernal equinox of 963 H., the year of his accession to the throne. Thus 1000 of the Hijrī, era corresponds to 1000-963, that is to 37, of the Ilāhī. Now in that year and the next the coins (No. 6) that issued from the Aḥmadābād mint were in the main identical with the square rupees current during the preceding thirteen years, save in the noteworthy particular that, instead of the Hijrī dates 1000 and 1001, the years are now entered as 37 and 38. In this respect these rupees reflect the religious changes then in process at the Imperial Court. Akbar had already abolished the official reckoning of the year from the date of Muḥammad's flight from Mecca, but he had not yet renounced the Muḥammadan Profession of Faith; and accordingly we find that the coins struck just at this stage in the process of change bear on their obverse the Ilāhī year, but on their reverse the Kalima. In the nature of things, so ambiguous a position could not continue long, and Akbar's defection from Islām soon became more pronounced. The revolt initiated by the institution of the Ilāhī era now culminated in Akbar's promulgation of a new creed, intended to supplant the Muslim Kalima. This new-fangled formula was, and still is, of

In the very interesting article, "Some Novelties in Mughal Coins," contributed by Dr. White King, I.C.S., and Captain Vost, I.M.S., to the "Numismatic Chronicle," Vol. XVI., Third Series, mention is made of an Aḥmadābād coin worthy of special note, since presenting in association with the Hijrī year, part of the later Akbarī Creed. The coin is a square quarter-rupee, measuring on each side 0·55 inch and bearing date 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.). Read from below upwards the legend on the obverse is الله اكبر and on the reverse ضرب احمد اباد

Aḥmadābād, or at least to the Aḥmadābād mint. Then in 1000 and 1001 H., or more accurately in 37 and 38 Ilāhī, the Aḥmadābād coins present the incongruous medley of the so-called Divine Era in association with the old Islāmic creed—clearly the change at Court had now begun and religious strife was brewing. And, lastly, from Ilāhī 38 right on to the close of Akbar's reign in Ilāhī 51, the

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Muḥammadan era and the Muḥammadan creed were alike banished from the coins of Aḥmadābād, which now exhibit, with consistent heterodoxy, only the Ilāhī Era (with Persian month) and the Akbarī Creed—evidently the divorce from Islām was now complete. Even after this radical change in the inscriptions had been effected, the square form of coin was still retained during the two years 38 and 39 Ilāhī (No. 7), and of this type beautiful specimens may be seen not only of the full rupee, but also of the smaller denominations, the half, the quarter, and the eighth. From 39 to 51, however, the round coin entirely supersedes the square.

Most of the rupees of this period (No. 8) are characterized by a severe simplicity of design. The obverse legend, in two lines of long heavy letters, reads

Akbar Allah, jalla jalāluhu.

The reverse contains in its upper line the name of the ancient Persian month and the word Ilāhī written in full, with the tail of the final ـــ sprawling backwards right across the coin. Below this come the figures of the Ilāhī year, and to the left the place of mintage, Aḥmadābād, while below both stands the technical term Ḍarb, " minted at."

The rupees, however, struck during part of the Ilāhī year 47 (No. 9) furnish a striking exception to the prevailing plainness of the Aḥmadābād coins of the period, and relieve the general monotony of design. On the obverse is Akbar's Creed within a linear square, bearing on each of its sides a simple ornamental device. This all is encompassed by a wavy diamond border, itself inscribed in a double circle with dots between. The field of the reverse is an octagon, each of the eight sides of which supports a somewhat florid decoration, the whole circumscribed, as on the obverse, by two concentric circles with intervening dots. The issue in Aḥmadābād of these remarkably beautiful rupees seems to have been limited to the first eight months of the Ilāhī year 47, but specimens are known of rupees of a very similar design minted at Lāhor in each of the four years from 47 to 50 Ilāhī.

In now briefly summarizing the results arrived at regarding the gold and silver coinage of Aḥmadābād in Akbar's reign, we find as to the gold that only four muhrs in all are preserved in the British Museum and the Museums in Calcutta and Lāhor. These muhrs are dated 980, 982, 983, and 986 H., and resemble in type the rupees of the same years.

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The silver coinage admits of division into five sufficiently distinct periods :—

1. From 980—986 H. (Nos. 3 and 4), when the rupees were round and thin, and bore on their obverse the Hijrī year of issue, and on their reverse the Kalima, associated in the margins with the names and virtues of the Four Khalīfas.

2. From 987—1000 H. (No. 5), during which years the chief change introduced was in the shape of the rupee, which was now made square and thick instead of round and thin.

3. The Ilāhī years 37 and 38 (No. 6), when these square rupees, while retaining on the reverse the Kalima, present on their obverse the Ilāhī in place of the Hijrī year.

4. The Ilāhī years 38 and 39 (No. 7), when the Kalima too was banished from the rupee, which, still a square coin, now bears not only the Ilāhī year, inscribed on the *reverse*, but also on its obverse the Akbarī Creed.

5. From Ilāhī 39—51 (Nos. 8 and 9), throughout which period the rupee, having reverted to its original round shape, remained otherwise unaltered, with both Ilāhī year and Akbarī Creed.

These variations are shown in the following Table :—

Period.	Form.	Year.	Creed.
980—986 H. ...	Round.	Hijrī.	Kalima.
987—1000 H. ...	Square.	„	„
Ilāhī 37 and 38 ...	„	Ilāhī.	„
Ilāhī 38 and 39 ...	„	„	Akbarī.
Ilāhī 39—51 ...	Round.	„	„

Though most of the specimens now to be met with have lost a few grains by wear, the original weight of the rupee in all the five periods was uniformly 180 grains.

No reference has hitherto been made to Akbar's copper coinage in Aḥmadābād, partly because it differs in its type so widely from the contemporary muhr and rupee, and partly because, being so little

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known, it merits special detailed treatment. While the British Museum contains but two Aḥmadābād copper coins of Akbar's reign, the Lāhor Museum three, and the Calcutta Museum five, it has been my good fortune to find, and nearly all in Aḥmadābād itself, no less than 80 varieties. These coins thus form a unique collection, new to numismatics. The earliest specimen published of a copper coin of Akbar's is of the year 981 H., and hence of the year following the annexation of Gujarāt. From that date till 995 H., the one same type (No. 10) was consistently maintained. Round in shape, on both the obverse and the reverse, the horizontal diameter was traced in dots closely flanked by two straight lines joined at their extremities by simple curves. The lower semi-circle of the obverse contains the legend

Ḍarb Fulūs,

and the upper

Dār al Salṭanat, Aḥmadābād.

The inscription on the reverse, read from below upwards gives the Hijrī year, expressed in *words*, beneath which comes the same year in figures, preceded by the introductory formula Fī sanah, "in the year." Like most of the Mughol coins of the period, these fulūs are much worn, and have in consequence suffered considerable reduction in weight. As they now turn the scale between the limits of 290 and 315 grains, one may infer with probability that the original weight was 320. A unique Quarter Fulūs (No. 11) in my possession weighs 77 grains. The diameter of a Fulūs averages ·9 of an inch, and the thickness of its edge ·2.

