THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

from the earliest times until 1911

BY

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AND

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PREFACE

It was in 1908 that E. H. C. Walsh wrote his famous article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* entitled 'The Coinage of Nepal'. Since then a number of articles have been written on specific aspects of Nepalese coinage and certain catalogues have listed many new types, but Walsh's article remains the standard work on the subject and was honoured by being reprinted in India in 1974. His work was remarkably comprehensive, bearing in mind the material available to him and the fact that he was never able to visit Nepal. During the last eighty years, however, major advances have been made in the study of Nepalese history and a very great deal of numismatic material has come to light, so that a complete reappraisal of Nepalese coinage is long overdue.

In writing this book, the authors have tried to satisfy the demands of two different types of reader. First, we hope that historians will be able to benefit from reading this book, so that they can use the numismatic evidence presented for their historical studies. Secondly, it will help the collector who is trying to identify his purchases, determine the gaps in his collection so that he knows what to look for, and enable him to understand more about his collection.

The authors cannot claim to be experts in the matter of Nepalese history and have perhaps not been able to make the fullest possible use of documentary evidence. However, they have been collecting the coins of Nepal for the last twenty-five years, both in Nepal itself, in the neighbouring areas of India, and in Europe, and have been able to study most of the major collections of Nepalese coins in Europe, America and Asia. They would claim, therefore, to be well qualified to write such a study, and although craving the indulgence of the historical experts, they hope that the numismatic evidence presented in this volume will shed new light on many aspects of both the economic and political history of Nepal and its neighbours.

Finally, the authors would like to express their sincere thanks to their many friends and colleagues without whose help this work could never have been completed. First to B. N. Shrestha, whose knowledge of Nepalese coins is unparalleled and who has, over more than twenty years, sought out and allowed us to photograph many fine and rare pieces in his own collection and in those of his friends. Then to the many Nepalese scholars who have helped and advised us over the years, among whom P. K. Dwivedi, Dr P. R. Sharma, S. M. Joshi and Fr. L. Stiller deserve special mention. We are grateful to the keepers of the numerous public collections in Europe and America who have given us generous assistance in studying their collections, and in particular to J. Cribb and the late N. M. Lowick of the British Museum. We also thank M. Cowell and M. S. Tate of the British Museum.
Research Laboratories for writing the Appendix which analyses the silver content of certain coins. We offer our thanks to fellow collectors and students who have allowed us to examine their collections and who have provided much information, especially W. Bertsch, G. Blaker, H. Bons, V. H. Hansen, Dr C.-E. von Kleist, and R. Negleman. We would like to express our gratitude to Dr N. K. Rutter for kindly editing the manuscript and for his many helpful suggestions. And a special thank you to our wives for their patience with our obsession of a lifetime, and for their loving support throughout.

Postscript

As the final draft of the manuscript was being completed, Carlo Valdettaro died suddenly and peacefully at his home in Lugano. He will be remembered as the father of Nepalese numismatics. In the 1960s, when stationed in Calcutta and regularly visiting Nepal on business, he became one of the first Europeans to start collecting Nepalese coins in Nepal. A historian by inclination, he approached the coins in a systematic and scholarly way. He not only collected himself, but also encouraged his Nepalese friends to study and collect their own coins. He generously shared his knowledge with many scholars, and all who were privileged to know him will miss his sound advice, based on immense learning and communicated with an inimitable sense of humour. In his will he requested that his collection remain available for future students, and it is now housed in the British Museum, London.
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INTRODUCTION

The Valley of Kathmandu is a fortunate geological phenomenon. Situated at a height of over 4000 ft in the foothills of the Himalayas, it is a flat, circular area, over ten miles in diameter, surrounded on all sides by mountains, and with only a narrow exit for the two rivers that converge in the Valley. Both local tradition and modern geologists agree that the Valley was once filled with a lake that drained some thousands of years ago. Certainly the sediment that has been washed down from the mountains has left an extremely fertile soil that can support up to three crops a year.

Situated between the searing heat of the Indian plains to the south and the cold and desolation of the Tibetan plateau to the north, protected by a natural defensive rampart of mountains, and blessed with such fertile soil, the Valley must have appeared like a Shangri La to the first human inhabitants. Whether these first inhabitants came from Tibet or from the Indian plains is not known. As regards language the Newars, who are the most established inhabitants, speak Tibeto-Burman dialects, implying an origin in Tibet to the north or in Burma to the east. Their physical features seem to indicate an eastern origin, and hence a migration from Burma through Assam and thence to Nepal from the south, but this is far from proven. In any case, over the centuries numerous refugees have sought sanctuary in the Valley from the various waves of invaders that have swept across northern India. Some of these new arrivals had been rulers of kingdoms in the plains, and imported aspects of their culture with them, while also absorbing the developing culture of the Valley.

Whereas on the steep hillsides only subsistence farming could be achieved, in the Valley the farmers could support urban communities with specialist craftsmen and artists, as well as traders and priests. With such a varied community, the Valley was remarkable for its ecumenism. The Hindu and Buddhist religions flourished side by side, and many of the old traditions of India that were lost in the plains because of centuries of Muslim rule have been preserved in the Kathmandu Valley.

The Valley has, therefore, developed a culture and civilisation of its own, quite separate from the rest of Nepal, although throughout much of its history it dominated the surrounding hills commercially and politically. Indeed, this little Valley, with several independent towns in it, often supported more than one kingdom, and the intrinsic difference between the communities within the Valley is demonstrated by the fact that several mutually incomprehensible dialects of the Newari language are still spoken in the one valley.

The climate of the Valley, being warm and damp during the monsoon season, did not permit the storage of wealth in the form of grain, and hence surplus, when
acquired, had to be consumed. One way was to use the grain to pay labourers, monks and artists to build fine temples and houses, to carve exquisite sculptures of stone or wood, to produce beautifully illustrated religious manuscripts or to cast intricate metal work. Another way was to trade the grain for more durable goods, such as precious stones or metals. In short, this was a society in which coin could play an important and useful role as a medium for the accumulation of wealth, as well as a medium of exchange. A limiting factor was that the only metals available locally were base metals, such as copper, iron and lead, none of which were accepted as suitable for the storage of wealth, while silver and gold were only available as a result of trade with neighbours to north or south.

In light of the above, it is not surprising that our book concentrates on the coins struck in the Valley. We have, however, also described the coins that were struck outside the Valley and within the borders of present day Nepal, as well as those struck by the rulers of the Valley in mints beyond the borders. We will complete the picture by mentioning a few of the foreign coins that circulated in the Valley, and the extent of circulation of Nepalese coins beyond the borders of the country. We do not, however, intend to describe all the coins that may have reached parts of what is now Nepal, at times when the territory concerned had no political connection with the Valley.

The earliest coins found in the Kathmandu Valley are two silver punch-marked pieces of the type that circulated extensively in northern India until the third century AD. The two pieces were discovered shortly before January 1983. Unfortunately, the illustration given in the newspaper is not clear enough to identify the punches exactly, but from their size and fabric one may locate them among the series struck by the Maurya Dynasty in Indian mints.¹

Although such finds are very unusual in the Valley, a large number of similar pieces have been found in the Terai area in the south of Nepal (an area beyond the influence of the Valley at this early period), where the Government of Nepal has concentrated its resources and staff for archaeological excavations in recent years.² Excavations in the Valley have been few and not very productive,³ and it is too early to judge whether these imported punch-marked coins played any signifi-

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¹ Rising Nepal, 3rd January, 1983. The coins, weighing 3.8 g and 3.46 g, were discovered by Mr Ramesh Dhungel in the course of laying the foundation stones of a building to the south of Bhandarkhal near Gausala, not far from Pasupatinath. The find was also reported in Numismatic Digest, vol. VII (1983), p. 110, but without illustrations. Better illustrations have been published by Ramesh Dhungel, Prachin Arthabyavastha (Kathmandu, 1986), PI. 4.


³ cf. S. B. Deo. Archaeological Excavations in Kathmandu, 1965 (Kathmandu 1968). Since then Italians have excavated at Harigaon and Dhumvarahi (cf. C. S. Antonini and G. Verardi, ‘Excavation in the Kathmandu Valley’, Ancient Nepal, no. 89 (Aug–Sep. 1985), pp. 17–22, and East and West, vol. 34, no. 4 (Dec. 1984), pp. 535–45) and a Nepalese-American team, including T. Ricardi, P. R. Sharma and M. P. Khanal, have been excavating at Dumakhel, near Changu Narayan (Forthcoming report in Contributions to Nepalese Studies). Although all these are Lichhavi sites, very few coins have been discovered.
significant role in the economic life of the Valley, or whether the pieces found recently were chance imports. It is worth observing that we are not aware of punch marked coins being offered by curio dealers in the Valley, except occasional pieces that the dealers themselves have brought in from India.

The next class of imported coin found in the Valley are Kushan copper pieces. Such coins were struck in huge numbers, and circulated extensively over northern India from an uncertain date (it depends on the Kushan chronology, which remains one of the most controversial issues in the history of the Sub-continent) until the fifth century and even later. Several varieties have been found, covering the full range of the series, although the timing of their arrival in Nepal is not certain. We know only of single pieces found by local people and offered for sale by curio dealers, and are not aware of any significant hoards. The implication is that these imported coins were used for small offerings to temples or as a medium of exchange, rather than as a store of wealth. Certainly their discovery in Nepal demonstrates some commercial contact between the Valley and the plains, and these copper coins were to become the inspiration and prototype for the fine series of copper coins that were struck during the first real flowering of Nepalese culture, under the Lichhavi kings.

Walsh reported that two Kushan coins, one of Kadphises and one of Kanishka, were dug up in Kathmandu and sent to him by Col. Pears (Walsh, op. cit., 1908, p. 677). Tara N. Mishra was shown some Kushan coins that had been found, with some Lichhavi coins, in a garden in the Kathmandu Valley, but gave no further details (T. N. Mishra, 'The Kushan coins from Rangapur', Ancient Nepal, no. 75 (April–May 1983), p. 28). Kushan coins found in Nepal, and now in the Valdettaro collection include the following:

- Kadphises (BMC Pl. XXV, 1) Wt. 11.0 g
- Kanishka OADO (BMC Pl. XXVIII, 6) Wt. 16.9 g
- Huvishka, King on Elephant. (BMC Pl. XXIX, 2) Wt. 14.3 g
- Huvishka, King on Couch. (BMC Pl. XXIX, 5) Wt. 14.5 g
- Vasudeva, King/Siva, Nandi. (BMC Pl. XXIX, 14) Wt. 6.1 g

Kushan-like Coin, with standing figure on both sides, similar to the pieces published by J. Cribb in Coin Hoards VII, pp. 301–5. Wt. 6.9 g.

The Kushan copper coins are the first to show the circular border of pellets that features so prominently on the Lichhavi coins. Some authors have asserted that the Kushan coins are too heavy to have been the prototype, and have suggested the later Yaudheya copper coins (e.g. IMC, vol. I, Pl. XXI, 18-20) as a more likely candidate. At first glance this seems feasible, as the weight is similar and the border of pellets is larger. However, we are not aware of Yaudheya coins circulating as far east as Nepal, and we prefer to think that both series have their common root in the Kushan coinage.

Some authors (e.g. T. P. Verma in Studies in the History and Culture of Nepal (Varanasi, 1977), p. 35) have observed that the iconography of the Nepalese copper coins is more similar to certain Gupta coins than to the Kushan series. While illustrations in catalogues may give that impression, the Gupta coins concerned are struck in gold, and could hardly have set the trend for copper coins, which were designed by artists who probably never saw such gold pieces. Certainly we are not aware that any Gupta gold coins have ever been found in the Valley.
CHAPTER I

THE LICHHAVI PERIOD,
c.AD 576–750

1. SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS

The earliest coins that are found in large numbers in Nepal, are a series of copper pieces bearing religious designs, beautifully executed, with legends in a form of Gupta script. The legends are usually religious in nature, although a few have personal names that can be identified with rulers of Nepal during the seventh century.

These copper coins can be divided according to their legends into eight main groups (A–H). In addition two groups (I and J) of late, barbarous, copies, one of which is a silver coin, may belong to this period. The copper groups are as follows:

A. Coins with legends ‘Sri Mananka’ on one side and ‘Sri Bhogini’ on the other.
B. Coins with the name of ‘Sri Amshuvarman’ on one side, with either the name of the deity ‘Kamadohi’ or the title ‘Maharajadhirajasya’ on the other.
C. Coins with the name and image of the deity ‘Vaisravana’ on one side, and on the other side the legend ‘Kamadohi’.
D. Coins in the name of ‘Sri Jishnu Gupta’.
E. Coins with the legend ‘Sri Gunanka’ and the image of an elephant.
F. Coins with the name of the deity ‘Vrsha’ over a standing bull.
G. Coins of a wide variety of design and fabric with the name of the deity ‘Pashupati’.
H. Coins of small size with the names of the deities ‘Vrsha’ on one side and ‘Siva’ on the other.
I. Small, thin, coins in copper with crude designs copied from coins of group G.
J. Thin silver coin with trident.

Amshuvarman and Jishnu Gupta were both rulers of Nepal during the period of the Lichhavi Dynasty. The former ruled initially as Chief Minister (Samanta) for King Sivadeva until the latter’s death c.AD 605, and then as sole ruler until his own death in AD 621. Jishnu Gupta ruled as Chief Minister from about AD 622 until his death in about AD 642. These provide fixed points for the dating of a few of the coins, but other evidence can be found to help with the arrangement and attribution, including the dating, of the whole series. First, there is the documentary evidence.

1 In the Sub-continent, it has always been the practice to have a specific declaration of the minting authority on the coins, either written or pictorial, indicating clearly the tribe, the ‘negama’ (guild), the kingdom (or king) or the republic. The non-specific legends on the Lichhavi coins represent an unusual and interesting deviation from the norm.
2. DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR COINS IN THE LICHHAVI PERIOD

Most of the information about the period of the Lichhavi kings of Nepal is derived from a series of stone inscriptions dated between AD 464 and the early eighth century. Apart from the chronological evidence they provide, several of them refer to sums of money expressed in coin. The denominations used for specifying sums of money may be summarised as follows:

(TAMRIKA) PANA

The term ‘Pana’ is found on several inscriptions as a unit of currency. The earliest is an undated inscription from the time of Sivadeva (c. AD 576–605), and the latest an undated inscription from the time of Jayadeva II, who came to the throne some time after AD 701, and was still ruling in AD 735. The Harigaon inscriptions of Amshuvarman, dated AD 606 and 608, contain an abbreviation ‘Pa’ which clearly also refers to the ‘Pana’.

A more descriptive term ‘Tamrapana’ appears on an inscription dated AD 598, and a similar term, ‘Tamrikapana’ is used on an inscription of Jishnu Gupta (c. AD 622–33), and perhaps also on the undated inscription of c. AD 576–605 mentioned above. The word ‘Tamra’ or ‘Tamrika’ means ‘copper’, hence both these terms must specifically refer to the copper coins in circulation, and show that they were valued at one ‘pana’.

KARSHAPANA

The Thankot inscription of Jishnu Gupta, dated AD 635, has a passage that can be translated ‘... I will reduce it for you by half, as for the tax on ..., he who should give one Karshapana, need only give eight panas, he who should give eight panas, need only give four.’ This inscription clearly shows that a ‘Karshapana’ was a value given to 16 panas. In the plains of India and in common numismatic parlance, the term ‘Karshapana’ or ‘Purana’ was given to the old silver punch-marked coins that have been found—in the single case above mentioned—in the

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2 These stone inscriptions have been published most usefully by Raniero Gnoli, Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters (Rome, 1956) with fine illustrations, by Dhanvajra Vajracharya, Licchavikalaka Abhilekha (Kathmandu, 2030 VS) with commentary in Nepali, and most recently by D. R. Regmi, Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal, 3 vols (New Delhi, 1983) with illustrations and with full translations and commentary in English. Before 1961 the value of the inscriptions was limited because of the uncertainty and confusion surrounding the eras in which the dates were expressed. In that year Luciano Petech, ‘The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal’, East and West, New Series, vol. 12, no. 4 (Dec. 1961), pp. 227–232, demonstrated that the earlier inscriptions were dated in the Saka era (add 78 years to convert to AD) and the later inscriptions were dated in the Amshuvarman or Manadeva era (add 576 years to convert to AD). Although there remains some controversy over the identification of these eras, we believe that Petech’s thesis is based on sound evidence, and have used it in all our conversions to AD dates.

3 Gnoli XXXII. Regmi L.
4 Regmi CXLIV.
5 Gnoli XXXV. and XXXVI. Regmi LXIX. and LXXIV.
6 Gnoli XXX. Regmi LXII.
7 Gnoli LVIII. Regmi CIII.
8 Gnoli XXXII. Regmi L.
9 Gnoli LV. Regmi CVI.
Valley, but this inscription does not necessarily mean that the karshapana was anything other than a unit of account.

The same term is also found in an inscription dated AD 590.\(^{10}\)

**PURANA**

The Harigaon inscriptions of Amshuvarman, dated AD 606 and 608,\(^ {11}\) refer to sums of money expressed in terms of ‘Pu’ and ‘Pa’, always in that order, presumably abbreviations for ‘Purana’ and ‘Pana’, which occur in full on other inscriptions. That the ‘Pa’ is the smaller of the two denominations is clear, not only from the implication of the order in which they are written, but also because it only occurs in amounts of 1, 2, 4 and 5, which would not be inconsistent with a ratio of 16 Panas to 1 Purana. Although the word ‘Purana’ literally means ‘old’, it is usually synonymous in India with ‘Karshapana’ and so it is probable that it refers to a unit of account for 16 Panas.

**PANAPURANA**

Another term, ‘Panapurana’, appears in inscriptions dated c. AD 656,\(^ {12}\) AD 679,\(^ {13}\) AD 697 or AD 702\(^ {14}\) and c. AD 698\(^ {15}\) and appears to refer to coins. The word literally means ‘old panas’, and may indicate just that—the old full weight copper panas, rather than new light-weight panas. However, some numismatists have asserted that the phrase implies a Purana (Karshapana) of silver, counted out as (sixteen) Panas of copper.\(^ {16}\) Certainly the appearance of a new word implies some change in the coinage circulating in the mid-seventh century.

What may be the last mention of coins occurs in the long ‘Naksal’ inscription.\(^ {17}\) Unfortunately it is undated, but was thought by Levi to be not much earlier than the Jayadeva inscription of AD 735. Here the term ‘Panapurana’ appears together with ‘Pana’. The amounts in panas go up to 400, and in panapuranas up to 1000, and at one point the two are mentioned in one sentence—‘6 panapurana together with one double pana (dvipana)’. As in the earlier inscriptions, the ‘Purana’ is also used together with the ‘Pana’, and in amounts up to ‘100 Purana’. The full implications of this text are very difficult to assess. Dr D. R. Regmi has attempted a translation,\(^ {18}\) but has not managed to make sense of the sums of money quoted. A very interesting phrase in this inscription has been translated by Regmi as ‘10 panapurana in ayaksika (without the image of Yaksa) coins’. All that can be said is that the large numbers of both Panas and Panapuranas seem to imply the use of two distinct types of coin, and the term ‘dvipana’ may imply a ‘double pana’ rather than merely ‘2 panas’. As for the demigod Yaksa, since we know of no coins with his image, we cannot speculate why those coins without his image should warrant a special mention.

\(^{10}\) Regmi XLIX.

\(^{11}\) Gnoli XXXV. and XXXVI. Regmi LXIX. and LXXIV.

\(^{12}\) Regmi CXXII.

\(^{13}\) Gnoli LXXII. Regmi CXXVII.

\(^{14}\) Regmi CXXXIII.

\(^{15}\) Regmi CXXXIV.

\(^{16}\) e.g. D. C. Sircar. *Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies* (Calcutta, 1977), pp. 49 and 51.

\(^{17}\) Gnoli LXXXIII. Regmi CXLIII. Levi 21.

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MRITTNIKA

Yet another type of coin may appear in the Khopasi inscription of Sivadeva dated AD 598. Here the relevant passage may be translated as ‘... on the occasion of the Kailasa kuta you will have to give, one by one, fifty jatisukla mrittika’. Levi was uncertain of the meaning of this last phrase, but we may, perhaps, accept the translation ‘clay tokens’ suggested by R. N. Pandey. This term also appears in an inscription of Narendra Deva dated c. AD 656 along with the term panapurana. Regmi translated this word as ‘pieces of white chalk’ in the earlier inscription, but as ‘earthen pieces’ in the later one.

Nowadays, in the bazaars of Kathmandu, many clay ‘tokens’ can be found, imitating Nepalese coins of various eras. A few are early and, being of no intrinsic value, were made for the poor to donate to particular deities or for pilgrims to keep as souvenirs of temples. Others may have had some more secular function, but most are merely modern tourist souvenirs. Certainly none that have been discovered hitherto could be the Lichhavi Mrittika described above, with the possible exception of the two religious amulets illustrated by Regmi.

From the above documentary evidence it is clear that coins circulated from at least the last years of the sixth century, until the early years of the eighth century. The basic coin was called a ‘Pana’ and was struck in copper, and there may have been a subsidiary coinage of clay tokens. The epithet, ‘Tamrika’ or ‘copper’, must refer directly to copper coins of the denomination ‘1 pana’. There is no direct evidence that coins of a higher denomination circulated, but the ‘Karshapana’, probably also called a ‘Purana’, was a unit of account valued at 16 pana. Although the absence of reference to coins in the inscriptions dated earlier than the AD 590s cannot be regarded as firm evidence that coins were first struck around that date, it does provide an indication that this might be the case. Similarly the lack of references to coins in inscriptions after the early eighth century gives some indication that from then on coins did not play as important a part in the economy as they had done during the seventh century. The change from ‘pana’ to ‘panapurana’ in the mid-seventh century shows that some change in coinage standard may have occurred at that time.

Apart from these local sources, two contemporary Chinese travellers mention copper coins circulating in Nepal during the seventh century. The earliest and most famous of these travellers was the Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan Tsang, who visited northern India about AD 637. He probably did not visit the Nepal Valley himself, but his account seems reliable, and he notes that ‘coins of red copper are used in exchange’. The other Chinese traveller was Li I-Piao, an army officer, who was sent to India by way of Tibet and Nepal shortly before AD 645. He reported that

19 Gnoli XXXI, Regmi LXIII.
21 Regmi CXXII.
23 Regmi CXII, CXIII.
24 T. Watters, Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India, 2 vols (London, 1904-5).
copper coins circulated in Nepal with the image of a man on one side, a horse on the other, and no hole in the centre.\textsuperscript{25}

In the light of this external evidence of coinage, we can now examine the coins themselves.

3. NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR DATING THE COINS

Evidence for dating can be obtained from the coins themselves by analysing the fabric (weight, diameter, alloy, method of striking), the design (type, die-links, inscription, epigraphy), the rarity or abundance of an issue (or number of dies used, from which may be estimated the size of the issue), and the hoard evidence.

WEIGHT

Most of the coins listed and illustrated in the catalogue have been weighed. These weights have been analysed in detail on the table overleaf. Some pieces, particularly those with lead in the alloy, will have suffered considerable weight loss since they were struck, and this should be considered when analysing the weights, although we have deliberately excluded badly damaged coins.

The analysis shows a remarkable range of weights within the various groups, although it is consistent with a method of manufacture that, while aiming for a given number of coins from a given weight of metal, did not check the weight of each particular specimen. Similarly the variation in average weight between the different groups is very significant.

Some authors\textsuperscript{26} have postulated that the different weights represent different denominations. However, the range of weights within each type shows that this cannot be the case, as it would have been impossible to differentiate in practice. Many coinages in other parts of the world show a gradually declining weight standard over time, and this seems to have been the case in Nepal. MacDowall used this principle in his study of the Lichhavi coins,\textsuperscript{27} but he collected the weights of relatively few specimens.

DIAMETER

In the same way that the weight standard declined, the diameter of the flans tended to reduce over time.

ALLOY

Blessed with fairly rich copper, iron and lead mines within easy reach of the Valley, Nepal has always been in a position not only to satisfy its internal needs for the manufacture of household implements, weapons and coins, but also to trade these metals with Northern India, where Nepalese products were much appreciated until


\textsuperscript{26} e.g. R. N. Pandey, op. cit. in no. 20, who postulated that the various weights found for Pashupati coins indicate denominations of 1 pana, \frac{1}{2} pana, \frac{1}{8} pana and \frac{1}{32} pana.

Analysis of the weights of Lichhavi coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Weight to lower gramme</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>S.D. of mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Mananka A.1*</td>
<td>1 1 6 16 8 6 9 3</td>
<td>50 11.9</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2</td>
<td>1 1 7 10 9 2</td>
<td>30 12.41</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.3*</td>
<td>3 12 19 18 8 1</td>
<td>61 11.80</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.4*</td>
<td>1 1 2 3 3 7 1 1 1 19</td>
<td>13.20</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amshuvarman B.1*</td>
<td>2 5 1 3 1 12</td>
<td>14.10</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.2*</td>
<td>5 3 14 15 16 9 5 2</td>
<td>69 11.81</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.3*</td>
<td>2 3 8 16 11 7 3 1</td>
<td>51 11.83</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisravana C*</td>
<td>3 9 4 2</td>
<td>18 11.77</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jishnu Gupta D</td>
<td>1 1 4 4 4</td>
<td>14 10.99</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunanka E.1-4*</td>
<td>1 4 2 2 6 5 4 4 2 2 3 1 36</td>
<td>9.74</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.5-9</td>
<td>1 2 7 23 10 10 5 2</td>
<td>60 8.11</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Vrsha F</td>
<td>3 1 1 2</td>
<td>7 8.70</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashupati G.1</td>
<td>2 1 2 9 18 6 3</td>
<td>41 7.16</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.2a</td>
<td>1 1 4 3 3 2</td>
<td>14 8.36</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.2b(22 mm)</td>
<td>1 1 8 14 17 16 11</td>
<td>68 6.42</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.2b(20 mm)</td>
<td>7 20 24 21 7 2 1</td>
<td>82 3.56</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.3a–3d</td>
<td>2 4 6 5 4 2</td>
<td>24 6.13</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.4</td>
<td>1 3 2 3 1</td>
<td>10 7.22</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.5</td>
<td>1 4 4 21 27 20 12 2</td>
<td>93 6.59</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.6–7</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>2 2.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Vrsha H*</td>
<td>1 19 7</td>
<td>27 2.60</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin Coins I</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 0.47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Coins of these types have lead in the alloy and have frequently lost weight through corrosion.
industrially produced goods lowered prices to a level that precluded economic local production.

Lichhavi coins appear to be struck using at least three different types of alloy:

1. A copper/iron alloy, used only for a few types, notably ‘Mananka’ group A.2. One example, submitted to the chief assayer of the Calcutta Mint has revealed a content of 56.45 per cent copper, 43.07 per cent iron. The presence of the iron can be readily detected as such pieces are strongly attracted to a magnet. The iron, when present in these Mananka coins, seems always to be in a fairly high proportion, as no pieces respond weakly to the magnet. A few rare specimens of Pashupati G.3b respond weakly to a magnet, indicating some iron content, but a relatively small proportion.

2. A copper/lead alloy found in many different groups, often detectable because the lead has reacted with the copper producing a white powdery effect on the surface, and in some cases corrosion has been very serious, causing the coin to disintegrate totally.

3. Fine copper, distinguishable by the lack of white corrosion and magnetic effect, the fine copper colour when the coins are cleaned, and the frequent presence of a green patina.

A detailed analysis of the composition of twelve coins has been published by C.-E. von Kleist with the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Coin no.</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Pb</th>
<th>Fe</th>
<th>Bi</th>
<th>Ni</th>
<th>Zn</th>
<th>Ag</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.8</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.1b</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.2b</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.2c</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traces of calcium and magnesium were also detected, but at levels of 100 per million or less.28

28 cf. Die Frühen Münzen Nepals und die verwendeten Metalle. Westfalia Numismatica 1988, pp. 52-61. Dr von Kleist's coins were analysed using the Atomic Absorption Spectrometry (AAS) method with ICP/OES, as described by E. Leitz on p. 44 of the same journal. This study generally shows a higher proportion of lead in the coins of groups A–C than was found in the sixteen corroded specimens in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which averaged 74.5 per cent copper and 19.5 per cent lead; cf. S. Subbaraman, 'A note on two unusual examples of metal conservation'. Indian Museum Bulletin, vol. V, no. 2 (July, 1970), pp. 66-8. The two sets of results are probably consistent because von Kleist's coins are in very fine condition, while the Calcutta coins are in very poor condition and have certainly already lost a significant proportion of lead through corrosion.
In most series of coins, the earliest pieces are struck from a fine alloy, and debasement sets in later. Thus, in Nepal one might expect the fine copper pieces to have struck first, and the pieces debased with iron (whether the lead alloy was considered a debasement is less certain) to have been struck later. In Nepal, however, this would be a dangerous assumption. Mines often yield a natural copper/iron alloy, and it is difficult to separate the two metals. The ‘magnetic’ coins were probably struck using metal from such a mine and, as the surviving coins show, it must have been difficult to achieve a good impression on the flans using iron dies. As soon as alternative mines yielding pure copper were discovered, this more desirable metal was probably used for the coins.

A copper/lead alloy does not occur naturally, and so the lead must have been added intentionally. The alloy would be more fluid than pure copper, and easier to cast in moulds. The resulting flans would have been softer and easier to strike, as is apparent from the fine style and high relief on the copper/lead alloy coins.

**METHOD OF STRIKING**

Some of the coins with a high lead content in the alloy show clear signs of having been struck on cast blank flans, perhaps produced in clay moulds, as they have traces of the point where the flan was attached to the feeder tube, and show a remarkable consistency in the diameter. Other coins with lead in the alloy were probably not struck on flans cast in moulds, as they are less regular in shape. In both cases, the flans were almost certainly hot when struck as the distortion in the flan produced by the die is considerable, and the subsequent cooling of the flan has often resulted in cracking at the edges, which are rounded in cross section.

The ‘magnetic’ coins are generally poorly struck, with low relief, and no clear signs of cast flans being used. The coins of fine copper are much better struck, but again show no signs of cast flans. Neither of these alloys tend to exhibit the rounded edge of the lead alloy pieces.

When the flans were not cast in moulds, the method of manufacture is uncertain. A predetermined quantity of molten metal may have been poured onto a flat surface to obtain a roundish flan. The flan was then checked, the edge being hammered, if necessary, to give a regular shape, before being placed, while still hot, between two dies and struck with one blow. Double struck coins seem to be rare in the Lichhavi period, but the two surfaces of the coins are not always parallel, and the dies are randomly aligned.

While a common method of manufacture for two groups of coins may indicate a common date, this may not always be the case.

**DESIGN**

The inclusion in the design of an inscription with the name of a known ruler, such as Amshuvarman or Jishnu Gupta, is an invaluable aid for attribution and dating.

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24 This process has been well documented in India for Kushana and Yaudheyana coins and has been described at length by Birbal Sahni in his book, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India* (Bombay, 1945). The techniques for producing these blank flans could, however, have been much simpler.
Die-links between groups or varieties show that they were contemporary or consecutive; this feature is rarely found in Lichhavi coins, but a die-link does exist between groups B.3 and C. Similarity in style or design can assist in arranging coins chronologically. The details of letter forms used can be compared with dated inscriptions, and changes in the form of certain letters can indicate both a relative and absolute chronology (for a detailed study, see Appendix, pp. 49–50). Religious designs can indicate the particular deities preferred by a known ruler, or if the preferences of a ruler are known, can give a pointer to the issuer of an anonymous coin.

**Rarity**

A large issue may either have been struck over a period of many years, or as a result of a recoinage, when earlier issues were withdrawn and restruck, or during a period of particularly great economic activity. Alternatively, a common issue may merely be common due to the discovery of a few hoards, and an unusual number of die duplicates can show when this is the case. Similarly, a rare issue may indicate a short period of issue, or a period when an economically aware ruler wished to avoid the inflationary effect of an increase in the money supply that the issue of large numbers of coins could cause. Or again, the issue may merely appear to be rare because of the chance lack of discovery of hoards deposited during the period of issue.

A detailed analysis of the economic implications of the minting of these copper coins is beyond the scope of this book. Economic historians should note, however, that while the number of specimens recorded in the catalogue, and in particular, the number of specimens whose weights are recorded, gives some idea of the rarity or abundance of each type, the rare varieties are very much over-represented, and the vast majority of surviving specimens are of Mananka, Amshuvarman or Pashupati (Bull with crescent type) G.2.

**Hoard Evidence**

Hoard evidence is a valuable tool in establishing a relative chronology. Unfortunately, however, it is one which can only be used to a limited extent in this series, as the importance of recording hoards has not been fully realised by the Nepalese. Furthermore, the manner in which coins have been appearing on the market in recent years makes it virtually impossible to identify any hoards. We have, however, recorded a few, either directly attested, or deduced from the way the coins appeared on the market.

Although the information is very meagre, the clear pattern to emerge is that the Mananka, Amshuvarman and Vaisravana coins (groups A–C) are generally found together, sometimes without other groups. Furthermore, in no cases have any one of these groups been found without the others. This strongly indicates that they are the earliest, and that they cannot be too far separated chronologically. Finally, in the hoards we have examined, the ‘Sri Mananka’ coins show slightly more signs of wear than the Amshuvarman coins, and are therefore probably earlier.
HOARDS OF LICHHAVI COINS

1. Dr Gimlette's find, described by Smith in *PASB* 1887, pp. 144-7 and pl. II, contained 24 identified coins, consisting of 11 Mananka (including one of the variety with the 'Standard', group A.4), and 13 Amshuvarman (5 of group B.3, 7 of group B.2 and 1 of group B.1). The remaining 16 coins were apparently unidentifiable. The coins are now in the Indian Museum Calcutta, and are described in the catalogue.  

2. According to Dr K. B. Bista, about AD 1935, a man ploughing a field near Tikhabhairab, to the south of the Valley, unearthed a pot full of coins. As the pot was very heavy, the man left it in the field for some time, and the father of Dr Bista took a few pieces as mementoes. The remaining coins were then melted down by the local blacksmith. Dr Bista kindly presented two pieces to one of the authors—one Mananka with flower (group A.3) and one Amshuvarman (group B.3).

3. In the Kathmandu Numismatic Museum there is a large group of coins of Mananka (c. 350 coins) and Amshuvarman (c. 220 coins), mainly of groups B.2 and B.3. Judging from the patina, and the way they were exhibited separately from the other ancient coins in the collection, they would appear to come from a single hoard.

4. In 1967 one of the authors acquired about 60 coins from a Kathmandu curio dealer. The dealer had purchased the coins as a group, although he did not normally deal in coins, and thought that they must have been dug up as one hoard. The coins acquired were:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mananka</td>
<td>A.1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amshuvarman</td>
<td>B.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisravana</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashupati</td>
<td>G.2 Heavy, lead variety with bull</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last coin is of particular significance if it really does come from this hoard, as its presence would suggest that it was struck during, or soon after the reign of Amshuvarman, i.e. c. AD 621, instead of during the reign of Narendradeva, as we postulate in the catalogue, i.e. after AD 643. Unfortunately the evidence of this hoard is not conclusive, as the coin may be a later intrusion.

While many of the coins had a green patina, this piece did not, having a rather white surface, due to lead in the alloy. Hence, although its visual appearance was

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not inconsistent with the other coins, there was no positive connection. Similarly, it is possible that the scarce and distinctive Jishnu Gupta and Gunanka types had been removed from the hoard before it was acquired by the dealer, so that even if it could be proved that the group G.2 piece came from the hoard, that does not necessarily prove that this sub-group was struck in Amshuvarman's time.

5. In the early 1970s a Kathmandu curio dealer acquired a pot full of copper coins. Most of the known specimens of the small 'Vrsha' coins came from this one hoard. According to the dealer there were other types in the pot, but unfortunately no record was kept, and he could only, rather vaguely, recall that there were some Pashupati pieces such as the 'Vase' group G.5.

6. While Dr D. Wright was Residency Surgeon in Nepal (1863-76), Col. F. Warren found a large number of ancient copper coins when a temple was being cleared out. Some of these coins were presented to Dr Wright, and then were acquired by the German Oriental Society, while others were retained by Col. Warren who presented a selection to the British Museum in 1891, and disposed of others through Spink and Sons (these were listed in the Numismatic Circular for 1893). As far as we can determine, the coins found by Col. Warren included the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>G.O.S.</th>
<th>Spink</th>
<th>B.M.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mananka</td>
<td>A.3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amshuvarman</td>
<td>B.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisravana</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jishnu Gupta</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunanka</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashupati</td>
<td>G.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G.4</td>
<td>1?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is impossible to say with certainty whether or not these coins all came from a single hoard, or whether they included pieces acquired from other sources. The most notable feature of the coins is their fine condition, particularly those of the Gunanka and early Pasupati types. Also there were none of the common small varieties of group G.2, indicating that a high proportion of the coins came from a hoard deposited early in the 'Pasupati' period, and not very long after the Gunanka coins (group E) were struck.

7. The Nepalese historian, Baburam Acharya, apparently found an earthen jar full of coins of the Lichhavi period in Gorkha, but no further details are recorded.


This find gives some indication that Lichhavi coins may also have been used as currency outside the Valley.

8. In the early 1970s, when the Chobar Cement Factory was under construction near the southern edge of the Valley, a 'big earthen pot' was discovered when digging for the foundations, well below the present surface level. The pot was broken open by the staff, but when only brownish roundels of copper were found (instead of the hoped-for gold!) it was irretrievably crushed, and the contents dispersed and probably melted down. One of the authors, who was stationed in Nepal at the time, was told of this incident by an engineer who was working on the project. The engineer confirmed that the 'roundels' were about the size of an early Lichhavi coin, but could give no further details.33

4. SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE FOR DATING THE COINS

With the above information, it is now possible to arrange the coins in a chronological sequence, and to attempt to assign dates to each group. In doing this it is reasonable to assume that all the coins were, at least initially, intended to circulate as a single denomination of one Pana, and that their weight and diameter tended to reduce over time.34

With that general rule in mind, we suggest the arrangement of groups as set out in the table, which shows the weights subdivided into certain sub-groups that are described in the catalogue. Some uncertainty must remain in this arrangement, bearing in mind the wide range of weights and the consequent uncertainty over the true average weight standard for each group, especially after considering the weight loss experienced by those types with lead in the alloy. The weights alone do not determine the order in which groups A, B and C were struck, as the variation in weight is relatively small, although thereafter groups D, E, F, G, H and I surely follow in roughly that order. The position of group F is rather uncertain as it is very rare, and we have weighed only a very few specimens.

Looking closer at the dating of groups A, B and C, the hoard evidence strongly supports the evidence of the weights in pointing to their being the earliest coins. The fact that there is a die link between groups B.3 and C shows that those two issues must be consecutive. In the hoards examined, the 'Sri Mananka' coins of

33 This is typical of the fate of such hoards. The peasant farmers, labourers or building contractors who discover them are afraid of getting into trouble with the police if they declare them to the Dept. of Antiquities, and tend to opt for the simple solution of selling the coins to the local blacksmiths for melting, thus destroying all the evidence. In some cases they sell the coins to curio dealers who keep the provenance and quantity secret, bringing the pieces out a few at a time to sell to their customers so as to keep numbers low and prices high, which makes it difficult for students and collectors to reconstruct hoards.

34 This arrangement was suggested by D. W. MacDowall, op. cit. in n. 3, pp. 39 53, but the article was based almost entirely on the evidence of the coins in the British Museum collection, as reliable information from the inscriptions was not available at that time.
group A are normally found rather more heavily worn than the Amshuvarman coins of group B. In addition, the cast flans and lead alloy of the Amshuvarman coins seem very similar to the Jishnu Gupta coins of group D and early Gunanka coins of group E, whereas the ‘Sri Mananka’ coins of group A are less carefully struck and occasionally have the unusual copper/iron alloy. These factors point to the ‘Sri Mananka’ coins of group A being issued first, followed by group B and then by group C.

As to when the coins were first issued, it is tempting to assume that the ‘Sri Mananka’ coins must have been struck by King Manadeva I, who ruled from about AD 464 until his death about AD 505.\(^35\) This would then leave a period of nearly a century during which time either no coins were issued, or else the ‘Sri Mananka’ coins continued to be struck until at least AD 576, when Amshuvarman assumed power as chief minister under Sivadeva, or more likely until c. AD 605, when he became sole ruler of the Valley. If this was the case we would have expected some reference to the use of copper ‘Panas’ in the stone inscriptions before AD 590, and we would also have expected some hoards containing only ‘Sri Mananka’ coins.

Admittedly, such negative evidence is not conclusive, but we believe that it does suggest a later date for the ‘Sri Mananka’ coins than AD 464–505. It should be noted that ‘Sri Mananka’ merely means ‘Bearing the mark of Sri Mana’, presumably referring to the lion,\(^36\) and so does not specifically indicate that Manadeva was the issuer of the coin. As noted by Petech,\(^37\) the era of AD 576 is sometimes called the ‘Manadeva era’. Could it be that the issue of ‘Sri Mananka’ coins was initially linked with some ceremony which itself prompted the choosing of that date for the new era? The Manadeva Vihara was first mentioned in the Harigaon inscription of AD 608—perhaps that temple was dedicated in AD 576? When Sivadeva ascended the throne in AD 576 with Amshuvarman as chief minister, it may have been thought unseemly to place the name of the king on the coins, and instead the symbol of the illustrious ancestor was deemed appropriate? Whatever the reason, we believe that the most likely date for the first issue of copper coins in Nepal is in or soon after AD 576, and that the ‘Sri Mananka’ coins continued to be struck until Sivadeva’s death around AD 605. Amshuvarman then ruled in his own right, with no puppet Lichhavi king, and struck the coins of group B in his own name.

As regards the dating of the other issues, it should be noted from the stone inscriptions that there are few references to sums of money after the beginning of the eighth century, and then in rather garbled form, as in the undated Naksal inscription.\(^30\) It is likely, therefore, that coins ceased to be struck early in the eighth century. Furthermore it may be postulated that a change of king was probably associated with a change of coin design. It is worth listing, therefore, the occasions when, on political grounds, a change in coin design might be expected:

\(^{35}\) No other ruler called Manadeva is mentioned in the stone inscriptions until about AD 756.

\(^{36}\) Manadeva I is described as ‘fearless like a lion’ in the Changu Narayan inscription, cf. D. R. Regmi, op. cit. in n. 2, vol. II, p. 4, inscription no. 1 (c).

\(^{37}\) Petech, op. cit. in n. 2.

\(^{38}\) Gnoli XXXVI, Regmi LXXIV.

\(^{39}\) Gnoli LXXXIII, Regmi CXLIII.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Lichhavi Kings and their Ministers</th>
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<th>Latest date</th>
<th>Postulated range</th>
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<tr>
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<td>604</td>
<td>c. 576–605</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amshuvarman alone</td>
<td>605</td>
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<td>Udayadeva</td>
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<td>Dhruvadeva with Jishnu Gupta</td>
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<td>Bhimarjunadeva with Jishnu Gupta</td>
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<td>Sivadeva II</td>
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<td>701</td>
<td>c. 680–705</td>
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</table>

As can be seen, there are eight distinct periods of rule corresponding with the eight main groups of coins, excluding the very crude coins of group I. On the assumption that each group of coins can be ascribed to a single reign, we set out the following catalogue, with detailed dating and attribution discussed as each group is described. At this point it need only be observed that group G, the large group of coins in the name of the god 'Pashupati', should be attributed, on the above assumption, to the reign of Narendradeva. This seems reasonable, as his was easily the longest reign. We must emphasise that the dates postulated are tentative and may require some fine tuning as further evidence is discovered. The whole framework is, however, consistent both with the internal numismatic evidence of the coins themselves, and with all the external evidence that we have discovered, so that we regard the structure as generally reliable.

CATALOGUE OF LICHHAVI COINS

A. 'SRI MANANKA' c. AD 576–605

*Obv.* Lion standing l., r. front paw raised. Legend 'Śrī Mānanka' above.

*Rev.* Female deity seated cross-legged on lotus flower facing; r. hand raised. l. hand on waist. Legend ‘Śrī Bhogini', usually on r. side, but on one die on l. side.

For the reasons stated above, we believe that these Sri Mananka coins were issued between AD 576 and AD 605, during the reign of Sivadeva I. Amshuvarman was probably responsible for the issue, and chose the designs to honour the revered ancestors of the king, Manadeva and his queen Bhogini.

There are four main subgroups of Sri Mananka coins, the first three of which are very common, indicating a relatively long period of issue. Within each of these subgroups there are many variations, with virtually each die differing in style, calligraphy.
and in other minor details of the design. We have illustrated a representative selection of examples of each main group, but many other minor varieties exist.

A.1 — Copper alloy, no symbol before lion

1. There are numerous varieties including the form of the latter ‘Ma’, the length of the stem of the lotus flower, the way the knees of the female deity are positioned, the size and position of the lettering, etc.

N(*pl. 1, 1.1), V(14.5, 13.8, 13.8, 13.5, 13.1, 12.8, 12.7, 12.5, 12.0, 11.0, 10.8, 10.7, 10.7, 10.6, 10.1, 10.0), R(14.1, 13.3, 13.1, 13.0, 12.0, 11.1, 10.8, 10.7, 10.6, 10.4, 10.4, 10.0, 9.9, 9.8, 9.2, 9.0), G(11.5), BM(13.0, 11.7, 7.8), ANS(14.9, 13.0, 11.9, 11.7, 11.5, 10.5, 10.3, 10.3, 10.1, 9.9, 9.1, 8.8), H(12.6,*pl. 1, 1.2).

2. As last, but rev. legend starts over head of deity.

N(*).

3. As last, but dot over lion.

N(11.0*).

4. As last, but crescent over lion and lotus on rev. has buds at base.

H(13.1*).

This design is the simplest of the Sri Mananka subgroups and so it is likely, on iconographic grounds, to come first.

There is considerable variation in style between different dies, and the coins are generally less well struck than are A.3 and A.4 below. The flans vary in diameter from 23 mm to 27 mm, and there is no sign that they were cast in a mould before striking. The average weight is somewhat lower than that of A.4, but this issue usually, if not always, has the copper mixed with lead, and the resulting corrosion may have resulted in some specimens losing weight.

A.2 — Copper/iron alloy, no symbol before lion.

5—6. Varieties include the size of the image of the female deity and the position of the legend on the obverse.


This subgroup stands out from other ancient Nepalese copper coins in being the only variety struck in a magnetic alloy. The average weight is similar to that of A.1 with flans at the broader end of the range, 25—27 mm. It is, however, less well struck, and has lower relief than any other variety, showing the unsatisfactory hardness of the alloy. It must, therefore, either be at the head of the series chronologically, or else it could have been a contemporary product of a different mint. We believe that the latter explanation is the most likely. The mint may well have been close to the mouth of a mine, and was probably closed down when the unsuitability of its ore for coin production was recognised.

A.3 — Flower before lion

7—12. Varieties include the size of the lion, the stem of the lotus flower, the positioning of the legend on the reverse, and the presence or absence of a pellet above the deity’s head on the reverse.

V(13.4, 12.8, 12.5, 12.5, 12.4, 12.4, 12.3, 12.2, 11.8, 11.7, 11.6, 11.6, 11.0, 11.0, 10.3, 10.2, 10.2, 9.9, 9.8, 9.7*pl. 1, 10), R(14.2, 13.7, 13.4*pl. 1, 9, 12.7, 12.5, 12.2, 12.0, 12.0*pl. 1, 8, 11.9, 11.9, 11.8, 11.8*pl. 1, 11, 11.3*pl. 1, 12, 11.1, 11.0, 10.5, 10.3, 10.3, 10.2), G(13.9, 12.2, 12.0, 11.8), BM(13.3*pl. 1, 7, 12.8, 10.6, 10.0), ANS(13.7, 13.6, 12.2, 12.1, 11.9, 11.9, 11.4, 11.2, 10.3), Ash(11.7, 10.8, 10.5).

13. Legend ‘Sri Bhogini’ to l. of deity. vK(12.3*).

This issue is closely related to Type A.1 as regards weight standard, design, diameter and in being struck with a lead-rich alloy, so it was probably the next variety. The knees of Bhogini
always point slightly upwards, a feature found on some pieces of Type A.1, and the lotus plant on which she is seated has a stem and two buds; we have rarely found this latter feature on the previous subgroups.

A.4—*Standard before lion. c.AD 600*

14. 'ā' in 'Ma' short 2r. Bhogini has bulbous headdress.
   V(14.4, 13.3, 10.3, 8.8), R(16.1, 15.4, 14.6, 14.3, 14.1, 13.3*), KM(14.5, 13.4, 12.6), BM(12.4, 12.3), vK(11.6), ANS(11.2).

15. Rev. legend starts over Bhogini's head.
   vK(14.1*).

16. As last, but standard differs.
   R(14.1*).

The coins of this subgroup are much scarcer than those of A.1-3, and show much less stylistic variation, indicating a short period of issue. The average weight is significantly higher, but similar to that of the first type of Amshuvarman. The diameter of the coins has now become very regular, at 26 mm, with clear signs that the flans were cast in a mould, and the general impression is that the method of striking had become more sophisticated. For these reasons we suggest an issue date late in the period, i.e. c.AD 600, and hence this is the only occasion when we postulate that the weight standard was increased. The standard in front of the lion can be compared with that found on rare coins of Amshuvarman, and may indicate a special issue connected with political, military or religious ceremonies or celebrations.

B. AMSHUVARMAN (RULING UNDER SIVADEVA, c.AD 576–605
RULING ALONE, c.AD 605–621)

B.1—*Maharajadhirajasya* type. c.AD 605

*Obv.* Winged lion I. with front paw raised. Legend ‘Śryamśoh’ above, with dotted border.

*Rev.* Legend ‘Maharajadhirajasya’ around central sun symbol.

There is only one inscription in which Amshuvarman, during his lifetime, is given the title ‘Maharajadhiraja’, which is normally translated as ‘great king of kings’.

This inscription is undated, but as King Sivadeva is mentioned, it probably dates from before AD 605, relatively early in Amshuvarman’s career. This is a scarce type, and from the evidence of the few specimens we have weighed, seems to have the highest weight standard of the Amshuvarman types, and hence may be the earliest. We appreciate that this ordering of the types is against the normal rules of inflation of titles; Amshuvarman started his career as Samanta, progressed to Mahasamanta and, according to this theory, should have reached the position of Maharajadhiraja towards the end of his life. However, the documentary evidence from the inscriptions, and the metrological evidence of the coins seems to contradict this natural order. This type was probably struck immediately after the Mananka types, perhaps around AD 605, just before Sivadeva’s death.

17. *Rev.* legend fully within border.

18. As last, but sun has central boss.
   H(15.3*).

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40 Gnoli XXXIII, Regmi LV.
19. 'dhi' and 'sya' of rev. legend break border of dots.
   R(13.5*), KM(13.6), N(15.9).
20. As last, but circle around sun.
   R(15.0*).

B.2—Winged lion/lion and crescent. c.AD 605–15

Obv. Winged lion I. with front paw raised. Legend above 'Śryāmśuvarma' breaking dotted border.
Rev. Lion I. with front paw raised, crescent above, all within border of dots.

This is a very common type, clearly struck during the period when Amshuvarman was in power. The weight standard is lighter than that of the last type, but does not differ significantly from the next two. On design grounds it is closely linked with Type B.3 below, which is, in turn, closely linked with the 'Vaisravana' coins of Type C below. Since Amshuvarman's name appeared on the last type, we assume that it would not have been followed by the anonymous 'Vaisravana' type. Hence it seems likely that group B.2 comes first, probably struck after the death of Sivadeva, while Amshuvarman was ruling with no Lichhavi king as figurehead. Clear indication of the casting of flans is given by a few mis-struck pieces that have survived, and the fact that the diameter remains constant at 25 mm. Again, some rare pieces have a standard before the winged lion, but the style is remarkably consistent over the period of issue.

   V(13.5, 13.0, 12.8, 11.8, 11.2, 10.2, 8.6, 8.6, 8.3), R(15.7, 14.4, 13.3, 13.3, 13.2* 12.3, 12.2, 12.0, 10.3, 10.1), G(14.0, 12.4, 11.4, 10.2), KM(14.8), BM(14.6, 13.0, 12.5, 11.6, 11.5, 8.9), FW(12.7, 11.9, 11.4, 11.3, 10.1), ANS(14.3, 13.1, 12.8, 12.6, 12.5, 12.4, 12.2, 11.9, 11.2, 11.1, 10.7, 10.7, 10.3, 10.2, 8.7), Ash(13.7, 12.8), M(14.1, 10.6).

22. Pellet below paw of lion on rev.
   V(13.6, 12.5, 12.4, 11.3), R(15.4, 13.8*, 12.5), ANS(11.2).

   We do not know the reason for this pellet, but it occurs on more than one die and appears to show that sophisticated mint systems existed.

23. Pellet in crescent over lion.
   BM(10.1*), R(10.7), ANS(11.7).

24. As no. 21, but 'standard' in front of lion on obv.
   V(11.8), R(10.5*, 9.0), N(9.9), vK(9.8), ANS(11.5).

   An extremely rare variety, perhaps a special issue struck on the same type of occasion as the other varieties with the 'standard'.

B.3—Winged lion/cow and calf. c.AD 615–20

Obv. As last.
Rev. Cow with calf below, suckling. Legend 'Kamadehi' above. Dotted border around.

This group is only slightly less common than the last, around the same time, because of the identical obverse design and generally similar style and method of striking. A few specimens have a standard before the lion, but these are very rare exceptions. There is more variation in design than in the last type, particularly as regards the obverse inscription. The legend 'Kamadehi' refers to the revered cow, the purveyor of plenty, and hence is of no assistance in dating the coins.

25–8. Varieties include the position of the obv. and rev. legends.
   V(13.2, 12.9, 12.0, 12.0, 11.7, 11.6, 11.3, 11.2, 11.1, 10.8, 10.4, 10.2, 9.9), R(14.7, 13.9, 13.3*pl.
2, 26, 13.0*pl. 2, 27, 12.8, 12.7, 12.1, 11.9*pl. 2, 25, 11.8, 11.4, 10.5), G(12.4), BM(15.0, 14.1*pl. 2, 28, 14.0, 13.7, 11.6, 11.6, 11.2, 11.1, 11.0), ANS(13.2, 12.8, 11.8, 11.4, 10.8, 10.7, 9.4, 8.7), Ash(12.9, 10.6), M(12.5, 13.9).

29. As no. 25, but lion holds standard with ties to r. of shaft.
R(12.9*, 10.4), NMK(11.1)

30. As no. 28, but lion holds standard with ties l. of shaft. Rev. die-link with no. 31 below.
R(9.3*), N(8.6).

The coins with the standard are all extremely rare, although the fact that they come in at least two distinct styles indicates that they were struck on more than one occasion during the period of issue of the type. The other varieties are all common, and presumably represent a natural progression of styles.

C. ‘VAISRAVANA’ C. AD 621

Obv. Male deity, Kuvera, the god of wealth, depicted in his classic iconographic posture, seated in ‘lalitasana’, the position of joy (relaxation), with one leg tucked under the body and the other dangling down; the r. arm in ‘abhaya-mudra’ (have no fear position), the l. bent on the waist, holding a purse. Legend. ‘Vaiśravana’ above, breaking dotted border. Flower of dots to l. of Kuvera.

Rev. Cow suckling calf l., legend ‘Kamadehi’ above, similar to last type.

Vaisravana is a patronymic of Kuvera, and so the legend provides no assistance in dating the type. The design of the sacred cow (Kamadehi) suckling a calf links this type clearly with the last variety of Amshuvarman’s coinage, and as one die-link has been noted, it may be assumed that this was the next group to be issued. This variety is rather less common than groups B.2 and B.3 and so was probably of shorter duration. A few specimens have a line below the cow, but otherwise there is little variation in style.

Since Amshuvarman died around AD 621, leaving the throne to the legitimate Lichhavi heir, Udayadeva, it is tempting to associate this issue with the brief reign of this king.

31. Normal type. Reverse die-linked with no. 30 above. Diam 25 mm.
BM(13.7*)

32. As last, but dotted line below Kuvera.
BM(11.1*)

33. As no. 31, but smaller flan, diam. 23 mm. Halo of flames visible around Kuvera’s head.
R(11.9*).

Other similar pieces:
V(11.0), R(13.5, 12.5, 11.9, 11.3, 11.2, 11.1, 10.9), NMK(12.8), BM(10.0), ANS(10.4).

34. As no. 31, but line below cow.
V(12.8, 11.2), R(11.9), N(*).

34a. As last, but vase of flowers l. of Kuvera and legend begins at 11 o’clock on obv. G(12.7*)
D. JISHNU GUPTA. (WITH DHRUVADEVA c. AD 622–25, WITH BHIMARJUNADEVA c. AD 625–33)

Obv. Winged horse, usually facing left, but on one die facing right. Legend 'Śrī Jisnu Guptasya' above, breaking circle of dots.

Rev. Ornamental Vajra or Srivatsa within dotted border.

The rare coins with the inscription 'Śrī Jisnu Guptasya' must have been issued during the time when Jishnu Gupta was in power, providing another fixed date in the attribution of the early Nepalese copper coins. Again there are clear signs that the flans of some pieces were cast in a mould before striking. Although most specimens were struck to a similar weight standard as the coins of Amshuvarman, a few are of rather low weight. We have not noticed any sign of lead in the alloy from the evidence of corrosion, although the workmanship of some specimens is particularly fine with high relief. It is interesting that Jishnu Gupta followed the precedent set by Amshuvarman and struck coins in his own name, even though, on the evidence of the inscriptions, he does not appear to have assumed full royal powers, and always retained a puppet Lichhavi king.

On the grounds of fabric and average weight, it seems likely that these coins with Jishnu Gupta's name come immediately after the 'Vaisravana' type, and that they were struck during the period when Jishnu Gupta ruled with the Lichhavi King Dhruvadeva. Inscriptions with the name of this king are only known dated AD 624–5. A change of coin-type is to be expected after the death of Dhruvadeva, which must have occurred between AD 625 and AD 631, when the name of his successor Bhimarjunadeva appears on an inscription. The rarity and consistency of style implies a short period of issue, so Dhruvadeva probably died early in this period, perhaps in or soon after AD 625.

D.1 — Horse faces left

35. Winged horse l. Vajra or Srivatsa in plain field on rev.
   N(*, 10.0), V(12.6), R(8.3).

36. Winged horse l. Annulet either side of Vajra on rev.
   BM(11.3*), R(11.3, 7.5), ANS(12.8).

37. Winged horse l. Circle at centre and pellet either side of and above Vajra.
   R(12.8*, 10.6), V(11.2), G(12.9), NMK(10.7), N(11.3).

D.2 — Horse faces right

38. Winged horse r. Vajra or Srivatsa, much as no. 35 above.
   NMK(10.6*).

The ornamental Vajra (thunderbolt) design is sometimes referred to as 'Srivatsa', which may be a corruption of 'Śri-Vajra'. It is usually taken as the symbol of the abode of Śri, the ancient mother goddess, promoter of fertility and prosperity, and is sometimes used as a symbol of royal power. Alternatively it may be the sacred thunderbolt of Buddhist tradition, connected with Kuvera, or the mark said to be borne by Vishnu on his breast.

Walsh described the animal as a winged bull, while MacDowall described it as a winged lion. It was correctly described as a winged horse by B. N. Shrestha and D. D. Rajbhandari in 'Coinage of Jishnu Gupta of Nepal'. JNSI, vol. XXVIII, pt. 1 (1966), pp. 96–8.

E. ‘GUNANKA’, WITH ELEPHANT ON OVB. C. AD 625–641

Obv. Elephant facing r. (or occasionally l.) usually within border of dots.
Rev. Female deity, Lakshmi, seated crosslegged facing holding flowers in each hand. Legend ‘Śrī Guṇāṅka’ above.

On grounds of fabric and weight, these ‘Gunanka’ coins with the elephant probably come next. Although coins of this general type are rather scarce, they are much more common than coins of group D. This fact and the considerable variety in the details of the design and style, indicate a fairly long period of issue, extending at least until Jishnu Gupta died in AD 633, or more likely until Bhimarjunadeva’s death about AD 641. The later date is likely because there is, as we shall discuss later, no other group of coins that can be convincingly attributed to the period AD 633–41.

The pieces showing the elephant standing and the reverse legend breaking the dotted border tend to be the heaviest, and hence are probably the earliest. Coins of this variety sometimes have a high lead content in the alloy that results in serious corrosion, far worse than in any other variety and the flans, which are clearly cast, flake in the same way as the coins of Amshuvarman. The variation in weight is considerable, with the heaviest pieces among the heaviest of all Lichhavi coins, although most specimens are appreciably lighter. The later varieties usually show the elephant walking or charging, they have the inscription inside the dotted border, and sometimes they have a line border on either side. They rarely show any signs of lead in the alloy and the fabric differs from that of the earlier pieces in that the flans show no signs of flaking and the edge is usually hammered flat, rather than rounded.

Because of the legend, previous authors have tended to attribute this coin to Gunakamadeva, an enigmatic king mentioned only in later historical chronicles, or to Ganadeva, who ruled in the AD 560s, a date that the numismatic evidence shows to be far too early. The fact that the seated deity beneath the inscription is clearly female suggests that the reference is to Gunavati, the wife of Manadeva, and that the elephant may have been her particular symbol, or perhaps that of Vasantadeva, for whom she may have acted as regent. There is no direct epigraphical evidence to support this theory, but the reference to another queen of Manadeva, Bhogini, on the Sri Mananka coins gives a precedent. It is interesting to note that, if our chronology is correct, Jishnu Gupta ceased to put his name on the coins before his death, and his successor Vishnu Gupta did not revive the practice.

E.1 — Legend below Lakshmi

39. Elephant standing r., no border of dots. Lakshmi seated on lotus with tall stem, which divides legend across field.
   BM(12.0*).

E.2 — Elephant standing l., legend breaks dotted circle

40. Lakshmi with halo.
   V(14.6*). BM(11.7). H(13.2.9.9).
41. Lakshmi with turreted headdress.
   R(11.2). N(*).
   One specimen (R) rev. die-linked with no. 51 below.
42. Much smaller and lighter.
   N(4.1*)

E.3 — Elephant standing r.
43. Lakshmi with halo. Legend within dotted circle.
   R(10.6). N(*).
44. As last. Lakshmi with turreted headdress.
   N(*).
45. As last, but back l. leg of elephant more prominent and flowers held by Lakshmi drawn as lines rather than dots.
   N(*).
46. As last, but Lakshmi holds buds that hang down.
   H(14.6*).
47. As last, but Lakshmi has small headdress of pellets and her feet are not crossed.
   H(10.0*).
48. As last, but Lakshmi has pointed headdress and cruder engraving.
   BM(11.7*).
   Other similar pieces with details of the design not clear:
   BM(12.7), R(16.0, 10.4, 9.8, 8.5), KM(9.0, 8.9), V(6.9)
49. Reverse legend inside border of dots. Fine style. similar to no. 59 below.
   R(6.1), H(89*).
50. Similar, but cruder engraving.
   H(5.4*), R(5.1).

E.4 — Elephant garlanded standing r. within circle.
51. Reverse legend breaks dotted border.
   R(10.5). N(13.6*).
   One specimen (R) rev. die-linked with no. 41 above.
52. Reverse legend within circle, within dotted border. Lakshmi has dotted headdress: rev. die-link with nos. 69, 70 and 77 below.
   N(7.0*), V(8.4), H(8.9, 8.0).
   While most specimens of this variety appear to be copper, one (H(8.9)) appears to be pure lead.
53. As last, but Lakshmi has pointed headdress; rev. die-link with no. 68 below.
   N(9.0), BM(9.1), V(11.9*), R(14.4, 5.5), H(5.4, 7.7).

E.5 — Elephant walking r. No circle.
54. Legend within dotted border. Lakshmi has halo much as nos. 40 and 43 above.
   BM(9.5), V(11.6*).
55. As last, but simple headdress of a single dot over a horizontal line.
   V(*), R(7.4, 7.1).
56. As last but Lakshmi has turban-like headdress and holds closed buds.
   V(11.0*).
57. As last, but smaller elephant.
   N(*).
58. As no. 56. but Lakshmi has headdress with halo of flames and holds flowers.
   V(8.2*).
59. As last. but line outside border of dots on both obv. and rev.
   R(9.8, 9.3, 7.2), V(7.2), H(9.2, 7.8, 7.3), vK(7.0*).
60. As last, but fine calligraphy. In particular, 'nka' of 'Gunañka' written ☛.
   H(8.4*).

61. As last, but legend inside dotted border, no line border outside.
   N(*), V(4.9), R(9.8, 7.8, 6.1), BM(8.4).

62. As last, but plainer headdress of crescent and pellet.
   H(6.6*).

62a. As last, but Lakshmi has different headdress and holds closed buds.
   H(8.4*).

63. Small elephant, and rather spidery engraving on rev. Lakshmi has simple headdress, not clearly visible.
   R(8.9*), ANS(7.5).

64. Larger elephant, obv. die of no. 59. Line outside border of dots on both obv. and rev. Lakshmi has plain flat headdress and raised r. hand.
   BM(7.5), V(8.4), N(*), KM(7.1).

65. Much as last, but Lakshmi's r. hand not raised. Same rev. die as no. 67 below.
   H(10.7*, 7.9, 6.4, 5.9).

66. Line inside border of dots on rev. Lakshmi has turreted headdress.
   V(10.1*).

E.6 — Elephant walking l.

67. Legend inside dotted border on rev., same die as no. 65 above.
   H(6.2*), vK(9.1).

E.7 — Elephant garlanded, head turned backwards

68. Circle inside dotted border both sides. Lakshmi has pointed headdress; rev. die-link with no. 53 above.
   N(6.7*), BM(7.2).

69. Obv. die of last, rev. die of next.
   H(10.3*).

70. Circle inside dotted border on rev only. Lakshmi has dotted headdress; rev. die-link with nos. 52 and 77.
   R(9.9), H(9.7*).

71. No circle inside dotted border either side. Lakshmi has pointed headdress with halo of dots; rev. die-link with no. 75 below.
   R(8.1*).

E.8 — Elephant garlanded, walking r.

72. Line inside dotted border no rev. only. Lakshmi has turreted headdress of dots; rev. die-link with no. 74 below.
   N(*), BM(10.2).

73. No line inside dotted border either side. Lakshmi seated on throne, wearing a pointed headdress with halo of flames, and holding curved objects shaped ? in each hand. Rev. die-link with nos 76, 78 and 80 below.
   R(7.8*), H(7.5).

74. Circle inside dotted border on both obv. and rev. Lakshmi has turreted headdress of dots; rev. die-link with no. 72.
   V(6.2), R(9.2*).

75. Circle inside dotted border on obv. only. Lakshmi has pointed headdress and halo of dots; rev. die-link with no. 71 above.
   H(8.2*).
76. Lakshmi seated on throne; rev. die-link with nos. 73, 78 and 80.
   N(7.9*, 7.5).
77. Small elephant, raising trunk forwards. Circle inside dotted border on both sides. Rev. die-link with no. 52 above.
   N(*).
78. As last, but rev. with no circle and Lakshmi seated on throne; rev. die-link with nos. 73, 76 and 80.
   H(7.9*)
79. Much as earlier varieties, but each dot on obv. has semicircle around, linked to form cusped inner circle. Rev. has line with dotted border; die-linked with no. 81.
   H(8.6*), R(7.9*, 7.2, 6.8).
80. As last, but elephant raises trunk forward. Lakshmi seated on throne, with no inner circle; rev. die-link with nos. 73, 76 and 78.
   BM(7.3*).
81. Obv. die of last, rev. die of no. 79 above.
   H(10.9*).

E.9—Elephant garlanded, charging r.
82. Line inside dotted border on both sides. Lakshmi with turreted headdress, much as no. 66 above.
   R(5.5), H(9.3*).
82a. As last, but 'Gu' on rev. written 'J'.
   BM(7.2), R(8.5*), H(7.7*).

FIRST ‘VRSHA’ TYPE. C. AD 641

Obv. Bull standing l., crescent over head, to the r. of which is legend ‘Vṛśa’, all within dotted border.

Size of letters in legend varies. the piece illustrated having relatively large letters.

Rev. Large eight-petalled flower filling field within dotted border.

Vṛshadeva is mentioned in the Changu Narayan inscription of AD 464, as being the great-grandfather of Manadeva and hence, once again, this legend may either recall a revered ancestor, or may merely be explained in the context of the Sivaite religious sentiments prevailing at the time. The flower is connected with the ‘solar’ gods, Surya, Vishnu and his wife Lakshmi.

