THE COINAGE OF COOCH BEHAR

by N.G. Rhodes

The origins of the State of Cooch Behar are wreathed in mystery. (1) The Hindu rulers of this area prior to 1500 A.D., then known as Kamata, did not strike any coins and were conquered by Hussain Shah, the Muslim Sultan of Bengal, at the very end of the 15th century. Some of the coins of Hussain style him as Sultan of Kamrup and Kamata among his other titles. (2) The Muslims did not stay long and left the area to be ruled by local chieftains, including one, Chandan, son of Heriya, whose successors established the present line of Maharajahs of Cooch Behar. The local Cooch Behar era starts in 1511 A.D. and it is probably then that Chandan came to power.

He was succeeded about 1522 by Visvasimha, said to have been the son of the god Shiva. Visvasimha consolidated the kingdom and set up his capital at the present town of Cooch Behar. It was he who laid the foundations of prosperity for the area, when he gained control of, and developed, the Tibetan trade routes which passed through Bhutan. (3) There is some documentary evidence to suggest that Visvasimha may have struck coins, but none have yet been discovered. (4) He is said to have retired ca 1555 to live an ascetic life being succeeded by his son Nara Narayan.

From the solid basis set up by his father, Nara Narayan set out to conquer the surrounding Kingdoms, and under his reign Cooch Behar reached the zenith of its power. At its greatest extent, his Kingdom extended over much of the Assam valley, Manipur, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Tipperah and part of Sylhet. His coins are of rupee size, all of the same basic design and bearing the date 1477 saka (=1555 A.D.). This date only represents the accession year, and the coins were certainly struck in different years throughout his reign. They also vary considerably in style, with separated or joined letters and small or large flans. It is impossible to say at present whether these changes in style are due to variations between different mints, or to variations within one mint over a period of years.

In 1585 a London merchant, Ralph Fitch, visited Cooch Behar and described it as a great country. He mentions the trade through Tibet with "China", "Muscovie" and "Tartarie". Among other details of the country he says that "their small money is almonds, which oftentimes they use to eat". (5)

About 1581 Nara Narayan quarrelled with his nephew Raghu Deva who set himself up as ruler of the area east of the Sankosh river, but acknowledged his uncle as overlord. Nara Narayan died about 1587 and Raghu Deva declared his independence. The Western Cooch Kingdom was ruled by Nara's son Lakshmi Narayan, a weak and peaceloving prince. In 1596 he gravely offended many of his subjects by declaring himself a vassal of the Moghuls, and was compelled to take refuge in his fort. He asked the Moghuls for help against his own people, and peace was restored about 1603. Lakshmi Narayan went to Delhi and signed a treaty under the terms of which he agreed not to play music in his palace, to strike coins only in halves and to abandon certain other royal perogatives.

During the rule of this weak king, practically all the land conquered in the previous reign was lost and the Kingdom shrank to roughly the size it was to remain until modern times.

Lakshmi Narayan struck two varieties of rupee, one dated 1509 saka (=1587 A.D.), the year of his accession, and the other with 92 added under the saka date. These latter coins were struck in 1602, 92 of the Cooch Behar era, just before the treaty denying him the right to strike full rupee coins. Half rupee coins are also known for this ruler, but although no date other than 1509 saka is visible, these may well have been struck after 1603.

In the Eastern Cooch Kingdon, Raghu Deva, in 1588, struck some rupee-sized coins. He died in 1603 and was succeeded by his son Parikshit who also struck coins. Parikshit was less fortunate than his father, because in 1612 the Moghuls invaded and destroyed his Kingdom.

Lakshmi Narayan died in 1627 and was succeeded by his son Vira Narayan who struck both rupee and half-rupee coins. (6) It seems therefore, that by this time Cooch Behar felt itself independent of the Moghuls and did not feel bound by the terms of the treaty signed only 24 years before. Vira Narayan died in 1633 and was in turn succeeded by his son Prana Narayan.

By this time a powerful ruler had emerged in Bhutan - the Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal. As a result, Cooch Behar could no longer control the Tibetan trade routes. Moreover the wars between Bhutan and Tibet did not encourage the traders to use Bhutan as a trade route to India. Cther possible routes existed, and by 1650 Nepal had signed a treaty with Tibet, under the terms of which it was laid down that all trade from Tibet to the south should pass through Nepal in preference to any route further east. (7) This drastically reduced the revenue of Cooch Behar, and the wealth of the State was to dwindle from then on.