So far as I am aware, no specimen is forthcoming of an Aḥmadabād Fulūs bearing a later Hijrī date than 995, and the next earliest dated coin is of the Ilāhī year 38, corresponding to 1001 H. and 1593 A.D. Hence with reference to the copper coinage of Aḥmadābād current during the six years subsequent to 995 H., we are dependent entirely upon conjecture, and it becomes thus impossible to fix with precision the year in which the Ilāhī Era was first introduced on the Fulūs. It was, however, there in 38 Ilāhī (No. 12) and continued in vogue till the close of Akbar's reign. The design of the Ilāhī differs only slightly from that of the Hijrī Fulūs. On both we have alike on obverse and on reverse the horizontal diameter composed of dots flanked by a double line. In the obverse inscription of the Ilāhī Fulūs the only change now introduced is that the honorific epithet Dār al Salṭanat, which, it will be remembered, had hitherto been prefixed to the mint-town Aḥmadābād, is altogether

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omitted. The reverse inscription, however, is entirely new. The upper semi-circle contains the word Ilāhī written in full, and to its right the year in figures, while the lower segment is reserved for the Persian name of the month in which the coin happened to be struck.

In Ilāhī 40 a coin of quite a different type comes in evidence. No longer a Fulūs, it is now a Tanka (No. 13), which designation is stamped on the coin itself. Its obverse reads in the upper line

Tanka Akbar Shāhī

with the final ـــ retracted backwards right across the face of the coin: and in the lower line

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād,

while, as a border round the rim, we have a double circle with intervening dots.

The reverse bears in the upper half the year in figures, followed by the word Ilāhī, of which also the final ـــ sweeps across the coin from left to right. The lower half records the Persian month of issue. Here, too, again we have, as on the obverse, the circumscribing double circle with dots between.

These copper Tankas were current during the seven years from Ilāhī 40 to 46, and were of the following four denominations:—

1. The Large, or Double, Tanka, originally of 640 grains, hence twice the weight of the earlier Fulūs (No. 13).
2. The Small Tanka of 320 grains (No. 14).
3. The Half Small Tanka of 160 grains (No. 15).
4. The Quarter Small Tanka of 80 grains (No. 16).

Of these the Double Tanka is not only a heavy, but a somewhat massive coin, being three-tenths of an inch thick, and measuring eleven-tenths of an inch in diameter.

Yet once again the copper coins of Aḥmadābād underwent a radical change, for in the Ilāhī year 46 the Tānkīs superseded the Tankas, and thereafter held the field till Akbar's death, five years later. The coins of this final type are of three denominations, known as:—

1. The Chau Tānkī of 250 grains' weight (No. 17).
2. The Do Tānkī of 125 (No. 18).
3. The Yak Tānkī of 62 (No. 19).

On these the obverse legend reads from above downwards

Akbar Shāhī Chau (*or* Do *or* Yak) Tānkī,

the long tail of the ـــ both in Shāhī and in Tānkī being elongated backwards.

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The reverse upper half gives the Persian month, followed by the word Ilāhī with its final ⟵ too retracted, as usual, across the coin. Beneath this long line comes the year in figures, the mint-town Aḥmadābād, and, lowest of all, the technical term Ḍarb. The average diameter of a Chau Tānkī piece is ·8 of an inch, of a Do Tānkī ·65, and of a Yak Tānkī ·5.

Thus, of Akbar's copper coins struck at the Aḥmadābād mint, there are three distinct classes, the Fulūs, the Tanka, and the Tānkī, each having its own sub-classes. My cabinet contains of the Fulūs eighteen specimens; also one Quarter Fulūs. It would seem that no Half Fulūs has yet been found. Of the large Tankas, I possess seven specimens, of the Small Tankas twelve, of the Half Small Tankas six, and of the Quarter Small Tankas three. Lastly, of the Chau Tānkīs twenty-seven specimens are in my collection, of the Do Tānkīs five, and of the Yak Tānkīs one.

The following Table shows the class of copper coin current in Aḥmadābād at different periods in Akbar's reign, subsequent to his conquest of Gujarāt.

Period.	Class of Copper Coin.
980—995 H. ...	Fulūs (also ½ F.) with Hijrī year (Nos. 10, 11).
996—1001 H. ...	*Deest.*
Ilāhī 38—40 ...	Fulūs with Ilāhī year (No. 12).
Ilāhī 40—46 ...	Tanka (Large, Small, ½ Small, and ¼ Small) (Nos. 13—16).
Ilāhī 46—51 ...	Tānkī (Chau = 4; Do = 2; and Yak = 1) (Nos. 17—19).

Having now completed our survey of the coins struck at the mint of Aḥmadābād in Akbar's name we pass on to the consideration of a little known, but especially interesting, group of rupees and Chau Tānkīs, bearing the name of Akbar's son and successor, Salīm, more familiar to students of history under the name of Jahāngīr, which he assumed on his accession to the throne. Of these coins the British Museum has only two specimens, and the Lāhor Museum three, but

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in Aḥmadābād itself I have been able to secure thirteen in all, nine in silver and four in copper.

The rupee (No. 20) bears on its obverse the inscription.

سلم شاہ سلطان اکبر شاہ

The Sulṭān Salīm Shāh, (son of) Akbar Shāh,

followed by the Persian month and year, but with a marked absence of the heretical term Ilāhī.

The reverse reads

مالک الملک سکہ زد برزر ضرب احمداباد

The king of the kingdom struck coin in gold, minted at Aḥmadābād.

One coin (No. 21), which is, I believe, unique, contains on its obverse alone the full legend

Sulṭān Salīm Shāh Akbar Shāh
Mālik al Mulk Sikka zad bar zar;

while its reverse follows in every detail the type of Akbar's latest rupees, reading Ilāhī with the tail of the ← retracted backwards, above which comes the Persian month Abān, and below the year five, with the words Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

The copper coins (No. 22) of this group resemble this last rupee in their reverse, but the obverse inscription, as usual with coins of the baser metal, is much simpler, reading merely

Shāh Salīmī Chau Tānkī.

Of the total thirteen coins the regnal year is visible on nine, each of which is dated either two or five. I have never seen a single specimen of any other year. Stanley Lane-Poole, referring to the two Salīmī coins in the British Museum, hazards the suggestion that they may have been struck during Salīm's governorship of Gujarāt; and, if this conjecture be correct, that governorship must thus, on the evidence of the coins themselves, have lasted as long as five years. But the Prince Murād was the only one of Akbar's sons who held the viceroyalty of Gujarāt, and during the three and thirty years of Akbar's reign, subsequent to his annexation of the province, it is impossible to make out the five years required for Salīm's governorship. Those thirty-three years are all covered by the tenures of office of nine viceroys, the name and date of each of whom are perfectly well known.

It remains, then, a difficult problem to explain how coins came to be struck at all in Aḥmadābād in the name of Salīm Shāh Sulṭan, and especially puzzling is it to account satisfactorily for the years two and

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five. The late Mr. Rodgers, in the very last letter he wrote me suggested that these coins may have appeared when Salīm was in rebellion against his father, being issued possibly by partisans in fond anticipation of the rebel prince effecting a victorious entry into Ahmadābād. A like anticipatory issue of rupees took place, as we shall see, in the fateful year of Nādir Shāh's invasion of India. But this ingenious hypothesis seems incompatible with the year five found on several of the coins, for the rebellion raised by Salīm is explicitly termed in Catrou's Manouchi (page 134) "the disobedience of a few months."