Coins of this group are rare and surviving specimens are similar in fabric to the Amshuvarman coins, with rounded edges to the flans, and slight flaking, showing that they were probably struck on hot cast flans with lead alloy, although there is no sign of corrosion. The weight standard appears to be similar to the Gunanka coins of group E, and slightly heavier than most of the Pashupati coins of group G listed below. However the flans are slightly smaller, 22 mm diameter, than any of the cast examples of groups A to E, which tend to be 24–25 mm diameter. The rarity certainly indicates a very short period of issue, and the numismatic evidence indicates that they were struck between the Gunanka and Pashupati groups. The Pashupati coins were almost certainly issued during the reign of Narendradeva (c. AD 641–80), and it is therefore possible that the Gunanka coins were only struck until the death of Jishnu Gupta in AD 633, and that these Vṛsha coins were issued during the period when Vishnu Gupta ruled as Prime Minister for Bhimarjunadeva.

43 Vṛsha is, in fact the bull, Nandi, on whose back the god Siva went to the reception at the time of his marriage to Parvati.
This is, however, very unlikely as it would imply that the Vrsha coins were struck over a period of ten years, which is very unlikely because of their rarity. It is much more likely that they were the first issues of Narendradeva after he secured the throne in C.AD 641 on his return from exile in Tibet, unless there was a king, unknown to history, who ruled for a short period between Bhimarjunadeva and Narendradeva.

83. N(7.4*), V(10.6, 7.8, 7.4), R(9.3), vK(8.3), H(10.1).

G. 'PASHUPATI' TYPES. C.AD 641–80

Coins with the inscription 'Paṣupati' are far more varied than those with any other inscription. They occur with a number of different types, several of them having many varieties. R. N. Pandey has attributed all these coins to Narendradeva (C.AD 641–80) and he points out that there is much evidence in the inscriptions of the devotion of this king to Lord Pashupatinath. This attribution fits ideally into our own chronology, since the reign is long enough to encompass the numerous specimens and the full range of varieties.

G.1 — Legend over bull. C.AD 641–45

Obv. Bull standing or lying, facing r. or l., with legend 'Paṣupatiḥ' above, all within border of dots.

Rev. Large sun or large ornamental Vajra or Srivatsa within border of dots.

This is, on the evidence of the average weight, the earliest variety of Pashupati coin, apart perhaps from some coins of group G.2 below. The standing bull is identical in style to that on the Vrsha coins of group F. The weight standard and method of striking are similar to that of the later Gunanka coins, while the reverse type of the ornamental vajra or srivatsa is reminiscent of the reverse type used by Jishnu Gupta. The coins of this particular group are rather scarce, show little variation in style, and there are die links between the varieties, and so it is likely that their issue did not extend over a long period, perhaps not beyond the mid AD 640s.

G.1a — Bull standing l. Rev. sun.

84. BM(9.9*), V(7.0), R(9.7, 3.5), N(8.0)

G.1b — Bull recumbent l. or r. Rev. sun.

85. Bull recumbent l. with nose raised.

\begin{align*}
\text{BM}(9.7, 8.6, 7.1^*, 6.8), V(8.6, 7.8, 7.2, 7.1, 6.9, 6.4, 6.4), R(7.9, 7.4), N(6.7), M(6.7).
\end{align*}

86. As last, but line below bull.

V(6.5, 5.2), N(*).

87. As last, but bull's nose lowered.

H(6.0*).

88. As no. 85, but bull recumbent r.

M(7.0*).

\[\text{84 R. N. Pandey, op. cit. in n. 20.}\]
THE LICHHAVI PERIOD, c.AD 576–750

G.1c — Bull recumbent l. or r. Rev. Vajra or Srivatsa

89. Bull l. as no. 85, but rev. Ornamental vajra or srivatsa, similar to the design on coins of Jishnu Gupta, group D above.
   V(7.9*, 7.5, 7.3, 6.6), BM(7.7), R(7.3).
90. As last, but horizontal lines in centre of srivatsa not so prominent.
   R(7.8*), N(7.4).
91. As last, but srivatsa has circle in centre.
   V(8.3, 7.0), R(4.6), H(7.1*), vK(5.4*).
92. As last, but bull faces r. Same obv. die as no. 88 above.
   V(3.1), R(8.4*, 8.4), vK(7.6).

The design of nos. 89–91 bears a remarkable similarity to certain silver coins of Arakan. It may be pure coincidence and they are merely based on the same Hindu iconographic tradition. The similarity is remarkable, however, and the most likely explanation is that an example of this Nepalese coin reached Arakan as a religious talisman, and then being so beautifully made provided the inspiration for the design of these first Arakanese coins. This interesting link provides important evidence for the dating of the Arakanese coins, but it is of little significance in the development of coinage within Nepal itself. It does, however, underline the fact that these ancient Nepalese coins were the most technically and artistically accomplished coins produced in the subcontinent at that time.


Obv. Bull standing r. or l., crescent above, border of dots around.
Rev. Sun with 'Paśupatīh' around.

This is the most common of all the groups of ancient Nepalese copper coins, and shows a wide variety of style. A few pieces have the bull facing left, but most show it facing right. The variation in weights is remarkable, with specimens ranging from 11 g to less than 2 g, and covering the full range in between. While some smaller varieties are always light in weight, there is no clear dividing line, and a single denomination must have been intended, with a steadily reducing weight standard. In view of the number of surviving specimens, and the variation in style and weight, we would suggest that this group was struck for a long period, probably starting about the time of Narendra Deva's accession in AD 641, and continuing until his death about AD 680.

Most surviving specimens show little variation in style, apart from the attitude of the bull’s head, the basic types being nos. 96 and 97 below. A few varieties, however, have more significant differences in design. These varieties are relatively rare and tend to be confined to a single die each.

G.2a — Bull l., heavy coins with lead in alloy

93. Bull l., symbol ♂ between letters of 'Paśupatīh' on rev. Heavy weight with lead in the alloy and struck on cast flans.
   BM(11.0*), V(9.0, 8.2, 7.8, 7.2, 6.5, 5.8), R(9.7, 8.2), N(11.4), KM(7.2).
94. As last, but symbol ♄ between letters on rev.
   H(8.3*, 7.7*).

44 cf. J. Cribb, 'Dating South East Asia's Earliest Coins', Devedharmā (D. C. Sircar Memorial Volume, 1986), pp. 111–24. This article makes use of the Nepalese prototype to date the first Arakanese coins.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

95. A strange piece, apparently struck from two reverse dies, but perhaps showing signs of double striking.
   BM(9.1*).

   The above pieces form a very scarce variety. If the evidence of hoard number 4 is to be believed, this variety may have been struck during the Amshuvarman or early Jishnu Gupta periods, but the circumstances of the finding of this hoard are not known, and this piece could have been an addition by the dealer. In any case, this variety differs from most other Pashupati coins in fabric, in that it shows signs of lead in the alloy. The heavy weight, which is very similar on average to the Vrsha coins of group F, shows that this variety is relatively early.

G.2b — Bull r. Pure copper

96. Bull faces r. Diam. 21–23 mm. Bull has head raised or lowered. Few specimens have the ‘h’ in ‘Paupatł’. 
   N(*pl. VI, 96.1), V(8.0, 7.9, 7.4, 7.1, 7.0, 6.6, 6.5, 6.0, 5.9, 5.9, 5.3, 5.2, 5.0, 5.0, 4.9, 4.8, 4.6, 4.5, 4.5, 3.9). R(8.7*pl VI, 96.2, 8.7, 8.3, 7.8, 7.6, 7.2, 7.2, 6.3, 6.2, 6.1, 6.1, 6.0, 5.5, 5.3, 5.2, 4.7, 2.9). BM(7.9, 7.1, 6.3, 6.2), ANS(8.6, 8.4, 8.0, 7.2, 7.2, 6.2, 5.6), Ash(8.3).

97. As last, but diam. c. 20 mm. Bull always has head lowered, and no ‘h’ in ‘Paupatł’.
   BM(5.0, 4.4, 4.3, 4.0, 3.6, 3.4, 3.2, 3.0, 2.8, 2.8, 2.7, 2.6), V(7.0, 5.4, 5.4, 5.3, 4.8, 4.8, 4.6, 4.4, 4.3, 4.2, 4.0, 4.0, 4.0, 4.3, 3.8, 3.8, 3.7, 3.7, 3.6, 3.4, 3.1, 3.1, 3.0, 3.0, 2.7, 2.7, 2.7, 2.6, 2.6, 2.4, 2.4, 2.3, 2.2, 2.2, 1.9, 1.9, 1.8, 1.6), R(4.9, 4.3, 4.3, 3.8, 3.7, 3.2, 3.2, 2.9, 2.9, 2.3, 1.7, 1.0), ANS(6.1, 6.0, 5.1, 4.4, 4.0, 3.6, 3.6, 3.1, 2.6), Ash(5.3, 1.3).

98. As no. 96, but circle round sun. Die-linked with no. 117 below.
   BM(6.5*), R(4.7). ANS(8.5).

99. As last, but ‘h’ between letters on rev., die linked with no. 125 below.
   V(7.6*).

100. As no. 96, but no symbols between letters on rev.
    N(*), R(7.0, 5.0).

101. As no. 100, but ‘ti’ with ‘h’ before ‘ti’ (W).
    H(6.7*).

102. As no. 96, but line below bull.
    N(8.4*), BM(5.0), R(6.4), V(7.9, 6.0, 5.2), vK(7.9).

103. As no. 97, but obverse brockage.
    BM(3.3*).

This, and no. 139a below, are the only ancient Nepalese brockages we have found.

104. As no. 97, but pellet in crescent.
    N(*), V(3.9).

105. As no. 97, but bull has head turned to face.
    R(4.0), H(3.9*).

106. As no. 97, but die flaw makes it seem that bull has long horn.
    H(5.3*).

107. As no. 96, but very crude design.
    N(*).

This specimen is so crude that we believe it to be a contemporary forgery, the only one that we have identified in the whole series of Lichhavi copper coins.

G.2c — Bull l. pure copper

108. Bull l., with head raised or lowered. Later variety with no sign of lead in alloy and normal three leaves between letters. Diam. 21–23 mm.
    N(*), R(8.6, 6.3, 4.7), V(5.2), vK(6.1).

109. As no. 108, but diam. c. 20 cm.
    V(2.8, 2.4), R(4.0*).
G.3—Special bull and crescent types

Apart from the coins of standard design, a few very rare pieces have different reverse types, which are given separate numbers below, but were certainly struck during the period of issue of group 2. Their rarity suggests that they may have been struck for certain special ceremonies, rather than as the standard coin of the realm.

G.3a—Bull l. rev. large sun. c.AD 650

*Obv.* Bull standing l. with crescent above, within border of dots.

*Rev.* Large sun within circle within border of dots.

An extremely rare variety. The reverse die links with no. 122 and 128 below. The general style indicates a relatively early date, perhaps about AD 650, although the weight is rather light.

110. V(3.9*).

G.3b—Bull standing, Rev. Legend across field. c.AD 650

*Obv.* Bull standing l. or r., with crescent above.

*Rev.* Legend 'Pasupati' across field. Sun above or below, all within border of dots.

Another extremely rare variety. The general style, weight and fabric indicate a relatively early date in the reign, perhaps around AD 650.

111. Bull l. with ornamental cusped circle inside dotted border, reminiscent of Gunanka nos. 79/81 above, but not known for any other variety of 'Pasupati' coin. *Rev.* sun below legend and unidentified symbol above.

R(6.6*), V(6.6).


H(5.9*).

113. Same *obv.* die as last, but sun above legend on *rev.* and same unidentified symbol below. Note unusual form of 'ti' ꙕ.

H(7.8*, 7.6).

Both specimens of this variety respond weakly to a magnet, indicating some iron in the alloy.

114. As last, but bull r.

H(8.2*, 7.0).

114a. As last, but *rev.* as no. 112 above.

H(6.0*).

G.3c—Bull r., Rev. Vase of flowers. c.AD 650

*Obv.* Bull standing r. with crescent above, all within dotted border.

*Rev.* Vase of flowers with legend 'Pasupati'.

Another rare variety. In spite of the similarity of design, we have not discovered a die-link with any of the many varieties of group G.5 below. Again, the style and weight indicates a date around AD 650. Although most specimens appear to be fine copper, one (R(7.8)) seems to have lead in the alloy.


R(7.8, 6.8*, 5.9, 4.7), V(5.5), H(9.4, 6.3).

116. *Rev.* legend faces inwards, reading up on the left then down on the right.

vK(5.5*), R(4.2), H(8.6).
G.3d—*Bull l. or r. Rev. Large trident. c.AD 650*

*Obv.* Bull standing l. or r. with crescent above, all within border of dots.
*Rev.* Large trident in centre, legend ‘Paśupati’ reading across the field in two lines.

An extremely rare variety. Although the reverse design is similar to the obverse of group G.4 below, we have not seen any die links. Again, we suggest a date around AD 650, but we have not yet determined any way of establishing the relative chronology of these rare types.

At this period there is some ambiguity between obverse and reverse. We have tended to regard the more prominent type, e.g. the bull, as the obverse, but this variety confounds the rule as it appears to link two obverse types. In this case our choice of obverse and reverse is entirely arbitrary, and no significance should be attached to it.

117. Bull faces r.
   R(5.0, 4.5), H(5.0*), V(4.6).
117a. As last, but different dies.
   N(*).
   vK(3.6*).

G.3e—*Bull r. Rev. Legend in four petals. c.AD 680*

*Obv.* Bull r. with crescent above; small flan, much as no. 97 above.
*Rev.* Legend ‘Paśupati’ in four petals around uncertain symbol in centre, reminiscent of type G.7 below, but different symbols between petals.

119. H(1.0*).
   The light weight of this piece indicates that it is probably among the very latest of the Pashupati varieties.

G.4—*With trident on obv. c.AD 650.*

*Obv.* Large trident with legend ‘Paśupati’ reading across field in two lines.
*Rev.* Sun, usually with legend ‘Paśupati’ around.

A rare type exhibiting considerable variation in design. Three obverse dies are known, and of the eight reverse dies illustrated, two are linked with nos. 98, 99 and 110 above. Again, we can only postulate a date of about AD 650.

120. ‘śu’ of ‘Pasupati’ written ג, on obv. and ע on rev. three leaves between letters on rev.
   BM(9.9*), N(7.0), H(8.0).
121. As last, but ס between letters on rev.
   V(6.0*).
122. As last, but no legend on rev., die as no. 110 above and no. 128 below.
   R(6.0), NMK(*).
123. Smaller trident on stand. Read ע on both sides.
   BM(6.3*).
124. As last, but circle around sun on rev. Rev. die link with no. 98 above.
   R(5.3*).
125. *Obv.* as last although double striking makes trident seem longer. Symbols between letters on rev. ס, die linked with no. 99 above.
   N(*)
126. As last, but no reverse inscription and sun with long shaped rays.
   BM(8.0*). H(8.6).
127. As last, but rays on rev. differ.
   R(7.1*).
128. Different obv. die, and rev. with large sun, die linked with nos. 110 and 122 above.
   N(*).

G.5 — Kuvera seated/ Vase of flowers. c. AD 650–680

Obv. Male deity, Kuvera, seated.
Rev. Vase of flowers with legend ‘Paśupati’

A scarce group, difficult to find in good condition, but more plentiful than all the Pashupati varieties other than the common group G.2 above. It shows considerable variation in the details of the design and in the style. The weights are slightly lighter on average than those of the previous varieties, but cover a very wide range. This variation in style and weight standard indicates that coins with this type were struck over a fairly long period, perhaps from c. AD 650 until late in Narendra Deva’s reign around AD 680.

The deity on the obverse is clearly Kuvera or Vaisravana, and the iconography of some varieties is very similar to that of the ‘Vaisravana’ coins of group C above. The vase of flowers is a symbol of wealth, sometimes associated with Kuvera as on coin no. 34a above. A few coins show decoration on the vase in the form of a band around with pellets, the surface of the vase being segmented, rather like an orange; for example coin no. 153. It is interesting to note that this decoration is identical to that on the vase above an inscription dated AD 697.46 and a similar vase appears on a Lichhavi potsherd excavated Harigaon.47

G.5a — Legend in arc over vase of flowers.

129. Kuvera raises l. hand, r. hand extended downwards.
   BM(7.7*).
130. As last, but Kuvera holds flower in l. hand. Note that Kuvera faces the viewer, so that his l. hand is on the r. side of the flan.
   BM(7.6*), V(6.8).
131. As last, but Kuvera has r. hand on hip.
   BM(11.1*), V(3.2).

G.5b — Kuvera, l. hand raised, r. hand stretched down.

132. Obv. die of no. 129; rev. legend in one line split by vase.
   Fw(7.4). R(7.6*).
133. As last, but Kuvera holds flower in l. hand.
   BM(6.8*), V(8.1), R(6.4, 6.2). H(11.2).
134. As last, but reverse flower has no leaves above legend.
   BM(5.8*).
135. Much as last, but rev. legend in two lines reading across. Kuvera holds bag (of money?) with r. hand, flower issuing from bag.
   H(5.3*).

46 Gnoli LXXVIII. Vases with slightly different decoration occur over other inscriptions, e.g. Gnoli XXXIV (Amshuvarman period undated) and Gnoli XXXV (dated Yr. 30 = AD 606).
136. As last, but legend in two lines reading downwards; ‘Paśu’ to left of vase ‘-pati’ to right. Kuvera often has halo.
   N(*), BM(9.0, 7.4, 7.0), V(7.3, 6.5, 6.2, 5.8, 5.6, 5.6, 3.9, 3.8). R(7.7, 6.9, 6.8, 5.7, 5.4, 5.3, 5.1, 4.3, 3.7).

137. As last, but Kuvera has jewelled headdress and no halo.
   N(8.4*), BM(8.9, 7.0), R(7.1).

G.5c — Kuvera r. hand on hip, l. hand stretched out

138. Kuvera’s l. hand holds flower. Money bag to r. of Kuvera’s knee. Rev. legend in two lines.
   BM(6.8), R(5.8, 4.4*).

139. As last, but legend in one line. Rev. die of no. 131 above.
   N(4.0*), V(7.4).

139a. As last, but obv. brockage.
   H(*).

G.5d — Kuvera raises l. hand, r. hand on hip.

140. Rev. legend in one line.
   N(6.2*), R(6.1, 5.8), H(6.6).

141. Obv. die as last; rev. flower differs.
   BM(9.6*), V(8.2), R(6.4, 2.3). M(5.8).

142. Obv. die as last; rev. flower differs.
   BM(7.5*), R(6.7), H(6.4).

143. Obv. die as last; rev. flower differs.
   BM(8.0*), R(5.9, 5.0). N(8.1).

144. Obv. die as last; rev. flower differs.
   N(*). V(7.0), R(6.2).

145. Obv. die as last; rev. flower differs.
   H(7.3*).

145a. Obv. die as last; rev. flower differs.
   H(5.0), R(5.7*), V(4.8).

G.5e — Kuvera has both hands on knees.

146. Flowers either side of Kuvera, no money bag. Rev. much as last.
   BM(8.0*).

147. As last, but rev. die of no. 141 above.
   H(8.0*).

148. As last, but rev. die of no. 144 above.
   BM(7.4*).

G.5f — Kuvera seated on high-backed throne

149. Kuvera’s r. hand on hip and l. hand stretched out downwards. Rev. legend in one line.
   V(5.9), R(7.4*).

149a. As last, but flower on rev. differs.
   H(8.0*).

150. As last, but rev. legend in two lines reading across field. Note large vase similar to nos. 153 and 155 below.
   H(6.1*).

151. As last, but l. hand on Kuvera raised. Legend in one line.
   BM(8.7), R(8.4*).

152. As last, but legend in two lines.
   BM(7.6*, 7.3). V(6.7), R(6.2, 5.4), VK(5.7), H(6.4).
THE LICHHAVI PERIOD, c. AD 576–750

G.5g—Legend over Kuvera
153. Kuvera with no halo or throne, with legend ‘Paśupatiḥ’ above. Rev. has no legend. Note the large vase with fine decoration.
N(7.6*).
154. As last, but legend on reverse reading across field in one line.
N(6.7*).
155. As last, but reverse legend in two lines with large vase.
vK(7.9*), R(6.6).

G.5h—‘Paduka’ (footprints) in field.
156. Kuvera with jewelled crown and no halo. Paduka or footprints of Siva each side in field. Rev. small vase, legend in two lines reading across field.
BM(6.8*), V(8.1, 6.4), R(8.7, 6.4, 5.1). vK(5.4).

G.5i—Kuvera with l. hand on knee, r. hand on hip
157. Kuvera with jewelled crown, no halo and nothing in field. Rev. much as last.
BM(6.2*), V(7.9), R(6.0).

G.6—Small flan. Kuvera/uncertain design. c. AD 680
Obv. Kuvera seated, details of design not clear.
Rev. Uncertain design and legend.
Yet another extremely rare variety with a similar obverse type, but struck on a smaller flan, diam. 18 mm. The reverse is very distinctive, but as the only example known to us is not well preserved, we have no managed to read what appears to be a long inscription on either side nor can we identify the central design. A reading of ‘Paśupatiḥ’ on one or both sides has been suggested, but this is very uncertain. Because of the small flan and light weight, we have tentatively placed this piece among the late Pashupati coins, dated perhaps c. AD 680.
158. N(2.5*).

G.7—Small flan. Legend in petals each side. c. AD 680
Obv. Four petals with legend, probably ‘Paśupatiḥ’. inside.
Rev. As obverse.
Another extremely rare variety, struck on a similar flan as the last and also weighing about 2.5 g. We therefore postulate a similar date.
159. H(2.6*). NMK(2 specimens).

H. SECOND ‘VRSHA’ TYPE. c. AD 680–90
Obv. Legend ‘Vṛṣa’ over bull recumbant left, within circle and border of dots.
Rev. Trident with legend ‘Śiva’ across field, all within circle and border of dots.
The fabric of these pieces is unique in the series in being struck on small, relatively thick, flans, perhaps cast, with lead in the alloy. The inscription seems to link them with the ‘Vṛsha’ coins of c. AD 641, but the weight standard is much lighter and the flan size much smaller. The trident and inscription ‘Śiva’ on the reverse indicate that the issuer of the coin worshipped Siva and it is worth noting that ‘Śiva’ is written in a form of Kutila script more consistent with late seventh century.
the evidence of the dated stone inscriptions, rather than the Gupta script associated with the early and mid seventh century. Of all the coins this is the only variety that could be a minor denomination, if it was struck as early as AD 641, but this seems unlikely on epigraphical grounds. It was, therefore, probably issued at a time when the weight standard had been reduced, but for some reason the old production method of putting lead in the alloy and casting the flans was revived. It may be noted that the son and successor of Narendradeva was Sivadeva II, and he may have chosen to honour his namesake on his coins. The coins vary in size, but as the designs are the same, and the weights not clearly differentiated by flan diameter, it seems inconceivable that more than one denomination was intended, and the variation in size was probably due to the inaccuracies of the method used to produce the flans. There is very little variation in style, and prior to the discovery of hoard no. 5 these small coins were of great rarity. They were probably struck over a relatively short period as a final flowering of the Lichhavi copper coinage, perhaps during the early part of the reign of Sivadeva II in the AD 680s.

160. Diameter 17 mm.
   V(3.6*).

161. Diameter 14 mm.
   R(2.2*).
   Similar pieces with diameter ranging between 14 mm and 17 mm.
   R(3.3, 3.1, 2.8, 2.7, 2.7, 2.6, 2.4, 2.3, 1.4), V(3.1, 2.7, 2.6, 2.2, 2.1), G(2.9, 2.3, 2.1), N(3.0, 2.7, 2.0), BM(2.7), H(3.2, 3.2, 2.7, 2.4).

162. As last, but lettering on reverse crude, and trident has no cross-piece.
   N(*)

I. THIN COINS WITH A BULL. C. AD 700

Obr. Crude bull r. with crescent above.
Rev. Very crude design.

Right at the end of the series of Lichhavi copper coins are these very light pieces weighing scarcely 0.5 gm. They are so crude that they must be either forgeries of the most obvious kind, or the final degeneration of the official coinage. The last mention of sums of money is in the Naksal inscription which, although undated, is probably from the early eighth century. Hence these small, rare, pieces may be the final, short lived, degradation of the coinage, before the people reverted to a barter economy, early in the eighth century. Whether they were official issues remains an open question.

163. Bull facing r., crescent over. Reverse totally blundered, but may be a crude copy of no. 97 above.
   V(0.58*).

   V(0.37*).

165. Bull l., as last. Large lotus flower, perhaps copied from no. 83 above.
   V(0.45*).

J. THIN SILVER COIN WITH TRIDENT. C. AD 700?

Obr. Trident in centre, ‘ti’ to right; perhaps a remnant of a full legend ‘Paśupati’ which is otherwise obliterated.
Rev. Totally unclear.
This is the only surviving silver coin that may be attributed to the Lichhavi period. It is poorly struck, with only the trident and letter ‘ti’ visible. The full inscription is probably ‘Paśupati’, but the fabric of the coin is so thin that we would suggest a date roughly contemporary with the thin copper coins of group J described above, i.e. around AD 700, although this is very tentative. The existence of a silver coinage at this period in Nepal, where there are no silver mines, is of great interest, but unless the discovery of further specimens demonstrates that such silver pieces circulated to a significant extent, it would be dangerous to draw any conclusions from this single survivor.

166. NMK(*).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I
THE EPIGRAPHY OF LICHHAVI COINS

The various letters found on the ancient coins are in a form of Gupta script, similar to that found on the contemporary stone inscriptions. The attached table illustrates the various letter forms that are found, indicating the coin types on which each appears.

Gautamvajra Vajracharya\(^{48}\) has recognised certain specific changes that take place in the individual letter forms on the stone inscriptions, and has identified four distinct periods:


Not all the letters identified by Vajracharya as changing over the periods appear on the coins, but we have compared all the letter forms that do appear with those on the inscriptions illustrated by Gnoli.\(^{49}\) Although, as expected, the forms are generally consistent with the contemporary inscriptions, a few specific letters are worthy of more detailed comment:

‘i’—the long ‘i’ appears only in the word ‘Śrī’, but this is found on several different types. The early types show the expected form $\delta$ but on the Gunanka coins, while some pieces have the normal form, others have an elongated vowel sign $\delta$.

According to Vajracharya, this variety is characteristic of Period 4, although it does appear on GN.LXXX, an inscription dated Yr. 145 (AD 721). If our classification is correct, the issue of Gunanka coins extended from about AD 630–42, so the use of this letter form on coins seems to predate its use on stone inscriptions by nearly a century.

‘Gu’—two varieties of the ‘u’ vowel are found on the Gunanka coins—$\nu$ and $\omega$, the latter variety being found only on a single variety, no. 82a. The more common form is the earlier version and is found on most of the inscriptions of the seventh century, although GN.LXII, an inscription of Vishnu Gupta dated Yr. 65 (AD 641), has the later form.

\(^{49}\) R. Gnoli, op. cit. in n. 2, conveniently illustrated with a rubbing all the inscriptions he was able to locate, and D. R. Regmi, op. cit. in n. 2, has fine photographs of many inscriptions.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

'Su'—two versions of the 'u' vowel are found for this letter in the 'Pasupati' series. The earlier form ऐ is normal, but the late form ग is found on the variety of Type G.4 with a large trident nos. 120–2. The earliest inscription we have found with this vowel form in the word 'Pasupati' is GN.LXXIII, dated Yr. 103 (AD 679), although it is normal on later inscriptions.

'Sa'—the two different types with the inscription 'Vṛsa', have different types of script. The larger variety, Type F, has 'Sa' written ॐ, whereas the small Type H has औ. Strangely, the later coin type has the earlier letter form, although both versions are found on the seventh century inscriptions. The earliest inscription with the later form that we have noticed is GN.LIX, (undated but with Jishnu Gupta's name AD 624–33), whereas the earlier version is found on GN.LXVII (dated Yr. 69, AD 645). If our dating of the coins is correct, this early form was being used about 40 years after it disappeared from the inscriptions.

'Va'—two varieties are found. A pear-shaped letter on Type C व, which is the normal form on the inscriptions up to the early seventh century, and a square-backed form व, on Type H, the form found on the later inscriptions.

'Vṛ'—the above types also have different forms of letter 'Vṛ'—the Type F has व, the form found on all inscriptions of which we are aware. Type H has व, with the 'r' extending to the left of the 'V', a form we have not noted elsewhere.

LETTER FORMS APPEARING ON COINS

| ka | क (B,C) | ma | म (B,C) |
| nka | ङ (A,E) | mā | म (A), म (A) |
| gi | घ (A) | rma | र (B) |
| gu | ग (D,E) | ra | र (B) |
| ja | ज (B) | va | व (B), य (H) |
| jā | ज (B) | vai | व (C) |
| ji | झ (D) | vr | व्र (F), य (H) |
| ti | ठ (G) | si | श (H) |
| tih | ठ (G) | soh | श (B) |
| ṇa | इ (A) | su | शु (B,G) य (G) |
| ṇah | इ (C) | śra | स्र (C) |
| ṇā | आ (E) | śrī | स्री (A,E) य (E) |
| de | द (B,C) | śrīma | स्रीम (B) |
| dhi | ध (B) | ṣa | ष (F), ष (H) |
| na | न (A) | ṣnu | ष (D) |
| ni | न (A) | sya | ष (B,D) |
| pa | प (G) | ha | ह (B) |
| pta | प (D) | hī | ह (B,C) |
| bho | भ (A) |
CHAPTER II

THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

C.AD 750–1540

It is a curious fact that, from the early eighth century until the mid-sixteenth century very few coins are known from Nepal. This is particularly surprising in view of the number of references in contemporary documents to amounts of money and even to the striking of coins, but the lack of coins is probably due to the relative lack of trading contact between Nepal and its neighbours during this period.

The coinage of mediaeval Nepal was first discussed in 1976,¹ and some new numismatic material has been discovered since then. In addition, the history has been ably reassessed by Petech,² whose work throws additional light on the documentary evidence of coinage.

The coins that we believe can be attributed to this period are:

**GOLD SIVAKA**

168. *Obv.* Large letter 'Śrī'.
   *Rev.* Legend in two lines, 'Śiva/sya'.
   BM(0.94, 0.91*, 0.91, 0.88, 0.88), V(0.89, 0.90), R(0.92, 0.88, 0.85), G(0.90, 0.89), ANS(0.90)

169. As last, but symbol '7' to l. of 'sya' on *rev.* H(*)

**SILVER DAM**

170. *Obv.* Large letter 'Śrī'.
   *Rev.* Winged lion seated facing r.
   BM(0.46), V(0.44, 0.43, 0.41, 0.40, 0.38, 0.37, 0.37, 0.36, 0.36, 0.35, 0.32), R(0.46, 0.45, 0.44 x 2, 0.43 x 2, 0.42 x 3, 0.41 x 3, 0.40 x 4, 0.39 x 3, 0.38, 0.37, 0.36, 0.34), G(0.41*, 0.41). Ash(0.41)

One coin, apparently made of copper, weighing about 1 g and said to be uniface showing only the letter 'Śrī', was excavated in Kathmandu in 1965. While we cannot be certain, we believe that this piece is probably a worn, and perhaps debased example of the above coin.³

171. As last, but small sword inside letter 'Śrī' on *obv.*
   H(0.44), R(0.33*)

This relatively scarce variety appears to be struck in a base silver alloy, probably after no. 170, as no specimens were found in a hoard, discovered in the late 1960s, from which many of the known specimens of the type derived.

**COPPER COINS**

172. *Obv.* Legend in one line 'Śrī Deva-', ornamental scrollwork design above and below.
   *Rev.* As *obv.*, but legend 'yadasya'.
   R(4.0), V(4.10), G(4.55). H(4.0*, 4.0)

173. Rectangular flan. *Obv.* Sword with garland. 'Śrī Śrī' above l. and r. Floral design below.
   *Rev.* Ornamental trident. V(1.99). N(2.3*)

³ S. B. Deb, *Archaeological Excavations in Kathmandu: 1965* (Kathmandu, 1968), p. 12 and pl. XVI, no. 5. Unfortunately the coin was apparently destroyed in the Singha Durbar fire, so we have been unable to check the details recorded by Mr Deb.
The first references to sums of money in any Nepalese documents after the early eighth century are in a series of palm-leaf manuscripts recording the sale or rent of land, and dated from AD 983 onwards. Many of these documents record sums of money in terms of 'pana', 'purana' and 'pana-purana' (the latter often abbreviated to 'panapu') during the period AD 983–1074, the identical terms that had been used four centuries before during the Lichhavi period. Thereafter, only two isolated examples of the use of these denominations occur in these documents; in AD 1119 and AD 1141. It seems, therefore, that the Lichhavi currency system was still in use in the eleventh century, but it is not certain whether the old copper coins were still circulating, or whether the denominations were an accepted unit of account at this period.

Around the year AD 1100 a new currency system was introduced into Nepal. The early Nepalese chronicles state that King Sivadeva (c. AD 1098–1126) struck a silver ‘dam’ with his own image and that of a lion, and gold coins called ‘sivaka’ with the legend ‘Śrī Śivasya’. This description tallies almost exactly with the coins described as nos. 168–71 above.

While the inscription ‘Śivasya’ probably indicates that the gold ‘Sivaka’ was issued by Sivadeva, the image of the lion does not seem to refer to this ruler. There was, however, ruling in the Valley at this time, a king called Simhadeva, known from inscriptions covering the period AD 1105–22. This period falls fully within the reign of King Sivadeva, and it is tempting to assume that the lion design was used by King Simhadeva as a rebus for his name. Petech has used the evidence of the coin designs to support a theory that Sivadeva and Simhadeva were alternative names for the one king. While this is possible, we would point out that, although the obverse design of the gold and silver coins is identical, being a large letter ‘śrī’, we have not found any die links between the two. There is, therefore, no conclusive evidence that the two denominations were struck in the same mint, and it is quite possible that they were struck in separate establishments by different kings.

It is very likely that the gold used had been brought to Nepal by Tibetan traders, while the silver, which is not mentioned by Milarepa as a commodity traded between Nepal and Tibet, may have been brought to Nepal by Indian traders. In this context it is interesting to note that the gold pieces have also been found in northern India, but none of the silver pieces have been found outside the Valley.

4 cf. Petech op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 197–200. The documents were published by H. Sakya Śrī-Rudravaramahavihara sthita talapatra-abhilekhā. (Lalitpur, 2037 VS, AD 1980). It may not be coincidence that the appearance of these documents coincides with the restoration of Buddhism in Tibet, which is reputed to have taken place in AD 978, and with the traditional date for the founding of Kathmandu during the reign of Gunakamadeva (AD 980–998).

5 Petech, op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 198–9, quoting an early Vamsavali written c. AD 1349.

6 Petech, op. cit. p. 52.

7 In The Life of Milarepa (a new translation by Lob-sang P. Lhalungpa) (New York, 1977), p. 14, it is noted: that Milarepa’s grandfather, who lived in the first half of the eleventh century, travelled in the winter ‘to do business in the south in Nepal; in the summer he went among herdsmen of the north. . . . In this way he became very wealthy.’ Further details are given in this biography of the goods traded between Nepal and Tibet at this period.

8 Because of their discovery in the Champaran district, these gold coins were long thought to have been struck by King Sivasimha (c. 1410–6) of Mithila, and were only attributed to Nepal by Rhodes and Valdettaro, op. cit. in n. 1.
The contemporary documents and inscriptions record the use of this new currency, although it is disturbing to note that the earliest mention of the 'Sivaka' is in a colophon apparently dated AD 1090, during the reign of Sivadeva's predecessor Harsadeva (c.AD 1085–98). The implications of this reference are uncertain; perhaps we can expect earlier gold coins, or perhaps the date on the colophon was wrongly read or wrongly written. A reference to the 'damma' first occurs in AD 1119, when the crown prince Mahendradeva built a tank, and paid his labourers one damma per day. Also, farmers who used to pay half a damma per day to draw water, were now charged one damma, the increase presumably being demanded to finance the building of the tank. It is, however, curious that the land documents virtually ignore the new currency and refer to delivery of produce, with only a single mention of the 'damma' in AD 1174. Perhaps, now that coins had been reintroduced into the economy, these legal documents had to record the actual method of settling the sum due, rather than merely expressing the amount in a unit of account.

During the thirteenth century Nepal suffered a series of disasters. Several famines were followed by earthquakes, and then by invasions by Muslims from Tirhut in northern India. The power of the royal family declined with the increasing influence of two rival families, the Bhonta family, which controlled the area around Banepa, east of the Valley, and the Tipura family which controlled Bhatgaon. After the death of Jayadeva, the last in his line, in AD 1258, these two families agreed to alternate rulers between them.

The next significant reference to currency occurs in the early Vamsavalis, where it is stated that 'Anantamalla (AD 1274–1308) issued dammas, in consequence of which the people suffered'. The story is not repeated in the later chronicles, but is likely to be reliable, as the chronicles were written only about forty years after the actual event. No mention is made as to why the people suffered, but it may be that a debased coinage caused inflation. References to sums of money soon after this period use a similar term 'dramma'. For example in AD 1300 taxes were levied of '6 dramma per ropani of land and 4 dramma per house'. In AD 1346 a statement that 'with the currency of Bhonta (probably = Banepa) a dramma did not fetch 4 manas of rice' seems to indicate that, at this time, Banepa had a different currency from other parts of the Valley.

Soon after this, in the Pimtha Bahal inscription of AD 1359, the coins are given slightly different names: 'nava-damma-sivaka' and 'dama'. The use of the word 'nava' (new) implies a currency reform, and presumably the king of the time, Jayarajadeva (AD 1347–61) had replaced the old dammas, perhaps those issued by Anantamalla that had 'caused the people to suffer', with new coins of his own. Thereafter, during the later fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

9 Petech, op. cit., p. 199.
10 The term 'damma', or 'dramma', harking back to the Greek drachma, has been found in many Indian inscriptions, but this is the very first use of the word in Nepal.
13 GR1, p. 144.
14 GR1, p. 165.
15 Petech, op. cit., p. 201.
several references to coins in terms of 'damma-pla' and 'damma-sivaka' are found, with the reference to 'nava' dropped. For example, in AD 1441 a manuscript was sold for '5 pla plus 2 dam of the damma-sivaka (currency); in figures 5 pla and 2 damma',\(^{16}\) and in AD 1511 a document refers to the sale of four ropanis of land for 13 damma-sivaka.\(^{17}\)

Finally copper coins are recorded by the later Vamsavalis as having been struck in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is recorded that Ratna Malla (AD 1482–1520) brought copper from Tamba Khani\(^ {18}\) and 'introduced pice (paisa) into the currency instead of Sukichas. The Dittha Naikya (overseer) employed in this work was Madhana, a Bhauddhacharya of Onkuli Bihar in Lalit-Patan'. The striking of coins was apparently continued by Amara Malla (c.AD 1530–4), and the chronicle very convincingly records the appointment of a new mint master: 'Raja Amara Malla called him (Abhayaraj) before him, and told him that as his (the Raja's) father had appointed Madhana, Abhayaraj's father, as Dittha Naikya, to superintend the making of pice, he now appointed him to the same post.\(^ {19}\)

The few other references to coinage yield little new information, but we summarize opposite, in tabular form, the denominations found in documents during the mediaeval period:

With so many references to sums of money, it is surprising that so few coins are known that can be dated to the period between AD 983 and AD 1550. As stated above, the small gold and silver coins, nos. 168–71, can be attributed with some confidence to the period c.AD 1098–1126. They are a compact series, with little variation in style, so it seems likely that their issue did not extend much beyond this period. The only other coins that can be attributed to the mediaeval period are the two rare copper types, nos. 172–3. No. 172 appears, stylistically, to be later than the gold and silver coins, and so may be one of the 'dammas' issued by Ananta Malla (AD 1274–1310) that caused the people to suffer, or it could be one of the 'dammas' of the 'new damma-sivaka currency' of AD 1359. Unfortunately the legend, which can be translated as 'Sri Deva, his (coin)' does not assist attribution. No. 173 is similar in style to the later Malla silver coins, at least as regards the use of the wreathed sword and the trident of Siva in the design. For that reason we believe that this piece is probably one of those issued by Ratna Malla or Amara Malla in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

It is hard to believe that this small number of coins, consisting of less than ten known specimens of only two different types, can possibly have formed the whole of the currency in circulation in Nepal for the period of over four hundred years from the mid-twelfth century until the mid-sixteenth century. Presumably, the mention of a sum of money in a document did not necessarily indicate the use of actual


\(^{18}\) cf. D. Wright, *History of Nepal* (Cambridge, 1877), p. 203. Tambakhani is located just outside the Valley, to the south west. It was visited by Kirkpatrick on his way from India to Kathmandu in 1793. He mentions that there had been many copper mines in the area, but that they were practically exhausted at the time of his visit. cf. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (London, 1811), p. 62.

\(^{19}\) D. Wright, op. cit. in n. 18, p. 205.
coins in every case. Perhaps unstamped lumps of copper circulated at times, so that we have not recognised them as dating from this period. In the case of the 'pla' (the 'pala' of India) a standard weight, perhaps of gold dust, may be referred to. It is possible that coins imported from the plains were used for part of the period, although we know of no examples of Indian coins of the period having been found in Nepal. The whole situation is very unclear, and we must await further documents and coins, preferably from excavations, before the full extent of the part played by coin in the economy of Nepal during the mediaeval period can be judged. Similar problems, of the non-existence of coins that are apparently mentioned in documents, occur in northern India, particularly in Bengal.

**TABLE. Denominations in mediaeval documents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Panapurana</th>
<th>Sivaka</th>
<th>Damma</th>
<th>Sivaka</th>
<th>Pla (as wt.?)</th>
<th>Pice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>983–1074</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1090</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>1119</td>
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CHAPTER III

THE MALLA DYNASTY
AD 1540–1768

1. INTRODUCTION

After about 800 years with virtually no coinage in Nepal, a dramatic change in the currency system took place during the sixteenth century, with large silver coins appearing for the first time. By then the Kathmandu Valley had been divided between the sons of Yaksha Malla after his death in AD 1482, and separate kingdoms were established in Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. This division was to last until the end of the Malla Dynasty in AD 1768. Outside the confines of the Valley several kingdoms had significant power, the most important being Dolakha in the east and Gorkha in the west.

The silver coins of the period of the Malla Dynasty can be divided into two main chronological groups:

Group a. Rare silver coins called ‘tankas’, often debased and struck to a weight standard of about 10 g. In addition there are minor denominations, mainly the dam or 1/128th tanka, but a few rare examples of 1/4, 1/32 and 1/512 tanka exist. The coins are often anonymous, but some have names of kings. The earliest were tankas struck by Indra Simha of Dolakha, who ruled about AD 1545, followed by Mahendra Malla of Kathmandu (AD 1560–74) and later kings of all three Valley kingdoms. The only dated coin in the group is probably also the last, a tanka dated NS 759 (= AD 1639) in the name of Siddhi Narasimha of Patan. Because so many coins of this period are anonymous and not yet attributable to any particular kingdom, we have listed them all together, grouped by type and denomination.

Group b. Silver coins struck after about AD 1640, when there was a major currency reform. The weight standard of the main silver coin was reduced to about 5.4 g; it was now called a ‘mohar’, and the name of the king and the date of issue were clearly displayed. The kings of each of the three Malla kingdoms struck coins, and they are so assigned in the catalogue.

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1 This, and all later Malla coins are dated in the Newari Samvat era, which can be converted roughly into AD by the addition of 880 years. Several theories have been advanced about the origins of this era, but all that can be said is that it was probably due to some religious event connected with the national shrine of Pashuptinath. cf. L. Petech, Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750–1482), (Rome, 1984), p. 13.
2. FABRIC, DESIGN AND SYMBOLISM

When compared with other coinages of the Indian subcontinent, the coins of the Malla dynasty are remarkable for their artistry and for the fine technical quality of the striking.

The earliest tankas of the Valley are usually copied from coins of the Muslim sultans of Delhi or Bengal, or at least designed with a view to their acceptance by a population used to handling the Muslim coins. Many of them have a design which is clearly derived from Arabic script but either unintentionally altered because the designer could not copy the Arabic correctly, or else deliberately distorted to leave no doubt that it should not be interpreted literally. In contrast to the coins of the Muslim dynasties, however, the Nepalese coins all have the design contained within a circle and an outer border of dots; in this way the legend is never made illegible by being partly off the flan, as is so often the case with Muslim coins.

Also in common with the Muslim coins, the Nepalese issues had no human images on the coins, which may seem surprising in view of the numerous images of gods, kings and ordinary people that appear in other forms of Nepalese art. This lack of overt imagery was probably designed to render the coins acceptable to the Muslim merchants of the plains, who would have been outraged by the thought of using a coin with an image in human form. However, this does not mean that there is no religious imagery on the coins. A distinctive feature of many Malla coins is the various geometric patterns which are artistically very attractive. They are not, however, purely for artistic effect; they are Hindu or Buddhist yantras. A yantra is a substitute for an anthropomorphic image of a deity, an image in a secret code that can only be interpreted by the initiated. In this typically pragmatic way the Nepalese were able to honour their deities on the coins, while not jeopardising the commercial success of the coins by offending potential users who professed other religious faiths. Not being among the initiated, we would not presume even to start attempting to interpret this religious symbolism, and we hope that some Nepalese scholar will consider undertaking this interesting task.

Apart from the yantras, the coins carry the names of deities in Newar script, and also images of various religious emblems. The most common are:

The Sword (Khadga), the emblem of sovereignty, usually shown with a garland or wreath of flowers over it.
The Trident (Trisula), the emblem of the god Siva, often depicted with streamers attached to the shaft.
The ‘Asta Mangala’, the eight Buddhist lucky emblems, consisting of:
  The two golden fish
  The umbrella of sovereignty
  The conch shell
  The endless knot
The banner of victory
The vase of holy water
The lotus flower
The wheel of the law

These symbols occur either together, often in the eight petals of a lotus flower yantra, or else either individually or in conjunction with other symbols such as the mace, the discus of Vishnu, the bow and arrow, the vase with tall stupa-like cover, the double-drum, the sun and the moon, the vajra or thunderbolt symbol, the elephant goad, the yak-tail fly-whisk, and several others. Again we will not attempt to interpret the religious meanings behind these symbols, but merely point out that they show graphically how both the Hindu and Buddhist religions were embraced by the Newar people. For ease of reference, however, we list in Appendix 7 the names of the Hindu deities that appear on the coins, which shows how Kathmandu and Patan tended to honour different deities.

3. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES FOR COINAGE IN THE MALLA PERIOD

During the Malla period, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, there are many contemporary documents that record the use of coins. Some information can be derived from letters sent by the few European visitors to Nepal, but a study of Nepalese records, such as the palm-leaf scrolls recording land grants, yields much insight into the currency system. We have had only limited access to such documents, but although our analysis is far from comprehensive, we feel that it is worthwhile recording our conclusions.

As mentioned in the last chapter, during the early sixteenth century, Ratna Malla and Amara Malla apparently struck copper pice, but no record of such copper coins has been noted in contemporary documents. After the accession of Mahendra Malla about AD 1560 the first mention of a specific sum of money occurs in a palm-leaf land-grant dated NS 688 (AD 1568), where the simple term ‘tanka’ is used.3 This word was commonly used in northern India for the large sized silver coins weighing about 10.8 g, and hence its use in a Nepalese document proves that coins of this denomination were in common circulation at the time, and strongly indicates that Mahendra Malla had started striking his famous silver coins by this date. The same term is also found in a document dated NS 711 (AD 1591).4 Two slightly later palm-leaf land grants in the name of Siddhi Narasimha of Patan, dated NS 746 and 751 (AD 1626 and 1631), use a term ‘Dam Tanka’, presumably also referring to similar large silver coins.5

Other palm-leaf manuscripts of this same king (dated NS 740, 751, 752, 753, 755, 780 and 781)6 apparently use the term ‘Mohora Tanka’. This is rather unexpected,
as the silver coin of Siddhi Narasimha dated NS 759 is struck to the heavy standard of c.10.5 g, whereas the coin dated NS 761 is struck to the much lighter standard of c.5.5 g, and a change in nomenclature might have been expected in the documents, unless the two sizes of coin circulated at the same value. In view of the debased nature of some of the heavy ‘tanka’ coins, this is, of course, a possibility.

In Kathmandu, official documents tended to use very specific names for coins after the mid-seventeenth century. One undated inscription of Lakshmi Narasimha uses the term ‘tanka’,7 but thereafter it was usual to describe the coins in greater detail. Some inscriptions of Pratap Malla give sums of money in ‘Kavindramalli Tanka’, presumably referring to the coin with the inscription incorporating the word ‘Kavindra’, meaning ‘King of Poets’, and dated NS 775. Inscriptions with this term are known dated NS 775, 782 and 796.8 The first of these also refers to ‘Dam Tanka’, which may be a reference to the earlier coin type of Pratap Malla. Thereafter the documents of Kathmandu refer to ‘Bhupalendra Malli Tanka’, ‘Mahindra Simhi Tanka’, ‘Bhaskara Malli Tanka’, ‘Jagajjaya Malli Tanka’ and ‘Jayaparakash Malli Tanka’.9 In no case is more than one type of coin mentioned, and in every case the coin referred to is of the ruling king, except for the use of the term ‘Kavindramalli Tanka’ in NS 796, during the reign of Nripendra Malla. Whether this specific nomenclature has any significance is uncertain, but perhaps the payments referred to had to be made in new coin.

Another term found in a document from Kathmandu (dated AD 1747 and recording the installation of Jyoti Prakash Malla),10 is ‘Chyasing Mohar’, referring in the Newari language to the eight-petalled design. The same term is also found in a document of Prithvi Narayan dated AD 1769.11 The name probably refers generally to the debased coins that were struck in Kathmandu during the mid-eighteenth century, which were all of the same general type, with eight petals on each side.

The later Malla rulers of Patan seem to have used the term ‘Mohora Tanka’ consistently for the standard silver coin in their legal documents, although this coin was colloquially called a ‘mohar’ (pronounced ‘more’). Why was there this difference in practice between Kathmandu and Patan, with the latter using the single unspecific term ‘mohora tanka’? We have studied very few documents of the period, and a more extensive study may provide an explanation.

Unfortunately very few documents from Bhatgaon referring to coins have been published. One of King Bhupatindra Malla dated NS 829 mentions ‘Mohola Tanka’ in full in one place, and in an abbreviated form as ‘Motam’ in another.12 This same abbreviated form appears in a document of Ranajit Malla dated NS 854,13 and an even shorter abbreviation ‘Mo’ appears in NS 843.14 However, the documents we

7 Mohan Prasad Khanal, Nepalka Kehi Mallakalin Abhilekh (Kathmandu, 2029VS), pp. 22.
10 Nayaraj Pant and others. Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahako Upadesh (Patan, n.d.), p. 1178.
12 Abhilekh Sangraha, pt. 7, p. 31.
13 Abhilekh Sangraha, pt. 7, p. 34.
14 Abhilekh Sangraha, pt. 7, p. 32.
have seen represent too small a sample to say whether or not these abbreviated forms were more prevalent in Bhatgaon than in the other kingdoms.

For smaller denominations the only terms we have found in the documents are 'Suki', for the quarter mohar, and 'dam' for the 1/128th mohar. One document has a denomination written as 'mohora tanka 114, suki 2, dam 10', showing that there were no specific names for the intermediate denominations. These two denominations were struck in fairly large numbers, while other fractions of the mohar are rarely found. The earliest use of the word suki known to us occurs in NS 789 (AD 1669) in Patan, and later references are available from all three kingdoms. When the sum of money does not involve any full mohars the denomination is expressed as 'Mohora Suki'.

The smaller denomination 'dam', is found written as 'Damma' (्र8), in an inscription of Pratap Malla of Kathmandu dated NS 775, 'Dam' (덥) in the Patan document of NS 806, and 'Dam' (ర8) in the Bhatgaon inscriptions of NS 829, 843 and 854. Apart from these documentary sources giving the official names of the coins, the Italian missionaries who visited Nepal during the eighteenth century described the currency system with the names that were used colloquially by the ordinary people. The earliest such account that we are aware of is a letter from P. Giuseppe di Ascoli, written in February 1707:

'Arrived in Setly (Sindhuli Garhi) . . . which is in the jurisdiction of the Raja of Nepal. The coinage that circulates, both the large and the small, is all of silver, of which the smallest, each of which is worth ten cowries, is called Dam. The rupees of the Moghul circulate up to Nepal, and each of these can be exchanged for two of the country, which they call Mandarmely, and if the Moghul rupee is of correct weight they add on a few Dams. The Moghul rupee exchanges for 240 Dam, and the Mandarmely for a half, or 120 Dam.'

Another interesting account of the Nepalese coinage during the Malla period is given by P. Costantino da Loro in a letter dated 12th May 1740:

'... this sort of money, that is the Rupee and the Cowrie, circulate throughout the Kingdom of Bengal. The Paisa only circulates in the Kingdom of Bihar, and 50 cowries make a Paisa. Here then there begins to circulate a different currency, with the above mentioned, apart from the Rupee, no longer valid. The currency consists of Mandarmeli, Dams and Java, all coins of silver. The Mandarmeli is worth 2 Paoli Romani; 120 Dams make a Mandarmeli. 4 Java make a Dam; and thus the Dam and the Java are very tiny coins. There is also the Suki, a coin of pure silver, 4 of which make a Mandarmeli, and 30 Dam make a Suki. This type of currency circulates throughout the Kingdom of Nepal.'

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13 Palm-leaf land grant dated 806 NS (AD 1686); N. G. Rhodes collection.
14 Palm-leaf land grant of Srinivasa Malla; N. G. Rhodes collection.
15 The reference to 'mohura suka' in a Patan inscription of 798 NS (Abhilekh Sangraha, pt. 6, p. 15) which J. C. Regmi took to refer to a quarter-mohar (Malla Coins, p. 83), must refer to a quarter-mohar, since the inscription reads 'mohora suka 2': surely 2 half-mohars would have been written as 1 mohar.
16 Palm-leaf land grant dated 806 NS (AD 1686); N. G. Rhodes collection.
17 cf. n. 15 above.
18 cf. n. 12 above.
19 cf. n. 13 above.
20 cf. n. 14 above.
23 Earlier in the same letter the writer mentions that the Indian rupee was equivalent to 4 paoli romani, implying a ratio of 2 mandarmeli to 1 rupee.
These accounts are very important, as they show a further denomination, the jawa, not yet found in the official documents, but specimens of which survive as the smallest coins in the world.\(^{25}\) They also show that the dam, although in theory 128 to the mohar, tended to circulate at a small premium.\(^{26}\) Also the term mandarmeli (mahendramalli) was used colloquially in preference to ‘mohar’ or ‘tankà’, and this was before the eighteenth century King Mahendras ascended the thrones of Patan or Kathmandu. This proves that the term derives from the Mahendra Malla who was the first Malla king to strike silver coins in Kathmandu, and later came to be applied colloquially to silver mohars in general.\(^{27}\) The term is used in a few Nepalese documents of the period, such as a letter of Prithvi Narayan dated AD 1757, which refers to ‘Mahendramalli Bhatgaonka 1495’ (1495 Mahendramalli of Bhatgaon).\(^{28}\) The term mandarmeli, or mahindramali, was also used after the Gorkha conquest of Nepal. In a letter dated AD 1769\(^{29}\) Prithvi Narayan refers in a letter to ‘Hamra Mahindramali’ (Our mahindramali) which probably refers to the mohars struck by Prithvi Narayan himself.

It is also interesting to note that the Malla coins, although highly debased by AD 1740, still circulated at full value. However, the fact that the suki was mentioned separately by Costantino da Loro, and said to be of fine silver, does indicate that this denomination did not circulate so widely; presumably Gresham’s Law was applying, with the ‘bad’ mohars driving out the ‘good’ sukis.\(^{30}\)

As regards the exchange rate between Indian rupees and Nepalese mohars, the value is consistently 2 mohars to the rupee up to at least AD 1740, as recorded by P. Costantino da Loro. It is only in a Gorkha document dated AD 1767, i.e. the year before the final conquest of the Valley, that a devaluation is noted, with 4 Malla coins then equivalent to the ‘Shahi’,\(^{31}\) which presumably means a rupee.\(^{32}\) This rate also applied in AD 1769 for the Chyasing Mohar, as mentioned above. Soon after his conquest of the Valley in AD 1768, Prithvi Narayan seems to have

\(^{25}\) cf. N. G. Rhodes, ‘The smallest coins in the world’, N. Circ. (March, 1973), p. 100. No modern Nepalese authors mention the existence of the ‘jawa’ as a coin. Some authorities note that it was a Newar measure of length, but doubt that it was ever the name of a coin (e.g. L. Petech, I Missionari . . . , pt. IV, p. 235), mainly because they could not imagine a coin so small. However, the coin does exist and there is no reason to doubt the name given to it by P. Costantino da Loro.

\(^{26}\) Although in theory the exchange rate should have been 128 dams per mohar, it is possible that the money changers made their profit by deducting a percentage when changing mohars into dams. Also, the factor of 120 (12 \times 10) may have been used in practice for some small transactions the accounting would have been simplified, and the profit-loss negligible. By 1793 a factor of 144 (12 \times 12) was noted by Kirkpatrick (op. cit., p. 217), which would have had similar practical advantages. However, the mathematically simplified factors probably did not apply when large numbers of dams changed hands, since the metal box in Vienna (cf. n. 34 below) contained 96 dams, which would have been exactly 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) mohar at the full rate of 128 dams to the mohar.

\(^{27}\) This disproves the assertion of Baburam Acharya (Prithvi Narayan Shah, pt. 4, p. 693) that the expression ‘Mahindra Malli’ derives from the coins issued by Mahendra Malla, King of Patan, which are dated NS 829 (AD 1709). This and the following two references are taken from Dr Jagdish Chandra Regmi, ‘Malla Coins’, Nepal-Antiquity, nos. XLVI-L (Sept. 1982), pp. 79–80.

\(^{28}\) Baburam Acharya, op. cit., p. 693.

\(^{29}\) Baburam Acharya, op. cit., p. 673.

\(^{30}\) The evidence of the coins themselves shows that the sukis were just as debased as the mohars. It was only the other minor denominations, struck primarily for ceremonial use, that were still struck in fine silver during the period of debasement.


\(^{32}\) This may refer to one of the Moghul rupees of the plains, or to two of Prithvi Narayan’s fine silver mohars. Prithvi Narayan did not strike full rupee coins himself until 1693 S (AD 1771).
withdrawn the old Malla coins from circulation, so that Hamilton, who visited in AD 1802/3, could not obtain any coins of the Malla dynasty.33 However, although some pieces were probably recalled into the mint at the lower value and then refined and restruck by Prithvi Narayan, many Newar families preferred to retain the old coins, rather than suffer the loss. They made many coins, both small and large, into jewellery, and perhaps they expected to use some of them in future trading with Tibetans. In addition they retained some coins for religious reasons. It is only in recent years, that the Malla coins have resurfaced, attracted out of store by the relatively high price paid by collectors.

No coin hoards deposited during the Malla period have been recorded, and so we cannot tell to what extent the coins of the three Malla kingdoms circulated in each other’s territories. The only group of coins we have noted that were probably taken straight from circulation during the Malla period, and have remained intact since, are the contents of a small metal box in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,34 illustrated below:

The box contains 96 dams and 1 jawa, as follows:

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<td>Bhupalendra Malla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhaskara Malla</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahindra Malla</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>Jagajyay Malla</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Jaya Prakash Malla (First reign - no. 337)</td>
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34 Our thanks to Wolfgang Bertsch for bringing this 'hoard' to our attention, for recording its contents, and for obtaining the photograph.
The contents of this little box are a random selection of 92 dams of Kathmandu struck over the period AD 1687–1745, together with only 4 dams from Bhatgaon and none from Patan. This indicates that the box was collected in Kathmandu, and that the dams circulating there at that time were mainly, but not exclusively, struck by the kings of Kathmandu. We do not know whether the same rule can be applied to larger denomination coins.

In contrast to the silver coins, Malla gold coins are of the highest rarity. The genuine coins known to us consist only of a full range of denominations of Jayaprapaksh Malla of Kathmandu dated NS 873 (AD 1753), and a few isolated gold dams, namely, one anonymous early seventeenth century piece, one of Indra Malla (AD 1706–9) of Patan, and one of Ranajit Malla (AD 1722–69) of Bhatgaon. In all cases, except for the seventeenth century dam, these gold coins are struck with the same dies as the more common silver coins, so that production must have been very limited, presumably for some form of ceremonial purpose, rather than a monetary one. The most likely reason why Jaya Prakash was able to strike gold coins is that he probably exchanged gold from Tibet for silver from India. The fact that almost all the gold coins of Jayaprapaksh Malla that we have seen have been in Europe for many years suggests that the bulk of the production was exported to India at the time in exchange for silver, which was then used, partly to be exported to Tibet, and partly to finance the war effort.

Apart from these specimens of gold coins, some Malla documents refer to gold coins in use. One manuscript dated NS 750 (AD 1630) refers to a gift to Raja Lakshmanarasimha of Kathmandu of ‘mohor tanka 60 lumohortanka 2’, which Hemraj Shakya translates as ‘60 rupees and 2 gold coins’. Several other documents refer to ‘Suvarna mulya’, which could be translated as ‘gold coins’, for instance ‘... suvarna mulya panchasashtato Kavindramallitanka 75’, but the meaning of this passage is not completely clear to us. It may refer to ‘(the value of) 75 gold coins, to be paid in Kavindramalli tankas’, or perhaps to ‘(the value of) 75 Kavindramalli tankas, payable in gold’. Alternatively, it may merely mean that the sum of 75 Kavindramallitanka was to be paid in coin as valuable as gold, and so not indicate that gold coins were used for the transaction in any way. Whatever the meaning, we believe that gold coins played only a minor role in Nepalese currency during the Malla period.

35 Several forgeries of gold coins of the Malla period are known. See p. 209.
36 Part of a correspondence has survived, showing that Prithvi Narayan tried to negotiate just such an exchange of silver from India for gold from Tibet in about AD 1756. Cf. Documents quoted by Nayyaraj Pant et al., Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahko Upadeh (Patan, n.d.), translated in Regmi Research Series, 1971, pp. 244 ff.
37 Other reasons for the existence of these gold coins have been suggested. For example, D. W. MacDowall suggested that they may have been issued to pay troops at a time when silver was unobtainable. Cf. NC 1957, pp. 223–4.
4. METROLOGY

The standard of the silver used for striking the coins during the later Malla period has been noted as variable by many authors, although no scientific analyses have been published. The detailed results of our analysis of the weight and fineness of Malla silver coins are contained in Appendices 3 and 4, but it is worth summarising the conclusions here.

To begin with the tanka coins were struck in fine silver with a weight standard about 10.3 g. Many of the later tankas are debased, with some containing no silver at all. Similarly, the weight standard was reduced rather erratically, with weights of individual specimens ranging as low as 8 g. After AD 1640 a good standard of silver was adopted, and until about AD 1728 averaged about 95 per cent or better. After AD 1728 the fineness reduced slightly to 92.5 per cent, but about AD 1735 all the Malla silver coins were dramatically debased to about 67 per cent fine (i.e. 2 parts silver to one part copper/brass). The fineness deteriorated even further in the late AD 1740s to about 50 per cent (i.e. equal parts silver and copper/brass), and this debased standard continued until about AD 1753. After AD 1753, all coins struck in the Valley once again reverted to about 95 per cent fine.

In contrast to the silver content, the weight standard adopted for the mohars after AD 1640 never changed from about 5.4 g. The earliest mohars struck in Kathmandu show a wide variation from about 3.9 g to 5.6 g, without any discernible bunching, but this may have been due to initial technical difficulties in striking coins to a constant weight standard. Thereafter, a standard of 5.4 g was very closely adhered to, with only occasional issues differing significantly. For example, during the period of greatest debasement, from AD 1745-53, a weight standard of 5.25-5.3 g was used in all three Valley kingdoms.

In general, at any particular time, the coins of the three kingdoms seem to have used the same alloy. Indeed, the assumption that this must have been the case, allows a more accurate dating of certain issues of Patan, where the coins were merely dated to the year of accession of the king. As regards weight, there was some variation between the kingdoms. For instance the coins of Jitamitra Malla of Bhatgaon are particularly heavy, which may account for their rarity, and Patan coins around AD 1700 seem very slightly lighter than the coins of the other kingdoms, but by no more than 1 or 2 per cent on average.

Before the discussing the coins themselves in detail, let us consider the economic and historical background to their issue.

5. THE ECONOMY OF NORTHERN INDIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The sixteenth century was a time of great political and economic change in northern India, consequent upon the arrival of the Moghuls and their imposition of a single rule over the area, and the growth of international trade through European traders who brought, among other things, silver mined in the New World.
These factors had a dramatic effect on the coinage of northern India. Very few silver coins had been struck during the fifteenth century, except in Bengal. By contrast, silver rupees were struck in large numbers during the reigns of the Afghan sultans of Delhi, Sher Shah (AD 1538–45) and Islam Shah (AD 1545–52), and during the reign of the Moghul Emperor Akbar (AD 1556–1605). Also during the sixteenth century several northern Indian states introduced silver coinages of their own.

Some of these new coinages were issued by the Hindu states surrounding Bengal, and it is interesting to see that the amount of coin issued in Bengal during the period of Akbar’s rule seems to have been rather less than that struck during the rule of the Sultans. There are several reasons why silver may have been in short supply in Bengal at that time. First and foremost, taxes were payable to the Moghul emperor in silver. In addition, Bengal seems to have had a balance of payments deficit which meant that silver was used to purchase goods imported into Bengal, and hence must have travelled along the trade routes of the time, enabling the neighbouring states to strike silver coins. It is therefore instructive to see how and why the silver reached the new mints.

One significant factor was the development of organised trans-Himalayan trade. In Tibet, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were periods of peace, with much of the economic power in the hands of the monasteries. The monasteries had, for many years, been sending ‘tribute’ missions to China, which were purely trading ventures on the part of the Tibetans. The ‘tribute’ consisted of products of Tibet, such as salt, gold dust, wool and musk, and the Tibetans returned laden with quantities of silk, tea and porcelain of much greater value. During the early sixteenth century this trade route to the east became rather dangerous with political disturbances in western China, and the Ming Shih states that from the time of the Shih-tung Emperor (AD 1522–66) ‘Tibetan lamas rarely went to China’. The Tibetans then began to exchange their surplus goods for grain and silver from Bengal.

Cooch Behar, a small Hindu state in the plains north of Bengal, close to the river Torsa which provides an easy route through Bhutan to Tibet, began issuing silver coins on a large scale during the reign of Nara Narayan (AD 1555–87). The English adventurer Ralph Fitch records the trade with Tibet that passed through Cooch Behar during the time of his visit in AD 1583, and this trade must have been on a large scale, judging by the number of surviving coins.

6. THE KINGDOM OF DOLAKHA

The first state to strike large silver coins in Nepal was the little kingdom of Dolakha, situated in the valley of the Tamba Kosi, about 50 miles east of the Kathmandu

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40 Cooch Behar, Jaintiapur and Kachar struck coins for the first time in the sixteenth century, and Tripura increased the output of its mint substantially at that time.


Valley. The Kosi valley provided an easy trade route up to the Tibetan plateau, and this was certainly the reason for its prosperity. During the reign of Yaksha Malla (AD 1428–82) in the Kathmandu Valley, Dolakha was ruled by feudatories, but some time after his death, the kingdom declared its independence. This independence was to last for about a century, and ceased when Dolakha was conquered by the Malla kings of Kathmandu about AD 1600.44

In the mid-sixteenth century Jaya Indra Simha, the King of Dolakha, struck fine silver tankas. Although the coins are undated, their period of issue can be determined, since two inscriptions of this king have survived, dated AD 1545 and AD 1547, and inscriptions giving the names of other kings dated AD 1534 and AD 1549 suggest bounds for Jaya Indra Simha’s reign. Very few of these tankas have survived, although the fact that the six known specimens are struck from six different obverse dies and four different reverse dies, indicates that the issue was on a reasonably large scale. Certainly it cannot have been purely ceremonial in nature. One inscription in Dolakha dated AD 1599 records a sum of money in ‘Obha Tanka’ (silver tankas), which may refer to the coins of Dolakha, or to the contemporary coins of the Malla kings of the Valley.45

7. MAHENDRA MALLA ISSUES SILVER COINS IN KATHMANDU

The most significant numismatic event to take place in the sixteenth century in the Valley of Nepal, was the striking of fine silver tankas, proudly proclaiming the name of Mahendra Malla (AD 1560–74). These large silver coins are of the greatest rarity,46 and their issue was remembered in local folklore; for over 200 years, Nepalese silver coins were known colloquially as ‘Mahendramalli’. Presumably Mahendra Malla struck the coins using silver acquired as the result of some trade between India and Tibet, albeit short-lived and on a small scale.47 As for the date of their introduction, the first use of the denomination ‘tanka’ occurs in a land grant dated AD 1566.48 This implies that Mahendra Malla struck his silver coins relatively early in his reign, and the absence of references to the ‘tanka’ in earlier documents indicates that the silver coins issued by the Muslim rulers of the plains were not fully integrated into the Nepalese currency system prior to this date.