The coinage of Prana Narayan exhibits more variety than that of the other rulers of Cooch Behar. He is the first ruler known to have struck gold coins, although these are of great rarity. This gold coin is remarkable in that its inscription is in the Nagari script, instead of Bengali, which is used on all other coins and the date is in the Nepal Samvat era instead of the saka era or the Cooch Behar era; the only example known to me of the use of this era outside Nepal. This may be connected with the marriage of Prana Narayan's sister, Rupamati Devi, to the King of Kathmandu, Pratap Malla. Another feature of this gold coin is its weight, 6.9 grammes, which does not conform to any of the normal Indian weight standards. (8) It is possible that the weight was intended to correspond to a Tibetan standard. (9) Apart from this gold coin, Prana Narayan struck silver rupees and half-rupees with either the accession date 1555 saka, or a date in the Cooch Behar era. Unfortunately the half-rupees of this and later reigns are struck from rupee sized dies, and the date is rarely decipherable.

In 1661 Cooch Behar was again invaded by the Moghuls, who occupied the capital for 2 years. Silver coins were struck by the Moghul general Mir Jumla in the name of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and the name of the city of Cooch Behar was temporarily changed to Alamgirnagar. (10) These silver coins are of the same style as the normal Cooch Behar coins with an inscription

in the Bengali script but in the Urdu language, and are unique in the Moghul series. Copper coins are also said to have been struck during this occupation, but I have not seen any such pieces. The Moghuls withdrew in 1663 after a demoralizing attempt to conquer Assam.

Prana Narayan had taken refuge in Bhutan (11); returned in 1663 but died soon after in 1666. He was succeeded by his son Mada Narayan who continued to strike half-rupee coins, but neither he nor any of his successors ever again struck full rupees. Mada Narayan was childless, and on his death in 1681 was succeeded by his brother Vasudeva Narayan. Vasudeva only reigned for two years, and his coins have not been previously published. No coins are known of the next ruler, (12) Mahendra Narayan, a great-nephew of Vasudeva Narayan, and when he died in 1695 the Moghuls aided Rupa Narayan, a relative of the late Raja, to succeed to the throne.

For the next 70 years Cooch Behar was relatively peaceful. Rupa Narayan died in 1715 and was succeeded by his son Upendra Narayan. During Upendra's long reign, Tibetan traders once again began to use the trade routes through Bhutan to avoid Nepal, where the King of Gorkha was trying to conquer the Malla kingdoms in the Kathmandu valley. The amount of this trade was never as great as it had been in the 16th century, but it enabled the Cooch Behar mint to strike more coins than previously, not only for local consumption, but also on behalf of the Bhutanese, who sent their silver to Cooch Behar for striking into coins. (13) Although coins of this period are fairly common, they exhibit very little variety, and I have never seen a specimen with a date visible.

Upendra Narayan died in 1764 and was succeeded by his son Devendra, who was assassinated only two years later. His succession by Dhairjendra Narayan was disputed by the Bhutanese, who invaded Cooch Behar in 1772 and carried Dhairjendra off into the hills. The Raja's younger brother Rajendra Narayan was appointed king, but died later in the same year. There followed another dispute over the succession. Again the Bhutanese attacked Cooch Behar, and this time the Chief Minister appealed to the British for help. With an eye on the potentiallylucrative Tibetan trade, this was readily agreed to if the suzerainty of the British over Cooch Behar was acknowledged. A treaty was agreed and early in 1773 a company of sepoys quickly drove the Bhutanese back into the hills. Darendra Narayan was confirmed Raja, and the Treaty was signed in April of that year. (14) Although consideration was given to closing the Cooch Behar mint it was decided not to restrict the coinage in any way.

Warren Hastings, the Governor General, lost no time in trying to encourage Tibetan trade, and in 1774 a Treaty was signed with Bhutan. Under the terms of this, Dhairjendra Narayan was released, and Bhutan agreed to let traders travel freely through Bhutan and the British agreed not to levy any customs duties on goods entering India at Rangpur - and hence bypassing Cooch Behar. Unfortunately the trade which the British sought to promote was completely stopped in 1792, whilst the hostilities between Nepal and Tibet brought the Chinese to Lhasa, and for the next century Tibet, under Chinese pressure, adopted an isolationist policy.