* * * *

Of the coins struck at Aḥmadābād during the first six years of Jahāngīr's reign, that is, from 1014—1019 H., or 1605—1610 A.D., one of the most notable features is their increased weight—the rupee, which in Akbar's reign had remained constantly at 180 grains, now rising in the first three years to 215, and in the next three to 222. This increase was effected for the most part by adding to the thickness of the coins. The copper coins of the same period were also enhanced very considerably in weight, two in my possession, of the second regnal year, weighing 367 and 372 grains over against the 320 of Akbar's Fulūs and (Small) Tanka, and a third coin, of the fourth year, as much as 393 grains.

Between the years 1014 and 1017 H. the Aḥmadābād rupees (No. 23) were all of a uniform type. Their obverse inscription reads from below upwards,

نورالدين محمد جهانگير پادشاه غازي

The Light of the Faith, Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the Victorious King,

and quite at the bottom Sanah, with the figure denoting the regnal year.

The reverse gives the Kalima, below which comes Ḍarb Aḥmadābād and the Hijrī year.

It is well known that on the larger number of Jahāngīr's coins Persian distichs, or *baits*, were engraven, with which, in many cases, the name of the mint-town was blended. The first of such coins to issue from the Aḥmadābād mint would seem to have been struck in the fourth year of his reign, and the type of coin then introduced (No. 24) continued in vogue for the three years from 1017 to 1019 H. The Kalima, which, as we have just noticed, had a place on the immediately preceding rupees, is now abandoned, and does not re-appear on any of

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the later coins of this reign. In its stead, the first couplet that found favour was as follows:—

سکہ زد در احمدابا د از عنایات الہ
شاہ نورالدین جہانگیر ابن اکبر پا د شاہ

Shāh Nūr al Dīn Jahāngir, son of Akbar Pādshāh,
Struck coin in Aḥmadābād by the blessings of God—

which distich was contained part on the obverse and part on the reverse. The Hijrī year was inserted to the left of the initial word Sikka, and the regnal year in the curve of the Nūn of Ibn.

In 1020 H. this "'Ināyāt Couplet" was in its turn surrendered, and during the following seven years quite a number of designs and inscriptions were adopted one after the other. First, from 1020—1022 H. (Nos. 25 and 26), we have on the obverse of the rupee the simple legend

Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr Shāh (ibn) Akbar Shāh;

while the reverse, clearly reflecting Jahāngīr's now more open estrangement from Islām, exhibits once more the year dated according to the heretical Ilāhī era and the Persian month, with which, however, are also associated the Hijrī year in figures and the customary formula Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

Next, from 1022—1026 H. (No. 27), an altogether new legend finds a place on the Aḥmadābād rupee, which now reads, partly on the obverse and partly on the reverse,

بنام شاہ نورالدین جہانگیر مزین باد

Let it be beautified by the name of Shāh Nur al Dīn Jahāngir.

The obverse further gives in figures the Ilāhī year in the top line to the left of the Mīm of Nām, and the Hijrī year in the lowest line to the left of the Re of Jahāngīr; while the reverse contains the word Ilāhī in full, also the Persian month, coupled with the generic term Māh, "month," and, quite at the bottom, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

It is nowise strange that the year 1027 H. (1617-18 A. D.) was specially rich in coins, variously fashioned at the Aḥmadābād mint, for it was in this year that Jahāngīr held his court in that city. He records in the Tārīkh i Salīm Shāhī:—

> "I remained in the province (of Gujarāt) a period of five "months, amusing myself in the sports of the field, and making "excursions to view the different parts of the country."—(Price's Translation, p. 117.)

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The earliest coin of this year, 1027 (No. 28), bears inscribed on obverse and reverse, read consecutively, the couplet

بهفت کشور این زر همیشه باد روان
زنقش نام جهانگیر پادشاه جهان

In the seven climes may this money be always current
Through the stamp of the name Jahāngīr, king of the world.

The mint-town Aḥmadābād is entered on the reverse, while the obverse gives the Hijrī year 1027 and the regnal year 12; the latter associated with the technical expression, now for the first time introduced on the Mughal coins of India, Sanah Julūs, "in the year of the accession." Of this very rare type of coin I have been so fortunate as to secure two specimens, a rupee and a half-rupee.

This same Hijrī year 1027, but the 13th after the accession, is the date of the earliest known Nithār of Aḥmadābād. Nithār coins formed the "largesse" money, or jeton, distributed amongst the crowds assembled to witness the pageantry of a royal procession. They are, as Lane-Poole has candidly remarked, "economically thin for their diameter." This Aḥmadābād Nithār, for example, of 1027 H., now in the Lāhor Museum (L. M. Catal. p. 156, No. 187), though ·7 of an inch in diameter, weighs only 43½ grains, or less than a four-anna piece. The obverse reads simply,

Sanah 13 Julūs, Nithār Jahāngīrī,

and the reverse,

Sanah 1027, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād,

the legend on each side being inscribed in a double circle, the inner linear and the outer dotted.

Quite the most remarkable coins, however, minted at Aḥmadābād in the year 1027 H. and 13th after the accession, are the well-known Zodiacal Rupees. Regarding the introduction of the Zodiacal coinage, the Emperor wrote in the Wāqi'āt i Jahāngīrī:

> "Formerly it was customary to strike my name on one side of the coin, and that of the place and the month and the year of the reign on the reverse"—this, we have already seen, had been the custom from 1020 to 1022 H.—"It now occurred to my mind," Jahāngīr adds, "that, instead of the name of the month, the figure of the sign of the Zodiac corresponding to the particular month should be stamped . . . . . This was my own innovation. It had never been done before."—(Dowson's Elliot, VI. 357).

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It certainly was an innovation counter to the iconoclastic spirit of Islām, and in the graven Zodiacal rupees of the Ram, the Bull, &c., many of the Emperor's co-religionists must have discerned a distinct infraction of the Qur'ānic injunction,

> "O ye who believe! verily wine, and al maisar, and statues, and divining (arrows), are only an abomination of Satan's work; avoid them that haply ye may prosper."—(Sūra V. 92.)

Of the Zodiacal coins, it would seem that "with one or two exceptions, the gold muhrs were all struck at Agra, and the silver rupees at Aḥmadābād"—this at least was the conclusion arrived at by the late Honourable Mr. James Gibbs, C.S.I., and communicated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in a paper read by him as President in the year 1878 (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., No. 36 Vol. 14). Three legends in all are met with on the Zodiacal rupees of Aḥmadābād :—

First (Nos. 29 and 30), the simple formula,

ضرب احمداباد جهانگیر پادشاه اکبر پادشاه

Struck at Aḥmadābād, King Jahāngīr (son of) King Akbār,

with the Hijrī year 1027 over the elongated Be of Akbar.

This inscription occurs on

Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Pisces,

Mr. Gibbs's specimen of this last being possibly of the year 1026 H.

My cabinet contains a Gemini rupee (No. 31) remarkable as being undated, owing to the letters of the inscription being so large as not to afford room for the digits of the Hijrī year.

Second (Nos. 32 and 33).—The "Zewar Couplet"—

زر احمداباد را داد زیور
جهانگیر شاه شهنشاه اکبر

King Jahāngīr, (son of) Akbar, King of Kings,
Gave adornment to the money of Aḥmadābād,

with the Hijrī year 1027 at the bottom of the coin and to the left of the initial word Zar.

This legend is found on

Cancer, Leo, and Scorpio (B. M. No. 374).

Third (No. 34).—The "'Ināyāt Couplet"—

سکه زد در احمداباد از عنایات اله
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

Shāh Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Pādshāh,
Struck coin in Aḥmadābād by the blessings of God,

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with Hijrī year 1027 entered to the left of the lowest line.

