CHAPTER V
PILGRIMAGE AND TRADE

Trade appears to be one of the most fundamental activities of human societies, going hand in hand with the development of complex form of social organization. "Perhaps in its earliest form it involved no more than the barter of subsistence commodities between people living off the land in adjacent ecological zones; such simple barter has persisted alongside more developed trading patterns almost down to the present times." In the western Himalayas, in spite of the huge mountain ranges like Karakoram and Hindu Kush, traders could not deter the overland trade that existed among various countries, exchanging their produce with others, across high and difficult passes. With the passage of time, this trade developed further.

In the olden days, Leh, the capital of Ladakh due to its strategic location in the Western Himalayas had developed into an active and important centre for commercial intercourse with Tibet, Persia, Yarkand, China and even Russia on one hand, and Kashmir, the Punjab, and the plains of Hindustan on the other. In 1872, R.B. Shaw, the British Joint Commissioner on special duty, Ladakh, mentioned that the town of Leh had become an important point, where the great majority of traders from both sides were always coming but not going beyond Ladakh, and they were present there at Leh, bartering their goods with other merchants and returning to their homes. The origins of

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3 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 126-130, Consultation May 1872.
these trades are undocumented. But it seems to have started long ago. The trade relation between Ladakh and Tibet is an old one. It is quite possible that the inhabitants of Ladakh felt the Tibetan influence as early as the mid-seventh century, for the nomadic Tibetans of Changthang would have good reason to have contacts with the Mons and Dards, exchanging grains for animals products. The Tibetan nomads occupied the higher pasture ground for their animals and the Aryan tribes (Mons and Dards) irrigated in the lower plains. According to A. H. Francke, the products of the fields were as welcome to the Tibetans as were the produce of the flocks to the Dards and the peasants. During this period the Tibetan nomads of Changthang probably inter-married with the Mon and Dard population and allowed a trading or bartering system to develop between the two groups of people. This trade continued to develop for many years. Luciano Petech mentioned that “about 900 A.D., Ladakh, still inhabited by a Dardi-speaking population, was no longer connected politically with Tibet, at the most it maintained trade relations with it.”

By the 16th and the 17th centuries, the trade in the Western Himalayas through Ladakh was well established as several references supported this fact. It may be assumed that by then it was already an institution of many centuries, standing. The people of Nubra petitioned King Ts’e-dban-rNamgyal (1530-1560 A. D.), to refrain from undertaking a campaign in the North of Leh, against the Khan of Yarkand, as it would have seriously damaged the trade through the passes, which was of vital importance to Nubra; the king saw the point and decided in favour of the petition.

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6 Ibid. p. 32.
Ladakh also mentions this petition.\textsuperscript{7} After ascending the throne, King Ts’e-dban-rNamgyal waged war in the West, the East, and the South, and when he planned to go to war against Yarkand in the North of Leh, the people of Nubra petitioned to the king against the war:

\textit{“Chnag Hor la dmag gyab gsun wa la Nobra pa nrams kyis ju wa phyul nas ma mdzad.”}\textsuperscript{8}

It means that when the king would have waged a war against the Hor (the Turks) in the North, the people of Nubra petitioned him and he desisted.

Many travelers in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries have documented the trade through Ladakh. The first most comprehensive analysis of this trade is by W. Moorcroft who was on his way to Yarkand. He reached Leh in September 1820 and remained there for a period of two years, until September 1822.\textsuperscript{9} He reported that a considerable number of people from Kashmir and some Turani merchants were engaged in commerce at Leh.\textsuperscript{10} He also mentioned that Leh, because it was centrally situated, became the great thoroughfare for an active commercial intercourse between Tibet, Turkistan, China, and even Russia on one hand, and Kashmir, the Punjab and the plains of Hindustan on the other.\textsuperscript{11} In fact, this trade became an important source of income not only for Ladakh but also for other countries including Kashmir. This point is substantiated by the fact that King Sen-ge-rNamgyal of Ladakh in the middle years of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century closed the main trade route between Ladakh and Kashmir as an economic reprisal against the Moghuls.\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{7} A. H. Francke, \textit{Antiquities of Indian Tibet, The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles, Texts Translation, with Notes and Maps, Part II} (New Delhi: Chand and Co., 1926), p. 38.
  \item \textsuperscript{8} Ibid. p. 38.
  \item \textsuperscript{9} W. Moorcroft, W and George Trebeck, op. cit. 2, p. xxxvi.
  \item \textsuperscript{10} Ibid. pp. 319-320.
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Ibid. p. 346.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Luciano Petech, op. cit. 5, pp. 50-51.
\end{itemize}
This economic blockade, which lasted for about twenty years, was lifted by King bDe-Idan-rNamgyal.\(^{13}\) This decision of King Sen-ge-rNamgyal to close the commercial caravan was not good economic sense and it also affected the economy of his own country. As Luciano Petech writes that this blockade of the Kashmir trade must have dealt a serious blow to the commercial interest of the country (Ladakh).\(^{14}\)

There was trade not only with different countries but also among different regions of Ladakh, exchanging the produce of one region with that of others. The internal trade consisted in articles both imported and produced in the country and the trade was between the inhabitants of one region and those of others. This trade was carried by barter.\(^{15}\) For example, people of \textit{upshu} brought salt to Zanskar and took barley in exchange; the Zanskaris further exchanged this salt with inhabitants of Suru for \textit{Pattu} (woolen cloth), some cash and barley.\(^{16}\) In 1846, the quantity of wool used in making blankets and sacks was 20,000 small mounds of wool.\(^{17}\) Maund was a measure of weight of two sizes; bigger one 'the pukka maund' being approximately 37 kilograms and the small maund was about 15 kilograms. According to Frederic Drew, the chief profit was in the trade of salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increased its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must come from outside.\(^{18}\) The lower region of Ladakh, locally called Sham, produced various kinds of fruits including apricots and the peasant-traders from the region used to take dried apricots, and other

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\(^{13}\) Ibid. pp. 64-65.

\(^{14}\) Ibid. p. 65.


\(^{16}\) Frederic Drew \textit{The Northern Barrier of India (Jammu: Light and Life Publishers, 1971)}, p. 287.


\(^{18}\) Frederic Drew, op. cit. 16, p. 287.
necessary articles of trade to Changthang, exchanging it for goat wool (pashm) and salt. According to Janet Rizvi, every year the traders from Sham traveled with their donkeys via Chang-la to Rudok, some reaching as far as Gertse, over 500 kilometers from the border, while others worked the intervening valleys and plateau of Gerge and Rundor.19 Earlier, many monks from Ladakh used to go to Tibet for monastic education, with the traders. There are still many monks who have been to Tibet through this route. Lobsang Tomba,20 about eighty years old, is one of them. When he was about thirteen years old, he went through this route with the traders to Tibet. He studied for twenty-two years in Dre-pung and Tashi-Lhunpo monasteries in Tibet. After keeping enough for their domestic consumption, the peasant-traders of Sham loaded their donkeys once more with the salt and wool they had brought from Changthang, and took it further down as far as Skardu in Baltistan. The traders followed two routes to Skardu. On the first route, the traders made a detour over the Fatu-la and Namika-la, to Kargil, the two passes between Leh and Kargil. From Kargil, the route followed the Dras-Suru River down to it confluence with the Indus at Marol, and then took a trail, which goes along the steep mountainside above the river down to Skardu.21 The other route goes down along the Indus for about 45 kilometers, then takes a right turn up the Hanu River, over the Chorbat-la and down into the Shayok Valley to Skardu.22 Though the majority of the Ladakhis lived by subsistence agriculture, yet trade played a vital role in development of its economy and culture.

19 Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 39.
20 A monk of Thiksay monastery in Ladakh.
21 Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 39.
22 Ibid. p. 39.
Trade Routes

In the Tibetan and Ladakhi language every road is called Lam; but the high roads are distinguished by the name of Lam-chen, or “Great Roads,” and Gya Lam or “Passable Roads.”

Ladakh is connected with many trade routes; the Central Asian trade routes, the Southern route, the Northwestern route and Southwestern route. The principal road is that between Kashmir and Yarkand; the next in importance is the road to Lhasa, and the third is that which leads to Rukchu, Lahul, and Kulu. The following are some of the important roads that connected Ladakh with different countries.

The Western Roads

The Western Road connects Ladakh with the Kashmir valley. The whole distance from Leh to Kashmir is 228 miles. La means pass, and there are three main passes on this route; the Namgyi-la, (about 3,000 feet), the Fatu-la (13,240 feet) and the Zoji-la (11,300). The Zoji-la is passable from March till November; it is closed in winter by the vast masses of snow. This route became important for the trade between Ladakh and Kashmir. In fact, in 1873, J. E. T Aitchison while reporting upon Ladakh routes to the Secretary to the government of Punjab suggested for “the formation of a covered way across the Zoji-La in order to secure a permanent passage throughout the whole year between Kashmir and Ladakh.” Normally it took travelers on horseback some 14 to 16

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23 A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, p. 146.
24 Ibid. p 149.
26 C. L. Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 13.
27 Reports of Ladakh Routes, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 215-218, Consultation August 1873.
days to reach Leh from Kashmir.\textsuperscript{28} Ladakh trade reports from 1869 to 1874 show the average improvement of imports into Ladakh and export from Ladakh to Kashmir on this route:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Exports value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total value in (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>40,002</td>
<td>71,919</td>
<td>1,11,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,18,185</td>
<td>81,393</td>
<td>1,99,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>69,555</td>
<td>1,58,232</td>
<td>2,27,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>42,054</td>
<td>1,01,380</td>
<td>1,43,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>76,386</td>
<td>1,84,014</td>
<td>2,60,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>95,614</td>
<td>1,42,932</td>
<td>2,38,546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ladakh Trade reports of the respective years, National Archives, Delhi.