The account of the event given in the local chronicles throws an interesting perspective on the historical and economic situation at the time:

‘He sent a present of wild fowl and hawks to the Great Mughal at Delhi and obtained permission from him to coin Mahendramalli’49.

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46 In later years, all Malla silver mohars were colloquially known as ‘Mahendramalli’, recalling the name of the king who first struck such coins in Kathmandu.
Walsh,\textsuperscript{50} following Wright,\textsuperscript{51} says that Mahendra Malla actually went to Delhi with his gifts, but this seems to be an incorrect translation. The tradition emphasises the fact, however, that the striking of coin was a jealously guarded privilege, and the kings of states such as Nepal, were rather afraid to issue coin without due permission of their powerful neighbour, in case they incurred his displeasure.\textsuperscript{52} The period around AD 1560 was, however, a time of political unrest in northern India, when Akbar was trying to consolidate his hold over Delhi, let alone the rest of India. He is unlikely to have noticed that a Himalayan state such as Nepal had started issuing coins.\textsuperscript{53} It is worth noting, however, that Akbar did take an interest in the hill states of the Himalayas, and the possible revenue that could be derived from them, and the following charming story has been recorded regarding Garhwal:

'It is said that when the great Akbar had, by the vigour of his government, and the dread of his name, forced even several of the hill chiefs to do him homage, and become his tributaries, he called on the Raja of Srinagar to bring the papers and documents relative to his revenue, and a chart or description of his country, which was promised. Accordingly, on the next day of audience, after having displayed the documents relative to his revenue, he brought to view a very lean camel, assuring the Shah that such was the best chart and description of his country: it was all sharp heights and hollows, up and down, and very poor. The Emperor smiled, and bid him remove the semblance of his country, assuring him, that from one so poor he had nothing to demand.'\textsuperscript{54}

**8. COPIES OF BENGALI TANKAS STRUCK IN NEPAL**

During the sixteenth century, and perhaps also earlier, silver coins from the plains of India must have reached Nepal in the course of trade. Both the tankas of 'Ala-ud-din Mahmud Shah Khilji (AD 1295–1315) of Delhi and of Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah (c. AD 1515–39) of Bengal were used as prototypes for the later Malla silver coins. Very few of these Indian silver coins survived the melting pot in Nepal,\textsuperscript{55} but some distinctive copies of Bengali tankas have been found in the Valley. These pieces are struck with a legend that is blundered at the point where the sultan’s name should be, but the prototype appears to be late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. They are found almost exclusively in Nepal,\textsuperscript{56} and usually have three distinctive countermarks, which are very like the shroff marks found on so many Bengal tankas of the period. To the Nepalese trader, unable to read the Arabic script, these copies would have been indistinguishable from the genuine Bengali

\textsuperscript{50} E. H. C. Walsh, op. cit., (1908), p. 684.

\textsuperscript{51} D. Wright, op. cit., p. 207.

\textsuperscript{52} A more colourful version of this story is given by S. B. Gnyawali in ‘Nepali Coins During The Mediaeval Period’ (Regmi Research Series, 1973, p. 94). He describes a painting showing Mahendra Malla playing dice with the daughter of a Muslim ruler, and says that ‘legend has it that Mahendra Malla had obtained permission from the Muslim ruler of Bengal to mint coins in his own name because he had greatly pleased the princess by playing dice’. Gnyawali observes that this story should not be taken literally.

\textsuperscript{53} It is very unlikely that Kirkpatrick and Walsh were correct in assuming that it was Mahendra Malla who entered into a formal treaty arrangement with Tibet regarding the supply of coins. cf. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 217–8 and Walsh, op. cit. (1908), pp. 688–9.


\textsuperscript{55} The only such piece the authors have noted is a worn tanka of Ilyas Shah of Delhi (1545–52), found by N. G. Rhodes among miscellaneous Nepalese coins in Patan in 1967.

tankas. Since they are found in Nepal, to the virtual exclusion of the genuine coins, we believe that they were made there for local circulation, and perhaps for occasional export to India, but whether they were struck officially or by an enterprising merchant is less certain. As to the period of issue, that is also uncertain. They may have been struck before the time of Mahendra Malla, who was the first Nepalese king to put his name on a fine silver coinage, but they could also have been struck later in the sixteenth century, before a regular silver coinage was established in Nepal. The existence of a specimen with a flattened reverse, similar to that found on certain early seventeenth century Nepalese tankas, suggests a relatively late date. Certainly, these anonymous pieces were either issued by a ruler afraid of offending the fierce Muslims of the plains, and who preferred to strike pieces that would be unrecognisable as his, or by an enterprising businessman who may have forged the coins for personal gain.

9. THE TANKA STANDARD COINS

After Mahendra Malla, and before the recoinage of AD 1640, the only large coins struck in the Valley were a series of silver coins with legends in blundered Arabic and weights based on, but slightly lighter than the tanka of the Sultans of Bengal. These coins are all very rare now, so much so that E. H. C. Walsh was not able to find a single example when he wrote his pioneering article. However, from the variety of types that have been discovered in recent years, it is clear that this rarity is more the effect of their withdrawal from circulation in AD 1640, than because they were struck in small numbers. Furthermore, since many of the coins are debased, they would not have been worth saving for their silver content.

The tankas come in two distinct designs:

1. 

Coins, as above, with a circular legend in crude Arabic, taken from part of the legend on a tanka of ‘Ala-ud-din Khilji of Delhi.

The above drawing of the prototype shows how the legend was copied from the central lines of the Delhi coin onto the circular design of the Nepalese coin. In particular the *ahu* legend of the Nepalese coin commences at the right hand end of the third line of the prototype, continuing up to the second
line and then to the start of the third line. The rev. starts at the middle of the bottom line and reads upwards to the end of the first line.

2.

Coins. as above. copied from a tanka of Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah III of Bengal.

The above drawing of the prototype. mounted upside down. shows how the design was inverted by the Nepalese artist.

As is obvious from the catalogue, most specimens of these tankas are anonymous, but a few have the names of kings of Kathmandu and Patan. Strangely, the three kings whose names appear on these coins issued coins of both the above types, showing that the two types were issued at the same time in both kingdoms. This is surprising, and makes us wonder whether the two types can have been struck for different purposes. Walsh suggested that. as engraved, the second of the above designs, which we shall call the ‘Ghiyas-ud-din’ type. could be interpreted as a representation of Tibetan seal-script, and one can go further and suggest that it could be interpreted as a view of the Potala. Was this design chosen to appeal to the Tibetans? Certainly such coins. although on the lighter mohar standard. continued to be struck by later Malla rulers. and were very popular in Tibet. It is possible, therefore. that coins of the ‘Ghiyas-ud-din’ type were intended for export to Tibet. while those of the first design. which we shall call the ‘Ala-ud-din’ type. were intended for local use in Nepal. One problem with this theory is that we are not aware of any examples of tankas of either design ever having been found in Tibet, but we can think of no other reason why the two designs should have been issued together.

In addition to the full tankas. some minor denominations are also known. struck to the same standard. Most of these are anonymous dams. weighing about 0.08 g. or 1/128th of the tanka, although a few regal dams are known. as are a few 1/4. 1/32 and 1/512th tankas.


59 It was around this time that Nepalese trading houses were established in Lhasa. D. Snellgrove and H. E. Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet (London. 1968). p. 201., suggested a date of around AD 1590. but they cannot now remember the source of this information. The later Vamsavalis say that these trading houses were established during the reign of Lakshminarasimha (AD 1619–41). cf. D. Wright. op. cit. p. 211.
10. DATING THE TANKA STANDARD COINS

A few of the tanka standard coins are in the names of the following kings, and must have been struck during their respective reigns:

Siva Simha, who ruled in Kathmandu (c. AD 1578–1619) and in Patan (c. AD 1598–1619)
Hariharasimha, who was installed by Siva Simha as Lord of Patan (c. AD 1600–09)
Lakshminarasimha of Kathmandu (c. AD 1619–1641)
Siddhinarasimha of Patan (c. AD 1619–1661). One of his tankas is dated AD 1639, the only piece with a date.
Jagajjotir Malla of Bhatgaon (c. AD 1613–37)

The majority of the coins, on the other hand, are anonymous and are more difficult to date. No die-links have been discovered between an anonymous coin and a regal coin, but there is a close similarity in style between some of the anonymous coins of the ‘Ala-ud-din’ type, and Lakshminarasimha coins of the same type. Other parallels can be drawn between various types and these are pointed out in the catalogue. The conclusion is that the anonymous coins were probably struck by the same kings who occasionally struck coins in their own names. The only reason for the anonymity that we can suggest is that the coins were intended to circulate throughout the Valley and beyond; if the name of a king of Kathmandu was on a coin, that might have reduced its acceptability in the other kingdoms.

A further indication as to when these tankas might have been struck can be gained from looking at the situation in Cooch Behar during the years around AD 1600. Between AD 1555 and about AD 1600 large numbers of silver coins were struck there, and the bulk of the trade between Bengal and Tibet passed through Cooch Behar. However, around AD 1603, Cooch Behar was invaded by a Moghul force and, according to the local chronicles, Lakshmi Narayan was specifically forbidden to strike coins of full rupee size. Very few coins were struck in Cooch Behar from c. AD 1603 until at least AD 1633 when Prana Narayan ascended the throne. This political unrest in the area may have encouraged the trans-Himalayan traders to seek other routes down from Tibet to India. Nepal was an obvious route, and the political stability offered by Sivasimha’s regime would have presented an ideal trading environment, particularly after he had gained control of the city of Patan and the territory to the south of the Valley. Sivasimha would then have been able to use some of the silver flowing into the country for his coinage in the early seventeenth century. It should be noted that as there were no indigenous sources of silver in Nepal, it could only be obtained by exchanging goods. And since Nepal had little to export to India, it was only by taking a profit on entrepôt trade between Tibet and India that she could obtain sufficient supplies of silver for a coinage.

It is certain that the route through Nepal was important in the AD 1620s. The first Europeans to travel along it were the Portuguese missionaries Cacella and Cabral. They reached Tibet through Cooch Behar and Bhutan, and had considerable difficulties along the route, which suggests that when they made their journey

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60 cf. N. G. Rhodes, ‘The Coinage of Cooch Behar’, op. cit. in n. 42. The coins of Vira Narayan (1627–33) are very much rarer than those of his predecessor Lakshmi Narayan and his successor Prana Narayan.
THE MALLA DYNASTY, AD 1540–1768

in AD 1627, it was not a major trade route. After a short stay in Tibet they made their way back to India through Nepal, but tantalizingly left no account of their experiences. However, there is no doubt that the Nepal route was the easiest way for them to leave Tibet in early AD 1628, and it must, by then, have been the main trade route.61

Soon after the route had been traversed by the Portuguese missionaries, King Rama Shah of Gorkha gained control of Kyirong, and hence of the trade route from Tibet. Although the chronicles are not clear on the precise dates, Bhima Malla seems to have recaptured the area in the early AD 1630s, probably before Rama Shah’s death in AD 1633, and hence re-established Kathmandu’s hold over the trade routes and the trade.62 This implies that in the years around AD 1630, the Valley kings would have been cut off from the Tibetan trade, and hence from their source of silver. Coins struck at this time may have become debased with the more easily available base metals.

With this limited information we can postulate when the various tanka-standard coins may have been struck. The results are summarised as follows:

c. 1500–30 Copper coins struck by Ratna Malla and Amara Malla of Kathmandu.
1540s Dolakha issues tankas for a short time.
1560s Mahendra Malla of Kathmandu issues tankas for a short time.
c. 1560–1603 The main trans-Himalayan trade is routed through Cooch Behar, so that little silver reaches Nepal.

At some undetermined time during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, copies of Bengali tankas are struck in Nepal, officially or unofficially.

After 1603 Transhimalayan trade is routed through Nepal, and significant supplies of silver reach the Valley.

c. 1605–19 Silver tankas struck in Kathmandu, and perhaps also in Patan, some anonymous, some with the name of Siva Simha; generally fine silver, but not always. Certainly fine silver pieces were being struck c. 1620. Two designs struck, initially the ‘Ala-ud-din type, and later both that and the Ghiyas-ud-din type.

c. 1605–08 Tiny dams struck in Patan and Kathmandu in the names of Siva Simha and Hariharasimha, apparently not always fine silver.

c. 1605–39 Tiny anonymous dams and jawas struck in Kathmandu and perhaps also in Patan.

c. 1619–28 Silver tankas struck in the names of Kings Lakshminarasimha in Kathmandu and Siddhinarasimha in Patan, along with some anonymous issues. Initially fine silver, but becoming debased.

c. 1613–37 Tiny dams struck in Bhatgaon.

c. 1630 Rama Shah cuts the trade routes, and silver ceases to reach the Valley. Very debased tankas, mainly anonymous and light weight, and a few quarter tankas in the name of Lakshminarasimha.

1630s Once debased, the coinage continues debased
1639 Fine silver tanka struck in Patan in the name of Siddhinarasimha.
1640–41 All tanka-standard coins withdrawn from circulation.

We would emphasise that this reconstruction is tentative, but we think that consideration of the evidence of the trans-Himalayan trade routes and the volume of

coinage struck in Cooch Behar prior to AD 1603 indicate that, if silver coins were struck in Nepal in the late sixteenth century, they were probably few in number compared with those issued after AD 1605.

11. NEPALESE COINAGE FOR TIBET

As suggested above, one of the main reasons why Nepal was able to strike silver coins was the channelling of the trade between Tibet and India through Nepal from the early years of the seventeenth century and the subsequent establishment of Nepalese trading houses in Lhasa. During the years immediately after AD 1640, two events encouraged an increase in this flow of trade, and also enabled Nepal to strike more coins.

First, about AD 1640, the King of Ladakh forbade transit trade across his kingdom. This meant that the shawl wool that came from western Tibet could not reach the traditional weavers in Kashmir, which could not produce its famous shawls unless an alternative supply route could be found. It was not long before wool was passing through Nepal to Patna, whence Kashmiri traders sent it to Kashmir.63

Secondly, in the early AD 1640s Bhima Malla, a brother of Pratap Malla of Kathmandu, led a successful campaign into Tibet. As a result he managed to negotiate a treaty between Tibet and Kathmandu, which included the following two conditions:

1. It was agreed that Nepal would mint coins for Tibet; Tibet would use these coins internally and would either provide the silver required for their minting or would pay for Nepali coins with gold.
2. Tibet agreed that all trade with India, even though conducted by other than Newari merchants, would be channelled through the Kathmandu Valley in preference to the routes to the east (i.e. via Sikkim, Bhutan or Tawang).64

As a result of this treaty, which was probably signed during the early AD 1640s, Nepal gained the virtual monopoly of the major trans-Himalayan trade, and the Tibetans used Nepalese coins as their normal currency. Nepal entered one of the most prosperous periods in her history, reflected not only in the coinage, but also in the number of fine buildings that were erected in the Valley, many of which still stand today.

This situation continued more or less unchanged until the early AD 1720s. In January 1722, during the reign of Mahindra Simha, Father Desideri, a Jesuit priest who had spent the previous five years in Tibet, passed through Nepal on his return journey to India and noted that:

63 L. Petch, _The Kingdom of Ladakh, c. 950–1842 A.D._ (Rome, 1977), p. 51. Bernier reported that the trade route through Ladakh was still closed in 1663.

64 L. E. Rose, _op. cit._ in n. 62, pp. 13–14. The date of the treaty is, unfortunately, not certain. Rose mentions a date of 1645–50, but without any strong evidence. The Chronicles are in general agreement that Bhima Malla was murdered by Pratap Malla fairly early in his reign, and shortly after Bhima Malla's return from Tibet. Certainly Bhima Malla had returned by 1643, as he dedicated a temple in that year (D. R. Regmi, _Medieval Nepal_, vol. II, p. 61), so the treaty was probably signed before that date, in the early 1640s.
'shortly after the Chinese entered Thibet for the second time (Autumn 1720) the whole vast kingdom was flooded with silver, which so diminished in value that reiterated edicts were necessary to force the people to accept it as payment. I must explain that the Chinese had no coinage, but simply large or small pieces of silver. Exposed to some risk, to expense, and to the long journey, the Thibetans sent this silver from Lhasa to Nepal to change into the money of the three petty kings who ruled that Kingdom. They charged nothing, but gave an equal weight for the silver and gained many millions, especially the King of Kathmandu.'  

This account is fascinating as it shows why the coins of Mahindra Simha are among the most common of the Malla dynasty. It also shows that many of his coins must have been struck between AD 1720, when the silver first reached Tibet, and AD 1722, which was the year Desideri visited Kathmandu and in which Mahindra Simha died. It confirms that by this time Nepalese coin had become so popular in Tibet that it was more acceptable among the local population than pure silver bullion. It seems amazing that the Tibetans did not try to strike their own coins in Tibet, thus saving much trouble and expense, but Tibet was a very conservative country, and the Nepalese traders must have advised very strongly against any such action. Although the treaty negotiated by Bhima Malla in the AD 1640s did specify that Nepal would strike coins with silver provided by Tibet, this seems to have been the first time that it was done on such a large scale.

We have analysed three specimens of Mahindra Simha's mohar (nos. 303/4) and the silver content is surprisingly high and consistent at 95 per cent, even though we selected pieces which looked as if they might be debased. It seems, therefore, that the Nepalese made their profit out of the 5 per cent alloy, while the full cost and risk of transport to and from Nepal was undertaken by the Tibetans. Presumably, in Tibet, the coins circulated at a premium over bullion, and Father Domenico da Fano, writing in AD 1713 records that coins were worth a 10 per cent premium for large transactions, and Father Desideri's account indicates that this premium may have increased by AD 1720.

In AD 1728, Jagajjaya Malla seems to have reduced the silver content slightly to about 92.5 per cent. This coincides with the year when Polhanas seized power in Lhasa after a civil war, and when another Chinese army arrived in Lhasa loaded with silver. Presumably much of this silver bullion was sent to Kathmandu by the Tibetans, and the Nepalese took advantage of the situation to increase their profit margin.

It was around this time that Bhatgaon acquired a larger share of the Tibetan trade, judging from the scale of its coinage during the reign of Bhupatindra Malla (AD 1696–1722), and particularly during the reign of his successor Ranajit Malla before the reign of Mahindra Simha, or even of Mahindra Malla of Patan (AD 1709–15).
Clearly Kathmandu had lost control over the trade route through Kuti, and Bhatgaon was able to take full advantage by increasing its share of the trade in silver and coin. Indeed, Wright's Vamsavali records that Ranajit Malla 'was very prudent and economical. He sent a great quantity of his coin to Lhasa, in exchange for which he got a large quantity of gold and silver.'

The next change in the relationship between the Nepalese and the Tibetans in currency matters occurred during the first reign of Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu (AD 1736-45). He sent a vast quantity of debased silver coins to Tibet, presumably struck from silver brought by the Chinese to Lhasa, either when the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa in AD 1735 from exile in China, or with the mission that arrived in Lhasa after the death of the Yung Cheng emperor and the accession of Ch'ien Lung. This silver was presumably exchanged for the coins on a weight for weight basis. On this occasion the coins were further debased to roughly 67 per cent fine silver, or 2 parts silver to 1 part copper or brass. It seems likely that the agreement with Tibet had changed, so that Nepal paid for the cost of transporting the bullion and coin from Lhasa to Kathmandu and back. If so, the increased alloy would have been required to cover the cost of minting, transport and risk and to provide the normal profit for Kathmandu. These debased mohars continued to circulate extensively in Tibet well into the twentieth century, and are frequently found cut for use there as small change (see p. 207 below).

During the rebellion of AD 1746-50, when the infant Jyoti Prakash was on the throne, Kathmandu continued to strike large numbers of debased coins for export to Tibet. The standard had now been reduced to only about 50 per cent fine, increasing the profit made by the Nepalese. In addition, the weight standard seems to have been reduced from c.5.4 g to c.5.25 g. This period coincides with the period after Polhanas's death in AD 1747, when the Tibetan government was rather weak. With the declining dominance of Kathmandu in Valley affairs, both Patan and Bhatgaon were taking their share of this trade, and they too were striking large amounts of coin, equally debased and struck to a similar light standard.

In AD 1751 the seventh Dalai Lama took over the reins of political power, and one of his early acts was to write to the three Nepalese kings requesting them to put an end to the practice of circulating such debased coins, and asking them to send better quality coins to Tibet. At the same time, the control exercised by the Malla kings over the Tibetan trade was being threatened by the rising power of Prithvi Narayan, King of Gorkha. Already in AD 1744, he had gained control of the western trade route through Nowakot and Kyirong to Tibet, and he was soon posing a serious threat to the eastern route, via Kuti. He first struck coins in AD 1749, to the same debased standard as the Malla coins of the time. In view of these pressures, Jaya Prakash Malla seems to have taken the request of the Dalai Lama seriously, and in AD 1753 he struck a beautiful new series of coins in fine

69 Wright, op. cit., p. 196.
71 The history of this period is well set out by L. F. Stiller, S. J. The Rise of the House of Gorkha (New Delhi, 1973).
silver and gold. The appearance of gold coins is remarkable, and almost certainly indicates that a new trading relationship had developed, with Tibetans sending gold to Nepal, and receiving silver coins in exchange. Also, it may not be coincidence that at this time there was a decline in Chinese influence in Tibet, and hence a reduction in the amount of silver that reached Lhasa from China, so that Tibet would no longer have had surplus silver to send to Nepal.

This new relationship between Tibet and the Malla Kings was not to continue. In AD 1754 Prithvi Narayan finally succeeded in gaining control of the trade route through Kuti, effectively cutting off the Valley from the Tibetan trade. At the same time the Gorkha king struck his own fine silver coins, exchanging them for gold with Tibet. In AD 1755 he signed a treaty legalising the circulation of these coins in Tibet and in AD 1757 reached a similar agreement with Kathmandu. A short correspondence has survived from AD 1757 reporting some negotiations between Prithvi Narayan’s agent at Kuti and the Tibetans, regarding the exchange of gold for silver. Apparently 12,000 to 15,000 tolas of gold were to be exchanged for silver coin at the rate of Rs.18 per tola of gold. Presumably the ‘rupee’ referred to was the ‘mohar’, which weighed rather less than half a tola. This ratio of about 9:1 would have given Prithvi Narayan a satisfactory profit in India where the relationship was nearer 14:1.

Prithvi Narayan struck fine silver coins in quantity in AD 1754 and 1756, but thereafter he minted coins only in small numbers until his final conquest of the valley in AD 1768. Clearly, his priorities were more towards political control of Nepal, rather than trade. However, for the first time in Nepal, he adopted the convenient practice of putting on the coin the date in which it was actually struck, rather than the accession year, or the year in which the variety was first struck. The practice of the Mallas of keeping a ‘type immobilisé’ often helps in determining the accession date for the king, but cannot tell us exactly when, during a reign, significant numbers of coin were struck.

In AD 1758 Kathmandu and Gorkha signed a treaty agreeing that their coins could circulate in each other’s territory and that the Tibetan trade, including the import of gold and the export of silver coin, should be shared equally. It is, however, doubtful if this treaty was ever implemented as it was signed at a time when Prithvi Narayan had suffered a defeat and was temporarily unable to maintain the blockade of the Valley. In practice he was quickly able to reimpose the blockade and presumably repudiated the treaty. For the next ten years, from AD 1758 until 1768, Prithvi Narayan gradually completed his plan for the conquest of the Valley. His military strength was not great enough to attempt a direct assault, so he concentrated on

72 L. E. Rose, op. cit. in n. 62, pp. 23-6. The Agreement with Kathmandu included the clause ‘Gorkha and Kathmandu would share equally in the minting of coins for Tibet’, but it is unlikely that this was ever implemented. The full text of the treaty is given by Nayaraj Pant, Shri J Prithvinarayan Shukko Upadesh (Patan. n.d.), pp. 973-7, and is translated in Regmi Research Series, 1972, p. 132.


cutting off the Valley from the outside world, and gradually suffocating it. As a result, the Malla kings could not export anything, let alone coins, to Tibet.\(^{75}\)

It is interesting to note that Nepalese coins continued to circulate in Tibet at a value roughly equal to their weight in silver, however debased they were. When the debased coins were devalued in Nepal, at some date prior to AD 1767, problems arose between the Nepalese and the Tibetans over the value of the debased coins. The Tibetans demanded, not unreasonably, that as they had paid for the coins with good silver, the Nepalese should accept the coins at 'par'. The Nepalese, however, who stood to lose financially if the Tibetan traders were able to bring the debased coins to Nepal and exchange them for the fine silver coins struck after AD 1753, insisted that the old debased coins could only be exchanged at a value equal to their silver content. This dispute was to continue unresolved until AD 1792, and will be covered in detail in the next chapter on the Shah dynasty.

**CATALOGUE OF COINS OF THE MALLA DYNASTY.**

**Group a, AD 1540–1640**

**A. THE KINGDOM OF DOLAKHA**

**INDRA SIMHA AND QUEEN VIJAYA LAKSHMI (c. AD 1540–48)**

The earliest silver tankas of Nepal were struck at Dolakha shortly before AD 1550. The coinage was short-lived, and all known specimens are of the same basic design, although there are several minor differences in calligraphy and in other details. All the coins are fine silver tankas, and no minor denominations are known.

174. *Obv.* Within a double square legend in four lines ‘Dolakhadhi/pati Śrī Śr(i)/Śaśr(i)ndra Simha Deva’ ‘dhi’ at end of top line written ‘śś’. Border of dots around. ‘*’ in centre of lunettes.

*Rev.* Type as *obv.* Legend in four lines ‘Patta Maha/deva Śrī V(i)/jaya Lakṣmi/Māhādevya(h)’.

*N(10.19)*

175. As last, but dot in centre of lunettes each side.

*NMK(*)

176. As last, but no dot in centre of lunettes, and calligraphy slightly improved, with fewer errors. Countermark, or shroff-mark on *obv.* R.

*R(10.36)*

177. *Obv.* As last, but ornamental border. ‘dhi’ at end of top line written ‘śś’.

*Rev.* Same die as last, but retooled with wavy lines in lunettes.

*R(10.44)*

178. *Obv.* As last, but different die.

*Rev.* Same die as last, but further retooled, with a ‘ʔ’ in left lunette.

*G(10.12)*

179. As last, but different dies, with no wavy lines in lunettes and countermark or shroff-mark of a conch-shell on *obv.*

*N(10.29)*

The inscription may be translated as ‘(coin) of Jaya Indra Simha Deva, Lord of Dolakha, and of Queen Vijaya Lakshmi Mahadevi, who is like Śrī’.

\(^{75}\) With no coins sent from Nepal, there was a shortage of coins in Tibet, and c. AD 1763, coins were struck, for the first time, in Tibet. cf. W. Bertsch, K. Gabrisch, ‘Some Varieties of Tibet’s First Struck Coins’, *NI Bulletin*, 1986, pp. 125–8.
The design is very similar to certain Muslim pieces, with a legend in a square within a circle. Other Hindu rulers of north-east India had struck coins with a four-line legend in Sanskrit and an outer border of dots. The Dolakha coins are, however, the earliest Hindu coins we know of that have the legend in a square. Kachar had copied this design by AD 1559.

B. MAHENDRA MALLA (KING OF KATHMANDU, AD 1560–74)

180. *Obv.* Trident in centre, legend around, Śrīmat Kāśṭamandupasyādhipati within double circle and ornamental border.

*Rev.* Thunderbolt in centre, legend around, ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahendra Malla Devasya’ within double circle and ornamental border.

N(10.5*), KNM(10.15), Vishnudhoj.

The famous tanka of Mahendra Malla is one of the rarest of all Nepalese coins. The specimen illustrated was photographed by Valdettaro in Kathmandu in 1971, and we have not seen it since. The specimen in the collection of the Kathmandu Numismatic Museum was illustrated by S. M. Joshi. D. R. Regmi illustrated an example from the collection of Vishnudhoj, and we have heard a rumour of a further example in Nepal. We are not at present aware of any specimens outside Nepal.

The design is totally original; few other coins of this period in India have a circular inscription, and the style and quality of striking is of a very high standard. The rarity of the piece, and the fact that the three specimens known to us are struck with the same pair of dies, indicates a short period of issue, probably in the early AD 1560s.

In the early 1970s, a skilful forgery of this coin appeared on the market in Kathmandu (cf. no. M2 below, p. 209 below), and collectors should beware.

C. COPIES OF BENGAL TANKAS STRUCK IN NEPAL (c. AD 1600)

The following pieces are illiterate copies of the Bengal Sultan Sikandar Shah (AD 1358–89), or of one of his successors in the early fifteenth century. They are distinctive in style, and have three shroff marks, always applied to the same places on the flan, rather than the mass of randomly placed marks that normally deface the Bengali coins. The date of issue is uncertain, but the flat reverse on no. 183, being similar to that found on several tankas listed below, e.g. no. 192, indicates a seventeenth century date.
181. Three countermarks on *obv.*; a conch-shell, a wheel or a lotus flower of nine dots, and a mace or a plain, straight indentation. These marks are always placed at the same relative places on the flan. Diam. 35 mm.

(10.21*)

182. As last, but diam. 31 mm and lotus flower of seven dots.

G(10.39), V(10.52*), B(9.77), Landon (nos. 5 and 8)*

183. As last, but rev. almost completely effaced. Note that the conch-shell on this piece is reversed—a punch also used on specimens of no. 182.

N(*)

Coins of the sultans of Bengal are occasionally found in Nepal,* but we have not yet identified any other varieties as being Nepalese copies.

D. **TANKAS IN THE NAME OF 'ALA-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD SHAH KHILJI (C.AD 1605–39)**

All the varieties are of the same basic type:

*Obv.* 'Śrī Śrī' in central circle, Arabic legend around 'Abu Al-Muzafar Muhamad Shah 'Ala al-dunya wa-al-din as-sultan'. Small conch shell at 8 o'clock.

*Rev.* Lion crouching r. on top of elephant facing r., contained in two interlacing squares. Arabic legend around, 'Sikandar al-thani imin al-Khalifat'

The varieties we have recorded are:

**D.1—With name of Siva Simha of Kathmandu (c.AD 1578–1619)**

184. *Obv.* Sword with wreath above.

*Rev.* 'Śiva' with traces of arabic script above. Trefoil symbol below.

V(10.47, 10.32), ANS(9.9*)

185. As last, but dot over 'Śiva'.

N(*)

**D.2—With name of Lakshminarasimha of Kathmandu (AD 1619–41)**

186. *Obv.* Sword above, as last.

*Rev.* 'Lakṣminara' above, trefoil symbol below.

Landon no. 2(10.2*).*

The photograph published by Landon, of a coin in the treasure rooms of the Pashupati temple, is not legible and he admitted that the legend was not easy to read. However, Landon's description shows that the legend was clearer on the coin than on the photograph and we feel that his reading can be trusted. The similarity to coins of Siva Simha suggests a date early in the AD 1620s.

187. *Obv.* Mace above, much as nos. 202–4 below, but small crescent either side at top.

*Rev.* 'La' with canopy above, 'kṣmi' below.

V(10.13*, 9.88, 8.74), G(9.95)

188. *Obv.* Mace above, exactly as nos. 202–4 below.

*Rev.* As last, but kalasa (vase) below.

V(10.07*, 8.29), R(9.92, 9.90, 9.51), B(9.75), W(10.06)

One coin (R) has been analysed as only 20 per cent silver; the other specimens appear slightly finer, although still very debased. In view of the base alloy, we suggest a date around AD 1630.

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*82* E.g. P. Landon, op. cit., nos. 6 and 7.

D.3—With name of Siddhinarasimha of Patan (AD 1619–61)

189. **Obv.** Sword with ornamental wreath over.
   **Rev.** 'Siddhi Nara' above, trefoil symbol below.
   V(9.8*), R(10.4)
   Appears to be fine silver, and hence probably issued in the AD 1620s.

D.4—Anonymous Coins

We have arranged these anonymous tankas according to the symbols above the **obv.** and **rev.** Although one might expect the coins with fewer symbols to be the earliest, this is not necessarily the correct chronological sequence.

190. No special symbols above either side. Trefoil symbol below squares on **rev.** reminiscent of the symbol on nos. 184–6, 189, 200 and 204.
   V(10.40*), Ash(10.40), Durga Prasad(9.8)*
   While the absence of special symbols above obverse and reverse suggests an early date, the trefoil symbol on the reverse may point to an issue date not much earlier than AD 1620. The alloy of these pieces appears to be fine.

191. **Obv.** Mace with wreath, surmounted by a crescent and dot. Dot on either side.
   **Rev.** Die worn totally flat.
   V(10.19, 9.97), R(10.28*)

192. **Obv.** As last, but legend omits 'r' to r. of mace.
   **Rev.** Die heavily worn, but shows traces of conch shell below squares, as on next coin.
   B(10.00*)
   It is not unusual for coins of this period to have a reverse almost totally effaced. We are not certain why this should be so, and we have not seen enough specimens to be completely sure whether the coin has been worn flat, or whether the design was effaced from the die. Two possible reasons for the coins being worn have occurred to us, namely, the coins may have been stuck to a floor of a temple, and the feet of countless pilgrims wore the surface flat.\(^{85}\) or the coins may have been stuck to the right hand side of the seat of a trader—we have seen how Newari traders sometimes keep a coin or an image in this way, and every time they need some luck in closing a deal they move their right arm and touch the coin or image—in time the coin could be worn flat. However, as none of the specimens known to us have any trace of adhesive, neither explanation is very convincing.

193. **Obv.** Mace with wreath, dot sometimes to left.
   **Rev.** Conch shell below squares, pointing to l. Arabic letters at top have long vertical strokes.
   V(9.25*)

194. As last, but **rev.** die worn flat.
   V(10.01*)

195. As last, but Arabic letters at top of **rev.** have short vertical strokes.
   V(9.57*)

196. As last, but **rev.** die worn flat.
   R(10.23*, 10.13)
   Similar coins with details of the **rev.** legend not always clear. V(9.08, 10.02, 10.26), B(10.10)

197. **Obv.** Mace with wreath, crescent and dot either side at top.
   **Rev.** As last.
   V(10.2*)

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\(^{85}\) A uniface medallion, dated AD 1914, was struck especially for insertion in the marble floor at the Pashupatinath Temple in the Nepal Valley; cf. N. G. Rhodes, 'A Portrait Medallion from Nepal', *N. Circ.*., April 1984, p. 77.
198. *Obv.* Mace, crescent and dot either side at top, ornamentation at sides of mace.
   *Rev.* Same die as last.
   *V*(10.1*)

199. *Obv.* 'Śrī' over mace above.
   *Rev.* As last, with trefoil symbol below squares.
   *V*(10.0), *G*(10.3*)
   The tiny 'Śrī' can be compared with that found on coin no. 211 below, a coin that can be dated to c.AD 1620.

200. *Obv.* Sword with wreath over.
   *Rev.* Trefoil symbol below, much as no. 190 above.
   *V*(8.66*)
   A very debased coin. The sword is otherwise only found on coins with the name of kings. The debased alloy suggests a date around AD 1630.

201. *Obv.* Trisul above, crescent and dot either side at top.
   *Rev.* Damaru (drum) and kalasa (vase) above, horse standing r., but head looking backwards, below.
   *B*(9.38*)

202. *Obv.* As no. 188 above, but plain curved line either side of mace.
   *Rev.* Trisul above, crescent and dot either side at top, conch shell below pointing r.
   *N*(10.24*)
   The similarity of this obverse die to no. 188 above, a coin in the name of Lakshminara-simha of Kathmandu, suggests a date after AD 1620.

203. As last, but four dots below 'Śrī Śrī' on *obv.* instead of floral design. The trisul above the *rev.* is engraved on the die, the die having originally had no symbol above the squares.
   *R*(9.88*)

204. *Obv.* As nos. 188 and 202.
   *Rev.* Dorje above, crude trefoil symbol below.
   *BM*(8.35), *V*(8.23*), *R*(8.17), *G*(8.06)
   Although the design of this piece indicates that it was probably intended to circulate as a tanka, one specimen (BM) has been analysed and has no silver in it at all, and the other specimens we have seen do not look much finer. It is probably, therefore, the very final debasement of the tanka series, struck in the mid or late AD 1630s.

E. TANKAS COPYING GHIYAS-UD-DIN MAHMUD SHAH (C.AD 1605–39)

All the varieties, with the exception of no. 209, are of the same basic design, copying tanka of Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah of Bengal (AD 1526–32), but inverting the prototype:

*Obv.* Trisul in central circle, crudely copied Arabic script inverted, reading across field. Sword with ornamental wreath above.
*Rev.* Vajra or dorje (thunderbolt) in central circle, crudely copied Arabic script as on *obv.* Symbol and/or inscription above.

E.1—With name of Siva Simha of Kathmandu (C.AD 1578–1619)

205. *Obv.* Beautiful style. Tiny conch shell below central circle.
   *Rev.* Legend ‘Śrī Śrī/Śivasim’ above, small symbol '‘ at 7 o’clock. Three pellets each side of dorje.
   *V*(10.55*)
   In view of the similarity of design with coins in the name of Lakshminarasimha listed below, these coins were probably struck late in the reign.
E.2—With name of Lakshminarasimha of Kathmandu (AD 1619–41)

207. Obv. No special symbols.
   Rev. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī La/kṣmī nārsimḥ’ above. No additional symbols.
   V(10.12), NMK(*)

208. Obv. As last.
   Rev. Die of last, but re-engraved with two conch shells below central circle.
   R(9.81*)

Both the above coins are of relatively fine silver, one (R) having been analysed as 90 per cent fine. They were probably, therefore, struck early in the reign, during the AD 1620s.

E.3—With name of Siddhinarasimha of Patan (AD 1619–61)

209. Obv. ‘Śrī Śrī Siddhi’ in two lines, sword between, all in central circle. Flower above. Otherwise, normal Ghiyas-ud-din type.
   Rev. ‘Nara’ above. Lion (= simha) in central circle, date ’759’ below. Otherwise normal Ghiyas-ud-din type.
   NMK(*)

This remarkable piece, clearly dated NS 759 (AD 1639), is the earliest Nepalese coin to bear a date. It is struck in fine silver, and although we have been unable to weigh it accurately, we believe it to be struck to the tanka standard (c.10.25 g), although we cannot rule out the possibility that it may be a double mohar. It is almost identical to the mohar of the same ruler dated NS 761, and we believe that it is an important piece in pinpointing the end of the tanka series of coins. It seems likely that this was an attempt by the Patan king to restore confidence in the coinage, after the debasement of the AD 1630s. However, rather more than a slight change in design was needed, and it was only after the new weight standard was introduced after AD 1640 that confidence was restored.

E.4—Anonymous Issues (c.AD1605–39)

210. Obv. As no. 208.
   Rev. ‘Śrī Śrī’ over two conch shells above central circle.
   V(10.24*).

211. Obv. As last, but tiny ‘Śrī’ over sword.
   Rev. Same die as last.
   V(10.31*).

212. Obv. As no. 210, but tiny ‘Śrī’ below central circle.
   Rev. Same die as last.
   V(10.36*).

213. Obv. As no. 210 above.
   Rev. Matsya (fishes) beneath each letter ‘Śrī’, otherwise as last.
   V(10.35*).

The last four coins are of particularly fine style, and appear to be of fine silver. The similarity with nos. 205–8 suggests a date of issue around AD 1620. The tiny letter ‘Śrī’ is similar to that found on the ‘Ala-ud-din tanka, no. 199 above.

214. Obv. As last, but style not quite so fine.
   Rev. Die completely effaced.
   V(10.53*).
215. **Obv.** Much as last, but plainer wreath and three dots over sword.

**Rev.** Die partially flattened, so that details of the design are not visible, but much as previous types.

N(10.45*).

216. **Obv.** Much as last.

**Rev.** Mace between ‘Śrī Śrī’ above central circle.

R(10.54), V(8.49*), BM(9.27).

Coins of this variety vary from apparently fine silver, to rather debased, suggesting a date of issue covering the late AD 1620s. Two specimens have been analysed at 64 per cent silver (R), and 46 per cent silver (BM).

217. **Obv.** Much as last.

**Rev.** ‘Śrī Śrī’ over two conch shells; mirror between.

V(10.02*, 9.17), G(9.0)

This, and all the following types, appear to be struck in rather base silver, and are hence probably issues of the AD 1630s.

218. **Obv.** Much as last.

**Rev.** As last, but kalasa with flower of dots between ‘Śrī Śrī’.

V(9.88*).

219. **Obv.** Much as last.

**Rev.** As last, but no conch shells below ‘Śrī Śrī’, and trisul between with crescent and dots each side at top.

V(9.98*, 9.27, 8.65, 8.28), R(9.8, 9.50, 9.37), BM(9.26), B(10.05), G(8.87).

Coins of this type are normally so debased that they appear to be made of brass.

F. QUARTER TANKAS

We know of only three pieces which appear to be quarter tankas. The first has an inscription in illegible Arabic, and is only recognisable as Nepalese because of the border of dots, and its similarity to the following piece with the name of Lakshminarasimha of Kathmandu. All three pieces are rather debased, particularly the last two, indicating a date of issue around AD 1630.

220. Blundered Arabic inscription on each side, reading across field, all within circle and border of dots. The obverse legend begins ‘Sultan al-Sultan’, but we can make no sense of the rest.

N(*).

The illustration of this piece has been mounted upside-down to facilitate comparison with the next piece.

221. **Obv.** As last, but ‘Śrī Śrī’ in Newari script across centre of field.

**Rev.** As last, but ‘Lakṣminarasīṁ’ across upper part of field. Unusually the ‘na’ and the ‘ra’ are both written using the same vertical support, presumably to save space.

V(2.34), G(2.33*), R(2.07).

222. **Obv.** Blundered Arabic inscription inverted, much as last, but contained in a double square with rounded corners, within the circle and border of dots. ‘Śrī Śrī’ in Newari script on top line.

**Rev.** As obv., but very worn. Legend reads ‘(La)kṣmīna’ on top line, and perhaps continuing ‘rasiṁ’ on second line.

V(1.85*)

The weight is very light for a quarter tanka, but the size is comparable to the last piece, and it is probably an example of the final degeneration of the tanka-standard coinage, before the recoinage of AD 1640.

G. 1/32 TANKAS

A few extremely rare coins appear to be paisas on the tanka standard. We have
been able to weigh only three such pieces, and their weights of 0.25 g, 0.29 g and 0.3 g are all rather lighter than the theoretical 0.32 g. However, we assume that this denomination was intended, rather than any non-binary subdivision of the tanka, and that the light weight is due to imperfect manufacturing techniques.

223. *Obv.* 'Śrī Śrī', with sword between and groups of three dots above sword and below each letter.
    *Rev.* Totally flat.
    Paris (0.25*).

224. *Obv.* 'Śrī Śrī' across field. Two crescents and dots above, floral design below.
    *Rev.* Totally flat, as last.
    H(0.3*).

225. *Obv.* As last.
    *Rev.* 'Siva', lion below running r., as rebus for 'simha'.
    N(*).

226. *Obv.* Śrī/Lakṣmī' in two lines. Crescent and dots each side of top letter.
    *Rev.* 'Nara' over winged lion (= 'simha') r.
    G(0.29*)

H. DAMS ON THE TANKA STANDARD

Apart from the pieces listed above, there are a number of small coins, most of which are dams or 1/128th of a tanka. Theoretically the weight should be about 0.08 g, and many pieces weigh roughly that. Some pieces, however, weigh as much as 0.15 g, some as little as 0.04 g, and others cover the full range between these limits. While it is possible that the lightest pieces are on the 'mohar' standard, and the heaviest pieces could be double dams, we prefer to assume that only one denomination was intended, and that the variations are due to imprecise techniques in the mint. As a general rule we have assigned all anonymous dams, and all dams struck with a design on both sides, to this period before AD 1640.

H.1 — Gold Dam

227. *Obv.* 'Śrī Śrī', two crescents with dots above.
    *Rev.* Elephant to r., winged lion r. seated on its back.
    KNM(*).

This remarkable piece is the only gold Malla coin of this period that we have seen. We have not been able to weigh it, or examine it closely, but from the style, it can probably be dated to the period between AD 1605 and 1639, the design being generally similar to the central section of the 'Ala-ud-din tankas above. Unfortunately, we have not been able to check the obverse for die links with the silver dams of similar design.

H.2 — Anonymous Silver Dams with single 'Śrī'

228. Circular bracteate. 'Śrī' with dot above, all in circle with border of dots.
    V(0.17*, 0.14).

The unusual weight, size (diam. 11 mm) and style of this piece make it stand out from all other dams, and we are not certain whether it is a coin, or if it had some other function.

229. *Obv.* 'Śrī' within circle of dots.
    *Rev.* (Knife(?)) under wreath of dots.
    G(0.12*).
230. Obv. 'Śrī' over lion facing l.
Rev. Mace with wreath over.
G(0.12*).

231. Obv. 'Śrī', with dot and crescent either side, over Hanuman squatting, head facing l.
Rev. Trident with winged lions facing outwards either side.
Bons(*).

H.3 — Anonymous silver Dams with 'Śrī Śrī' on Obv.

232. Obv. Śrī Śrī within dotted border, crescent and dot over each letter.
Rev. Winged lion r., with dotted border.
G(0.14, 0.13*). R(0.14).

233. Obv. As last, but no dotted border.
Rev. Winged lion(?) leaping r., no dotted border.
G(0.10), R(0.10*).

234. As last, but line below lion.
G(0.14, 0.10), R(0.08*).

235. As last, but lion on rev. seated.
R(0.09*).

236. Obv. As last.
Rev. Wreathed mace over lion l.
R(0.12), G(0.12*, 0.11, 0.11).

237. Obv. As last.
Rev. Sword(?) with wreath, two winged lions seated either side facing outwards.
G(0.12*).

238. Obv. As last.
Rev. Hanuman leaping r. on dais
G(0.14). R(0.14*).

239. Obv. As last, but umbrella(?) design above.
Rev. Hanuman leaping l.
V(0.14*).

240. Obv. As last, but no umbrella and with floral design below 'Śrī Śrī'.
Rev. Two crouching winged lions facing away from trident in centre. Crescent and dot over each lion.
R(0.07*), V(0.09, 0.08, 0.06).

241. Obv. As last.
Rev. As last, but bulls instead of winged lions.
V(0.10*).

242. Obv. As last, but dorje (thunderbolt) symbol between letters and no floral symbol below.
Rev. As no. 240.
G(0.12*, 0.14). R(0.12).

243. Obv. 'Śrī Śrī' with crescent and dot over each letter, much as earlier types, but cruder style.
Rev. Uncertain design, perhaps elephant goad.
R(0.07*), V(0.07).

244. Obv. Sword with canopy over between letters.
Rev. Traces of design with mirror in upper part, lower part totally unclear.
R(0.05*).

245. Obv. Same die as last.
Rev. Totally blank, obv. shows through.
R(0.04*).

Apart from the above anonymous coins, there are several varieties with the names of various rulers.
H.4—Dams with Kings’ Names

(i) Siva Simha, King of Patan and Kathmandu (AD 1574–1619)

While most of the anonymous dams appear to be of fine silver, those in the name of Siva Simha appear debased, although we have not had any of them analysed. This contrasts with the tankas in Siva Simha’s name, all of which appear to be of fine silver.

246. *Obv.* ‘Śrī’ between two crescent and dots over two elephants standing, facing outwards. The elephants are usually very crudely engraved, and look like a row of vertical lines, but the specimen illustrated has the elephants clearly drawn.

*Rev.* ‘Śiva’ over lion (= simha) r.

V(0.07, 0.06), R(0.08), G(0.07), N(*).


*Rev.* As last.

R(0.07*), 0.05), G(0.06).

(ii) Harihara Simha, Lord of Patan (c. AD 1600–09)

248. *Obv.* ‘Śrī/Jaya’, as last; a die of Siva Simha.

*Rev.* ‘Harā’ over lion (= simha) r.

R(0.08*).

This coin, apparently a mule between Siva Simha and Harihara Simha, shows, not only that these dams were struck in the earliest years of the seventeenth century, but also that at least some of the Siva Simha dams may have been struck for him as King of Patan.


*Rev.* As last, but no die identity found.

R(0.08, 0.08, 0.05), G(0.06*). V(0.09, 0.08, 0.08, 0.06).

(iii) Jagajjotir Malla, King of Bhatgaon (AD 1613–37)

250. *Obv.* ‘Śrī Śrī’ on either side of sword.

*Rev.* ‘Jyoti/Hara’ in two lines.

V(0.07). R(0.065). G0.05*. 0.05)

(iv) Lakshminarasimha, King of Kathmandu (AD 1619–41)


*Rev.* ‘Śrī’ over two winged lions, facing outwards.

N(*).

252. *Obv.* As last.

*Rev.* ‘Nara’ over winged lion (= simha) r.

V(0.05), R(0.07). G(0.08*).

Uniface dams of this king, struck with a similar obverse die and weighing about 0.04 g, have been placed among the ‘mohar’ standard coins in the next section. no. 257.

I. QUARTER DAMS OR JAWA ON THE TANKA STANDARD

The following pieces are probably quarter dams struck to the tanka standard. The rectangular shape may have been adopted to distinguish them from the almost equally small dams. Later jawas, weighing only 0.01 g, and struck c.AD 1740, were also rectangular in shape and are listed as no. 372 under the mohar-standard coins of Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu.
253. *Rectangular bracteate* — Trident between two crescents and dots, ornaments below.
   G(0.03*).

254. *Rectangular bracteate* — Sword with wreath over and flowers by base, crescents and dots in upper corners.
   G(0.03*), H(0.02), vK(0.03).

254a. *Rectangular bracteate* — Stylised lion crouching and facing r.
   vK(0.03*).

255. *Round bracteate* — Design as last, apart from having no crescents and dots in the upper corners.
   ANS(0.03*).

**CATALOGUE OF COINS OF THE MALLA DYNASTY.**

Group b, AD 1640–1768

The following catalogue lists all the varieties of Malla coins struck to the mohar-standard known to us. We give weights of examples in our own collections and in other private and public collections. We have tried to list every intentional variety of the design, including many distinguished only by minor variations in the details. What significance the varieties may have is uncertain, although it should be noted that the date was only changed when a new type was introduced, so the details of the ornamentation may have provided coded information as to the precise year or period of issue.

The number of pieces listed for each variety is not necessarily indicative of rarity, as considerable selection has taken place in choosing coins for the collections cited. Also many of the minor varieties in design have only recently been noticed, and hence have not been widely sought. We have not systematically listed any of the collections we have studied in Nepal, and have included only the pieces illustrated. However, there are few varieties that are not with B. N. Shrestha of Kathmandu, who is the only person in Nepal to have formed a truly systematic collection of Nepalese coins.

**A. THE KINGDOM OF KATHMANDU**

*Lakshminarasimha (AD 1619–41)*

The rare tanka-standard coins of Lakshminarasimha are described in the previous chapter. The mohar-standard coins, although only struck for a short period about AD 1640, are rather more common.

256. Mohar


*Rev.* ‘Śrī Lakṣmī/narasīṁ’ over two flowers and conch shell, all within central square. Damaru (hand-drum) above.

BM(5.47, 5.43), ANS(4.49), V(5.46, 4.59, 4.16), G(4.62*), R(5.60, 5.08, 3.87), W(5.42, 4.91), Ash(5.13), B(5.38, 4.52).

The range of weights within this variety is greater than for any other coin in the mohar series. The diameter of the flan varies from 29 mm to 25 mm, although the diameter of the

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80 C.-E. von Kleist. ‘Numismatische Kleinodien aus dem Himalaya. Die kleinsten Munzen der Welt’. *Mun-
stersche Numismatische Zeitung*, yr. XIV. no. 2 (June, 1984), p. 5.
outer circle does not vary. It is possible that the broad flan of some pieces encouraged clipping, but there are no clear signs of clipping on the light pieces. The evidence of the 15 specimens weighed is inconclusive, but there is some indication that there are two groups of coins: light pieces averaging about 4.5 g. and heavy pieces averaging about 5.4 g. The quality of the silver was very fine; one specimen has been analysed as 96 per cent fine.

257. Dam Bracteate. ‘Śri/Lakṣmi’ with crescent and dot either side of ‘Śri’.

BM(0.05), V(0.04, 0.04), G(0.05*), R(0.03, 0.04).

We have attributed all the dams with a reverse design to the tanka series, even though some weigh as little as 0.05 g.

Jaya Pratap Malla (AD 1641–74)

258. 2 Mohar Square flan

Obv. Legend ‘Śri 2 Rāja Rājendra Jaya’ around trident, all within ornamental square design, with floral decoration.

Rev. Legend ‘Pratāpa Malla Deva 781’ around sword, within floral square design.

BM(10.34), ANS(11.01), V(10.11, 10.7*), G(10.83), R(10.83).

A beautiful and rare coin, with design copied from a rupee of the Mogul Emperor Jahangir. It is possible that the broad flan of some pieces encouraged clipping, but there are no clear signs of clipping on the light pieces. The evidence of the 15 specimens weighed is inconclusive, but there is some indication that there are two groups of coins: light pieces averaging about 4.5 g. and heavy pieces averaging about 5.4 g. The quality of the silver was very fine; one specimen has been analysed as 96 per cent fine.

259. Mohar Obv. As no. 256 above.

Rev. As no. 256, but legend ‘Śri Pratā/Pa Malla/761’ in central square.

BM(5.41), ANS(5.45, 4.77), V(5.45, 5.30, 5.04), G(5.31*), R(5.48, 5.42, 5.24, 4.94), Ash(5.05), W(5.10).

As the epithet ‘Kavindra’ (poet) implies, Pratap was proud of his artistic accomplishments and this is certainly a beautifully produced type, copied from one of the finest Agra rupees of Jahangir. The weights of individual specimens are now closely controlled, and there is remarkably little variation. In contemporary documents coins of this type are known as ‘Kavindramallitanka’, presumably specified because of its fine standard of production.


BM(5.52, 5.50, 5.50, 5.49, 5.48, 5.46), ANS(5.52, 5.48, 5.43, 5.43, 5.42, 5.09), V(5.54, 5.51, 5.48, 5.46), G(5.36*), R(5.44, 5.43, 5.36), Ash(5.54).

As the epithet ‘Kavindra’ (poet) implies, Pratap was proud of his artistic accomplishments and this is certainly a beautifully produced type, copied from one of the finest Agra rupees of Jahangir. The weights of individual specimens are now closely controlled, and there is remarkably little variation. In contemporary documents coins of this type are known as ‘Kavindramallitanka’, presumably specified because of its fine standard of production.

261. Suki Obv. Trident in centre, legend ‘Śri Rūpamati’ with flowers of dots in field.

Rev. ‘Devi 769’, two imitation Persian characters in field, and Arabic numerals ‘15’ to l. and r. of bottom line.

BM(1.40), V(1.36, 1.35, 1.17), G(1.36), R(1.36*).

Struck in the name of Rupamati Devi, Queen of Pratap Malla, and copied from a nisar of Jahangir, this fine little piece was probably struck to commemorate the death of Rupamati Devi in AD 1649. This is the first of a number of sukis struck in the name of the Queen rather than the King.

262. Suki Obv. As last, but legend ‘Śri Rūpamati Devī’.

Rev. ‘Vidhī Rājkanyā 769’.

V(1.36, 1.31), G(1.36, 1.31), R(1.30*)


The reverse inscription, 'Princess of Behar', refers to the fact that Rupamati was the sister of King Prana Narayan of Cooch Behar.\(^8^9\)

263. Dam  **Bracteate.** Legend 'Sri Pra/täpa', sun l., moon r. and dot at top.  
**BM(0.03), V(0.04), G(0.04), R(0.04\*).**

**Jaya Chakravartendra Malla (AD 1669)**

264. Mohar  **Obv.** In central circle shell and wheel, a bow to r., five arrows to l., inscription 'Sri 2 Jaya Chakrava-' all on floral field.  
**Rev.** In central inverted triangle, noose and elephant goad. To r. mace, to l. lotus flower, legend '-tendra Malla Deva 789' on floral field.  
**BM(5.48, 5.41, 5.39, 5.25, 5.20), V(5.41, 5.40, 5.36), G(5.49\*, 5.21), R(5.42, 5.34, 5.30, 5.17), Ash(5.43), W(5.51).**  
A beautiful and original design, struck during the lifetime of his father Pratap Malla, probably during the period when Pratap Malla went on a long pilgrimage to India.\(^9^0\) According to the Vamsavali, during this pilgrimage his four sons were each to rule for one year, but Chakravartendra died after only one day because of the use of the bow and arrow in the design of his coin.\(^9^1\) This story is unlikely to be literally true, since if the design was so unlucky, surely Ranajit Malla of Bhatgaon would not have copied it in NS 842 (AD 1722) (cf. nos. 561-3 below). However, the issue of this coin shows that Chakravartendra may have been elevated to the throne in NS 789, and it is likely that he died later the same year.\(^9^2\)

265. Half mohar  **Obv.** Trisul in central petal, four petals around with legend 'Sri Jaya Chakravartendra'.  
**Rev.** As **obv.**, but sword in centre and legend 'Malla Deva'.  
**BM(2.74), V(2.73\*, 2.71), G(2.74, 2.73), R(2.66).**

**Mahapatendra Malla (c.AD 1669)**

266. Mohar  **Obv.** Trident in centre within diamond, four panels arranged around to form square. Legend 'Sri 2 Jaya Mahipa-'  
**Rev.** Sword with wreath in centre. Legend '-tendra Malla Deva' in floral field.  
**BM(5.50), V(5.36, 5.35, 5.32), G(5.48\*), R(5.39), W(5.17).**  
Mahapatendra was the younger brother of Chakravartendra, who did not succeed to the throne after his father's death, so these undated coins were probably struck during the lifetime of Pratap Malla, perhaps after Chakravartendra Malla's death about AD 1669 and before his father resumed the throne after his pilgrimage\(^9^3\) later in the same year.

267. Half mohar  **Obv.** Square in centre with eight petals around. Legend 'Sri Jaya Mahipa-'  
**Rev.** Conch shell in centre, scalloped hexagon around, with legend '-tendra Malla Deva'.  
Kesari Raj Pande (2.3).\(^9^4\)

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\(^8^9\) It is interesting to note that a gold coin struck by Rupamati's brother, Prana Narayan of Cooch Behar (1633–66) is dated in the Nepal Samvat era, perhaps the only time that this era was used outside Nepal. cf. V. V. Mirashi, 'A Gold Coin of Prananarayana', *JNSI* vol. III (1941), pp. 93–7.


\(^9^1\) Wright, op. cit. p. 220. Wright notes that the 'bow and arrow are ominous of death, but, nevertheless, the water in which such a coin is dipped possesses the quality of causing a speedy delivery in child-bed. These coins, which are very rare, are still used for this purpose'. Note also the coins with the bow and arrow skilfully engraved on them, listed as nos. T1 and T2 on p. * below.

\(^9^2\) It may be noted that the painting published by Deepak Shimkhada (n. 90) shows three sons of Pratap Malla, omitting Chakravartendra, who had presumably died by the time the manuscript was written in 789 NS.

\(^9^3\) This coin was wrongly attributed to Jagajjaya Malla by Walsh ('The Coinage of Nepal', *JRAI* 1908, p. 728, no. 31).

We have never seen this rare piece. The illustration in D. R. Regmi's book is too poor to be reproduced, but good enough to show that the coin has been correctly identified.

**Jaya Nripendra Malla (AD 1674–80)**

268. Mohar

*Obv.* Between imitation Persian characters, trident in centre and legend ‘Sri Sri Jaya Nripendra’, with floral field.

*Rev.* As *obv.*, but sword with wreath in centre and legend ‘Malla Deva 794’.

BM(5.49, 5.44), ANS(5.48), V(5.49, 5.47, 5.46, 5.19), G(5.37*), R(5.40), Ash(5.41), W(5.52).

269. Mohar

*Obv.* As last, but field reticulated.

*Rev.* As last, but field cross-hatched with lines from upper r. to lower l.

V(5.29), G(5.33), R(5.31*).

270. Suki

*Obv.* Imitation Persian characters. Legend ‘Sri Jaya Nripendra’. Field cross-hatched with lines from upper l. to lower r.


V(1.44, 1.27), G(1.36*), R.

271. Adhani

*Bracteate.* Sword with wreath, legend ‘Sri Nripendra’.

V(0.35), R(0.35*).

272. Dam

*Bracteate.* Legend ‘Sri Nripendra’.

BM(0.04), ANS(0.04), V(0.04), G(0.04*), R(0.03).

**Jaya Parthivendra Malla (AD 1680–87)**

273. Mohar

Much as no. 268, but legend ‘Sri Sri Jaya Parthivendra Malla Deva 800’, no sword on *rev.*, but the ‘asta-mangala’, the eight Buddhist lucky emblems, distributed in the field. four on each side.

BM(5.45), ANS(5.36), V(5.45), G(5.38*, 5.24), R(5.11).

This is the first appearance of the ‘asta mangala’ on Malla coins, symbols that were to appear on almost all later mohars of Kathmandu.

274. Mohar

*Obv.* Within two intersecting squares, legend ‘Sri Sri Jaya Parthivendra Malla Deva’. In triangles around, ‘Mahārāja Nepalendra’, and outside the ‘asta mangala’.

*Rev.* Within two intersecting squares, vase and legend ‘Rājya Lakṣmī Devī 802’. In triangles, legend ‘Mahārāni Jagatmātā’ (Maharani, mother of the world).

BM(5.35), ANS(5.43), V(5.42, 5.38, 5.29), G(5.41*, 5.38), R(5.40, 5.37, 5.21).

275. Mohar

As last, but reads ‘Pāthi’ rather than ‘Pārthi’ on *obv.* in error. Four or five dots below *obv.*

R(5.35*), G(5.46*). Ash(5.50).

Rajya Lakshmi was the Queen of Parthivendra, and must have enjoyed the particular favour of her husband, being the only Queen of Kathmandu to have her name inscribed on the mohars as well as the smaller suki, although this practice is later found on the mohars of Patan. Presumably the year NS 802 (AD 1682) was significant for the Queen, perhaps the date of the marriage.

Several minor varieties of ornamentation are found in the above pieces, although these are not always clear. The flowers below ‘de’ and right of ‘va’ on the obverse can have either four or five dots, and some pieces may have no dots to the right of the date or above ‘kṣmī’ on the reverse.
276. Half mohar  
Square flan  
**Obv.**  Sword with wreath surrounded by ‘asta mangala’ and legend ‘Śrī Pārthivendra Malla’.

**Rev.**  Mirror in centre, sword to l., and legend ‘Śrī Rājya Lākṣmī Devī Mahārāṇī’.

V(2.65*), G(2.66), B(2.71).

277. Suki  
**Obv.**  Legend ‘Śrī Jaya Pārthi’ on floral field.

**Rev.**  ‘vendra Malla Deva 800’ in field with imitation Persian characters and flowers.

G(1.26), H(*).

278. Suki  
**Obv.**  Trisul in centre, legend ‘Śrī Jaya Pārthivendra Malla’.

**Rev.**  Offering vase with wreath and legend ‘Rājya Lākṣmī Devī 802’.

ANS(1.30), V(1.32, 1.23), G(1.32*), R.

279. Dam  
**Bracteate.**  Legend ‘Śrī Pārthi’.

V(0.04), G(0.05*), R(0.04)

**Jaya Bhupalendra Malla (AD 1687–1700)**

280. Mohar  
**Obv.**  Imitation Arabic characters, trident in centre, legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpālendra Malla’ on floral field.

**Rev.**  As obv., but sword with wreath in centre and legend ‘Lākṣmī Nārāyana 808’.

V(5.50, 5.43), G(5.30*)R.

Lakshmi Narayan was the chief minister in Kathmandu at this time. He was the only such minister to place his name on the coins of Kathmandu.

281. Mohar  
**Obv.**  In central octagon, trident and legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Bhūpālendra Malla’, and in eight petals around legend ‘Nepāleśvara Rājendra’.

**Rev.**  In central octagon, sword with wreath and legend ‘Lākṣmī Nārāyana 809’, ‘asta mangala’ in eight petals around.

ANS(5.50), V(5.44, 5.19), G(5.45*), R(5.51, 5.49, 5.35).

282. Mohar  
**Obv.**  In central circle, trident and legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Bhūpālendra’, ‘asta mangala’ in eight petals around. One dot below ‘bhū’ and none below ‘pa’.

**Rev.**  In central scalloped octagon, sword with wreath and legend ‘Malla Deva 812’. In eight petals around legend ‘Nepāleśvara Rājendra’.

BM(5.43), ANS(5.49), V(5.47), G(5.44*), R(5.44, 5.24).

This is the first of the eight-petalled coins, sometimes referred to as ‘chyasing mohars’, which were to become so popular in Tibet. This popularity was perhaps partly because of the auspicious Buddhist lucky emblems, and perhaps partly because of the fact that the petals could act as guidelines for cutting the mohar into fractions of 1, 1/2 or 1/3, depending on how many petals remained on the cut piece—see p. 207 below. We have, however, never found any coins of Bhupalendra cut in this way.

283. Mohar  
As last, but three dots below ‘bhū’ and one below ‘pa’ on obv.

BM(5.46, 5.41), ANS(5.49), V(5.53, 5.53), G(5.40, 5.37*), R(5.46, 5.40, 5.38, 5.29), Ash(5.44).

Lakshmi Narayan died in NS 810 (AD 1690), and as the new chief minister, Mansingju, was not as powerful a character, he did not put his name on the coins.

284. Mohar  
**Obv.**  Design as last, but legend in centre ‘Śrī 2 Vīra Bhūpālendra’ and in surrounding petals ‘Girindra Rāja Rājendra’.

**Rev.**  Design as last, but legend in centre ‘Śrī Śrī Kavi-820’ and in surrounding petals ‘ndra Chūḍamani Samrat’

ANS(5.54), V(5.56, 5.39), G(5.49*, 5.26), R(5.46).
285. Mohar

As last, but no extra dots by top of sword on rev.
R(5.33*), Ash(5.49).

The title 'Kavindra Chudamani Samrat' can be translated as 'King of Poets. Jewel in the Crown of the Empire'.

286. Suki

Obv. Trident and legend 'Śri 2 Hṛdhi Lakṣmi Rāje-
Rev. Mirror in centre, legend '-śvarī Devī 808'
V, G(1.34), R(1.36*).

Struck in the name of Riddhi Lakshmi who was the mother of Bhupalendra, and who became Regent for her son during his minority.

286a. Adhani

Bracteate. Sword with wreath, legend 'Śri Bhūpālendra'.
G(0.32)

287. Paisa

Bracteate. Same die as last.
R(0.16*).

288. Dam

Bracteate. Legend 'Śri Bhū/pāle'.
BM(0.04), ANS(0.04), V(0.04), G(0.04*), R(0.06. 0.03).

Jaya Bhaskara Malla (AD 1701–15)

289. Mohar

Obv. As no. 282 above, but legend 'Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhāskara'. Fishes (visually reproduced).
Rev. In central circle, two imitation Persian characters forming horizontal lines; sword with wreath in centre and legend 'Malla Deva 821'. In eight outer petals, legend 'Nepāreśvara Girindra'.
BM(5.53, 5.52, 5.51, 5.44), ANS(5.49, 5.48, 5.45, 5.45, 5.43, 5.40), V(5.59, 5.52), G(5.46*), R(5.44, 5.37*, 5.36).

The title 'Nepāreśvara Girindra' means 'Lord of Nepal and King of the Hills'. The letters 'ra' and 'la' appear to be interchangeable, so the epithet is identical to the 'Nepāleśvara' that appears on many other coins. One piece (Pl. XVI, 289a) is struck over a mohar of Bhupatinda Malla of Bhatgaon.

290. Mohar

As last, but crescent and dot either side of sword on rev.
V(5.43, 5.41), G(5.30*), R5.42, 5.41).

291. Mohar

As no. 289, but on obv. crescent and dot, and group of three dots each side of trident.
R(5.48*).

292. Mohar

As last, but additional groups of three dots either side of 'Śrī' on obv.
R(5.36*).

