The Silver Coinages of Garhwal and Ladakh, 1686–1871

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[PLATES 24–5]

IN 1970 C. K. Panish produced the first survey of the coinage of Ladakh.[1] Since then further numismatic discoveries and more detailed research into Ladakhi history[2] have yielded enough new information to warrant a further discussion of the subject.

The first phase of Ladakhi coinage must be dealt with in the abstract, as no coins are known to have survived. There seems little doubt, however, that coins were struck, and it is therefore worth setting down what is known about them, and the background to their issue, in the hope that specimens will be uncovered.

It was in 1639 that Ladakh first came up against the rising power of the Moghul Empire. Having annexed Skardo the previous year, the Moghuls now marched on Ladakh, confronting the Ladakhi army near Karpu on 25 August. The Ladakhis were defeated, and their king, Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, found himself cornered. He then negotiated with the Moghuls, and promised to send tribute to the Moghul emperor if he was allowed to return home. The Moghul general, reluctant to march into Ladakh so late in the year, agreed to these terms.

Once safe in his capital, Leh, the king not only sent no tribute but also, in an attempt to damage the economy of Kashmir, decided to ban all the trade between Kashmir and central Tibet, which traditionally passed through Ladakh. This short-sighted measure had a disastrous effect on the Ladakhi economy, from which it never fully recovered. Kashmir, in fact, suffered little, as the trade with central Tibet continued to be controlled by Kashmiri merchants, but now using the route through Patna and Nepal, with great benefit to Nepal.[3]

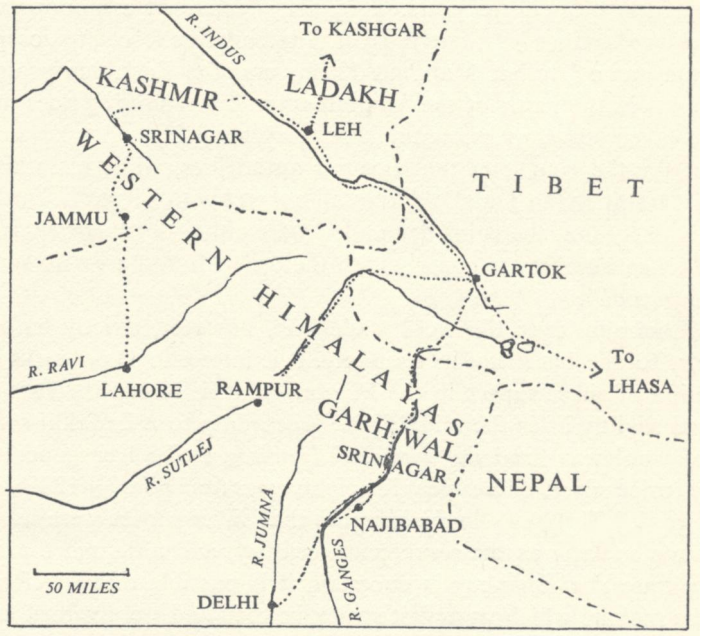
This state of affairs continued until 1663, when the Moghul emperor, Aurangzeb, visited Kashmir for the first and only time. The King of Ladakh, now bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal (1642–94), decided that it would be wise to send

[1] C. K. Panish, 'The coinage of Ladakh', *ANSMN* 16 (1970), 185–8.

[2] L. Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh c.950–1842 A.D.* (Rome, 1977).

[3] The fact that Nepal began striking silver coins on a large scale in about 1640 was a direct consequence of this change of trade routes.

an embassy to Kashmir. The envoys were received by the emperor and repeated the king's pledge of loyalty. They also promised that a mosque would be built, the khutba recited, and coins struck in the name of the emperor.[4]



The King of Ladakh took these pledges no more seriously than had his father in 1639, and no action was taken until, in 1665, the Moghul governor of Kashmir sent an envoy with an imperial farman demanding the acceptance of Moghul suzerainty under the threat of invasion. Knowing the military strength of Aurangzeb, the Ladakhis bowed to the inevitable, began the construction of a mosque, recited the khutba, and sent the envoy back with a tribute of 1,000 gold ashraphis, 2,000 rupees, and many other precious objects.[5]

It is probable that coins were struck on this occasion in the name of Aurangzeb and with a mint name such as 'Tibet-i-Buzurg' (Great Tibet), as specified in the 'Alamgirnama,[6] but no such coins have yet been discovered. It is doubtful, however, if such pieces ever circulated in Ladakh to any significant extent. They were merely struck as one of the conditions of suzerainty, and not to satisfy any need for currency. Indeed it is likely that few pieces would have been struck beyond those demanded by the envoy.

[4] Petech, op. cit., p. 63.
[5] Ibid., p. 64.
[6] S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Num. Soc. of India, 1923, p. 362.

Even after this the Ladakhis did not pay any regular tribute, but in 1683 the Moghuls responded to a Ladakhi request for military support against a combined Mongol and Tibetan army. A Moghul force helped the Ladakhis repulse the invaders and in return the Moghuls demanded that tribute be paid regularly every three years. They also demanded a monopoly of the lucrative wool trade with western Tibet. The king was forced to accept Islam under the name ʿĀqibat Mahmud Khān, and the Ladakhis promised to strike coins in the name of the Moghul emperor.[7] The king does not seem to have taken his conversion to Islam very seriously, only keeping up a pretence for the benefit of the Kashmir authorities, while maintaining his Buddhist traditions in Ladakh and in all contact with Tibetans. In the same way it is likely that the coins demanded were either never struck, or struck only in token numbers to comply with the order. In any case no such coins are known today.