The above total value of imports and exports figures for six years show slight improvement; it was about one lakh and twelve thousand in the year 1869 and increased to two lakhs thirty eight thousand five hundred in the year 1874.

This route is now familiar to visitors driving in from Kashmir since Ladakh was opened to tourists in 1974.

The Southwestern Road

This road linked Leh to Zanskar, and Kishtwar with Jammu.\textsuperscript{29} The distance between Leh to Jammu is almost the same as the distance from Leh to Kashmir, mentioned above.\textsuperscript{30} From Jammu it took an easterly direction, through Chandra Bhaga valley near Chatargarh and after crossing Umasi-la (pass), entered Padum, the capital of Zanskar.\textsuperscript{31} From Padum there are two roads to Leh; the direct route through Zanskar and

\textsuperscript{28} Janet Rizvi, \textit{op. cit.} 1, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{29} C. L, Datta, \textit{op. cit.} 15, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{30} A. Cunningham, \textit{op. cit.} 17, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{31} C. L, Datta, \textit{op. cit.} 15, p. 11.
the winter route through Rupshu.\textsuperscript{32} Zorawar Singh, a commander of the Dogra army, took the latter in the winter of 1835, when all the passes on the more direct road had been closed.\textsuperscript{33}

The Southern Road

This road connected Leh to Lahul, Kulu, Kangra valley, Bashahr, Nurpur and other trade marts of Punjab.\textsuperscript{34} The establishment of mule traffic on this route was due to the creation in 1870 of the Kulu mule train by Captain Harcourt, under the orders of Colonel Coxe, Commissioner of the Jalandar division.\textsuperscript{35} According to Cunningham, by this route the shawl wool was brought to the large cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludhiana, all of which made a return in manufactured shawls and coarse brocades.\textsuperscript{36}

The Northwestern Road

This road led from Baltistan and other neighboring districts up the bed of the Indus to Leh\textsuperscript{37}. During the summer season, when the water level of Indus increased due to the melting of snow, the travelers preferred ascending the Shayok river as far as Chhorbad, and thence crossing the mountains by the Hanu pass (16,890 feet) and descended into Ladakh at the fort of Hanu\textsuperscript{38}. This road was frequently traversed by Baltis, who carried dried apricots, which were in great favour and demand in the cold countries

\textsuperscript{32} A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid. p. 152.
\textsuperscript{34} Trade report, Ladakh, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
\textsuperscript{35} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
\textsuperscript{36} A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, p. 153.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid. p. 162.
\textsuperscript{38} C. L, Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 11. Also see A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17. p. 162.
of Ladakh and Tibet. Zorawar Singh who conquered Baltistan in 1839-40 also followed this route.

The Northern Road

This road leads from Yarkand and Kotan, over the Karakoram mountains (18660 feet) to Leh. The Karakoram route from Yarkand to Leh is about 500 miles in length. There are several possible routes from Leh to Yarkand, all converging at the Karakoram pass, the travelers' choices of which depended on the season. As for the distance, whatever the season, it was a march of about 500 miles and took about a month. The Karakoram route was a very difficult one; there were several formidable obstacles. From Leh, the first is the Kardong-la pass (about 18380 feet), where no road can be constructed over a steep glacier, and then the Shayok River, which was difficult to cross in summer, as there was no bridge. The British Joint Commissioner of Ladakh reported in March 1872 that the Shayok River has a boat plying across it opposite Tirit (a village in Nubra) at a certain season. He further added that any bridge over the river near the village "would have to be of such a span as practically to forbid its construction in a region devoid of large trees like in Leh and Nubra."

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39 Fredrick Drew, op. cit 16, p.239.
40 C. L, Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 12.
41 A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, p. 160.
42 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.
43 Janet Rizvi, op. cit I, p. 28.
44 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894. Also see Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 28.
45 Reports on trade routes through Ladakh, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 126-130, Consultation May 1872.
46 Ibid. P. 4.
the Sasser Pass- a large glacier, and it is difficult to climb over it. B. R Shaw, the British Joint Commissioner of Ladakh, who crossed this pass mentioned that:

"It is difficult and toilsome for even a foot passenger to climb over these slippery masses of ice, while the hollows between them are filled with small lakes or pools which force the travelers to make way over sloping moraine at the side, consisting of rocky masses of all sizes and shapes poised unsteadily as they have been deposited by melting ice. Traveling on foot, as I was when I crossed this pass, I could scarcely have believed that a horse could advance a yard on such ground, had not the skeletons on the track born witness to the fact."48

Traders traveled through these routes in the summer as well as in the winters. The autumn and winter traveling between Yarkand and Ladakh possessed the advantage of greater ease in crossing the streams which in the spring and early summer were much swollen by the melting snows, yet this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the intense cold that prevailed late in the year in those elevated regions, and the drying up of the grass.49 Snow was another disadvantage that was faced by the travelers in winter, especially as it increased the difficulty of the baggage animals to cross the passes. But whatever the reason, the Yarkand traders much preferred to start southward at an earlier season so that they would have reached Ladakh not later than the beginning of September at least.50 They were thus enabled to meet at Leh the Punjab traders, who could not wait for them beyond the beginning of October on the account of closing of the passes between Ladakh and India.51 Despite such difficulties, the trade on this route had been

48 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 126-130, Consultation May 1872.
49 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
50 Trade report, Ladakh, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
51 R. B Shaw, British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh to the Secretary to Govt., Punjab, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
improving year by year as the following figures from the Ladakh Trade Reports from 1868 to 1874 show:

Table. V.2
Imports and Exports of Ladakh with Central Asia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Exports value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total Value in (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1,58,054</td>
<td>1,23,999</td>
<td>2,82,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>2,78,799</td>
<td>1,96,323</td>
<td>4,75,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>2,64,000</td>
<td>3,46,543</td>
<td>6,10,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>2,61,242</td>
<td>1,92,579</td>
<td>4,53,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>3,21,763</td>
<td>1,61,165</td>
<td>4,82,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>3,30,690</td>
<td>2,55,660</td>
<td>5,86,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>3,81,802</td>
<td>8,02,563</td>
<td>11,84,365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874, National Archives Delhi.

The above figures show increased of both imports and exports of Ladakh with central Asia. The imports value was about one lakh and fifty eight thousand rupees in the year 1868 and it increased to three lakh eight one thousand eight hundred in the year 1874. The exports value was also increased from one lakh twenty four thousand in 1868 to eight lakhs two thousands five hundred in the year 1874. The increased was due to the improvement of the trade route between them.

The Southeastern Road

This road connected Ladakh with Tibet. From Leh it followed the course of the Indus upstream; then through Gartok and Lake Mansarowar it entered the valley of Tsang-po and reached Lhasa.\(^{52}\) Gartok was situated on the Indus, about 15 days journey from Leh.\(^{53}\) It was the main trading and administrative centre of Western Tibet, where only three possible routes could reach it. The first and direct one was the road that goes

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\(^{52}\) C. L. Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 12.

\(^{53}\) Ladakh Trade Report for 1874, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
straight up the Indus through Upshi and Chumathang. But this was possible only in winter, so one alternative in other seasons was to make a detour south over the Taglang-la to Debring, crossing Polo-kongka-la, and following down to the Puga river down to the Indus at Mahe. The other one was to detour north over the Chang-la to Tangtse, Chushul, and to cut over to the Indus Valley via the Tsaka-la. Sven Hedin followed the last one, when he was traveled from Leh to Tibet in 1906. The three routes converged at Thangra on the Indus; from there it was about nine days march through Demchok to Gartok. The route from Leh to Lhasa was extended over 90 stages, and along the road there were nomads, who grazed large herds of sheep, yaks and goats. Imports into Ladakh and exports from Ladakh to the Tibetan area from 1867 to 1874 showed a steady improvement. The following figures are taken from Ladakh Trade Reports from 1867-1874:

Table V.3
Imports and exports of Ladakh with Tibet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Exports value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total value in (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>68,888</td>
<td>62,832</td>
<td>1,31,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1,39,057</td>
<td>1,45,239</td>
<td>2,84,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1,33,788</td>
<td>57,889</td>
<td>1,91,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,58,413</td>
<td>67,751</td>
<td>2,26,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1,49,537</td>
<td>52,084</td>
<td>2,01,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>2,61,242</td>
<td>55,153</td>
<td>3,16,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>78,511</td>
<td>56,133</td>
<td>1,34,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1,20,529</td>
<td>1,11,521</td>
<td>2,32,050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874, National Archives Delhi.