This distich, though very rarely met with on Zodiacal coins, is inscribed on a beautiful specimen of the Cancer rupee purchased by me in Aḥmadābād; also on an undated Aquarius Muhr in the British Museum.[1]

Of all these Zodiacal coins, the reverses, struck from dies probably engraven by a European artist, and one of no mean order, exhibit on a background of Solar rays some one of the twelve conventional signs of the Zodiac, while in a few cases (Cancer, Leo) even the stars of the constellation are represented. Beneath the sign comes the regnal year 13 and the phrase Sanah Julūs, or, in the case of Gemini, Cancer, and Scorpio, the word Sanah alone.

The description now given covers, I believe, all the genuine Aḥmadābād Zodiacal coins hitherto published, with the single exception of a Capricornus in the late Colonel Seton Guthrie's collection. Of this coin the only information I can glean is that it was a rupee of 1027 H., and thus presumably from the Aḥmadābād mint.

Of the complete series of the twelve Zodiacal Aḥmadābād rupees, it will be seen that four, Virgo, Libra, Sagittarius, and Aquarius are quite unrepresented in the published Catalogues. That all the twelve were issued there is no room to doubt, and James Forbes, writing his "Oriental Memoirs" in 1813, expressly states: "I once saw an entire collection of these rupees in silver, and a few others procured by chance of the same metal." (2nd Ed., Vol. II., 215.) While poor imitations of the whole series are still sometimes exposed for sale—in Bombay I have been offered the twelve for Rs. 25—it is much to be feared that the complete sets, formerly met with, as Forbes quaintly puts it, "in the cabinets of the curious," have long since been broken up and dispersed.

The last coin to be mentioned as having been struck in Aḥmadābād in the year 1027 H. is one closely resembling the rupees issued in the years 1017 to 1019 H. It bears the same inscription as those—to wit, the 'Ināyāt bait, but with a slight difference in the arrangement of the words, and the weight is now the normal 180 grains, instead of the 222 of the rupees of that earlier period. The obverse gives the regnal year 13 over the word Sanah, which in a unique coin I secured (No. 35) stands in the topmost line, but in all other specimens (No. 36) comes at the left of the middle line. The Hijrī year is

[1] This is, I have no doubt, the true reading of the coin No. 357, only partially deciphered in the British Museum Catalogue.

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entered at the base of the reverse. This type of coin, introduced in 1027, was current through the six succeeding years, 1027—1033 H.

Next to be issued were the celebrated muhrs and rupees that bear along with Jahāngīr's name that of his beautiful and ambitious queen, Nūr Jahān. The issue of these coins from the Sūrat mint seems to have been fairly plentiful, but it is only by exceptional good fortune that one lights upon either muhr or rupee of this type struck at Aḥmadābād (No. 37). The obverse and reverse, read consecutively, yield the following felicitous couplet:—

بحکم شاہ جہانگیر یافت صد زیور
زنام نور جہان پادشاہ بیگم زر

By the order of Shāh Jahāngīr money gained a hundred beauties
Through the name of Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam.

In the rupees the mint-town Aḥmadābād comes at the foot of the obverse, and the Hijrī and regnal years on the reverse, also at the foot; but on the unique muhr in the Lāhore Museum (L. M. Catal. p. 128, No. 18) the words

Sanah 23 Julūs, Sanah 1037,

are inscribed within a mĕhrābī, or arched, area, while a similar pattern on the reverse contains the words

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

This type, both in gold and silver, continued during the last four years of Jahāngīr's reign, or from 1034—1037 H. (1624—1627 A. D.).

The distinguishing features of the silver coins, exclusive of Nithārs, struck at Aḥmadābād in successive periods of Jahāngīr's reign, may be tabulated as follows:—

No.	Period.	Weight.	Legend.	Year.	Month.
No. 23 ...	1014–1017 H....	215 grains.	Kalima ...	Hijrī and regnal.	None.
No. 24 ...	1017–1019 H....	222 „ ...	'Ināyāt ...	„ ...	„
Nos. 25 & 26...	1020–1022 H. .	180 „ ...	Simple ...	Hijrī and Ilāhi.	Persian and word Māh.
No. 27 ..	1022–1026 H....	„ „ ...	Muzaiyan.	„ ...	„

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No.	Period.	Weight.	Legend.	Year.	Month.
No. 28 ...	1027[18] H. ...	„ „ ..	Kishwar...	Hijrī and Julūs.	None.
Nos. 29-34 ...	1027[18] H. ...	„ „ ...	Zodiacal...	„ ...	„
Nos. 35 & 36...	1027–1033 H....	„ „ ...	ʻInāyāt ...	Hijrī and regnal.	„
No. 37 ...	1034–1037 H....	„ „ ...	Nūr Jahānī	„ ...	„

Of the Aḥmadābād gold coins of Jahāngīr's reign, mention has been already made of the undated Aquarius in the British Museum, and of the 1037 H. Nūr Jahānī in the Lāhor Museum. Besides these, only four other muhrs have been catalogued. They are dated 1028, 1029, 1030, and 1033 H., and are all of a uniform type. As in the Nūr Jahānī muhr, so in these also, a mĕhrābī area is engraven on both the obverse and the reverse, the former containing the words

Jahāngīr Shāh Akbar Shāh,

and the latter

Sanah . . . . Julūs, Sanah . . . .

with both regnal and Hijrī years expressed in figures.

The secondary inscription, contained in the segments above and below these Mĕhrābī areas, supplies the distich

بشرق و غرب مهر احمدابادد
الهی تا جهان باشد روان باد

In East and West may the stamp of Aḥmadābad,
O God, be current while the world lasts.

None of the published Catalogues record any copper coins of Jahāngīr's from the Aḥmadābād mint, but my own cabinet contains five specimens, four of which are fully dated. On all five the obverse reads merely روانے Rawānī, with the tail of the ے reverted so as to form a complete diameter of the coin. Beneath this on the four dated specimens comes the word Sanah and the regnal year. The reverse inscription on all is just Fulūs Aḥmadābād, and the Hijrī year present on the four is expressed in figures at the bottom. The two earliest specimens (No. 38) bear each the same date, namely, 1016 H. and regnal year 2, and weigh 367 and 372 grains respectively, over against the 320 grains of the Fulūs in Akbar's time. The one undated specimen,

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being of weight 89 grains, is clearly a Quarter Fulūs of the 1014—1017 period of coinage. The next coin (No. 39), an exceptionally fine specimen dated 1017 H. and regnal year 4, differs from the others by having on both its sides an ornamented horizontal diameter formed of dots flanked by a double line. Its weight rises to the high figure of 393 grains, while as to measurements its diameter is ·9 of an inch and its edge ·3. The latest of the five coins is of 1019 H. and regnal year 6. Though stamped with the technical designation Fulūs, it weighs only 247 grains, and is thus clearly intended to be a reversion, in the matter of weight at least, to Akbar's Chau Tānkī of 250 grains.

* * * *

The inscriptions on the muhrs and rupees struck in Aḥmadābād in 1037 H., the first year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, were retained with only the slightest change till the close of his reign in 1069 H. The obverse reads

صاحب قران ثانی شهاب الدین
محمد شاه جهان پادشاه غازی

Second Lord of Conjunction, Flame of the Faith,
Muḥammad Shāh Jahān, the Victorious King;

and the reverse gives the Kalima.