The monopoly over the wool trade was, however, strictly enforced by Kashmir, to the benefit of its economy. It is interesting to observe that the production of silver rupees in the Moghul mint in Kashmir seems to have increased slightly after the mid 1680s.[8] According to a Ladakhi source the price of wool was fixed at 'two *dnul-dmar-zog* (red silver goods) or one *rin-dnul* (price silver, or a rupee) for eighty *nags* (one *nags* = 120 g) of long-haired wool'.[9] The term *rin-dnul* implies that silver rupees were used in the wool trade as early as the seventeenth century, and although the meaning of the phrase *dnul-dmar-zog* is uncertain it is possible that it refers to the Nepalese mohars which were first struck in 1640 and were valued at two to the rupee. Some of the Nepalese mohars may have been struck in slightly debased or 'red' silver, compared with the fine silver of the Moghul rupees.

For the next century no further mention is made of coins, until late in the reign of T'se-dban-rnam-rgyal (1753–82). In 1781 it is recorded that a Muslim goldsmith of Leh, called Ismael, was hired to strike Ladakhi coins called *ja'u*.[10] This king neglected affairs of state during the latter part of his reign, preferring to look after his horses. These horses, numbering about 500, were a great strain on the economy, as was the embezzlement carried on by certain officials.[11] Faced with such outgoings, the king's advisers realized that one way of making the most of such silver as was available was to strike it into coin. This was feasible, as coins, particularly the timashas of Garhwal, were already accepted currency in western Tibet. Also, Tibet at this time was exporting more goods via Ladakh than it was importing, so there was a need for Ladakh to make payments in silver to western Tibetans, and these silver coins were acceptable.

[7] Petech, op. cit., p. 75.

[8] I have records of 15 rupees of Aurangzeb with regnal years from 30 to 50, but of only 2 rupees of the earlier years of Aurangzeb's reign.

[9] Petech, op. cit., p. 77.

[10] Ibid., pp. 112 and 117, quoting J. Gergan, *Bla-dvags rgyal-rabs 'c'i-med gter* (New Delhi, 1976), Doc. 9/13.

[11] Petech, op. cit., p. 117.

As the earliest coins of Garhwal, which were the prototype of the Ladakh ja'u, have never previously been published, it is worth examining them in some detail. A number of specimens are illustrated on **Pl. 24, 2–12.** The first of these looks at first sight like a nisar of Aurangzeb struck at Delhi with the mint name 'Daru-l-khilafat Shahjahanabad' dated AH 1099, Year 31 (AD 1686/7). It is very similar to the nisar in the collection of Daulal Johri of Indore dated 1082, Year 14 (2.72 g) (**Pl. 24, 1**),[12] and similar nisars in the British Museum dated 1076 Year 8, 1078 Year 10, and ... Year 11 (2.76, 2.71, and 2.59 g).[13] This new coin, however, which was recently discovered in Garhwal by John Deyell, has unusually crude engraving for a nisar, and its weight, 2.49 g, is rather light, corresponding more to that of the Garhwali timashas. Furthermore, it was the reverse of a coin such as this that was used as the prototype for the later Garhwali timashas. It is possible, therefore, that this coin in the name of Aurangzeb was the first coin struck in Garhwal, although why the Delhi mint name was retained is a mystery.

The next issue of coins in Garhwal (**Pl. 24, 3–4**) clearly has the name of the Moghul emperor Furrukhsiyar on the obverse, with regnal year 2. The reverse is a copy of no. 1, with the date AH 1126 (AD 1714), but now the mint name is so badly engraved as to be totally illegible without the prototype to compare it with.[14] Coins of this type are found almost exclusively in Garhwal, no. 2 being from the same necklace as no. 1 and, although they have no reference to Garhwal in the design, there is little doubt where they were made.[15]

The ruler of Garhwal both in 1687 and 1714 was Fateh Shah (1684–1717), who had apparently gained favour with Aurangzeb by handing over one of the latter's brothers, who had sought refuge in the hills.[16] It is likely that these first Garhwal timashas bore the name of the Moghul emperor as a token acknowledgement of fealty, but primarily they must have been struck for the encouragement of trans-Himalayan trade. Fateh Shah apparently extended his power into Tibet, and his reign was a period of great prosperity for Garhwal.[17] It is interesting that Fateh Shah should have chosen this

[12] I am grateful to John Deyell for sending me details of this coin, and hence for the true interpretation of the reverse inscription on the later, blundered, Garhwal timashas. A similar coin is in Punjab Museum, Lahore (2.79 g).

[13] Unpublished; ex Nelson Wright, Whitehead, and Bleasby respectively.

[14] A regular nisar of Furrukhsiyar of similar type but dated Year 5 is in the British Museum (2.81 g)—unpublished, ex Whitehead.

[15] A hoard including coins of this type was found at Rudraprayag, District Pauri Garhwal, and was described by C. S. Srivastava in 'Treasure trove coin hoards, Report no. 25 of 1966–7' in *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.* 14, December 1974. The hoard consisted of six Moghul rupees, the latest being Mohammed Shah, Shahjahanabad, 1133–3, and 119 timashas in the name of Furrukhsiyar with a reasonably legible mint name of Shahjahanabad.

[16] F. Buchanan Hamilton, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (1819), p. 299.