293. Mohar

Obv. As last.
Rev. As last, but reads 'Nepāleśvara', and four groups of three dots in central circle.
BM(5.44), ANS(5.49, 5.41), V(5.50, 5.30) G(5.44*) m R(5.55, 5.40, 5.40), Ash(5.40).

294. Mohar

As last, but fishes on obv. (VISUAL REPRODUCTION).
N(*)

295. Mohar

Obv. As no. 293.
Rev. As last, but four extra dots in central circle.
N(*)

296. Mohar

Obv. As no. 291.
Rev. Same die as last.
G(5.48*)

297. Mohar

As no. 293, but three dots to l. of trident on obv. skillfully re-engraved on the die to produce a flower.
G(5.44), N(*).
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

298. Mohar
   As no. 293, but groups of four dots either side of trident on obv.
   N(*)

299. Mohar
   As last, but groups of five dots either side of trident.
   R(5.25), N(*)

300. Suki
   Obv. Imitation Persian characters forming two lines across field. Trisul
       in centre, legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Bhāskara’.
   Rev. As obv. but conch-shell in centre and legend ‘Malla Deva 818’.
       BM(1.34), ANS(1.33), V(1.39, 1.38), G(1.41*), R(1.37, 1.32).

   This piece, dated three years before Bhaskara’s accession, was probably issued on his installa-
   tion as heir apparent.

301. Paisa
   Bracteate. Sword with wreath, legend ‘Śrī Bhā/skara’.
   N(0.15*).

302. Dam
   Bracteate. Legend ‘Śrī Bhā/skara’.
   ANS(0.05), V(0.04), G(0.04*), R(0.04, 0.05), Ash(0.03).

Jaya Mahendra Simha (AD 1715–22)

Mahendra Simha also ruled in Patan from NS 837 (AD 1717). The coins listed here
are those with typical Kathmandu-style designs, while a mohar dated NS 837
honouring the patron deity of Patan, ‘Karunamaya’, has been listed below under
Patan (nos. 451–2).

303. Mohar
   Obv. Type as mohar of Bhaskara, no. 293, but legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahin-
        dra’.
   Rev. Type as no. 293, but legend in central circle ‘Simha Deva 835’.
       BM(5.54, 5.49, 5.48, 5.45, 5.43, 5.35). ANS(5.53, 5.46, 5.44, 5.43,

304. Mohar
   As last, but single dots by trident, instead of groups of three dots.
   V(5.49), G(5.57), R(5.46, 5.38).

   Several specimens of nos. 303/4 have been analysed as 95 or 94 per cent silver.

305. Suki
   Obv. Two imitation Persian characters across field, trident in centre with
        legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Mahindra’. Four pellets l. of ‘Ma’.
   Rev. As obv., but conch-shell in centre and legend ‘Simha Deva 835’.
        G(1.28*), R(1.33).

306. Suki
   As last, but ‘Ja’ on obv. joined to upper Persian character – perhaps
   an unintentional die-break.
   V(1.31, 1.12). G(1.32*), R(1.35).

307. Suki
   As last, but new obv. die with ‘Ja’ not joined and three dots l. of
   ‘Ma’. Rev. die linked with last, but in later state.
   ANS(1.28), G(1.28*), R(1.33).

308. Suki
   Obv. Trident in centre, legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Mahendra Simha Deva’, with
        three dots over ‘ndra’.
   Rev. Offering vase with wreath, legend ‘Śrī Mahendra Lakṣmī 838’, three
        dots each side of vase.
        ANS(1.38), V(1.35), G(1.32*). R(1.34).

309. Suki
   As last, but no dots over ‘ndra’.
   vK(1.34). H(*)

310. Suki
   As last, but no dots by offering vase.
   R(1.19). vK(1.34*).

   Mahendra Lakshmi was presumably the Queen of Mahendra Simha, although she is not men-
   tioned in any other documents. The date NS 838 (AD 1718) may be the date of the marriage.

311. Adhani
   Obv. Sword with wreath, legend ‘Śrī Ma/hendra’.
THE MALLA DYNASTY, AD 1540–1768

312. Dam

Bracteate. Legend ‘Śrī Mahinda’.

Dams of this type could have been struck in Patan by Mahendra Malla or by Mahendra Simha, or in Kathmandu by Mahendra Simha. Patan dams of this period are rather rare, while those struck in Kathmandu by Bhaskara Malla and Jagajjaya Malla are very common. We presume, therefore, that all the ‘Mahendra’ dams were struck in Kathmandu, and that if any had been struck in Patan, they would have been differentiated in some way.

Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (AD 1722–35)

313. Mohar

Obv. Basic type as no. 303 above, but trident with single dot below. Legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Jagajjaya’. No dots in field.

Rev. As no. 284, but legend in centre ‘Malla Deva 842’. and in petals ‘Nepaleśvara Rājendra’.

314. Mohar

As last, but three dots below trident, and l. of ‘Śrī’, and one dot each side of trident.

315. Mohar

As last, but three dots also r. of ‘ya’ in ‘Jagajjaya’.

One specimen has been analysed as 95 per cent fine.

316. Mohar

Obv. As last, but legend ‘Śrī 2 Jagajjaya Malla’, dots arranged as no. 314.

Rev. In octagon, sword with wreath and legend ‘Śrī 2 Mahipatendra Malla 848’, and in joined petals around ‘Nepaleśvara Rājendra’. Three dots l. of ‘Śrī’.

317. Mohar

As last, but crescent and dot each side of wreath on rev., and shape of rev. petals differs.

318. Mohar

As last, but four additional groups of three dots on rev.

Several specimens of the last three varieties have been analysed at 92 or 93 per cent fine. Apparently a slight debasement from the 95 per cent of earlier types. The new type and date may have signalled this slight debasement. It is interesting that Jagajjaya included the name of his late grandfather, Mahipatendra, on his coins at this time: presumably he felt the need to justify his rather distant claim to the throne, although there is no evidence from other sources that his position was threatened by anyone else.

319. Sukī


Rev. Offering vase with wreath and three pellets over. Legend ‘Śrī Kumudini Devi 842’, the ‘4’ re-engraved, probably over ‘5’. Three dots each side of ‘Śrī’.

Kumudini Devi was the Queen of Jagajjaya Malla. Sukīs were also struck by her during the reign of her son, Jaya Prakash Malla, when she acted as Regent (nos. 331–3).

320. Sukī

As last, but three dots l. of ‘jja’, and no dots over ‘jja’ and ‘ya’ and four dots below trident on obv.
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V(1.40, 1.13), G(1.43), R(1.37, 1.34*, 1.32).

320a. Suki
As last, but three dots below trident.
R(1.26*).

321. Suki
As last, but no dots over wreath and date not re-engraved on rev.
G(1.30*), R(1.33).

322. Suki
As last, but obv. legend Śrī 2 Jagajjaya Malla, (note no 'Jaya'), and
with three dots and crescent with dot either side of trident on obv.
No dots either side of 'Śrī 2' at top of rev.
R(1.38*).

322a. Suki
As last, but on obv. three dots to left of 'Śrī 2' in place of crescent,
and only a single dot each side of trident. On rev., three dots each
side of 'Śrī 2'.
R(1.07*).

323. Suki
As last, but on obv. three dots either side of trident and no dots
below trident.
V(1.31), G(1.36*), R(1.32).

324. Adhani
Obv. Sword with wreath, legend 'Śrī Jajajj-gajja-
Rev. Lion 1., legend above '-ya Malla'
V(0.29*), N(0.33).

325. Paisa
Bracteate. Same die as obv. of adhani above.
V(0.18), N(0.10*)

326. Dam
Bracteate. Legend 'Śrī Jajajj-gajja'.
V(0.04, 0.03), G(0.05*), R(0.03).

Jaya Prakash Malla, 1st reign (AD 1735–46)

327. Mohar
Obv. As no. 316 above, but obv. legend 'Śrī 2 Jaya Prakāśa Malla'. Three
dots below trident. Fishes ～.
Rev. As no. 305, but date '856'.
BM(5.47, 5.47, 5.42, 5.27), ANS(5.48, 5.45), V(5.49, 5.44, 5.37),
G(5.42*, 5.39, 5.35), R(5.34, 5.31, 5.29, 5.17).

328. Mohar
As last, but one dot below trident on obv. Fishes ～.
BM(5.43), ANS(5.37, 5.28), V(5.47), G(5.40), R(5.45*, 5.40, 5.38),
Ash(5.46).

329. Mohar
As last, but fishes ～.
ANS(5.31), N(*).

Note the unusual form of the numeral '5' on the specimen illustrated, not present on the
other example of this variety we have noted. The above three varieties were struck in large
numbers in a debased alloy for Tibet, and were often cut there for use as small change,
see page 207 below. Three specimens have been analysed as 66, 67 and 68 per cent silver.

330. Half mohar
Obv. Trisul in central circle, four petals around with legend 'Śrī 2 Jaya Pra-
Rev. Bent sword in central quatrefoil with legend '-kāśa Malla Deva 856'
across field in four lines.
BM(2.81), ANS(2.69), V(2.83), G(2.80*), R(2.83).

Although the mohars of this date are all debased, these half mohars are fine silver, and one
has been analysed as 98.5 per cent fine. This, and the heavy weight (which is significantly
greater than half that of the contemporary mohar) implies that these rare coins, which are
usually found in perfect condition, were struck for presentation rather than for circulation.

331. Suki
Obv. Trident, two dots each side. Legend 'Śrī Janani Kü-
Rev. Mirror. Legend 'mūdīni Devī 856'
G(1.33*)
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332. Suki
As last, but one dot each side of mirror on rev.
BM(1.44, 1.41, 1.33), V(1.13), G(1.25*), R(1.38, 1.31).

333. Suki
As last, but only one dot each side of trident on obv.
ANS(1.37), V(1.42, 1.14), G(1.30*), R(1.36, 1.31, 1.05).

These sukis were struck in the name of the Queen Mother, Kumudini Devi, in her capacity as Regent for the young King, following the precedent set by Riddhi Lakshmi Devi in NS 808 (AD 1688). Her name also appeared on the sukis of her husband Jagajjaya Malla. In contrast to the half mohar, these sukis were struck in debased silver, are much more common, and were clearly struck for circulation.

334. Ani
Obv. Sword with wreath. Legend 'Śri Jaya Prakāśa'.
Rev. Lion I., legend above 'kāśa'.
ANS(0.74, 0.64, 0.58), R(0.69*).

This ani and the two following smaller denominations probably belong to the first reign of Jaya Prakash, because the design is similar to that of the minor denominations of the earlier rulers. During his second reign, rather more original designs were chosen. These small coins are very rare and were only struck for presentation, as is clear from the fact that fine silver was used; one specimen of the ani has been analysed as 97.8 per cent fine.

335. Adhani
Design as last, but smaller dies.
BM(0.37), ANS(0.38), G(0.34*), R(0.36).

336. Paisa
Bracteate. Same obv. die as last.
BM(0.16), N(*)

337. Dam
Bracteate. Legend 'Śri Jaya Prakāśa'
BM(0.04), V(0.04), G(0.04*), R(0.04*, 0.03), Ash(0.03)

As expected for a coin struck in quantity for circulation at this time, this dam appears to have been struck in debased silver, although we have not been able to have the metal of such a tiny piece analysed.

Jyoti Prakash Malla (AD 1746-50)

338. Mohar
Obv. As no. 328 above, but legend 'Śrī 2 Jotī Prakāśa Malla'.
Rev. Similar to no. 328, but circle instead of octagon, and legend around in separated petals. Legend in centre reads 'Mahipatendra 886', with two different forms of '6'
BM(5.33), V(5.48, 5.42), G(5.45), R(5.26*)

MacDowall read this date as NS 859. However, both numerals would normally be read as '6', and so '866' seems the most likely reading, even though it means the use of two different types of numeral on the one coin. A similar date is found on the suki of Jaya Lakshmi, no. 347 below.

339. Mohar
Obv. Much as last, but shorter trident and legend begins 'Śrī 2 Jyoti ...'
Rev. As last, but legend in centre reads 'Mahipatendra Malla 866', with only one form of '6' used.
BM(5.46*), V(4.93), G(5.23), R(5.01, 4.49).

340. Mohar
As last, but trident on obv. has ribbons.
V(5.32), G(5.50), R(5.35*).

341. Mohar
Obv. As no. 338, but legend starts 'Śrī 2 Jyoti ...', Fishes ☾.
Rev. As last, but central octagon, rather than circle.
BM(5.37), ANS(5.32), V(5.00), G(5.37), R(5.28*), Ash(5.50).

342. Mohar
As last, but fishes on obv. ☾.
BM(5.34, 5.16), ANS(5.33, 5.29, 5.29, 5.13), V(5.27, 5.17, 5.16), G(5.30*), R(5.33), Ash 5.46)

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343. Mohar

As last, bur rev. petals joined. Fishes $\sim$.

V(5.43, 5.00), G(5.52*), R(5.42).

344. Mohar

As last, but fishes $\sim$.

R(5.35*).

345. Mohar

Rev.

As last, but central octagon instead of circle. Fishes $\sim$.

G(4.87*), R(5.30).

346. Mohar

As last, but fishes $\sim$.

Bons(*).

The mohars of Jyoti Prakash are even more debased than those of the first reign of Jaya Prakash; three specimens have been analysed as 53, 50 and 43 per cent fine.

347. Suki

Obv.

In central diamond small trident. In four petals around, legend ‘Śrī Janani’.

Rev.

In central quatrefoil mirror. Legend around ‘Jaya Lakṣmī Devī 866’ with two types of ‘6’ as on no. 338 above.

V(1.33, 1.20), G(1.22*), R(1.32)

348. Suki

Obv.

As last.

Rev.

Offering vase with wreath, legend ‘Jaya Lakṣmī Devī 866’ with only one form of ‘6’.

G(1.27*), R(1.27).

349. Suki

Obv.

Trident, legend ‘Śrī Janani’.

Rev.

As last.

BM(1.7), V(1.36), G(1.32*), R(1.33, 1.28, 1.27, 1.20).

350. Dam

Bracteate.

Legend ‘Śrī Jo/ti Pra’.

V(0.04), G(0.03), R(0.04*), Ash(0.04).

351. Dam

Bracteate.

Legend ‘Śrī Jyo/ti Pra’.

V(0.04), G(0.03), R(0.04*).

Jaya Prakash Malla, 2nd Reign (c. AD 1750–68)

Although Jaya Prakash regained the throne in AD 1750 (NS 870), it was only in NS 873 that a new issue of coins appeared. The Dalai Lama wrote to the Nepalese Kings about AD 1751, objecting to the debased quality of the coins sent to Lhasa, so perhaps no silver was sent from Tibet to Nepal at this time. In any case, when the new coins did appear in AD 1753 after a short-lived issue of debased pieces, the design was changed and coins were struck in fine silver for the first time since the AD 1730s. Furthermore, a fine series of gold coins was struck.

352. Gold Mohar

Obv.

Within pointed octagon, trisul and legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Prakāśa Malla’. Around in eight petals, ‘asta mangala’, legend ‘Nepālēśvara 873’ between.

Rev.

Within scolloped circle, inverted triangle and legend ‘Śrī 3 Taleju Māju’. Around in eight petals legend ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Kumārī Māju’, and in angles ‘Śrī Mahipatendra Malla’.

BM(5.49), R(5.38*), Berlin, Rotterdam (5.58), Sm(5.59).

It is interesting to note that these gold coins of Jaya Prakash are rarely found in Nepal. Paul Rose obtained one there in the AD 1960s which he presented to the Smithsonian in Washington, but we have heard of only one or two others in private collections in Nepal. The other specimens known to us came to Europe many years ago, although we do not know in what circumstances. The first published record of both the gold mohar and the

96 cf. n. 70 above.
gold half mohar occurs as early as AD 1791. Specimens in the British Museum were mainly acquired from J. J. Banks in AD 1816; in the Bode Museum, East Berlin, ex Guthrie 1876; those in the Fonrobert sale, Berlin 1881, may have passed indirectly to the Rotterdam Museum. Earlier provenances are not available for the specimens that appeared in a G. Hirsch sale or in a Sotheby’s sale, but there is every reason to believe that these specimens had been in Europe for many years. At this stage, any attempt to explain this strange phenomenon would be pure speculation, but these remarkable gold coins may have been sent as a ceremonial gift when Jaya Prakash solicited the help of the East India Company in AD 1766. The result of this appeal for assistance against Prithvi Narayan was the ill-fated Kinloch expedition, which was thoroughly defeated, as much by floods and fever as by the Gorkha troops.

353. Gold Half mohar

*Obv.*
In scolloped diamond, trident. Around, in and between four petals, legend ‘Sri 2 Jaya Prakāṣa Malla’. Flowers in field.

*Rev.*
In central circle, sword with wreath. In four petals around, legend ‘Deva 873’, flowers in field. Same dies as no. 364 below.

Rotterdam (2.76).

354. Gold Suki

*Obv.*
Small trident, legend around ‘Śri 2 Jaya Prakāṣa Malla’.

*Rev.*
Sword with wreath, legend around ‘Śri 3 Gūjheśvari 873’.

BM(1.37), R(1.32*). Rotterdam (1.39).

355. Gold Ani

*Obv.*
Trident with canopy, legend ‘Śri Jaya Prakāṣa Malla’.

*Rev.*
Sword with canopy, legend ‘Śrī-kāṣa Malla Deva’. Same dies as no. 367 below.

Rotterdam (0.69).

356. Gold Adhani

*Obv.*
Sword with wreath, legend ‘Śri Jaya Prakāṣa Malla’.

*Rev.*
Lion l., legend above ‘-sa Malla’. Same dies as no. 369 below.

BM(0.35, 0.35), R(0.31*). Berlin.

357. Gold Paisa

*Bracteate.*
Same obv. die as last.

BM(0.17, 0.14). Rotterdam.

358. Gold Dam

*Bracteate.*
Sword with legend ‘Śri Ja/ya Pra’.

BM(32 pcs. 0.064-0.022, avge. wt. 0.046), R(0.05*). Berlin.

359. Gold Jawa

*Square bracteate.*
Ornamental trisul.

BM(0.010, 0.009*, 0.009(× 2))

360. Gold Quarter Jawa

As last, but cut quarter part.

BM(0.003*, 0.002).

The gold jawa and its cut fractions are the smallest gold coins in the world.

361. Mohar

*Obv.*
In scolloped octagon, trident with lion l. below and legend ‘Śri 2 Jaya Prakāṣa Malla’. The ‘asta mangala’ in eight petals around.

In circle, large inverted triangle with wreathed sword above and legend ‘Śri Kumārī 873’. In eight joined petals around, legend ‘Śri 2 Mahipatendra Malla’.


Rather scarcer than the following mohar, rather light in weight on average, and struck from a debased alloy; two specimens analysed are 51 and 50 per cent silver.

362. Mohar

Type of gold mohar—some die duplicates can be found. Fishes 未成年.

BM(5.58, 5.55, 5.52, 5.52, 5.52, 5.48, 5.47, 5.46, 5.44, 5.44, 5.32).

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97 Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, *Systema Brahmani- cnum* (Rome, 1791). pl. XXXI. The coins were in the collection of Cardinal Borgia, having been acquired in Patna. The author did not know that they were Nepalese coins.


99 Sotheby’s London, 5 Dec. 1966. Lot. 80. This AV mohar was acquired by N. G. Rhodes at the sale.
363. Mohar

As last, but fishes.

BM(5.48, 5.44, 5.41, 5.32), ANS(5.43, 5.36), V(5.41), G(5.48*), R(4.89).

This and the previous variety were struck in fine silver, the two specimens analysed being 96 and 95 per cent silver. Note that other mohars of Jaya Prakash dated NS 880 were struck in Patan and are listed under that kingdom (nos. 499–500).

364. Half mohar

Same dies as gold half mohar.

BM(2.74), ANS(2.74, 2.71), R(2.69*).

365. Suki

*Obv.* Trident with hand-drum top. Legend ‘Sri 3 Paśupati’.

*Rev.* Sword with wreath, legend ‘Sri 3 Gujheśvari 873’. Although this reverse is identical in design to the gold suki, we have not noted a die-link.

BM(1.22), V(1.40, 1.22, 1.21, 1.18), G(1.31), R(1.29*).

This anonymous coin honours two deities, Pashupati and the Tantric Goddess Gujhesvari. It must be an issue of Jaya Prakash, although it is unusual in not bearing his name. The coin may have been struck by Jaya Prakash to thank the gods in whose temples he received shelter during his exile. This variety appears to be struck in debased alloy, so it was probably issued before the following variety, which is of fine silver.

366. Suki

As gold suki; the obv. is sometimes a die-duplicate.

BM(1.36, 1.34), ANS(1.40), G(1.35), R(1.37*, 1.34).

367. Ani

Same dies as gold ani.

BM(0.64), R(0.68*).

368. Ani

Much as last, although dies differ in detail, and sword on rev. has wreath.

BM(0.71), ANS(0.66, 0.65), R(0.60*).

369. Adhani

As gold adhani, sometimes a die-duplicate.

BM(0.37, 0.37, 0.34, 0.32, 0.32, 0.30), ANS(0.35), V(0.29), G(0.35*), R(0.34, 0.31).

370. Paisa

*Bracteate.* Same die as gold paisa.

BM(0.18, 0.15), ANS(0.18), V(0.20), R(0.16*).

371. Dam.

*Bracteate.* As gold dam, with sword.

BM(53 pcs, 0.059–0.034, avge. wt. 0.045), ANS(0.04 × 7), V(0.04), G(0.04), R(0.04*).

372. Jawa

*Bracteate.* As gold jawa.

BM(56 pcs, 0.014–0.007, avge. wt. 0.010), ANS(0.008 × 7), G(0.009), R(0.013* × 3)

Although we have listed this anonymous jawa under the second reign of Jaya Prakash Malla, it was certainly struck earlier, as well as at this period. Not only did Father Costantino da Loro refer to this denomination as circulating in AD 1740. But the presence of a specimen in the Vienna ‘hoard’ of dams also indicates a date pre-AD 1746. However, it seems likely that the gold jawa formed part of the series of gold coins struck by Jaya Prakash in his second reign and dated AD 1753, so we believe that at least some of the silver jawas were struck at this time.

372a. Half jawa

As last, but cut half.

BM(0.004 × 2)

373. Quarter jawa

As last, but cut quarter.

BM(0.002), R(0.002*).

This is the smallest silver coin in the world.

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THE MALLA DYNASTY, AD 1540–1768

B. THE KINGDOM OF PATAN

Siddhinarasimha (AD 1619–61)
The rare tanka-standard coins in the name of Siddhinarasimha are described in the previous section (nos. 189 and 209 above.

374. Mohar
   As the tanka no. 209 above but dated 761 on rev.
   BM(5.65, 5.62), ANS(5.54. 5.51. 5.49. 5.44, 5.10. 5.10), V(5.55, 5.49, 5.43), G(5.56, 5.55), R(5.58*), 5.53. 5.50, 5.41), Ash(5.63, 5.56).

375. Suki
   **Obv.** Sword, legend 'Śri Śri Siddhi'.
   **Rev.** Lion 1., legend 'Nara' above and date '774' below in exergue.
   BM(1.35), ANS(1.25), V(1.31, 1.28), G(1.33), R(1.31*).

376. Dam
   **Bracteate.** Legend 'Śri Śri Siddhi'.
   R(0.06), N(*).

377. Dam
   **Bracteate.** Legend 'Śri Siddhi', crescent and dot each side of 'Śri'.
   BM(0.05, 0.04), V(0.04), G(0.04*).

378. Dam
   As last, but annulet to l., and conch-shell to r. of 'Śri'
   V( ), R(0.04), G(0.05*).

379. Dam
   As last, but inverted conch-shell to l.
   N(*).

Jaya Srinivasa Malla (AD 1661–85)

380. Mohar
   **Obv.** 'Ghiyas-ud-din' type. Legend in centre circle sword with legend 'Śri Śri Jaya'.
   **Rev.** As obv., but legend 'Śrînivâsâ Malla 781' above, within and below central circle.
   V(5.53, 5.50, 5.49), G(5.23*), R(5.40), Ash(5.26).

381. Mohar
   As last, but crescent and dot over each 'Śri' on obv.
   G(5.30*), R(5.21).

382. Mohar
   **Obv.** Two intersecting triangles. In central hexagon, sword and legend 'Śri Śri Jaya'. In six outer triangles, legend 'Śrînavâsâ Malla'.
   **Rev.** Mandala type. In central circle, two vases and elephant goad, with date '786' below. Legend around, 'Nepâleśvara'.
   BM(5.33), ANS(5.14), V(5.45, 5.32, 4.93), G(5.51*), R(5.38, 5.15).

383. Mohar
   As last, but on rev., date below central circle and no other legend.
   BM(5.53), ANS(5.52, 5.43, 5.04), V(5.48), G(5.33*), R(5.37).

384. Suki
   **Obv.** Two intersecting triangles. Sword in central hexagon, and in outer triangles, legend 'Śrînivâsâ Malla'.
   **Rev.** Trisul in central circle, in seven joined petals; around, legend 'Śri Mrgavati Devî'.
   V(1.36), G(1.36), R(1.30*).

Little is known of Queen Mrgavati, except that she is mentioned in an inscription of NS 786 as the mother of Srinivasa Malla's son Yoga Malla.

385. Suki
   **Obv.** In central square, small sword with wreath, all within diamond. Legend outside, 'Śrînivâsâ Malla'.
   **Rev.** Large flower in centre, legend around, 'Śrî Karunâmaya'.
   V(1.37), N(*).

Karunamaya was another name for 'Matsyendra Nath', the patron deity of Patan.

386. Suki
   As last, but rev. legend read 'Kalunâmaya', with 'la'.
   V(1.48), N(*).

387. Adhani
   **Obv.** Sword with legend 'Śrînivâsa'.
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**Rev.** Legend ‘Nepâleśvara’.
NMK(*).

**388. Adhani Bracteate.** Obv. die as last.
NMK

**389. Dam Bracteate.** Legend ‘Śrīnivāsa’.
BM(0.04), V(0.04), G(0.04), R(0.04*).

**Jaya Yoga Narendra Malla (AD 1684–1705)**

**390. Mohar Obv.** As no. 383 above, but legend in central hexagon ‘Śrī 2 Lokanātha’, and in and between outer triangles ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Yoga Narendra Malla Deva’.

**Rev.** As no. 383, but in central circle elephant goad between mirror and vermilion casket, date below ‘805’. Legend around ‘Yoga Lakṣmī Devi’. N(5.22*).

‘Lokanātha’ is another name for ‘Karunamaya’ or ‘Matsyendra Nath’, the patron deity of Patan.

**391. Mohar Obv.** Design of squares and diamonds. Legend interspersed ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha, Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla, Saṅgītārṇava Pāraga’ (i.e. Skilled in music).

**Rev.** Octagon with sides extended, vermilion casket, conch-shell and mace in centre. Legend around ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Lakṣmī Devī, Śrī Nepālā Chūḍaṃani, 805’ (i.e. Jewel in the Crown of Nepal).

BM(5.52, 5.40, 5.39, 5.36), ANS(5.22), V(5.41, 5.34, 5.30), G(5.44, 5.38*), R(5.39, 5.25, 4.90).

**392. Mohar** As last, but rev. legend reads ‘Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī, 805’.

BM(5.23), V(5.09, 4.91), G(5.27), R(5.28*), Ash(5.44).

**393. Mohar Obv.** Swastika formed of squares. Legend interspersed ‘Śrī 3 Lokanātha, Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla Deva, Saṅgītārṇava Pāraga’.

**Rev.** Two triangles intersecting with diamond. In centre diamond, vermilion casket with conch-shell and mace. Legend interspersed around ‘Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī, Śrī Pratāpa Lakṣmī Devī, 805’.

BM(5.56, 5.46, 5.41, 5.35, 5.35, 5.31), ANS(5.42, 5.41, 5.37, 5.34, 5.23), V(5.46, 5.45, 5.37), G(5.48, 5.44*), R(5.52, 5.33, 5.33, 5.22, 5.21), Ash(5.41).

This, and no. 396 below, are the only Nepalese coin-types to have the names of two different queens.

**394. Mohar** As last, but ornamental border instead of normal dotted border on rev.

BM(5.23), V(5.34), G(5.47). H(*).

**395. Mohar Obv.** As last.

**Rev.** Within square and diamond, kalasa (vase of holy water) resting on lotus flower, conch-shell, wheel, mace, and lotus flower. Mirror and vermilion casket l. and r. Legend interspersed ‘Yoga Lakṣmī Devī, 805’ (form of ‘Ś’ differs from previous pieces). Ornamental border.

BM(5.29), ANS(5.45), V(5.39, 5.37), G(5.48, 5.45, 5.35*), R(5.39, 5.34, 5.26).

**396. Mohar Obv.** As last.

**Rev.** In central circle, vermilion casket, eight small petals around, each containing three dots. Two intersecting quadrilaterals with concave
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sides around, legend in corners and angles ‘Srī Yoga Rakṣmī Devī, Srī Narendra Rakṣmī Devī 808’.
BM(5.44), ANS(5.41, 5.20), V(5.46, 5.38), G(5.35, 5.28), R(5.47, 5.24, 5.12), Ash(5.25), Bons(*).

397. Mohar  

Obv. Sword with wreath on stand. Legend either side ‘Srī Srī Jaya Yoga Narendra Malla, Sarhgitārṇāva Parāga’ (skilled in music), all on reticulated surface.

Rev. Trident with wreath. Legend either side in Devanagari script ‘Srī Srī Vira Yoga Narendra Malla, Nepāla Chudāmani (jewel in the crown of Nepal), 820’. Three pellets lower l. and r. and upper l. and r.

N(*).

398. Mohar  

As last, but rev. dots only lower l. and r.
BM(5.47, 5.37, 5.26), ANS(5.45, 5.29), V(5.41, 5.38), G(5.35), R(5.31, 5.17), Bons(*).

399. Mohar  

As last, but flower l. and r. of rev.
ANS(5.53, 5.39, 5.39, 5.03), V(5.51, 5.46, 5.45, 5.37), G(5.40), R(5.36, 5.31*, 5.30, 5.23), Ash(5.38).

The last three pieces are the only Malla coins to have in inscription in Devanagari script.

400. 1/2 mohar  

Square flan  

Obv. On reticulated field, two interlaced squares. In centre, sword with wreath under canopy, elephant goad l., noose r. Legend in outer triangles ‘Srī Srī Yoga Narindrasya’

Rev. In central circle, vase with wreath, eight petals around, with legend ‘Srī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī.

N(3.96*).

The only coin of this denomination in the Malla series, and one of the few with the name of the king in the genitive case.

401. Half mohar  

Obv. Sword with wreath in centre. Legend in three lines, divided by imitation Persian characters, ‘Srī Srī Jaya Yoga Narendra Malla’.

Rev. Legend in three lines within inner square ‘Joga Lakṣmī Mahadevi, date ‘804’ below (‘4’ in Devanagari script). Ornamental border.

V(2.5*).

The earliest mohars of Yoga Narendra are dated NS 805, which is normally taken as the year of his accession to the throne, but this piece clearly bears the date NS 804. This raises the question as to whether it was struck while Yoga Narendra was crown prince, or whether he acceded to the throne in that year.

402. Half mohar  

Obv.  

As last.

Rev.  

As last, but tall vermilion casket in centre and legend ‘Yoga Lakṣmī, 805’.

V(2.65*, 2.45, 2.43), G(2.69), R(2.67).

403. Half mohar  

Obv. Vermillion casket with wreath in central square, four trefoil petals outside. Legend ‘Srī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī’.

As last.

Rev.  

N(2.68*).

404. Half mohar  

Obv. In central square, lotus flower. In eight interlaced petals around, ‘asta mangala’ and legend ‘Srī Yoga Narendra Malla’.

Rev. Within central square, vermilion casket with wreath. Diamond around, and legend ‘Srī Srī Jaya Rakṣmī Devī.

N(2.63*).

405. Suki  

Obv. Square with elephant goad and legend ‘Srī Srī Yoga. 805’. four trefoil petals around with legend ‘Narendra Malla’. 

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**Rev.** Pentagram, with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha, Śrī Taleju Sahāya’. BM(1.29), V(1.38, 1.26), G(1.38*). R(1.32, 1.28, 1.24).

406. Suki As last, but reads ‘... Nalendra ...’ on *obv.* V(1.32), N(1.36*, 1.29), R(1.34).

407. Suki As last, but longer *obv.* inscription, ‘Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla, Udhārakya Yāo’. ANS(1.37), V(1.39), N(1.31), G(1.32*).

‘Udhārakya Yāo’ is Yoga Narendra’s prayer in Newari to Lokanatha meaning ‘God save us from calamity’. 101

408. Suki *Obv.* Pentagram, with legend ‘Śrī Lokanātha, Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla’.

**Rev.** Vermilion casket with wreath in central square. Four trefoil petals outside with legend ‘Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī’. V(1.27), G(1.27), N(1.26*).

409. Suki *Obv.* Similar design to *rev.* of last, but sword with wreath in centre and legend ‘Śrī Śrī Vira Yoga Narendra Malla’.

**Rev.** Pentagram with lotus in centre and legend in outer triangles ‘Śrī Lokanātha’. V(1.32, 1.12), R(1.31), N(1.32*, 1.33).

410. Suki Inverted triangular flan.

*Obv.* Sword with wreath, legend ‘Śrī Śrī Vira Yoga Narendra’.

**Rev.** Vermilion casket with wreath, legend ‘Śrī Jaya Rakṣmī Devī’. V(1.32*)102

Perhaps the only coin ever struck with this shape. Although undated, the last two sukis have the title ‘Vira’ (mighty) added to the name of the king. This title was only included in the mohars dated NS 820 (AD 1700), so it is reasonable to assume that these sukis were issued late in the reign.

411. Dam *Bracteate.* Legend ‘Śrī/Yoga’ with crescent and dot either side of ‘Śrī’. BM(0.03), V(0.04), G(0.04, 0.05), R(0.04*).

**Jaya Loka Prakash Malla (AD 1706)**

412. Mohar *Obv.* Square within diamond within square. Sword with wreath in central square. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Loka Prakāśa Malla, 826’.

**Rev.** Two equilateral triangles interlaced to form hexagram. Trident within quatrefoil in centre, legend in outer triangles ‘Śrī Karunāmaya’, and outer angles ‘Śrī Śrī Yogamati’.

V(5.35), G(5.45*), R

Yogamati was the daughter of Yoga Narendra, who ruled as Regent for her infant son Loka Prakash.

413. Mohar *Obv.* As last.

**Rev.** As last, but mirror and vermilion casket in outer angles l. and r. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Yogamati Devī, 826’. N(5.28*).

This coin, with a date on both sides, is clearly a mule between nos. 412 and 414. The design of no. 412 was probably deemed unacceptable as it did not have ‘Devi’ after the name of the Queen Regent.

414. Mohar *Obv.* As last, but no date and ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Karunāmaya’ (nā written ्ञ) within squares, and ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Loka Prakāśa Malla Deva’ outside.

101 This legend was first read by B. N. Shrestha, 'Coinage of Yoganarendra Malla to Indra Malla of Patan', JNSI, vol. XXXIII, pt. II (1971), p. 103, no. 20.

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415. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last, but ‘nā’ in ‘Karunāmaya’ on obv. written ‘ṛ’.  
ANS(5.39, 5.18, 5.10), V(5.33, 5.28), G(5.31), R(5.22*).

416. Mohar  
As last, but new rev. die with three dots over mirror and to l. of ‘2’ in date.  
G(5.41*), W(4.91).

417. Mohar  
As last, but on obv. ‘Kalūnāmaya’, with ‘. . . lu . . .’ instead of ‘. . . ru . . .’ and ‘na’ written ‘ḥ’.  
BM(5.10), N(5.14*), R(5.36).

418. Suki  
**Obv.** In central square, sword with wreath. Legend around ‘Śrī Jaya Loka Prakāša Malla Deva’.  
**Rev.** In central circle, lotus flower. In six petals around legend ‘Śrī Karunāmaya’.  
V(I.17), G(1.35), B(1.28*).

419. Dam  
**Bracteate.** Legend ‘Śrī Loka’ with crescent and dot each side of ‘Śrī’.  
V(0.04), G(0.04), R(0.04*).

**Jaya Indra Malla (AD 1706-9)**

420. Gold dam  
**Bracteate.** Legend ‘Śrī/Indra’, crescent and dot each side of ‘Śrī’.  
N(0.04).103

A remarkable piece, being the only known gold coin of the Malla kings of Patan. It is clearly genuine, as it is struck with the same dies as the silver dam.  

421. Mohar  
**Obv.** In central square, sword with wreath, two leaves and dot above, legend each side ‘Śrī Śrī Lokanātha’, and outside square ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Indra Malla Deva’ on floral field. (Note no ‘Jaya’ before the king’s name).  
**Rev.** Square, each side protruding in an arc; within trident with wreath and legend ‘Śrī Bhāgyavati Devī 826’. Two leaves and a dot in outer angles.  
V(5.20*), G(5.44).

422. Mohar  
As last, but legend outside square reads ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Indra Malla Deva’ with no flowers in field.  
V(5.55, 5.33), G(5.35*), R(5.31).

423. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last.  
**Rev.** Additional flowers each side of ‘Śrī’, and three dots in outer angles.  
ANS(5.16), N(*).

424. Mohar  
As last, but canopy over sword.  
**Rev.** As no. 421 above.  
BM(5.45), G(5.24), R(5.26).

425. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last.  
**Rev.** As last, but three dots in outer angles, instead of two leaves and dot.  
G(5.41), R(5.36), N(*).

426. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last, but pellet at each corner of square.  
**Rev.** As last.  
R(5.36*).

427. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last.  
**Rev.** As last, but flower each side of ‘Śrī’, as no. 425 above.  
BM(5.41), ANS(5.37), G(5.42), R(5.35), N(*).

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103 B. N. Shrestha, op. cit. in n. 101, p. 108, no. 32.
428. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last, but no dots, i.e. as nos. 423/4 above.  
**Rev.** As last.  
V(5.34, 5.30), R(5.32*).

429. Half mohar  
**Obv.** Sword with wreath in centre, legend in three lines, divided by imitation Persian characters, ‘Śrī 2 Lokanā Śrī 2 Jaya Indra Malla’.  
**Rev.** In ornamental square, vermilion casket, legend in and around ‘Śrī Bhāgyavatī Devi 826’.  
G(2.67), N(*).

Note that the letter ‘tha’ has been omitted from the end of ‘Lokanātha’, presumably because of lack of space.

430. Suki  
**Obv.** Two intersecting equilateral triangles; sword in centre with at 1. elephant goad and arrow, at r. noose and bow. Legend in outer triangles and below, ‘Śrī Śrī Pūrandara Malla’.  
**Rev.** In central circle, trident with date ‘826’ below. Eight petals around, each containing three dots.  
V(1.35), G(1.31), R(1.32), N(1.26*).

The date on this coin has also been read as NS 820,104 but we believe that all pieces are dated 826, with the last digit not always well formed. ‘Pūrandara’ (destroyer of towns) is a Vedic name for the God Indra, and it is very likely that this piece was struck by Jaya Indra Malla—indeed Pūrandara was probably his earlier name as a palm-leaf land-grant of Yoga Narendra Malla has been found dated NS 825 with Purandara Malla as witness.105 Nothing else about this king is known, as the coins are the only record of him.

431. Suki  
**Obv.** In central square, sword with wreath. Trefoil petals around with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Indra Malla’.  
**Rev.** Wheel in centre, legend in three lines divided by two imitation Persian characters ‘Śrī Śrī Lokanātha’.  
G(1.31), N(1.34*), R(1.30).

432. Dam  
**Bracteate.** Same die as the gold dam, no. 420 above.  
V(0.04), G(0.04), R(0.04*).

**Vira Narasimha Malla (AD 1709)**

433. Mohar  
**Obv.** Square with petals each side. Sword with wreath in centre with legend in square ‘Śrī Śrī Lokanātha’ and outside ‘Śrī Śrī Vira Narasimha Malla Deva’.  
**Rev.** Equilateral triangle with smaller inverted triangle inside. Trident, mirror and vermilion casket in lower triangles, legend interspersed ‘Śrī Śrī Yogamati Devi 829’. Flowers in field.  
V(5.42), G(5.46*), R(5.26), W(5.45).

Nothing is known of this king apart from these coins, which show that Yogamati Devi, Yoga Narendra’s daughter, was Regent for him.

434. Mohar  
As last, but **obv.** legend starts ‘Śrī Śrī Vira . . .’ (short ‘i’) in error.  
G(5.34*).

435. Mohar  
As last, but **rev.** has groups of three pellets in field instead of flowers.  
R(5.29*).

436. Mohar  
As last, but **obv.** die corrected to ‘Śrī Śrī Vira . . .’ (long ‘i’), similar to no. 433 above.  
BM(5.37), V(4.97), G(5.32), R(5.43*), W(5.43).

437. Mohar  
**Obv.** Within central circle, trident and date ‘829’. Complex quatrefoil design around with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Vira Narasimha Malla Deva’.

**Rev.** Sword with wreath in central circle. Four trefoil petals outside, with

104 B. N. Shrestha, op. cit. in n. 101, p. 110, no. 40.  
105 B. N. Shrestha, op. cit. in n. 101, p. 96.
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further similar petals in angles. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Lokanātha Saha(ya)’
(With the help of Lokanatha).
V(5.36), G(5.34), R(5.34*).

There is no mention of Yogamati on this piece, or on the following suki. This may have
some historical significance; was she no longer Regent?

438. Suki Obv. Ornamental rhombus, sword with wreath in centre, and legend ‘Śrī
Vira Narasim’.
Rev. Lotus in central circle, five petals around with legend ‘Śrī
Lokanātha’.
V(1.36), R(1.36*).

V(0.04), G(0.04), R(0.04*).

Although this dam could belong to any of the kings who took the title ‘Vīra’, Vira Narasimha
or his successor Vira Mahindra seem most likely. Earlier kings all have identifiable issues,
as do most of the later kings. As the coins do not vary in design, we assume they were all
struck during one reign, that of Vira Narasimha.

Jaya Vira Mahindra Malla (AD 1709–15)

440. Mohar Obv. In central circle, trident between ‘Śrī Śrī’, date ‘829’ below. Six petals
around, overlapping, with legend ‘Jaya Vira Mahindra Malla’.
Rev. Similar design, with sword and wreath in central circle. legend
around ‘Śrī Śrī Lokanātha Nama’.
BM(5.45. 5.42). ANS(5.48, 5.41, 5.37, 5.08). V(5.51, 5.42, 5.41,
5.30). R(5.40, 5.34, 5.28), N(*), Ash(5.41).

Some obv. dies of this, and other similar varieties, appear to read ‘Mala’ instead of ‘Malla’.
We have not separately listed this error, as other dies exist where the reading is not clear
at this point.

441. Mohar As last, but leaves by base of sword on rev.
BM(5.48). V(5.46). G(5.44*). R(5.54, 5.53).

442. Mohar As last, but group of three dots each side of top of trident on obv.
G(5.48). R(5.42*, 5.42).

443. Mohar As last, but no leaves by base of sword on rev.
G(5.48, 5.40). R(5.45*).

444. Suki Obv. Holy water vase in centre of quatrefoil. legend ‘Śrī Śrī Rājyesvari
Devi’.
Rev. Trident in central circle. five petals around with legend ‘Śrī Śrī
talejü’.
V(1.37, 1.31, 1.31), G(1.39*), R(1.40).

Rajesvari Devi was the concubine of Yoga Narendra Malla and the mother of Vira Mahindra,
and hence her son Vira Mahindra was initially regarded as ineligible for the throne. In
AD 1709, however, he was declared King, with Rajesvari Devi as regent. Presumably this
suki was struck during the reign of Vira Mahindra, even though his name does not appear
on it.

Riddhi Narasimha Malla (AD 1715–17)

445. Mohar Obv. Mandala type, six petals around circle. legend ‘Śrī Śrī Hṛdhi Nara’,
lion (=simha) in circle. Legend in corners of Mandala ‘Malla (or
Mala) Deva’. flowers of five dots top, bottom l. and r. (The flower
at the top sometimes looks more like a crescent and dot, but we
believe that this is due to the dots being placed too close to each
other, rather than an intentional variety.) Ornamental border.
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Rev. Two equilateral triangles interlaced. Sword with wreath in centre. Legend in outer triangles and in outer angles ‘Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya 835’.
BM(5.29, 5.24), ANS(5.43), V(5.44, 5.36, 5.27), G(5.62, 5.46), R(5.51*, 5.42, 5.30).

446. Mohar

Obv. As last, but dotted border.
BM(5.44), V(5.33), G(5.49), R(5.26*).

447. Mohar

Obv. Central circle surrounded by six trefoil petals, and six further petals in angles. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Vīra Hṛḍhi Nara’, lion (= simha) in central circle, ‘Mala Deva’. Two leaves in outer angles.
Rev. Similar design to obv., but sword with wreath in centre, and legend ‘Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya Nama 835’.
BM(5.48, 5.44, 5.36, 5.32, 5.30, 5.03), ANS(5.45, 5.44, 5.39, 5.09, 4.99), V(5.58, 5.44), G(5.27*), R(5.37, 5.37), Ash(5.41)

448. Mohar

As last, but two large dots in outer angles on obv.
G(5.32*).

449. Mohar

As last, but lion has dotted mane.
BM(5.25), V(5.49, 5.35), G(5.21*), R(5.51, 5.37).

450. Suki

Obv. Inverted triangle, sword with wreath in centre, legend ‘Śrī Hṛḍhi Narasīm’.
Rev. Lotus in central circle, four petals around with legend ‘Śrī Lokaṇā’. V(1.29), G(1.28*), R(1.35).
The legend has been cut short on both obv. and rev. It was unusual for the die engravers to exhibit such lack of foresight.

Jaya Mahindra Simha (AD 1717–22)

451. Mohar

Obv. Trident in central circle with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahindra’, eight petals around with ‘asta mangala’, fishes .
Rev. Sword with wreath in central circle, with legend ‘Simha Deva 837’. Eight petals around with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya’.
BM(5.50, 5.46), ANS(5.46, 5.41, 5.36, 5.34, 5.30), G(5.45*), R(5.43, 5.36).

452. Mohar

As last, but fishes on obv. .
BM, ANS(5.32), V(5.49), G(5.35), R(5.37*), W(5.26, 5.40).

Jaya Mahindra Simha was the King of Kathmandu, who also became King of Patan. These mohars are clearly his coins issued as King of Patan, as they honour Kalunamaya, the patron deity of Patan.

Jaya Yoga Prakash Malla (AD 1722–9)

453. Mohar

Obv. Trident in centre of central circle, with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Yo- 842’. Legend continues in petals around ‘-ga Prakāśa Malla Deva’.
Rev. Sword with wreath and flowers in double octagon with concave sides. Legend in eight petals around ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Kaluṇāmaya’.
BM(5.51), ANS(5.32), V(5.51, 5.28), G(5.54*), R(5.42)

Two examples of this type have been analysed as 94 and 95 per cent silver.

454. Mohar

As last, but on rev. sword in circle and legend reads ‘... Karuṇāmaya’.
BM(5.51, 5.50, 5.40, 5.34), ANS(5.50, 5.46, 5.40, 5.38, 5.37, 5.35, 5.29), V(5.48, 5.47, 5.40), G(5.47*, 5.45), R(5.55, 5.51, 5.44)

455. Mohar

As last, but digit ‘8’ in date reversed in error.
BM(5.46), ANS(5.42), V(5.33), G(5.43*), R(5.44), Ash(5.46)
Two examples of the above two types have been analysed as 93 per cent silver. It is possible that the small change in the reverse design signalled the slight debasement from 95 per cent to 92.5 per cent silver that seems to have taken place in AD 1728 in Kathmandu, and was probably followed in Patan at the same time.

456. Half mohar  
**Obv.** Small trident in centre. Legend in three lines divided by two imitation Persian characters ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Yoga Prakāśa Malla’.

**Rev.** Two intersecting equilateral triangles. In central hexagon, sword with wreath and flowers, with legend in outer triangles ‘Śrī Karuṇāmaya’. Date ‘842’ below.  
V(2.60*)

457. Suki  
**Obv.** As last, but legend reads ‘Śrī Jaya Yoga Prakāśa Malla 842’.

**Rev.** Sword with wreath and flowers in central circle. Six petals around with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Lokanātha’.  
V(1.34, 1.30), G(1.33*), R(1.30, 1.03)

458. Dam  
**Bracteate.** Legend ‘Śrī Yo/ga Pra’.  
V(0.04), G(0.03*)

**Jaya Vishnu Malla (AD 1729–45)**

459. Mohar  
**Obv.** In central circle, trident between ‘Śrī Śrī’, date ‘849’ below. Four petals around, each with a symbol (conch-shell, mace, flower and wheel) between two letters of the legend ‘Jaya Viṣṇu Malla Deva’.

**Rev.** Sword with wreath in centre, three dots over wreath, all between two imitation Persian characters. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya’. Flowers branching from base of sword.  
ANS, V, G(5.03), R(5.47*),

460. Mohar  
As last, but flowers on rev. branch towards centre.  
BM(5.50), V(5.48), G(5.28*), R(5.32)

461. Mohar  
As last, but many more flowers on rev., extending to upper part of flan. Three extra dots over wreath on rev.  
BM(5.39, 4.97), ANS(5.38), V(5.49, 5.38), G(5.41*), R(5.51)

One example of this variety was analysed by Bonneville as 91.7 per cent fine.

462. Mohar  
As last, but no extra dots over wreath.  
G(5.44*)

463. Mohar  
As last, but lower Persian character differs and flowers confined to lower half of flan.  
V(5.40, 5.07), G(5.45), R(5.25*)

464. Mohar  
As last, but additional dot at centre top on rev.  
ANS(5.36, 5.34), V(5.46), G(5.36*)

465. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last  
**Rev.** As last, but sun at centre top and legend differs ‘Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya’.  
N(5.37*)

466. Mohar  
**Obv.** As last  
**Rev.** As last, but reticulated surface with no flowers.  
BM(5.50, 5.43), V(5.49, 5.47, 5.46, 5.34), G(5.15), R(5.47, 5.45, 5.41), Ash(5.41)

An example of this variety was analysed by Bonneville as 91 per cent fine.

467. Mohar  
As last, but three dots over wreath on rev.  
N(*)

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106 P. F. Bonneville, *Traité des monnaies d’or et d’argent* (Paris, 1806), pl. 6, no. 27.

107 Bonneville, op. cit. in n. 106, pl. 6 no. 26.
The above varieties were struck with relatively few **obv.** dies. One die was used for nos. 459, 460, 461, 463 and 467, with the flaw in the die over the right ‘Sri’ developing only after no. 459 was struck. Another die was used for nos. 462, 463, 464 and 466. Other dies have been noted, but are confined to nos. 465 and 466.

468. Mohar  
**Obv.** Trident in centre between two imitation Persian characters. Legend in four lines ‘Sri Sri Jaya Visnu Malla Deva 851’, all on reticulated surface.  
**Rev.** Scalloped octagon, sword with wreath on stand in centre with legend ‘Sri Sri Sri Lokanatha’. Stand with pellet ऐ. Legend around ‘Sri Jaya Vira Yoga Narendra Malla’.  
\[G(5.42\*)\]

The name of Yoga Narendra was presumably added to the design to emphasize Jaya Vishnu Malla’s claim to the throne, as a son of the sister of Indra Malla, who was a nephew of Yoga Narendra.

469. Mohar  
As last, but other **rev.** legend ends ‘... Malla Deva’.  
**BM**(5.51, 5.43, 5.38), **ANS**(5.48, 5.47, 5.40, 5.36, 5.33, 5.30, 5.30, 5.29) **V**(5.42, 5.40, 5.38), **G**(5.29*, 5.20), **R**(5.53, 5.48, 5.44, 5.37, 5.34, 5.31)

Two specimens of this variety have been analysed at 94 and 90 per cent fine.

470. Mohar  
As last, but no pellet on stand ऐ.  
**BM**(5.44), **V**(5.32, 5.32), **G**(5.43) **R**(5.44, 5.35)

Two specimens of this variety have been analysed as 73 and 72 per cent fine, so this small change in design was presumably introduced to enable the debased pieces to be distinguished from the fine ones. The standard aimed at was presumably 67 per cent, or two parts silver to one part copper/brass. The debasement probably took place in, or soon after, AD 1736 when Jaya Prakash began issuing debased coins in Kathmandu. The reticulation on the obverse varies in density between different specimens, with lines between c.0.5 mm and 1.0 mm apart. On some pieces the reticulation is almost worn off the die, being only visible near the outer circle, but on one die, no. 471 below, there is no reticulation at all.

471. Mohar  
As last, but smooth surface on **obv.**  
\[G(5.40\*), \text{Ash}(5.35)\]

472. Suki  
**Obv.** As suki of Yoga Prakash, but legend ‘Sri Jaya Visnu Malla Deva 849’.  
**Rev.** As suki of Yoga Prakash, legend reads ‘Lokanatha’ with ‘nā’ ऑ.  
**ANS**(1.40), **V**(1.38, 1.26), **G**(1.34*), **R**(1.39)

473. Suki  
As last, but ‘nā’ ऑ in **rev.** legend.  
**V**(1.40), **G**(1.34), **R**(1.33*)

474. Ani  
**Obv.** Trident with legend ‘Sri Visnu Malla’.  
**Rev.** Sword with wreath on stand, legend ‘Sri Lokanatha’.  
\[\text{Ber}(*)]\]

475. Dam  
**Bracteate.** Legend ‘Sri Sri/Visnu’.  
**V**(0.04), **R**(0.04), **G**(0.04*)

**Jaya Rajya Prakash Malla (AD 1745–58)**

476. Mohar  
**Obv.** Design as no. 468 of Jaya Visnu, but legend ‘Sri Sri Jaya Rajya Prakasa Malla Deva, 865’.  
**Rev.** As no. 470.  
\[G(5.33*)\]

This rare variety was illustrated by Bonneville in 1806 with a fine line drawing.\[^{108}\]

\[^{108}\] Bonneville, op. cit. in n. 106, pl. 6 no. 28.
was only in 1985 that we confirmed its existence by the discovery of a single specimen in Nepal. Bonneville analysed his example as 65.3 per cent fine.

477. Mohar

As last, but flowers in obv. field.

N(5.49*)

478. Mohar

**Obv.**

Inner circle with trident and legend 'Śri 2 Rājya Prakāśa Malla Deva 865', written 'śa mangala' in eight petals around.

Rev.  

As last.

G(5.27*), R(5.27)

A specimen has been analysed as 69 per cent fine, presumably still the first stage of debasement, with roughly two parts silver to one of alloy.

479. Mohar

**Obv.**

Two intersecting squares with concave sides. 'asta mangala' in outer angles, fishes . Trident in centre with legend 'Śri Śri Jaya Rājya and date '865' written 'śa mangala' in eight petals around.

Rev.  

As last.

BM(5.65*)

This coin has been analysed as 69 per cent fine.

480. Mohar

As last, but date written .

G(5.41*)

481. Mohar

As last, but fishes .

BM(5.30*), V(5.52, 5.35), R(5.45, 5.37, 5.27), ANS(5.25, 5.14, 5.08)

A specimen of this variety has been analysed as 65 per cent fine. One specimen (R) is struck with the same rev. die as no. 482 below.

482. Mohar

**Obv.**

Mandala design with trident in inner circle. Legend 'Śri 2 Jaya Rājya Prakāśa Malla Deva 865'. Two leaves and a dot in outer angles.

Rev.  

As last, sometimes same die as no. 481.

V(5.29), R(5.29*)

Two specimens have been analysed as 58 and 55 per cent fine, presumably the post-AD 1746 stage of debasement, with roughly equal parts of silver and alloy.

483. Mohar

As last, but only one dot in each outer angle of the obv.

ANS(5.31), V(5.45), G(5.08*), R(5.42)

484. Mohar

**Obv.**

Two intersecting equilateral triangles within inner circle, trident in central hexagon with legend in outer triangles 'Śri Hara Siddhi' and small image of Vishnu(?) in lower triangle. Date '865' in lower angles. Legend around in eight petals 'Śri 2 Rājya Prakāśa Malla.

Rev.  

As last.

BM(5.33), V(5.49), G(5.05*, 5.37), R(5.05, 4.79), Ash(5.48)

Two specimens have been analysed as 58 and 55 per cent fine, presumably the post-AD 1746 stage of debasement, with roughly equal parts of silver and alloy.

485. Mohar

As no. 476 above, but date immediately below trident on obv.

BM(5.44, 5.43, 5.32), ANS(5.45), V(5.43, 5.30, 5.29, 4.88), G(5.58, 5.23*), R(5.39, 5.33)

A common coin that is struck in very debased silver; two specimens have been analysed as 54 per cent fine, but some specimens appear even more debased.

486. Mohar

As last, but wreath over trident and ornamental border on obv.

V(5.38), G(5.43), R(5.51*), W(5.44)

One specimen has been analysed as 93 per cent fine. Presumably this variety was issued in, or soon after, AD 1753 when Kathmandu reverted to fine silver after the period of debasement.

487. Mohar

**Obv.**

Within circle, sword with wreath on stand and legend 'Śri Śri Śri Lokanātha'. Around, legend within eight petals 'Śri 2 Yoga Naredra Malla'.

Rev.  

As last, but octagon in place of intersecting triangles within circle.

BM(5.45), ANS(5.59, 5.39, 5.34), V(5.33), G(5.36*), R(5.43)

This type struck in fine silver alloy; one specimen has been analysed as 93 per cent fine.
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488. Mohar
   As last, but pellets by stand below sword.
   R(5.49), G(5.31*)

489. Suki  
   Obv.      Trident in centre, legend ‘Śrī 2 Rājya Prakāśa Malla’.

   Rev.     In central circle sword with wreath, in six petals around legend ‘Śrī
            Śrī Lokanātha’, pellets in outer angles.
            V(1.30), G(1.34*), R(1.29)

   One specimen analysed as 61.6 per cent silver, so this variety is probably
   from the first period of debasement, i.e. pre-AD 1746.

490. Suki
   As last, but date ‘865’ below trident on obv.
   G(1.25*), R(1.37)

491. Suki
   As last, but no pellets in outer angles of rev.
   BM(1.34), V(1.38, 1.34, 1.31), G(*), R(1.30)

   Coins of the above two varieties have been analysed as 45.8 and 55.1 per cent fine, so this
   variety was probably struck after AD 1746, when the standard proportion of alloy was
   increased from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$.

492. Suki
   As last, same legend, but trident within inverted triangle, date ‘865’ below. Rev. has pellets in outer angles.
   BM(1.36), V(1.26, 1.20), G(1.19*), R(1.32, 1.26, 1.26, 1.11)

   Two specimens analysed as 41.0 and 21.4 per cent silver, so this variety was probably struck
   around AD 1750, when the debasement was at its worst. No fine silver sukis of Rajya Prakash
   have yet been discovered.

493. Dam  Bracteate.
   Legend ‘Śrī/Rājya’ with crescent and dot each side of ‘Śrī’.
   G(0.05), R(0.04)

494. Dam  Bracteate.
   Legend ‘Śrī Śrī/Rājya’.
   BM(0.04), ANS(0.04), V(0.04), G(0.04), R(0.04)

Jaya Visvajit Malla (AD 1758–60)

495. Mohar  Obv.
   Central circle with trident and legend ‘Śrī Harasidhi’, surrounded
   by six petals and a further six scalloped petals in angles, legend ‘Śrī
   Śrī Jaya Visvajit Malla Deva’. Date ‘878’ below in outer angles.

   Rev.     As no. 487 above. Groups of three dots in outer angles.
            ANS(5.50, 5.45), V(5.55, 5.45), G(5.42*), R(5.51)

496. Mohar
   As last, but one dot in outer angles on rev.
   R(5.61), G(5.28*)

497. Suki  Obv.
   In central circle, ‘Śrī 878’, in six petals around ‘Visvajit Malla’.

   Rev.     In central circle, sword with wreath, in six petals around ‘Śrī Śrī
            Lokanātha’.
            ANS(1.34), V(1.30), G(1.26*), R(1.32)

498. Dam  Bracteate.
   Legend ‘Śrī Śrī/Viśva’.
   BM(0.03), V(0.04), G(0.04*), R(0.04)

Jaya Prakash Malla (AD 1760–1, 1764)

Jaya Prakash was also king of Kathmandu. His coins as King of Patan can be distinguished, not only by the date NS 880 which was the date of his installation
as King of Patan, but also by the inclusion of the name of ‘Karunamaya’, the patron
deity of Patan.

499. Mohar  Obv.
   Central circle with trident and legend ‘Śrī 2 Jaya Prakāśa Malla’.
   In eight petals around the ‘asta mangala’ and in outer angles legend
   ‘Śrī Mahipatendra Malla’.

   Rev.     Within scalloped square, sword and wreath and legend ‘Śrī Talejū
THE MALLA DYNASTY, AD 1540–1768

500. Mohar

Obv. Within pointed octagon, trident and legend ‘Śrī Jaya Prakāśa Malla’, the ‘asta mangala’ in eight petals around, with legend ‘Śrī Mahipatendrā Malla’ between and date ‘880’ in outer angles below.

Rev. Within scalloped octagon, small inverted triangle and legend ‘Śrī 3 Talejū Mājū’, eight petals around with legend ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Karunāmāyā’. and in outer angles ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Kumārī Mājū’.

Apart from the date and inclusion of the name of ‘Karunāmāyā’ this piece is a direct copy of the mohar struck in Kathmandu dated NS 873, no. 36213 above. All the minor denominations of Jaya Prakash have been listed under Kathmandu, as there is no clear evidence that any of them were struck for Patan.

Jaya Ranajit Malla (AD 1762–3)

Ranajit Malla of Bhatgaon ruled in Patan for a short time and struck some fine silver mohars that can be distinguished by the date, NS 882, and the inclusion of the name of ‘Karunamāyā’.

501. Mohar

Obv. Within central square, legend ‘Śrī 3 Karunāmāyā 882’ (‘na’ written gi). In four semicircles outside ‘Śrī Talejū’, and in large outer scalloped petals ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Ranajit Malla Deva’.

Rev. Normal ‘Ghiyas-ud-din’ type, as used in Bhatgaon, with trident in central circle and sword with wreath above.

502. Mohar

As last. but ‘nā’ in ‘Karunāmāyā’ on obv. written .

All the minor denominations of Ranajit have been listed under Bhatgaon, as there is no positive evidence that any were struck for Patan.

Prithvi Narayan Shah (AD 1763)

In the hope of placating Prithvi Narayan Shah, who was by this time laying siege to the Valley in his efforts to conquer Kathmandu, Patan appointed him King. The mohars of Prithvi Narayan struck in his capacity as King of Patan can be distinguished by the inclusion of the name of Lokanatha, patron deity of Patan, and by the date, which is written as Saka 1685. It is not certain whether these pieces were struck in Patan, or in the mint in the hills operated by Prithvi Narayan himself.

503. Mohar

Obv. Normal type of Gorkha mohar, legend in Devanagari script ‘Śrī Śrī Prthvi Nārāyana Sāha Deva, 1685’.

Rev. In central circle sword with wreath and legend in Devanagari ‘Śrī 3 Lokanātha’. In outer petals, ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Gorakhanātha’.

504. Dam

Bracteate. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Prthvi’ in crude Devanagari, similar in style to the above mohar.

Most of the minor denominations of Prithvi Narayan have been listed under coins of the Shah dynasty, as they use the fine style of Devanagari script used on the post-AD 1768 mohars. The above dam, however, uses the form of Devanagari script found on the mohar struck.
for Patan and other pieces struck by Prithvi Narayan in the hills before his conquest of the Valley in AD 1768. We believe that tiny silver dams were not used in the hills and hence that this dam was probably struck in Patan during the period when Prithvi Narayan was recognised there as King.

**Dala Mardana Shah (AD 1764–5)**

Dala Mardana was the brother of Prithvi Narayan, and was sent by the latter as his representative in Patan after he had been appointed King. When it became clear that Prithvi Narayan would not lift the blockade of the Valley, Dala Mardana was appointed King.

505. **Mohar**

*Obv.* Normal type of Gorkha mohar, with legend in Devanagari ‘Śri Śri Dala Mardana Sāha Deva, 884’.

*Rev.* In central circle, sword with wreath on stand. Legend in eight petals around legend in Newari ‘Śri Śri Śri Karuṇāmaya’.

V(5.45), G(5.39*), R(5.22), Ash(5.46)

506. **Mohar**

*Obv.* Trident in centre, between two imitation Persian characters. Legend ‘Śri Śri Dara Mardana Sāha Deva 884’ in Newari script.

*Rev.* As last.

G(5.49*)

507. **Mohar**

As last, but *obv.* die corrected to read ‘Śri Śri Dala . . .’.

V(5.58), G(5.46*)

508. **Dam**

*Bracteate.* Legend ‘Śri Śri/Dala’.

BM(0.03), V(0.04), G(0.4*, 0.03), R(0.03)

509. **Dam**

*Bracteate.* Sword with legend ‘Śri Da/la Ma’.

R(0.04), N(0.03*)

**Jaya Tej Narasimha Malla (AD 1765–8)**

510. **Mohar**

*Obv.* Trident in centre, date ‘885’ below, within two imitation Persian characters. Legend ‘Śri Śri Jaya Teja Narasimha Malla Deva’.

*Rev.* Sword with wreath in centre, imitation Persian characters in field reading ‘Jahangir Shah’, probably a copy of the mohar of Pratap Malla dated NS 775. Newari legend in floral field ‘Śri Śri Śri Karuṇāmaya’.

V(5.61), G(5.42), R(5.46), Bons(*)

511. **Mohar**

*Obv.* Small square within diamond, and around these two intersecting squares. Small trident in centre and legend interspersed ‘Śri Śri Jaya Teja Nara’– lion (=simha) below trident– ‘Śri Śri Vira Yoga Narendra Malla Deva’.

*Rev.* As last, but date ‘885’ below and symbols in field, paduka (two footprints of Siva or Buddha), mace, lotus-flower and conch-shell.

BM(5.35), V(5.40), G(5.20), R(5.02*)

512. **Suki**

*Obv.* Two interlinked equilateral triangles, trident in centre, legend ‘Śri Janani Matesvari Devi 885’.

*Rev.* Sword with wreath in central circle, legend around in six petals ‘Śri Śri Karuṇāmaya’.

G(1.01*)

‘Janani’ means ‘mother’, and so Matesvari Devi, who is unrecorded other than on this coin.
was presumably the mother of Tej Narasimha and she may have ruled as Regent during the reign of her son.  

513. Dam  

Bracteate. Sword dividing legend ‘Sri Sri Teja’.  

V(0.04), R(0.04*)  

514. Dam  

As last, but crescent moon and sun by top of sword.  

BM(0.03(x 3), 0.02), V(0.04), G(0.03), R(0.03*), Ash(0.02)  

515. Dam  

As last, but two crescent moons by top of sword.  

BM(0.03), ANS(0.03), V(0.04), G(0.03), R(0.04*), Ash(0.04)  

C. KINGDOM OF BHATGAON  

Jagatprakash Malla (AD 1644–73)  

Unless otherwise stated, all mohars of Bhatgaon are of the ‘Ghiyas-ud-din’ type, with scissored square on the rev. containing a three-line inscription with a damaru (double-drum) above and the date below. On the obv. is a trident within a central circle and a sword with wreath above.  

516. Mohar  

Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jagatprakāśa Malla 765’.  

BM(5.51), G(5.39*), R(5.48), W(5.06)  

517. Mohar  

As last, but ornamentation above damaru varies and with line to its left.  

V(5.47, 5.17), R(5.53). Bons(*)  

518. Suki  

Obv. Sword with wreath, legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaya Jā-’  

Rev. ‘-gatprakāśa Malla 775’.  

V(1.43, 1.37), R(1.34*)  

519. Suki  

As last, but flower of dots to l. of ‘ya’ on obv.  

V(1.41), G(1.23*)  

520. Suki  


Rev. Legend in three lines divided by imitation Persian characters. ‘Chandra Sekhara Siṁ, Sarh 782’.  

V(1.37), G(1.43*). R(1.42, 1.39)  

The use of the abbreviation ‘Ṣaṁ’ for ‘Samvat’, the era in which the coin is dated, is unusual on Nepalese coins, and is only found on this piece and a few other coins of Bhatgaon.  

521. Suki  

As last, but three dots over ‘ya’ on obv.  

G(1.43*). R(1.40)  

Chandra Sekhar was the Chief Minister for Jagatprakash, and NS 782 may be the date he assumed office.  