The arrangement of the words differs on the coins of the different periods of this reign, but the chief variations have reference to the position of the name of the mint-town Aḥmadābād and to the methods of indicating the year of issue of the coin.

Of three rupees struck in the first year each has distinguishing features of its own. In two (Nos. 40 and 41) of the three, Shihāb al Dīn comes in the lowest line of the obverse, while in the third (No. 42), and in all subsequent coins of this type, Ṣāḥib Qirān thānī occupies the lowest line, and Shihāb al Dīn the one next above it. Again, on one (No. 40) of the three coins, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād stands at the base of the reverse, above which come the figures of the Hijrī year. But on the other two (Nos. 41 and 42), the Hijrī year is written not above but under Aḥmadābād, and with its figures are now associated the words Sanah Hijrī, this being the first occurrence of the term Hijrī on any of the coins of India. Further, on all three coins the regnal year 1 on the obverse is now for the first time written in full, سنه احد, Sanah aḥad, and hereafter in all the later reigns the first year is invariably thus indicated.

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In the coins of 1038 H. the newly adopted term Hijrī gives place to Ilāhī and the Persian month, coupled with the word Māh, these all being written in full on the reverse, while the Hijrī year now stands instead of the regnal year on the obverse. This type (No. 43) obtained both in muhrs and rupees for the six years from 1038 to 1043 H.

The latter year, however, witnessed the introduction of an entirely different design (No. 44) for the gold and silver coins struck in Aḥmadābād, a design suggesting that of the rupees current shortly after Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt. Compare No. 4 with No. 44. This type is specially important since maintained from 1043 H. right on till the close of the reign in 1069 H.

A large square, generally knotted at the corners, is marked out on both the obverse and the reverse. Within the obverse square the legend is

Shāh Jahān Pādshāh Ghāzī.

with the regnal year entered generally in the right hand margin, but in the earlier coins in or near the curve of the Nūn of Jahān.

The left hand margin reads		Ḍarb Aḥmadābād,
„ upper	„ „	Shihāb al Dīn,
„ right hand	„ „	Muḥammad Ṣāḥib,
and the lower	„ „	Qirān thānī.

On the reverse the Kalima is inscribed within the square area, the Hijrī year in small figures finding a place in the coins of early issue in the lower left hand corner, and in the later coins (No. 45) in the left hand margin, while the four margins contain each the name of one of the four khalīfas associated with his distinguishing "virtue," thus

بصدق ابوبکر	By the veracity of Abū Bakr,
وعدل عمر	and the rectitude of 'Ŏmar,
بارزم عثمان	by the mildness of 'Ŏthmān
وعلم علی	and the learning of 'Alī.

The various methods of indicating the date of issue of the gold and silver coins of Aḥmadābād in successive periods of Shāh Jahān's reign admit of tabulation as follows :—

Period.	Hijrī year.	Regnal year.	Month.
1037 H. ...	Figures alone on reverse.	Sanah سنة on obverse.	None.

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Period.	Hijrī year.	Regnal year.	Month.
1037-1038 H....	Figures & Sanah Hijrī on reverse.	Sanah سنه on obverse.	None.
1038-1043 H....	Figures alone on obverse.	Ilāhī Sanah on reverse.	Persian and word Māh.
1043-1069 H. ...	Figures alone on reverse.	Figures alone on obverse.	None.

I have been so fortunate as to secure a unique Aḥmadābād nithār in silver (No. 46) of this reign. Though thin, it is in excellent condition. The obverse reads from bottom upwards.

Nithār Shāh Jahān 1069.

and the reverse

Sanah 33, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

Of Copper Coins of this reign struck in Aḥmadābād my cabinet contains six unique specimens, of which one is a Fulūs of 309 grains, and each of the others a Half Fulūs, weighing from 154 to 156 grains. Of the six the four earliest are dated.

Ilāhī 6 Farwardīn.
,, ,, Isfandārmuz (No. 47).
,, 7 Mihr.
,, *x* Mihr with the Hijrī year 1043.

On all four the obverse inscription is simply

Fulūs Shāh Jahānī,

with the regnal year under the Sīn of Fulūs or in its loop.

The reverse contains in the upper portion the word Ilāhī, preceded by the Persian month and the word Māh written in full, while the lower half reads Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, below which comes on one of the coins the Hijrī year 1043 in figures.

The two remaining Copper Coins (No. 48) are of 1044 H. regna year 8, and 1046 H. regnal year 10. They are of an identical type, the obverse reading, as in the preceding group of four,

Fulūs Shāh Jahānī

with the regnal year in the loop of the Sīn of Fulūs, while the reverse legend is merely

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād

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with the Hijrī year under the elongated Be of Ḍarb.

* * * *

During his brief and abortive rebellion the ill-fated Murād Bakhsh caused coins to be struck at Aḥmadābād in both gold and silver. The unique gold specimen, now in the British Museum, (Br. Mus. Catal. No. 692) bears within a square on the obverse the inscription

محمد مراد بخش پادشاه غازے

Muhammad Murād Bakhsh, the victorious king.

and in the margins

ابوالمظفر مزوج الدین ضرب احمداباد الهے احد

The father of the victorious, wedded to the Faith (?), struck at Ahmadābād, in 1 of the Divine era.

The square on the reverse contains the kalima, and its margins record the names and virtues of the Four Khalīfas, the Hijrī date 1068 being inscribed between the 'Ilm and 'Ali of the last, or upper margin.

The inscription and design borne on Murād Bakhsh's Aḥmadābād rupees (No. 49) are the same as on his muhrs, save that Sanah aḥad seems to have been substituted for the Ilāhī aḥad in the upper margin of the obverse.

* * * *

In the reign of Aurangzeb an altogether new inscription was devised for the current coins. We have seen that every muhr and rupee struck at Aḥmadābād from the time of the accession of Shāh Jahān in 1037 H., bore, stamped on its reverse, the Kalima or Muslim Creed. The abolition from the coinage of this Symbol of the Faith was reserved, strange to say, for Aurangzeb, who beyond all other Emperors of India affected the rôle of an avowed, even a fanatical, champion of orthodoxy. Apprehensive that some of the coins bearing the sacred Formula of the Faith might "pass into many unworthy places and fall under the feet of infidels" Aurangzeb introduced a new legend which, so far as I can discover, appears on every rupee struck in Aḥmadābād during his long reign of nearly fifty years, 1659-1707 A. D., (1069-1119 H.)

The obverse (No. 50) bears the Persian distich,

سکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر

Shāh Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir

Struck money through the world like the shining moon.

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On the obverse is also entered the Hijrī year, which, in the coins of the earlier part of the reign, stands over the "dar jahān" in the lowest line, but in those issued towards its close (No. 51) near the top of the coin and over the Gāf of Aurang.

The reverse inscription reads

سنه . . . . جلوس میمنت مأنوس

In the year . . . . of the reign of tranquil prosperity,

with the figures of the regnal year superscribed over the word Sanah. In the lower portion of the reverse the mint-town is indicated by the usual formula Ḍarb Aḥmadābād. This reverse legend appears on the rupees of most of the succeeding Emperors.