[17] E. T. Atkinson, *Kumaon Hills* (repr.) (Delhi, 1974), p. 573.

weight of about 2.5 g for his coins. Such small silver coins are rare in the Moghul series, and hence they can hardly have been intended for circulation in the plains. It seems likely that this weight was chosen as being of a convenient size for use in Tibetan trade. A. H. Francke thought that ja'u was derived from a Tibetan word meaning 'little tea', and it is possible that these small silver coins were equal in value to a small tea-brick or some other widely accepted unit of currency in western Tibet.[18]

After 1714 the Garhwalis struck coins in a very haphazard manner. The same type was continued, with the style gradually deteriorating and the inscriptions becoming increasingly illegible. Typical specimens are illustrated on **Pl. 24, 6–11.** The last of these is particularly interesting, with much finer engraving, and the numeral '29' below the obverse type. This may be the regnal year of either the Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719–48), or else the ruler of Garhwal, Pradip Shah (1717–72), which would date the variety to within a year of 1746. In any case, these coins were presumably all issued between 1714 and 1759, when a new coinage was struck in the name of the Moghul Emperor Shah 'Alam II and with the mint name Srinagar (the capital of Garhwal, not to be confused with the Srinagar in Kashmir), cf. **Pl. 24, 12.**[19]

In 1757 Najib Khan Rohilla established his authority in Dehra Dun and encouraged trade at a time when Prithvi Narayan of Gorkha had cut the traditional trade routes between Tibet and the Kathmandu Valley. The route from Tibet through Garhwal to Najibabad in Rohilla territory was an acceptable alternative for some of the trade diverted from Nepal, and Garhwal prospered. From 1759 coins were struck in Srinagar on a larger scale, with a pure Moghul design. The coinage was mainly organised by the bankers of Najibabad who brought silver up to the hills, sometimes in the form of Spanish coin,[20] and had it struck into timashas before paying for local transport and purchasing Tibetan exports. Some of the profit retained by the bankers was converted into rupees at the mint of Najibabad, which had opened about 1755, also striking coins of Moghul design.

In 1770 Najib Khan died, and the death of Pradip Shah of Garhwal followed in 1772. The coinage of timashas seems to have ceased temporarily in 1771, but in spite of the political instability following these deaths, the silver coinage recommenced in 1774, to continue until the death of Lallat Shah of Garhwal in 1780. It seems likely therefore that the trans-Himalayan trade continued until about that date. For the next two decades, however, only copper coins were struck in Garhwal, and it is probable that continuous

[18] A. H. Francke, 'Some notes on Ladakhi currency', *IA* 30, (1901), 456.

[19] For a description of the later coins of Garhwal, see N. G. Rhodes, 'India: the coinage of Srinagar in Garhwal, 1760–1815 A.D.', *ONS Inf. Sheet* 4, April 1973.

[20] F. V. Raper, 'Narrative of a journey for the purpose of discovering the sources of the Ganges', *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 11, p. 497. The journey was undertaken in May 1807, but Capt. Raper's comments apply to all the post-1759 coinage.

fighting between the Garhwalis and the Kumaonis forced the major Tibetan traders to seek other routes to India.

No further timashas were struck in Garhwal until after the Gorkha occupation of the country in 1803. Although the earthquake of that year destroyed many of the buildings in Srinagar, and the Gorkha occupation did nothing for the material prosperity of the Garhwalis, the political stability seems to have encouraged trans-Himalayan trade, which was still controlled by the bankers of Najibabad. The material poverty of Garhwal must have made anything other than transit trade difficult, and as few goods were available for export to Tibet, the trade had to be financed with silver. After the Nepal War of 1815, when Garhwal passed into the British sphere of influence, no further timashas were struck.

With the Garhwal timashas circulating widely in western Tibet, it was natural for the Ladakhis to copy them when they introduced their own coinage around 1771. Indeed, one of the impetuses behind the introduction of coinage in Ladakh may have been the diverting of trade from the Garhwal route about this time, as evidenced by the suspension of coinage in Garhwal between 1771 and 1774, and after 1780.

The obverse of the first Ladakhi timashas or ja'u is a very close copy of the 'Furrukhsiyar' inscription of the early Garhwali timashas, even down to the regnal year below, although it is clear that the die-engraver in Ladakh made no effort to see that his version was legible. Indeed, he may not have been aware of its meaning himself, especially if he copied one of the less legible versions, such as **Pl. 24, 8.** The reverse, however, is slightly different, mainly because the die-engraver has tried to make sense of certain elements of the inscription. For example, at the bottom, 'Zarb Tibet' has been clearly written, and at the top the engraver thought he could read the word 'Butān' on a prototype such as **Pl. 24, 8,** and hence inserted appropriate dots. The centre, however, completely baffled him and he merely copied the meaningless crescents, with no attempt to make a legible inscription.

On some of the early Ladakh coins, to the right of the figure '2' below the obverse, appears a Hejira date. One piece has the date 1185 (AD 1771/2) and another clearly reads 1186 (AD 1772/3) (**Pl. 24, 12–13**). The dates on these pieces coincide precisely with the period when the Garhwal mint was closed around the time of the death of Pradip Shah in AD 1772. It seems very likely, therefore, that these Ladakh coins were struck specifically to pay for the cash trade which was diverted from Garhwal to Ladakh because of the political troubles in Garhwal at this time.

Once started, it is doubtful whether the Ladakh mint (which was situated in Leh) maintained continuous production. No other Ladakh coins of this first issue have been discovered bearing a literate date, and no conclusions can be drawn from the garbled dates which are found on some specimens. It may well have been the case that the mint at Leh either closed, or at least

had to limit production, whenever the mint in Garhwal opened. Indeed, the appointment of a new goldsmith to strike coins at Leh in 1781 could imply that there had been a break in production in the period up to 1780, while the Garhwal mint was open. It is then likely that a considerable number of ja'u were struck between 1781 and about 1803, when the Garhwal mint reopened under the Gorkhas. Although most specimens were of good silver,[21] a few are very debased, and it may be that between 1803 and 1815, while the cash trade was largely routed through Garhwal, the Ladakhis continued to strike coins, but were forced to reduce the fineness because of the scarcity of silver.