54 Janet Rizvi, op cit. 1, p. 33.
55 Ibid. p. 33.
57 Janet Rizvi, op cit. 1, p. 33.
58 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
The total value of imports to and exports from Leh to Tibetan territories was also rising; it was about one lakh thirty one thousand seven hundred in the year 1867 and rose to a total value of about two lakhs thirty two thousand in the year 1874. The large proportion of tea imported in 1872 turned out to be of bad quality, and remained in the hands of Lhasa tea merchants.\textsuperscript{59} This may be the reason behind the sudden decrease in the imports value shown in 1873.\textsuperscript{60}

**Some of the articles of trade through Ladakh**

The most important and profitable trade of Ladakh was her trade with neighbors. Due to its central location and being on the old Silk Route, Ladakh became a transit centre in the Western Himalayas. Traders from different countries in the region used to travel through respective roads to Ladakh and exchange their goods with others. Following are some of the important articles of trade that were exchanged through Ladakh

**Goat wool (Pashm)**

The goat wool (Pashm) was the most important article of the trade between Ladakh, Tibet, Kashmir and Yarkand. It was the trade of Pashm which formed the most substantial link, a link which for centuries was political as well as commercial.\textsuperscript{61} It was the Pashm business that induced Maharaja Gulab Singh, the Raja of Jammu to undertake the conquest of Ladakh in 1834. As Alastair Lamb pointed out:

"There can be little doubt that it was the attraction of the Ladakh carrying trade, particularly, in shawl wool, which brought the Sikhs into this barren and mountainous

\textsuperscript{59} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.

\textsuperscript{60} Trade Report, Ladakh, 1873. Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.

\textsuperscript{61} Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 50.
region and there can be equally little doubt that the Sikh conquest and the consequent exaction imposed upon this trade upset the long-established commercial framework of this region. 62

Wool, in both Tibetan and Ladakhi is called ‘Bal’ and there are two kinds: first, goat wool or ‘Le-na’, which is used for shawls, and secondly sheep-wool or ‘Bal’ which is used for blankets and coarse clothing, and for stuffing pillows and bedding. 63 The goat wool (Pashm) is the soft warm undercoat of a particular breed of domestic goat found in the bitter cold of the trans-Himalayan winter. 64 This wool is produced in many areas in Ladakh and Tibet. Some of the important areas where wool is produced are Rupshu, Rodokh and Changthang. 65 Besides the above areas, some fine Pashm known as ‘Turfan’ was also imported into Ladakh from Yarkand. 66 Strictly speaking, pashm should be described as the wool of the domesticated goat in contradiction to “tush,” which is the wool of the wild goat, or ibex. Tush was so exceedingly rare that it cannot be said to come under the head of marketable commodities. In 1874, Captain E. Molloy, Officiating British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, mentioned that very small quantities of it were sent every year from Changthang to Kashmir for the use of the Maharaja. 67 It is obtained by being picked off rocks and thorny bushes where ibex have rubbed themselves; of course these animals might be shot for it. There are two kinds of tush- shahtush and tush. Shahtush is fine white down that grows only on certain parts of the body of the ibex,

63 A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, p. 239.
64 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
65 W. Moorcroft and George Trebeck, op. cit. 2, pp. 346-47.
66 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
67 Ladakh Trade Report For 1874, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
whereas tush is the wool of the rest of the body, and it varies in being different shades of brown. I had myself seen pashm on bushes on a high pass near the Tsomoriri Lake in Ladakh, in the month of August 2003, when I along with my friend was on a day trek. In fact, my friend noticed it first, as he is interested in pashmina shawl. There were lots of pashmina goats in the area. Captain E. Molloy, Officiating British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, mentioned in 1874 that “in Changthang the pashm was taken once a year out of the goat, this was not the case in Turfan (Yarkand), where the wool was not touched while the goat was alive.” In Changthang it is usual to extract the pashm in two ways, it being done always around June, either by combing it out before shearing the animal, when it is called ‘Kaljack’ or by shearing it with the coarser hairs of the goat, when it is called ‘Chang’. The former process, however, produces much finer and softer pashm than the latter. In Turkistan, after the skin of the animal has been taken off, it is steeped for some days in a preparation of lime-water, when the upper growth of the coarse hairs were picked out of it, and the fine under-growth of wool being then collected and made up into bales for foreign export. However, before the weaver used it, it was subjected to a further process of cleaning and picking.

The goat wool was (and is) the most important raw material for Kashmir’s shawl industry. The final product of this material is called Pashmina shawl and it is well known

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68 Ibid. p. 4.
69 About 170 kilometers Southeast of Leh.
70 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
71 Ladakh Trade Report For 1874, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
72 Ibid. p. 4.
73 Ibid. p. 4.
all over the world. The raw materials were procured from the western provinces of Tibet and Ladakh. Kashmiri merchants from Leh mostly carried it. Moorcroft mentioned that:

"the fleece is cut once a year; and the wool, coarsely picked either in the place from whence it comes, or at Leh, is sold by the importers to the merchants at that city, by whom it is sent on to Kashmir."  

74

The treaty of Tingmosgang (1684) brought an end to the three-cornered conflict between Ladakh, Tibet and the Mughal Empire at Kashmir.75 One clause of the treaty deals with the Pashm trade between Ladakh, Tibet and Kashmir. According to this treaty, the goat wool of mNa-ris-skor-gsum must not be sold to any other country but Kashmir and the price being fixed as two dnul-dmar-zog (red silver good) for eighty nags.76 For the purpose of pashm trade, four Kashmiri merchants were to be settled at Spituk (dPe-t'up)77, to supply the Pashm to Kashmir.78 Kashmiri residents of Ladakh were to travel to Byan-t’an (Changthang) to procure goat wool and bring it to Leh, where they would sell it to Kashmiri traders; Kashmiri residents of Ladakh were not allowed to bring themselves their wool to Kashmir.79 Further, no merchants from Kashmir were allowed to enter Changthang.80 This treaty on the Pashm gives more advantages to the Moghuls in Kashmir. In fact, C. L. Datta mentioned that "the entire wool export and transit trade of Ladakh was a firm monopoly of Kashmir."81

74 W. Moorcroft and George Trebeck, op cit. 2, p. 347.
75 Luciano Petech, op. cit. 5, p. 74.
76 Ibid. p. 77.
77 About seven kilometers down the Indus from Leh.
78 C. L, Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 65.
79 Luciano Petech, op. cit. 5, p. 77. Also see C. L, Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 65.
80 Ibid. p. 77.
81 C. L, Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 65.
The Tibetan text of the treaty reported in the Chronicles of Ladakh, contain many important points on the Pashm trade between Ladakh, Tibet and Kashmir; it mentioned:

“Kha-chul dgos chyet/ mNgaris-khor-gsum gi le-na sogs/ yul gzyan la tsong mi chok pa tang/ ley rin yang chey ral nyag bGyad bChu la dngyul dmar azog gnyis rey btang gryu dang/ Ley rin chey ral nyag 40 la rin dnyul gchig ry gtang gryu/ rong pai nag la chang-pas chang mi chog/ Chang-pai le-na (la) sa do’w chu sogs dyg zer lo myt Pa dang/ Ru-thok rang la mkhar tsong pa ma thogs/ gro Mi chog pa chas/ le-na nrams/ kha-chey (tshaso) tshong pa mi bzhai dPe-t’up (Spituk) tu bsdad nas/ k(sha) mir kha chey dang nyam tsong chas/ Kha-chul dro gya chas wa ma gtogs/ Kha-chul kha chey Chang-thang la gro mi chog/ Chang-thang gro wai Ladgs kha chey yis Kha-chull la rang Le-na khyor tai/ gro mi chog.”

Translation: the fine goat wool of mNgaris-khor-gsum should be sold only to Kashmir, the price of the fine wool and mix wool being fixed. It was two red silver good (two rupees) for eighty nags of the fine wool and forty nags of mixed wool cost one rupee. The nag used by rong-pa was not allowed to be used by the people of Changthang. There should be no complaint that the wool of Changthang contains soil, stones and moisture. Only the court merchants of Ladakh were allowed to go to Rudok. Four Kashmiri merchants were to reside at Spituk to trade and supply wool to Kashmir. Besides the four merchants who settled at Spituk, no merchants from Kashmir were to be allowed to enter Changthang. And those Kashmiri residents of Ladakh who traveled to Changthang were not allowed to go to Kashmir themselves with the load of the goat wools.