Although Dhairjendra Narayan returned to Cooch Behar, his son Darendra remained Raja. The latter, however, died in 1780 and Dhairjendra resumed his place on the throne. During the late 1770's very large numbers of debased coins had been issued, and the Government was instructed in 1780 to restrict their coinage to Rs 12,000 per month. In practice the Cooch Beharis made no conscious effort to restrict their coinage, although because of the lack of confidence in the coins, it was not found profitable for so many coins to be struck.

When Dhairjendra died in 1783, his surviving son Harendra Narayan was only 18 months old, and the affairs of the State were conducted by the Queen Mother and the Chief Minister. Various complaints were received by the British and two commissioners were sent in 1788 to report on the situation. (15) They found that roughly 100,000 coins were being struck annually at a silver content of about 75%. As a result it was decided to close the mint and to appoint a resident commissioner in Cooch Behar.

From then until the mid-19th century, the currency of Cooch Behar was in a sorry state. The mint was opened on very infrequent occasions, (16) and copies of the coins were made in Bhutan and elsewhere in a very debased alloy. The British tried several times to introduce British Indian coins but failed to overcome the strenuous opposition of the Maharaja, who clung to the outward sign of independence that his coinage gave him.

Harendra died in 1839 and his son Shivendra was allowed to mint some gold and silver coins on the occasion of his coronation, (17) although not for circulation. Although the British gradually introduced British Indian coins into circulation, the "Narainy Rupees", as the old Cooch Behar coins were called, continued to be the main currency of the area, and it was only in 1866 that they ceased to be legal tender.

From then on it became the custom for a small number of gold and silver coins to be struck at the coronation of each successive ruler of Cooch Behar. These coins were purely ceremonial in nature and did not enter into circulation. In producing them, the Mahraja was exercising his right to strike coins; a right denied to so many States and which was a cherished privilege.

NOTES

- 1. My historical account is taken, in the main, from "The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements" by H.N. Chauduri (Cooch Behar State Press, 1903). Other authors differ in their accounts of the reign of Visvasimha, but I believe my version to be the correct one.
- 2. c.f. "Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal" by A. Karim (Dacca 1960) p.108 f.f.
- 3. c.f. "Bhutan" by Nagendra Singh (New Delhi 1972) p.28 f.
- 4. c.f. "The Coins of Visvasimha and Suhunmun" by P.K. Bhattacharyya. JNSI Vol. XXXII (1970) p.40 f.f.
- 5. c.f. Hakluyt's Voyages, (Everyman's Edition) Vol. 3 p. 296.
- 6. The coins of this ruler were first published by Vasant Chaudhury and Parimal Ray in JNSI Vol. XXXIII (1971) p. 129 f.f.
- 7. c.f. "Nepal, Strategy for Survival" by Leo E. Rose (Berkeley, 1971) p.13.
- 8. This coin was published by Prof. V.V. Mirashi, "A Gold Coin of Prana Narayan", JNSI Vol. III p.93.
- 9. According to Bogle, (who visited Tibet in 1774) the Tibetan Gold Mascal weighed about 1/8th of 13/4 oz. or about 6.2 gms. Also, small bags of gold dust, weighing about 7.5 or 8 Mashas circulated widely in Tibet and in the Tibetan border areas a Masha (or 1/12th Tola) is approximately equivalent to 1 gramme. c.f. C. Markham "The Mission of George Bogle...." London 1876. p.129.
- 10. The Moghul coinage during this occupation is described by R.D. Bannerji in "Alamgirnager, a New Moghul Mint" JASB NS XXXIII p.85.
- 11. c.f. Nagendra Singh op. cit. p.29.
- 12. I think that the coin ascribed to this ruler by Vasant Chaudhury and Parimal Ray in JNSI 1971 is a coin of Dhairjendra Narayan.
- 13. It was normal practice for mints in India to strike coins, on commission, for anyone who brought silver. That the Bhutanese sent silver to Cooch Behar for this purpose is confirmed by a letter from the Raja of Bhutan to the Governor General dated 17.1.1785. c.f. "Calendar of Persian Correspondence" Vol. VI No. 1583.
- 14. For the terms of the Treaty see C. Aitchison "Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads" 1930 ed. Vol II p.189. Cooch Behar did nor surrender its right to issue its own coinage, as stated by C.K. Panish (ANS Mus. Notes 17 (1971) p.250), nor were the rulers "deprived of their power of issuing coins in their names" as stated by Bhattarcharyya in JNSI Vol. XXX p.174.
- 15. Their report was published in "The Cooch Behar Select Records", Cooch Behar Press 1869.