In contrast with the first type, the next three are rather rare, and all seem to be struck in fine silver. Type 2 (**Pl. 24, 18**) is similar to type 1, although the flan is broader and there is a rectangle around the 'siyar' of 'Furrukh-siyar' on the obverse. This may have been introduced to distinguish this issue from type 1, which would have developed a reputation for unreliable silver content.[22]

Type 3 (**Pl. 25, 19**) has the same reverse as type 2, and is of similar fabric and fineness, although the weight of the only specimen I have seen is rather lower than that of the earlier issues. The obverse, however, is quite different, and clearly reads "Āqibat Mahmud Khān', the Muslim title of the King of Ladakh.[23] At the lower left is the number '14', which may signify the fourteenth year of the reign of King Ts'e-dpal-don-grub-rnam-rgyal, or AD 1815/16. The issue of this type may have been prompted by a desire to demonstrate Ladakhi independence, and to deny any acknowledgement of Moghul suzerainty, which could have been implied by the continued use of the Furrukhsiyar obverse type. Assuming that the numeral really is a regnal year, this is the only Ladakhi ja'u of the period to bear a date, and hence it is of great importance in arranging the series. In fact the date fits in well with the historical background, as it is likely that the cash trade between India and western Tibet would have been diverted from Garhwal to Ladakh during the war between Nepal and the British in 1814–16, hence increasing the supply of silver reaching the Ladakh mint.

Type 4, which probably came soon after type 3, is the most remarkable of all Ladakhi coins, and is the only one to have a fully legible inscription (**Pl. 25, 20**). The obverse has the inscription "Āqibat Mahmud Khān', but it is in smaller writing, enclosed in a circle, and there is no regnal year. The reverse reads 'Qalon Sebān Tondub, Tibet'. This inscription clearly refers to Ts'e-dban-don-grub, a dominant figure in Ladakh during the first

[21] One specimen, of unspecified type, was analysed as 96.9 per cent fine, cf. J. Prinsep, *Useful Tables* (Calcutta, 1834).

[22] It is possible that the rectangle was intended to be reminiscent of the small square in the centre of the Sino-Tibetan coins, which were of fine silver, in contrast to the debased Nepalese and Tibetan coins which also circulated at this time.

[23] Petech, op. cit., p. 75.

quarter of the nineteenth century, who was said to be 'perfect master of the supreme authority and the Raja took no part in the affairs of state'. He rose to be prime minister at the end of the eighteenth century under King Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal (1782–1802) and became all powerful during the following reign until his death around 1825.[24] He was given the Tibetan title 'Kalon', which equates to prime minister. It is, therefore, not entirely surprising that he should have put his own name on the coins together with the title of the king. Although this is the only Ladakhi coin to have the name of a prime minister, a parallel can be found in the Malla Kingdom of Bhatgaon in Nepal.[25]

Judging from its rarity, type 4 was of very short duration, and it was quickly followed by type 5, which has the inscription 'Mahmud Shah' on the obverse, while the reverse reverts to the design of the earlier types (**Pl. 25, 21–6**). An early variety has a plain circle on the obverse, similar to type 4, and a reverse in relatively fine style, but the writing on most pieces is thicker, and the circle is surrounded by a border of dots. The Mahmud Shah referred to is probably the Durrani ruler of Kashmir from 1813 to 1819. It is possible that the war between Ladakh and Balti, in which Ladakh was not entirely successful, may have convinced the prime minister of Ladakh that it was wiser to acknowledge the suzerainty of the ruler of Kashmir, so that his help could be requested in time of need. In any case, putting 'Mahmud Shah' on the coins was an entirely painless way of acknowledging suzerainty, and this name could easily be interpreted as an alternative title for the king, in place of the normal "Āqibat Mahmud Khān'. There is little doubt that the name came to be so interpreted, as this type continued to be struck until about 1841, well after Mahmud Shah had ceased to rule Kashmir.

Although the above ordering of the types seems most logical on consideration of type, the light weight of type 3 appears to indicate a later date. However, the weight of the one type 3 coin which I have weighed falls within the range of weights covered by type 5, and it may merely be that there was less rigorous control of the weights of individual coins after 1815. Naturally the analysis of the weights of more specimens may reveal information to confirm or refute the arrangement of types adopted in this article.

The next change in type took place after the conquest of Ladakh by Gulab Singh in 1835. Gulab Singh was the great grand-nephew of Ranjit Deo, the ruler of Jammu in the mid eighteenth century. His family had fallen on hard times and he joined the Sikh court in 1809 at the age of seventeen. He quickly showed his prowess both on the field of battle and in diplomacy, and in 1820 he was instrumental in putting down an insurrection in Jammu,

[24] Petech, op. cit., pp. 122–34.

[25] A suki of Jagatprakash Malla dated 782 NS (AD 1662) has the name of his prime minister Chandra Sekhar, and an ani of Jitamitra Malla (1663–96) has the name of prime minister Jagat Chandra.

which the Sikhs had annexed in 1808. In recognition of his services he was granted Jammu as an hereditary possession. In 1835 he cast his eyes towards Ladakh and its wool trade. The Dogra army under Zorawar Singh invaded successfully, and a Dogra representative was installed at Leh. King Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal remained on the throne, but now as a vassal of Gulab Singh, and thence of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh.[26]

The Dogras were in an expansive mood, and in 1841 turned their attention towards western Tibet, but in December of that year they received a crushing defeat at the hands of the Tibetans. Their great general Zorawar Singh was killed, along with most of his soldiers. Heartened by this news, and with Tibetan encouragement, the Ladakhis tried to shake off the Dogra supremacy. The following spring, however, the Dogras again advanced into Ladakh, the rebellion was crushed, and the Tibetans were forced to withdraw. This time the Dogras were content with the re-establishment of their hold over Ladakh and agreed the border with Tibet along the traditional line. Ladakh was now firmly incorporated within the Empire of Jammu and the monarchy was abolished.[27] Until 1845 Gulab Singh nominally acknowledged Sikh suzerainty, but ruled Ladakh very much as a part of Jammu.