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82 A. H. Francke, op. cit. 7, p. 42.
83 Rong means gorge, Rong-pa probably mentioned of the people of the Indus.
Thus, the shawl wool trade became an area of mutual dependence between Ladakh, Western Tibet and Kashmir, and outsiders were excluded. Several travelers in the 17th and 18th centuries have reported about this shawl wool trade activity between Ladakh and Kashmir. Ippolito Desideri the Jesuit priest, who visited Ladakh in 1715, has reported about the trade of fine wool between Ladakh, Western Tibet and Kashmir.84 About a century after Desideri, William Moorcroft, who traveled to many provinces in the Himalayas from 1819 to 1825, witnessed the trade in fine wool between Ladakh, Tibet and Kashmir. He stayed in Leh from September 1820 to September 1822 and his observation during the period has confirmed that the fine wool was still the most important article of trade between Ladakh and Kashmir. As he mentioned:

"One of the most important articles of the trade of Ladakh is shawl wool, of which it forms, in some degree, the source, but in a still greater, the entrepot between the countries whence the wool is chiefly supplied, Rudokh and Changthang, and that in which it consumed, Kashmir."85

The Treaty of Tingmosgang which was signed more than a century ago (1684), was still effectively in place when Moorcroft was in Leh. As he pointed out:

"About eighty hundred loads (wool) are annually exported to Kashmir, to which country, by ancient custom and engagements, the export is exclusively confined, and all attempts to convey it to other countries are punished by confiscation. In like manner it is considered in Rudokh and Changthang as illegal to allow a trade in shawl wool except through Ladakh."86

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85 W. Moorcroft and George Trebeck, op cit. 2, pp. 346-47.
86 Ibid. p. 347.
Despite the Dogra expedition to Ladakh from 1834-1842, the shawl wool trade between Ladakh, Tibet and Kashmir continued as before. The Dogra expedition in Ladakh was to divert the wool trade to Jammu via Zanskar and Kishtwar,87 but it could not succeed. Alaistair Lamb stated that “the trade between Ladakh and Tibet was largely based on a system of traditional relationships which could hardly fail to be disturbed by the conquest of a power alien in culture and religion.”88

The Treaty of Leh (1842) between the Dogras and the Tibetans and four years later, the Treaty of Amritsar (1846), which put Gulab Singh in possession of Kashmir in addition to his existing territories of Jammu and Ladakh, ensured the continuation of the trade of shawl wool through Ladakh to Kashmir. The treaty of Leh (1842) ensured that “the conformity with ancient usage, tea and shawl wool shall be transmitted by the Ladakh road.”89 Alexander Cunningham witnessed the continuation of this trade when he visited Ladakh in 1846-47. He observed that during the period export of shawl-wool, produced in the country, amounted to 2,400 small mounds or 76,800lbs a year.90 The goat wool was exported to Kashmir, Amritsar and Rampur.91 During the same period, the export of goat wool was approximately about 5,000 maunds.92

87 Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 60.
88 Alastair Lamb, op. cit. 62, p. 65.
89 C. L Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 214. Also see Alastair Lamb, op. cit. 62, pp. 70-71.
90 A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, p. 239.
91 Ibid, p. 239.
92 Ibid, p. 239.
Table V.4

Cunningham reported the following data of the goat wool that was produced in Ladakh and imported from Western Tibet in 1847.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goat wool</th>
<th>Maunds</th>
<th>=Lb</th>
<th>Value (Rs)</th>
<th>Rate of import duty per Maunds (Rs)</th>
<th>Value of duty (Rs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Produced in Ladakh</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>76800</td>
<td>76800</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imported from western Tibet</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>128000</td>
<td>128000</td>
<td>8as</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6400</td>
<td>204,800</td>
<td>204,800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, pp. 239, 249.

Table V.5

Goat wool exported to different countries from Ladakh in 1847.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exported to</th>
<th>Maunds</th>
<th>=Lb</th>
<th>Value (Rs)</th>
<th>Rate of export duty per Maunds (Rs)</th>
<th>Value of duty (Rs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>102,400</td>
<td>102,400</td>
<td>8as</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>102,400</td>
<td>102,400</td>
<td>12as</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>204,800</td>
<td>204,800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table V.4 shows that out of the total 6400 maunds of goat wool of Ladakh in 1847, total 2400 maunds were produced in Ladakh and 4000 maunds were imported from western Tibet. And the table V.5 shows the exports of the same wool from Ladakh. Out of total 6400 maunds, only half of it went to Kashmir; the other half was being brought by traders to Rampur and Amritsar in Punjab. It seems clear that the Ladakh and Kashmir monopoly of the goat wool trade established by the Treaty of Tingmosgang had been breached.

In the 18th and 19th centuries British India was the other player who started taking an interest in the trade that went through Ladakh, especially the trade that went to Yarkand and other places in Central Asia. It was not the profit of the trade that British
India was interested in, but to gather intelligence from the traders about Russian activities in Central Asia. In the context of Anglo-Russian rivalry, and the increase of Russian activities in Central Asia,\textsuperscript{93} British India stationed for the first time a British official at Leh in 1867.\textsuperscript{94} Dr. Cayley was the officer on special duty, to monitor the trade.\textsuperscript{95} That was ostensibly his brief but actually he was posted there to "monitor the developments across the border."\textsuperscript{96} Later in the year 1870 a commercial treaty between the British government and Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Jammu and Kashmir freed the trans-Karakoram trade of all duties, and also appointed two joint commissioners, one each representing the Kashmir Durbar and the British government.\textsuperscript{97} Their responsibilities included the maintenance of the road and the settlement of disputes between traders or travelers.\textsuperscript{98} Thus originated the post of British Joint Commissioner at Leh who supervised the trade that went to trans-Karakoram. In 1875, Captain E. Molloy, Officiating British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, while submitting the trade report for 1874 to the Government Secretary, Punjab, has mentioned:

"It is worth mentioning that 12 merchants who have been up to last year in the habit of confining their commercial trips to Yarkand to one or other of these routes, in 1874 for the first time piloted their return consignments of goods over the Karakuram. Several of these men complained to me in strong terms of the duties exacted along these routes, and expressed themselves as much pleased with the free system that prevails on Ladakh trade route."\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{93} W. Moorcroft and George Trebeck, op cit. 2, pp. 385-86.
\textsuperscript{94} Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid. p. 196.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid. p. 139.
\textsuperscript{98} Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 202.
\textsuperscript{99} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
The British Joint-Commissioner of Ladakh mostly carried out repair work of the trade routes that fell under Ladakh and settled disputes of the traders. In 1873, the Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, carried out repair works to the portions of the trade routes running through the Ladakh district. In 1895, Captain S. H. Godfrey, then the British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh reported that “the treaty of 1870 with Kashmir securing a free highway to Central Asian traffic has been more satisfactorily observed than in the past year.”

Thirty years after the treaty, Captain Kenien was the Joint Commissioner of Ladakh and he had visited Rudokh to settle some disputes between the Ladakhi traders and the local Tibetan official. Besides, at the important and difficult places Chowkiders were appointed to take care of the traders and goods.

The exports from Leh in the years 1867 to 1872 show that the trade in goat wool was still being monopolized by Kashmir.

Table V.6
Export of the shawl wool from Leh to Kashmir and Punjab, 1867-1872.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Maunds &amp; Seers</th>
<th>Value (Rs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The total amount of goat wool imported into Leh from Turkestan and Changthang amounted</td>
<td>5,781.34</td>
<td>3,12,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The total amount of shawl wool exported from Leh to Punjab was</td>
<td>433.30</td>
<td>24,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The total amount of shawl wool purchased by Kashmir traders at Leh amounted</td>
<td>5,348.03</td>
<td>2,88,814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 284.

100 Trade Report from Captain E. Molloy, Officiating British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, Foreign Department, Political A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.

101 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.

102 An official letter from the British Resident in Kashmir to the Vice-President of the Jammu and Kashmir State Council, July 14, 1900; for details, see Appendix i.

103 An official letter from the British Joint commissioner to the Wazir Wazrat, Ladakh, January 2, 1909, for details, see Appendix iv.
The total figures of the six years from 1867 to 1872 showed that Ladakh's import of wool from Yarkand and Changthang (Western Tibet) amounted to 5782 maunds with the total value rupees three lakhs twelve thousands eight hundred and out of these a total of 5348 maunds of goat wool with the total value of rupees two lakhs eighty eight thousands eight hundred was purchased by Kashmiri traders and only 434 maunds with the total value rupees about twenty four thousands went to Punjab. These figures confirmed the Ladakhi and Kashmiri monopoly of the goat wool trade during the period.

The profit for the respective governments from the goat wool business was not only via the duties the government levied on it, but the kings were also personally involved in the trade. The Kashmir Maharaja profited not only from his government levying duties on the shawl business and on the shawl industry in Srinagar, but was also personally involved in the trade. 104 For many years Ladakhi kings had their own merchants who were involved in the trade. 105

After a long process, the industries in Srinagar produced fine shawls called 'Pashmina' which was (and still is) famous in many countries. The Pasmina shawls were in great demand in many countries including Britain, Russia and many countries in Europe. 106 By 1870, the demand for the Pahmina shawls from Europe declined. One of its causes was attributed to the Franco-Prussian war, which saw a sharp and immediate reduction in the demand for the shawls in France, previously the best European market. 107 On the other hand, the change in women's fashion, and "the development of the jacquard loom, making it possible to produce imitation 'cashmere' shawls for a fraction price of

104 Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, pp. 64-65.
105 A. H. Francke, op. cit. 7, p. 42.
106 K. Warikoo, op. cit. 96, p. 62.
107 Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 67.
the real thing” resulted in the decline of the shawls’ demand in Europe. The export figures of shawls in the year 1886 to 1894 confirmed its decline:

Table. V.7

Exports of shawl-goods from Kashmir, 1886-7 to 1893-4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-7</td>
<td>12,10,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-8</td>
<td>12,68,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-9</td>
<td>6,07,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>7,08,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1</td>
<td>1,96,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-2</td>
<td>85,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-3</td>
<td>2,19,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-4</td>
<td>22,850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Janet Rizvi, op. cit., p. 286.