522. Adhani  

Obv. Sword and legend ‘Śrī Śrī Jaga-’  

Rev. Legend ‘t-prakāśa Malla’.  

V(0.38, 0.35), G(0.36*), R(0.36)  

109 Tej Narasimha was apparently ‘a poor man of Lelit Pattan, who was of royal origin’ (cf. Father Giuseppe, ‘An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal’, in Asiatick Researches, vol. II (London, 1799), p. 315), but no record has been discovered detailing how he was related to the earlier kings. He was old enough to witness official documents in 885 NS (cf. P. Burleigh, ‘A chronology of the later kings of Patan’ in Kailash, vol. IV, no. 1 (1976), p. 71) so the Queen Mother was apparently not Regent because her son was a child. The presence of a Queen Mother, influential enough to put her name on a coin, may imply that the royal relationship was through her, while the name of Yoga Narendra Malla on coin no. 511 probably indicates that he was claimed as an ancestor.
Jaya Jitamitra Malla (AD 1663–96)

523. Mohar
   Obv. Within inverted triangle, sword with wreath on stand. Legend ‘Sri Sri Sumati (wise) Jaya Jitamitra Malla’.
   Rev. In central circle, trident. In eight outer petals around ‘Sri 783 Chaitra Su 9’.
   V(5.35*), Sm(5.63)

A fine commemoration mohar giving the precise date of issue, presumably the coronation date. Surprisingly, other historical evidence would seem to indicate that Jitamitra ascended the throne only in AD 1673, and that Jagatprakash ruled until that date but the evidence of this fine and rare piece cannot be ignored. The other mohars of Jitamitra are also clearly dated NS 783. Skillful forgeries of this rare coin started appearing soon after its first publication in AD 1967.

524. Mohar
   Normal type. Legend ‘Sri Sri Jaya Jitamitra Malla 783’.
   BM(5.68), V(5.61), G(5.32*), R(5.69)

525. Suki
   Obv. Sword with wreath interlaced squares. Around, legend ‘Sri Sri Jaya Jitamitra’.
   Rev. Vase with streamers. Legend ‘Malla Deva 798’.
   V(1.38*), N(1.38)

526. Ani
   Obv. Sword with crescent and dot each side. Legend ‘Sri Sri Sumati Ja’-‘ya Jitamitra Malla’.
   Rev. N(0.68*), V(0.48)

527. Ani
   As last, but two extra dots by sword on obv.
   N(0.58*)

528. Adhani
   Same dies as ani no. 526 above.
   H(0.35*)

529. Adhani
   Obv. Legend ‘Sri Jaya Ji’-‘tāmitra Malla’.
   Rev. V(0.32), G(0.36*), R(0.34, 0.34)

530. Adhani
   Obv. Legend ‘Sri Sri Jitamitra Malla’.
   Rev. Legend ‘Sri Sri Jagat Chandra’.
   N(0.38*)

Although the obverse of the piece illustrated is completely effaced, another example in the collection of the National Museum of Kathmandu is fully legible. Jagat Chandra is not mentioned in any historical documents, but it is reasonable to assume that he was a Chief Minister for Jitamitra Malla.

531. Dam
   Bracteate. Sword dividing legend ‘Sri Sri Jitu’.
   V(0.04), R(0.03)

Jaya Bhupatindra Malla (AD 1696–1722)

532. Mohar
   Normal type, legend ‘Sri Sri Jaya Bhupatindra Malla. 816’ (Note no ‘Deva’). Bhupatindra written भुपतिन्द्र. Above legend भुपतिन्द्र. G(5.36*)

533. Mohar
   As last, but Bhupatindra written भुपतिन्द्र. V(5.55), G(5.50*)

534. Mohar
   As last, but Bhupatindra written भुपतिन्द्र. V(5.51, 5.60), R(5.57), N(*)

THE MALLA DYNASTY, AD 1540-1768

535. Mohar
As last, but legend ‘Ṣrī Śrī Jaya Bhupatindra Malla Deva, 816’ (Note with ‘Deva’). Bhupatindra written भुपतिन्द्र. Above, legend न. BM(5.45), V(5.56, 5.49), G(5.49*). R(5.54)
536. Mohar
As last, but Bhupatindra written भुपतिन्द्र. V(5.42). R(5.45*)
537. Mohar
As last, but Bhupatindra written भुपतिन्द्र. V(5.55). G(5.54*) R(5.46). Ash(5.56)
538. Mohar
As last, but above legend, ‘वा’. Short cross-piece on trident. ‘भु’ written ‘भ’.
R(5.49*)
539. Mohar
As last, but ‘भु’ written ‘भ’. Cross-piece on trident varies from long to non-existent.
540. Mohar
As last, but ‘6’ of date reversed ओ.
V(5.52). G(5.44*). R(5.51)
541. Mohar
As last, but normal date and ornamentation on trident differs: उ.
N(*)
542. Mohar
As last, but scrolls around trident differ and two buds by foot, instead of dots.
R(*)
543. Half mohar  Obv.
Pentagram. sword in centre with legend ‘Ṣrī Śrī Jaya Bhupatindra Malla Deva’. (Note ‘va’ is written retrograde).
Rev.
In inverted triangle, vase. Legend around, ‘Sambat 816 Bhādra Va 11’.
V(2.55, 2.48). G(2.74*). R(2.68)
This interesting piece was presumably issued for the coronation ceremony, and gives the precise date of that event.
544. Suki  Obv.
Within intersecting squares, sword with wreath. Legend outside ‘Ṣrī Śrī Jaya Bhupa-’. One group of three dots. ‘भु’ written भ.
Rev.
‘तिन्द्र Malla Deva 816’ Vase in centre, with three stems issuing from top. ‘6’ of date written ओ.
N(1.25)
545. Suki
As last, but five groups of three dots on obv.
V(1.29). G(1.36). R(1.25, 1.22). N(*)
546. Suki
As last, but ‘भु’ written भ.
N(*)
547. Suki
As last, same obv. die, but ‘6’ on rev. written ओ.
V(1.39). G(1.37, 1.29). R(1.29). N(*)
548. Suki
As last, but two groups of three dots on obv., ‘भु’ written भ. Same rev. die as last.
R(1.33). N(*)
549. Suki
As last, but seven groups of three dots on obv.
V(1.32, 1.28). G(1.34). R(1.29). N(*)
550. Suki
As last, but no dots outside squares on obv. and three pellets below sword. Bud over vase on rev.
N(1.32*)
551. Suki
As last, but three dots below obv., ‘भु’ written भ, mirror over vase on rev.
V(1.35, 1.32, 1.28). G(1.31). R(1.31*)
552. Suki
As last, but ‘भु’ written भ.
V(1.39, 1.28). G(1.36*). R(1.33, 1.33)
553. Ani
   Obv. Sword with three dots below. Legend 'Śrī Jaya Bhūpa'-
        'tīndra Malla Deva'. many dots, including three dots r. of 'ndra'.
        G(0.65*), R(0.68)
   Rev. As last, but eight dots r. of 'ndra' on rev.
        G(0.65*)

554. Ani
   As last, but sword with handle.
   V(0.71, 0.71, 0.69), G(0.67*).

555. Ani
   Stylistically, no. 555 is similar to the sukis no. 550-2. Since both are similar in style to the
   coins of the following King, Ranajit, we believe they were issued late in the reign.
   G(0.65*), R(0.68)

556. Adhani
   Obv. Legend 'Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpa'-
   Rev. 'tīndra Malla Deva'.
   V(0.33). G(0.33). R(0.32*)

557. Dam
   Bracteate. Sword dividing legend 'Śrī Śrī/Bhūpa', dots at top of sword.
   V(0.04). G(0.04*). R(0.04)

558. Dam
   As last, but legend 'Śrī Bhū/pati'.
   V(0.04). G(0.04*). R(0.04)

559. Dam
   As last, but no dots at top of sword.
   BM(0.04). V(0.04). G(0.04*). R(0.04)

560. Gold Dam Bracteate. Legend 'Śrī Raṇaji' divided by sword with dot below.
   H(0.04*)

Jaya Ranajit Malla (AD 1722–69)

561. Mohar
   Type as mohar of Chakravartendra Malla of Kathmandu, no. 264
   above, except for legend. Floral ornamentation differs between
   varieties:
   Obv. 'Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇa-', five dots l. of Ja.
   Rev. '-jit Malla Deva, 842', five dots below Ma.
   R(4.96*), N(5.21)

562. Mohar
   As last, but obv. five dots l. of Ja, rev. three dots under Ma.
   V(5.23). G(5.41). N(*). B(5.33)

563. Mohar
   As last, but obv. four dots l. of Ja, rev. three dots under Ma.
   BM(5.34). R(5.26). N(5.21*)

The last three coins are very scarce and are close copies of the mohar of Chakravartendra
Malla of Kathmandu, no. 264 above. This is the only example of such a design being copied
by a later ruler, so it may have been considered fortunate - indeed Dr Wright notes that
the water in which such a coin is dipped possesses the quality of ensuring a speedy delivery
in child-bed. Whether this use as a talisman was the main reason for the issue remains
an open question, and it is possible that they were issued to celebrate some event, although
probably not the coronation; certainly the standard of the silver (one piece has been analysed
at 88 per cent fine) is not as fine as one would expect for AD 1722, and the rather light weight
standard of 5.25 g is indicative of a later date.

564. Mohar
   Normal type, legend 'Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇajit Malla Deva'. Rounded
tie on trident.
   BM(5.53. 5.45. 5.45. 5.45. 5.44. 5.43. 5.36. 5.35. 5.29. 5.28).
   ANS(5.45. 5.42. 5.41). V(5.42. 5.32. 5.32. 5.31. 5.07). R(5.44*. 5.38.
   5.35). Ash(5.45. 5.28)

Specimens of this variety, with the rounded tie on the trident, come in a range of alloys

THE MALLA DYNASTY, AD 1540–1768

(Examples have been analysed at 94, 84, 71 and 57 per cent silver) with no way to distinguish the fine pieces from the debased ones from the design. Assuming that Bhatgaon issued coins of a similar standard to those of Kathmandu and Patan, it seems likely that the early pieces were of fine silver, followed by debased issues from the AD 1730s until about AD 1753, with fine silver pieces being struck from then until the end of the reign. Bhatgaon was unique, however, in not identifying the debased coins by secret marks in the design.

565. Mohar

As last, but base silver and trefoil tie on trident.

BM(5.63, 5.51, 5.38, 5.32, 5.30, 5.25, 5.22, 5.19, 5.19, 5.19, 5.16, 5.11, 5.08, 5.08, 5.07, 4.98, 4.89), ANS(5.45, 5.32, 5.29, 5.20, 5.18), V(5.43, 5.37, 5.36, 5.35, 5.34, 5.31, 5.22, 5.19).

This, together with no. 564 above, are the most common of all Malla coins, and were struck in very large numbers, mainly for export to Tibet, where they were called 'Nag Tang' (black tangka). From the debased metal (specimens have been analysed as 67, 42 and 38 per cent silver) and the coating of black grease covering many specimens today, it is easy to see how they acquired this name. Not only is the silver content lower on average in this variety, but also the average weight is slightly lower, at about 5.25 g. The trefoil tie may have started as a secret mark to distinguish the debased issues for Tibet during the period AD 1735–53, although debased pieces with the rounded tie are also found among Tibetan coins.

566. Half mohar

Obv. Pentagram, sword with wreath in centre. Legend interspersed 'Sri Sri Jaya Ranajit Malla Deva'.

Rev. In inverted triangle, vase. Legend around 'Samvat 842, Vaisak Sū'.

BM(2.73, 2.68, 2.64), ANS(2.64), V(2.72*), G(2.67), R(2.66)

Following the precedent set by Jitamitra and Bhupatindra, this coronation issue specifies the exact date of the ceremony. As might be expected for a coin issued at the beginning of the reign, fine silver was used, one specimen having been analysed as 96 per cent silver.

567. Half mohar

As last, but different dies, slightly cruder style, and apparently struck from debased alloy.

V(2.80), G(2.77*)

568. Suki

Obv. Two intersecting squares, sword with wreath in centre. Legend outside 'Sri Sri Jaya Ranajit Malla Deva'.

Rev. Vase in centre. Legend 'jit Malla Deva 842'. Sun 1. and moon r. at top.

BM(1.41, 1.40, 1.32) V(1.30, 1.33), G(1.44*), R(1.34, 1.22)

This variety is struck in fine silver and hence was probably issued early in the reign. Some of the following varieties are debased, although we have not had any analysed.

569. Suki

As last, but moon l. and sun r.

BM(1.35), V(1.32), G(1.27, 1.08), R(1.31*)

570. Suki

As last, but moon both sides.

V(0.97, 0.95), R(1.25, 0.97). N(*)

571. Suki

As last, but sword on stand.

BM(1.35), ANS(1.31), G(1.17*)

572. Suki

Obv. As last, but sword not on stand.

Rev. Die of suki of Bhupatindra, reading 'tindra Malla Deva 816'.

R(1.21*)

This is the only mule between reigns that we have discovered for the Malla period. The dies appear genuine, although we have not yet found any die-links with normal specimens.

573. Ani

Obv. Sword with legend 'Sri Sri Jaya Raṇa-

Rev. 'jit Malla Deva'. Five groups of four dots. including one l. of 'ji'.

BM(0.66, 0.65), ANS(0.71), V(0.55), G(0.57*), R(0.67, 0.57)

574. Ani  
As last, but no dots l. of 'ji' on rev.
BM(0.65, 0.56), V(0.67), G(0.50*), R(0.66)

575. Ani  
As last, but no dots on rev.
G(0.61*)

576. Ani  
As last, but sword on stand and two groups of three dots on rev.
BM(0.63), R(0.60), G(0.68*)

577. Adhani  Obv.  'Śrī Śrī Jaya Raṇa-
Rev.  'jit Malla Deva'.
BM(0.34), V(0.33, 0.30), G(0.35*), R(0.36)

578. Adhani  Obv.  As last, but mirror on stand in centre.
Rev.  As last, but additional dots.
R(0.31*)

579. Paisa  Bracteate.  Sword with wreath, legend 'Śrī Raṇaji'.
V(0.18), R(0.10*), N(0.19)

580. Dam  Bracteate.  Legend 'Śrī Raṇaji'.
BM(0.03 × 9), ANS(0.03), V(0.04), G(0.03), R(*)

581. Dam  As last, but sword with dot below.
R(0.04*)

Struck with the same die as the gold dam, no. 560 above.

582. Dam  As last, but sword with handle.
BM(0.04, 0.04), V(0.04), G(0.03), R(0.03*)

583. Dam  As last, but sword on stand.
ANS(0.03), V(0.03), G(0.03*), R(0.03)
CHAPTER IV
THE SHAH DYNASTY
AD 1749–1911

INTRODUCTION

The coins struck by Prithvi Narayan and his successors of the Shah dynasty fall into two main groups.

First there are the silver and gold coins struck to the same standards as the coins of the Malla dynasty and with legends in Nagari script. These coins were issued for circulation in the Valley and in areas outside the Valley where Malla coins had previously circulated; they form the subject of this part of the book, together with some copper coins with Nagari script struck after AD 1865 for circulation throughout the kingdom.

Then there are the copper and silver coins with legends in Arabic script, intended for circulation in newly conquered hill areas outside the Valley, where Moghul coins had previously circulated. These pieces form the subject of Chapter V of our book.

1. PRITHVI NARAYAN’S COINAGE BEFORE CONQUEST OF THE VALLEY

Before he conquered the Kathmandu Valley, Prithvi Narayan issued a few silver coins to the same standard as the Malla coins. The first was in AD 1749, when he struck some debased mohars of a type similar to the mohars of Bhatgaon. By AD 1754 the Malla kings were striking fine silver coins, and in that year Prithvi Narayan also struck a large number of coins of similar standard. Some of these are of very fine style, but others are rather crude artistically, although the quality of the striking is fully up to the standard of the Malla coins. Between then and his final conquest of the Valley in AD 1768, Prithvi Narayan issued coins on several occasions, but only in relatively small numbers. One of his innovations was to date the coins with the year of issue, rather than the year of accession. Another was to date the coins in the Saka era, rather than the Newari Samvat.

In AD 1763, when the Patan nobles made him King of Patan in an attempt to persuade him to lift the blockade of the Valley, a few mohars and dams were issued of Patan type, which are listed with the Malla coins as nos. 503–4. Apart from the mohars, a few undated silver sukis are known in the name of Prithvi Narayan’s Queen, Narindra Lakshmi Devi. To judge from their relatively crude style, these pieces were probably struck prior to the conquest of the Valley.

It is interesting to speculate where Prithvi Narayan’s mint was located at this time. Walsh suggested Nowakot, which is a reasonable guess, but a travelling mint.

1 Presumably these coins were struck as a result of a trade, exchanging gold from Tibet with silver from the plains. Part of the correspondence relating to such an exchange has survived: cf. Regmi Research Series, 1971, pp. 280–2, and 1972, pp. 4–8.
set up sporadically as occasion demanded, wherever the king happened to be, is also a possibility. On the other hand, the coins may have been struck at Prithvi Narayan’s capital, Gorkha. This latter theory is supported by the text of the treaty between Kathmandu and Gorkha signed in AD 1757, which records that ‘coins shall be minted in both Kathmandu and Gorkha’.  

2. PRITIHI NARAYAN WITHDRAWS MALLA COINS

When Prithvi Narayan conquered the Kathmandu Valley he retained the basic currency system, but he devalued the debased coins issued by the Malla kings, and gradually withdrew them from circulation. Whereas, prior to the AD 1760s, the mohar had circulated at the rate of two mohars to the Indian rupee, in AD 1769 four ‘Chyasing Mohars’ were equivalent to a rupee³, halving their value to roughly the silver content, or even below. We do not know whether Prithvi Narayan devalued all the old coins, irrespective of their fineness, or whether he bought in the fine pieces, those struck before AD 1735 or after AD 1753, at a higher value. This withdrawal of old coins took time to implement, particularly as they continued to circulate in Tibet, and according to T. R. Vaidya⁴, Malla coins were still circulating in the Valley in AD 1790, but Hamilton, who visited Kathmandu in AD 1803, was unable to find any coins of the Malla dynasty.⁵

The exchange rate of two debased mohars to one new fine silver mohar was in force in AD 1789, as it was incorporated into the agreement made with the Tibetan government in that year⁶. It was still in force in AD 1831 when, according to Dr Bramley⁷, Tibetan traders bought the debased coins in Nepal at half face value, and circulated them in their own country at full value.

Apart from the normal mohars, dams, and sukits, the latter issued in the name of Queen Narinda Lakshmi, Prithvi Narayan followed the precedent set by Jaya Prakash Malla and struck a small number of silver coins of intermediate denominations. Some pieces were also struck in gold, but these are very rare indeed. A new departure was the issue of a few pieces of double mohar weight, equivalent to the Indian rupee.

The gold pieces and the unusual silver denominations were probably struck as nisars, for use during special ceremonies. It is interesting to note that the earliest such coins are dated 1693 (AD 1771), implying that some important ceremony took place in that year, although no mention of such an event is made by historians.

3. PRATAP SIMHA SENDS DEBASED COINS TO TIBET

On the accession of Pratap Simha, no major changes were made to the coinage system within Nepal, nor was there much change made in the basic design of the

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³ cf. Baburam Acharya, *Prithvi Narayan*, Pt. 4, p. 673 (quoted by J. C. Regmi, *Malla Coins*, p. 82). The ‘chyasing mohar’ was the mohar with eight petals on the reverse, issued by the Malla rulers of Kathmandu, and particularly debased during the reigns of Jaya Prakash Malla and Jyoti Prakash Malla between AD 1735 and 1753.
⁶ See n. 14 below.
⁷ *Useful Tables*, (Calcutta, 1834), p. 27.
mohar, in contrast to the Malla period, when the design was frequently changed. Again, the gold and minor silver denominations, other than the suki and dam, are of great rarity. On the political side, in August 1775 Pratap Simha made a coinage agreement with the Tibetans, in which Nepal agreed to strike special debased ‘Chyasing Mohars’ in an alloy of two parts silver, one part copper, especially for export to Tibet. About 1.5 million such coins were sent to Tibet over the next two years, but although they relieved the coin shortage in Tibet, they did not provide a long term solution to the coinage dispute between the two countries. The debased coins were easily distinguishable from the fine silver coins struck for circulation in Nepal, as they had a different reverse design, and they were not exchangeable in Nepal at face value, which angered the Tibetans. The precise terms on which they were supplied to Tibet are not clear, but it may be that the Tibetans supplied silver in Lhasa, the Nepalese bore the cost and risk of transporting the silver to the mint in Kathmandu, and then carried the finished coins to Lhasa. If this was the case, the profit made by the Nepalese might not have been as large as the 33 per cent alloy would suggest.

4. RANA BAHADUR EXTENDS THE RANGE OF COINS

Rana Bahadur (AD 1777–9) did not continue to supply coins to Tibet for long, and we have discovered only one example of his debased mohar. The main change in his coinage for the Valley was that the gold coins and the minor denominations were struck more often and in greater numbers. In 1789 a gold double mohar was struck with a special obverse design, the first time that a gold piece had been struck using dies other than those used for silver coins. In the same year the diameter of the silver mohar was reduced, but the weight was not altered.

According to Kirkpatrick, who visited Nepal in AD 1793, the mint made a profit of 12 per cent out of silver brought by merchants to the mint: 4 per cent specific charge, and 8 per cent from the alloy, implying that the coins should average 92 per cent fine, which roughly equates with the fineness of the actual specimens analysed. No silver or gold bullion, including coins from India, could be exported from the country, and all merchants were required to bring their bullion to the mint to be struck into Nepalese coins. In AD 1796, this profit margin was apparently increased to 25 per cent, but this may not be correct, as there is no sign that the coins became less fine or of lighter weight.

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8 The text of the treaty is given by L. E. Rose, op. cit. in n. 2. (Berkeley, 1971), p. 32. The relevant clauses were:

(1) The rate of exchange between gold and silver to be either fixed jointly between the two governments or determined by the merchants, who should settle their own rates and conduct their own transactions.

(2) Coins of the proper (i.e. traditional) alloy to be sent to Tibet by the Nepal government and accepted there.

9 Also known in Tibet as ‘Cho-tang’, or ‘coin for cutting’, as coins of this eight-petalled design were often cut for use as small change.

10 The mintage figures are given in a manuscript note among the Hodgson papers in the India Office Library.

11 Kirkpatrick, op. cit. (1811), p. 219. The fineness of the Calcutta rupee is given as 98 per cent in Useful Tables (Calcutta, 1834), p. 42.

During the reign of Rana Bahadur, in AD 1787, some copper coins were struck with legend in Arabic script, and date in Vikram Samvat era. They were struck in the hills, and initially circulated there more than in the Valley. Hamilton mentions how, in Kathmandu, the tiny silver dam was considered more convenient than the copper coins of the same denomination. The copper coins of the hills will be described in greater detail in Chapter V.

5. War with Tibet and China (AD 1788–92)

During the reign of Rana Bahadur, the coinage dispute between Nepal and Tibet worsened. The new influx of coin into Tibet in AD 1775–7 had satisfied the need of the Tibetans for coin and so there was no strong incentive for them to settle matters, although they bitterly resented the fact that the Nepalese would not accept the old debased coins at face value. The Nepalese, on the other hand, wanted a return to the arrangement that had existed between the Malla kings and the Tibetans, with the profitable trade monopoly and coinage agreement. In AD 1788 the Nepalese decided to send a punitive expedition to Tibet and the army quickly reached Shigatse, where negotiations commenced. The Tibetans were forced to sign a treaty agreeing that two of the old debased coins should be valued as one of the new fine silver mohars. The final clause of this treaty, referring to a tribute payable by the Tibetans, caused some difficulty, and was not formally agreed to by the Tibetan representatives, although the first instalment was paid. A year later, however, no payment was forthcoming, and the Nepalese drew up plans to secure, by force, what they felt was their due. In AD 1791 an army was dispatched, which succeeded in its intention of capturing as much booty as possible from Shigatse and the rich monastery of Tashilhunpo, the seat of the Panchen Lama. However, they had not reckoned with the Chinese. When news of the looting of Shigatse reached Peking, the Emperor saw this as an ideal opportunity to exert his authority in Tibet, which had been dwindling over the years. He realised that the Chinese garrison in Tibet, under the leadership of incompetent officials stationed in Lhasa, could not stand up against the Nepalese. General Fu-k’ang-an was immediately despatched to Tibet with an army of 15,000 men, and in a remarkable campaign successfully reached Nepalese territory in June 1792 at Kiron; from there he pressed on quickly as far as Nowakot, where the Nepalese agreed to a treaty. The booty from Shigatse and Tashilhunpo was to be returned, and Nepal was to send a regular tribute mission to Peking. There was no mention of the coinage and the Nepalese finally had to admit that, with the strengthened Chinese presence in Lhasa, the coinage dispute had been irretrievably lost. In fact, in AD 1791, the year of the second invasion by the Nepalese, the Tibetans had started striking coins of their

14 The terms of this treaty are discussed by L. E. Rose, op. cit. in n. 2, p. 42. The relevant clause is given as ‘Tibet agrees to accept and use newly minted Nepali coinage at the rate of one new coin for two of the debased Malla coinage. Kathmandu also agreed to mint suki (i.e. quarter rupee) coins for Tibet. Apparently, in the agreement the exchange rate was set at six new coins or twelve old coins to the Tael of silver. In fact, both before and after this agreement, the exchange rate was nine coins (new or old) to the Tael.
15 To be posted to Lhasa was generally regarded by the Chinese as punishment for some serious crime or gross misdemeanour.
own and had no further need for new supplies of Nepalese coins, although those already in Tibet continued to circulate well into the twentieth century.

6. RANA BAHADUR ABDICATES

In February 1799 Rana Bahadur abdicated and left for Benares and coins were issued in the name of his young son and successor, Girvan Yuddha. The first such coin was a scarce mohar dated 1720 s, which must have been struck within days of the abdication. A fine run of gold pieces was issued soon after, perhaps for presentation as ‘nisar’ to the young king.

For the next few years, the names of the queens on the sukis provide interesting insight into the shifts of power during this turbulent period. In 1722 s a suki bore the name of the senior queen, Raja Rajesvari, who was Regent until she left in April 1800 to join her husband, Rana Bahadur, in Benares. She was succeeded as regent by Subharna Prabha, one of Rana Bahadur’s junior queens, who struck a suki dated 1723 s. The same reverse die was then used for another suki with the name of Raja Rajesvari, presumably struck after her return in November 1802, when she resumed her role as regent. Raja Rajesvari struck further sukis dated 1724 s. A few rare pieces of that year have the name Amara Rajesvari16, which may be another name for this queen, although it is not known from other sources. The following year, 1725 s, provides a suki with the name ‘Mahamahesvari’, a name also not recorded in any history books, but which could be yet another name for this senior queen of Rana Bahadur, Raja Rajesvari.

7. AN EXPERIMENT WITH NEW DENOMINATIONS (AD 1804–6)

In early March 1804, Rana Bahadur returned to the Valley. His infant son, Girvan Yuddha, remained on the throne, but his father became de facto ruler of the country. At this time a remarkable experiment in coinage took place. The striking of mohars ceased and a new denomination of silver coin was struck in Girvan Yuddha’s name, weighing approximately 1.5 times the old mohar. The new coins were of distinctive design, initially rather simpler than the normal mohar, and later of the normal design but with a special ornamental border. A few gold pieces also appeared, together with silver coins of double size and a few halves and quarters, the latter dated 1726 s with the name of Rana Bahadur’s new young queen, Lalitesvari17. These new coins were struck from fine silver, but what prompted them we do not know. Perhaps the double coin was to be valued at 100 paisa18 and the whole series was an early attempt at decimalisation, or perhaps it was an effort to restore confidence in the coinage, which was beginning to be slightly debased by this time. Whatever the reason, the experiment did not succeed, and from 1728 s (AD 1806) onwards the previous weight standards were reinstated. A few gold pieces struck later in Girvan Yuddha’s reign reverted to this anomalous weight standard, but

16 ‘Amara’ means ‘immortal’.
17 Later known as Lalita Tripura Sundari.
18 F. Hamilton, op. cit. (1819), p. 214, says that the mohar commonly exchanged for thirty-four paisa, although in theory it should have been thirty-two paisa. Hence a hundred paisa would have been approximately three mohars.
it was never revived for silver coins. It may not be coincidence that this experiment with the coinage started about the time of Rana Bahadur’s return to Nepal, and ceased in the year of his death.

8. FURTHER DEBASEMENT OF THE SILVER COINS

One author mentions that the profit from the alloy had increased to 50 per cent by AD 1807, but this seems unlikely, as Princep analysed a number of mohars dated between AD 1808 and 1824, and there ranged from 68.5 per cent to 82.9 per cent fine, with an average of 76.8 per cent fine. After AD 1820 the fineness of the silver mohar seems to have settled down at about 80 per cent, and was still at this fineness in AD 1866.

In AD 1831 Brian Hodgson gave further information regarding the value of the Nepalese mohar. ‘The silver is weighed against old Kuldars, and paid in Nepal rupees at 113 per 100 Kuldars. The bazaar rate is 120 and the Calcutta assay 135 nearly’. Once out of Nepal the merchants could only exchange the Nepalese rupees into Indian rupees at the rate of about 130. A bazaar rate of about this level seems to have applied in Nepal for many years, as Wright, in AD 1877, gives the same rate of 120 Nepalese rupees to one Indian rupee, although it certainly fluctuated from time to time.

9. WEIGHTS OF GOLD COINS CHANGED BY JANG BAHADUR RANA

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century there were no major changes in the gold and silver currency system used in the Valley, and it was only the ascendency of the Rana family, with their interest in the outside world, that brought some changes during the reign of Surendra.

In AD 1835, the British in India had introduced a new standard tola, weighing 180 grains (11.6 g), and issued gold coins of this weight. Jang Bahadur decided to use this weight standard for some of his gold coins. At the same time he introduced, as a gold coin, the traditional Nepalese tola, which was rather heavier, at about 12.4 g. He also maintained the ‘mohar’ standard, that had been used by previous rulers, of about 5.6 g, for all the minor gold denominations, as well as for all the silver coins. Thus, during this reign, three different weight standards were used for the larger gold pieces, which must have been thoroughly confusing for the money-changers. These gold coins were given particular names, as follows:

19 "Kuldar" means ‘a coin struck in a mint’, or a machine struck rupee, and hence the British Indian rupee.
Duitole Asarfi  Wt. c. 23.2 g.
Bakla Asarfi   Wt. c. 12.4 g.
Patla or Majhawala   Wt. c. 5.6 g

Occasionally, a half Bakla Asarfi was struck, weighing 6.2 g. and an Ektola Asarfi, weighing 11.6 g, but normally the three largest denominations in gold were struck to the above standards.

In AD 1850, when Jang Bahadur visited Europe, he took a number of gold pieces with him for use as gifts. The coins he presented to Queen Victoria are now in the British Museum, and include some fine, large, double tola sized pieces with the names of Surendra, his young son Trailokya, and all his predecessors on the throne, from Prithvi Narayan onwards. In addition, a few slightly smaller pieces have the names of certain queens. Whether any of these pieces with the names of earlier kings were struck in the year they are dated is uncertain, but we can be sure that the Prithvi Narayan piece was struck by Jang Bahadur just before his departure for Europe, as the reverse die is the same as that used for the Surendra pieces (nos. 936–7 below). These were used purely as ceremonial gifts, and were never circulated.

10. COPPER COINS INTRODUCED INTO THE VALLEY
During the first half of the nineteenth century, the copper coins which were initially the currency of the hills, gradually became more popular in Kathmandu, even though their values were not fixed relative to silver. Under the copper currency system, a ‘ganda’ was equal to four ‘paisa’ or two ‘dyaks’. Kirkpatrick states that the copper coins were valued at 18 gandas to the rupee. Hamilton (1804) 17 to the rupee, Prinsep (1834) 20 to the rupee, and Cavanagh (1851) stated that the value varied in every village, but averaged about 22 gandas to the rupee.²⁶ Bhim Sen Thapa (Prime Minister AD 1806–37) is reputed to have ‘built a powder magazine’ at Thabahil (in Kathmandu) where Dhyak Paisa were made and brought into currency²⁷ but the pieces struck were probably intended as much for currency in the hills, as for use in the Valley.

In AD 1865 it was finally decided to issue pure copper coins to replace the tiny silver pieces that were still circulating at the old rate of 16 gandas to the rupee, the old ‘Sohra Ganda System’, as it was called.²⁸ After initial experiments with the dies used for silver coins, a special new design was chosen. and copper paisa, double paisa and dams, were issued in large numbers, with inscriptions in Devanagari.

The new pure copper coins were about half the weight (5.4 g) of the old unstamped copper/iron pieces (10.3 g) that were also circulating in Kathmandu at the time, at a rate of 22.5 gandas to the Nepalese rupee. Not surprisingly, the new

²⁶ Capt. O. Cavanagh, Rough Notes on the State of Nepal (Calcutta, 1861).
coins were regarded as overvalued at 16 ganda to the rupee, and in August 1866 it was declared that they should circulate at the same value as the old paisa, i.e. 22.5 gandas to the rupee. By the AD 1880s the value of the copper paisa had further reduced to 25 gandas to the rupee, the ‘Pachis Ganda System’, and Nepal had adopted, almost by accident, a decimal system of 100 paisa to the rupee.

11. Brass and Iron Tokens

About AD 1902, a series of token coins was produced with values of 16, 14 and 12 paisa boldly written on them. Little is known about this issue, which was presumably an unsuccessful experiment, but it is thought that they were designed to facilitate payment of the daily wages of labourers hired to build the royal palace. Perhaps the labourers found it inconvenient to change and spend these tokens, and they did not circulate for long. Some of the 16 paisa tokens have a number stamped on the reverse, and these may have been used as door passes to permit entry to the palace.

12. Silver Coinage Is Gradually Decimalised

During the reign of Prithvi Vir Vikram, the silver coinage continued to be struck on the binary ‘Sohra Ganda System’, but none of the coins smaller than the suki, equivalent to 12.5 copper paisa on the new system, ever circulated. The smaller silver coins were struck purely as nisars, and they were available at the mint for purchase by the increasing number of foreign visitors. After AD 1913, even the suki ceased to be struck, and copper coins formed the bulk of minor coins in circulation. Only after AD 1932, when the main mint was transferred from the old arsenal at Nakku in Patan (now a prison) to the new site at Darahara in Kathmandu, was decimalisation complete. Minor silver denominations were introduced, with value expressed in decimal paisa, and a new denomination, the 20 paisa, was introduced. Since then, the coinage has been very varied, but we will not describe it in detail in this book, other than to note that it is still the practice to strike certain coins, particularly the gold pieces, in small numbers purely as nisars, and these are difficult to find.

CATALOGUE OF SHAH DYNASTY COINS FOR THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

PRITHVI NARAYAN SHAH (1742–75, IN KATHMANDU 9.1768–1.1775)

A. Coins struck before the conquest of the Valley

AR 1 Mohar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>‘Śri Śri Prthvi Nārāyana Sāha Deva’ in scalloped square. Date ‘1671’ below.</td>
<td>‘Śri Śri Gorakhaṇāthā’ in petals, sword with wreath in top petal. ‘Śri Śri Bhavānī’ with trisul in centre.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Report from Col. G. Ramsay dated 7.9.1866. The Calcutta mint assayed the old copper coins at 41.6 per cent copper, 57.6 per cent iron, while the new copper coins were 98.5 per cent copper.
584. 1671 G(5.22*), H(4.58), R, NMK

This rare coin is the only debased issue of Prithvi Narayan. The obv. design is copied from the contemporary and equally debased mohar of Ranajit Malla of Bhatgaon.

Type 2. Obv. Legend as last, but pseudo-Arabic letters in field, large trisul in centre, date '1676' below, all on reticulated field.

Rev. As last, but 'Śri' in top petal and sword with wreath in centre.

585. 1676 G(5.05*), NMK

The obv. type of this rare variety is derived from the often debased mohars of Jaya Vishnu Malla and Rajya Prakash Malla of Patan. It is struck in fine silver, and the design may have been changed to the following type to avoid confusion with the debased prototypes.

Type 3. Obv. Legend as last, but in square with small trident in centre. Ornamentation around, with numerous variations, as indicated in the diagrams below:

Rev. As last.

Note that the fishes that are usually in the left and right angles can be ½ or ¾ in most varieties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Moon</th>
<th>Conch shell</th>
<th>Corner</th>
<th>Outer Spaces</th>
<th>Top Angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>586</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>586a</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>587</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>i or +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>587a</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>587b</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>no dot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588a</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588b</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>cusp</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>589</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590a</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>no dot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590b</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>cusp</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Obv</td>
<td>Rev</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>cusp</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1683</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>l.</td>
<td>r.</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>dot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition a mohar dated 1685 was struck for Prithvi Narayan as king of Patan, and this is listed under Patan, no. 503 above. The mohar no. 589 above is of particularly fine style.

**Ar Suki**

**Type 1.**

**Obv.** ‘Šrī Narindra Lakṣmī Devi’ in four panels around trident.

**Rev.** ‘Šrī Šrī Śrī Durgā Sahāya’ in four petals around sword with wreath. ‘Śrī Machhendra’ in angles.

**Type 1.**

V, R(1.36), G(1.40), H(*)

Although undated, the crude style makes it clear that this piece was struck outside the Valley. In addition, a silver dam of crude style was probably struck in Patan, and is listed as no. 504 above.

**B. Coins struck after the conquest of the Valley**

**Gold Coins**

**A/ Duitole Asarphi**

Type much as mohar, except that reverse has star design. Legend on obv. ‘Śrī Śrī Prthvī Nārāyaṇa Sāha Deva’, date below. Rev. ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Gorakhanātha, Śrī Bhavānī’. Diagonal milling on edge added by hand after striking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Obv</th>
<th>Rev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(23.08*), R(23.02).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This coin is struck from the same reverse die as the Duitole Asarphi of Surendra dated 1769 (AD 1847), proving that it must have been struck specially for Jang Bahadur Rana to present to VIPs on his trip to Europe. The specimen in the British Museum is one of a fine series of gold coins that were presented by Jang Bahadur to Queen Victoria at that time.

**A/ 2 Mohar**

**Type 1.** Normal mohar design, five pellets in top angle on obv.

**Type 2.** As last, but four pellets in top angle. See diagram below:

![Diagram of 5 dots and 4 dots mohar designs]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Obv</th>
<th>Rev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(10.94)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ber.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>G.24.2.60, Lot 368.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A/ Mohar**

Types as 2 mohar, struck with same dies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Obv</th>
<th>Rev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ber.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1694</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM(5.50), K(5.49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM(5.48)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SHAH DYNASTY, AD 1749-1911

\( \mathcal{A} / \) Half Mohar

**Obv.** ‘Śrī 3 Prthvī Nārāyaṇa’ in three lines, trisul in centre, pseudo-Arabic writing across field.

**Rev.** ‘Sāḥa deva’, pseudo-Arabic writing across field, sword with wreath in centre, date below.

603. 1693 BM(2.70), R(2.73), K(2.76)

\( \mathcal{A} / \) Suki

As the silver suki, type 3, same dies as no. 623 below.

604. 1693 BM(1.45), R(1.37), K(1.37)

\( \mathcal{A} / \) Ani

**Obv.** ‘Śrī Prthvī Nārā-’, trident in centre.

**Rev.** ‘-yana Sāḥa deva’, sword in centre.

605. — BM(0.68*, 0.64). K(0.63)

\( \mathcal{A} / \) Adhani

Same obv. die as last, but uniface bracteate.

606. — BM(0.30*)

\( \mathcal{A} / \) Paisa (or Adhani?)

Bracteate, ‘Śrī Śrī Prthvī’ within circle and dotted border.

607. — BM(0.29, 0.21). K(0.27)

The weights of the three known specimens are between the standard for a paisa (0.17 g) and an adhani (0.34 g). The fact that a adhani of more normal weight exists, probably indicates that a paisa denomination was intended. These pieces were, however, struck from the same dies as a silver coin of normal adhani weight. For small presentation issues such as these, the weights were presumably not of prime importance.

\( \mathcal{A} / \) Dam

Type similar to the silver dam struck before the conquest of the Valley but with crescent above and rather neater lettering.

608. — BM(0.05). ANS, K

Note that the gold coins of this reign are, with the single exception of the duitole asarphi, struck with the same dies as the silver coins listed below. They are all of great rarity and were only struck for ceremonial use. All the known specimens have been found in Europe.

Silver Coins

\( \mathcal{A} / \) 2 Mohar

609. 1693 Die of gold type 1. with five dots in the top angle. BM(11.09). R(11.01). N(*)
**THE COINAGE OF NEPAL**

### A 1 Mohar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>As no. 609 above, with five dots in the top angle. As gold type 1.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1.</td>
<td>BM(5.49, 5.47, 5.41), ANS, V, R(5.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2.</td>
<td>As last, but four dots in top angle. As gold type 2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>610.</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Type 1.</td>
<td>BM(5.49, 5.47, 5.41), ANS, V, R(5.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>611.</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>Type 2.</td>
<td>BM(5.52, 5.52), ANS, V(5.52), R(5.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612.</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>'9' of date '९'</td>
<td>BM(5.41), V(5.42), R(5.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613.</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>'9' of date '९'</td>
<td>BM(5.42), ANS, V(5.47, 5.44), R(5.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>615.</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>Type 2.</td>
<td>BM(5.46), V(5.40, 5.39), R(5.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616.</td>
<td>1694</td>
<td>BM(5.46), V(5.49), R(5.49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>617.</td>
<td>1695</td>
<td>BM, V(5.41, 5.40, 5.39), R(5.49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>618.</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>ANS(5.41), V(5.50), R(5.34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A Half Mohar

Same dies as the gold half mohar, no. 603 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>619.</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>V, R(2.70*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A Suki

Struck in the name of Queen Narindra Lakshmi Devi, the senior queen. Coins of type 1, which are not dated, were probably struck prior to the conquest of the Valley, and are listed as no. 595 above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 2.</th>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>'Srī Srī Narindra Lakṣmī Devī' in three lines with offering vase in centre, umbrella over.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rev.</td>
<td>'Srī Srī Bhavānī', trident in centre, two pseudo-Arabic letters across field, date below.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Type 3. | As last, but obv. inscription in four lines. Same dies as the gold suki, no. 604 above. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type 2.</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>620.</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Type 2.</td>
<td>BM(1.36), V(1.29), R(1.31*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>621.</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>622.</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>BM(1.23), V(1.31), R(1.40, 1.39, 1.30)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>623.</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>Type 3.</td>
<td>R(1.36*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A Ani

Same dies as the gold ani, no. 605 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>624.</td>
<td></td>
<td>V, R(0.63*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A Adhani

Same die as the gold paisa/adhani, no. 607 above, but this piece is of full adhani weight.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>625.</td>
<td></td>
<td>R(0.37*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A Dam

Same die as the gold dam, no. 608 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>626.</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM, V(0.04), R(0.03*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The silver coins nos. 619 and 624–6 are of great rarity and were not struck for circulation. As with the gold, they have only been found in Europe.

**PRATAP SIMHA SHAH (2.1775–11.1777)**

**Gold Coins**

**A/ Duitole Asarphi**

Type as mohar.

- **Obv.** ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Pratāpa Simha Sāha Deva’, date below.
- **Rev.** ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Gorakhanātha, Śrī Śrī Guhyesvari’. Edge milled diagonally after striking.

627. 1698 BM(23.09*)

Probably struck in AD 1849/50 for the visit of Jang Bahadur Rana to Europe. Although no die link with a later issue has been noted, the weight may be based on double the British tola of 180 grains, only standardised in AD 1835.

**A/ 2 Mohar**

Types as for the A mohar, described below.

628. 1696 Type 2. BM(11.50), R(11.48)

**A/ Mohar**

Types as the A mohar.

629. 1698 Type 2. Peus 8.10.56, Lot 1257*

**A/ Half Mohar**

- **Obv.** ‘Śrī 2 Pratāpa’, lion (=Simha) below.
- **Rev.** ‘Sāha Deva 1697’, sword with wreath, canopy above.

630. 1697 BM(2.68*)

**A/ Suki**

In the name of Rajendra Lakshmi Devi, queen of Pratap Simha.

631. 1698 BM(1.36)

**A/ Ani**

- **Obv.** ‘Śrī Pratāpa’ with sword. Pellets above and by base of sword.
- **Rev.** ‘Simha’ with lion above.

632. — BM(0.72). R

Whereas the figure of a lion is often placed on coins in lieu of the word ‘Simha’, this piece has both.

---

30 Pratap Simha developed an interest in Tantricism, about which he wrote a book. This is probably why he placed the name of the tantric goddess Guhyesvari (spelled with ‘hye’ instead of ‘jhe’ as on the Malla coins) on his coins, in place of Sri Bhavani, the goddess of abundance, another name for the wife of Siva.
The Coinage of Nepal

Adhani
As obv. of last but smaller die with no pellets. Bracteate.
633. -- BM(0.38*, 0.34)

Dam
Normal uniface dam; legend ‘Śrī Pratāpa’ with sword.
634. -- BM, K, PM(0.04)

As with the previous reign, all the gold coins are struck with dies used for silver coins; they are all of great rarity and they have been found only in Europe.

Silver Coins

2 Mohar
Surprisingly, we have never seen any silver 2 mohar coins of Pratap Simha, although it is likely that they were struck in this reign, as they were by every other king of the Shah dynasty. There is one listed as having been in the Fonrobert collection, and as this catalogue is usually reliable we are listing the coin here. The coin is probably struck from the dies of a mohar of type 1 or 2.

635. 1696 Type? Fonr.2347(11.5)

1 Mohar
Normal mohar design. Varieties as follows:

Type 1. Fine silver, with petals on reverse joined. ‘2’ in lower angle on obverse.
Type 2. As last, but pellet in lower angle.

Types 1. and 2.

Type 3. Debased silver alloy, with reverse petals separated. This type was struck especially for export to Tibet.

636. 1695 Type 3. H, Be(5.29*)
637. 1696 Type 1. BM(5.40*), ANS(5.51, 5.34), V. R(5.50)

31 cf. Verzeichniss von Münzen und Denkmünzen der schen Sammlung (Berlin, 1878).
The debased pieces of type 3 were frequently cut in Tibet for use as small change; cf. p. 207 for details. The specimen of type 3 dated 1695 is an unexpected coin. The two specimens we have examined share an obverse die, but are struck with different reverse dies. The date is almost impossible historically, as it is very unlikely that Prithvi Narayan would have allowed Pratap Simha to have struck coins during his lifetime. There is no sign that the date has been altered after striking, although the Nepalese are such skillful artists that we cannot rule out the possibility that the coins are modern forgeries. The most likely explanation seems to us that the date was wrongly engraved on the die.

**R Half Mohar**

Same dies as the gold piece no. 630.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>ANS</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>645</td>
<td>1697</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(2.80), ANS(2.89), V(2.60), R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**R Suki**

Struck in the name of Queen Rajendra Lakshmi, as queen of Pratap Simha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>ANS</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>646</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ANS, V(1.31), R(1.31*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>647</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>V(1.26*), R(1.38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>R(*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649</td>
<td>1697</td>
<td></td>
<td>V(1.28)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650</td>
<td>1697</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>BM(1.33, 1.31), ANS, V(1.35), R, N(*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651</td>
<td>1698</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(1.38), ANS, V(1.37), R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>652</td>
<td>1699</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(1.32, 1.26), ANS, V, R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**R Ani**

Same dies as gold type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>ANS</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>653</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(0.69), ANS(0.067), R(0.70*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**R Adhani**

Same dies as gold type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th>Ash</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>654</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ash(0.39)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**R Dam**

Same dies as gold type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>655</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(0.05), V(0.04), R(0.04*, 0.03)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

RANA BAHADUR SHAH (11.1777–2.1799)

Gold Coins

A/ Duitole Asarphi

**Obv.** 'Śrī Śrī Śrī Raṇa Bahādur Sāha Deva' in square, unusual petal design around, date below.
**Rev.** 'Śrī Śrī Śrī Gorakhanātha, Śrī 3 Bhavānī', design of eight pointed star. Edge milled diagonally after striking.

656. 1718 BM(23.20*)

This piece was probably struck about AD 1849, for Jang Bahadur to take to Europe. Why the date 1718 s (= AD 1796) is shown is a mystery; it is about two years after Rana Bahadur took power into his own hands in May 1794, after ruling with his uncle Bahadur Shah as regent.

A/ 2 Mohar

Type similar to mohar, but obverse has no ornamental lines inside or outside square and with canopy over square. Diam. 25 mm.

657. 1711 R(10.84*)

This is the first gold coin to be struck with a special die, not used for the silver coins. The reverse is die-linked with the A/ 2 mohar of Girvan Yuddha dated 1721 s, no. 725 below.

A/ Mohar

Normal mohar type with the following variations, which are also used for the silver 2 mohar and 1 mohar coins. The secret marks in the upper and lower angles on the obverse are very consistent between different dies within the same date:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upper angle</th>
<th>Lower angle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1.1. Diam. 28 mm.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1.2.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1.3.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1.4.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1.5.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2.1. Diam. 25 mm.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2.2.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2.3.</td>
<td>◆</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

658. 1700 Type 1.2. BM(5.54)
659. 1702 Type 1.1. BM(5.55), R(5.48*)
660. 1703 Neg.
661. 1705 V(5.43), Ber.
662. 1706 R(5.46)
663. 1708 BM(5.50), V(5.46), R(5.49)
664. 1709 Type 1.3. V(5.38)
665. 1712 Type 2.2. Sm(5.45)
666. 1716 Type 2.3. V(5.33)
667. 1719 V(5.48), R(5.58)
668. 1720 V(5.39)
**THE SHAH DYNASTY, AD 1749–1911**

**A/ Half Mohar**

*Obv.* ‘Śrī Śrī Raṇa Bahā’, trisul in centre, pseudo-Arabic writing across field.

*Rev.* ‘-dur Sāha devā’, with pseudo-Arabic across field, sword and wreath in centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>BM(2.71, 2.67)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>BM(2.70), Ash(2.78)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A/ Suki**

Type 1. In the name of Queen Rajendra Lakshmi Devi, as regent for her son, the young king. Mirror in centre of *obv*.

Type 2. In the name of Rana Bahadur himself, with wreathed sword in obverse centre. This was the only time sukiś were struck in the king's name until the reign of Prithvi Vir Vikram, after AD 1881.

Type 2.1. As last, but no pellets by trident on *rev*.

Type 3. In the name of Queen Raja Rajesvari Devi, who married the young king c. AD 1789. Wreathed vase in obverse centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>Type 1. Rajendra Lakshmi BM(1.39), V(1.34), R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>Type 3. Raja Rajesvari BM(1.36), V(1.30), R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A gold suki of type 2 dated 1712 s may exist, but the two specimens we have noted (cf. M21 below) are modern forgeries. They are struck from the same pair of dies as each other, but not from the obverse die that is used for all the silver sukiś of this type. The lettering is slightly stiffer, and the colour of the gold is much more yellow than that of other gold coins of this reign. The Valdettaro specimen was bought in Nepal in 1965, at a time when gold Malla coins, struck from false dies and of this distinctive yellow colour, were appearing on the market.

**A/ Ani**

*Obv.* ‘Śrī Śrī Raṇa’, sword with wreath, canopy above.

*Rev.* ‘Bahādur Sāha devā’, mace in centre with buds at base.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>R(0.69)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A/ Adhani**

*Obv.* Legend as last, no wreath over sword.

*Rev.* ‘Bahādur Sāha’, mirror with canopy over.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>BM(0.32), K(0.36)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A/ Paisa**

Bracteate, ‘Śrī Śrī Raṇa’, sword with pellet and crescent over, surrounded by circle and dotted outer border.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>V(0.15), R(0.17), Sm(0.18), K(0.16), G(0.16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A/ Dam**

Bracteate, ‘Śrī Śrī Raṇa’ with sword.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>BM(0.05 x 3.004.003), V, R(*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Silver Coins

Ar 2 Mohar

Types as Ar mohar—see above for description.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(11.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM(10.91), V(11.02), Ash(10.83), R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>BM(11.00, 10.98), V(10.92, 10.83), R, Ash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>V(10.96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>V(11.03)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ar 1 Mohar

Types as Ar mohar, except for:

Type 3. Debased silver. Obv. as type 1.1. but rev. has separate petals as type 3. of Pratap Simha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Be(5.38*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM(5.46), V(5.58), R(5.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>BM(5.47), V(5.43), R(5.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>V(5.49), R(5.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>BM(5.54), V(5.37), R(5.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>V(5.36), R(5.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>BM(5.47), V(5.38, 5.37), R(5.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>BM(5.63, 5.52, 5.51, 5.49, 5.47, 5.47, 5.46), V, R(5.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>BM(5.53), V(5.44), R(5.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>V(5.48, 5.39), R(5.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>BM(5.55, 5.46), V(5.45), R(5.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>R(5.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>BM(5.38), V(5.45), R(5.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>R(5.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>BM(5.42), V(5.42, 5.30), R(5.47*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>BM(5.34), V(5.40), R(5.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>BM(5.54, 5.47), V, R(5.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>BM(5.43, 5.48), V(5.45, 5.36), R(5.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>V(5.24), R(5.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>V(5.56), R(5.40*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>BM(5.67, 5.55), V(5.44), R(5.40*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>BM(5.59), V(5.39), R(5.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>BM(5.47), V(5.46), R(5.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>V(5.43), R(5.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>BM(5.44), V(5.39), R(5.52)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The year 1715 s (= AD 1793) represents an unusual gap in the series of mohars. Presumably few coins were struck in the aftermath of the Chinese invasion of the previous year.

The secret marks in the upper and lower outer angles on the obverse were presumably some form of system to indicate responsible officials, and to help guard against forgery. Similar marks appear, in one form or another, on the mohars of most of the Shah kings. Forgery was not a problem with coins of other denominations, as they did not circulate widely, but forgeries of the mohars are frequently found.
THE SHAH DYNASTY, AD 1749–1911

An Half Mohar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>BM(2.76, 2.73, 2.71, 2.64), V, R, Ash(2.75)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>707</td>
<td>1701</td>
<td>BM(2.73, 2.72, 2.72, 2.71), V, R(*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An Suki

Types as for the gold coins listed above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>BM(1.42, 1.36, 1.35, 1.34, 1.15), V(1.25, 1.18), R(*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>709</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rajendra Lakshmi</td>
<td>BM(1.40, 1.35), V(1.46, 1.27), R(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>710</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
<td>V(1.35), R(1.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>711</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Raja Ramesvar</td>
<td>V(1.31, 1.27), R(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>712</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Raja Ramesvar</td>
<td>BM(1.36), V(1.30), R(1.37, 1.24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Raja Ramesvar</td>
<td>BM(1.30, 1.25), V(1.34, 1.27, 1.22), R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the sukis in the name of Rana Bahadur, types 2 and 2.1., are struck from the same obv. die, even though they range over a five year period. The sukis of 1711 s are broader (diam. 19.5 mm) than the sukis of other dates (diam. 18 mm).

An Ani

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>BM(0.72, 0.70, 0.65), V, R(*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As gold type, with long sword.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>As last, but short sword.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As type 1, but different stand for sword.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>BM(0.68, 0.66*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>716</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(0.72, 0.70, 0.65), V, R(*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>717</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>R(0.65*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>718</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM(0.68, 0.66*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An Adhani

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>BM(0.39, 0.35, 0.34, 0.33), R(*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As gold type.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Obv. die of paisa used in error, so legend reads 'Śri Raņa Ba-', 'Bahādursāha', with 'ba' repeated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>BM(0.39, 0.35, 0.34, 0.33), R(*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>719</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(0.39, 0.35, 0.34, 0.33), R(*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>720</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>R(0.31*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An Paisa

As gold type, sometimes the same die.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>BM(0.04, 0.04), V(0.03)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>721</td>
<td>ANS(0.20, 0.16), V(0.17), R(0.15*, 0.13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An Dam

As gold type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>BM(0.04, 0.04), V(0.03)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>722</td>
<td>BM(0.04, 0.04), V(0.03), R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gold coins and small denomination silver coins are much more common than was the case in the previous reigns. Although they did not circulate extensively, they were struck on a number of different occasions and several dies are known for each denomination.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

GIRVAN YUDDHA VIKRAM SHAH (3.1799–11.1816)

Gold Coins

A/ Duitole Asarphi

Obv. Type of mohar. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Girvāṇa Yuddha Vikrama Sāha Deva’, date below.

723. 1821 BM(23.11*)

A/ Ektola Asarphi

Obv. ‘Śrī Gorakṣa Rājya Lakṣmī Devi’ in circle, with ornamental border around.
Rev. ‘Śrī Bhavāni 1735’ in six points of star, around circle with vase. Plain edge.

724. 1835 BM(11.55*)

The above two coins were probably struck c.AD 1849 for Jang Bahadur Rana’s trip to Europe. The latter piece is in the name of Queen Goraksha Rajya, the mother of Rajendra, who married Girvan Yuddha about 1735 (= AD 1813).

A/ 2 Mohar

Type 1. As mohar design, but swastika and other ornamental lines omitted on obverse, as usual for gold coins. Plain edge.
Type 2. As last, but square around central trisul, and no sun and moon to r. & l. f square on obverse. Reverse as last, but sun and moon by ‘Śrī 3’ and no horizontal lines in central circle.

725. 1821 Type 1. BM(11.02*)
726. 1833 Type 2. V(10.98), R(11.08*)

It is interesting that the reverse die of type 1 was used for the A/ 2 mohar of Rana Bahadur, apparently struck ten years before, although the die shows no sign of deterioration in the meantime.

A/ 1.5 Mohar

Type 1. As the A/ 2 mohar type 1 above, but sun and moon above square on obv.; date below.
Type 2. Obv. as last, but no sun and moon.
Rev. has moon and sun by ‘Śrī 3’, with octagon instead of circle, and no horizontal lines.

727. 1726 Type 1. Rotterdam
728. 1728 BM(8.20), V(8.24), R.
729. 1729 BM(8.39*), V(8.14), ANS(8.23)
730. 1736 Type 2. V(8.14), R(8.19*), Ash(8.21)

This denomination is found in silver coins from 1725–27 (AD 1803–5), corresponding roughly to the period when Rana Bahadur returned from exile to Kathmandu. However, it is interesting to note that gold coins of this unusual denomination were struck after the issue of similar coins ceased.
The Shah Dynasty, A.D. 1749-1911

Al 1 Mohar

Type 1. As normal silver mohar.
Type 2. Same die as 2 mohar, type 2.

731. 1721  Type 1. BM(5.51), V(5.45), R, Ash (5.54)
732. 1723  V(5.46), R.
733. 1724  BM(5.48), R(5.41)
734. 1728  V(5.45)
735. 1733  Type 2. BM(5.51)

Al Half Mohar

Type 1. Obv. ‘Śrī Śrī Gīrvāṇa Yuddha Vi’, design as previous reign, trisul in centre.
Rev. ‘-krama Śāha Deva’, date below; three pellets under ‘Śāha Deva’ each side of sword.

Type 2. As last, but flower each side under ‘Śāha Deva’ on rev.

Type 3. As last, but comma each side under ‘Śāha Deva’ on rev., no pellets by date.

Type 4. As last, but four dots each side under ‘Śāha Deva’ on rev.

Type 5. Special gold dies.
Obv. Śrī Śrī Gīrvāṇa Yuddha ‘in eight petals around sword with wreath.
Rev. ‘Vikrama Śāha Deva’ interspersed around square and diamond design, with trisul in centre. Date below.

Type 6. Special gold dies. Much as type 1 above, but straight lines, instead of pseudo-Arabic writing, and circle around trisul on obv.

736. 1721  Type 1. BM(2.75)
737. 1721  Type 2. BM(2.71), V(2.65), ANS(2.74)
738. 1728  V(2.66)
738a. 1728  Type 3. BM(2.76)
739. 1729  V(2.73), R(2.70)
740. 1730  Type 4. R(2.71)
741. 1732  Type 5. BM(2.74), R(2.74), Sm(2.77)
742. 1733  Ber, ANS(2.70), N(*)
743. 1736  Type 6. BM(2.82*)

Al Suki

Type 1. In name of Raja Rajesvari Devi. type as Rana Bahadur suki type 3.
Type 2. In name of Subharna Prabha Devi.
Type 3. In name of Amara Rajesvari Devi.
Type 4. In name of Mahamahesvari Devi.
Type 5. In name of Lalita Tripura Sundari Devi.
Type 6. In name of Siddhi Lakshmi Devi. This and the above five types are all struck with dies used for silver sukis.

Type 7. As last, but reverse has special gold die, with ‘Śrī Bhavāni’ in square with trident; canopy above.

Type 8. As last, but obv. has crescent and dot over vase, instead of canopy. Rev. has trident in circle, horizontal lines above and below, canopy above.

Type 9. In the name of Queen Goraksha Rajya Lakshmi Devi. Special gold die with wreath over mirror on obv., and canopy over reverse.

744. 1723  Type 2. Subharna Prabha BM(1.35, 1.34)
745. 1723  Type 1. Raja Rajesvari V(1.37)
746. 1724  Type 1. R.
In order to explain the sequence of queens in whose names the sukis of this reign were struck, it is worth summarising some of the historical background of the period:

3.1799 Rana Bahadur abdicates in favour of his infant son, Girvan Yuddha. The senior queen of Rana Bahadur, Raja Rajesvari, becomes regent.

5.1800 Rana Bahadur flees to Benares and Queen Raja Rajesvari follows soon afterwards. A junior queen of Rana Bahadur, Subharna Prabha, becomes regent.

11.1802 Queen Raja Rajesvari returns to Nepal, and resumes the regency until 3.1804.


4.1806 Queen Raja Rajesvari commits sati on Rana Bahadur’s funeral pyre, and Lalita Tripura Sundari becomes regent until end of reign.

c.1808 Girvan Yuddha, aged about 14, marries Siddhi Lakshmi.

c.1813 Girvan Yuddha marries Goraksha Rajya Lakshmi, who gives birth to a son, Rajendra, in AD 1814.

With this background it is easy to explain most of the sukis. Raja Rajesvari must have used an old reverse die of Subharna Prabha, dated 1723 S (AD 1801), to strike the first coins after her return from Benares in AD 1802. Amara, meaning immortal, may have been an epithet used for Raja Rajesvari during her regency. The name Mahamahesvari is also not mentioned in history books, and may have been another name for Raja Rajesvari.

**A/ Ani**

**Type 1.**

*Obv.* ‘Śrī Gīrvaṇā’, sword with wreath in centre.

*Rev.* ‘Yuddha Vikrama Sāha’, mace in centre. An early variety, also found in silver, with type similar to that used by Rana Bahadur.

**Type 2.**

As last, but sword has no wreath. Also found in silver.

**Type 3.**

As last, but special gold die with mirror on reverse.

**Type 4.**

Special gold die.

*Obv.* ‘Śrī Gīrvaṇā Yuddha’ around small sword.

*Rev.* ‘Vikrama Sāha’ around mirror, with crescent and dot above.

756. -- Type 1. R(0.71)

757. -- Type 2. BM(0.69), V(0.64), R(0.68)

758. -- Type 3. BM(0.70*)

759. -- Type 4. BM(0.72), V(0.69)

Types 3 and 4, being special gold dies not used for silver coins, were probably struck between 1732–8 S, when all dated gold pieces were struck using special dies.
Adhani

Type 1.  
Obv. ‘Śrī Gīrvāṇa Yu’, sword.
Rev. ‘ddha Vikrama Sāha’, mace.

Type 2.  As last, but sword on stand.

Type 3.  As last, but obv. die of paisa used in error. Legend reads ‘Śrī Gīrvāṇa -ddha Vikrama Sāha, omitting letter ‘Yu’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>760</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>BM(0.35*, 0.34), R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>761</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(0.33*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>762</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(0.35*), R(0.36), PM(0.33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paisa

Bracteate. ‘Śrī Gīrvāṇa’ with sword, within circle and dotted border.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>763</td>
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<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>763</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>V(0.16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dam

Bracteate. ‘Śrī Gīrvāṇa’ with sword.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>764</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>BM(0.044), V(0.05), R</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Silver Coins

3 Mohar

Type 1.  As silver mohar, moon and sun by ‘Śrī 3’ on rev. Plain edge.

Type 2.  As last, but obv. type without swastika, as gold no. 727 above.

Type 3.  As last, but with three pellets each side of ‘Śrī 3’ on rev.

Type 4.  As type 1 above but ornamental border.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>765</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>H(*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>766</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>BM(16.47*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>767</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>BM(16.48), V(16.54), R(16.39*), W(1641)</td>
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<tr>
<td>768</td>
<td>1726</td>
<td>N(*)</td>
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</table>

1.5 Mohar

Type 1.  As 3 mohar type 3, and A/ 1.5 mohar no. 727 above.

Type 2.  As 3 mohar type 4 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>769</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>V(8.05), R(8.20*), W(8.04)</td>
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<td>770</td>
<td>1726</td>
<td>BM(7.71), V(8.11), R, W(8.25)</td>
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<tr>
<td>771</td>
<td>1727</td>
<td>BM(8.34), V(8.30), R(*), W(8.17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A/ 1 Mohar

Type 1.  Normal mohar design, but only two Śrī’s above square on obv. Diam. 29 mm

Type 2.  Normal mohar design, three Śrī’s above square on obv. Diam. 27 mm

Type 2.1 As last, but outer pellet in lower rev. inner circle is a comma.

Type 3.  Dies of A/ 1.5 mohar, nos. 728/9 above, with no swastika on obv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>772</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>BM(5.54), V(5.41), R(5.21*)</td>
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<td>773</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>BM(5.52), V(5.41), R(5.49)</td>
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<td>774</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>V(5.36), R(5.47)</td>
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<tr>
<td>775</td>
<td>1723</td>
<td>BM(5.40), V(5.45), R(5.48)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A mohar apparently dated 1726 s (H) has probably had the date cleverly and undetectably altered from '1736', as the reverse is of type 2.1, a variety otherwise only known for 1736-8 s. During the reign, the silver content of the mohars gradually fell from c.92.5 per cent fine to c.75 per cent fine. The other denominations have not been analysed.

**AR ¼ Mohar**

Type similar to half mohar type 1, but flowers on obv. each side of trident; below 'Gīrvāṇa Yu'. Ornamental border each side. Diam. 24 mm.

**AR Half Mohar**

Types as gold, using the same dies.

**AR ¾ Mohar**

*Obv.* ‘Śrī Laliteśvari Devī’, vase with wreath. Normal suki type, but ornamental border.

*Rev.* ‘Śrī Bhavāṇi’, normal suki type, ornamental border.

Presumably the name ‘Lalitesvari’ is an abbreviated form of Lalita Tripura Sundari who married Rana Bahadur in AD 1804 and later became regent for Girvan Yuddha and subsequently for Rajendra.

**AR Suki**

Types 1 to 6 are identical to the gold types. After 1730 s, as with other denominations, special designs were used for gold coins.
Type 6.1. As type 6, in name of Siddhi Lakshmi Devi, but pellet each side of 'Devi' on obv.
Type 7. Special silver die in name of Queen Goraksha Rajya Lakshmi Devi. Obv. mirror type.

801. 1722 Type 1. Raja Rajesvari V(1.33), R(1.30)
802. 1723 Type 2. Subharna Prabha BM(1.37), V, R(1.35*)
803. 1723 Type 1. Raja Rajesvari V(1.32), R(1.34)
804. 1724 Type 1. V(1.36), R(1.33*)
805. 1725 Type 3. Amara Rajesvari H.
806. 1725 Type 4. Mahamahesvari N.
807. 1728 Type 5. Lalita Tripura R(1.31)
808. 1729 Type 5. Siddhi Lakshmi BM(1.35), V(1.27*), R(1.28)
809. 1730 Type 6. Siddhi Lakshmi BM(1.33), V(1.36, 1.30), R(1.39*)
810. 1730 Type 6.1 V(1.31)
811. 1733 Type 6 V(1.33, 1.31), R(1.28)
812. 1735 Type 6.1. V(1.30, 1.25), R(1.33*)
813. 1738 Type 7. Goraksha Rajya BM(1.43), V(1.29), R(1.33)

Type 1. Obv. 'Śrī Girvāna', sword with wreath.
Rev. 'Yuddha Vikrama Sāha', mace.
Type 2. As last, but sword has canopy over instead of wreath.
Type 3. Obv. Die of adhani type 1 below.
Rev. Same die as last.
Type 4. Obv. 'Śrī Girvāna Yu-', with sword.
Rev. 'Śrī Girvāna Yu-', with sword.