NOTES (Continued)

- 16. The mint was closed from 1789 to some time after 1795. It was in operation in 1799, but was closed down in 1800 on the recommendation of the Resident. In 1805 and 1821, requests to open the mint from the Maharaja were turned down by the British (c.f. Hunter "A Statistical Account of Bengal" Vol. X). I can find no definite proof that the mint was opened during the latter half of Harendra's reign, although Bhattarcharyya states that it was.
- 17. Chaudhuri op. cit. states that Rs. 1000 and a few gold coins were struck on this occasion and on the occasions of the two following coronations. It may be that the mint was also opened during the period 1841 1845, since the silver coins of Shivendra are not exceptionally rare and are struck from more than one pair of dies. Capt. Jenkins, in his diary, makes it clear that the mint was not operating in 1841, while Bhattarcharyya says that the mint was finally closed in 1845.
- 18. The coins of Raja Rajendra have not previously been correctly attributed. Gold specimens were illustrated in Glendinings sale catalogue for 27.5.1936 lot 326 and in "World Coins" March 1965 p.217 but were attributed to Jitendra Narayan. In the Administration Reports it is recorded that 100 gold coins and 1001 silver coins were struck on the occasion of the "accession to the Gadi" (Coronation) in 8/11/1911.
- 19. 100 gold and 1002 silver coins were struck as above in 17.11.1913.
- 20. Bhattarcharyya states (JNSI Vol. XXX p.174) that "from 1929 onwards in the coins of Cooch Behar we are having the figure of a tiger instead of a lion". I have never seen any such coins, although it is true that in 1926 the coat of arms of the State was changed in this way, and in 1929 the design of the stamps was changed.
- 21. For an account of these copies, see "The Early Coinage of Bhutan" by C.K. Panish, ANSMN 17 p.247 f.f.
- 22. For example the coin of Prana Narayan of my type 18 illustrated by Panish, op. cit. Pl. XLVII No. 2.

CATALOGUE OF COINS

Nara Narayan (1555 - 1587)

- 1. Rupee Dated 1477 Saka (=1555 A.D.). Diam. 31mm Wt.10.3gms. Obv. "Sri Sriman Nara Narayanasya Sake 1477". Rev. "Sri Sri Siva Sharana Kamala Madhu Karasya".
- V 2. Rupee As last, but several letters in Bengali form, rather than Nagari, and Diam. 26mm. Wt. 10.2 gms.
 - 3. Rupee As No. 2, but legend differently spaced and date on obverse under exergue line. Six pointed star at end of reverse legend, and flower at top of reverse border. Diam. 31mm. Wt. 9.6 gms.
- As No. 2, but top lines of all the letters are joined, as on all later Cooch Behar coins.

 Probably struck late in the reign. Diam. 32mm.

 Wt. 10.4 gms.

Lakshmi Narayan (1587-1627) in Western Kingdom only.

- 5. Rupee Dated 1509 Saka (=1587 A.D.). Diam. 31mm Wt. c9.8gms. Obv. "Sri Sriman Lakshmi Narayanasya Sake 1509". Rev. As No. 4 above.
- V 6. Rupee Dated 1509 Saka, 92 Cooch Era (=1602 A.D.) Diam.31mm Wt. c 9.8 gms.
 Obv. As No. 5 above, but "92" below date.
 Rev. As No. 4 above.
- √ 7. ½Rupee Dated 1509 Saka (=1587 A.D.), but perhaps struck after 1603. Struck from rupee sized dies. Diam. 21mm. Wt. c 4.9 gms.

Raghu Deva (1581 - 1603) in Eastern Kingdom only.

Karasya".