Table. V.8

Exports of shawls to Central Asia in the year 1867 to 1879.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>3416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>24100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>44354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>5200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>6140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>4900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>10700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ladakh Trade report cited in K. Warikoo, op. cit.96, p. 66.

108 Ibid. p. 67.
The export figures of shawls in Table V. 8 show the decline of exports from Kashmir. In the year 1886-7 the shawl exports value was around twelve lakhs ten thousands rupees, and the export value declined to twenty-two thousands eight hundred rupees in the year of 1893-4.

The shawls export from Kashmir declined not only to Europe but also to Central Asia. The Ladakh trade reports for the period of 1867 to 1879 shows in table V. 8, that in the year 1867 the shawl exports to Central Asia amounted to 3416 rupees, and the highest export was in the year 1871, amounting to about 45000 rupees; then the decline in exports began and in the year 1879, the export amount came down to 680 rupees.

The shawls of Kashmir were used as turbans by Andijanis and Kokandis and were in demand in Kashgar during the rule of Yakub Beg but this demand declined after 1877 when the Chinese re-occupied Eastern Turkestan. In the later 19th century, despite the decline of the shawls, demand from Europe and other countries, the trade in shawl wools was kept alive by a continuing demand of shawls from Bengal and some other areas. However, the trade of shawl wools ceased to be an important issue.

Tea

The next article of importance in the trade of Ladakh was tea, which is more or less drunk by everybody in Ladakh. Therefore, a considerable quantity of tea was imported both for home consumption and for export to other areas. The teas of China were chiefly brought from Lhasa, but some of the finer kinds were also imported from

110 Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 67.
111 A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, p. 248.
Most of the teas that were imported to Ladakh in the 16th century were from Lhasa. The treaty of Tingmosgang in 1684 between Ladakh and Tibet has mentioned the quantity of tea that was to be brought by the ‘Chapba’ mission from Tibet. According to the treaty, the Tibetan government sent, in return for the ‘Lapchak mission’, an annual mission with two hundred loads of the Chinese brick tea to Leh, known as ‘Chapba’ or ‘Zungtsong’.

The tea that came from Lhasa was made into ‘compressed cubes’, known as brick-tea. In Ladakh this brick-tea is known as ‘cha-pak’ and it is still possible to find cha-pak in the few old local shops at Leh. According to Moorcroft, “the consolidation of the tea in square blocks or bricks renders it more easy for transport by reducing its bulk, and obviating the necessity of wooden boxes; whether anything is used to give firmness to these masses, or for any other object, as to improve their flavour or colour is questionable.”

Some of those teas were exported to other areas including Kashmir and the Punjab. The green tea was sold “usually at the wholesale price of three rupees per seer, a measure of weight, approximately 0.935 kilograms, and back at less then two rupees, and the retail price nearly double.” By the 18th century, the tea from India was available in the market at Leh. Moorcroft saw the Indian tea selling in Leh market when he was there in 1820-22. He mentioned that the green and black teas that were produced

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112 W. Moorcroft and George Trebeck, op cit. 2, p. 350.
113 A trade mission from Ladakh sent by the king to Tibet.
114 A. H. Francke, op. cit. 7, p. 42. Also see Foreign, Secret. F, 613-619, July 1894.
115 W. Moorcroft, and George Trebeck, op cit. 2, pp. 350-51.
116 Ibid. p. 350.
117 Ibid. p. 351.
in the British dependency of Bashahr and Kulu were selling at Leh.\textsuperscript{118} Later the Indian tea became an important article of export to Central Asia, especially to Yarkand. In the year 1889-90, Indian teas worth 37,500 rupees was imported into Russian Central Asia from Leh.\textsuperscript{119} Janet Rizvi mentioned:

"Whereas formerly the only import of tea into Ladakh was from China via Lhasa, in the form of bricks, and latterly also from Yarkand, now tea was being grown in India and for the rest of the duration of the trans-Karakoram trade would form an important article of export to Yarkand."\textsuperscript{120}

Besides, the Chinese teas were also imported via Bombay or Calcutta.\textsuperscript{121}

Thus, teas were imported from different areas for the local consumption as well as to export. Ladakh trade reports of the last ten years show the following figures of tea imported into Ladakh from different areas:

\textbf{Table. V.9}

The total value of imported teas into Ladakh from different areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indian tea value in (Rs)</th>
<th>Chinese tea from Bombay and Calcutta value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Lhasa brick tea value in (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>67,240</td>
<td>15,280</td>
<td>57,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>97,820</td>
<td>31,120</td>
<td>1,24,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>1,04,600</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>89,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>9,160</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>1,02,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>51,762</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>62,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>32,947</td>
<td>1,840</td>
<td>24,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>37,220</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>46,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>39,060</td>
<td>4,865</td>
<td>39,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>45,700</td>
<td>8,890</td>
<td>18,447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>57,280</td>
<td>7,070</td>
<td>45,448</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{118} Ibid. p. 352.

\textsuperscript{119} K. Warikoo, op. cit. 96, p. 59.

\textsuperscript{120} Janet Rizvi, op. cit. I, pp. 198-99.

\textsuperscript{121} Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.

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The above figures in table show the steady rise of the Indian tea demand in Ladakh compared to the Chinese and the Lhasa brick tea. In the year 1885-86, the total import value of Indian tea was 67,240 rupees; in the same year the total value of the Chinese tea via Bombay and Culcatta and the Lhasa brick tea were rupees 15280 and 57412 respectively. In the year 1894-95, the total import value of Indian tea was 57280 rupees as compared to the Chinese rupees 7070 in the same year. This is because the Andijani merchants (Russian subjects) were able to trade in Indian tea without hindrance through Chinese territory.\footnote{A Trade Report from Captain S. H. Godfrey, Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir for Leh to Colonel D. W. K. Barr, Resident in Kashmir, Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.} There were difficulties in selling Indian tea in Kashgar. This fact was mentioned by Captain S. H. Godfrey, Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir for Leh, while he was reporting on the trade for the year ending 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1894 to Colonel D. W. K. Barr, Resident in Kashmir. He mentioned “the special assistant for Chinese Affairs at Kashgar, adverted to the difficulties experienced by British India traders in dealing in this commodity.”\footnote{Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.} Other reasons for the increased demand for Indian tea was because it was cheaper than the Lhasa brick tea.\footnote{Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 425-430, Consultation September 1893.} Tea being too expensive for the poor Ladakhi, even they started to prefer to drink the cheaper tea from India.\footnote{Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 146-176, Consultation July 1873.} Thus, tea was one of the important commodities of the trade of Ladakh, and it was imported from several places.
Borax and sulphur

The other articles of trade were borax and sulphur, which were found at Puga where there were numerous hot springs. The borax was ejected in the bed of the stream by the numerous hot springs, and the annual export production of borax from Ladakh was 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb. In addition to the production in Ladakh, sulphur and borax were imported from Changthang. The annual borax imported from Changthang was about 2,500 maunds, or 80,000 lb. The total export of borax from Ladakh was the total local production plus the imports from Changthang, which was 3000 maunds or 96,000 lb and exported at the rate of sixteen seers per rupee, being 6000 rupees. These articles were mainly exported to the Punjab and the Himalayan states. The traders of Lahul, Kulu and Rampur with their flocks and herds and families used to come to Puga and other areas to take borax. They would bring many hundreds of animals laden with rice, tobacco, cotton goods, and many other articles with which they paid for the borax at the rate of about one rupee per maund (80lbs). It was estimated that an average 80 'tol' or set of traders used to come each season to Puga, with about 10,000 animals, and they collected and carried away some 3,500 maunds of impure borax, for which they paid in goods to the value of 3,000 rupees, half of which went to the government, and each 'tol' also paid a tax of one rupee to the government. The goods in exchange for the borax were chiefly taken by the people of Rupshu to Gartok, and these were exchanged for

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126 A place in the South-east of Leh.
127 A. Cunningham, op. cit. 17, pp. 239-40.
128 Ibid. p. 245.
129 Ibid. p. 240.
130 W. Moorcroft and George Trebeck, op cit. 2, p.356.
131 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.
133 Ibid. pp. 8-9.
wool and other articles, and thus considerable trade was kept up, and upon it the people in
great measure depended for their livelihood. Dr. Cayley, Special Duty at Ladakh in
1871, while commenting about this trade mentioned that “formerly half of the price went
to the Kardar of Rupshu, and half to the Zaminders; but since the last two years half of
the price has been claimed by the Maharaja.” And the sole right of collecting borax in
Puga had been sold by the Kashmir government to Wazir Goshao, of Mahndi, on a lease
of three years. Dr. Cayley, Special Duty at Ladakh mentioned in his Ladakh trade
report for the year 1870, submitted to the Secretary, government of Punjab:

“The effect of this change will, I fear, prove ruinous to the Rupshu
people, and to the numerous families of our hill districts engaged
in the trade whose occupation is suddenly, put a stop to. This
year they suffered loss, on account of not being allowed to carry
the borax they had collected, no arrangement had been made
by Wazir Goshan; but many of the traders had then left empty handed,
and the rest lost hundreds of animals from being kept in Ladakh
for several months beyond the usual time.”