In 1845, during the Sikh war, Gulab Singh remained aloof, only entering the scene as mediator after the defeat of the Sikhs by the British. War indemnities were demanded by the British, which the Sikhs were in no position to pay, but Gulab Singh saw his chance and offered to pay the indemnities out of his own pocket in exchange for being made independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. This arrangement suited the British, who did not relish the idea of ruling such a mountainous area directly, and on 16 March 1846 Gulab Singh was confirmed as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, acknowledging the suzerainty of the British. He ruled until his death in 1857 and was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh (1857–85).

Two types of ja'u were struck during this period of Dogra domination. Type 6 combines a tiger-knife, probably a symbol of the Dogras, with the 'Mahmud Shah' design of type 5. In type 7 the 'Mahmud Shah' is replaced with 'Raja Gulab Singh' in Nagari script. These two types formed the bulk of the coins given to the British Museum in 1853 by one of the Strachey brothers, and were probably acquired by them during their visits to western Tibet and Ladakh between 1846 and 1849.[28]

Type 6 was presumably struck between 1835 and 1842, while the King of Ladakh ruled under Dogra suzerainty, although the fact that all fourteen specimens in the British Museum are die-duplicates indicates that the issue was of short duration. Furthermore, many of the coins of type 7 (*a*) were struck with the same reverse die as type 6 indicating that the two types cannot

[26] Petech, op. cit., p. 140. [27] Ibid., p. 151.
[28] G. Sandberg, *The Exploration of Tibet* (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 127–40.

be widely separated in time.[29] As type 7 contains no reference to the King of Ladakh, it was probably struck after the abolition of the monarchy in 1842. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that type 6 was struck about 1841 and type 7 from 1842 onwards, while if any coins were struck between 1835 and 1840 they were probably still of type 5, with no recognition of Dogra suzerainty. This arrangement fits in well with the trade patterns of the period. Between 1834 and 1840 the value of wool imported from western Tibet to Rampur (in British territory), bypassing Ladakh, rose from virtually nil to Rs. 94,807. In 1841, however, the value of this trade fell to only Rs. 17,766 because of the active steps taken by the Dogras to restore the monopoly of Ladakh over the wool trade, culminating in Zorawar Singh's invasion of western Tibet in spring 1841.[30] It is very probable, therefore, that coins of type 6 were struck in 1841 to finance wool purchases on this occasion, whereas few ja'u would have been struck in the years prior to 1841, when the trade was diverted away from the Ladakh route. After the troubles of 1841 and 1842, the peace treaty between Gulab Singh and the Tibetans specifically ensured that the wool trade would be routed through Ladakh,[31] and hence a coinage of ja'u would have been required to finance it in the years following 1842.

One argument against this dating is that Alexander Cunningham, who visited Ladakh in 1846 and 1847, mentions only coins of type 5 in his book, specifically saying that he did not see Ladakhi coins of any other type.[32] This would suggest a date after 1847 for types 6 and 7, but it is possible that as the ja'u circulated mainly in western Tibet, and not in Ladakh itself, Cunningham might not have come across the most recent issues of the Ladakh mint.

The full period over which type 7 was struck has not yet been established. The fact that Cunningham makes no mention of a mint in Leh implies that no ja'u were being struck at the time of his visit, and as the coins given by the Strachey brothers to the British Museum apparently include all varieties of the type, it is reasonable to assume that most, if not all, were struck before Gulab Singh was installed as Maharaja of Kashmir in 1846. Furthermore, as Gulab Singh was then in control of the Kashmir mint, he may have preferred to strike coins there. However, type 7 (*c*) is represented in the British Museum by only a single specimen, which seems less than one would expect if all the coins of this type were struck prior to the Stracheys' visit. It is also quite possible that there has been some switching of tickets in the British Museum, and that this particular coin was presented by a later benefactor.

[29] Panish attributed type 6 to the reign of Mahmud Shah Durrani (1809–19) and thought that type 7 was probably struck after 1846. The existence of a die-link between the two types (**Pl. 25, 27 and 28**) makes this arrangement very improbable. Panish, op. cit., p. 187.

[30] Cf. A. Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia*, (1960), pp. 65–6.

[31] Ibid., p. 71.

[32] A. Cunningham, *Ladak* (1854), pp. 254–5 and pl. 12.

The evidence is, therefore, not conclusive, and it is possible that type 7 (*c*) and 7 (*d*) were struck between 1847 and 1857. Types 7 (*a*) and 7 (*b*) were certainly struck between 1842 and 1846.

After the death of Gulab Singh in 1857 the ja'u ceased to be of significance in the commercial contacts between Ladakh and western Tibet. The British Indian rupee became increasingly popular, because of its reliable weight and silver content, and it is probable that payments for shawl-wool would have been made with these.

Between 1867 and 1870 an issue of copper coins was made for Ladakh, presumably intended for local use, and in 1871 a small issue of ja'u was made (**Pl. 25, 32**). Neither of these coins seems to have made much commercial impact in Ladakh, and their issue was suspended after 1871. Thereafter, no special currency has been struck in or for Ladakh.

APPENDIX I

THE LOCATION OF THE MINT AND THE SOURCE OF THE SILVER

Previous authors indicate that most, if not all, of the ja'u were struck in Kashmir.[33] I would like to suggest, however, that all the ja'u, with the possible exception of the 1871 issue, were struck at Leh in Ladakh.