814. — Type 1. V(0.68*)
815. — Type 2. BM(0.73, 0.71), V(0.65), R(*)
816. — Type 3. R(0.69*)
817. — Type 4. BM(0.68), V(0.71), R(*)

Type 1. Obv. Śrī Girvāna Yu-', sword with ornament below.
Rev. 'Śrī Girvāna Yu-', sword with ornament below.
Type 2. Obv. As last, but pellet each side of sword, and two leaves below.
Rev. Reads normally, no leaves by base of mace.
Type 3. As last but no pellets by side of sword, and two leaves below. sword on obv.
Type 4. Mule; obv. of paisa, rev. same die as type 3.

818. — Type 1. V(0.33, 0.31), R(*)
819. — Type 2. BM(0.36), R(*)
820. — Type 3. R(*)
821. — Type 4. V(0.37*)

Type 1. Obv. 'Śrī Girvāna Yu-', sword with ornament below.
Rev. 'Śrī Girvāna Yu-', sword with ornament below.
Type 2. Obv. As last, but pellet each side of sword, and two leaves below.
Rev. Reads normally, no leaves by base of mace.
Type 3. As last but no pellets by side of sword, and two leaves below. sword on obv.
Type 4. Mule; obv. of paisa, rev. same die as type 3.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

AR Dam

As gold type

824. Normal type BM, V(0.04), R(*)

RAJENDRA VIKRAM SHAH (12.1816–5.1847)

Gold Coins

AV Duitole Asarphi

Type. Legend ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Rājendra Vikrama Sāha Deva’ interspersed within three squares, two of them diamond shaped, date below. Rev. design normal for denomination

825. 1762 BM(23.21*)

AV Ektola Asarphi

Type. In the name of Queen Samrajya Lakshmi Devi. Type as the similar coin no. 724 above.

826. 1759 BM(11.53*)

The above two pieces were probably struck c. AD 1849 for Jang Bahadur Rana’s trip to Europe in AD 1850.

AV Double Mohar

Type 1. Normal gold type, with no swastika on obv. Square around trident in obverse centre. Diam. 24 mm

Type 2. As last but circle around central trident. Diam. 24 mm.

Type 3. As type 1 with square around central trident on obv., but diam. 27 mm.

Type 4. As type 2 with circle around central trident on obv., but diam. 27 mm.

Type 4.1. As type 4, but four pellets outside central circle on obv.

827. 1741 Type 2. BM(11.10*)

828. 1746 Type 3. V(10.99), R(11.07), ANS(10.99)

829. 1768 Type 4. KNM.

AV 1 Mohar

Types as for the double mohar, struck with the same dies.

830. 1738 Type 1. V(5.51), R(5.50*)

831. 1741 Type 2. BM(5.57)

832. 1746 Type 3. BM(5.52, 5.51), V, R(*)

833. 1757 K(5.50)

834. 1758 Table 4.1 V(5.45), R(5.47*)

835. 1760 Type 4. BM(5.52), R(5.50), Sm(5.48)

836. 1764 V(5.51), Fw(*)

837. 1766 V(5.52)

838. 1768 V(5.48)

AV Half Mohar

Type 1. Type as gold of Girvan Yuddha, nos. 741/2 above.

Type 2. Type and dies as silver with ‘Śrī Rājendra’ in one line on obv.

Type 3. Type and dies as silver with ‘Śrī Rājendra’ in two lines on obv.

Type 4. Special gold obv. design, simplified, with square around central trident.

Type 5. As last, but circle around central trident on obv.
THE SHAH DYNASTY, AD 1749–1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>839.</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>Type 1.</td>
<td>BM(2.73), V(2.76), R(2.72*), Sm(2.77)</td>
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<td>840.</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td>Type 2.</td>
<td>V(2.78)</td>
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<tr>
<td>841.</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Type 3.</td>
<td>BM(2.77), V(2.76), R(*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>842.</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>Type 4.</td>
<td>BM, V(2.73)</td>
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<tr>
<td>843.</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>Type 5.</td>
<td>R(2.76*), K(2.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>844.</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>Type 6.</td>
<td>R(2.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>845.</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(2.75)</td>
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<tr>
<td>846.</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM, V(2.75), R(2.74*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>847.</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td></td>
<td>V(2.78)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A/ Suki

Type 1. In the name of Queen Lalita Tripura Sundari Devi. As type 5 of Girvan Yuddha.
Type 1.1 As last, but three pellets each side of top of trident on rev.
Type 2. In the name of Queen Samrajya Lakshmi Devi. Type as silver with 'De' below vase on obv.
Type 3. As last, but vase with wreath on obv. Special gold rev. type with square around central trident.
Type 4. As last, but obv. is normal silver type, with 'Vi' below vase. Special gold rev., with circle around central trident.
Type 5. Obv. as last, but rev. normal silver type.
Type 6. A variety in the name of Queen Samrajya Lakshmi Devi with wreath over vase, so far only found in silver.
Type 7. In the name of Queen Rajya Lakshmi Devi. Obv. type of silver; rev. special gold die with circle around central trident.

Lalita Tripura Sundari was Regent for the young King Rajendra until her death in April 1832 (1754 s). The King married Samrajya Lakshmi Devi about AD 1823 (1745 s), and subsequent sukis were in her name, until her death in October 1841 (1763 s). The junior Queen, Rajya Lakshmi Devi, then took an increasing role in state affairs and was given 'political rights' in January 1843, an event immediately celebrated by the issue of gold sukis in 1764 s. This Queen was exiled to Benares with her husband in November 1846 (1768 s).

A/ Ani

Type 1. Obv. 'Ṣrī Rājendra', sword with canopy.
Rev. 'Vikrama Sāha Deva', mace with leaves at base.
Type 2. Obv. 'Ṣrī Rājendra Vi-', sword.
Rev. 'krama Sāha Deva'. mace. Diam. varies from 12 to 13.5 mm.

A/ Adhani

Type. As A/ ani type 2 above, but diam. 11 mm.
856. | BM(0.33*), R(0.32), Sm(0.34), K(0.34)
A/ Paisa

Bracteate. ‘Śrī Rājendra’ with sword, within circle and dotted border.

857.  BM(0.17), V(0.14), R(*), K(0.16)

A/ Dam

Bracteate. ‘Śrī Rājendra’ with sword.

858.  BM(0.04), V, R, ANS, K(0.04, 0.03)

Silver Coins

AR Double Mohar

Type I. Normal silver type struck with mohar dies. Plain edge.
Type 1.1 As last, but flowers each side of ‘ni’ in lower part of rev. inner circle.
Type 1.2 As type I, but commas in place of outer pellets in lower part of rev. inner circle.

859.  1738 Type 1.2. BM(11.03*)
860.  1740 Type 1.  BM(11.00)
861.  1742  Neg
862.  1743  BM(10.81), H
863.  1744 Type 1.1  H(*)
864.  1753 Type 1.2  N
865.  1757  V(10.79), R(11.06), ANS(11.00), H
866.  1764 Type 1  R(10.99)

AR 1 Mohar

Type 1. As double mohar.
Type 1.1 As double mohar.
Type 1.2 As double mohar.
Type 1.3 As type 1, but ‘Śrī 3’ above obv. square. The ‘3’ was added in error as the legend now reads Śrī 3 Śrī Śrī Rājendra ...
Type 1.4 As type 1.1, but ornamentation left and right of obv. square reversed – i.e. conch shell is on the left, probably in error.

867.  1738 Type 1.  BM(5.51, 5.36), V(5.52), R(5.47), ANS(5.4)
868.  1739  BM(5.54, 5.53), V(5.32), R(5.43, 5.37, 5.32), ANS
869.  1740  BM(5.43), V(5.41), R(5.52, 5.49), ANS(5.35)
870.  1740 Type 1.3.  V(5.28), R(5.37*, 5.30)
871.  1741 Type 1.  BM(5.46, 5.46), V(5.28), R(5.46, 5.23, 5.22)
872.  1742  BM(5.57, 5.47, 5.38), V(5.29), R(5.48), ANS(5.43)
873.  1743  BM(5.53, 5.51, 5.48, 5.46, 5.41), V(5.05), R(5.41)
874.  1744  R(5.42)
875.  1744 Type 1.1  BM(5.52), R(5.26)

32 It is strange that none of the mohars of this date that we have seen use this reverse die of type 1.2 with commas, a variety otherwise only used between 1753 s and 1762 s. The mohars of the last years of Girvan Yuddha use the commas, but they have a sun and moon by ‘Śrī 3’, so there is no die-link. We have also looked, without success, for a die-link with one of the later mohars of Rajendra.
The silver content of the mohars was initially c. 75 per cent silver and increased to c. 80 per cent silver about 1744 s (AD 1822). We have not analysed other denominations.

**The Shah Dynasty, AD 1749–1911**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>876</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>BM(5.54, 5.52), V(5.37), R(5.55, 5.43, 5.40), ANS</td>
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<tr>
<td>877</td>
<td>1746</td>
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<td>BM(5.50, 5.48), V(5.47), R(5.41, 5.34), ANS</td>
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<tr>
<td>878</td>
<td>1747</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM(5.59, 5.38), V(5.45), R(5.40), ANS</td>
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<tr>
<td>879</td>
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<td>BM(5.54), V(5.39), R(5.44), ANS(5.44)</td>
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<td>BM(5.47), V(5.36), R(5.24)</td>
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<td>883</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>Type 1.2</td>
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<td>884</td>
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<tr>
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<td>V(5.29), R(5.35, 5.32)</td>
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<td>V(5.49), R(5.46), ANS(5.38)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1762</td>
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<td>H</td>
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<td>Type 1</td>
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<td>896</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ANS(5.42*)</td>
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<td>BM(5.47, 5.43), V(5.32), R(5.52, 5.49), ANS(5.50, 5.12)</td>
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<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>1769</td>
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<td>V(5.39), R(5.43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The silver content of the mohars was initially c. 75 per cent silver and increased to c. 80 per cent silver about 1744 s (AD 1822). We have not analysed other denominations.

**R Half Mohar**

Type 1. Normal silver type, 'Śrī Rājendra' on obv. in one line.

Type 2. As last but flower (of three dots and a stem) instead of just three dots each side below 'Rājendra' on obv. — as gold type 2.

Type 3. As last, but 'Śrī Rājendra' in two lines — as gold type 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>901</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>BM(2.75), V, R(2.61*), Ash(2.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>902</td>
<td>1738</td>
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<td>BM(2.84), V(2.68), R(2.75, 2.70), ANS(2.76)</td>
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<td>903</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>H(*)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>BM(2.78), R(2.68*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>905</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>V(2.70, 2.66), R(2.70), ANS(2.72)</td>
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<td>1753</td>
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<td>BM(2.74), V(2.71), R(2.62)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1755</td>
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<td>V(2.74), R(2.57)</td>
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<tr>
<td>908</td>
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<td>V(2.71, 2.66), R(2.63), ANS</td>
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<td>BM(2.60), R(2.74)</td>
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<td>V(2.69, 2.68, 2.67), R(2.70), ANS(2.73)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>BM(2.56), V, R(2.71), ANS(2.79)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1765</td>
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<td>V, R(2.71), N(*)</td>
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<td>1766</td>
<td></td>
<td>V(2.78, 2.74, 2.70), R(2.74), ANS(2.72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 901 above is a mule struck with a reverse die of Girvan Yuddha. The coin shares an obverse die with some specimens of nos. 902 and 904 dated 1738 s and 1746 s respectively, so the same obv. die was used with rev. dies dated sixteen years apart.
**A. Suki**

Types as for gold sukis, except for:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reversed</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>In name of Queen Samrajya Lakshmi Devi. Vase with wreath on obv., as gold type 3, but normal silver reverse design.</td>
<td>1738</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>In name of Queen Rajya Lakshmi Devi. As type 7, but normal silver reverse design.</td>
<td>1740</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 920, dated 1746, is struck with the same obv. die as the A/suki no. 850 above, dated 1757. The rev. die of no. 920 is also used to strike examples of nos. 918 and 919, while the obv. die of no. 919 is also used to strike no. 924, dated 1759. It seems, therefore, that nos. 919 and 920, which are rather scarce varieties, were struck around 1757–9, using a rev. die that was more than ten years old.

**A. Ani**

Types as gold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reversed</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(0.71, 0.69), V(0.65), R(*)</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BM(0.68), V, R(*), ANS(0.71, 0.69)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A. Adhani**

Type as gold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reversed</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(0.30), V(0.36), R(*), ANS(0.35)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A. Paisa**

Type as gold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reversed</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(0.17, 0.14), V(0.16), R(*), ANS(0.15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A. Dam**

Type 1. As A dam. reading ‘Śri Rājendra’ with sword.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reversed</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BM(0.04), V, R(0.04*), ANS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 2. As last, but reads ‘Śri Rājyandra’, in error.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reversed</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>H(0.04*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SURENDRA VIKRAM SHAH (5.1847-5.1881)

Gold Coins

**Al Duitole Asarphi**

**Type 1.** Special obv. design with legend 'Śri Śrī Śri Surendra Vikrama Sāha Deva' in circle and zig-zag pattern outside, date below. Rev. normal type for this denomination. Edge milled obliquely.

**Type 2.** In the name of Crown Prince, Trailokya Vir Vikrama Shah. The obv. has legend 'Trailokya Vira Vikrama Samser Jang Bahādur Sāha Deva' within square, 'Śrī Śrī Śrī' above and date below. Rev. normal type for this denomination. Edge milled obliquely.

**Type 3.** Normal type of gold mohar but struck on thick flan. Subtypes (a)-(f) are the same as for the Bakla Asarphi below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>BM(23.07*)</th>
<th>V(23.15)</th>
<th>R(23.12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>936.</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Type 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>937.</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>Type 2.</td>
<td>BM(23.05*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>938.</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>Type 3(f?).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>939.</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Type 3(a).</td>
<td>BM(23.09)</td>
<td>V(23.04*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 2, in the name of the Crown Prince, together with the similar silver piece listed as no. 979 below, are remarkable in being the only coins in the series with the name of a male member of the royal family, other than the king. The Crown Prince was about a year old at the time, having been born in December 1847. He died in AD 1878, three years before his father, and so never became King.

**Al Bakla Asarphi**

**Type 1.** Normal gold type. Varieties include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. Crescent</th>
<th>Rev. Upper Dots</th>
<th>Lower Flower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>941.</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>942.</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>943.</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>944.</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>945.</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>946.</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>947.</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>948.</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>949.</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>950.</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>951.</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diagonal edge milling has been added by hand and there is no sign that any of the pieces with this type of milled edge were struck using a collar. The pieces dated 1791 are 28 mm diam., whereas those of other dates are 26.5 mm diam.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

A/ Ek Tola Asarphi

Type 1. In the name of Trailokya Raja Lakshmi Devi, senior Queen of Surendra. Type of gold suki but struck on thick flan.

Type 2. In the name of Trailokya, but special type as earlier coins of this denomination, nos. 724 and 826 above.

952. 1769 Type 1. BM(11.56*)
953. 1771 Type 2. BM(11.58*), R, Sm(11.53)

A/ Half Bakla Asarphi

Type 1. As for the bakla asarphi above with similar subtypes (a)–(f); edge milled diagonally.

Type 2. As the bakla asarphi type 1(a) above but diam. 21.5 mm; edge milled diagonally.

954. 1773 Type 2. BM(6.17*), R(6.09)
955. 1786 Type 1(d). R(6.22*)
956. 1787 Type 1(c). H. Lot. 1621.

A/ Mohar or Patla Asarphi

Types as for the bakla asarphi above with the similar subtypes (a)–(f), but edge plain.

957. 1769 Type 1(a). Fw
958. 1794 Type 1(a). BM(5.50*)
959. 1794 Type 1(g). V, R(5.54)
960. 1802 Type 1(a). V(5.49), R(5.57), ANS(5.61)

A/ Half Mohar

Type 1. Obv. special gold type with circle around central trident, four pellets around.

Rev. normal silver type.

Type 2. Obv. as last.

Rev. special gold type with no horizontal lines.

Type 3. As type 1, but no pellets around central circle on obv.

961. 1769 Type 1. V.
962. 1770 Type 1. BM(2.73*)
963. 1790 Type 2. BM(2.74), V, R(2.75*)
964. 1802 Type 3. ANS(2.80*)

A/ Suki

Type 1. In name of Trailokya Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal gold type with circle around trident on rev.

Type 2. In name of Sura Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal gold type.

Type 3. In name of Deva Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal gold type.

Type 4. In name of Punyakumari Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal gold type.

965. 1769 Type 1. Trailokya Raja R(1.39*)
966. 1769 Type 2. Sura Raja Fw(*)
967. 1770 Type 1. Trailokya Raja N
968. 1770 Type 3. Deva Raja BM(1.35*), R
969. 1787 Type 2. Sura Raja BM(1.37)
970. 1790/87 Type 2. Sura Raja R
971. 1790 Type 2. Sura Raja V(1.38), R(*), Sm(1.38)
972. 1802 Type 4. Punyakumari ANS(1.40*)
### The Shah Dynasty, AD 1749–1911

#### Ani

Type as silver. Diam. 10 mm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>973</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>BM(0.70, 0.68), V(0.66), R, ANS(0.70)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This and the \( A/ \) adhani are relatively common coins, struck on several occasions during the reign, with no significant change of type.

#### Adhani

Type as silver. Diam. 8 mm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>974</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>BM(0.36, 0.35), V(0.34, 0.33), R, ANS(0.40)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Paisa

Type as silver. Uniface.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>975</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>BN(0.18*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A rare denomination, only struck early in the reign.

#### Dam

Type 1. ‘\( \text{Sri Surendra} \)’ in two lines. sword in centre.

Type 2. As type 1, but smaller lettering with circle around.

Type 3. ‘\( \text{Sri Surendra} \)’ in three lines with small sword in centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>976</td>
<td>Type 1.</td>
<td>V(0.05), R(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>977</td>
<td>Type 2.</td>
<td>BM(0.045), V(0.04), R(*), ANS(0.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>977a</td>
<td>Type 3.</td>
<td>R(0.044*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The \( A/ \) dam in the ANS has been stuck on two flans struck together in error. A number of dams of type 2 were among a group of gold coins dated 1790–94 s, so were presumably struck at that time. Type 3 is similar in type and style to the early dams of Prithvi Vir Vikram, so were probably struck late in the reign, perhaps in 1802 s. Type 1 was only issued early in the reign.

Other gold coins have been reported but as we have not personally examined them or seen reliable photographs, we have omitted such pieces from the above listing. It is likely, however, that other dates do exist such as the \( A/ \) mohar dated 1791 listed in Seaby’s Bulletin for 1957 (p. 589).

The variety of weight standards used for gold coins in this reign is most confusing. We have used the names given by Walsh for the normal denominations, but have felt bound to create reference names for two denominations, the ‘Ektola Asarphi’ and the ‘\( \frac{1}{2} \) Bakla Asarphi’, to distinguish them from the other coins struck to similar, but slightly different, weight standards. The various gold denominations and their weights are described in detail below on pp. 217–20.

The secret marks on the gold coins are repeated on the silver mohars. Although we have no evidence as to what their significance might be, we have thought them worth recording.
Silver Coins

\( \mathbb{R} \) 4 Mohar

Type 1. In name of crown prince, Trailokya Vira Vikrama Sāha. Special obv. type of an eight petalled lotus flower with square centre. Rev. normal die of gold duitole asarphis. Edge plain.

978. 1771 Type I. V(22.11*)

The above coin forms part of the series of presentation pieces struck by Jang Bahadur shortly before his visit to Europe. However, no specimens of such pieces in silver have surfaced from old European sources, the only known specimen having been found in Nepal. This piece may, therefore, have been struck for presentation to Nepalese officials or as a pattern piece; in any case it never circulated.

A similar silver piece dated 1769 s, in the name of Surendra Vikram Shah was illustrated from a rubbing by S. M. Joshi33 but we have not been able to confirm whether this piece is silver or of the gold type listed as no. 938 above. Also a silver coin, described as a 4 mohar dated 1801 s, apparently struck from the dies of the 2 mohar type 4, appeared in Almanzar's Mail Bid Auction on 30 June 1973, lot 3344. Although the illustration confirms the reading of the date, and the price realised of $132 indicates a rarity, we prefer not to list this piece without confirmation of the weight.

\( \mathbb{R} \) 2 Mohar

The double mohars are struck from the same dies as the mohars, and so we have described all the types for both denominations here:

- Type 1. Normal mohar type.
- Type 1.1. As last, but double mohar struck using larger die. Flan diam. is 28 mm instead of 27 mm.
- Type 2. As last but flans stamped out by machine. This type is confined to mohars.
- Type 3. As last but machine struck in collar with milled edge. This type is confined to double mohars.
- Type 4. Design of gold mohar, without swastika, except that the conch shell on obv. right has no line over it. The diameter varies from about 25 mm to 28 mm.

For all types there are varieties in the ornamentation of the reverse inner circle, as follows:

- (a) Top line \( \vdash \), bottom line \( \vdash \)
- (b) top line \( \vdash \), bottom line \( \vdash \)
- (c) top line \( \vdash \), bottom line \( \vdash \)
- (d) Top line \( \vdash \), bottom line \( \vdash \)
- (e) Top line \( \vdash \), bottom line \( \vdash \)
- (f) Top line \( \vdash \), bottom line \( \vdash \)
- (g) Top line \( \vdash \), bottom line \( \vdash \)

979. 1769 Type 1(a). BM(10.92), V(11.02), R(11.03)
980. 1770 N
981. 1771 BM(11.04)
982. 1772 BM(11.05)

33 S. M. Joshi, Nepali Rashtra Mudra (Lalitpur, 2019 vs AD 1962), pl. 23, no. 1.
With the exception of those dated 1801 s., all the above coins are very rare and were only struck in small numbers for presentation. The 1801 s. pieces were struck for general circulation and the new design was probably chosen to make them easily distinguishable from the mohar.

\section*{A. \textit{1 Mohar}}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>992.</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Type 1(a)</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>999.</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Type 1(b)</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000.</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>Type 1(a)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001.</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>Type 1(b)</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>V(5.34). R(5.31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1002.</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>Type 1(b)</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>R(5.52, 5.44, 5.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1003.</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>Type 1(a)</td>
<td>5.45</td>
<td>5.27, R(5.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1004.</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>Type 1(b)</td>
<td>R(5.36)</td>
<td>ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1005.</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Type 1(a)</td>
<td>R(5.56, 5.52, 5.36)</td>
<td>ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1006.</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Type 1(b)</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>V(5.32), R(5.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1007.</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Type 1(c)</td>
<td>ANS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1008.</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>Type 1(a)</td>
<td>R(5.51)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1009.</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>Type 1(c)</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>V, R(5.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1010.</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td>Type 1(d)</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>R(5.45), 5.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1011.</td>
<td>1785</td>
<td>Type 1(e)</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>R(5.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1012.</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Type 1(e)</td>
<td>5.42, R(5.60)</td>
<td>ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1013.</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Type 1(f)</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>R(5.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1015.</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Type 2(a)</td>
<td>V, R(5.34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1016.</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 1(f)</td>
<td>5.35, V, R(5.43)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1017.</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 1(a)</td>
<td>V, R(5.08)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1018.</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 2(e)</td>
<td>5.35, R(5.56)</td>
<td>ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1019.</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Type 1(f)</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>V(5.55), R(5.35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1020.</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Type 2(e)</td>
<td>V, R(5.38)</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1021.</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Type 1(c)</td>
<td>5.39, R(5.55)</td>
<td>ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1022.</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Type 2(e)</td>
<td>V, R(5.49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1023.</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Type 1(f)</td>
<td>V, ANS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1024.</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Type 1(a)</td>
<td>5.31, R(5.40)</td>
<td>V(5.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025.</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Type 2(e)</td>
<td>5.36, R(5.52)</td>
<td>5.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1026.</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>Type 1(c)</td>
<td>5.37, R(5.39)</td>
<td>ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1027.</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>BM(5.50)</td>
<td>V(5.51), R(5.48)</td>
<td>5.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1028.</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Coinage of Nepal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>BM(5.54), V(5.50, 5.23), R(5.55, 5.32), ANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>V(5.26), R(5.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>V(5.29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>BM(5.59), V(5.54, 5.36), R(5.24), ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Type 4(a). V(5.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Type 1(a). R(5.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>BM(5.44), V(5.37), R(5.57, 5.54, 5.40), ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>V(5.43), R(5.57)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One mohar dated 1787 s of type 1(a) (R) weighs 7.99 g. On close examination, however, this piece seems to be a modern concoction made by sticking together two genuine coins, after having ground them both down on one side. The Assam Museum Catalogue lists a mohar dated 1783 but this may be a misprint. It may not be coincidence that the gap in the mohar series in 1783 is coincides with the years around the recoinage in India in AD 1862. No. 1034 is a mohar struck using dies normally reserved for the double mohar.

#### A. Half Mohar

Normal type, with no significant varieties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>BM(5.73), V(5.71)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>V(2.73), R(2.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>BM(2.56), V(2.75), R(2.69), ANS(2.77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>BM(2.75), V(2.73), R(2.60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td>V(2.68), R(2.68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>Sm(2.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td>V(2.74), R(2.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>V(2.65), R(2.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>BM(2.75), V(2.75), R(2.86*, 2.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>V, R(2.64), ANS(2.88), Ash(2.76)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### A. Suki

Type 1. In the name of Trailokya Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal silver type.

Type 2. In the name of Sura Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal silver type.

Type 2.1. As last, but reverse of normal gold type, with circle around central trident.

Type 3. In the name of Deva Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal silver type.

Type 4. In the name of Punyakumari Raja Lakshmi Devi. Normal silver type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Trailokya</th>
<th>V(1.43), ANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Type 1. Trailokya</td>
<td>V(1.43), ANS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Type 2. Sura Raja</td>
<td>V(1.33*), R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Type 3. Deva Raja</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Type 1. Trailokya</td>
<td>BM(1.37), V(1.33), R(*), ANS, H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Type 2. Sura Raja</td>
<td>V(1.32), R(1.36), H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Type 3. Deva Raja</td>
<td>BM(1.35), V(1.34), R, H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Type 1. Trailokya</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Type 2. Sura Raja</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Type 3. Deva Raja</td>
<td>R, H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Type 2. Sura Raja</td>
<td>BM(1.33), R(1.31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Type 3. Deva Raja</td>
<td>BM(1.32), R(1.36), H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Type 3. Deva Raja</td>
<td>V(1.37), R(1.23*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Type 2.1. Sura Raja</td>
<td>H(1.34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1061</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Sura Raja V</td>
<td>BM(1.39), V(1.41, 1.37), R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1062</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Sura Raja</td>
<td>BM(1.39), V(1.41, 1.37), R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1063</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Sura Raja V</td>
<td>BM(1.39), V(1.41, 1.37), R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1064</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>Punyakumari V</td>
<td>(1.34), ANS(1.40)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suki dated 1788 weighing 1.65 g is remarkably heavy for the denomination. All the above coins are rare, and it is very likely that other dates exist. Trailokya, the senior Queen of Suren-dra, died on 22 Oct. 1850, and so no coins in her name should appear dated after 1772 s but a suki of Deva Raja dated 1772 s and of Sura Raja dated 1773 s are to be expected.

### R Ani

Normal silver type, with varieties in the diameter of the inner circle:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>Inner circle diam. 11.5 mm both sides.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>Inner circle diam. 10 mm obv., 11.5 mm rev. (i.e. obv. die of adhani).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>Inner circle diam. 10 mm both sides (i.e. struck with adhani dies).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1065</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>BM(0.66), V(0.67, 0.60), R(*) , ANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1066</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>BM(0.64), R(0.80*, 0.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1067</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>R(0.46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 1067 above appears to be an ani that has been slightly clipped, but it is possible that it may be a remarkably heavy adhani.

### R Adhani

Same dies as ani type 3 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1068</td>
<td>BM(0.37), V(0.35, 0.26), R(0.34*, 0.25), ANS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the adhanis appear to have lost weight through being clipped. As this is so unusual for any Nepalese coins of any period, we cannot rule out the possibility that quality control within the mint was poor, with very light flans being occasionally produced.

### R Paisa

Normal silver uniface type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1069</td>
<td>BM(0.15), V(0.17), R(0.17*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### R Dam

Normal silver uniface type, similar to the gold dam type 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1070</td>
<td>BM(0.07), V(0.04), R(0.05*), ANS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again there is evidence of careless production methods, with the dam in the BM being the heaviest coin of this denomination we have noted of any period. Relatively scarce and probably only struck early in the reign.

### Copper Coins

#### AE 2 Paisa

Type 1. Struck from the same dies as the silver double mohar type 3. Circular machine made flan. Diam. 28 mm, edge plain.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

Type 2. Rev. type 1 (i.e. as the \( \text{र} \) mohar) but obv. as 1 paisa type 1 (i.e. as the \( \text{र} \) \( \frac{1}{2} \) mohar). The rev. die is too small for the flan. Diam. 28 mm.

Type 3. Obr. 'Sri Sri Sri Surendra Vikrama Saha Deva' in square, ornamentation around, date below.
Rev. 'Sri Sri Sri Go/rakhanath/ Sri Bhavani' in square, ornamentation around. Diam. 25 mm, edge plain.

Type 4. As last, but rev. reads 'Sri Sri Sri Nepala/ Sarkara'. Diam. 25 mm, edge plain.

Type 4.1. As last, but diam. 27 mm.

Type 4.2. As last, but diam. 28 mm. Struck from die of 1 paisa.

Type 5. As last, but flan only very roughly rounded.

Type 6. As last, but ornamentation outside squares on each side differs, to distinguish the type from the 1 paisa.

Type 6.1. Mule, obv. type 4, rev. type 5.

1071. 1786 Type 1. N(*)
1072. — Type 2. N
1073. 1787 Type 3. R(10.66*), H(10.4)
1074. 1788 Type 4. Neg
1075. 1788 Type 4. R(8.30*)
1076. 1790 Type 4. R(7.35*)
1077. 1790 Type 5. BM(10.76), V, R(10.19*, 10.01)
1078. 1790 Type 6. V, R(10.71, 10.56, 10.48, 10.18, 9.62)
1079. 1790 Type 6. V(*)
1080. 1791 Type 6. BM(10.56), V, R(12.33, 10.41, 9.24, 8.53)
1081. 1796 Type 6. V(10.45), R(11.20, 9.35)
1082. 1798 BM, V, R(10.92)
1083. 1802 R(11.01*)

Nos. 1071-3 and 1075 above are probably pattern pieces, produced as sample designs for the new copper coinage struck in Kathmandu; these varieties are very rare as are all copper coins dated 1802 vs which were only struck for presentation sets. The other types are more common, and those dated 1790–98s are very crudely struck, most probably in a provincial mint.

Æ Paisa

Type 1. Obr. Type as gold half mohar, with circle around trident, with four pellets around.

Rev. Normal type of silver half mohar. Machine rounded flan, diam. 21 mm.

Type 2. As 2 paisa, type 2, but diam. 24 mm.

Type 2.1. As last, but diam. 27 mm.

Type 3. As type 2, but dotted border.

Type 4. As 2 paisa, type 3, but diam. 24 mm.

Type 5. As last, but more crudely struck, flan only roughly rounded. Small central square, c. 11 mm across, on both sides.

Type 6. As last, but square 13–15 mm across. Often very crudely struck but a few pieces have machine rounded flans. There are minor varieties in the detail of the flower in the centre outside each side of the square, as follows:

Type 6.1. Obr. ☢ Rev. ☢

Type 6.2. Obr. ☢ Rev. ☢

Type 6.3. Obr. ☢ Rev. ☢
The Shah Dynasty, AD 1749–1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 6.4</th>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1084</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 1. V(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 2. BM, V(4.45), R(5.64, 5.18, 4.53*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1086</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 2.1. R(5.27*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1087</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 3. V(4.6), R(4.45*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1088</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Type 4. BM(5.30), V R(5.35*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1089</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>BM(5.22), V, R(5.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1090</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>V, R(5.19, 4.96, 4.88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1091</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Type 5. R(5.65*, 5.49, 5.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1092</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Type 6.1. BM(5.73), V, R(6.00*, 4.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1093</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>BM(5.85, 4.63), V, R(5.45, 5.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1094</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Type 6.2. BM(5.11), R(5.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1095</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>BM(5.57), V, R(5.21, 5.03, 4.84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1096</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>BM(5.24), V, R(5.81, 5.18, 4.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1097</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>BM(5.09, 4.74), V, R(5.24, 5.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1098</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>V, R(5.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1099</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>Type 6.3. R(5.06*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>Type 6.4. BM(5.23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1101</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Type 6.4. V, R(5.34, 5.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1102</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Type 6.5. R(4.86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1103</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Type 6.4. ANS(*)—note unusual '8' in date.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1103a</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Type 6.2. BM(5.09), V, R(5.61, 5.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1104</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Type 6.5. R(5.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Type 6.1. V, R(5.27, 5.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1106</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>R(5.58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 1 is an unaccepted pattern, but the other types all circulated. All types up to no. 1090 were well struck, but between 1790–99 they were struck very carelessly in large numbers, probably in a provincial mint. The coin dated 1802 s is extremely rare, and was only struck for presentation sets.

Æ Half Paisa

Type much as paisa but smaller and shorter inscription:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Šrī Šrī Šrī Sure/ndra Vi'-, date below.</td>
<td>'krama/ Sāha/ Deva'. Diam. 12 mm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1107. 1802 R(2.90*)

As with the other copper coins of this date, this piece is extremely rare, and was only struck for presentation sets.

Æ Dam

Type 1. Normal type, crudely struck. Legend reads 'Šrī Nepāla' on obv., and 'Sarkāra' on rev., with no king's name. Date, giving last two digits only, below on rev.

Type 2. Machine struck with polished dies. The first Nepalese coin struck with dies prepared in this manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>V, R(1.27)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>R(0.92*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V, R(1.56, 1.47, 1.03)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type 2, no. 1110, is a beautiful machine struck piece on a polished flan and is extremely rare. Most of the other pieces are very crudely struck with wide variations in weights. Even though one specimen has been noted as weighing over 3 g, roughly double the average weight, we do not believe that it was intended as a double denomination. Some pieces have been reported with errors in the inscriptions, such as transposed or repeated letters. It is possible that the piece dated (17)88 may be an error for (17)98, and the two dates '18' and '19' listed under Prithvi Vir Vikram Shah below, nos. 1316/7, may be errors for '98' and '99', but die links have not yet been found to prove this. The (18)02 piece has not been confirmed by us, but is mentioned as having been in the collection of Lord Grantley.\(^{35}\)

PRITHVI VIR VIKRAM SHAH (19.5.1881–11.12.1911)

Gold Coins

A/ Double Bakla Asarphi

This is the only coin in the whole series of Nepalese gold coins that is struck to this weight standard, and it is, therefore, the heaviest gold coin described in this book. It is struck from the same pair of dies as the bakla asarphi of the same date, no. 1131 below, and also has diagonal milling on the edge.

1120. 1811 BM(24.71)

A/ Duitole Asarphi

All the coins of this denomination are of the same basic type as the gold mohar, with a number of differences, as indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Edge</th>
<th>Diam.</th>
<th>Dies</th>
<th>Moon on Obverse</th>
<th>Conch on Rev.</th>
<th>Reverse Type</th>
<th>Outside Rev. Petals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>28 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Silver type</td>
<td>As silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>28 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>No dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>28 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Milled vert.</td>
<td>26 mm</td>
<td>Polished</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>No dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Milled vert.</td>
<td>29 mm</td>
<td>Polished</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>No dots</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1121. 1817 Type 1. V(23.07), R(23.18*)
1122. 1817 Type 2. R(23.15*)
1123. 1825 Type 3. R(23.19*)
1124. 1829 Type 4. BM(23.14), V(23.18), R(23.21*)
1125. 1833 Type 5. BM(23.14), V(23.12), R(23.09*), ANS, Sm

Note that no. 1121 is struck with the same reverse die as the \(4\) mohar, no. 1186 below, and no. 1123 is struck with the same reverse die as the \(2\) mohar dated 1821 S (no. 1192).

The 1829 S piece is part of a set struck for the visit of Prime Minister Sir Chandra Shamshere J. B. Rana to present as gifts during his visit to England in AD 1908. Similarly the 1833 S piece is part of the set struck for presentation at the tiger-shoot attended by King George V after the Delhi Durbar of AD 1911.

**A/ Bakla Asarphi**

Basic type as normal, but varieties as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Edge</th>
<th>Diam.</th>
<th>Dies</th>
<th>Moon on Obverse</th>
<th>Conch on Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse by Śrī</th>
<th>Outside Rev. Petals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Milled diag. 26 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 dots</td>
<td>No dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Milled vert. 26 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 commas</td>
<td>No dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Milled vert. 29 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 dots</td>
<td>No dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Milled diag. 26 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 dots</td>
<td>No dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Plain 26 mm</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Plain 26 mm</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>No dots</td>
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<td>8.</td>
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<td>9.</td>
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<td>10.</td>
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<td>11.</td>
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<td>12.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Milled vert. 26 mm</td>
<td>Polished</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Milled vert. 26 mm</td>
<td>Polished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No dots</td>
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1126. 1803 Type 1. V(12.30*)
1127. 1803 Type 2. V(*)
1128. 1804 Type 3. R(12.38*)
1129. 1805 Type 4. V(12.36), R(12.37*)
1130. 1807 Type 5. R(12.39*)
1131. 1811 Type 4. V(12.15)
1132. 1947 Type 5. BM(12.40), V(12.34), R(12.35*)
1133. 1949 Type 6. V(12.30*)
1134. 1817 Type 7. Fw
1135. 1820 Type 8. V(12.15), R(12.38*)
1136. 1823 Type 9. V(12.38)
1137. 1824 Type 10. R(12.43*)
1138. 1825 Type 11. V(12.41), R(12.39*)
1139. 1826 Type 11. V(12.42), Sm(12.39)
1140. 1828 Type 13. V(12.33)
1141. 1829 Type 14. BM(12.33), R(12.41)
1142. 1831 Type 14. V(12.39)
1143. 1832 Type 14. V(12.35)
1144. 1833 Type 14. BM(12.39), V(12.33), R(12.38), Sm

Note that nos. 1132/3 are dated in the Vikram Samvat era, rather than in the Saka era, the only coins of this reign, other than copper, to be so dated.

All coins with edges plain or milled vertically were struck in a collar; those with edges milled diagonally were not so neatly struck and probably had the milling added after striking. Coins dated 1820–6 S have particularly high relief and may have been struck using the screw
press which is now in a courtyard of the Kathmandu Mint, bearing a brass plate inscribed 'Manufactured by the Mint Birmingham Limited England, formerly Ralph Heaton & Sons, 1897'.

A/ Patla Asarphi

Types and dies as for the bakla asarphi, except that varieties of the heavier coin with diagonally milled edges now have plain edges, while those milled vertically are still milled. The only new varieties are:

Type 3.1. As type 3 but diam. 25 mm and edge plain.
Type 4.1. As type 4 but three commas instead of three dots by ‘Śrī 3’ on rev.

1145. 1804  Type 3.1.  R(5.56*)
1146. 1805  Type 4.  BM(5.48), V(5.53), R(5.55)
1147. 1809  Type 4.1.  V(5.47*)
1148. 1949  Type 6.  N
1149. 1817  Type 7.  R(5.54*)
1150. 1820  Type 8.  V(5.49)
1151. 1823  Type 9.  V(5.46), R(5.54*)
1152. 1825  Type 11.  V(5.58), Sm(5.57)
1153. 1826  BM(5.56), V(5.52), R(5.55)
1154. 1827  Type 12.  V(5.55), R(5.60*)
1155. 1828  Type 13.  V, R(5.57*)
1156. 1829  Type 14.  BM(5.59), V, R(5.56)
1157. 1831  Type 14.  V(5.56)
1158. 1833  BM(5.56), V, R(5.59), ANS(5.56), Sm

A/ Half Mohar

Each date is a different type. See illustrations.

Type 1. Hand-struck with same dies as the silver coin of this date.
Type 2. Special gold dies with vase on obverse, a type normally reserved for the suki.
Types 3-5. Obv. dies similar to silver, but special rev. dies with no horizontal lines. Types 4 and 5 are both struck with polished dies but type 5 is the only one to have a milled edge.

1159. 1805  Type 1.  BM(2.75), V(2.72), R(2.70, 2.66*)
1160. 1817  Type 2.  BM(2.75), V(2.74), R(2.76*)
1161. 1823  Type 3.  V(2.77), R(2.77*)
1162. 1829  Type 4.  BM(2.78), V(2.76), R(2.77*)
1163. 1833  Type 5.  BM(2.77), V(2.78), R(2.77*, 2.75)

A/ Suki

The first two dates are similar, all the others are slightly different:

Type 1. Hand struck with same dies as the silver suki. Crescent with dot each side of ‘Śrī’ on reverse.
Type 2. As last, but moon and sun on reverse and machine-made flan.
Type 3. As last, but moon has dot.
Type 4. As last, but polished flan and finer die-cutting.
Type 5. Trident on obv., sword on rev. Obv. type is the same as on the silver coin of the same date but the reverse uses a special gold die with no horizontal lines.
During this reign the practice of striking sukis in the name of a queen was discontinued.

**A/ Ani**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>Rev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>‘Śrī Prthvi Vīra’ around sword.</td>
<td>‘Vikrāma Sāha Deva’ around mace. An early hand-struck variety.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘Śrī Prthvi Vīra Vi’ around sword.</td>
<td>‘-krama Sāha Deva’ around mace. More carefully struck with calligraphy as 1817 s issue. Diam. 13 mm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>As last, but calligraphy more like 1829 s issue. Diam. 16 mm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>‘Śrī Prthvi Vīra’ around mace.</td>
<td>‘Śrī Pasupati’, date ’33’ below. Diam. 14 mm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BM(0.69). R(0.71*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1170.</td>
<td>Type 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1171.</td>
<td>(1817) Type 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1172.</td>
<td>(1817) Type 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1173.</td>
<td>(18133) Type 4.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**A/ Adhani**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>As ani type 2, but early hand-struck variety.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As last, but more carefully struck with calligraphy as 1817 s issue. Diam. 11 mm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>As last, but calligraphy as 1829 s issue. Diam. 13 mm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>As ani type 4, but diam. 12 mm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R(0.35*). V(0.34)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1174.</td>
<td>Type 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1175.</td>
<td>(1817) Type 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1176.</td>
<td>(1817) Type 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1177.</td>
<td>(1833) Type 4.</td>
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**A/ Paisa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend ‘Śrī Prthvi Vīra’ around sword. Calligraphy as the 1817 s set.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Legend ‘Śrī Prthvi Vi’ around sword. Calligraphy as the 1833 s set.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V(0.12). R(0.16*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1178.</td>
<td>(1817) Type 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1179.</td>
<td>(1833) Type 2.</td>
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</table>

**A/ 2 Dam**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Legend ‘Śrī Prthvi Vīra’ around sword.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Legend ‘Śrī Prthvi Vīra’ around sword.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V, R(0.07*)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1180.</td>
<td>Type 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1181.</td>
<td>Type 2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These pieces are struck using the same dies as the single dams listed below. As we have seen several pieces apparently struck to this double weight standard, we have listed them as a separate denomination, although it is quite possible that they are merely exceptionally heavy dams. The style of both pieces indicates that they were struck early in the reign, and the similarity of type 1 to the A/ dam type 3 of Surendra, indicates that it is the earlier variety.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

Av Dam
Type 1. Same die as 2 dam type 1.
Type 2. Same die as 2 dam type 2.
Type 3. Legend ‘Śrī Prthvī Vira’ around sword, arranged differently from type 1. Circle around.
Type 4. Legend ‘Śrī Prthvī Vi’ around sword. Circle around.

1182. -- Type 1. BM(0.05), V, R(0.038)
1183. -- Type 2. V, R(0.035)
1184. (1817) Type 3. R(0.056*, 0.051), ANS
1185. (1833) Type 4. R(0.049*), ANS

Two dies were used for type 3, one with the circle around the lettering 6.5 mm diam., the other with circle 7 mm diam.

All the above gold coins of denomination ½ mohar and smaller are very rarely found in Nepal, with the exception of the 1817 ½ mohar and suki. Most specimens noted have been obtained from Europeans who were either presented with them, or purchased them directly from the mint. The larger gold coins circulated at bullion value and most dates are common, apart from the duitole asarphis which are all rare.

Silver Coins

Ar 4 Mohar
Type 1. Normal mohar design, plain edge, diam. 29 mm. Reverse die also used on the gold duitole asarphi type 1.
Type 2. As last but milled edge and polished dies.

1186. 1817 Type 1. V, R(22.10*), ANS, Ash(22.21)
1187. 1833 Type 2. BM(22.11), V, R(21.95*), ANS

The above two coins were struck purely for presentation purposes.

Ar 2 Mohar
Type 1. Gold type with no swastika, much as Surendra type 4. Plain edge, not struck in a collar.
Type 2. Normal mohar design, but diam. 29 mm, and edge milled vertically.
Type 3. As last, but diam. 26 mm and plain edge.
Type 4. Type as the gold duitole asarphi type 4, using the same reverse die. Plain edge, diam. 29 mm.
Type 5. Type of mohar, edge milled, diam. 26 mm.
Type 6. As last, but diam. 29 mm.
Type 6.1. As last, but flan and dies polished. The same dies as the Ar 4 mohar type 2. no. 1187 above.

1188. 1803 Type 1. H(10.9*)
1189. 1804 Type 2. R(10.82*)
1190. 1811 Type 3. ANS(*)
1191. 1817 Type 3. V(11.02), R(11.11)
1192. 1821 Type 4. V(10.99), R(11.00*)
### THE SHAH DYNASTY, AD 1749–1911

Nos. 1188–91, 1193 and 1197 were only struck in very limited numbers for presentation purposes.

**A 1 Mohar**

- **Type 1.** Hand struck, with no collar.
- **Type 2.** Machine struck with plain collar. Three dots by ‘Sri 3’ on reverse.
- **Type 2.1.** As last, but reverse die of gold coin used in error.
- **Type 3.** As type 2, but four dots by ‘Sri 3’.
- **Type 4.** As type 2, but edge finely milled.
- **Type 5.** As type 4, but smaller, finer lettering.
- **Type 5.1.** As last, but dies and flans polished.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1198</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>BM(5.54), V(5.44), R(5.52)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1199</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>R(5.41)</td>
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<td>1804</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td>V(5.39), R(5.35*)</td>
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<td>1201</td>
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<td>V(5.44), R(5.51*)</td>
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<td>Type 3</td>
<td>BM(5.41), R(5.32)</td>
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<td>V(5.51), R(5.55, 5.45)</td>
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<td>V(5.58, 5.48), R(5.42)</td>
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<td>1820</td>
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<td>BM, V(5.58), R(5.50)</td>
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<td>V(5.50), R(5.46)</td>
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<td>BM(5.38), V(5.58), R(5.46)</td>
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<td>Type 4</td>
<td>R(5.51)</td>
</tr>
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<td>1827</td>
<td>1225</td>
<td>Type 5</td>
<td>V(5.54), R(5.41)</td>
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<td>BM(5.47), V(5.55, 5.52), R(5.55, 5.54, 5.50)</td>
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<td>1831</td>
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<td>Type 5.1</td>
<td>R(5.37)</td>
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<td>1231</td>
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<td>V(5.64), R(5.47)</td>
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### THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1232</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Type 5.1. R(5.53)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1233</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Type 5.1. V(5.40), R(5.46*)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The three dots each side of 'Śrī 3, in the upper part of the rev. central circle on the machine struck mohar dated 1803 (no. 1199) are engraved over a sun and moon. Dates 1811 and 1833 were only struck in limited numbers for presentation sets.

#### AR Half Mohar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1234</td>
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<td>Type 1. V(2.73), R(2.73*)</td>
</tr>
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<td>1235</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Type 2. V(2.78), R(2.77*)</td>
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<td>1236</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>Type 2. V(2.66), R(2.74*)</td>
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<td>1816</td>
<td>Type 3. BM(2.73), V(2.71, 2.68, 2.63), R(2.72)</td>
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<td>1238</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Type 3.1. V(2.72, 2.66), R(2.72*)</td>
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<td>1824</td>
<td>Type 3. R(2.79*)</td>
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<td>1241</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Type 4. V(2.73), R(2.75*, 2.68)</td>
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<td>1242</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Type 4. R(2.72)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1243</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Type 4.1. BM(2.70), V(2.79, 2.74, 2.69), R(2.72*, 2.70)</td>
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<td>1244</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Type 5. V(2.71), R(2.72*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1245</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Type 6.1. V(2.80), R(2.82)</td>
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<td>1246</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Type 6. BM(2.73), V(2.87, 2.75), R(2.78)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1247</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Type 6.1. V(2.77, 2.77), R(2.77*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The hand struck pieces are all rare and the years 1824 and 1832 are extremely rare. Other years are all common with the proof-like piece of 1833 being found in the presentation sets.

#### AR Suki

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1248</td>
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<td>1806</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1808</td>
<td>R(1.37*), N(2.5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1251</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Type 2. BM(1.35), V, R(1.36*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1817</td>
<td>V, R(1.38, 1.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1253</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Type 3. V(1.36, 1.33), R(1.43*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1254</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Type 3.1. BM(1.40), V(1.35), R(1.30*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The hand struck pieces (type 1) are all very rare. Those dated 1808 show the date altered on the die from 1806. One example dated 1808 weighs 2.5 g, a remarkably heavy weight for this denomination. The other dates were all struck in quantity for circulation.

**R Ani**

Four varieties, all identical in design, but struck with different dies, at different times during the reign.

1257. — Early style. R(0.66*)
1258. — Lettering c. 1817 style, but early fabric. V. R(0.66*)
1259. (1817) Rounded flan. Part of 1817 set. R(0.72*, 0.62)
1260. — Later style. BM(0.68), V. R(0.71, 0.70*)

No. 1259 is from the same obv. die as the gold aní no. 1171 and no. 1260 is from the same pair of dies as no. 1172. All the pieces are scarce, the last two being usually found among coins presented to Europeans.

**R Adhani**

Type 1. **Obv.** ‘Sri Prthvi Vi-’ on either side of sword with crescent and dot over.
**Rev.** usual type, see illustration.

Type 2. **Obv.** ‘Sri Prthvi Vira Vi-’ around sword.
**Rev.** usual type. Four varieties struck in different styles.

1261. — Type 1, early style. H(*), N(0.34)
1262. — Type 2, early style, diam. 12 mm. R(0.35*)
1262a. — **Obv.** die of last, **rev.** die of next. R(0.27)
1263. — Early style, diam. 13.5 mm. Dies of no. 1257. R(0.39*)
1264. (1817) Part of the 1817 set. V. R(0.36*, 0.30)
1265. — Later style. BM(0.32), V. R(0.38, 0.37*)

Note that no. 1261 omits the word ‘Vira’ in the title, an error soon corrected. No. 1262 is very similar in style to the gold adhani no. 1174. No. 1265 is part of the same set as no. 1260 and this, together with no. 1264, are the pieces most often found in Europe.

**R Paisa**

Two varieties of the same basic type.

1266. (1817) Part of the 1817 set. BM(0.22), V. R(0.19*)
1267. — Later style. BM(0.16), V. R(0.18*, 0.13)

No. 1267 probably forms part of the same set as nos. 1260, 1265 and 1271.

**R Dam**

Type 1. ‘Sri Prthvi Vi’, as R/ dam type 1.

Type 2. ‘Sri Prthvi Vira’ around sword. Early style, no circle around, as R/ dam type 2.

Type 3. ‘Sri Prthvi Vira’ around sword. Circle around. Part of the 1817 set.

Type 4. As type 1 but circle around.

1268. — Type 1. R(0.049*)
1269. — Type 2. Neg(*)
The Coingage of Nepal

No. 1268 is struck from the same dies as the gold pieces nos. 1180 and 1182, and no. 1269 from the dies of nos. 1181 and 1183. No. 1271 is probably from the same set as nos. 1260, 1265 and 1267.

None of the small, undated, silver denominations of this king were struck for circulation and all are scarce or rare. It is very likely that other varieties exist.

Copper Coins

Early Trial Pieces Machine Struck in AD 1888

Æ Paisa

Type 1.  
Obv. ‘Śrī Śrī Śrī Prthvī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva’ around trident. Floral border around.
Rev. ‘Śrī 3/Bhavānī/Nepāl Sarkār/1810’ in four lines across field, floral border around.

Type 2.  
Obv. ‘Śrī 5 Prthvī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva’ around crossed kukris with blade facing downwards. Floral border around.
Rev. ‘Śrī 5 Bhavānī, Gorkha Sarkār’ around trident. Floral border around with conch shell flanked by moon and sun above and date below.

Type 3.  
Obv. As last, but kukris thinner with blade facing upwards. Pellet in centre, floral border.
Rev. As last, but circle around trident.

Type 4.  
Obv. As last, but paduka, or two footprints, above kukris. Reads ‘... Vikrasa...’ in error.
Rev. As last.

Type 5.  
Obv. and rev. as last, but diam. 24 mm, instead of 23 mm and flowers in border point down instead of up.

1271a.  
1810 Type 1. V(5.35*), R(5.23)
1272.  
1945 Type 2. V(5.15*)
1273.  
1945 Type 3. N(*)
1274.  
1945 Type 4. BM(5.32), V, R(5.18, 5.09*)
1274a.  
1948 Type 5. H

Type 4 is rare and the other types are extremely rare. These machine-made pieces were presumably struck in the Kathmandu Valley as trials for the extensive new copper coinage planned. Type 1 is the only copper piece of this reign, other than the dams, nos. 1316/7 below, to be dated in the Saka era. All later Nepalese copper coins were dated in the Vikram Samvat era.

Mint A

Æ 2 Paisa

Type much as type 4 above. Sometimes a cross replaces the pellet in the obverse centre.

1275.  
1948 Cross in obv. centre. V(10.1), R
1276.  
1949 Cross in obv. centre. BM(10.21), V, R(10.47*, 10.09)
1277.  
1950 Dot in obv. centre. BM(10.15), V, R(10.61)
THE SHAH DYNASTY. AD 1749-1911

Æ 1 Paisa

Much as the 2 paisa above, with pellet in obv. centre, but with two varieties of border:

Type 1. Border of little crosses; date below central circle on rev., so appears the right way up.

Type 2. As last, but date in rev. inscription, so appears inverted.

Type 3. Border of crescents as on 2 paisa.

1278. 1948 Type 1. H(4.88*)
1279. 1948 Type 2. BM(5.13). V, R(5.27*, 5.07)
1280. 1949 Type 2. R(4.84)
1281. 1949 Type 3. V, R(5.32, 5.09)
1282. 1950 Type 3. BM(5.33). V, R(5.36*, 5.31, 5.27, 5.22, 5.10)
1283. 1951 Type 3. V, R(4.94)

This was the first variety of copper coin in the reign to be struck in quantity for circulation. The similarity to the design used on the later patterns implies that these pieces may have been struck in the Kathmandu Valley.

Mint B

Æ 2 Paisa

Legend in four lines on each side, surrounded by a wreath; crossed kukris below obv., date below rev.

1284. 1951 H(9.0*)
1285. 1955 V(9.55)
1286. 1959 N

These rare pieces are identical to the common 1 paisa coins listed below, but are roughly of double weight.

Æ 1 Paisa

1287. 1949 BM. V, R(5.52, 5.12)
1288. 1950 BM(4.96). V, R(5.41, 5.31, 5.04, 4.80, 4.59, 4.49, 4.29)
1289. 1951 BM(5.71, 5.15, 5.15), V, R(5.71, 5.01, 4.96)
1290. 1952 BM(4.87, 4.70). V, R(5.33, 4.92)
1291. 1953 BM(5.69). V, R(5.27, 5.11, 4.44)
1293. 1955 BM(5.08). V, R(5.46, 5.20, 5.11)
1294. 1956 BM(5.07). V, R(5.68, 5.29, 4.05)
1295. 1957 V, R(5.31, 5.06, 4.87, 4.66)
1296. 1959 BM. V, R(5.51, 5.43, 4.85, 4.54)
1297. 1960 BM. V, R(4.97, 4.68, 4.66)
1298. 1961 BM. V. R(5.45, 5.16)
1299. 1962 BM. V, R(4.95)
1300. (19)62 R(5.52*)
1301. 1963 BM. V, R(4.83, 4.75)
1302. 1964 BM(5.34). V, R(5.52, 5.01, 4.61)

Crudely struck in large numbers, there are numerous minor varieties in design; e.g. the shape of the numeral '9' in the date. No. 1300 is remarkable in only having the last two digits of
the date engraved on the die. As the dates of this group overlap with the last, it was almost certainly struck in a different mint, probably in the hills near one of the copper mines. Since no magnetic coins of this type are known, a mine in the Palpa area is most likely, perhaps initially Baglung-Chaur. In 1957 vs (AD 1900) the Baglung-Chaur mint was closed and depots were established at Beni, Baglung and Tansen to conduct the monopoly trade in copper. This closure would explain the absence of coins dated 1958 vs but the fact that the same type recommences in the following year implies that a mint in the same area reopened in 1959 vs.

Mint C

Extremely crudely struck coins with obv. design similar to the Surendra paisa, with three lines of inscription within a square. The rev. has ‘Śrī Gorakhanātha’ in six compartments around a central circle, which has a three line legend ‘Śrī 5 Nepāl Sarkār’.

Æ 2 Paisa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Magnetic Alloy</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1303</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td></td>
<td>N(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1304</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Magnetic copper/iron alloy</td>
<td>H(10.3), V(10.52)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Æ 1 Paisa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Magnetic Alloy</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1305</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td></td>
<td>V(5.2), R(6.21*, 6.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1306</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Magnetic alloy</td>
<td>V, R(5.60, 5.50, 4.95, 4.32, 4.27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The magnetic alloy indicates a mint in the eastern part of Nepal, perhaps near Bhojpur. These pieces are very scarce, especially the 2 paisa, and they are so badly struck that the full date is rarely visible. The issue was short-lived, perhaps because the mint was shut down due to the poor quality of its products.

Mint D

Coins with obv. similar to last but the rev. reads ‘Śrī Pasupatinātha Nepāl’ in a square design. Slightly better struck than the last type, but the obverse design is so similar that it may have been struck by a successor mint, perhaps in or near Bhojpur in eastern Nepal.

Æ 2 Paisa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1307</td>
<td>(1959?)</td>
<td>H(9.2*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have seen only one example of this type struck to the 2 paisa weight standard. The coin is struck with normal 1 paisa dies. Although the date is not visible, the style of the die-cutting indicates an early date.

Æ 1 Paisa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1308</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>V, R(5.14, 4.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1309</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>V, R(5.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>V, R(4.89, 4.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1311</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>V, R(4.96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1312</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>V, R(5.68, 5.35, 4.76, 4.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1313</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>BM(6.01), V, R(5.32, 5.05)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SHAH DYNASTY, AD 1749-1911

A very common type, particularly the dates after 1964 vs.

Unidentified Mint

Æ Dam

Scarcely struck, dams similar to those struck by Surendra, but bearing dates in Prithvi’s reign. The rev. die of the pieces dated ‘19’ reads ‘Surkār’ in error, instead of ‘Sarkār’.

1316. (18)18 Saka era (= AD 1896) BM(1.26*)
1317. (18)19 V, R(1.42, 1.39)

These pieces appear, at first sight, to be quite out of place in Prithvi’s reign. Apart from the pattern paisa mentioned above, no other copper coins of this reign are dated using the Saka era. The anonymous design is identical to that used by Surendra, twenty years earlier, and so they may be issues of the earlier reign with error dates. However, it is possible that, after the reintroduction of a copper coinage in 1948 vs (= AD 1891, 1813 S) one mint decided to issue the small dams. If this was the case the issue may have been discontinued because of lack of demand for such a small copper coin.

Machine Struck in Kathmandu for Presentation Sets

Designs much as last, but carefully struck by machine.

Æ 2 Paisa

1318. 1964 V, R(10.22)
1319. 1968 BM(10.59), V, R(10.58*)

Æ 1 Paisa

1320. 1964 Two dies exist. BM(5.24), V, R(5.11*, 4.65)
1321. 1968 BM(5.26), V, R(5.26*)

Æ Half Paisa

1322. (19)64 BM(2.63), V, R(2.53*)
1323. (19)68 V, R(2.67*)

Æ Dam

1324. (19)64 Type of Surendra Dam. BM(1.27), V, R(1.24*)
1325. (19)68 Type with square. BM(1.40), V, R(1.37*, 1.31)

The above coins are found more frequently in Europe than in Nepal and were part of the AD 1907 and AD 1911 presentation sets.
CHAPTER V

COINAGE IN THE NEPALESE HILLS

The coinage of the Nepalese hills has, until now, been virtually ignored by numismatists. Unlike the coins struck in the Valley, those of the hills have legends in Arabic which cannot be read by the local people. They are usually classified as miscellaneous 'Indian', and hence are regarded as uninteresting by those western collectors who have visited Nepal, and who have educated the Nepalese dealers in what coins to seek. For this reason, very few students or collectors are aware of the coins that are the subject of this chapter, and although the catalogue we present includes much new material, it is probably less complete than it is for the issues of the Valley. We hope that this initial survey will enable students in Nepal and elsewhere to find more coins, and that it will encourage further research into the documents that record the activity of the various provincial mints in Nepal.

1. COINAGE IN THE HILLS BEFORE AD 1768

Little documentary evidence has survived giving details of the use of coinage in the hills of Nepal before the period of the Shah Dynasty in the late eighteenth century, but it is known that coins were used outside the Kathmandu Valley much earlier. A hoard of Lichhavi coins were found in Gorkha, silver coins were struck in Dolakha in the mid-sixteenth century, and Rama Shah of Gorkha passed laws regarding cash debts in the seventeenth century. Documentary evidence regarding the use of coins in the Nepalese hills is, however, more plentiful in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

M. C. Regmi refers to the construction of a royal palace in Jumla in 1751 when the sum of Rs. 9,000 was raised by a special levy and cash wages paid to those who were employed in the construction.\(^1\) It is not clear, however, whether the coins used in these transactions were Indian or Nepalese.

By the eighteenth century, the Malla Kings of the Valley were prohibiting the export of the Indian silver coins, demanding that the merchants take them to the mint to be struck into the local Nepalese silver coins. The Italian missionaries who travelled to Nepal make it clear that within the territory of the Malla kings, coins

\(^1\) M. C. Regmi, *A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768–1846* (New Delhi, 1971), p. 21. We should like to acknowledge the tremendous assistance we have received from the research of Mr Mahesh Chandra Regmi, first in locating many valuable documents concerning the economic history of Nepal, and secondly for translating so many of them into English in his valuable Regmi Research Series (RRS). Without his pioneering work, this chapter would have been much shorter.
of the plains no longer circulated, and only Nepalese silver currency was used. Outside the jurisdiction of the Malla kings, Indian silver was popular in areas where there was direct trade contact with the plains. Nepalese coins may, however, have been used more widely in areas close to the Valley or close to the Tibetan border.

2. THE KINGDOM OF TANAHU

Although no copper circulated in the Valley, in the eighteenth century copper coins were used in Tanahu, a minor principality to the south-west of Gorkha. According to Father Tranquillo, writing in AD 1756, in Tanahu ‘coins of Nepal (i.e. of the Kathmandu Valley) circulate more than those of India. The king has only copper money. No gold or silver money is issued by him’. No copper coins have been positively identified as being struck by the Raja of Tanahu but it is very likely that he issued unstamped, or roughly stamped, lumps of copper of the type that circulated widely in Nepal and northern India throughout the nineteenth century.

An earlier account of the use of copper coins on the route from India to Nepal can be found in the report written from Nepal on 8th March 1707 by Father Giuseppe da Ascoli. On 7th February 1707, seventeen days after leaving Patna, Father Giuseppe reached a place called Benjory, in the territory of Raja Badal Singh, where ‘Mogol copper pieces are not circulating, but other pieces are circulating, which are called Torra’. The next day he proceeded to Sankry where, ‘in spite of the distance of only three kos (seven miles) from Benjory, and in spite of the fact that the locality is subject to the same Raja, the Torra are not current, but only the pieces of the Mogol’. On 12th February the Father reached Nepalese territory at Sindhuli Garhi, where he records that the money that circulated, both large and small, was all of silver. This account shows that at this period there were very localised copper coinages circulating in the area around Nepal.

2 Satya Mohan Joshi, Nepali Rashtriya Mudra (Lalitpur, 2019 vs), p. 8, note 2 (translated in RRS 1976, p. 13), records that many round copper coins were discovered along with silver coins of Malla rulers at a chaitya located near the Bir Hospital in Kathmandu. Unfortunately the copper coins were not described, but this may indicate that copper coins, struck either in the Nepalese hills or in the plains of India, did occasionally circulate in the Valley.


5 The names of the towns in this kingdom cannot be identified on current maps and the name of the raja is not known to historians. However, the fact that it was on the way from Patna to Sindhuli Garhi, and only six days journey from the latter, shows that it must have been well south of the hills, south and slightly east of Kathmandu, and probably south of the present border of Nepal.

6 The word ‘torra’ is not known to us from other sources and is not mentioned by any other of the Italian missionaries. The original editor of the text in 1729 said that the ‘torra’ was a small iron coin of the value of half a quatrin, which would make it weigh about 1.3 g, as the editor was referring to weight rather than purchasing power.
3. THE KINGDOM OF GORKHA

In the kingdom of Gorkha, Malla silver coins were circulating by the mid-eighteenth century, so that when Prithvi Narayan struck his first coins in AD 1749, he copied the Malla design and fabric very closely.

In AD 1757 Prithvi Narayan entered into an agreement with Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu whereby both sides agreed to mint pure silver coins, and to allow these coins to circulate in both territories on a reciprocal basis. Although other clauses of this agreement may not have been enforced, both Prithvi Narayan and Jaya Prakash Malla did strike fine silver coins of the same standard, and it is likely that they circulated alongside each other.

During their campaign of territorial expansion, the Gorkhas certainly came across copper coins in circulation, and they must have seen the advantages of such a coinage. Apart from silver coins, Prithvi Narayan struck copper pieces with a legend in rather crude Arabic, presumably to make them acceptable to people accustomed to handling coins of the Moghuls. Unfortunately the mint is not clear, but the date can possibly be read as 1808 vs (AD 1751). If this reading is correct, the coin was probably struck at a copper mine south or west of Kathmandu, in the relatively small area controlled by Prithvi Narayan at that time. However, until the full inscription is read, or until documentary evidence regarding their issue is forthcoming, very little can be said with certainty about the copper coinage of Prithvi Narayan, except that it was produced on a relatively large scale, as specimens are easy to find in Kathmandu, albeit usually worn almost flat.

4. EARLY YEARS OF THE SHAH DYNASTY

After the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley, there was initially little change, with Prithvi Narayan continuing to 'keep the mint pure',7 and striking fine silver mohars, suksis and dams. Whether he continued to strike any copper coins after his conquest of the Valley is not certain, but a few similar copper pieces are known in the name of his son and successor, Pratap Simha (AD 1775–7). These have a reverse legend in Arabic script with the same illegible mint name that was on the paisa of Prithvi Narayan.

The next dated copper coins are paisas and half-paisas of 1834 vs (AD 1777) reading '... Bahadur Shah'; presumably referring to Rana Bahadur Shah, who succeeded his father Pratap Simha in that year. Again the mint is illegible, but as the style and fabric is not unlike the previous coin, the mint may be the same. In any case, the coins are rather rare, so the output cannot have been large at this stage.

The military activity that commenced in earnest in the AD 1780s, when moves were made to extend the Gorkha rule westwards, must have placed considerable strain on the state coffers as the soldiers had to be paid with either grants of land,

COINAGE IN THE NEPALESE HILLS

rights to booty, or with cash. Booty would have been scarce in the hill territories annexed, and land grants could not be dispensed in an open-ended manner. On the other hand, copper mines did exist in some of the territory taken over, and so copper coins could have been used to provide some of the finance for this campaign.

5. THE 'BAHADUR SHAHI'

The next copper coins to be struck were paisas and half paisas with the name of King Rana Bahadur, dated 1844 VS (AD 1787), also with a legend in Arabic script. These coins, which are easy to find in Kathmandu, were called 'Bahadur Shahis', and as they are so common, it is reasonable to assume that they were struck over several years with the date remaining fixed. Although the mint name is not fully legible, the word 'Garhi' (pass) seems clear; Chisapani Garhi is a possible location for the mint, but this should be regarded as very uncertain. In any case, the date on the coin corresponds with the campaign organised by the King's uncle, Bahadur Shah, during the early years of his regency, and hence it must have been struck under his inspiration.