Though these commodities did not constitute an important article of trade in terms
of profit making, yet many local people depended on it and it became their livelihood.

**Salt**

Another article of the trade was salt, which came from the lakes and springs of
Changthang. Some of it was consumed in Ladakh and some re-exported to the hill
states. Salt was an important article of trade not only for the local consumption but also
the local traders; those traders especially from Sham region, Rupshu and Zanskar used to

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135 Ladakh Trade Report, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.
136 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871
137 Ladakh Trade Report, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.
138 W. Moorcroft and George Trebeck, op cit. 2., p. 356.

152
take salt to different villages of Ladakh, exchange it with barley, apricots etc., and they earned reasonable profits. As Fredric Drew mentioned:

"Their profit seems to be in the trade for salt; by acting both as carrier and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must come from outside."\(^{139}\)

A salt of soda, locally known as ‘phuli’, found in the Nubra and Rubshu areas of Ladakh was (and still is) consumed in Ladakh and was exported to Kashmir and Kulu.\(^{140}\) It is used for mixing with tea so as to bring out the tea’s strength. Even today most of the local people use it for the same purpose. In 1874, Captain E. Molloy, British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, had mentioned that the import of phuli had never covered as much as 500 rupees, whereas in 1873, they figured at 3,400 rupees.\(^{141}\) If the trade picked up, it was due to the energy of Mr. Johnson, Wazir of Ladakh, who in the summer of 1873 made elaborate arrangements for the collection of phuli.\(^{142}\) Earlier locals also used it as soap to wash clothes.

**Apricots**

Dry fruits consisted of apricots and small seedless raisins commonly called currants. These were partly produced in lower Ladakh and partly imported into Ladakh from Baltistan.\(^{143}\) Dry apricot was another important article of trade that the local traders especially from the Sham region of Ladakh exchanged with various goods like barley. Dry apricot was also one of the export products of Ladakh. It was exported to many

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\(^{140}\) C. L. Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 20.

\(^{141}\) Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.

\(^{142}\) Ibid. p. 10

\(^{143}\) C. L. Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 20.
countries including Tibet and India. Moorcroft himself witnessed this trade when he was in Ladakh, and he mentioned:

"The greater part of the fruit is dried in the sun, in which state it remains good for many years, and is stored for some consumption, or exported to Lhasa and Tartary. About six hundred maunds annually exported, and ten or twelve pounds are sold for about a rupee."  

In 1870 a total of 490 maunds of dried apricots and 50 maunds of currants were exported to Lhasa and Shimla. Besides fruits, oil was also extracted from apricot kernels. Locals used the oil for cooking, as hair and body oil and for oil lamps.

**Carpets and Namdas**

Carpets were imported into Ladakh from Central Asia, and exported from Leh to different countries including Tibet. Namdas were also imported from Central Asia into Kashmir, where they were dyed, worked and sold to natives and visitors. Ladakh trade report for the last nine years show the following value of Carpets and Namdas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value of Carpets in Rupees</th>
<th>Value of Namdas in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>28,960</td>
<td>19,736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>15,525</td>
<td>39,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>9,800</td>
<td>34,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>17,950</td>
<td>55,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>8,600</td>
<td>434,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>1,395</td>
<td>15,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>4,815</td>
<td>24,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>3,075</td>
<td>20,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>5,070</td>
<td>29,748</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 49-53, Consultation Dec. 1891, also see Foreign, Secret. F, Nos. 374-383, Sept. 1895, National Archives, Delhi.

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144 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.
146 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.
147 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.
148 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.
The above table shows the total value of carpets in the year 1886-87 was rupees 28960, and in the same year the total value of namdas was 19736 rupees. And in the year 1894-95 the total value of carpets was 5070 where as the total value of namdas was 29748 rupees. The increase in the value of namdas was due to the higher prices realized in Leh bazaar, with the value of the ordinary white namdas having risen appreciably. The silk Khutan carpets were also imported from Central Asia.

Precious Metals

Precious metals like gold and silver were imported from Central Asia into Leh and then exported to different areas. The gold came in the form of gold dust, nodules, bars and coins. Ladakh trade reports from 1886 to 1894 showed the increase of the total import value of gold and silver.

Table. V.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value of Gold in Rupees</th>
<th>Value of silver in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>66,719</td>
<td>2,35,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>2,00,286</td>
<td>1,61,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>82,466</td>
<td>68,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>76,116</td>
<td>1,73,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>1,51,300</td>
<td>1,86,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>90,796</td>
<td>2,78,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>2,49,114</td>
<td>2,96,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>2,66,686</td>
<td>2,92,158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Foreign Department, Secret. F Branch, Nos. 49-53, Consultation Dec. 1891, also see Foreign, Secret. F, Nos. 425-430, September 1893, National Archives, Delhi.

149 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.
150 The Statistics of the trade of India with Turkestan and Changthang, 31st March 1895, Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos.374-383, Consultation September 1895.
151 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.
152 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 146-176, Consultation July 1873.
The total import value of gold at Leh in 1886 was about sixty-six thousand seven hundred rupees and increased to two lakhs and sixty-six thousand six hundred and eight six rupees in 1894. The total value of silver increased from two lakhs thirty-five thousand seven hundred eight seven rupees in 1886 to two lakhs ninety-two thousand one hundred fifty-eight rupees in 1894. "The increase might have been due to the gold washing at Khotan that seems to have been corroborated from Kashgar." The decline noticeable in 1891-92 was said to have had its origin in the rise of the profit from silver at that time, and in that year gold was brought to Leh and taken back again untouched.

Silk

This was one of the chief articles manufactured in Yarkand and imported into Leh, and from there exported to India. Captain E. Molloy, Officiating British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, mentioned in his trade report for 1874 that traders who had brought large quantities of silk in year 1873 from Yarkand had found it difficult to turn their business into a profitable outcome.

Spices

Spices were imported from India into Ladakh and then exported to Central Asia. This article was regarded as one of the most important imports to Central Asia, as that area depended on India entirely for the supply of spices. The Ladakh trade report from 1886-87 to 1894-95 shows a slight decrease in the total value at Leh.

153 H. S. Barnes, Resident in Kashmir to the secretary to the government of India, Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.
154 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 425-430, Consultation September 1893.
155 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
156 Ibid. p. 12.
157 Ladakh Trade Report for 1874. Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
Table V.12
Ladakh trade report of spices for the last nine years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>30,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>25,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>45,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>61,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>29,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>40,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>28,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>26,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>35,805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Foreign Department, Secret. F Branch, Nos. 49-53, Consultation Dec. 1891.
Also see Foreign, Secret. F, Nos. 374-383, Sept. 1895, National Archives, Delhi.

The above table shows the total value of trade in spices during 1886-87 to 1894-95. The total value in the year 1886-87 was 30,924 rupees, declined to rupees 26,005 rupees in the year 1893-94 and the total value was increased to 35,805 rupees in the year 1894-95. The reason for decline in its trade in the year 1892-93 to 1893-94 was that the spices were over-imported early in 1892, and good prices were not then realized in the Yarkand market.158

Precious Stones

Precious stones like Turquoise and Coral were imported into Ladakh; the former was mostly imported from Lhasa and the latter from India, and then both were exported to other areas including Central Asia.159 Turquoises also reached Yarkand from Nisharpur via Bokhara.160 These stones were exported to Lhasa also because it was superior than the Lhasa gem and earned a better profit.161 In his Ladakh trade report for 1874, Captain E. Molloy, British-Joint Commissioner, Ladakh mentioned that:

“A pilgrim from Yarkand turned a rupee to very good account

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158 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.
159 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.
160 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
161 Ibid. P. 3.
a few years ago at the holy shrine by an investment in turquoises. He purchased Rs. 700 worth at Macca, which on his return here he sold for Rs. 2000 to a merchant from Lhasa, realizing a profit thereby which must have enabled him to perform his pilgrimage at an exceedingly small cost for himself."

Ladakh itself used a good deal of both Turquoises and Corals. All the Ladakhi women wear a headdress called ‘pairak’ made up of turquoises and corals. H. S. Branes, British Resident in Kashmir mentioned that “the Ladakhi women investing their earnings in ornaments of turquoises and corals in the same way that natives of India invest their savings in bracelets and anklets of precious metals, with the difference that among the Buddhists spare money was almost invariably spent upon the headdress (pairak), which all the women of Ladakh wear, and nothing on bangles or anklets.”