The document of 1781 is specific in stating that the coins were struck in Leh at that time, and relations between Kashmir and Ladakh were so tenuous during much of the period of issue of the coins that it seems scarcely credible that they could have been struck at Srinagar in Kashmir. Furthermore, the fabric and the quality of calligraphy of the ja'u is so different from that of the Kashmir rupees, that they could not possibly have been produced in the same mint. The only evidence for the ja'u being struck in Kashmir seems to be a statement by Alexander Cunningham, but as that author obtained so little reliable information about the coinage, and as he was in Leh at a time when the mint was probably closed, it is quite possible that he was mistaken.[34]

I have mentioned that silver was obtained from India and converted into ja'u in Ladakh, to facilitate acceptance in western Tibet, and to give the authorities in Ladakh a profit from the seignorage. Apart from India, a significant source of silver was Yarkand. In 1846 Cunningham estimated the annual flow of silver from Yarkand to Leh to be about Rs. 36,000, with the main trade item being opium.[35] Moorcroft also mentions imports of silver from Yarkand to Leh,[36] and this probably explains how Ladakh struck fine silver ja'u at times when Kashmir was unable to obtain sufficient supplies of silver, judging from the debasement of its

[33] Cunningham, op. cit., p. 254; Panish, op. cit., p. 185; and Petech, op. cit., p. 75.

[34] One possible source of confusion is that the term 'Srinagar timasha', applying to coins struck at Srinagar in Garhwal, may have lead some people to believe that the timashas or ja'u were struck at Srinagar in Kashmir.

[35] Cunningham, op. cit., p. 253.

[36] H. H. Wilson, *Travels . . . by Mr W. Moorcroft and Mr G. Trebeck from 1819 to 1825* (1841), vol. 1, p. 356.

coinage. This particularly occurred during the later years of Durrani rule (*c.*1800–19) and during the last years of Sikh rule (*c.*1840–6).

APPENDIX II

THE CURRENCY SYSTEM

Although the ja'u were the only coins to be struck in Ladakh, they were not the only coins to circulate there. According to Cunningham, gold tillas from Bukhara and Khokand circulated freely, as did various types of rupee from India, silver mohars from Nepal, and even Chinese cash and copper dumps from India. Indeed, it seems that the ja'u played a relatively minor role in the internal currency of Ladakh, being primarily struck for circulation in western Tibet.

In 1812 Moorcroft purchased some wool near Lake Manasarowar in western Tibet, and it is clear from his account[37] that the Ladakhi ja'u, or timashaas he called it, was the main currency of the area. Moorcroft brought rupees and Srinagar timashas with him, but he had some difficulty in making his purchase, although this was due more to the monopoly on the wool trade demanded by the Kashmiri merchants, than to any unfamiliarity of the rupee or the Srinagar timashas. Moorcroft weighed the rupees, and agreed that as the rupee weighed $4\frac{1}{2}$ Ladakhi timashas, it should be accepted at that rate, but the following day he was asked to pay in Srinagar timashas, at the rate of 5 timashas to the rupee. From this account it is also clear that even the Srinagar timasha, which only weighed between 2 and 2.2 g, was more highly valued, weight for weight, than the rupee.

Another account of contemporary use of the ja'u is given by Traill in 1832.[38] He says that 'the Jyu is coined at Ladakh, and is of very uncertain standard: of late years, its metal has been improved. In this province (Kumaon) it is called "Gangatassi", and passes at the rate of something more than five to the milled Furrackabad rupee.' Hence, at least in Kumaon, the value of the ja'u had fallen slightly in value by 1832. Traill also says that 'silver is computed at the Jyu or Temashi, (three Mashas) and the "Gorma" or current rupee equivalent to four "Jyu" '. It is implied that the 'Gorma' (Tibetan for 'round coin'), or current rupee of the hills was no longer equal in value to the rupee of the plains, and was only a unit of account. Although the ja'u of Ladakh and the timasha of Garhwal may have started off equal in value to a quarter of the Kashmir or Najibabad rupee respectively, care should be taken in interpreting any loosely phrased exchange rates, such as the 4 ja'u = 2 Nepalese mohars = 1 rupee given by Cunningham, since it is not clear what sort of rupee is referred to.

In spite of the fact that few ja'u were struck after 1857, they remained in circulation well into the present century, although their origin was not always understood. Francke referred to the ja'u as a modern Tibetan coin,[39] Landor includes several in his photograph of 'Silver Lhassa Coins',[40] and Swami Pranavānanda merely

[37] William Moorcroft, 'A Journey to Lake Manasarovara in Un-des, a Province of little Tibet', *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 12, p. 450.

[38] G. W. Traill, 'Statistical Report on the Bhotia Mehals of Kumaon', *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 17, p. 24.

[39] A. H. Francke, 'Some notes on Ladakhi currency', *IA* 30 (1901), 456.

[40] A. H. S. Landor, *In the Forbidden Land* (1898), vol. 1, p. 281.

says that a 'half tanga called jav is also current' in western Tibet.[41] This latter author also says that the rate of exchange was 4 tangas per rupee, so that by the 1940s the value of the ja'u had fallen to an eighth of a rupee. A more serious misattribution was made by certain numismatists, who assigned the coins to Bhutan,[42] confusing coin collectors throughout the first half of this century, and it was only C. K. Panish who returned them to Ladakh in his 1970 publication.

CATALOGUE

TIMASHAS OF GARHWAL, AD 1686–1760

1. *Obv.* ʿĀlamgir Bādshāh Ghāzi, sanah 31.
   Rev. Zarb Dār-āl-khalāfeh Shāh Jahānabād, 1099.
   Deyell,[43] 16 mm, 2.49 g (**Pl. 24, 2**).

2. *Obv.* Furrukhsiyār Bādshāh Ghāzi, sanah 2.
   Rev. Blundered version of above, but dated 1126 (?).
   Deyell, 17 mm, 2.62 (**Pl. 24, 3**), 2.56 g.
   Shrestha (**Pl. 24, 4**).