8. Rupee Dated 1510 Saka (=1588 A.D.), Diam. 30mm. Wt. c8.9gms. Obv. "Sri Sri Raghu Deva Narayana Bhupalasya Sake 1510".

Rev. "Sri Sri Hara Gauri Charana Kamala Madhu

Parikshit Narayan (1603 - 1625) in Eastern Kingdom only.

9. Rupee Dated 1525 Saka (=1603 A.D.). Diam. 31mm.
Obv. "Sri Sri Parikshit Narayana Bhupalasya Sake
1525".
Rev. As No. 8 above.

<u>Vira Narayan</u> (1627 - 1633)

- Dated 1548 Saka 117 Cooch Era (=1627 A.D.)
 Wt. c 10.2 gms. Diam. c 30mm.
 Obv. "Sri Sri Dvira Narayanasya Sake 1548 117".
 Rev. "Sri Sri Krishna Charana Kamala Madhu Karasya".
- 11. ½ Rupee Struck from similar dies to No. 10 above, but only traces of a date visible. Diam. 22mm. Wt. c 4.9gms.

CATALOGUE	OF	COINS	(Continued)

Prana Narayan		a Narayan	(1633 – 1666)
	12.	Gold Coin	Dated 753 Nepal Samvat (=1633 A.D.) Wt.6.9gms. Diam. 23mm. Obv. "Sri Sri Prana Narayana Bhupasya sake 753". Rev. "Sri Sri Shiva Charana Kamala Madhu Karasya".
	13.	Rupee	Dated 1555 Saka (=1633 A.D.) Wt. c 9.5 gms. Obv. "Sri Srimat Prana Narayanasya Sake 1555". Rev. "Sri Sri Siva Charana Kamala Madhu Karasya".
	14.	Rupee	Dated 140 Cooch Behar Era (=1650 A.D.) Wt.c 9.5g. As last coin, but date "140".
	15.	½ Rupee	Dated 1555 Saka (=1633 A.D.) Wt. c 4.7 gms. Similar dies to No. 12 above.
	16.	1/2 Rupee	Dated14x & 151, Cooch Behar Era, but most specimens have no date visible. As No. 14 above, but "x" below "Na" or "Narayan".
,	17.	1 Rupee	No date visible. As last but "x" below "Na".
V	18.	1/2 Rupee	Date "15x", but most specimens have no date visible. " \smile " below "Na".
	Aura	nzeb	(Struck during Moghul occupation) (1661-1663)
	19.	½ Rupee	No date visible. Obv. "Aorangajeva vadas'aha Alamgira". Rev. "Jarava Alamgirnagara Sam(vat) ? ".
	Mada	Narayan	(1666 – 1681)
\	20.	½ Rupee	Date "17x", but most specimens have no date visible. " • " below "Na".
	Vasu	deva Narayan	(1681 – 1683)
	21.	½ Rupee	No date visible. Obv. "Sri Srimat Basudeva Narayanasya Sake ?". Rev. "Sri Sri Siva Charana Kamala Madhu Karasya".
	Mahendra Narayan Rupa Narayan		(1683-1695) No coins known but see note 12.
			(1695–1715)
	22.	1/2 Rupee	No date visible. Inscription as last, but name "Rupa Narayanasya".
	,	dra Narayan	(1715–1764)
V	23.	½ Rupee	No date visible. As last, but name "Upendra Narayanasya".
	Deve	ndra Narayan	(1764 - 1766)
N	24.	½ Rupee	No date visible. As last, but name "Devendra Narayanasya".

CATALOGUE OF COINS (Continued)

Dhairjendra Narayan (1766 - 1772) & (1780 - 1783)

25. ½ Rupee No date visible. As last but name "Dhairjendra Nara...".

Rajendra Narayan (1772)

V 26. ½ Rupee No date visible. As last butname "Rajendra Nara...".

Note the "x" below the "Na" in "Narayan".

Darendra Narayan (1772 - 1780)

or

Harendra Narayan (1783 - 1839)

No date visible. As last, but name "...rendra Nara ...".

Unfortunately I have never seen any specimens with the first letter of the Raja's name visible. "..." below the "Na" of "Narayan".

28. ½ Rupee As last, but "" below "Na" of "Narayan".

Shivendra Narayan (1839 - 1847)

29. AV Mohur Undated. Wt. 9.3 gms.
Obv. "Sri Sri Shivendra Narayan Bhup".
Rev. "Sri Sri Siva Charana Kamala Madhu Karasya".