Of Aurangzeb's gold coins struck at Aḥmadābād not a single specimen is now known to collectors, and of his copper coins just one. Much worn, it now weighs only 211 grains. On the obverse the letters, with difficulty decipherable, seem to read Fulūs bād Shāh 'Ālmagīr, 1097, but the reverse, though unfortunately illegible in the upper half, contains quite clearly in the lower the words Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

* * * *

On Aurangzeb's death in 1118 H. (1707 A. D.) his son A'ẓam, in the absence of an elder brother, strove to secure the throne for himself. Slain within three months in a battle fought on the plains near Āgra, he had none the less, during his short term of usurpation, caused coins to be struck in his name at Aurangābād, Burhānpūr and Aḥmadābād. A solitary rupee from the last mint is in the British Museum (Br. Mu. Catalogue, No. 850). The obverse bears the couplet

سکہ زد در جہان بدولت و جاہ
پادشاہ ممالک اعظم شاہ

The king of the realms, A'zam Shāh,
Struck money through the world with prosperity and majesty,

with the Hijrī year 1119 under the final Shāh.

The obverse gives

ضرب احمدابان سنہ احد جلوس اشرف

Minted at Aḥmadābād in the year 1 of the most noble reign.

* * * *

A'ẓam's elder brother, Mu'azzam, on ascending the throne, took the title of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, which duly appears on the very few rupees (No. 52) now known of his reign from the Aḥmadābād mint. These coins are the first to bear on the obverse an inscription which, with, of course, the necessary change of name, continued

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in vogue through the reigns of nearly all the succeeding Emperors. It reads

سکہ مبارک شاہ عالم بہادر پادشاہ غازے

The auspicious coin of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, the victorious king.

The lowest line also gives the Hijrī year.

The reverse repeats the formula introduced by Aurangzeb,

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah . . . . julūs maimanat ma'nūs.

* * * *

Shāh 'Ālam's successor on the throne was his third son, the profligate Jahāndār, whose reign had reached only eleven months when he met his death at the hands of Farrukh Siyar. Jahāndār's coins were issued certainly from twelve, perhaps from thirteen, different mints, but no specimen, so far as I am aware, has been catalogued from the mint of Aḥmadābād.

* * * *

Of Farrukh Siyar's reign, 1124-1131 H. (1713-1719 A. D.), two Aḥmadābād coins are known, both of them rupees, one of his sixth, and the other of his seventh, regnal year. On these (No. 53) the obverse bears the couplet

سکہ زد بر سیم و زر از فضل حق ∴ پادشاہ بحر و بر فرخ سیر

Farrukh Siyar, king of sea and land,
Struck coin of silver and gold by grace of the truth,

the Hijrī year coming to the left of the Kāf of Sikka.

The reverse has the regular *julūs* formula introduced by Aurangzeb

* * * *

Farrukh Siyar was succeeded in 1131 H. (1719 A. D.) by Rafī' al Darajāt, who held the throne for little over six months. Of this short reign two rupees from the Aḥmadābād mint are known, one entered as "unique" in the Lāhor Museum Catalogue (page 207, No. 4), and one—its duplicate—in my own cabinet (No. 54). The couplet on the obverse reads

زد سکہ بہند با ہزاران برکات ∴ شاہنشہ بحر و بر رفیع الدرجات

Rafī'al Darajāt, Emperor of sea and land,
Struck coin in India with a thousand blessings;

and at the right of the top line comes the Hijrī year.

In this distich the presence of the word "barakāt" is probably due to the Emperor's title of Shams-ul-Dīn Abu'l Barakāt.

The reverse of this rupee is of special interest as furnishing the honorific epithet Zīnat al Bilād (the Beauty of Towns), the only title

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applied to Aḥmadābād since the earlier issues of Akbar's reign. Read from below upwards, the inscription is

سنه احد جلوس میمنت مأنوس ∴ ضرب زینت البلاد احمداباد

In the year 1 of the reign of tranquil prosperity,
Struck at Aḥmadābād, the Beauty of Towns.

* * * *

On Rafī' al Darajāt's death his elder brother, Rafī' al Daulat, whose name appears on coins as Shāh Jahān (II.), succeeded to the throne. His reign lasted but three months. The only Aḥmadābād coin, hitherto known, struck in his name is a rupee that came into my possession just a few days ago, but unfortunately too late to be photographed with the coins on Plate V., on which its place would come between Nos. 54 and 55. Its severely simple inscriptions are of the type represented by the rupee of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur's reign (No. 52). On the obverse the arrangement is as follows:—

پادشاه غازے
شاه جهان
سکه
مبارک ۱۱۳۱

The auspicious coin of Shāh Jahān, the victorious king, 1131.

The inscription on the reverse is identical with that on Aḥmad Shāh's rupee, shown as No. 56 of Plate V.

* * * *

The successor of Shāh Jahān II. was Muḥammad Shāh, 1131-1161 H. (1719-1748 A. D.), nine of whose rupees (No. 55) are in my cabinet. They all bear the inscriptions which we have already associated with the reigns of Aurangzeb and Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, being on the obverse

Sikka mubārak Pādshāh Ghāzī Muḥammad Shāh,

with the Hijrī year;

and on the reverse

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah . . . . julūs maimanat ma'nūs

with the regnal year.

Of Muḥammad's Copper Coins of Aḥmadābād I have four specimens, all poor, one of the 26th and one of the 28th regnal year, and the remaining two with dates illegible. These coins weigh

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between 208 and 214 grains each, which, considering their worn condition, may well represent an original weight of 250 grains.

The obverse seems to read

Fulūs . . . . Muḥammad Shāh

while the reverse is clearly

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah . . . . julus,

with the figures of the regnal year over Sanah.

It was during the reign of this Muḥammad Shāh that the Persian usurper Nādir Shāh invaded India, and massacred so ruthlessly the inhabitants of Dehlī. Mirzā Muḥammad Bakhsh expressly records:—

"The Persians and others of Nādir's army, having dismounted "and picketed their horses, were plundering and ransacking "without check. They had broken open the chests with blows "of axes and swords, torn in piecest he bags of gold and silver, "and, having scattered the contents on the ground, were engaged "in picking them up. Furniture, especially the culinary utensils "of silver and copper, fell into the hands of the plunderers."— *Dowson's Elliot*, VIII., 233, 234.

Later on, however, it appears the men were compelled to surrender the silver they had thus attached as booty, and from it Nādir Shāh caused rupees to be struck in his own name at the mint of Dehlī, then known as Shāhjahānābād. But Nādir's coins issued also from the mint of Aḥmadābād — a fact the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Persian invader, after the sack of Dehlī, proceeded homewards without even putting foot in the province of Gujarāt. The probable explanation is that these coins were struck at a time of panic, when the hearts of the Aḥmadābādīs failed them for fear, in dread anticipation of Nādir's arrival before the gates of their city. The Gujarāt Viceroy may have hoped by this acknowledged symbol of submission to mollify the cruel conqueror, and assure him of the city's loyalty to him as lord.

The legend on the obverse of these coins is

بست سلطان برسلاطین جهان ∴ شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

The monarch of monarchs, Nādir, the lord of conjunction.

Is a Sulṭān over the Sulṭāns of the world.

The inscription on the reverse reads from below upwards,

سنه ۱۱۵۲ ضرب احمدابان ملکه خلد الله

Year 1152, struck at Aḥmadābād, Allah keep the kingdom for ever.

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Some four years ago I picked up in the Aḥmadābād bāzār a rupee, and more recently an eight-anna piece, of this type, and had the pleasure of sending both to the late Mr. Rodgers as unexpected "finds."