Ladakh trade report from 1884-85 to 1893-94 shows the following value of Turquoise and Coral:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>30,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>23,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>3,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>6,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>11,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>53,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>48,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>56,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>56,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>1,47,030</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Foreign Department, Secret. F Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894, National Archives, Delhi.

The total imported value of these two articles in the year 1884-85 was 30769 rupees, declined to 3681 rupees in the year 1886-87 and in the year 1893-94 increased to

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162 Trade Report for 1874, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.

163 Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.
rupees 147030. The reason was due to the rise in price in the Yarkand market.\textsuperscript{164} There was also rise in the demand for turquoises and coral for ornamental purposes in Yarkand and Tibet.\textsuperscript{165} A considerable quantity was also said to be in demand in Russian Central Asian territory in 1894, where the fashion of wearing coral appeared to have spread.\textsuperscript{166}

**Yak tail (Chowris), Kidakh and Incenses**

Yak's tails were imported from the Tibetan area and Yarkand into Ladakh, and from there exported to Kashmir.\textsuperscript{167} During 1869, a total of 803 maunds of yak tails were imported from Yarkand at the rate of 1-8 rupees at Leh and the total value at Leh was 905 rupees.\textsuperscript{168} Some of the other articles that were imported into Ladakh from Tibet were Kidakh\textsuperscript{169} and incenses, which are mostly consumed in Ladakh. During 1869, a total of 2000 maunds of Kidakh were imported into Ladakh from Tibet at the rate of 8 annas per 'than', and the total value at Leh was 1,000 rupees.\textsuperscript{170} In the same year, 4 boxes of incenses were imported from Tibet into Leh, and the total value at Leh was 200 rupees.\textsuperscript{171}

**Drugs and Medicines**

Charas was imported from Central Asia into Ladakh and then exported to Indian markets.\textsuperscript{172} In the Ladakh trade report for 1872, J. E. T. Aitchison, British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, mentioned that the Punjab markets had become gradually glutted

\textsuperscript{164} Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.
\textsuperscript{165} The Trade of India with Turkistan and Changthang, Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, September July 1894.
\textsuperscript{166} Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, September July 1894.
\textsuperscript{167} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 286-291, Consultation May 1870.
\textsuperscript{168} Ladakh Trade Report for 1869, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 286-291, Consultation May 1870.
\textsuperscript{169} Scarf used by Ladakhi during ceremonies.
\textsuperscript{170} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 286-291, Consultation May 1870.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid. p. 11.
\textsuperscript{172} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 146-176, Consultation July 1873.
with a bad quality of Charas, and the prices on the whole had fallen, and the traders were not ready to invest.\textsuperscript{173} It had fallen to 53,425 rupees in 1872 from 74,320 rupees in 1871 and from 1,29,312 rupees in 1870.\textsuperscript{174} Ladakh trade report from 1888-89 to 1892-93 shows the following figures:

\textbf{Table. V.14}

\textbf{Total value of Charas in the Year 1888-89-1892-93}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>1,76,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>2,16,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>2,19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>2,30,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>1,91,565</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above figures show the total value of charas in 1888-89 compared with the total value in 1871 and 1872. In 1888-89, a total of 3,525 maunds were imported at the rate of 50 rupees per maund, and valued at 1,76,250 rupees.\textsuperscript{175} In 1889-90 about 2,164 maunds were imported but it was of better quality than the previous year and sold at Leh at the rate of 100 rupees per maund, and valued at 2,16,400 rupees.\textsuperscript{176} In 1893, Captain S. H. Godfrey, British Joint-Commissioner mentioned that the charas trade between Leh and India was in the hands of Punjabis, who were making good profits.\textsuperscript{177} In 1889-90, charas were sold in Punjab for about 325 rupees per ‘pai,’ i.e. about 220 rupees per maund.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{173} Ibid. p. 2.
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid. P. 2.
\textsuperscript{175} Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 425-430, Consultation September 1893.
\textsuperscript{176} The Statistics of the Trade of India with Turkistan and Changthang, Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 425-430, Consultation September 1893.
\textsuperscript{177} Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 425-430, Consultation September 1893.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid. P. 316.
Horses

Horses were imported from Central Asia to India. Horses saw rise a in value in 1871 to 16,650 rupees; in the year 1872 to 20,400 rupees and in 1873 to 27,500 rupees. A total of 111 horses were imported in 1871 and the number increased to 204 in 1872; nearly all were taken to Punjab and were used for the carriage of goods.

Clothing stuffs, brocade and satins.

The above articles were imported from India to Ladakh and exported to Central Asia. In 1873, the total value of import was 55,060 rupees, showing an increase of 21,160 rupees over the preceding year.

Silk stuffs and brocade were also imported from India and the total import value in 1873 was 55,060 rupees, and in 1874 it increased to 75,265 rupees.

Sugar

This article was imported from India through Ladakh to Central Asia. A good deal of sugar was also imported into Central Asia from Russia, but Indian sugar was, however, said to be preferred to that from Russia. Ladakh Trade Report from 1870 to 1874 shows the following figures of import value:

179 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 146-176, Consultation July 1873.
180 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
181 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 146-176, Consultation July 1873.
182 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
183 Ibid. p. 5.
184 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
185 Ibid. P. 8.
186 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 146-176, Consultation July 1873.
Table. V.15

Import value of sugar for the last five years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total value in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870-71</td>
<td>16,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-72</td>
<td>13,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-73</td>
<td>14,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873-74</td>
<td>14,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-75</td>
<td>18,542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Foreign, Political. A, 21-24, September 1875, National Archives Delhi

The total value for the first four years was more or less the same, and in 1874-75 it increased by more than three thousand rupees.

**Dyed Goat Skins (Laki)**

The article under this head was imported from India into Ladakh and then exported to other areas including Central Asia. These were extensively used for foot leather, and it was said to be a safe and paying article of commerce.\(^{187}\) It was chiefly manufactured at Nurpur, in the Punjab, but a good many were also prepared in Kashmir.\(^{188}\)

**Saffron**

This article was imported from Kashmir into Ladakh and then exported to Lhasa. In 1873 the total import value was 3,543 rupees and in 1874 it increased to 7,408 rupees.\(^{189}\) The chief market of saffron was in Lhasa, where the lamas in their religious

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\(^{187}\) Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.

\(^{188}\) Ladakh Trade Report, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.

\(^{189}\) Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
ceremonies extensively utilized it as a kind of incense.\textsuperscript{190} It was also used as a condiment with food by the upper classes, who spiced and coloured dainty dishes with it.\textsuperscript{191}

**Dyeing Materials**

Indigo was imported from India and sent to Central Asia through Ladakh. The total imported value of indigo in 1891-92 was 33,885 rupees, and in 1892-93 the value decreased to 8,865 rupees.\textsuperscript{192} A decrease in its production at Multan was said to be the only cause of the decline in its imports.\textsuperscript{193}

**Coarse Clothes (Garha and Chakman)**

Garha and Chakman were coarse clothes brought moderately in Ladakh and a small quantity of it went to Baltistan.\textsuperscript{194} But the chief market was in Lhasa, where it was extensively used as a material for tents.\textsuperscript{195}

**Cotton goods from India**

Cotton piece goods were imported from India into Leh and then exported to Central Asia.\textsuperscript{196} These piece goods in 1870s formed the largest items in the trade between India and Central Asia.\textsuperscript{197} Ladakh trade report for the ten years from 1884 to 1893-94 show the following figures on the whole steady advance under this head:

\textsuperscript{190} Ibid. p. 10.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid. p. 10.
\textsuperscript{192} Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 425-430, Consultation September 1893.
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid. p. 317.
\textsuperscript{194} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
\textsuperscript{195} Ladakh Trade Report For 1874, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
\textsuperscript{196} Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 613-619, Consultation July 1894.
\textsuperscript{197} Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
Table. V.16

Total value of cotton piece goods for the last ten years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total value in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>2,27,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,09,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>1,75,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>3,93,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>4,39,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>3,19,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>3,01,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>3,80,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>3,88,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>5,29,920</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Bazazi (cotton piece good) were also imported from India to Ladakh and taken to different areas including Central Asia. The total value import in 1873 was about two lakh and ninety thousand rupees. Figures in the above table show a steady increased of the total value of cotton piece goods. In the year 1884 the total was rupees 227173, increased to rupees 319480 in the year 1889-90 and in the year 1893-94 was 529920 rupees. Besides all the above articles and goods, there were many more articles of trade through Ladakh, exchanged among different countries. Some of these articles from Central Asia which were exchanged through Ladakh were a small quantity Yambo silver, boots, Russian leather, velvets, Jade Stone, Chinese Silver, Chinese Knives, Soap, etc. From Kashmir there were embroidered cloth, Combs, Oil, Swords/guns, Shoes, Tawer (silk), chintzes, copper tinned vessels, tea-pots, spoons, turmeric, ginger, black pepper and honey. From Skardo there were Iron and Butter. There was rice from Punjab. There