30. ½ Rupee Undated. Wt. c 4.7 gms. Same type as No. 29 above; some pieces use same dies.

Narendra Narayan (1847 - 1863)

John Jundated. Wt. 9.1 gms.
Obv. "Sri Sri Narendra Narayan Bhupasya".
Rev. "Sri Sri Siva Char Kamala Madhu Ka".

32. ½ Rupee One thousand Rs worth of this denomination were said to have been struck on the occasion of the coronation, but I have never seen one.

Nripendra Narayan (1863 - 1911)

Dated 354 Cooch Behar Era (=1864 A.D.) Wt.9.6gms.
Obv. "Sri Sri Nripendra Narayan Bhup, San 354
saka".

Rev. Debased version of Rev. of No. 30 above in
a square area.

34. $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee Dated 354. Wt. c 4.3 gms. Same dies as No. 33 above.

<u>Raja Rajendra</u> (1911 - 1913)

35. AV Mohur Dated 402 "Raja Saka" (or Cooch Behar Era) (= 1912 A.D.) (18).

Obv. "Arms of Cooch Behar, supported by a lion and an elephant. Motto below in scroll "Yatodharma Statojaya\".

Below "GRISH", probably the designer's name. This coin, and these following, have "prooflike" surfaces.

Rev. "Sri Sri Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhup, Raja saka 402".

CATALOGUE OF COINS (Continued)

36. $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee Same dies as last.

Jitendra Narayan (1913 - 1922)

37. AV Mohur Dated 404 "Raja saka" (=1914 A.D.) (19) Obv. As last, but elephant's trunk is not raised.

Rev. "Jitendra Narayan Bhup, Raja Saka 404".

38. ½ Rupee Same dies as last.

Jagaddipendra Narayan (1922 - 1949)

Dated 413 "Raja Saka" (=1923 A.D.) (20).
Obv. As last, but no designer's name beneath.
Rev. "Sri Sri Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup,
Raja saka 413".

Bhutanese Copies

No account of the coinage of Cooch Behar is complete without mention of the numerous 19th century copies of the Cooch Behar coins, made mostly in Bhutan. (21). Bhutan began making copies around 1800, and perhaps a few years earlier. The earliest coins were in good silver and are easily confused with the official Cooch Behar strikings. Bhutanese copies can be distinguished by the higher relief of the lettering, the addition of Tibetan letters or other symbols into the design or mistakes in the inscription. One easily recognisable error is the continuation of the central horizontal line on the reverse beyond the letters "Ra" in Charana" and "Ma" in "Madhu". which is never found on genuine late 18th century coins, although it is occasionally found earlier. (22) The Bhutanese continued to strike copies of Cooch Behar coins until at least 1900, although after the middle of the 19th century they were made entirely of copper or brass, and are thus easily distinguishable from the genuine Cooch Behar coins. Below I list a few typical examples of the early silver Bhutanese copies.

40. ½ Rupee

Note the "x" under the "Na" of "Narayan", which I have only seen on genuine coins for the reign of Rajendra Narayan. This piece copies the coins of Harendra or Darendra. Also note the error in the reverse spelling - "Charama", and the centre horizontal line continuing to the right. High relief.

41. ½ Rupee

As last, but branch added to left of "ndra".

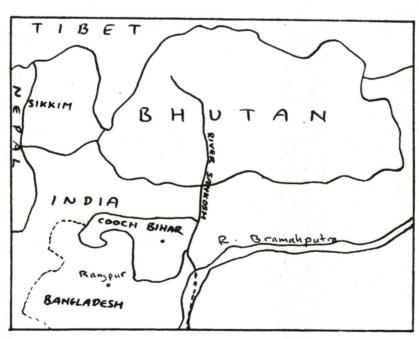
42. $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

Note the Tibetan letter "Ma" in top right of the obverse and the "?" in the centre of the letter "Cha" on the reverse. This coin is in low relief.

CATALOGUE OF COINS (Continued)

43. ½ Rupee As last, but high relief, and Tibetan letter "Sa" (Z) above "ndra" on the obverse.

44. $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee As last, but "Sa" to left of "ndra" and no additional symbols on the reverse.



scale = 70 miles to 1 Inch