* * * *

Subsequent to Muḥammad Shāh, the Emperors Aḥmad Shāh (No. 56), 'Ālamgīr II. (No. 57), Shāh 'Ālam II. (No. 59), and Akbar II. (No. 60), also the "mimic king" Shāh Jahān III. (No. 58), all caused coins to be struck at Aḥmadābād of the type that had already come to be regarded as conventional.

On the obverse we have the familiar legend

Sikka mubārak Pādshāh Ghazī,

with the topmost line reserved for the regnant Emperor's name, and to the right the Hijrī year; while the reverse reads, as usual,

Sanah . . . . julūs maimanat ma'nūs,

the regnal year being written above the word Sanah, and the formula Darb Aḥmadābād, recording the mint-town, occupying the lower portion of the coin.

Of the above-mentioned Emperors, Akbar II. alone is represented in the numismatic cabinets by any copper coins (No. 61) of Aḥmadābād. On these rare coins

Fulūs Akbar Shāh,

with Hijrī year, constitutes the legend on the obverse, and

Aḥmadābād, Sanah . . . . julūs,

with regnal year, the legend on the reverse.

Five fairly good specimens in my collection range in weight between 116 and 121 grains, and thus suggest an original weight of 125 grains, equivalent therefore to that of the Do Tānkīs of Akbar's coinage.

* * * *

The last of the Mughal Emperors of India, Babādur II., mounted the throne in 1253 H. (1837 A.D.). By that year, however, the rupees and paise of British currency had already come into circulation in Gujarāt, and, accordingly, it is not strange that no coins seem to have issued from the Aḥmadābād mint bearing the name of Bahādur II. His authority, indeed, was at no time more than merely nominal beyond the precincts of the Fort of Dehlī.

* * * *

One coin of Aḥmadābād still remains to claim attention. In the 30th year of his reign the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam was barbarously blinded, and a puppet king, Bīdār Bakht, the son of the late Emperor Aḥmad

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Shāh, was placed on the throne of Dehlī. During eight months of 1202-3 H. (1788-89 A.D.) sovereign power was nominally vested in his hands, though the *de facto* ruler was the infamous Ghulām Qādir; but at the end of that time the Marāṭhā general Rāṇā Khān defeated Ghulām, and, in contravention of the rule that no blind man may be a Sulṭān, reinstated the unfortunate Shāh 'Ālam. In its account of this short-lived rebellion, the 'Ibrat-nāma expressly mentions that

> "Ghulām Qādir took the gold and silver mounted articles from "the apartments of Shāh 'Ālam and the princes and princesses, "then piled them in a heap and burnt them, and sent the metal "to the mint to be coined."—*Dowson's Elliot*, VIII. 247.

The mint referred to was doubtless that of Shāhjahānābād (Dehlī) and of Bīdār's coins struck there, the British Museum contains one in gold and one in silver. The Lāhor Museum Catalogue registers a muhr of Bīdār's, issued from the Muḥammadābād mint, and the British Museum Catalogue two other muhrs, which, if the legends have been read aright, hail from Aḥmadābād (Br. Mus. Catal., Nos. 1207 and 1208). Of these last, indeed, the specimen given on Plate XXIX. of the Catalogue wants the initial letters of the name of the mint; so, possibly, this coin may be just a duplicate of the Muḥammadābād muhr, and not an Aḥmadābād coin at all. Assuming, however, the correctness of Mr. Lane-Poole's rendering, the reverse legend is,

> Sanah aḥad julūs maimanat ma'nūs, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād,
>
> In the year 1 of the reign of tranquil prosperity, struck at Aḥmadābād;

while the obverse exhibits, along with the Hijrī year 1203 (1788-89 A. D.), the following distich:—

بزر زد سکه وارث تاج و تخت جهان
شاه محمد بیدار بخت

> Shāh Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht,
>
> Owner of the crown and throne of the world, struck coins of gold,

* * * *

In now concluding this account of the Mughal coinage of Aḥmadābād, it may be of interest to note how many of the fifteen Emperors and nine Pretenders that occupied the throne of Dehlī, subsequent to the annexation of the province of Gujarāt, are represented by their

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coins in the four collections that have supplied the material for this article. The following Table furnishes this information:—

Collection.	Emperors (15).	Petenders (9).	Total (24).
British Museum	4	4	8
Lāhor ,, ...	6	0	6
Calcutta ,, ...	7	0	7
Taylor Cabinet ...	13	2	15

The aggregate collection, formed from these four, contains Aḥmadābād coins of thirteen of the fifteen Emperors and of four of the nine Pretenders. The two Emperors and five Pretenders still unrepresented are:—

Emperors : 1. Jahāndār Shāh.
2. Bahādur Shāh II.

Pretenders : 1. Dāwar Bakhsh.
2. Shāh Shujā',
3. Kām Bakhsh.
4. Niku Siyar.
5. Ibrāhīm.

Of the two Emperors, the latter, Bahādur Shāh II., ascended the throne in 1837, and thus two years after the issue of a uniform coinage for British India. Hence, as we have already had occasion to remark, probably no coins were ever struck at the Aḥmadābād mint in the name of Bahādur II.

The only remaining Emperor whose coins are still wanting is Jahāndār, who reigned for eleven months of the year 1124 H. (1712 A. D.).

Of the five Pretenders in the above list, four, it would seem, coined each at but a single mint — to wit, Dāwar Bakhsh at Lāhor, Shāh Shujā' at Akbarābād (Agra), Ibrāhīm at Shahjahānābād (Dehlī), and Niku Siyar at Sūrat, possibly also at Bhakkar; while of the fifth, Kām Bakhsh, coins are known to have issued only from the two mints of Bījāpūr and Ḥaidarābād. It is doubtful whether any of these five Pretenders continued coining for a full twelve month. Hence, omitting Bahādur II. from our reckoning, inasmuch as his date (1837-1857 A. D.) is later than the lowest limit (1835 A. D).

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assigned to the Mughal currency of Aḥmadābaād, the coins of all the unrepresented Emperors and Pretenders do not cover in the aggregate a period of more than four or five years. Clearly, then, the Mughal coins of Aḥmadābād contained in existing cabinets constitute, as to type at least, a collection very nearly complete.

GEO. P. TAYLOR,

Aḥmadābād, 10th January 1899.

I desire here to express my deep obligations to my friend, Mr. Henry Cousens, M. R. A. S., the accomplished Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western India, for the very great trouble he has so kindly taken in connexion with the production of the Plates that illustrate this article. Having with his own hands made casts in plaster of the original coins, he sent me excellent photographs of them, from which the accompanying five Plates have been prepared by the ordinary processes.

G. P. T.

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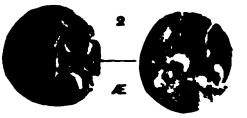



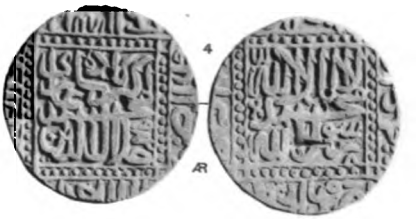

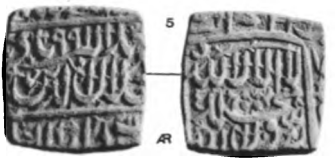

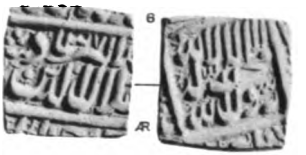

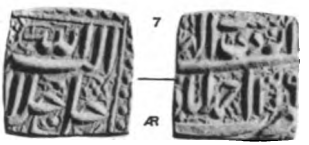







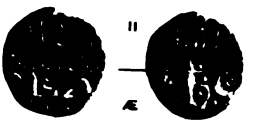

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Plate I.