3. As last but cruder.
   Deyell (**Pl. 24, 5, 6**).
   Rhodes, 17 mm, 2.60 g.

4. As last, but reverse much cruder; central line '∩∪' or '∪∪'.
   Deyell (**Pl. 24, 7, 8**).
   Lingen, 2.4 g.

5. As last, but top line of rev. differs.
   Rhodes, 16 mm, 2.44 g (**Pl. 24, 9**).
   Goron, 2.43 g.

6. As 4 above, but no regnal year below obv.
   Deyell (**Pl. 24, 10**).
   Rhodes, 18 mm, 2.44 g.
   BM, 17 mm, 2.25 g.

7. As last, but date below obv. '29', and engraving much finer, although still illegible.
   Deyell (**Pl. 24, 11**).
   Rhodes, 16 mm, 2.16 g.
   Lingen, 2.4 g.

8. *Obv.* Shah ʿĀlam Bādshāh Ghāzi, sikka mubarak.
   Rev. Zarb Srinagar, sanah ahd, julus maimanat manus.
   Rhodes, 17 mm, 2.15 g (**Pl. 24, 12**).

[41] Swami Pranavānanda, *Exploration in Tibet* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 130.

[42] e.g. C. J. Rodgers, *Coins in the Indian Museum*, Part 3 (Calcutta, 1895), p. 117, and A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam* (Allahabad, 1930), p. 572.

[43] I am grateful to John Deyell for providing photographs of many coins in his collection, and for kindly allowing me to publish his reading of the reverse of the early timashas.

JA'U OF LADAKH

Type 1 (*c.*1771–1815)

Obv. Copy of Garhwal Timasha such as no. 4.

Rev. Copy of Garhwal Timasha, but 'Butān' above and 'Zarb Tibet' below. 19–20 mm.

(*a*) Date 1185 on obv.
(*b*) Date 1186 on obv.
(*c*) Fragmentary date on obv., 118, 115, or 114.
(*d*) No date on obv., numerous varieties of ornamentation.
(*e*) As (*d*), but base silver.

(*a*) BM, 2.50 g (**Pl. 24, 13**).
(*b*) Deyell, — (**Pl. 24, 14**).
(*c*) BM, 2.68, 2.67, 2.65 g (**Pl. 24, 15**).
(*d*) BM, 2.74 (**Pl. 24, 17**), 2.73, 2.53, 2.50 g.
Rhodes, 2.58, 2.54 (**Pl. 24, 16**), 2.49 g.
Mitchiner, 2.6, 2.5 g.
Lingen, 2.55 g.
(*e*) Rhodes, 2.46 g.

Type 2 (*c.*1815)

Obv. As last, but square around 'Siyar' of 'Furrukhsiyar'.

Rev. As last. 21 mm.

Rhodes, 2.81 (with loop), 2.67 g (**Pl. 24, 18**).

Type 3 (*c.*1815–16)

Obv. "Āqibat Mahmud Khān, 14.'

Rev. As last. 20 mm.

Rhodes, 2.28 g (**Pl. 25, 19**).

Type 4 (*c.*1815–16)

Obv. "Āqibat Mahmud Khān.' Circle around.

Rev. 'Qalon Sebān Tondub, Tibet.' 19 mm.

Deyell, — (**Pl. 25, 20**).

Type 5 (*c.*1816–42)

Obv. 'Mahmud Shah.'

Rev. As type 1.

(*a*) No dotted border. 19 mm.
(*b*) Dotted border both sides. 22 mm.
(*c*) Dotted border obv. only. 22 mm.
(*d*) As last, but '꠸' to r. of rev. 22 mm.
(*e*) As last, but obv. retrograde. 22 mm.
(*f*) As (*d*), but '꠹' to r. of rev. 21 mm.

(*a*) BM, 2.56 g (**Pl. 25, 21**).
(*b*) S.P.S. Museum[44] (**Pl. 25, 22**).

[44] Courtesy of the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, Kashmir, with thanks to John Deyell for taking the photograph.

(*c*) BM, 2.63, 2.61, 2.61, 2.58, 2.57, 2.51, 2.50, 2.50, 2.50, 2.48, 2.48, 2.46, 2.46, 2.38, 2.35, 2.28, 2.19, 2.19 g.
Rhodes, 2.47, 2.39 g (**Pl. 25, 23**).
Mitchiner, 2.6, 2.4 g.
Lingen, 2.55 g.
(*d*) BM, 2.45, 2.43, 2.36, 2.33, 2.23, 2.18 g.
Rhodes, 2.15 (**Pl. 25, 24**), 1.99 g.
(*e*) BM, 2.42, 2.39, 2.39, 2.36, 2.34, 2.33, 2.32, 2.30 (**Pl. 25, 25**), 2.29, 2.22, 2.12 g.
(*f*) BM, 2.43 (**Pl. 25, 26**), 2.19, 1.86 g.

Type 6 (*c*.1841)

Obv. 'Mahmud Shah' in circle, dotted circle around.
Rev. Tiger-knife pointing r. 'Zarb Butan' above and below. 22 mm.
BM, 2.28, 2.23, 2.23, 2.21, 2.20, 2.16, 2.16, 2.15, 2.14, 2.14, 2.12, 2.11, 2.11 g.
Rhodes, 2.05 g (**Pl. 25, 27**).

Type 7 (*c*.1842–50)

Obv. Nagari legend 'Raja Gulab Singh' in three lines.
Rev. As last.
(*a*) No dot in point of knife. 23 mm.
(*b*) Dot in point of knife. 23 mm.
(*c*) Figure 8 on its side in point of knife. Nagari legend reads 'Raja Galab Bing' in error. 21 mm.
(*d*) As last, but reverse inscription blundered. 21 mm.