Apparently, traders could bring their copper to the mint and have it struck into coin for a fee of 5 annas per dharni, but this fee was reduced by 50 per cent in AD 1791, when the government insisted that only pure copper should be used for coinage. One fifth of the income generated went to the mintmaster as part of his emoluments.

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8 The coin remained in circulation for many years and one of the authors received a specimen in change at Amlekganj in 1964 (as 10 paisa). Prinsep, *Useful Tables* (Calcutta, 1834), p. 52 mentions the 'Behadur sahy' as a copper piece 'coined and current in Nipal' and as the weight given (164 grains) agrees with the weight of surviving specimens, we may assume this to be the coin referred to. They may also be the coins referred to as Nepal Pice by John Shore, the collector, Tirhut, in a letter dated 12 May 1788. He recorded that 'the Nepal pice were coined by the Raja of Nepal with the legend 'Sitta Rama'. They were current in the northern paraganas of the Tirhut collectorship, and weighed 9 to 9.5 mashes (c.9 g) and passed at 72 to 76 for a rupee. Their value, however, varied at times beyond these limits. The amount in circulation was at about 25 to 30 thousand rupees. It is very difficult to give the exact particulars of the place and origin of the coinage.' cf. U. Thakur, 'Currency of Tirhut during the early years of the company's rule', *JNSI* vol. XX, pt. II (1958), p. 209.

9 Kirkpatrick, who visited the area in 1792, (op. cit., p. 62), says that 'Tambhe-kan', a place just north of Chisapani Garhi, 'is at present a miserable place, though before the copper mines in its vicinity were exhausted, it is said to have been both populous and flourishing'. It should be noted that 'Tamba Khani was the source of copper used by Ratna Malla in c. 1500 (see above p. 54). Kirkpatrick then adds that 'though the mines close to this place are now nearly exhausted, yet other veins of copper have been discovered, and are worked at no great distance from hence. It would seem that the miners (who are of the Agry cast or tribe) move from place to place according as their discoveries occasionally prompt them; and although I am not exactly informed upon what terms they carry on their operations, yet there is reason to suppose that they find them abundantly profitable'. The precise location of these new copper mines is not recorded, but they must have been close to Chisapani Garhi. There was still a mine in this area in Feb. 1845 when Prince Waldemar of Prussia visited Nepal. The German travellers were not allowed to visit the mine and do not mention whether any of the ore was used for coinage (cf. Dr W. Hoffmeister, *Travels in Ceylon and Continental India* (Edinburgh, 1848), p. 218.

10 Taking a dharni as 2.39 kg. and 1 anna as 4 paisa or about 45 g., the fee charged would be around 10 per cent.

11 M. C. Regmi, op. cit. (1971) p. 158-9, quoting an order to Jasram regarding the minting of copper coins (July 1791). We have not seen the full text of this order and do not know if the location of the mint is mentioned.
In AD 1793 Kirkpatrick reported that copper coins circulated ‘of two or three denominations, such as Chardams, Dodums, etc, thirty-six of the former usually going to the mohr’. Copper coins of three denominations dated 1849 VS (AD 1792) are known but again the mint name is not legible. Kirkpatrick did not mention where these copper coins were struck, but it cannot have been far from the Valley. He also mentions that the revenue from copper mines in Nepal had reduced from Rs. 0.3 to 0.4 mn, to barely Rs 0.1 mn because a quantity of cheap copper had been brought by the British from Europe and was undercutting the price of the copper from Nepal. He mentions that the price of Nepalese copper had been known to be about Rs. 1.5 per seer, when European copper was available in Calcutta at Rs. 1.0 per seer. The latter price accords fairly well with the value of the Nepalese coin in circulation, but the fact that a profit could no longer be made from exporting the copper to the plains must have provided a further incentive for the Nepalese to strike their own copper coins for local use.

6. COPPER COINS STRUCK IN ALMORA AND OTHER WESTERN MINTS

By AD 1790 Nepal had annexed all the territory westwards as far as Almora, and a fine copper coin is known from that mint with the name of Rana Bahadur. The coin is not dated, but it must have been struck during the AD 1790s and is, therefore, the earliest Nepalese provincial copper coin with the mint clearly legible.

The establishment of other mints was being encouraged by this time, and some may have struck coins. The general administrative regulations of AD 1793 specify that ‘mines and mints shall be surveyed, and assessments on them made in cash’. The Jumla Administrative Regulations of AD 1796 are more specific, and Regulation 6 states that:

‘Arrangements shall be made to operate mines. Income from them shall be collected and expenses incurred as prescribed. After making arrangements for operating mines, report the matter and dies for minting Paisa coins shall be supplied.’

The implication here is that dies would be supplied from a central source, and so it is possible that the ‘Bahadur Shahi’ coins were struck in several mints, with the mint name intentionally illegible. It is not confirmed, however, whether coins were actually struck in Jumla and the administrative regulations may have been a standard issue to all newly annexed territories.

It was not until about AD 1804 that the Nepalese struck coins further east than during his visit, so it must have been an extremely high price.


Almora. From about that year silver coins were struck at Srinagar in Garhwal, and in AD 1812 a mint was opened at Nahan in Sirmur, even further to the west. We have not noted any Nepalese documentation on these mints, and their coinage will be discussed in detail in the catalogue, pp. 191–201 below.

7. DIFFERENT KINDS OF RUPEE

Whereas in Kathmandu the Nepalese silver mohar was the standard coin in circulation, this was not always the case in the hills, where Indian rupees and local copper coins were more prevalent during the nineteenth century. Prices, taxes, wages etc. were usually expressed in rupees, but confusion can easily arise over what sort of rupee was meant. The more usual ones were:

THE MOHAR RUPEE

Two Nepalese silver mohars: the mohar rupee was equal to 16 silver annas, 64 silver paisa, 256 silver dams etc. Generally, in Kathmandu, 120 mohar rupees were equal to 100 Indian rupees.

THE PAISA RUPEE

A unit of account based on a fixed number of copper coins, used in hill areas where such copper coins were the main currency. Since copper coins of varying weights and alloys circulated in different places at different times, and since the value of copper relative to silver fluctuated daily, the exchange rate between silver and copper coins was never fixed. However, in order to make collection of revenue practicable, the number of copper 'Gandas' (1 Ganda = 1 Anna = 4 Paisa) to the 'Paisa Rupee' was defined, from time to time and from place to place, so that the 'Paisa Rupee' was roughly equivalent to the 'Mohar Rupee'. Hence, there were 16, 18, 20, 21, 22 or 25-Ganda Rupees at different times and places.

THE GORAKHPURI RUPEE

Another unit of account, based on the Gorakhpuri paisa, which circulated widely in western Nepal and the adjacent areas of northern India, particularly around Gorakhpur. At different times there were 'Gorakhpuri Rupees' of 12 Gandas or 18 Gandas.

VARIOUS INDIAN RUPEES

Prior to the standardisation of British Indian coinage in AD 1834, various Indian rupees circulated widely in the hills, and were all given slightly different values. We have noted the following particular rupees occurring in Nepalese documents: The Patna Rupee, the Calcutta Sicca Rupee, the Furrukhabad Rupee, the Bareli Rupee, the Lashkar Rupee, and later the Kampani or Kaldar Rupee.
Efforts were made as early as AD 1826 to standardise the currency system, but these were bound to fail because of the debased nature of the Nepalese silver coins, the fluctuating price of copper in India and the open border. Although the British tried to standardise the coins circulating on the Indian side of the border after AD 1834, the Gorakhpuri paisa remained very popular among the people. It was only about AD 1903 that the dual currency system was finally abolished, the local copper coins were demonetised, and the 25-Ganda Rupee (i.e. 100 paisa = 1 rupee) was adopted throughout the country for both silver and copper. Hence Nepal, almost by accident, adopted a decimal currency system more than half a century before India decimalised!

8. DEVELOPMENTS IN GIRVAN YUDDHA'S REIGN

In AD 1800 new regulations were introduced whereby the copper mines were to be brought under direct government management through officials appointed for the purpose. Previously the mines had been operated by private contractors who paid specified taxes to the local administrators. The new regulations also brought the minting operations more under central control and in AD 1803, in order to maximise the production of copper coins, the export of copper bullion was prohibited. Soon afterwards, private minting rights were granted in various parts of the country.

9. GULMI MINT

In March 1804, Raja Siddhi Pratap of Gulmi was granted authority to strike Gorakhpuri coins. This presumably refers to the unstamped lumps of relatively pure copper that circulated widely in the Gorakhpur district of northern India. It is interesting to note that in this year, ex-King Rana Bahadur Shah married a 12 year old girl from Gulmi, Lalita Tripura Sundari, and this permission to strike coins may have been granted as a result of the marriage.

Although there was a copper mine at Gulmi in at least the late AD 1870s, we do not have any firm evidence that the Raja actually struck any coins. It is, however, just possible that a silver suki (no. 1340 in the catalogue) is of the Gulmi mint, although the attribution is very uncertain.


18 M. C. Regmi, op. cit. (1971), p. 159 (where the date is wrongly given as 1803), and RRS 1975, p. 129.

COINAGE IN THE NEPALESE HILLS

10. BAGLUNG-CHAUR, POKHARA, BENI AND BHUINCHHE MINTS

In July 1792 there was an Ijara grant to Jitaram Newar for the management of the copper, cinnabar, iron and lead mines in the region situated west of the Chepe and Marsyangdi rivers and east of the Bheri river. Two years later, Janakiram Newar was granted the management of the above mines, while Jitaram Newar was granted a monopoly in respect of trade in copper and was instructed to take over other mines in the area. By 1797 the mint at Beni was operating, as in March of that year a royal order was issued to the traders of Palpa stating that 'we have issued order for the minting of paisa coins at Beni. The Taksari (chief of the mint) has sent paisa coins there for circulation. The 16-ganda rupee is in circulation everywhere in our territories. You are hereby ordered to use these 16-ganda rupees... use coins according to the practice prevalent in our territories.'

In March 1806 Ijaradar Jitaram Newar was ordered to mint copper coins in the mint at Beni, using copper from the mines under his control. This order specified that samples of the following coins had been sent and that coins were to be struck according to the samples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paisa</td>
<td>2 tolas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adha-paisa</td>
<td>1 tola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhakani</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ tola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>28(?) masas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beni was formerly the summer capital of the Malla rulers of Parbat, one of the most prosperous and powerful of the twenty-four states of the Gandaki region. The copper from the mines in the area were exported to India, and the state controlled the trade route through the Kali Gandaki to Tibet. When Parbat was finally defeated by the Gorkhas in 1786, Beni declined in political importance, as Baglung became the administrative centre for the region.

In June 1810 a Royal order gives further details about the organisation of mints in the Baglung area:

'We have taken over the management of all mines under the Amanat system and imposed a monopoly in the copper trade. We have also granted authority to Subba Gabar to mint paisa coins at the Beni and Baglung-Chaur Mints. Supply the entire output of copper from your area to the mints and obtain payment at current prices. Do not allow any leakage of the metal to other places. In case any trader or merchant smuggles copper, the appropriate local functionary shall seize the metal and transmit it to the mint. He shall be severely punished if he does not do so.'

20 There were generally two main systems of revenue collection, the Ijara and Amanat systems. Under the Ijara system the ijaradar, or contractor, made a stipulated payment to government and could keep any excess revenue he managed to raise from the sources assigned to him. (cf. M. C. Regmi, op. cit. (1971). p. 124).
25 Under the Amanat system, revenue was collected and accounts rendered to government on the basis of actual revenue collected.
At the same time the local governor, Kaji Amara Simha Thapa, was ordered to obtain dies, weights and instructions as to the alloy to be used, from the governor of Palpa, and to ensure that the Gorakhpuri coins struck were similar to those in circulation in Palpa. He was also instructed to remit the income to the Treasury each year.

In October 1810 several smiths of Bhatgaon were taken to Beni and Baglung-Chaur to work in the mints under Subba Jabar Singh, and in consideration of this, their families in the Kathmandu Valley (25 in total) were exempted from all forced labour obligations. Then in February 1811 coppersmiths and blacksmiths at Beni and Baglung-Chaur were instructed to make dies for copper coins, and were again exempted from forced labour.

In April 1812 control of the mines passed to Subedar Ramajit Bhandari and Dittha Balabhadra Padhya, again on an Amanat basis under which accounts were rendered to government as to the actual revenue raised. Their letter of appointment reads:

‘Do not let others purchase copper in the areas that have been placed under your jurisdiction. Conduct monopoly trade in that metal according to the regulations. Supply copper to the mints at Pokhara, Baglung-Chaur and Beni and mint coins as ordered. At the end of the year, submit accounts of funds made available to you for the purchase of copper and obtain clearance.’

Further details of the orders are set out in Appendix 1 on p. 201 below; they included the instruction to strike coins of the denominations 2 paisa, 2 dam and 1 dam.

In May 1814 the Amanat grant was terminated and the mines and mints passed to Prahlad Thapa and Mahabir Karki, this time reverting to an Ijara grant. On this occasion only the mints of Beni and Baglung-Chaur were mentioned, the implication being that the Pokhara mint was no longer operating. In March 1815 the Ijara grant was transferred to Laxmi Narayan and Laxman, and a year later it was transferred to Kulananda Jha. The payment under the grant was Rs. 34,001 in 1814; it was reduced to Rs. 33,001 in 1815 and increased again to Rs. 34,001 in 1816. In 1816, an Ijara grant was made to Hanumanta Simha for the collection of Nirkhi (sales) tax on each load of copper delivered to the mints at Beni and Baglung-Chaur.

Kulananda Jha was still the Ijaradar in 1830, when it was ordered that ‘the expenses incurred in the construction of the mint at Bhuinchhe, amounting to Rs. 4,606.5 shall be met from the revenues of the Beni-Baglung mines and mint’. Later the same year Vishnu Singh became Ijaradar and was instructed to strike coins of three denominations: the Paisa, adhela (half paisa) and dam.

Further details are found from a similar Ijara grant dated January 1832, when Atmaram Upadhyaya replaced Vishnu Singh, with a payment that increased from...

\[\text{References:} \]

\[\text{178 RRS} \text{1986, p. 163. Jhara labour was forced labour, generally unpaid, required by government as a form of taxation.}\]

\[\text{27 RRS} \text{1982, p. 62.}\]


\[\text{30 RRS} \text{1986, p. 90.}\]

\[\text{31 RRS} \text{1980, p. 103, and 1986, p. 90.}\]

\[\text{32 RRS} \text{1975, p. 112.}\]

\[\text{33 RRS} \text{1977, p. 24.}\]
COINAGE IN THE NEPALESE HILLS

Rs. 37,502 to Rs. 38,503. The terms of the grant were similar to those previously described, except that he was ordered to mint coins of only two denominations: the paisa and adhela (half paisa).34

Around 1836 the Baglung Mint was further developed, and the inhabitants of Baglung were ordered to construct buildings for the mint.35 The Baglung-Chaur mint continued to operate throughout the nineteenth century, and was closed only in 1900. The monopoly in copper was, however, retained and trade depots were established at Baglung, Beni and Tansen.36

11. PALPA AND TANSEN MINTS

In 1831, Harsha Narayan of Palpa petitioned King Rajendra as follows:

My grandfather, Fouzdar Maniraj, had brought dies for minting Gorakhpuri paisa coins from Gorakhpur and started minting these coins. The former King of Palpa had waived minting fees subject to a limit of Rs. 1,200 (a year?). Subsequently, the matter was referred to His Majesty through General (Bhimsen Thapa). A royal order was issued reconfirming that concession on an inheritable basis. However, that royal order was destroyed when my house caught fire on Chaitra Sudi 2. 1885. I then reported the matter to Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Thapa.37

After receipt of this petition, a royal order was issued in March 1831 stating ‘we hereby reconfirm the waiver of fees on the minting of paisa coins subject to a limit of Rs. 1,200. Have coins minted at the mint accordingly with full assurance.’

It was in about 1805 that Rana Bahadur annexed the Kingdom of Palpa to Nepal, so the mint must have started producing the ‘Gorakhpuri paisa’ before that date. The reference to bringing dies from Gorakhpur is interesting, but puzzling. Although Gorakhpur was a mint for copper under Akbar, and for silver and gold, under the name Mu’azzaamabad, up to the time of Muhammad Shah, no later coins of Gorakhpur mint have been published.

We know of one mysterious copper coin (illustrated above), found in Nepal, that may have the mint name ‘Gorakpur’ on the reverse, but we have been unable to read the rest of the inscription. Very tentatively we suggest that it may be either the coin struck by Fouzdar Maniraj, during the reign of Mahadutta Sen, King of Palpa, or it may be the prototype of this issue.

The mint was still operating in 1879–80 when it was in the charge of Subba Nanda Raj, under an Amanat grant. By this time, however, it was located at Tansen, a

34 RRS 1980, p. 103.
37 RRS 1988, p. 25.
short distance from Palpa. During that year 2,547 dharnis of copper were converted into Gorakhpuri coins using copper supplied by individuals, and in addition 175 dharnis on Government account. This document states that 175 12-Ganda Gorakhpuri rupees of copper coins weighed dharni 162–2\(\frac{3}{4}\), which, assuming the dharni weighed 239 kg, indicates that each ganda weighed about 40 g.

In the present century a water-operated coin press was introduced into this mint and was probably used until its closure in about 1940. In Tansen, in ‘Taksar Tole’ (Mint Street), a wall of the old mint building still stands.

12. RUKUM MINT

In September 1805 there was an Ijara grant to Harinarayan Newar for the procurement of copper and minting of coins in Rukum in Rapti Zone. We have, however, no evidence that coins were ever struck at Rukum.

13. MINTS AT NAGRE AND OTHER PLACES EAST OF KATHMANDU.

In March 1813, orders were issued to Hanumant Singh regarding mining regulations in the area east of the Valley, as far as the Dudh Kosi river, but excluding the mines assigned to 'state' markets and the army. The full text of these regulations are set out in Appendix 2, and they give an interesting insight into the operation of the mines and the associated mints. A further order dated November 1814 lists the twenty-two mines involved, including Nagre, which is described as a mine in the Kabre Palanchok area, a few miles east of the Valley. The regulations are not specific about the type of coins that should be struck, or the payments to be made to Government, merely referring to alloy being prescribed. The reference to metal-workers from Bhatgaon and Patan coming to the Nagre mine to manufacture dies is interesting, but it is not clear if the dies made were only for striking silver coins in the Valley, or whether they were also made for striking copper coins at Nagre.

In 1817 Hanumant Singh was instructed to mint ‘Gorakhpuri’ coins at Nagre to a limit of Rs. 12,000 and was given dies with the instructions that they be returned when the limit was reached. The order further stated that the coins struck should not circulate in Nepal, but be passed to traders for export to India. Presumably the coins struck at this time were fine copper, roughly stamped lumps, with no

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iron in the alloy, similar to those struck in the Palpa district. Whether coins were struck at other mines controlled by Hanumant Singh is not certain.

In April 1836, Bhajudan was granted two Ijaras for mining copper and iron over a wide area from Pharping, at the southern edge of the Valley, to the Dhankuta area in the far east of the country. The wording of the Ijara grant was almost identical to the grant to Hanumant Singh in 1813, although now clause 7 has been translated as:

7. Smiths (banda) deputed from Bhadgaun and Patan to the Nagre mines in Dhankuta to make dies for minting coins shall be exempted from forced labour obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar). 44

The 'Nagre' mine, is here specified as being in the Dhankuta district, and hence may be different from the 'Nagre' mine operated by Hanumant Singh in 1817, but it seems unlikely that blacksmiths from the Valley would go as far as Dhankuta, or that two such similar Ijara grants would refer to different mines. Hence, until the original text can be checked, the location of these mines and mints must be regarded as uncertain. 45

14. MINTS EAST OF THE DUDH KOSI RIVER

Because of the later reference to the Lohiya Paisa, with iron in the alloy, being struck in Eastern Nepal, it seems likely that the few Nepalese copper coins in the name of Girvan Yuddha that respond to a magnet were struck in the eastern hills. The name of the mint is not clearly legible on these coins, although 'Arun' is a possible reading. To judge from the map in Hamilton's book on Nepal, 46 the area to the west of the Dudh Kosi river that was controlled by Hanumant Singh had copper and lead mines, whereas further east, particularly in the Arun Valley, there were numerous mines for iron as well as copper at this period. Hence it seems likely that Hanumant Singh struck copper 'Gorakhpuri Paisa' to the west of the Dudh Kosi river, whereas further east, in the Arun Valley, coins were struck using a copper/iron alloy. No records regarding mints in this latter area have been published dating from Girvan Yuddha's reign, although the 1836 Ijara grant to Bhajudan refers to the Nagre mint near Dhankuta, and several mints were certainly operating there in 1876.

During the twentieth century, a mint was operating in Dhankuta 47 using a water-powered coin press, and this mint only ceased striking copper coins in about 1940.

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44 RRS 1975, pp. 159–60.
45 The name 'Nagre' may be derived from the Nepali 'Na Gri' meaning 'no house', which could apply to any mine not near a village. This would explain why no 'Nagre' appears on any map in the areas specified. There is a 'Nagre Spur' near Darjeeling, and according to L. A. Waddell (JASB 1891, p. 71) this place name derives from the Lepcha 'Nak-Gri' (Straight + high sided fort).
46 Francis Hamilton (formerly Buchanan). An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal (Edinburgh, 1819).
47 The Report of the Royal Mint (London) for 1935 notes under Nepal that, of the two established mints, at Kathmandu and Dhankuta, the latter only struck copper coins.
Also in the early years of the twentieth century there was certainly a mint near Bhojpur.48

15. EXPORT OF COPPER COINS TO INDIA

Nepal had been unable to export copper to India in the 1790s, because of low copper prices in the plains, and during the period of military activity culminating in the 1815 war, much of the copper production was required for armaments. After 1815, however, the situation changed. As previously mentioned, Hanumant Singh was instructed to strike copper ‘Gorakhpuri Paisa’ at the Nagre mines specifically for export,49 and by 1831 Nepal was supplying the ‘copper currency to the whole tract of the plains between the Ganges and the Hills, Monghyr and Pillibheet’.50 Then in 1851 we read that ‘copper is still procured and in the shape of rude paisa exported into British territories, indeed to such an extent, that districts of Gorukhpore, Champaran, Tirhoot and the parts of Oudh bordering on the Terai are deluged with these coins, and I question whether the whole of these provinces absorb yearly 100 rupees in copper currency from the Calcutta mint’.51

In 1876 the Imperial Gazetteer of India gives a more detailed description of the situation at that time:

‘Along the tract from Baraich to Champaran, the current coin of exchange is the Bhutwaliya or Gorakhpuri pice, a square lump of purified copper, roughly cut by hand, with an apology for a stamp; 75 of these go to the Indian rupee . . . These Bhutwaliya pice are made at Tansen, the Palpa district of Nepal. In the extreme east and north-east, the common coin is the black, or Lohiya52 pice, of which 107 go to the Indian rupee. These are of no better shape or manufacture than the Bhutwaliya pice, and they are of less value owing to the large admixture of iron. There are several mints for their production in the eastern hills, the best known being at Khika Maccha. They are commonly met with in North Behar from Champaran to Purniah’.53

The unstamped copper lumps were sometimes officially imported by the British authorities. In the mid-1870s there was a famine in the Gorakhpur area and there was considerable demand for Gorakhpuri pice to pay labourers employed in relief work, and so a special supply of the coins were requested from Butwal. For these

48 Udaya Man Shrestha, Nepal Essays (Kathmandu, 2027 VS), notes that ‘Taksar Bazar, named after the mint . . . is twenty minutes walk from Bhojpur. The rich copper deposit in the surroundings of the market was utilized in minting coins by Prime Minister Chandra Shamshere’ (1901–29). If the coins listed above as nos. 1308–15 (dated 1959–68 VS = AD 1902–11) and similar paisa struck by King Tribhuvana (dated 1969–77 VS = AD 1912–20) are correctly attributed to this mint, it may have operated from AD 1902–20.

49 RRS 1886, p. 90; cf. n. 29 above.


52 ‘Lohar’ is the caste of iron workers.

years, mintage figures of the various types of pice are given in the Nepal Residency Records:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Lohiya Pice Rs.</th>
<th>Gorakhpuri Pice Rs.</th>
<th>New or Thin Pice Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872-3</td>
<td>47.021-8</td>
<td>237,832-11</td>
<td>58,669-2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873-4</td>
<td>46.389-9</td>
<td>135,755-7</td>
<td>218,110-0-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-5</td>
<td>35.700-3</td>
<td>194,028-8</td>
<td>132,800-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-6</td>
<td>42.624-9</td>
<td>156,922-5</td>
<td>63,316-14-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1865 the Nepalese Government, presumably in an attempt to discourage the export of copper coins from Nepal, struck a series of 'new' or 'thin' paisa. These were round die-struck pieces that were supposed to circulate at a nominal value well above their intrinsic value. With an inscription in Nagari script instead of Arabic, these coins quickly replaced the old Lohiya (or 'black') pice in the Valley, but their value relative to the silver coins still fluctuated. In 1876 they circulated at 117 to the Indian rupee, which was, in turn worth 1.2 mohar rupees. Hence a decimal system of about a hundred copper paisa to the mohar rupee had almost been achieved although this was not formalised until 1907.

In 1877 the production of the new style paisa ceased, perhaps because there were enough in circulation, and did not recommence until about 1891. During this period unstamped lumps of copper continued to circulated widely in northern India, and this continued well into the twentieth century, but it is not clear whether they were still being struck in Nepal. In 1909, H. R. Neville recorded that Gorakhpuri pice were still the most popular coin outside the towns in the Gorakhpur area, and that their rate was generally 80 to the rupee, although the rate occasionally touched 100. In the Champaran Gazetteer the rate, presumably for the Lohiya pice, was said to vary from 104 to 128 to the rupee, but in 1907, a year of abnormally high prices, their value rose to 90 to the rupee.

16. MINTS IN SIKKIM

After the production of new style paisa ceased in Nepal in 1877, it may not have been coincidence that in 1881 the Newar trader Lakshmidas Pradhan applied to the Maharaja of Sikkim and obtained permission to strike 'Dooba' or 'Doli' pice, similar to the rough unstamped pice that had been made in Nepal, and had apparently been circulating in Sikkim since 1849. These coins cannot have been very popular, as in the following year he obtained permission to strike 'Chepte' (flat) paisa, which were copied from the Nepalese 'new style' coins. The Sikkimese coins were struck near the mines operated by the Pradhan family at Pache-khani, Bhotang-khani and Tuk-khani.

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54 Nepal Residency Records, 10th August 1876.
Initially this operation was successful, and the Sikkim coins circulated freely in eastern Nepal. In 1885, however, the Nepalese governor of Ilam forbade their import and circulation, and the British deputy commissioner in Darjeeling imposed a similar ban. Because of this, it was no longer profitable to mint the coins, and their production ceased. Since they were not struck in an area under Nepalese Government control, these Sikkimese coins are not described in the catalogue, although their existence does shed some light on the currency of the Nepalese hills and indicates that, at least in the eastern hills, production of unstamped copper had ceased by the 1880s, and new style copper coins were more popular in circulation.

17. THE REIGN OF PRITHVI VIR VIKRAM AND LATER

After a break of nearly fifteen years, production of copper coins in Nepal recommenced on a large scale about 1891. Over the next few years copper paisa were struck with four different types, presumably a separate type for each mint that struck them (cf. nos. 1275–1317 above). It is not possible with certainty to identify the mints in which each type was struck, but as one variety often responds to a magnet, that variety was probably struck in the far east of the country, perhaps at Dhankuta, Chainpur or Bhojpur, while the Baglung and Palpa (Tansen) mints continued to operate in the west.

Around 1919 water-operated coin presses were installed in the Dhankuta and Tansen mints and from then until c.1940, when coin production was centralised in the Valley, most of the copper coins were struck in these mints. After the closure of the provincial mints, the old Taksars, or mint towns, still remain the main centres for metal work in the country, with the exception of Dhankuta. In this case the metal working now takes place at Chainpur, about twenty miles to the north; perhaps a mint existed at Chainpur in the nineteenth century and operations were transferred to Dhankuta about 1919 to take advantage of the water power.

18. SUMMARY OF NEPALESE MINTS OPERATING IN THE HILLS

The following mints are known to have operated in the Nepalese hills during the period after 1780. The list is certainly not complete, but gives some idea of the areas where mints existed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chisapani Garhi (?)</td>
<td>1787–?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulmi (?)</td>
<td>c.1804</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Baglung Area:

- Beni: c.1806–c.1900
- Baglung (Chaur): c.1810–c.1900
- Pokhara: c.1812
- Butwal: before 1931–after 1940
- Palpa/Tansen: before 1806–1940
- Nagre in Kabre Palanchok: c.1813–?

Mints in the Arun Valley:

- Bhojpur: c.1902–c.1920
- Chainpur: c.1902–193?
- Dhankuta: c.1810–1940
- Khika Macha: c.1861–c.1900
- Almora: c.1790–1815
- Srinagar in Garhwal: c.1804–1815
- Nahan in Sirmur: 1812

In general the mining was somewhat inefficient and the mines were soon worked out. Since the mints were often at the mouth of the mines, particularly in the eastern hills, they probably moved from place to place wherever copper happened to be mined. It is doubtful, therefore, if we will ever determine all the mines at which coins were struck, and even less likely that we will be able to identify the products of each mint.58

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**CATALOGUE OF COINS OF THE NEPALESE HILLS**

With the background set out above, it is now possible to examine critically the coins with Arabic inscriptions that we believe were struck in the Nepalese hills. We divide the catalogue into two sections:

A. Nepalese Coinage within the present border of Nepal;
B. Nepalese coinage outside the present border of Nepal.

**A. NEPALESE COINAGE WITHIN THE PRESENT BORDER OF NEPAL**

*Prithvi Narayan Shah (1742–75)*

58 Another place where we have heard from Nepalese friends that a mint existed is Thosay (No. 2 East). Also N. B. and D. P. Thapa, *Geography of Nepal* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 157, record that during the time of the Ranas there was a small mint at Bhojpur for minting coins of small denomination. In addition, S. M. Joshi has told us that he has often come across localities that bear names recalling mints (Taksar) of the past, and although all trace of the workshops have gone, the names persist.
1326. Paisa.  

**Obv.**  
Raja Prithi Narayan Shah.

**Rev.**  
Zarb Nepal (?) ... Samvat 1808 (?).  
BM(10.3*), R(11.0*, 11.0), N(*), ANS(10.8, 10.6, 10.5, 10.4)

The reading of the date is very uncertain and the only way it could make sense is to read it upside down. It is not even clear that the symbols we have interpreted as numerals really are numerals, since there are two further small 'v's in the top half of the reverse inscription. If the date is correctly read, this type was struck by Prithvi Narayan in AD 1751 during his campaign against the Valley, just two years after he struck his first silver coin. The use of the simple title 'Raja' is interesting, and tends to support an early date. Alternatively it could have been struck by a neighbouring ruler who wished to acknowledge the suzerainty of the King of Gorkha. We have also not been able to read the reverse inscription which may include the name of the mint, and we can only, very tentatively, suggest 'Nepal' as part of the inscription. In AD 1751 the territory ruled by Prithvi Narayan was not large (comprising only Gorkha, Nuwakot, and a few forts around the northern side of the Valley), but we have not managed to fit any of the known towns or villages to the legend on the coin. Furthermore, we do not know of any copper mines that Prithvi Narayan would have controlled at this stage of his campaign. An issue date later in Prithvi Narayan's reign, after the copper mines near Tamba Khani had been captured, might be more reasonable. It is to be hoped that further research will enable the legend to be read in full, and this may shed interesting light on this period of Prithvi Narayan's campaign.

**Pratap Simha Shah (1775–7)**

1328. Paisa.  

**Obv.**  
Pratap Singh Shah.

**Rev.**  
Zarb Nepal (?) ...  
N(*), R(11.0), M(10.9)

The obverse inscription is clearly written, with all the dots in the right places. The reverse has key portions off the flan, but is clearly in essence the same as the coin of Prithvi Narayan, although there is no sign of any date.

1329. Half Paisa.  

**Obv. and rev. as last.**

**Rev.**  
H(5.4*)

**Rana Bahadur Shah (1777–99)**

1330.
COINAGE IN THE NEPALESE HILLS

1330. Paisa.  

*Obv.*  
Sri Rana Bahadur Shah.  
*Rev.*  
Zarb... (18)34  
BM(11.2*), R(10.7*, 10.6, 10.0, 9.5)  

1331. Half Paisa.  

As last.  
R(5.2*, 5.0, 4.8)  

The date on the above pieces, 1834 vs, corresponds to AD 1777, the accession year of Rana Bahadur Shah. Both the obverse and reverse legends are very poorly engraved, and the coins are badly struck and cannot be fully read. The fabric is similar to that of the coins of Pratap Simha, but the calligraphy is not so clear, and the reverse legend is slightly different. Although some pieces of both denominations appear to be fine copper, others are slightly magnetic, showing that there is iron in the alloy.

1332. Paisa.  

*Obv.*  
Maharaja Rana Bahadur Shah Shamshere Jang*  
*Rev.*  
Zarb Nepal (?). Chisapani (?) Garhi. Samvat 1843  
N(c.10*)

1333. Paisa.  

As last.  

1334. Paisa.  

As last, but rev. die used for both sides in error.  
BM, Fw*. V. R*. ANS. Ash Wts 9.7-11.2 g  

1335. Half Paisa.  

*Obv.* and *rev.* as no. 1333, dated 1844.  
BM, Fw. V. R*, ANS Wts 4.6-5.6 g  

The word ‘Garhi’, meaning a ‘pass’, is part of the name of several villages that guard the routes through the ranges south of Kathmandu. This is, however, the only part of the mint that we can read with some degree of confidence although the same word ‘Nepal’ (?) that was on the Prithvi Narayan paisa reappears. Somewhere near Chisapani Garhi seems the most likely location for the source of the copper, if not the mint, but it needs some imagination and wishful thinking before that name can be read into the legend.

While the issue of 1843 vs is scarce, the two coins dated 1844 vs are by far the most common of the large size Arabic-script copper coins. Although dated AD 1787, they were still circulating in the 1830s and later, and the issue must have been struck over several years.

59 Although the titles ‘Bahadur Shamshere Jang’ do not appear on other coins, they were used by the Shah kings on some documents. For example they were used in AD 1771 on a firman from the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam II addressed to Prithvi Narayan. cf. *RRS.* 1976. p. 76.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

1336. Paisa.  
*Obv.* مهارمه رن پهادار شاه  
Maharajah Rana Bahadur Shah.  

*Rev.* صرب نیال 1849  
Zarb Nepal (?) ... 1849. On some specimens the date looks like '1846', but this is probably in error for 1849.  
BM(11.4*), N(9.2*), R(10.3)

1337. Half Paisa.  
*Obv.* and *rev.* as last.  
N(5.1*), R(5.4)

1338. Half Paisa.  
*Obv.* and *rev.* as last, but date '(1)841', probably in error for '1849'.  
N(5.4*)

1339. Dam.  
*Obv.* and *rev.* as last, but date off flan.  
N(c.2.5*)

The above coins are much rarer in Kathmandu than are the 'Bahadur Shahis'. The mint on the reverse has also not been read but, apart from the ubiquitous 'Nepal (?)', seems very different from that on the earlier issues. By the time of this issue, AD 1792, the Gorkhalis had conquered Baglung and Beni, and in that very year Jitaram Newar was entrusted with the management of the mines there on an Ijara basis. Although we cannot be certain, it seems likely that these pieces may have been struck in the Beni/Baglung area.

**Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah (1799–1816)**

1340. Suki.  
*Obv.* 'Śri Girvān Yuddha Vikram Sā' in Nagari script in three lines within border of small dots. One line of Persian below, perhaps reading 'صرب گرم لم ب (Zarb Gulmi (?)).  

*Rev.* 'Śri Varākādā Sahāyā' in eight petals around central trident.  

Varakada is one of the names of Lord Siva, so the reverse inscription may be translated as 'Lord Siva save us'.

This little provincial silver coin is only known to us from a rubbing made in Kathmandu before 1967. We do not know its weight or present whereabouts. The reading of the Arabic part of the legend is not certain, but the issue could be connected with Lalita Tripura Sundari, who came from Gulmi to marry ex-king Raha Bahadur in 1804.

1341. Paisa.  
*Obv.* سربی کیربان حورده بکرم شاه  
Sri Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah  

*Rev.* عارون سمن 1859  
'?? Arun? Sambat 1859' with tiger knife to right of date.  
Fw(7.8*, 7.6*), ANS(*)

1342
The above two varieties are rarely found in Kathmandu, indicating a mint away from the Valley. The strongly magnetic alloy of no. 1342, showing a high iron content, indicates a mint in the far east of the country, perhaps in the Arun valley. The legend can perhaps be read as 'Arun', which would confirm the general location of the mint but we are very uncertain.

The above dams, struck in fine copper, are very common in Kathmandu, and must have been struck for many years after their first issue, which was presumably in 1861 vs (AD 1804). The mint appears to read 'Beni' which is known to have struck dams between at least AD 1812 and 1830. The legend is always very crudely engraved and often omits or distorts letters, so it is clear that the die engravers had no idea what they were engraving. It is probable that there was no significant change in inscription after the accession of Rajendra in AD 1815, but no. 1345 is almost certainly a late variety.

Apart from the above pieces, struck in fine copper, there are some similar, although rather heavier, coins struck in an iron/copper alloy, as indicated by their magnetic properties.
Although the above pieces have traces of the date 1861 vs (AD 1804), they were probably struck after AD 1813 at one of the mines controlled by Hanumant Singh in eastern Nepal. They are usually heavily worn and poorly struck and the I dam in particular shows a wide variation in weight.

Anonymous Issues. c.18th century–1880

Copper coins were often struck in Nepal without a legible inscription. The following ‘ganda’ (4 paisa) is clearly die-struck, but as only traces of the impression appear on each specimen, several pieces had to be examined before the full design could be pieced together. It is slightly magnetic, and hence may have been struck in eastern Nepal:

1349. Ganda (4 paisa). Obv. and rev. struck showing traces of the above die, with a stylised, illegible, Arabic inscription.
V, R(39–42 g)

The other coins in this group are normally unstamped, or may show a countermark, probably applied later. Two main groups occur:

Bhutwaliya or Gorakhpuri Paisa

Fine copper, non-magnetic, pieces, usually roughly rectangular in shape, the heavier pieces c. 30 mm × 25 mm, the lighter pieces c. 20mm × 15mm, with the narrow ends slightly rounded. The surface can be either smooth or rough. Mainly exported to India via Butwal, these pieces circulated extensively in the area around Gorakhpur. They were manufactured in the Palpa district, Baglung and Beni area, and perhaps also in other places.

1350. Ganda (4 paisa) Wt. 40–44 g
1351. Dhyak (2 paisa) Wt. 18–22 g
1352. Dhebua (1 paisa) Wt. 8–12 g

Lohiya Paisa or Black Paisa

Copper/iron alloy, usually strongly magnetic and manufactured in many places, mainly in eastern Nepal. Similar in shape to the Bhutwaliya Paisa, these pieces can only be distinguished from the Gorakhpuri Paisa with the aid of a magnet. Because of the iron content, they had a slightly lower value than the pure copper pieces. This type of paisa circulated in Kathmandu and in the east of Nepal and was frequently exported to the Champaran district.

Some examples were analysed in the Calcutta Mint in 1866 at the request of the British Resident in Nepal. Col. G. Ramsay, and were found to be 41.6 per cent copper and 57.6 per cent iron.
COINAGE IN THE NEPALESE HILLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1353</td>
<td>Ganda (4 paisa)</td>
<td>40-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1354</td>
<td>Dhyak (2 paisa)</td>
<td>18-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1355</td>
<td>Dhebua (1 paisa)</td>
<td>8-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other copper pieces, with legends in Nagari, intended for circulation throughout Nepal, were struck at mints in the hills, but these have been included in the main catalogue of coins of the Shah dynasty.

B. NEPALESE COINAGE OUTSIDE THE PRESENT BORDERS OF NEPAL

Apart from the mints established within the borders of present-day Nepal, there were others operated by the Nepalese further west, as follows:

ALMORA

In Spring 1790 that the Gorkha army, under Amar Singh Thapa, advanced to Almora and ousted the ruler, Mahendra Singh. During the next year they consolidated their position and started to advance westwards towards Garhwal, but before they could complete the conquest the main part of the army was forced to return to Kathmandu because of the threat posed by the Chinese leaving only a small garrison in Almora.

The Almora mint opened sometime during the 1970s during the reign of Rana Bahadur, and copper coins with the name of Girvan Yuddha are known dated 1858 VS (AD 1801).

In May 1811 there was an order regarding the minting of copper coins in Almora, and although we have not seen the full text of this order, it apparently also referred to the striking of silver timashas there. The coins struck in Almora at this time are distinguished by having the Paduka, or footprints of Siva. Although most specimens are of copper, a silver piece of the same design does exist, and is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

To begin with, the metrology of the copper coins of Garhwal was similar to the Bahadur Shahi of Nepal, with a Fulus (or paisa) weighing just over 10 g. After the final Nepalese conquest of Garhwal in AD 1804 the weight standard was gradually reduced so that the standard copper coin weighed about 5 g. Presumably this was to correspond with the Garhwal copper taca, and to allow the coins of the Garhwal and Almora to circulate alongside each other.

The single silver coin known to us appears to be struck in a rather base alloy, and weighs 6.1 g, a weight that does not correspond with any standard system of which we are aware. Without further information we cannot be sure what denomination was intended, although we have catalogued it as a silver half rupee.

It is likely that the British closed the Almora mint when they took over the administration of the area after the 1815 war.

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62 A ½ rupee is listed in J. Schulman’s Fixed Price List No. LXVIII (undated, but c. 1915), which is either a smaller denomination of the silver Almora coin, or is the ANS specimen wrongly described.
Rana Bahadur Shah (1777–19)

1356. Fulus.  
**Obv.** 
Sri Maharaja Rana Bahadur Shah Bahadur

**Rev.** 
Fulus, Zarb Almorah

R(11.0*)

1357. Fulus.  
**Obv.** 
Maharaja (Rana) Bahadur Shah.

**Rev.** 
As last.

N(10.5*)

The above two coins must have been struck after the Nepalese conquered Almora about AD 1790. We have called them 'Fulus', as that is written on the coins, although this may not have been the local name for the denomination.

Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah (1799–1816)

1358. Fulus.  
**Obv.** 
Sri Maharaja Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah.

**Rev.** 
Fulus, Zarb Almorah. 1858

N(9.9*)

1359. Fulus.  
**Obv.** 
As last.

**Rev.** 
As last, but bow and arrow in field.

N(*). KW(9.5*). R(7.4)

1360. Fulus.  
**Obv. and rev.** As no. 1358 above, but smaller flan, and legend arranged differently.

KW(7.6*)
The above three coins are dated 1858 vs (AD 1801), and appear to be the earliest issues of Girvan Yuddha in Almora. The last piece shows the beginning of a change in fabric, whereby the size of the copper coins was reduced and the weight reduced to about 5 g. The later series is characterised by the appearance of the ‘Paduka’, or footprints of Vishnu.

1361. Half Rupee?  
**Obv.** Very crude legend, perhaps with traces of ‘Girvan’.
**Rev.** Paduka, with illegible legend around.
ANS(6.1*)

A crude late production, perhaps datable to about AD 1811, when there is documentary evidence of silver coins being struck in Almora. We have not analysed the silver content, but it looks debased. The attribution is purely based on the ‘Paduka’ and cannot be confirmed by findspot, inscription, or any other way.

1362. Taca.  
**Obv.**  
Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah.
**Rev.** Paduka, with legend below ‘Zarb Almorah’ and above ‘Samvat 1866’ in Nagari numerals.
Fw(5.8*)

1363. Taca.  
**Obv.** and **rev.** As last, but smaller flan and cruder script, with no trace of the date legible.
BM(*)

The above pieces, presumably struck in or soon after AD 1809, appear to be the literate prototype of the large series of crude copper coins from Almora. These pieces are only attributable to Almora because of the Paduka, and were probably issued between 1809 and 1815, when Almora was annexed by the British. A selection of these pieces is illustrated and listed below, but many other die varieties do exist.

1364. Taca.  
**Fw(5.4*)  
Rev.** Retrograde date ‘1866’ in Nagari above.
1365.  
**Fw(6.1*)**  
Similar to last.
1366.  
**N(*)**  
**Obv.** Blundered date ‘804’ in Arabic numerals below.

1367.  
**ANS(4.8*)**  
**Obv.** Blundered date ‘18’ below:
**Rev.** Mint ‘Almorah’ above.
1368.  
**ANS(4.8*)**  
**Obv.** Blundered date ‘14’ below:
**Rev.** ‘866’ retrograde above.
1369.  
**ANS(5.3*)**  
As last.
SRINAGAR IN GARH WAL

With so many documents about the mines and mints mentioned above, it is surprising that the only evidence we have found in Nepal itself for the extensive silver coinage struck by the Nepalese in Garhwal are the coins themselves, although there are several accounts of the coins by European visitors.

Silver quarter rupees, locally known as timashas (i.e. coins weighing 3 mashas), were first struck at Srinagar in Garhwal by Fath Shah in the late seventeenth century, but the issue was never plentiful until about 1760, when the blockade of the Kathmandu Valley by Prithvi Narayan caused traders to bring wool from western Tibet down to India through Garhwal rather than through Nepal. For the next twenty years until about 1780, the trade flourished and many silver coins were struck. After 1780 political disturbances in Garhwal caused the wool trade to be routed through Ladakh, where similar silver coins were struck, until 1804. In 1792 the Gorkha army defeated Parduman Shah, the ruler of Garhwal, but was unable to follow up its military success when it was recalled to defend Kathmandu against the Chinese. Parduman Shah signed a treaty acknowledging the suzerainty of Nepal, and agreeing to pay an annual indemnity of Rs. 9,000. During the period between 1780 and 1804 only copper coins were struck in Garhwal, but in 1804 the Nepalese finally annexed Parduman Shah's territories, established a stable rule in Garhwal, encouraged the wool traders to pass through Garhwal once again, and recommenced the striking of silver coins. From then until 1815, when Garhwal passed into British hands after the treaty of Segauli, numerous silver coins were struck and a smaller number of copper pieces. The silver coins, called timashas were nominally equivalent to a quarter rupee, but actually circulated at five to the Furrubhād rupee. Srinagar, the capital of Garhwal, was visited by Capt. F. V. Raper in May 1807, and he left an interesting account of the coinage:

'The principal persons are the agents of the great banking houses at Najibabad and in the Duab who are employed in the sale and exchange of merchandise and coins. They reside here only eight months in the year, quitting the hills and returning to their houses at the commencement of the rainy season. The traffic in silver and specie forms one of the most profitable branches of commerce, and is carried on to a considerable amount. Bullion and coins are imported for the purpose of being converted into Temachas, the currency of the hills; and as a constant coinage of them is kept up at the mint, the supplies are furnished by the Serrafs, who receive a premium, agreeable to the quality

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of the silver, amounting to one and a half or two per cent. on the Furrakhabad or Bareli rupee. The Temacha is a small uneven silver coin, four of which pass for the nominal rupee of the hills, and five for the Furrakhabad or Bareli. Spanish dollars also find their way hither, and are converted into the same currency. The inferior coin is a small pice, ten Tacas of which are equal to one Temacha.\footnote{Capt. F. V. Raper, 'Narrative of a Survey for the Purposes of Discovering the Sources of the Ganges', \textit{Asiatick Researches}, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1810), p. 497.}

The copper tacas mentioned by Capt. Raper weigh about 5 g and a few are known with the name of Girvan Yuddha. These are, however, scarce compared with the number struck by Parduman Shah, just prior to the Gorkha conquest of 1804. Srinagar was also visited by T. Hardwicke in 1796 who mentions that there were two copper mines in Garhwal, at Nagpore and Dhunpore, north-east and north of Srinagar respectively, and a further mine, Dovari, is mentioned on Hamilton's map. Apparently half the copper went to the Raja and the other half to cover the expenses of mining.\footnote{Capt. T. Hardwicke, 'Narrative of a Journey to Srinagar', \textit{Asiatick Researches}, vol. VI (Calcutta, 1799) pp. 309-47.} The Srinagar mint seems to have been closed by the British after the 1815 war.

The coins struck by the Nepalese during their occupation of Garhwal are described below. Since it is rare to find the whole design on any particular specimen, we have illustrated several specimens of many types. The photographs are mounted in the order in which they are listed in the catalogue.

\textit{Shah 'Alam II and Girvan Yuddha (c. 1804–6)}

These pieces were presumably issued between the conquest of Garhwal by the Gorkhas in 1804 and the death of Shah 'Alam in 1806.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{coins.png}
\caption{Illustration of coins from the Nepalese hills.}
\end{figure}

1378. Timasha. \textit{Obv.} 
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
1378
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
{Shah Alam badshah ghazi sikka mubarak. Samvat 55 (?). (Auspicious coin of the victorious Emperor Shah 'Alam).}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
{Maharajah Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah. Zarb Srinagar. Trident at lower left.}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

BM(2.3*). V(2.1*). 2.05

The date is very uncertain, and could be an Arabic '66', or a Nagari '55'. The latter, if short for '1855 vs', would equate with the accession year of Girvan Yuddha, rather than the date of issue, but we can think of no other rational explanation of this apparent date.

1379. Timasha. \textit{Obv.} As last, but no date.
\textit{Rev.} As last, but tiger-knife at lower left.
BM(2.1*). R(2.2*). V(1.85*). 2.1*. 1.95. 2.2). ANS(2.2. 2.1)
1380. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but form of the 'k's in 'Sikka Mubarak' differ. Tiger-knife at lower left.

**Rev.** As last, but ϕ or ψ at lower left.  
R(2.1*), V(2.0*, 1.9, 2.0). KW(*)

1381. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but 'k's revert to previous form, and symbol at lower left not clear.

**Rev.** As last, but date '1181' at lower left.  
R(2.0(2)), V(2.0*, 1.9*, 2.05(2), 2.1)

Although the date is clearly written, we can think of no rational interpretation of it, except to observe that this date is found on some timashas struck about 1767 in the name of Shah 'Alam II, well before the Gorkha conquest.

*Shah Akbar II and Girvan Yuddha (1806–15)*

**Type I—'Akbar Shah' across centre of obverse.**

1382. Timasha.  
**Obv.**  
'Åkbar Shah (star) badshah ghazi sikka mubarak'  

**Rev.**  
'Maharaj Girvan Yddha Bikram Shah Zarb Srinagar', with small flag in 'n' of 'Girvan'.  
R(2.15*). V(1.9, 1.95, 2.1, 2.15)

1383. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but no star. Date (?) '55' (?) at lower left.

**Rev.** As last, but no flag.  
R(2.0*)

1384. Timasha.  
As last, but 'h' of 'Shah' above 'sha', rather than after it on obv., and flower at lower left on rev.  
V(2.05*)
The 'date' on the above two coins may be for Samvat (18)55, the accession year of Girvan Yuddha.

Mule: Obv. Type 1, Rev. Type 3

1385. Timasha. Obv. As last, but date '55' (?), but 'k' of 'Akbar' written differently. Rev. As no. 1388 below. Legend ends 'Sanah 65 (?)' with Arabic numerals. BM(2.1*)

This piece, reading 'Akbar Shah' on both sides is clearly a mule between the two types, and demonstrates that the 'Akbar Shah' inscription was transferred from obverse to reverse at this time. As we have only seen a single specimen, we assume the combination was unintentional. The reading of the date is very uncertain, but could equate to 1808 AD.

Type 2—Obv. Type 3, Rev. Type 1

1386. Timasha. Obv. As no. 1388 below, with tiger-knife at lower left. 'Gir' of 'Girvan' at end of top line. Rev. Same die as no. 1384 above, showing flower at lower left. 'Gir' of 'Girvan' at beginning of second line. R(2.2*, 2.0*, 2.0), V(2.05, 1.95(2), 1.9(4)*, 1.85, 1.8)

This apparent mule, with the 'Girvan Yuddha' legend on both sides, is one of the more common varieties, and hence we assume that it was struck intentionally, to demonstrate that Girvan Yuddha owed no allegiance to the Moghul emperor. However, for some reason, the name of Akbar was soon reinstated on the coins, but on the reverse.

1387. Timasha. As last, but 'Gir' at end of top line on both obv. and rev. and symbol ψ at obv. lower left. R(2.05*), V(2.05*, 1.95, 1.9)

Type 3—'Shah Akbar' on top line of rev.

1388. Timasha. Obv. As no. 1386 above, with tiger-knife at lower left. No identical die-link found. Rev. As no. 1385, reads 'Shah Akbar' on top line, and legend ends 'Mubarak Sanah 65 (?)' on last line. BM(2.1*, 2.1), R(1.7, 1.9, 2.1), V(1.8, 1.95). ANS(2.1, 2.0)

1389. Timasha. Obv. As last. Rev. As last, but 'Muba' of 'Mubarak' at end of middle line. BM(2.1*, 2.1), V(2.0)

1390. Timasha. Obv. As last. Rev. As last, but legend ends 'Sanah (a)hd' R(2.1*), V(1.95, 2.0(2), 2.05), ANS(1.9)

1391. Timasha. Obv. As last. Rev. Top line starts 'Akbar Shah' and last line ends 'Sanah ahd'. R(2.0*)
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1392. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but tiger-knife points downwards instead of upwards.  
**Rev.** As last.  
BM(2.2(2), 2.1), R(1.7, 2.0, 2.1*), V(1.8*, 1.9(2)**, 1.95, 2.05(2), 2.1), ANS(2.1(3), 2.0, 1.9(2))

1393. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last.  
**Rev.** As last, but ‘Muba’ of ‘Mubarak’ above the ‘rak’ on right hand side, and reads ‘(a)hd’.  
BM(2.0*)

1394. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but symbol † in centre, perhaps a short blade sword.  
**Rev.** Top line reads ‘Shah Akbar’ and legend ends ‘(a)hd’.  
R(1.95*)

The date ‘Sanah ahd’ (first year) is difficult to explain. If taken at face value, these types should belong to the first year of Akbar II, or AD 1806. However, on the grounds of the development of the obverse design, the coins of Type 1 (nos. 1382-4) appear to come first. Also, the sword-like symbol on no. 1394 links directly with no. 1395 below, which is clearly dated (18)67 VS (AD 1810). Hence, in spite of the apparently clear date, we believe that those pieces reading ‘Sanah ahd’ were struck until about AD 1809, rather than in AD 1806.

Type 4—Clear date in reverse centre

(a) Date (18)67VS = AD 1810

1395. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but sword has slightly longer blade. ‘Gir’ of ‘Girvan’ on top line, and sword placed after ‘Ju’ of ‘Judha’.  
R(1.95*), V(1.9, 2.05), 2.1

1396. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but ‘Gir’ on second line and sword before ‘Ju’.  
**Rev.** As last.  
BM(*), V(1.95), ANS(2.2)

1397. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but ‘Gir’ on top line, and sword before ‘Ju’.  
**Rev.** ‘bad’ of ‘badshah’ on second line and ‘sanah’ stretches right across field.  
V(1.8, 2.0*)
COINAGE IN THE NEPALESE HILLS

1398. Timasha.  
**Obv.** 'Gir' on second line, sword as last.  
**Rev.** 'bad' of 'badshah' on top line but 'sanah' again across field.  
R(2.2*), V(1.95*, 2.0)

(b) Date (18)68 vs = AD 1811

1399. Timasha.  
**Obv.** 'Gir' of 'Girban' on top line. Sword breaking wreath of dots, after 'Ju' of 'Judha'.  
**Rev.** 'Shah Akbar bad' on top line. Date '68' in Nagari numerals in centre.  
BM(2.1*), V(1.9, 2.1)

1400. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but sword within wreath of dots.  
**Rev.** 'Akbar Shah bad' on top line. Date as last.  
R(1.9, 2.05, 2.1*(2)), BM(2.1*), V(1.85, 1.9, 1.95(3), 2.05(3)). ANS(2.2, 2.1, 2.0).

(c) Date (18)69 vs = AD 1812

1401. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, but no sword.  
**Rev.** Date '69' in Nagari numerals in dotted semicircle in centre.  
BM(2.05*). R(1.9, 2.0(2), 2.05). V(1.9, 2.0, 2.05)

1402. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last.  
**Rev.** As last, but date in semicircle not dotted.  
R(2.0*). V(2.0, 2.05)

(d) Date (18)70 vs = AD 1813

1403. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last.  
**Rev.** As last, with date '70' in Nagari numerals in dotted semicircle.  
BM(*). R(2.1). V(1.9(2), 1.95, 2.05(2))

1404. Timasha.  
**Obv.** As last, slightly crude style.  
**Rev.** As last, but date is a retrograde Nagari '7' in dotted semicircle.  
V(1.9*)

This last piece is probably a die-engraver's error, rather than a contemporary forgery, as the weight and alloy appear to be good.
Copper Coins Struck by Girvan Yuddha

1405. Taca. 
**Obv.**  
‘Sri Maharajah Girban Judha Bikram Shah’, in three lines.

**Rev.**  
‘Zarb Sahar Srinagar, Sambat 1824?’. Perhaps a tiger-knife below pointing left below.

1406. Taca. 
**Obv.** As last, but legend in two lines.

**Rev.** As last, but tiger-knife clearly visible. Date not clear, but seems to read 1824?

1407. Taca. 
**Obv.** Much as last, but legend shorter, omitting ‘Sri’ and differently arranged.

**Rev.** As last, date illegible, but tiger-knife points right.

1408. Taca. 
**Obv.** As last, but legend reads from bottom upwards.

**Rev.** As last, but date clear and appears to read ‘1823’ (?for 1873).

The last piece is the only Nepalese copper coin of Garhwal that we have found with a clear date. At first sight it appears to read 1823 or 1843, but neither of these makes sense. 1873 vs. corresponding to AD 1815, the final year of the Nepalese occupation of Garhwal, is the most likely possibility, but this reading must be regarded as tentative. If correct, the copper tacas were struck after the issue of timashas ceased in AD 1813, but other specimens need to be examined before this can be proved.

NAHAN IN SIRMUR

Although Rana Bahadur made a settlement with the Raja of Sirmur after the latter was defeated while helping Parduman Shah of Garhwal in 1792, it was only about 1806 that the Nepalese armies reached Sirmur, at the western limit of their territorial expansion. It was not until 1812, however, that copper coins of two denominations were struck at Nahan. These pieces were of very fine style, far better struck than any of the other Nepalese provincial copper coins. No records have been published

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66 C. J. Rodgers. *PASB* 1897, pp. 84-6.
regarding this mint, so the coins are the only evidence we have of its operation
and prior to this no coins are known to have been struck in Sirmur.

With an average of over 17 g, a totally different weight standard was used for
these pieces than had been used by the Nepalese further east. Although we have
called the coin a 'paisa', we have no evidence of its local name. It is possible, how-
ever, as suggested by Rodgers, that this coin was intended to circulate alongside
the dams of Akbar, which were still circulating in the area.67

After the war in 1815 the British annexed the state from the Nepalese and installed
Fath Shah as Raja. In 1820 Fath Shah struck a similar copper coin, although of
less fine style, but after that the Nahan mint ceased striking coins.

The following coins were struck by the Nepalese in Sirmur:

_Girvan Yuddha (1806–15)_

1409. Paisa. Obv. سری مهاراجہ جلبر پان حروده شاه بکرم بہادر
Sri Maharajah Girban Judah Shah Bikram Bahadur
Rev. 1227
Zarb Nahan, Sambat 69 (in Nagari numerals below), 1227 (AH
date in Arabic numerals) with Katar to right pointing upwards.
R(17.3*), Fw(17.5), N(*), BM(17.1)

1410. Half Paisa. Obv. and Rev. as last, but flan half the weight.
BM(8.7*)

These coins are rather scarce, and show little variation in design. They are all dated to AD 1812,
and it is likely that their issue did not extend beyond this one year.

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67 Although the dam of Akbar weighed nearly 20 g, the specimens circulating in the early nineteenth century
must have lost some weight after more than two hun-
dred years of use.
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER V

1. AMANAT REGULATIONS ISSUED IN THE NAME OF SUBEDAR RAMAJIT BHANDARI AND DITTHA BALABHADRA PADHYA ON BAISAKH BADI 10, 1869 (APRIL 1812)

1. Copper mined in the Chepe/Marsyandi-Bheri region has been brought under a monopoly (ekahatti). Procure supplies of copper at the mints of Pokhara, Baglung-Chaur and Beni and mint coins of the denominations of 2 paisa, 2 dam and 1 dam. Transmit the coins to the Tosakhana. Do not let surplus copper be smuggled to the south.

2. Purchase copper brought for sale at the mints by traders at reasonable prices and make payments in rupees. If they request that their copper be minted into coins, do so on their behalf, and collect fees at the customary rates depending on whether they have brought copper in the form of ingots or discs.

3. If the traders have brought discs of pure copper, stamp such discs in the form of coins. Punish them if the copper is mixed alloy. If they have brought ingots of pure copper, make payments to them at current prices, mint the copper into coins, and credit the income to the accounts.

4. In case agris, mahars, traders or other persons, smuggle copper to the south in contravention of the monopoly, confiscate their copper and hand it over to the mints. Punish the guilty persons according to the nature of their offence.

5. In case the funds placed at your disposal prove insufficient for the purchase of copper produced in this region, issue licenses to traders permitting them to purchase copper from agris and mahars. Procure such supplies for the mints, mint it into coins on payment of the prescribed fees, and hand over the coins to the traders. If the traders do not bring their copper to the mints, but sell it elsewhere, confiscate it and supply it to the mints. Punish the guilty persons and credit the fines collected from them to the accounts.

6. In case old creditors demand repayment of their loans from agris, do not let this hamper work. Make enquiries, and arrange for repayment in instalments in case the claims prove to be authentic.

7. Punish those persons who exert pressure on agris to sell them copper in contravention of the monopoly, or who do not abide by the terms finalized for the repayment of old loans.

8. Supply copper at current prices to traders for the manufacture of utensils or use inside the Kingdom. Do not let them smuggle such copper to the south. In case they attempt to do so, confiscate the copper and supply it to the mint. Punish the guilty persons and credit the fines collected from them to the accounts.

9. Open up new mines at different places after incurring reasonable expenses. Spend more if the income from such mines can be more than the amount spent. But if expenses are higher than the expected income, do not spend anything.

10. Appoint coppersmiths (banda) in the necessary number to smelt copper, make discs and stamp them into coins. Pay them emoluments at the customary rates.

11. Grant rewards to individuals who work honestly and increase production in mines.
There are six further clauses relating to details of the expenses that may be incurred, duties to be collected, resolving of problems etc.

(Regmi Research Series, 1980, pp. 101-2.)

2. MINING REGULATIONS, 1813

From: King Girvan
To: Hanumat Singh

We hereby promulgate the following regulations for the operation of an Ijara for exploiting copper deposits and minting Paisa coins in the regions between Sanga and the Dudhkosi river, other than mines assigned to (State) markets and the Army. Act faithfully in accordance with these regulations and the Ijara deed:

1. In case any trader smuggles copper, obtain a confession from him, and if he is proved to be guilty of smuggling, confiscate the copper and punish him according to the nature of his offence. The copper brought by him shall be stamped and the customary duties shall be collected thereon.

2. If any trader voluntarily offers to sell his copper, purchase it at reasonable prices. If a mine-worker pilfers copper and sells it elsewhere, confiscate it, and punish him according to the nature of his offence. Do not treat traders and mine-workers unjustly on the ground that you have been granted a monopoly, but conduct transactions in the customary manner.

3. Collect fees from mine-workers at the same rates as previous Ijaradars. Do not inflict injustice on the subjects, and do not oppress them. Confirm those mine-workers who work faithfully for you, and dismiss those who do not do so, and cannot work efficiently.

4. Copper and Paisa coins to be supplied to the royal palace shall be despatched by Hulak. These shall be delivered at the royal palace and receipts obtained thereagainst. Accounts shall be cleared on the basis of these receipts.

5. Metal-workers in mines shall make copper according to the prescribed manner. Any metal-worker who debases the metal shall be punished. Any person who forges dies and makes counterfeit coins shall suffer punishment on his life and property.


7. The metal-workers of Bhadgaun and Patan, who go to the Nagre mines to manufacture dies for minting coins, shall be exempted from Jhara and other forced labour obligations.

Falgun Sudi 10, 1869
(March 1813)

(Translation quoted from M. C. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768–1846 (New Delhi, 1971), p. 219. Similar regulations were again issued in AD 1836, cf. RRS, 1975, pp. 159–60.)
CHAPTER VI

VARIA

A. THE USE OF NEPALESE COINS IN TIBET

1. THE MALLA PERIOD

Silver coins were first struck in quantity in Nepal from the early seventeenth century. Such silver coins reached Tibet by way of trade since Tibet always tended to have a balance of payments surplus with India, her exports of wool, musk, salt, and yaks' tails exceeding imports of grain and cloth. Silver coins from India made up the difference and these were brought up to Nepal by traders who were forced by the Nepalese Government to have them struck into Nepalese coins. The traders then used the Nepalese coins to purchase goods from Tibet.

In Tibet, coins of certain designs were more popular than others. Particularly popular types were:

(i) Copies of the tanka of Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah of Bengal, with the Arabic script upside down. Perhaps the design was thought by the Tibetans to be an inscription in Tibetan seal script or a view of the Potala.¹

(ii) Coins with eight separated petals on the reverse, particularly those containing the eight Buddhist lucky emblems.

A few of the early tanka-standard coins may have reached Tibet, but the bulk of the Malla coins sent there were of the mohar-standard, struck after AD 1640.

In Tibet, the weight of these mohars fitted well into the Chinese system for weighing silver that was used there. The following terms were used by the Tibetans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Srang</th>
<th>= 10 Sho</th>
<th>= 1 Chinese Liang, c.37 g</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sho</td>
<td>= 10 sKar</td>
<td>= 1 Chinese Ch’ien, c.3.7 g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nepalese mohars weighed about 5.4 g, or only slightly less than 15 sKar, and they circulated at that value without the tiresome necessity of weighing the silver at each transaction. When making any purchase with Chinese silver ingots, each piece had to be weighed as the ingots were not of standard sizes. Because of their convenience the Nepalese silver mohars were very popular in Tibet, although the minor denominations, which were binary subdivisions of the mohar and hence did not fit into the Tibetan system of weights, were not favoured.

In this way the Nepalese coins circulated at a value of about 3 per cent over their weight in silver, or about 8 per cent over their intrinsic value, as their fineness

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¹ E. H. C. Walsh, 'The Coinage of Tibet', MASB vol. II, no. 2(1907), p. 16. When he wrote this article, Walsh thought that the seal of the Dalai Lama was the prototype for this Nepalese coin, but by the following year, when he wrote his article on Nepalese coins, he had discovered the true Bengali prototype. Kirkpatrick (op. cit. p. 218) suggested the image of the Potala.
was about 95 per cent. About AD 1720, however, a Chinese army reached Lhasa with an unusually large quantity of silver ingots. Since this supply of silver would have distorted the economy, the Tibetans made an agreement with Mahindra Simha of Kathmandu that the silver could be sent to Nepal and the Nepalese would exchange it on a weight for weight basis for silver coins. The Tibetans paid the cost of secure transport for the silver ingots from Lhasa to Kathmandu and transported the coins back to Lhasa, while the cost of minting was covered by the 5 per cent alloy.

Over the next decade, the Nepalese increased the alloy to about 7.5 per cent and hence increased their profit from the transaction. In the mid-1730s, however, the alloy was increased to 33 per cent, and in the mid-1740s the proportion of alloy was further increased to 50 per cent. The precise arrangement between the Tibetans and the Nepalese at this period has not been recorded, and although the additional alloy may have increased the profit made by the Nepalese, it is possible that the Nepalese began to bear the cost and risk of transport. If this was the case, and there is no other evidence to suggest that it was, an increase in alloy would have been necessary for the transaction to be commercially viable.

Whatever the initial reason for the debasement, the Tibetans soon realised that the coins received were debased. In AD 1751 the Dalai Lama wrote to the Malla kings protesting against the base alloy. From then on the Tibetans did not send silver bullion to Nepal, not only because they objected to the profits made by the Nepalese, but also because there were sufficient Nepalese coins circulating in Tibet, and with a reduced Chinese presence in Lhasa there were fewer Chinese silver ingots reaching Tibet.

In the years around AD 1754 Prithvi Narayan of Gorkha, and perhaps also Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu, tried to continue the coin trade by exchanging silver coins, again 95 per cent fine by this time, for Tibetan gold. After that, however, Prithvi Narayan’s blockade of the Kathmandu Valley effectively ensured that few Malla silver coins reached Tibet.