No.	Sultān or Emperor.	Year. Hijri.	Year. Regnal.	Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijrī period.
1	Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh III.	991	.....	.....	170	
2	„ ...	...	.....	.....	85	
3	Akbar ...	980	.....	.....	174	980-982
4	„ ...	982	.....	.....	174	982-986
5	„ ...	991	.....	.....	172	987-1000
6	„ ...	...	37	.....	177	1000-1001
7	„ ...	...	39 Ilāhī	Ardībihisht.	177	1001-1002
8	„ ...	...	44 Ilāhī	Bahman ...	176	1002-1009 1011-1014
9	„ ...	...	47 Ilāhī	Abān ...	174	1010
10	„ ...	982	.....	.....	308	Æ. 981-995
11	„ ...	98x	.....	.....	77	„

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Plate II.

No	Sulṭān or Emperor.	Year.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijrī period.
		Hijrī.	Regnal.			
12	Akbar ...	...	38 Ilāhī...	Abān ...	312	Æ. 1001-1003
13	„ ...	...	44 Ilāhī...	Amardād ...	630	Æ. 1003-1009
14	„ ...	...	„ ...	„ ...	310	„
15	„ ...	...	16 Ilāhī...	? ...	154	„
16	„ ...	...	44 Ilāhī...	Amardād ...	74	„
17	„ ...	...	47 Ilāhī...	Farwardīn...	242	Æ. 1009-1014
18	„ ...	...	46 Ilāhī...	Bahman ...	115	„
19	„ ...	...	? ...	? ...	58	„
20	Sulṭān Salīm Shāh.	...	5 ...	Dī ...	176	?
21	„ ...	...	5 Ilāhī...	Abān ...	176	?
22	„ ...	...	5 Ilāhī...	Azr ...	244	?

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12
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13
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14
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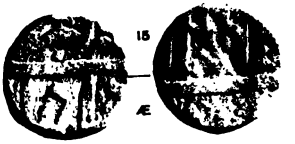
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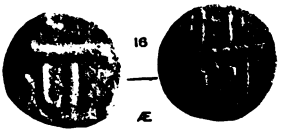
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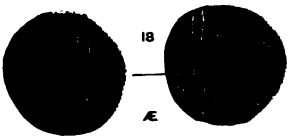
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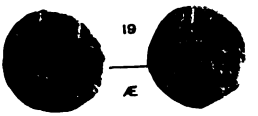
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AHMADABAD COINS.

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23 AR


24 AR


25 AR


26 AR


30 AR


27 AR


28 AR


29 AR


33 AR


35 AR


31 AR


32 AR


34 AR

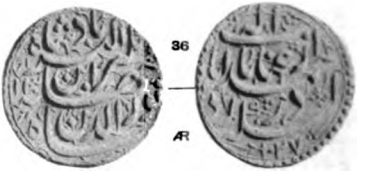
36 AR

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PLATE III.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijrī period.
		Hijrī.	Regnal.			
23	Jahāngīr ...	1015	1 ...	.....	211	1014-1017
24	,, ...	1019	6 ...	.....	219	1017-1019
25	,, ...	1021	7 Ilāhī ...	Māh Abān...	175	1020 1023
26	,, ...	1022	? ...	Māh Mihr...	175	
27	,, ...	1025	11 Ilāhī ...	Māh Amardād	174	1022-1026
28	,, ...	1027	Sanah 12 Julūs.	.....	175	
29	,, ...	1027	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Aries) ...	175	
30	,, ...	(1027)	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Taurus) ...	175	
31	,, ...	.....	(Sanah 13)	(Gemini) ...	173	
32*	,, ...	1027	Sanah 13	(Cancer) ...	174	
33	,, ...	(1027)	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Leo) ...	174	
34*	,, ...	1027	Sanah 13	(Cancer) ...	175	
35†	,, ...	(1027)	Sanah 13	.....	173	
36†	,, ...	1027	Sanah 13	.....	175	1027-1033

* The legend on No. 32 differs from that on No. 34.

† The legends on Nos. 35 and 36 are the same, but the obverses of these two coins present different arrangements of the words.

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PLATE IV.

No.	Emperor.	Year. Hijrī.	Year. Regnal.	Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijrī period.
37	Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān	1036	2 x ...	.....	175	1034—1037
38	Jahāngīr ...	1016	2 ...	.....	371	Æ
39	,, ..	1017	4 ...	.....	390	Æ
40	Shāh Jahān (I.)..	1037	Sanah 1	.....	172	
41*	,, ...	1037 Hijrī Sanah	Sanah 1	.....	174	
42*	,, ...	1037 Hijrī Sanah.	Sanah 1	.....	174	1037—1038
43	,, ...	1039	2 Ilāhī Sanah.	Ardībihisht Māh.	175	1038—1043
44†	,, ...	1043	6 ...	.....	174	1043—1069
45†	,, ...	1055	19 ...	.....	176	
46§	,, ...	1069	Sanah 33	.....	43	
47	,, ...	?	6 Ilāhī ...	Isfandārmuz.	154	Æ
48	,, ...	1044	8 ...	.....	156	Æ

* The legends on Nos. 41 and 42 are the same, but the obverses of these two coins present different arrangements of the words.

† Nos. 44 and 45 differ only in the positions assigned on their obverses to the regnal year and on their reverses to the Hijrī year.

§ No. 46 is a nithār.

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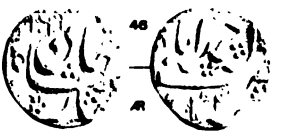
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AHMADABAD COINS.

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49 AR


50 AR


51 AR


52 AR


53 AR


54 AR


55 AR


56 AR


57 AR


58 AR 59 AR


60 AR


61 Æ

AHMADABAD COINS.

UNIV. OF
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PLATE. V.

No.	Emperor.	Year. Hijrī.	Year. Regnal.	Month.	Weight in grains	Typical of Hijrī period.
49	Murād Bakhsh ...	1068	1	.....	176	
50*	Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr (I.)	1075	Sanah 7julūs	.....	177	1069—1119.
51*	„ „ ...	1116	„ 48 „	.....	177	
52	Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam (I.)	1120	„ 2 „	.....	178	1119—1124.
53	Farrukh Siyar ...	[112]9	„ 6 „	.....	177	1124—1131.
54	Rafī'al-darajāt ..	(1131)	„ (1) „	.....	178	1131.
55	Muḥammad Shāh	1143	„ 13 „	.....	177	1131—1161
56	Aḥmad Shāh ...	1161	„ 1 „	.....	174	1161—1167
57	'Ālamgīr (II.) ...	1169	„ 2 „	.....	178	1167—1173
58	Shāh Jahān (III.)	1173	„ (1) „	.....	178	1173.
59	Shāh 'Ālam (II.)	1188	„ (16) „	.....	178	1173—1221.
60	Akbar Shāh (II).	1230	„ 8 „	.....	178	1221—1251.
61	„ ...	1236	„ 14 „	.....	120	Æ

* Nos. 50 and 51 differ only in the positions assigned on their obverses to the Hijrī year.

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