(*a*) BM, 2.25, 2.23, 2.22, 2.20, 2.20, 2.20, 2.20, 2.18, 2.18, 2.18, 2.16, 2.16, 2.15, 2.15, 2.14, 2.12, 2.10, 2.10, 2.08, 2.05, 2.03 g.
Rhodes, 2.17 (**Pl. 25, 28**), 2.04, 2.00 g.
(*b*) BM, 2.24, 2.18, 2.15, 1.90, 1.81 g.
Rhodes, 2.19 g (**Pl. 25, 29**).
Mitchiner, 2.1 g.
(*c*) BM, 1.97 g.
Rhodes, 1.89, 1.88 g (**Pl. 25, 30**).
Lingen, 1.75 g.
(*d*) Rhodes, 1.9 g (**Pl. 25, 31**).

Type 8 (1871)

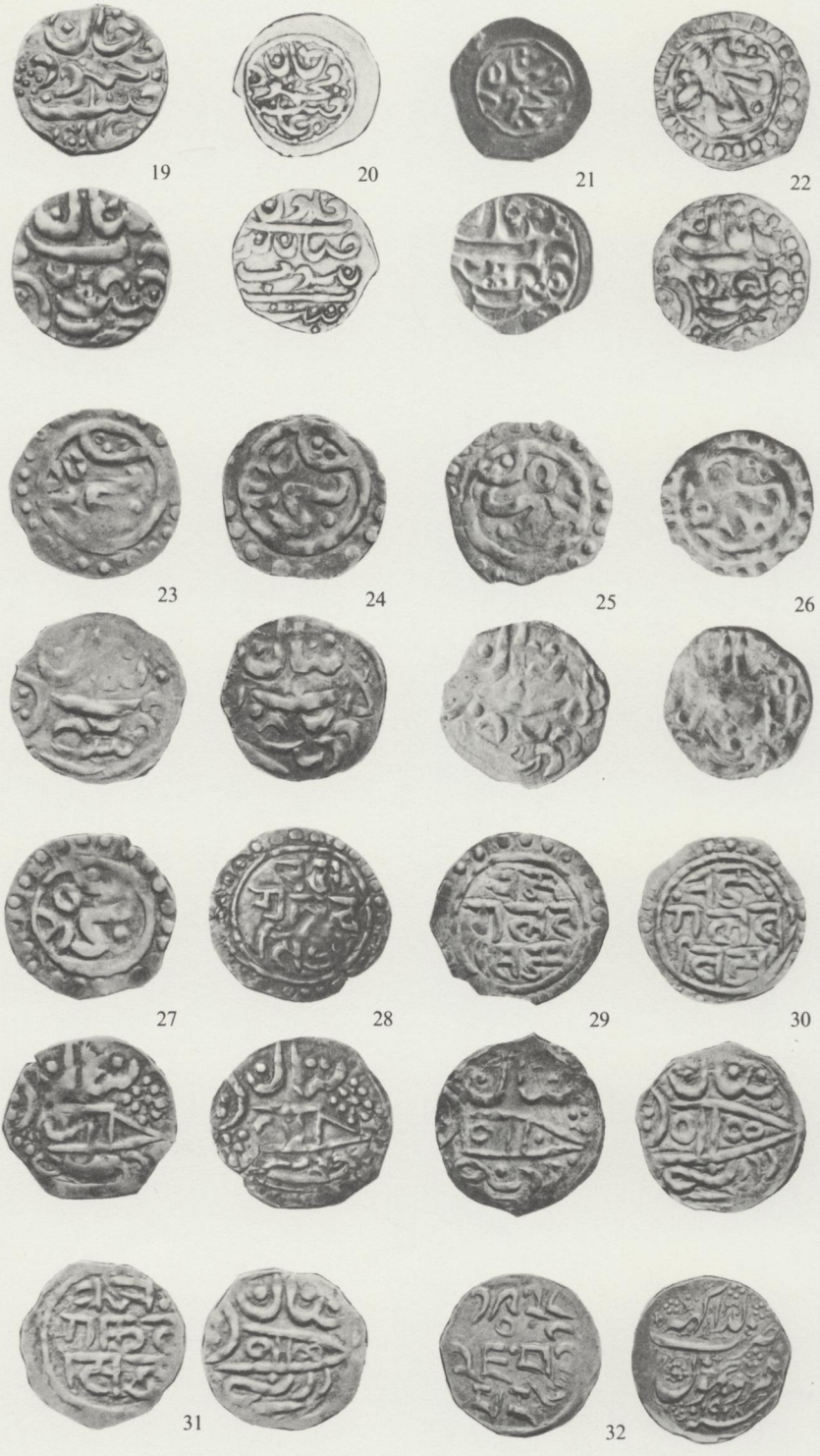
Obv. '1928 'Jam-bu'i Par' in Tibetan script.
Rev. 'Zarb Ladākh, Qilimrao Jamun, Sanah 1928' in Arabic script. 21 mm.
BM, 2.02, 2.00 g.
Rhodes, 2.09 g (**Pl. 25, 32**).
Mitchiner, 1.9 g.
Ashmolean, 1.95 g.

TABLE

Weights of Ladakhi Ja'u

Type	1.70–1.79	1.80–1.89	1.90–1.99	2.00–2.09	2.10–2.19	2.20–2.29	2.30–2.39	2.40–2.49	2.50–2.59	2.60–2.69	2.70–2.79
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	7	4	2
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
5(*a*)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
5(*c*)	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	5	7	4	—
5(*d*)	—	—	1	—	2	1	2	2	—	—	—
5(*e*)	—	—	—	—	1	2	7	1	—	—	—
5(*f*)	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
6	—	—	—	1	8	5	—	—	—	—	—
7(*a*)	—	—	—	5	12	7	—	—	—	—	—
7(*b*)	—	1	1	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	—
7(*c*)	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7(*d*)	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

RHODES, GARHWAL AND LADAKH (1)



RHODES, GARHWAL AND LADAKH (2)