Over the years, the coins that reached Tibet were of various types. The earliest illustrations of Nepalese coins from a Tibetan source were published in AD 1735. when Du Halde illustrated three Malla coins that had been acquired by European priests in China who, in turn, had obtained them from Tibet. The coins illustrated were:

1. Bhupatindra Malla of Bhatgaon (1696–1722) no. 539.

As Patan did not control any major trade routes to Tibet, its coins were not sent to Tibet in quantity. Kathmandu and Bhatgaon, on the other hand, had control of trade routes to Tibet, and both sent large numbers of coins there. The Mohars of Kathmandu were mainly of the eight-petalled type, and many were sent to Tibet.

3 J. B. du Halde, Description de l'Empire de la Chine (Paris, 1735), vol. 3, p. 168, where the three coins are illustrated and described as 'Thibetan'.
particularly during the first reign of Jaya Prakash Malla (AD 1735–46). Similarly large numbers of coins of Bhatgaon were sent to Tibet during the reign of Ranajit Malla, AD 1722–68, although it is likely that few, if any, were sent there after AD 1753. The Bhatgaon coin was particularly common in Tibet, where it became known as ‘Nag-tang’, or ‘Black Tangka’, because the alloy was so bad that it became black with use.

2. THE SHAH PERIOD

After his conquest of the Valley, Prithvi Narayan (AD 1768–75) sent few coins from Nepal to Tibet because of a dispute that developed between the two countries. Prithvi Narayan refused to accept the debased Malla coins as being equal in value to his own fine silver coins, while the Tibetans demanded that as they had exchanged them for fine silver bullion in good faith, the Nepalese should accept the coins at face value. By AD 1775 the lack of supply of new coins had changed the value of the old ones in Tibet. Far from falling in value because of the alloy, they had actually increased in value. George Bogle, who was in Shigatse in the early part of AD 1775, noted that a srang of silver exchanged for as few as 6 of the Nepalese coins, compared with the traditional rate of 6½, and that during his stay the value of the Nepalese coins was daily rising. In order to satisfy the demand an agreement was reached whereby Nepal supplied Tibet with about 1.5 million coins over the next two years, debased to 67 per cent silver, i.e. a similar standard to the debased coins of Jaya Prakash Malla. The coins sent to Tibet were of a special design with the petals separated on the reverse.

This influx of coins to Tibet satisfied demand such that by AD 1784 nine coins could be exchanged against one srang of silver, and hence the debased Nepalese coins now circulated at a value close to their silver content.

The dispute between Nepal and Tibet was still not resolved and between AD 1788–92 a war was fought over the issue. It was in AD 1791 that a mint was established in Lhasa and from then on Tibet struck its own coins, and ceased to depend on Nepal for a supply.

Although the old Nepalese coins continued to circulate in Tibet during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the newer Nepalese coins, i.e. those struck after AD 1777, were not widely used. Some subsequent efforts were made by the Nepalese to mint coins for Tibet but they were not successful, presumably because any that did enter circulation would have been selectively attracted to the melting-pot because of their finer alloy.

6 The number of coins supplied is given in a manuscript note by Brian Hodgson in the India Office Library.
8 M. C. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768–1846 (New Delhi, 1971), p. 160, where three documents are referred to, but not quoted in full:
   a. Order Regarding Minting of Coins for Circulating in Tibet, Falgun Sudi 3, 1863 vs (Feb. AD 1807)
   b. Order Regarding Minting of Coins for religious functions in Tibet, Bhadra Badi 3, 1864 vs (Aug. AD 1807)
   c. Order to Taksari Gajadal Pande to Mint Coins for Circulation in Tibet, Aswin Sudi 15, 1872 vs (Oct. AD 1815)
3. NEPALESE COINS CUT FOR USE IN TIBET

The Nepalese mohar circulated at a value of 15 skar-ma in Tibet. In order to provide small change, a system of cutting the coins was developed, which produced fractions of \( \frac{3}{4} \), \( \frac{1}{2} \) and \( \frac{1}{4} \) mohar, or 10, 7.5 and 5 karma, fractions the Tibetans could understand.

The coins that were most conveniently cut were those with eight petals on the reverse and these pieces were colloquially called 'cho-tang', or 'cutting coin' by the Tibetans. If the coins were cut with a straight line leaving five petals on one part, and three petals on the other, the coin was divided by weight almost exactly in the ratio 2:1, so that the piece with five petals was worth one sho and the piece with three petals was worth five karma. Similarly the coin could be cut in half by a straight cut so that a piece with four petals was worth 7.5 karma.

Counting the number of petals became the way of determining the denomination of the cut piece. During the late nineteenth or early twentieth century it became the practice for blacksmiths, when asked to cut a coin for small change, to remove and retain the centre (or some other part of the design that did not interfere with the petals) as his payment. In that way the customer did not lose, as his two pieces were worth as much as the whole coin. This idea of getting something for nothing must have appealed to the Tibetans and gradually the blacksmiths, or indeed anyone who could cut coins, became more and more greedy, until the fractional coins were little more than a thin horseshoe-shaped piece of silver. However, a piece with five petals still circulated at a value of 1 sho and a substantial amount of silver could be acquired for 'nothing'.

The coins most commonly cut were the mohar of Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu dated NS 856 (AD 1736) (nos. 327-9) and the debased silver mohars of Pratap Simha Saha dated 1697-9 S (AD 1775-7) (nos. 640/2/4). The coins listed and illustrated are typical examples of Nepalese coins cut in Tibet for use as small change:

1. Jaya Prakash Malla
   1411. 5 Petals - Cut with straight line.
   1412. — also trimmed round edge.
   1413. — centre also cut out.
   1414. 4 Petals - Cut with straight line and edge trimmed.
   1415. — centre also cut out.
   1416. 3 Petals - Cut with straight line.
   1417. — also trimmed round edge.

2. Pratap Simha Saha

1418. 5 Petals - Cut with straight line.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

1419. — corner also cut off.
1420. — edge trimmed.
1421. — centre cut out.

1422. 4 Petals — Cut with straight line.

1423. — centre cut out and edge trimmed.
1424. — each petal trimmed round to remove maximum silver.

1425. 3 Petals — Cut with straight line.
1426. — edge trimmed.

Other cut pieces do exist, but are rather rarer. We have noted mohars of Jyoti Prakash Malla of Kathmandu dated NS 866, and a few other types of Nepalese and Tibetan coins. Walsh\(^9\) mentions a cut 1/6th tangka and a 1/12th tangka but we have never seen such fractions.

B. FORGERIES

1. EARLY FORGERIES

Contemporary forgeries can be found of most series, and Nepal is no exception. We illustrate a few typical examples here, but it may be noted that while early forgeries of Malla coins are rarely found, copies of mohars of the Shah dynasty are very common, particularly of nineteenth century issues. While most of the pieces listed here were fraudulently made to circulate as coin, a few may have been made by jewellers purely to hang on necklaces, with no intention to deceive.

F1. A contemporary forgery of a mohar of Pratap Malla of Kathmandu. no. 260. G(*).
F2. An illiterate forgery, possibly modern, of the Chakravartendra Malla mohar of Kathmandu. no. 264. N(*).
F3. A contemporary forgery of a mohar of Mahindra Simha of Kathmandu. no. 303. G(*).
F4. A cruder forgery of the same piece. no. 303. Sm(*).
F5. A plated forgery of the suki of Bhaskara Malla. no. 300. This piece was formally in the collection of Murtiman Sakya of Patan, and the slightly illiterate legend was read as ‘Ratan Malla’ by Satya Mohan Joshi. As a result it was published by him as a coin of an unknown king.\(^{10}\) R(1.21*).

\(^9\) E. H. C. Walsh, 'The Coinage of Tibet', op. cit., p. 12. The coin illustrated as a 5th tangka is a 3rd tangka, severely cut down, but with three petals clearly visible; it can be confirmed that Walsh illustrated the obverse twice, in error, omitting the reverse with the petals, as the actual specimen is now in the Rhodes collection.

\(^{10}\) S. M. Joshi, op. cit. (1957), p. 139.
F6 & F7. Contemporary forgeries of the mohar of Jaya Prakash Mallra of Kathmandu, no. 327.11
BM(*, *).
F8. Contemporary forgery of the mohar of Siddhi Narasimha of Patan, no. 374. G(*).
F11. Forgery of mohar of Ranajit Mallra of Bhatgaon, no. 564, with uncharacteristically crude lettering.
F12. A forgery of a mohar of Rajendra Vikram Shah, dated 1751 n.s. This piece is of very fine style, but is clearly of rather base alloy, and is only confirmed as a forgery because of the use of reverse type I.1. ANS(*).
F13. An extremely crude forgery of a Shah mohar with the king’s name illegible. V(5.2*).
F14. A forgery of a copper paisa of Surendra, no. 1089, with rather crude lettering and the date, 1788, retrograde. R(*).
F15. A copper striking of the 2 mohar of Prithvi Vir Vikram dated 1832 n.s. no. 1196. The dies look genuine although we have not found a silver striking from them, so although this piece is probably a forgery, we cannot rule out the possibility of it being a copper trial striking made in the mint. V(9.95*).
F16. Small gold copy of a copper paisa of Surendra Vir Vikram. The lettering is crude, but the gold appears pure. This piece was probably made as jewellery. R(2.14*).

2. MODERN FORGERIES

Most of the following forgeries were made in the 1960s. They were produced in very small numbers for sale (at high prices) to collectors, and show a remarkable degree of numismatic knowledge and imagination. The common feature of M1–M2 and M5–M24 is that the lettering is rather stiff, with lines not varying enough in thickness, when compared with genuine specimens. These pieces were probably made in Patan. M25–M30 were, however, made by a different forger, reputedly located in Bhatgaon.

M1. Siva Simha gold Sivaka, as no. 168. N(*).
M2. Tanka of Mahendra Mallra, as no. 180. R(10.08*). A few specimens of this forgery have been offered to collectors in Nepal at very high prices.
M3. A cast piece, pretending to be a mohar of Mahendra Mallra dated 681 n.s. but similar in style to a mohar of Nripendra or Parthivendra Mallra of Kathmandu. N(*).
M4. An anonymous silver tanka with central design similar to the dam of Shiva Simha, no. 168. Apart from the rather unlikely design, the fabric of this piece is very convincing, and we cannot rule out the possibility of its being genuine. It was acquired from a dealer in Delhi by R. Senior.12 but has apparently never been seen by the major coin dealers in Nepal. R(10.4*).
M5. A mohar of Chakravartendra Mallra with only one arrow on the left side of the obverse. N(*).
M6. A mohar of Tej Narasimha of Patan, no. 511. Bons(*)
M7. A mohar of the rare coronation type Jitamitra Mallra of Bhatgaon, no. 523. This differs from the genuine piece in the placement of dots on the obverse, as well as in the calligraphy. R(5.26*).
M8–12. Dams, known in both gold and silver, of:

Jaya Pra(kash Mallra) of Kathmandu
Siddhi (Narasimha) of Patan
Riddhi Nara(simha) (?) of Patan

ANS(*)
ANS(*)
ANS(*)

11 W. Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia* (London. 1825), pt II, nos. MCXI–II., pp. 757–8. These two coins were also illustrated by Walsh, op. cit. (1908), pl. IV, nos. 3–4.
Sri Vira Yo(ga Narendra) of Patan
Sri Girvan (Yuddha Shah).

ANS(*)

M13. Silver suki of Nripendra Malla of Kathmandu, as no. 270. Bons(*).

M14. Gold suki of Mahinda Simha dated 835 NS. As the suki no. 307. V(1.3*).

M15. Gold suki of Jagajyaya Malla dated 842 NS. As the suki no. 320. V(1.3*).

M16. Gold suki of Jaya Lakshmi Devi, 866 NS. As the suki no. 349. V(1.4*).

M17. Gold half mohar of Yoga Narendra Malla, 808 NS. This is a design very similar to the rare suki no. 408. V(2.5*).


M19. Gold suki of Jaya Vishnu Malla, 849 NS. As the suki no. 472. V(1.45*).

M20. Gold suki of Rajya Prakash Malla, 865 NS. As the suki no. 492. V(1.35*).

M21. Gold ani of Ranajit Malla of Bhatgaon. As the ani no. 476. V(0.75*).

M22. Gold suki of Rana Bahadur Shah, 1712 S. As the suki no. 713. V(1.35), R(1.31*).

M23. Gold suki of Rajendra dated 1757 S, with design of the half mohar. V(1.3*).

M24. Gold duitole asarphi of Surendra Vikram Shah, dated 1801 S. V(23.o*).

M25. Gold suki of Siddhi Narasimha of Patan, as suki no. 375. A leather piece, black in colour and about 2 mm thick is known struck from the same dies. V(*).

M26. A clay piece, as last, but made with different dies. V(*).

M27. False clay hexagonal token. The obverse is a new, false, die reading ‘Śri Indrani’, while the reverse uses the reverse die of the suki of Siddhi Narasimha of Patan, no. 375. This is one of a series of similar forgeries that were made in Bhatgaon in the 1960s in large numbers for sale to tourists, of which M28-M30 below are other examples. They usually have a coin design on one or both sides, and often have symbols or a crude inscription on the edge. The clay is usually of fine quality, being very smooth.

M28. False clay token made from the centre of a mohar of Bhaskara Malla, no. 293. V(*)

M29. False clay token made from the centres of the reverses of two different mohars, nos. 341 and 471 or similar pieces. V(*).

M30. False clay token made from a suki of Raja Rajesvari Devi dated 1716 S, no. 715.

M31. Silver bracteate of Rajendra—very crude. W(0.27*).

M32. Cut square centre from a mohar of Pratap Simha, welded to another similar cut piece to make an apparently square coin. The weight (4.1 g) does not tally with any rational fraction of a mohar. (Only one side illustrated) V(*).

C. TOKENS, AMULETS AND SIMILAR OBJECTS

T1. Mohar of Jagajyaya Malla of Kathmandu with a bow and arrow skillfully engraved on the obverse. V(*).

T2. As last, but a mohar of Ranajit Malla of Bhatgaon. N(*).

These pieces, and other similar Nepalese coins altered in this way, were used as lucky talismans in Tibet. It was believed that the owner of such a piece would be blessed with a boy child. They were regarded as very valuable as few were made.\textsuperscript{14}

T3. \textit{Obv.} Legend ‘Śri Śri Bhāvānī’ around trisul in centre. Legend below trisul illegible.

\textit{Rev.} Legend ‘Śrī 3 Bhāvānī’ around sword with wreath, similar to the centre of a nineteenth century mohar. N(1.23*).

\textsuperscript{13} A similar piece, wt. 2.23 g, cut from the centre of a mohar of Girvan Yuddha, and with no second \textit{obv.} welded onto the \textit{rev.}, is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. cf. V. Smith, op. cit., vol. I, p. 291, and pl. XXVIII, 11.

\textsuperscript{14} Coin altered in this way were called ‘Da-shu-ma Kem-pa’ by the Tibetans. They were highly valued, and Sir Charles Bell, in a manuscript note dated 1937, that his Tibetan friend Palhuse, in 1934, was unable to obtain a specimen, even though he offered Rs. 150.
This intriguing anonymous copper piece may be an early official dam or a token of some sort.

T4. **Obv.** Legend in nine double squares, 'Śri Surendra Vikrāma Sāha'.

**Rev.** Sword with wreath in double square. Illegible legend outside. **R**(9.0*).

We have no idea what this copper piece was used for. It may be an early pattern for the copper coinage, but that seems unlikely, as the two specimens we have seen are both well circulated.

T5. Brass token made in the official mint using a reverse die of a mohar of Prithvi Vir Vikram type 3 (1807–10 S = AD 1885–8). The other side was blank but has had the letters ‘Ka Hi’ engraved on it. Other similar pieces are known with the letters ‘Ka Ra’, ‘Van A’, ‘Sa Ra’ and ‘Si Bha’. No sensible meaning has been read into these letters but the suggestion has been made that they were ‘door passes’ to official buildings, the letters being some form of cryptic numbering system.

**R**(4.25*).

T6. Brass token, made in the official mint, using the obverse die of an 1824 S (= AD 1902) mohar, with central piercing, and on the reverse the denomination ‘16 paisa’. **R**(3.23*).

T7. As last but number ‘492’ engraved in rev. field. Other specimens with different engraved numbers are known. **R**(3.34*).

T8. Iron token, as last but obverse die of the rare 1824 S half mohar, no. 1240 and the reverse reads ‘14 paisa’. **R**(1.57*).

T9. As last but denomination reads ‘12 paisa’. **R**(1.58*).

The suggestion has been made that these pieces were struck as token to provide a day’s pay to different classes of labourer engaged on the building of the royal palace in AD 1902. They were not popular and were not used for long.

T10. Round clay piece with sword or mace under wreath within hexagon on one side and design with four petals on rev. Obscure legend ‘Śri Matha Sim Kha siya (?)’ in Newari script around edge. This piece was published by P. Landon, but his dating to AD 1761 was very tentative and is very doubtful. We can, however, offer no alternative attribution. **R**(*).

T11. Clay uniface token with design of sword within wreath. Around edge, the inscription ‘Sarīvat 938’ (AD 1818) written retrograde. **R**(1.4*).

T12. As last, but with retrograde letter ‘Śri’ on reverse. **R**(1.1*).

T13. Cut half of last, possibly cut in modern times to determine the composition. **R**(0.7*).

The sword with wreath is a symbol of royalty so we assume that these dated tokens must have had some official function. The following extract from a stone inscription in Bhatgaon dated AD 1683 shows how such tokens could have been used, although we have no reason to believe that these particular tokens were used in this way:

‘The overseers of the water-course do not give water fairly to the people, therefore the following arrangement is being made. At the time of planting rice the people are to make a watercourse, and everyone going to work at this, after doing a day’s work, must come and get a certain royal token (to entitle him to a share of the water). He who cannot produce this token shall be fined 3 dams, but not more than that amount’.

T14. Round clay piece reading ‘Śri Ba Ma Da’ (?) with central sword on obv. and rev. legend starts ‘Śri Bhima’. An edge inscription may include a date ‘Sam 9 . . . (?)’. **R**(1.1*).

Several varieties of these poorly produced tokens are known, but few are clearly legible. On some, the edge has been read as ‘Boudha Samvat’ with a year such as ‘928’. It is possible that the inscription refers to the Prime Minister Bhim Sen Thapa who ruled from AD 1804–37, and hence at the time of the issue of these pieces if the date is in the normal Nepal Samvat (928 NS = AD 1808), but this is far from certain. An alternative is that it refers to the mythical hero of the Mahabarata who, according to local tradition, came to Nepal from Dolakha and sailed on the lake which then filled the Valley, in a stone boat.

---

15 We have seen a similar piece in Nepal with the central hole not punched out.


18 D. Wright, op. cit. (1877), p. 192.

19 P. Landon, op. cit. (1928), vol. II, p. 328. Illustrated some similar pieces, but misread the inscription as ‘Śri Hita Malla’—they actually read ‘Śri Bhima . . .’.
T15. Uniface copper plaque with sword under wreath and inscription ‘Śri 3 Rājendra Vikrāma Sāha 1873’. This type of plaque was fixed to copper vessels to guarantee that their capacity had been officially tested. They are sometimes found removed from the vessels, masquerading as rare coins or tokens. The date corresponds to the coronation year in the Vikram Samvat era, and indeed they are always dated to the coronation year of the king.\(^{20}\) V(4.5\*).

T16. As last, but of Surendra Vikram Shah, dated 1904 vs, with the symbol of a tiger-knife under a wreath. R(*).

T17. As last, but symbol of sword with wreath. V(6.9\*).

T18. Irregular copper flan, showing the impression of a Mohar of Surendra dated 1769 s. Perhaps a test striking of the die. V(*).

T19–24. Tiny gold charms. These tiny gold pieces, similar in fabric and weight to gold dams, have religious inscriptions or designs. We illustrate only a small selection here\(^{21}\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T19</td>
<td>‘Śrī Kumārī’</td>
<td>R(0.044*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T20</td>
<td>‘Gujyesvāri’</td>
<td>R(0.033*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T21</td>
<td>‘Lokaṇātha’</td>
<td>R(0.021*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T22</td>
<td>Temple, with inscription ‘Chaitra’ across field.</td>
<td>R(0.036*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T23</td>
<td>‘Śrī’ within circle.</td>
<td>R(0.019*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T24</td>
<td>Moon and sun symbol.</td>
<td>R(0.042*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T25. Apart from tokens in metal and clay, there are persistent rumours in Nepal that leather tokens exist. Landon\(^{22}\) refers to some round leather pieces with triangular holes, but we have never seen them. One thin round leather object with a faint sword with wreath, flanked by a crescent and dot each side and traces of an inscription stamped on one side is in the Valdettaro collection. Although we cannot vouch for its authenticity or usage, it looks older than the thick false leather pieces noted under M25 above. The object is illustrated below:

\[^{20}\text{It may be noted that the practice of officially certifying the capacity of vessels dates back to Lichhavi times.}\]

\[^{21}\text{Other types are illustrated by M. Mitchiner, } Non-\]

\[^{22}\text{P. Landon, op. cit. (1928), vol. II, p. 329.}\]
Lichhavi clay pot in the National Museum of Nepal showing the impression of the obverse die of a coin of Pashupati type G2b, with bull facing r. and crescent above presumably to certify the capacity.
1. NUMERALS APPEARING ON MALLA AND SHAH COINS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malla</th>
<th>Shah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. THE DENOMINATIONS USED BY THE MALLA AND SHAH KINGS

The various denominations of coin used in Nepal during the Shah and Malla periods were as follows:

GOLD

The gold coins are particularly interesting as three distinct standards were used:

1. THE 'MOHAR' STANDARD

Weight similar to the silver Mohar. This standard was used for all gold coins prior to AD 1847 and for small gold coins until about AD 1920:

1 Read incorrectly by Walsh as ‘5’.
2 Originally read incorrectly by Walsh as ‘6’, but corrected to ‘5’ in his supplementary note in JRAS 1908.
3 Read incorrectly by Walsh as ‘7’.

P. 1134.
### APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin Type</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Mohar</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>$2.11$ g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Majhawala</td>
<td>Half Mohar</td>
<td>$2.55$ g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suki</td>
<td>Ani</td>
<td>$2.37$ g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhani</td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>$0.685$ g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paisa</td>
<td>Do-Dam</td>
<td>$0.085$ g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>Jawa</td>
<td>$0.042$ g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word 'asarphi' is often used as the general word for a 'gold coin'. Hence, the denomination we have called 'Suki' would generally be called 'Suki Asarphi' in normal speech. ‘Patla’ means ‘thin’ and ‘majhawala’ means ‘middle’. In addition, a few coins were struck during Girvan Yuddha’s reign weighing 1.5 mohars.

### 2. THE ‘BAKLA ASARPHI’ STANDARD

Used from AD 1847 onwards, this standard was used for the coin weighing $12.35$ g, and a few multiples and fractions, as follows:

- Double Bakla Asarphi = $24.7$ g
- Bakla Asarphi = $12.35$ g
- Half Bakla Asarphi = $6.17$ g

The origin of this weight standard is uncertain, but may have been based on a traditional Nepalese tola weight, which must have been slightly heavier than the Moghul tola that averaged about $12.02$ g. Since the tola was originally based on the weight of 96 rati seeds, it varied from place to place, according to the fertility of the soil and the amount of rain, and hence the average size of seed. With the fertility of the valley, it would not be surprising to find that the Nepalese tola was rather heavier than average.

### 3. THE ‘TOLA ASARPHI’ STANDARD

Used from AD 1847 for certain large gold coins weighing $11.55$ g and multiples thereof as follows:

- Duitole Asarphi = $23.1$ g
- Ektola Asarphi = $11.55$ g

The name of this standard, as given by Walsh, shows that it was based on a tola of some sort, most probably the British Indian tola of 180 grains ($11.66$ g), less a one per cent charge for minting. The British Indian tola was standardised in AD 1833, and was based on an average of many traditional Indian tola weights that had been sent to London for examination.

---

1. E. H. C. Walsh, op. cit. (1908), is rather confused over the terms ‘Suki’ and ‘Siki’, which on p. 26 he regards as equivalent to half a Mohar, while on p. 47 he says that ‘Suka Asarphi’ = 2 ‘Suki Asarphi’ = ‘Half Gold Mohar. All other sources refer to the Suki as a Quarter Mohar but the terms ‘Suka’ and ‘Siki’ are rarely referred to and then are probably alternative spellings of ‘Suki’. We therefore believe that Walsh may have been wrong to regard the suki as a half mohar. In recent years the suki was sometimes known as a ‘Tinanni’ (i.e. 3 Annas), or 12 Paisa – i.e. $12\frac{1}{2}$ Paisa on the Standard of 100 Paisa = 1 Rupee, rounded down for practical use.

2. The term ‘Asarphi’ or ‘Ashrafi’ was used by the Moghuls in India, and is derived from the Arabic word ‘Ashraf’ meaning ‘noble’. More particularly it was originally applied to the Egyptian gold coin, struck in quantity by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt, El-Ashraf Barsabay (AD 1422-38) and El-Ashraf Kait-Bey (AD 1468-95); cf. S. H. Hodivala, Historical Studies in Moghul Numismatics (Bombay, 1923), p. 245.


SILVER

Three standards were used; the ‘tanka’ standard until C.AD 1640, based on a tanka weighing about 10.25 g; the ‘mohar’ standard after C.AD 1640, based on a mohar of c.5.4 g; and during the period AD 1803–5, silver coins were struck to a special standard, weighing fifty per cent more than the mohar.

1. THE ‘TANKA’ STANDARD

The coins struck on the tanka standard were:

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{Tanka} \\
\frac{1}{4} & \text{Tanka} \\
\frac{1}{2} & \text{Tanka} = 4 \text{ Dam} \\
\text{Dam} & = 4 \text{ Jawa} \\
\text{Jawa} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The dams on the tanka standard weigh between 0.15 g and 0.04 g, so more than one denomination may have been intended.

2. THE ‘MOHAR’ STANDARD

Used for all silver coins after AD 1640 until the present century.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Double Rupee} & = 4 \text{ Mohar} \\
1 & \text{Rupee or Double Mohar} = 2 \text{ Mohar} \\
1 & \text{Mohar} = 4 \text{ Suki} \\
1 & \text{Suki} = 2 \text{ Ani} \\
1 & \text{Ani} = 2 \text{ Adhani} \\
1 & \text{Adhani} = 2 \text{ Paisa} \\
1 & \text{Paisa or Paisa Mohar} = 4 \text{ Dam} \\
1 & \text{Dam} = 4 \text{ Jawa} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The jawa was struck as a coin only during the Malla dynasty, and the double rupee was only struck late in the Shah dynasty. We do not believe that the terms rupee, ani, adhani or paisa were used during the Malla period, but for consistency we have used these terms in the catalogue for both Malla and Shah coins. The rupee, ani (or anna) and adhani (literally half anna) were names imported from India, as was the paisa, normally used for the copper coin equal in value to the silver paisa on the 16 ganda to the rupee standard.

3. SPECIAL STANDARD OF AD 1803–5

These silver coins, weighing fifty per cent more than normal mohar-standard pieces, are found during the years 1725–7 S (AD 1803–5).

\[
\begin{align*}
3 & \text{ Mohar} \\
\frac{3}{4} & \text{ Mohar} \\
\frac{3}{4} & \text{ Mohar} \\
\frac{3}{8} & \text{ Mohar} \\
\end{align*}
\]

COPPER

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{Ganda or Ani (Anna)} = 2 \text{ Dyak or 2 Double Paisa} \\
1 & \text{Dyak or Double Paisa} = 2 \text{ Dhebua or 2 Paisa} \\
1 & \text{Dhebua or Paisa} = 4 \text{ (copper) Dam} \\
\end{align*}
\]
The number of copper ganda that were equivalent to the rupee varied over time and place, according to the local value of copper and according to the weight and alloy of the coin. We have noted a range of 12 gandas to 25 gandas to the rupee although one common, early, standard was 16 gandas to the rupee; for further details see p. 175 above.

3. THE WEIGHTS OF MALLA AND SHAH COINS

In the catalogue we have given the weights of a wide range of coins in different collections. We have avoided weighing coins that have been clearly damaged and which have either lost weight through piercing or breakage or which have gained weight through having been mounted. Because of space restrictions we have not weighed every available specimen, but since the coins have only rarely been selected because of their exceptional weight, the weights recorded should be a random selection. The coins have been weighed using several different electronic or mechanical scales and the accuracy of the second decimal place is not always reliable. We believe, however, that any inaccuracy in the weights of individual coins will not effect the conclusions reached in this analysis.

In the following tables we show, not only the average weight of the specimens recorded, but also the standard deviation of the weights and of the average weight, and the 95 per cent confidence interval for the true weight standard. These calculations assume that the weights of the coins in each grouping shown are normally distributed around a single weight standard. This assumption is certainly not totally valid, as clipping or other minor damage may have reduced the weight of some pieces, tending to reduce the average weight and increase the standard deviation because the number of light outliers is more than expected. In addition, certain groups of coins may have been struck to more than one standard, a feature that would also increase the standard deviation. Looking at the actual distribution of weights, it is clear that for most groups, the weights are normally distributed, with minimal distortion, but a few groups do exhibit non-normal characteristics. Since any departure from normality tends to increase the standard deviation, a rule of thumb may be applied whereby a standard deviation much more than 0.1 g for a fine gold or silver coins puts into question the assumption of normality. The implications for such groups are discussed separately.

GOLD COINS

The gold coins were struck to three distinct weight standards, 1. the mohar standard, 2. the bakla asarphi standard and 3. the tola asarphi standard. The actual weights of coins recorded are as follows:

1. THE MOHAR STANDARD

Double Gold Mohar

We have noted the weights of only eleven coins of this denomination, from which limited information can be derived. The coins of Rana Bahadur, Girvan Yuddha
and Rajendra can be analysed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.01</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>10.95–11.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The single coin of Prithvi Narayan noted weighs 10.94 g, so there is no reason to believe that it was struck to a different standard. The two coins of Pratap Simha, however, weigh 11.48 and 11.5 g, which is significantly heavier, and we assume that, for some unknown reason, a different weight standard was used for this particular denomination during this reign. We have weighed so few of the minor gold denominations of Pratap Simha that we cannot tell whether this higher standard was used throughout the range of gold coins, but it was certainly not used for the silver mohar.

After the reign of Rajendra this denomination of gold coin was no longer struck, and the bakla asarphi standard was adopted.

**Gold 1½ Mohar**

This denomination is only found during the reign of Girvan Yuddha during the period AD 1804–14. The weights we have recorded can be analysed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.217</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>8.17–8.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gold Mohar**

The gold mohars of Jaya Prakash Malla and Prithvi Narayan that we have weighed average c.5.5 g, which is not significantly different from the later gold mohars. We have not managed to weigh any gold mohars of Pratap Simha, but the weights of the gold mohars of later reigns can be analysed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.51</td>
<td>0.098</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>5.41–5.61</td>
<td>Jay Prakash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prithvi Narayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.466</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>5.43–5.50</td>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.476</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>5.44–5.51</td>
<td>Girvan Yuddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.503</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>5.48–5.52</td>
<td>Rajendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.542</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>5.50–5.59</td>
<td>Surendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.545</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>5.53–5.56</td>
<td>Prithvi Vir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This indicates that the weight standard started slightly below 5.5 g, and increased gradually before reaching about 5.55 g under Prithvi Vir Vikram.

**Gold Minor Denominations**

The gold minor denominations were all struck on the mohar standard. The same tendency for the earlier coins to weigh about 1–2% less than the later ones can perhaps be observed, but we have not accurately weighed enough pieces for this change to be demonstrated statistically. We therefore merely give the average weights observed over the whole period from Rana Bahadur to Prithvi Vir Vikram:
APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Half Mohar</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.742</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>2.73-2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suki</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.372</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>1.36-1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ani</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.688</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.68-0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhani</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.342</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.33-0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paisa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.14-0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.03-0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is very clear that these minor denominations were intended to be a series of binary subdivisions of the gold mohar, although the smaller the denomination, the less accurately was the standard adhered to.

2. THE BAKLA ASARPHI STANDARD

**Double Bakla Asarphi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>24.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one example of this denomination has been noted, struck by Prithvi Vir Vikram Shah and dated 1811S (AD 1889). The bakla asarphis average about 12.35 g, so the weight of this piece corresponds exactly to a double bakla asarphi.

**Bakla Asarphi**

These pieces were struck during the reigns of Surendra and Prithvi Vir, and the same standard was used throughout, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>12.353</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>12.333-12.373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Half Bakla Asarphi**

Rare coins, struck on only a few occasions during the reign of Surendra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.16</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>6.08-6.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The expected standard for a half bakla asarphi, based on the observed weights of the bakla asarphi, is in the range 6.17-6.19 g, well within the above range.

3. THE TOLA ASARPHI STANDARD

**Duitole Asarphi**

This weight standard was used during the reigns of Surendra and Prithvi Vir for most of the largest gold coins. It was also used for the large gold coins of earlier rulers that were struck around AD 1849 for Jang Bahadur to present to V.I.Ps during his visit to Europe in AD 1850. Indeed, if the weight standard was based on
the British Indian tola, which was only standardised in AD 1833, these large medallion gold pieces cannot have been struck before that date, in spite of the dates on the dies.

The weights of individual specimens do not vary very much over time, so we have analysed them together:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>23.124</td>
<td>0.056</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>23.09-23.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two British Indian tolas are equivalent to 23.33 g, less a mintage charge of about 1% would result in an expected weight of 23.10 g, just within the above range.

**Ektola Asarphi**

The half denomination on the same standard, used only for similar medallion rarities with the names of queens, also struck around AD 1849 for presentation by Jang Bahadur in Europe. The specimens we have weighed produce the following analysis which is in line with expectations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.55</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>11.53-11.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SILVER COINS**

The silver coins were struck to three different weight standards: 1. the tanka standard up to AD 1639; 2. the mohar standard from AD 1640 and; 3. the special standard of AD 1803-7.

1. **THE TANKA STANDARD**

The tanka standard was probably based on a rather light-weight Bengal tanka, c.10.4 g, a standard identical to that adopted by Cooch Behar during the second half of the sixteenth century. The weights of the actual coins can be analysed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dolakha c.1545</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.35</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendra Malla c.1560</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiva Simha c.1600-19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 'Ala-ud-din</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Ghiyas-ud-din</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakshminarasimha c.1619-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 'Ala-ud-din</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Ghiyas-ud-din</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhi Narasimha c.1619-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) 'Ala-ud-din</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDICES

Anonymous -- fine silver
(a) 'Ala-ud-din
20  10.02  0.35  0.079  9.86-10.18
(b) Ghiyas-ud-din
7   10.40  0.11  0.04   10.32-10.48

Anonymous -- base silver
(a) 'Ala-ud-din
7   8.68   0.69  0.262  8.16-9.20
(b) Ghiyas-ud-din
13  9.32   0.60  0.167  8.99-9.65

As can be seen, the coins start being struck to a standard of about 10.3 g. This standard is maintained until after the death of Shiva Simha in AD 1619, and probably well into the AD 1620s. Thereafter, as the silver content was reduced, so was the weight standard. The subdivision between ‘fine’ and ‘base’ silver coins above is on the basis of appearance, as we have not analysed enough coins to permit a more precisely defined split.

Dams on the tanka standard
The only minor denomination on the tanka standard known in sufficient examples to warrant analysis is the dam. As mentioned in the text, the pieces we have described as dams cover a wide range of weights, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0.17</th>
<th>0.14</th>
<th>0.13</th>
<th>0.12</th>
<th>0.11</th>
<th>0.10</th>
<th>0.09</th>
<th>0.08</th>
<th>0.07</th>
<th>0.06</th>
<th>0.05</th>
<th>0.04</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiva Simha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harihara</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagajjotir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakshmi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is difficult to tell from these weights whether more than one denomination was intended. At 1/128th tanka, the dam should weigh roughly 0.08 g, so the regal issues are slightly light for that standard. Some of the anonymous issues may have been intended as double dams, but that seems unlikely as the designs are not clearly differentiated.

2. THE MOHAR STANDARD
The mohar standard was based on half of the Moghul rupees, with a variable specific charge for minting deducted from the weight. Taking, for example, the East India Company’s Furrukhabad rupee (AD 1803-19 standard) of 11.21 g and deducting a 4 per cent charge for minting\(^5\) would produce a mohar of 5.38 g. Other similar Indian rupees tended to be slightly heavier and the Nepalese mohar averaged about 5.4 g. As might be expected, less care was taken when striking silver compared with gold, resulting in a standard deviation of about 0.1 g for silver mohars compared with about 0.05 g for gold mohars. As noted by M. C. Regmi, ‘the Government ... directed the Mint authorities to mint the prescribed number of coins from a specific quantity of silver, even though they may be of different weights.’\(^6\)

The Silver Mohar
The standard silver coin was the mohar. This was struck in large numbers throughout the period and we have weighed enough specimens to allow a detailed analysis

\(^6\) M. C. Regmi, op. cit. (1971), p. 158, quoting an order to Taksari Balabhanjan Pande dated July 1807 regarding the minting of silver coins.
of the average weights. In spite of the variability of individual specimens, we can estimate the average weight reasonably accurately. From this evidence it is apparent that the specific charge for minting changed over time, as can be seen from the following analysis of weights of mohars of different reigns:

**Malla Kings of Kathmandu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.140</td>
<td>5.22–4.66 Lakshmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>5.10–5.36 Pratap 761 NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.45</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>5.41–5.49 Pratap 775 NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>5.31–5.41 Chakravartendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>5.29–5.45 Mahipatendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>5.35–5.45 Nripendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>5.33–5.41 Parthivendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>5.39–5.45 Bhubalendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>5.41–5.46 Bhaskara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>5.44–5.50 Mahindra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>5.37–5.45 Jagajjaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>5.36–5.42 Jaya Prakash – 1st reign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>5.20–5.33 Jyoti Prakash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>0.195</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>5.10–5.36 Jaya Prakash, 2nd reign base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>5.38–5.46 Jaya Prakash, 2nd reign fine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Malla Kings of Patan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>5.42–5.56 Siddhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>5.27–5.41 Srinivasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>5.35</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>5.32–5.38 Yoga Narendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>5.12–5.32 Loka Prakash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>5.32–5.40 Indra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>5.28–5.41 Vira Narasimha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>5.38–5.46 Vira Mahindra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.35</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>5.31–5.39 Riddhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>5.36–5.43 Jaya Mahindra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>5.40–5.46 Yoga Prakash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>5.34–5.40 Vishnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>5.26–5.37 Rajya Prakash – base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>5.37–5.45 Rajya Prakash – fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>5.38–5.46 Visvajit-Tej</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Malla Kings of Bhatgaon**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>5.23–5.51 Jagatprakash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.55</td>
<td>0.167</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>5.41–5.68 Jitamitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>5.43–5.49 Bhupatindra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>5.14–5.34 Ranajit, nos. 561–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>5.34–5.42 .. no. 564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>5.20–5.30 .. no. 565</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These results show that throughout the period the weight standard generally fluctuated around 5.4 g ± 1 per cent, with a standard deviation of about 0.1 g. Exceptions were Lakshminarasimha of Kathmandu, many of whose coins are very light; Jitamitra of Bhatgaon, whose coins seem rather heavy; Loka Prakash of Patan, whose coins are light, and generally during the period AD 1745-53, the period of worst debasement, when a slightly lighter weight standard was used as well as less careful control of that standard. The weight standard was similarly reduced for the debased coins struck by Pratap Simha for Tibet, and more generally sometime around the start of the reign of Girvan Yuddha, before being increased again about AD 1894. Naturally such changes in weight standard may not have taken place at the beginning of each reign, and it would take an analysis of many more specimens of each date or variety to determine exactly when the changes took place, from examination of the coins alone. Detailed examination of mint documents may reveal more information, but it is interesting to note that the reductions in average weight generally coincided with a debasement.

Other Silver Denominations

Double Mohar or Rupee

With few exceptions, coins of this denomination are very rare and they were struck more for ceremonial purposes than for currency. As a result the mint did not rely on them for its revenue. Perhaps for this reason the average weight remained unchanged over the period except for an increase after AD 1894, in line with the increase in weight of the mohar at that time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.95</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>10.90-11.00</td>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.95</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>10.87-11.03</td>
<td>Rajendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>10.95</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>10.89-11.01</td>
<td>Surendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.01</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>10.98-11.04</td>
<td>Prithvi 1817-33 S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half Mohar

The half mohar was sometimes struck for circulation, but not in every year. Some dates are rare and were only struck for ceremonial use, while others are very common. There is some indication that the weight standard was reduced in line with the mohar during the reigns of Girvan Yuddha and Rajendra but, in contrast to the mohar, it may have increased during the reign of Surendra. This is not surprising, as half mohars of Surendra are rather scarce, implying that they were not part
of the regular coinage. The differences in weight are, however, rather small. The average weights for the different reigns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>Girvan Yuddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>Rajendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>Surendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>Prithvi Vir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other Minor Silver Denominations**

The weights of smaller silver denominations are very much in line with the expected binary subdivisions of the mohar. We have not weighed specimens accurately enough to determine whether any weight reduction occurred during the reigns of Girvan Yuddha and Rajendra, but we suspect that such reduction occurred only when particular issues were struck in quantity for merchants, rather than in small numbers for official use. The average weight should be on the following scale, although many sukis have lost weight due to having been mounted in jewellery, so that the actual average weight is slightly lower:

- Suki: 1.36 g
- Ani: 0.68 g
- Adhani: 0.34 g
- Paisa: 0.17 g
- Dam: 0.042 g

3. SPECIAL STANDARD OF AD 1803–5

For over two years during the reign of Girvan Yuddha, silver coins were struck to a weight standard fifty per cent heavier than the mohar. The average weight of the specimens we have recorded are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Mohar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ Mohar</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¼ Mohar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⅛ Mohar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These weights imply an average mohar of 5.47 g, similar to the mohar of Rana Bahadur, and the double mohar of Rana Bahadur, Rajendra and Surendra.

**COPPER COINS**

The early copper coins, those with Arabic inscriptions and struck in the hills, weighed about 10 g, with half pieces weighing about 5 g. We are not totally sure whether the denominations were paisa and half paisa, or dyak and paisa, although we suspect the former.7

7 M. C. Regmi, op. cit. (1971), p. 208, quoting the Order to Ijaradar Jitaram Newar to mint copper coins at Beni in March 1806, notes that a paisa weighed 2 tolas, i.e. about 20 g. This seems rather heavy, but it may just be that there was little consistency across the country at this time.
In AD 1865, when the new style copper coins were struck by Surendra, a weight standard of about 5.1 g for the paisa was used. The actual weights of individual specimens varied widely around this average which remained essentially unchanged until well after AD 1911. The actual weights of the coins listed in the catalogue may be analysed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>S.D.M.</th>
<th>95% c.i. for mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surendra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Paisa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10.36</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>9.96–10.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paisea</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>5.08–5.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>1.28–1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint A</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.17</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>5.07–5.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint B</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>4.96–5.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint C</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>4.76–5.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint D</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>4.95–5.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these figures it can be seen that there was very little change in the average weight of copper coins from about AD 1865 until AD 1911. The average weight of the dam may be slightly overestimated because of the deliberate selection of two exceptionally heavy pieces, but otherwise the specimens weighed are probably a reasonably random sample.

Technical Note

The statistical terms, we have used in the tables are as follows:

- **Mean**—Average weight of specimens weighed. This is probably close to, but not exactly equal to, the actual average weight of all the specimens that exist.
- **S.D.**— Abbreviation for ‘Standard Deviation’, a measure of the variation of weights of individual specimens around the average. In particular, in a normal distribution, only about 5 per cent of specimens will fall outside the range: Mean ± 2 times the S.D.
- **S.D.M.**—Standard deviation of the mean. A measure of the amount that our mean may differ from the average weight of all specimens struck. In particular: 95% c.i. for mean—we are 95 per cent sure that the actual average falls within the range: Mean ± 2 times the S.D.M. This range has been shown in most of the above tables.

In all our calculations we have assumed that the weights of the coins are normally distributed around a fixed average with a constant standard deviation. This assumption is generally appropriate.

4. AN ANALYSIS OF SOME NEPALESE SILVER COINS

by M. Cowell and M. S. Tate of the British Museum Research Laboratory

Analytical Techniques and Results

Two analytical techniques were applied to the coins: X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and the energy dispersive probe on a scanning electron microscope (EDX-SEM).
XRF was the primary technique used but was suitable only for coins with a thickness about 1 mm or greater. The procedure followed was to polish a small area on the edge of the coin with silicon carbide paper to remove any corrosion and surface enrichment. The XRF spectrometer used as a Link Systems Model 290 with a tungsten target X-ray tube operated at 40 kv. The thinner coins were also polished on an edge but to a higher standard of surface finish, using a 1 um grade polishing compound. The polished surface was then examined in a JEOL 840 scanning electron microscope and a representative area analysed using the energy dispersive probe. For both techniques the following five elements were quantified in most cases: silver, copper, zinc, gold and lead. Tin was also sought but was only detected in one coin which is composed of a copper-based rather than a silver-based alloy. The precision and accuracy of both techniques is approximately ±1-2% for the major elements and ±10% or more for minor and trace elements. The complete analytical results are listed in the table below together with a brief description of each coin. Elements which were sought but could not be detected in a particular coin are shown in the Table as below the relevant detection limit.

**Initial Findings**

Except in one case the coins are all silver based with silver contents in the range 21–99%. The other principle component of the alloy is copper, but there are also minor or trace amounts of lead, gold and zinc. The lead derives from the refining process for silver, cupellation, and also from the usual ore source of the metal, argentiferous galena. The gold content is related to the source of silver since it is not removed by the usual method of refining. The zinc content of these coins is rather more variable than either the lead or gold. It is easily removed by the refining process of cupellation and hence cannot be related to the ore source. Since the concentration of zinc is proportional to that of copper (see Fig. 1) this suggests that it was almost certainly introduced into the alloy via that metal in the form of brass, an alloy of copper and zinc. The relationship between the copper and zinc concentrations indicates that, provided the majority of the copper content derived from this source, a brass containing 10–15% zinc could have been used in most cases but probably not more than 25% zinc as none of the points are below the line corresponding to this alloy in Fig. 1. The Nepalese would have had easy access to brasses with zinc contents up to 25% since similar alloys were regularly used for devotional images.

Detailed comments on the fineness of the coins and its relationship to the chronology of the issues, contemporary references, types produced for export to Tibet and minor typological differences, can be found in the catalogue. A few general comments can, however, be made here.

The distribution of silver contents suggests that during the Malla period, between 1640 and 1768, essentially three standards may have been in operation with approximately 95% (perhaps reducing to 92.5%), 67% (2 parts silver: 1 part copper) and 50% (1 part silver 1 part copper) although there is wide variation around the latter. During the Shah period, after 1768, there seems to have been a gradual reduction.
in fineness after 1806 until 1820, after which there was some increase to about 80% fine. One particular variety dated 1775/6 was struck to the lower 67% standard. Figs. 2 and 3 graphically illustrate how the standards varied over time. Included in the latter table are some Shah coins analysed in Calcutta in 1832 and published in 'Useful Tables' in 1834.

**TABLE OF METAL ANALYSES**

**Tanka Standard Coins**

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### Malla Kings of Kathmandu

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### Malla Kings of Patan

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**Malla Kings of Bhatgaon**

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit</td>
<td>1722-69</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit</td>
<td>1722-69</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit</td>
<td>1722-69</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit</td>
<td>1722-69</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>SEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit</td>
<td>1722-69</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>SEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranajit</td>
<td>1722-69</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{4}) Mohar</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
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**Shah Kings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Coll</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Ag</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Zn</th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Tech</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pratap</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>5.9 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pratap</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pratap</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3.6 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7.1 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>&lt;0.1</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6.5 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4.6 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rana Bahadur</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4.6 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>SEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4.8 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6.5 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>6.4 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>7.2 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>9.9 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>6.0 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5.1 &lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Girvan</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Mohar</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&lt;0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>XRFA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analysis of Additional Shah Coins given in ‘Useful Tables’ (Calcutta, 1834), p. 47.**

Girvan 1809 Mohar 783 83
Girvan 1811 Mohar 785 78
Girvan 1812 Mohar 786 80
Girvan 1814 Mohar 788/9 75
Girvan/Raj. 1816 Mohar 791/867 71
Rajendra 1818 Mohar 869/70 74
Rajendra 1819 Mohar 871 74
Rajendra 1820 Mohar 872 68
Rajendra 1821 Mohar 873 78
Rajendra 1823 Mohar 876 81
Rajendra 1824 Mohar 877 81
Rajendra 1825 Mohar 878 79

1 This coin is probably a modern forgery.
### FIG. 2. Fineness of Malla Dynasty Silver Coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>KATHMANDU</th>
<th>PATAN</th>
<th>BHATGAON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td></td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660</td>
<td></td>
<td>99%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670</td>
<td></td>
<td>96%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td></td>
<td>94%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690</td>
<td></td>
<td>95%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td></td>
<td>94%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>95, 95, 95%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>93, 93, 92, 92%</td>
<td>95, 94, 93, 93%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>68, 67, 66% (mohar)</td>
<td>73, 72%</td>
<td>94, 90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99% (½ mohar)</td>
<td></td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98% (¼ mohar)</td>
<td></td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>53, 50, 43, 41%</td>
<td>69, 69, 65, 58%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51, 50%</td>
<td>55, 54, 54% (mohar)</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62, 55%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46, 41, 21% (¼ mohar)</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>96, 95% (mohar)</td>
<td>93, 93%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96, 94% (¼ mohar)</td>
<td></td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td></td>
<td>94%</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDICES**

**Fig. 3. Fineness of Shah Dynasty Mohars**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of silver</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95%</td>
<td>1770 1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90%</td>
<td>1780 1785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85%</td>
<td>1790 1795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80%</td>
<td>1800 1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75%</td>
<td>1810 1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70%</td>
<td>1820 1825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 
- x = normal mohar
- o = special issue for Tibet

The analysis of the mohar dated 1770 (= 1692 s) was given by Bonneville.
5. GENEALOGICAL TABLES

A. YAKSHA MALLA AND HIS DESCENDANTS

Yaksha Malla
r.1428-82

Raja Malla
of BHATGAON
r.1482-c.1510

Raya Malla
of KATHMANDU
r.1482-1520

Ratna Malla
of BANEPA
r.1482-c.1530
(Kingdom merges with Bhatgaon)

Bhuvana Malla
r.c.1510-19

Surya Malla
r.c.1520-30

Jita Malla
joint r.
c.1519-35

Prana Malla
joint r.c.1519-35
sole r.c.1535-47

Visva Malla
r.c.1547-60

Amara Malla
r.1530-4

Trailokya M.
joint r.
c.1560-1613

Tribhuvana M.
joint r.
c.1560-1613

Narendra Malla
r.1534-60

Jagaijotir M.
rc.1613-37

Naresha Malla
r.c.1637-44

Sadasiva M.
r.c.1574-81

Siva Simha
r.c.1578-1619 in KATHMANDU
& c.1598-1619 in PATAN

Jagatprakash M.
r.1645-72
m.Annapurna L

Harihara Simha
Lord of PATAN
d.1609

m.(1) Visva L.
(2) Jaya L.

Bhupatindra Malla
r.11.9.1696-1722
b.1674 d.1722
m.(1) Visva L.
(2) Jaya L.

continued
on Table B

Continued on Table C

Ranajit Malla
r.15.4.1722-1769 in BHATGAON
& 1760-1 in PATAN
m.(1) Jaya L.
(2) Briddhi L.

Devendra Malla
b.20.7.1738

continued
on Table B

Continued on Table C

Jitamitra M.
r.1663-96
d.14.11.08
m.Lalamati

Ugra M.
d.10.12.1708

continued
on Table B

Continued on Table C

Bhuvana Malla
r.c.1510-19

Surya Malla
r.c.1520-30

Jita Malla
joint r.
c.1519-35

Prana Malla
joint r.c.1519-35
sole r.c.1535-47

Visva Malla
r.c.1547-60

Amara Malla
r.1530-4

Trailokya M.
joint r.
c.1560-1613

Tribhuvana M.
joint r.
c.1560-1613

Narendra Malla
r.1534-60

Jagaijotir M.
r.c.1613-37

Naresha Malla
r.c.1637-44

Sadasiva M.
r.c.1574-81

Siva Simha
r.c.1578-1619 in KATHMANDU
& c.1598-1619 in PATAN

Harihara Simha
Lord of PATAN
d.1609

continued
on Table B

Continued on Table C

Jitamitra M.
r.1663-96
d.14.11.08
m.Lalamati

Bhupatindra Malla
r.11.9.1696-1722
b.1674 d.1722
m.(1) Visva L.
(2) Jaya L.

Ranajit Malla
r.15.4.1722-1769 in BHATGAON
& 1760-1 in PATAN
m.(1) Jaya L.
(2) Briddhi L.

Devendra Malla
b.20.7.1738
APPENDICES

B. THE MALLA KINGS OF KATHMANDU

Siva Simha (see Table A)

Harihara Simha
d.1609

Lakshminarasimha
r.c.1619–41
m.Sarasvati

Siddhinarasimha
in PATAN

Cont. Table C.

Pratap Malla
r.1641–74
d.6.4.74

m.(1) Rupamati d.1649
(2) Anantapriya
(3) Rajamati d.1649 from Karnata
(4) Lalama from Bhagvatipur
(5) Prabhavati
(6) Indumati

Pratap Malla
r.1641–74
d.6.4.74

m.(1) Rupamati d.1649
(2) Anantapriya
(3) Rajamati d.1649 from Karnata
(4) Lalama from Bhagvatipur
(5) Prabhavati
(6) Indumati

Nripendra
r.1674–80
b.1662 d.11.6.80
m.Jaya Lakshmi

Son b.14.8.79
d.infant

Chakravartendra
coin 1669
d.c.1669

Parthivendra
r.1680–87
d.2.7.87
m.(1) Riddhi L.
(2) Rajya L.

Bhupalendra M.
r.1687–1700
b.1678 d.27.11.00
m.(1) Bhuvana L.

Bhaskara M.
r.1701–15
b.30.10.96 d.1715

Jagajjaya M.
r.1722–35
d.14.3.35
m.Kumudini L

Mahendra S.
r.1715–22

in KATHMANDU
& PATAN
m.Mahindra L.

Rajendra Prakash
r.1735–68

in KATHMANDU
& PATAN
m.Dayavati
(Jaya L.)

Jaya Prakash
r.1735–68

in KATHMANDU
& PATAN
m.Dayavati
(Jaya L.)

Chandra L.
m.Vishnu M.
of PATAN
(1730)

Rajya Prakash
r.1745–58

in PATAN

Jyoti Prakash
r.1746–50
d.17.4.63

Son
d.before 1758
C. THE MALLA KINGS OF PATAN

Siddhinarasimha (See Table A)
r.c.1619–61
d.c.1668
m.Bhanumati

Srinivasa M.
r.1661–15.1.85
b.1627 d.14.1.87
m.(1) Mrigavati
(2) Siddhimangala

Son
b. & d.
1666

Rudramati
m.Rudra M.

Kirtimangala

Manimati
m.Bauddha M.
d.1700

Yoga Narendra M.
Co-ruler 1677
r.1685–1705
d.17.10.05
m.(1) Narendra L.
(2) Yoga L. d.1705
(3) Pratap L.
(4) Jaya L.
(5) Rajesvari

Rudendra M.

Riddhi Narasimha
r.1715–17
b.1705 d.27.6.17

Indra M.
r.1706–9
d.12.3.09
m.Bhagyavati

Punyamati
m.Darasimha

Vishnu M.
r.1729–45
d.22.7.45
m.Chandra L.

Daughter?

Visvajit M.
r.1758–60
d.7.9.60

'sahebju'
b.1699 d.pre-1706

Vira Mahindra
r.1709–15
d.21.1.15

Yogamati
b.1685
m.?

Loka Prakash
r.1705–6
b.c.1698 d.16.10.06

The ancestry of the following kings of Patan is unknown:

Vira Narasimha r.1709
Yoga Prakash r.25.9.1722–9.9.29
Tej Narasimha r.1765–6.10.68
D. THE SHAH KINGS (UP TO 1911)

Narbhupala Shah
r.1716-43

Prithvi Narayan       Mahoddamakirti       Dala Mardana       Dalajit       Shivapratap
r.1743-75
b.11.1.23
r.1764-5
in PATAN
d. 1.75
m.(1) Indra Kumari
         (2) Narendra L.

Pratap Simha S.       Bahadur S.
r.1775-77
b.c.1751 d.11.1777
m.Rajendra L.

Rana Bahadur S.       Sher Bahadur S.
r.1777-2.1799 (deposed)
b. 5.1775 d. 4.1806
m.(1) Raja Rajesvari
         (2) Kantivati
         (3) Suvarna Prabha
         (4) Chandravati
         (5) Lalita Tripura Sundari from Gulmi

Girvan Yuddha S.       Rana Udyota
r.1799-1816
b. 10.1794 d.20.11.1816
m.(1) Siddhi L
         (2) Goraksha L.

Rajendra Vikram
r.1816-12.5.1847 (deposed)
b.1814 d.after 1877 in Benares
m.(1) Samrajya L. d.6.10.1841
         (2) Rajya L.

Surendra Vikram       Upendra       Ranendra       Varendra       Devendra
r.1847-81
b.1829 d.17.5.1881
m.(1) Trailokya Rajya d.22.10.1850
         (2) Sura Raja
         (3) Deva Raja
         (4) Punyakumari

Trailokya Vikram       Narendra Vikram
b.1.12.1847 d.1878
m.(1) Tara Kumari
         (2) Lalita Kumari

Prithvi Vir Vikram       Yaksha V.       Rana V.       Jharendra V.       Vir V.
r.1881-1911
b.8.8.75 d.11.12.1911
m.(1) Revatiramanara Rajya
         (2) Lakshmi Divyesvari
         (3) Kirti Divyesvari
         (4) Durga Divyesvari

Tribhuvana Vir. V.       Sagar V.
r.1911-55
b.1906 d.14.3.55
6. QUEENS ON NEPALESE COINS

It is indicative of the powerful position of women in Nepalese palace politics that the names of queens have frequently appeared on Nepalese coins. The first such case was Bhogini, the Queen of the Lichhavi King Manadeva I, whose name appears, albeit postumously, on the very earliest Nepalese coin.

During the Malla period the sukis are sometimes struck with the name of the queen alone, but more often it appears together with the name of the king. The queen whose name appears is sometimes the wife of the king, and sometimes was the queen mother or queen grandmother acting as regent.

During the Shah period the practice of putting the name of the queen alone on the suki continued, and indeed it became the norm, so that very few sukis struck between AD 1768 and AD 1881 have the name of the king. Also the names of the king and queen never appear together on the same coin.

In our catalogue we have included the coins issued in the name of the queen among the issues of the king, whether or not his name is on the coin. This gives a clear picture of all the coins that were struck during a particular period. We thought, however, that it would be useful to list queens whose names appear on the coins of the Malla and Shah periods.

### MALLA PERIOD

#### Dolakha

Vijaya Lakshmi Mahadevi

Tanka. Queen of Jaya Indra Simha (c. 1540–48), the only king of Dolakha to issue coins.

#### Kathmandu

Rupamati Devi

Suki. 769 (AD 1649). Queen of Pratap Malla, struck on her death.

Rajya Lakshmi Devi

Mohar, Half Mohar and Suki. 802 (AD 1682). As junior queen of Parthivendra Malla, her name appears on coins with that of her husband.

Riddhi Lakshmi Rajesvari Devi

Suki. 808 (AD 1688). Senior queen of Parthivendra Malla and mother of Bhupalendra. Struck coins on becoming regent for her son.

Mahindra Lakshmi

Suki. 858 (AD 1718). Queen of Mahindra Simha, her name appears with that of her husband.

Kumudini Devi

Suki. 842 (AD 1722). Queen of Jagajjuya Malla with the name of her husband and

Kumudini Devi (again)

Jaya Lakshmi Devi

Suki. 856 (AD 1736). As regent for her son, Jaya Prakash Malla. Suki. 866 (AD 1746). Queen of Jaya Prakash Malla, ruling as regent for her son Jyoti Prakash Malla.
Patan

Mrigavati Devi  Suki. n.d. Queen of Jaya Srinivasa Malla (AD 1661–85), her name appears with that of her husband.

Yoga Lakshmi Devi  Mohar and Half Mohar. 804/5 (AD 1684/5). Queen of Yoga Narendra Malla, her name appears with that of her husband, and sometimes with that of Narendra Lakshmi Devi.

Jaya Lakshmi Devi  Mohar. Half Mohar and Suki. 805 (AD 1685). Queen of Yoga Narendra Malla, her name appears with that of her husband.

Narendra Lakshmi Devi  Mohar, 1/2 Mohar, Half Mohar and Suki. 805 (AD 1685). Queen of Yoga Narendra Malla, her name appears with that of her husband and sometimes with that of Pratapa Lakshmi Devi or Yoga Lakshmi Devi.

Pratapa Lakshmi Devi  Mohar. 805 (AD 1685). Queen of Yoga Narendra Malla, her name appears with that of her husband, and with that of Narendra Lakshmi Devi.

Yogamati Devi  Mohar. 826 (AD 1706). Daughter of Yoga Narendra, ruling as regent for her infant son, Loka Prakash Malla, whose name also appears on the coin.

Bhagyavati Devi  Mohar and Half Mohar. 826 (AD 1706). Queen of Jaya Indra Malla, her name appears with that of her husband.

Yogamati Devi (again)  Mohar. 829 (AD 1709). As regent for Vira Narasimha Malla, whose name also appears on this coin.

Rajyesvari Devi  Suki. n.d. A concubine of Yoga Narendra Malla, ruling as regent for her son Vira Mahendra Malla (AD 1709–15).

Matesvari Devi  Suki. 885 (AD 1765). Unknown queen probably ruling as regent for her son Tej Narasimha Malla.

Bhatgaon

No coins of Bhatgaon are known with the names of any queen.

SHAH DYNASTY


Rajendra Lakshmi Devi  1696–99 (AD 1774–7). As queen of Pratap Simha, and 1700 (AD 1778) as regent for her son Rana Bahadur.

Raja Rajesvari Devi  1711, 1712, 1716, 1722–4 (AD 1789–1802). As senior queen of Rana Bahadur and as regent for Girvan Yuddha.

Subharna Prabha Devi  1723 (AD 1801). Junior queen of Rana Bahadur ruling as regent for the infant Girvan Yuddha during the absence of Rana Bahadur and Raja Rajesvari Devi in Benares.

Amara Rajesvari Devi  1724–5 (AD 1802–3). Another name for Raja Rajesvari Devi after her return to Kathmandu from exile in Benares with her husband Rana Bahadur.

Mahamahesvari Devi  1725 (AD 1803). Probably yet another name for Raja Rajesvari Devi.

Lalita Tripura Sundari Devi  1726, 1728, 1738, 1741, 1744 (AD 1804–22). First, with name ‘Lalitesvari Devi’, as junior queen of Rana Bahadur, then as regent for Girvan Yuddha and subsequently for Rajendra until her death in AD 1832.
THE COINAGE OF NEPAL

Siddhi Lakshmi Devi
Goraksha Rajya Lakshmi Devi


Goraksha Rajya Lakshmi Devi

1738 (AD 1813–6). Queen of Girvan Yuddha. The date 1735 s
(AD 1813) appears on the Ektola Asarphi that was struck
about AD 1849; one cannot, however, regard this coin as proof
that Goraksha Rajya Lakshmi Devi had married Girvan Yuddha
as early as AD 1813. She died shortly after her husband in
AD 1816.

Samrajya Lakshmi Devi
Rajya Lakshmi Devi

1745–6, 1753, 1755, 1757–9 (AD 1823–37). Senior queen of
Rajendra Vikram Shah. Died AD 1841.

1764, 1766–7 (AD 1842–5). Junior queen of Rajendra and very
influential after the death of the senior queen in AD 1841. After
providing the spark that led to the Kot massacre in AD 1846,
she left with her husband for exile in Benares.

Trailokya Raja Lakshmi Devi

1769–70, 1772 (AD 1847–50). Senior queen of Surendra until her
death in AD 1850.

Deva Raja Lakshmi Devi
Sura Raja Lakshmi Devi


1769–70, 1772, 1775–7, 1782, 1787–8, 1790 (AD 1847–68). Queen
of Surendra.

Punyakumari Raja Lakshmi Devi

1802 (AD 1880). Presumably a Queen of Surendra.

Unless otherwise stated the above dates show when gold or silver sukis were struck.
In addition gold ektola asarphis are known of Queen Samrajya Lakshmi Devi dated
1759 s, and of Trailokya Raja Lakshmi Devi dated 1769 and 1771 s.

7. DEITIES NAMED ON MALLA AND SHAH COINS

Bhavani

Another name for Parvati, the wife of Shiva.

Prithvi Narayan and later Shah kings, except for Pratap Simha.

Gorakhnath

The patron deity of the Kings of Gorkha. A guru who is said
to have been a disciple of Matsyendranath.

Prithvi Narayan and all later Shah kings.

Gujhesvari

A local Nepali tantric name for Parvati, the wife of Shiva.

Jaya Prakash of Kathmandu
Pratap Simha Shah

--- nos. 354, 365–6
--- nos. 627–9, 635–44

Karunamaya

The patron deity of Patan, also known as Matsyendranath or
Lokanath.

Srinivasa of Patan
Loka Prakash
Riddhi Narasimha
Jaya Mahindra
Yoga Prakash
Jaya Vishnu

--- nos. 385–6
--- nos. 412–8
--- nos. 445–9
--- nos. 451–2
--- nos. 453–6
--- nos. 459–67
APPENDICES

Jaya Prakash in Patan — nos. 499–500
Ranajit in Patan — nos. 501–2
Dala Mardana Shah — nos. 505–7
Tej Narasimha — nos. 510, 512

Kumari Maju The living virgin goddess, said to be an incarnation of Kali, who resides in Kathmandu.

Jaya Prakash of Kathmandu — nos. 352, 361–3
Jaya Prakash in Patan — nos. 449–500

Lokanath The patron deity of Patan.

Yoga Narendra of Patan — nos. 390–6, 405–9
Indra Malla — nos. 421–9, 431
Vira Narasimha — nos. 433–8
Vira Mahindra — nos. 440–3
Riddhi Narasimha — no. 450
Yoga Prakash — no. 457
Jaya Vishnu — nos. 468–74
Rajya Prakash — nos. 476–92
Visvajit — nos. 495–7
Prithvi Narayan in Patan — no. 503

Pashupati A name of Shiva.

Jaya Prakash of Kathmandu — no. 365

Taleju Maju Family deity of the Malla kings.

Jaya Prakash of Kathmandu — nos. 352, 362–3
Yoga Narendra of Patan — no. 405
Rajesvari Devi of Patan — no. 444
Jaya Prakash in Patan — nos. 499–500
Ranajit in Patan — nos. 501–2
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D. Wright, History of Nepal (Cambridge, 1877).
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ANS</td>
<td>American Numismatic Society, New York. Photographs kindly supplied by Dr M. Bates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ash</td>
<td>Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>G. Blaker, Ockley, UK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be</td>
<td>W. Bertsch, Darmstadt, West Germany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber</td>
<td>Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR. Casts of certain pieces kindly supplied by Dr H. Simon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bons</td>
<td>H. Bons, Kevelaer, West Germany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fonr</td>
<td>'Verzeichniss von Münzen und Denkmünzen der Erdheile Australian, Asien, Africa ... der Jules Fonrobertschen Sammlung', by A. Weil (Berlin, 1878).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fw</td>
<td>Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>K. Gabrisch, Mannheim, West Germany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gl</td>
<td>Glendining &amp; Co. Ltd, the London auction house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>V. Hansen, Copenhagen, Denmark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>The Royal Coin and Medal Collection, The National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNM</td>
<td>Kathmandu Numismatic Museum, Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu, Nepal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW</td>
<td>K. Wiggins, Crowborough, UK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Manchester Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Various Private Collections in Nepal. Information courtesy of B. N. Shrestha and several other Nepalese collectors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>R. Negleman, Nivelles, Belgium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peus</td>
<td>Dr Busso Peus, Frankfurt am Main, Auction sale 8.10.1956.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Paris Mint, information courtesy of G. Hennequin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>N. G. Rhodes, Hythe, UK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sch</td>
<td>J. Schulman, the Amsterdam auction house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>The late C. Valdettaro, Milan, Italy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vK</td>
<td>C.-E. von Kleist, Havixbeck, West Germany.</td>
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