198 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
199 Ladakh Trade Report for 1874, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
were Iron, Combs and vessels from Kulu. From Changthang there were paper and coarse cloths.200

All the commodities were carried on the backs of a variety of animals including horses, mules, yaks, dzos, donkeys, sheep and occasionally goats and camels. The Central Asian traders used camels. The present double hump camels found in the Nubra valley in Ladakh is believed to be the remains of the two-humped Bactrian breed used for carrying goods during the old caravan trade between Ladakh and Central Asia. In 1871, Dr. Calley, Special Duty at Leh mentioned that many camels had arrived from Yarkand heavily laden, and no loss occurred on the road.201 Camels were of “the two-humped Bactrian breed, such as found in the Pamir steppes and mountain districts of Central Asia.”202 They were very powerful, and able to bear the most extreme cold.203 Dr. Calley in his trade report submitted to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab in the same year had commented that “if camels should come into general use, the expense and difficulties of the journey to Yarkand would be greatly lessened.”204 Frederic Drew saw the use of sheep and goats to carry loads when he reached the Rupshu valley of Ladakh, and mentioned that:

“the sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use for carrying loads; the salt from the Lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the back of sheep. The larger of the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same way.”205

200 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 286-291, Consultation May 1870.
201 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.
203 Ibid. p. 9.
204 Ibid. p. 9.
205 Fredric Drew, op. cit. 139, p. 288.
The average weight carried by a sheep was 24 lbs; the stronger animals could carry loads up to 32 lbs. Thus, the trade through Ladakh not only involved merchants but also a variety of animals. The following figures show the number of merchants and animals involved with the trade through Ladakh in 1873:

Table V.17

Number of Men and Cattle composing the caravan of 1873, Ladakh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Merchants</th>
<th>Attendants</th>
<th>Horses, Laden, sale and Ridden</th>
<th>Laden Yaks and Bullocks</th>
<th>Laden Donkeys</th>
<th>Laden sheep and Goats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rampur</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>1,732</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkistan</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>4,520</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Trade Report For 1873, Foreign, Political. A, 214-216, July 1874, National Archives Delhi.

The most number of animals used in the trade of Ladakh in the year 1873 were horses. Out of 4,520 horses, 159 were ridden horses, 288 were for sale and the rest laden with goods. Yaks were the animals least used during the year and the number of attendants was three times more than the merchants. In the year 1873, out of the total (239) merchants engaged in trade, 34 percent (82) was on the central Asian routes followed by 31 percent (76) on the Kashmir routes.

Thus, traders came to Ladakh from different areas with their goods and exchanged them with goods from other areas. Several merchants were also taking their goods as far south as Calcutta and Bombay and as far north as Central Asia. The

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206 Ibid. p. 288.
207 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
208 Foreign Department, Political. A Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
following two tables show the increase of the total imports and exports value at Leh from 1863 to 1872-73 and 1885-86 to 1894-95.

Table. V.18
Yearly totals of the Ladakh trade for the last ten years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>2,36,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-66</td>
<td>1,00,000 (about)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>5,54,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867-68</td>
<td>10,38,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-69</td>
<td>12,91,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869-70</td>
<td>15,48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-71</td>
<td>12,41,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-72</td>
<td>15,84,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-73</td>
<td>17,76,729</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table. V.19
Yearly totals of the Ladakh trade for the last ten years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports (Rs.)</th>
<th>Exports (Rs.)</th>
<th>Total value (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>18,31,501</td>
<td>15,69,321</td>
<td>34,00,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>16,52,413</td>
<td>12,32,229</td>
<td>28,84,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>17,16,245</td>
<td>17,12,328</td>
<td>34,28,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>13,53,845</td>
<td>12,12,030</td>
<td>25,65,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>16,00,580</td>
<td>15,13,626</td>
<td>31,14,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>15,25,483</td>
<td>14,40,906</td>
<td>29,66,389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>15,65,278</td>
<td>14,47,840</td>
<td>30,13,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>17,95,141</td>
<td>15,91,544</td>
<td>33,86,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189394</td>
<td>21,54,252</td>
<td>18,37,375</td>
<td>39,91,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>31,65,218</td>
<td>28,50,102</td>
<td>60,15,321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The total trade value of Ladakh increased from about two lakhs thirty six thousand rupees in 1863 to about seventeen lakhs seventy-six thousands in 1872-73. Ten years later, in 1885-86 it increased about thirty-four lakhs eight hundred and in 1894-95, it was about sixty lakhs fifteen thousand rupees. There were several factors that contributed towards this improvement. The most important was the introduction of the 'free highway' to Central Asian traffic. The treaty of 1870 abolished the transit duty in
Kashmir territory.²⁰⁹ H. S. Barnes, British Resident in Kashmir in July 1895 reported that “the condition of the treaty of 1870 with Kashmir securing a ‘free highway’ to central Asian traffic has been more satisfactorily observed than in past years.”²¹⁰ Besides, the roads and communication had been improved. Bridges had been constructed at several places.²¹¹ Postal services were set up between Leh, Ladakh and Central Asia and there were nineteen stages from Leh to Shadulla²¹², and two people were posted at each stage.²¹³ The following table shows the number of postal stages and men on each stage and the total expenditure between Leh and Yarkand.

### Table. V.20
Costs of Postal expenses from Leh, Ladakh to Shadulla.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Stages</th>
<th>Name of stages</th>
<th>No. men</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Pay of men per mensem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Polu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Khardong</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Satti</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Targar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Panamic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chaugloog</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tootialak</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Surthang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sasair</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Moorgee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Boorsa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kazilongar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Daolatbeg</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bransu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wahab Jigla</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Aktagh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Chibra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Suket</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Shadulla</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Cost----</td>
<td>Per mensem =</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>190 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Foreign, Political. A, 390-392, September 1874, National Archives Delhi.

²⁰⁹ Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
²¹⁰ Foreign Department, Secret. F. Branch, Nos. 374-383, Consultation September 1895.
²¹¹ Ibid. P. 376.
²¹² A Place in Yarkand.
²¹³ Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 390-392, Consultation September 1894.
So, a total number of thirty-eight men with a pay at the rate of five rupees each, totaling
rupees 190, maintained postal communication between Ladakh and Yarkand during the
summer months in 1874. Thus Leh, because of its favorable situation became an annual
meeting place where goods from all quarters were bartered as at a fair. Traders got a
good price at the Leh market. Trade report of Ladakh for 1874 shows the comparative
prices at Yarkand, Leh and Amritsar markets.

Table. V.21

Price of the different articles at Yarkand, Leh and Amritsar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Yarkand Value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Leh Value in (Rs.)</th>
<th>Amritsar Value in (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Long -cloth.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Spices per maund.</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sugar per maund.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Otter skins each</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Foreign, Political. A, 21-24, September 1875, National Archives, Delhi.

To know the proportionate difference between those rates, one has to take the cost
of the carriage into consideration. This for one horse-load may be approximately put
down at rupees 20 to 25 from Punjab to Leh, and rupees 40 to 45 from Leh to Yarkand,
from which it is manifest that it costs almost twice as much to take a load of goods from
Ladakh to Yarkand as it does to convey one from the Punjab to Ladakh, so as a matter of
fact Leh prices were more remunerated than those of Yarkand.

The average profit earned by traders in 1874-75 at Leh was around 20 to 25
percent. For instance in 1874, tea, indigo, spices and goat skins yielded a profit of 25
percent each, and sugar and piece-goods yielded a profit of 20 percent each. The rates
of profits as given above do not represent so much money actually realized but rather the

214 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 214-216, Consultation July 1874.
215 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 21-24, Consultation September 1875.
amount may fairly be anticipated to be realized as current prices stood. A trader, for instance, came to Leh with a consignment of piece goods, in exchange for which, say, he made a bargain for charas and silk. But this business is only half over, and he still had to get rid of the silk and charas, which of course depended on the state of the Indian market as regard to those goods. Then again, in balancing again, consideration must be taken of the expense of carriage, risk of loss or damage on the road, mortality of horses etc., and all those contingencies were much increased in the case of a trader’s travel being prolonged to Central Asia.

As far as benefits for locals were concerned, despite the fact that Ladakh consumed little and produced less to promote and develop commerce, yet locals benefited from the trade by providing various services like supply of animals and fodders, etc. For instance, the men of Nurba reaped an annual harvest by sending their yaks with provisions across the Sasser pass to meet the traders, who paid them in Yarkand goods.²¹⁶

**Religious and Trade missions Between Ladakh and Tibet**

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter the relation between Tibet and Ladakh was an old one as early as the 7th century, the Tibetan nomads of Changthang and the Dards and the Mons could have had contacts. But with the establishment of the first Ladakhi dynasty of Tibetan origin in the 10th century, religious and commercial relationships between them were well established. Monks from Ladakh started to go to the different monasteries in Tibet for their higher monastic education, as also pilgrims. Several important monasteries, the royal house and some important Lamas used to send religious missions to many monasteries in Tibet. For instance, during the lifetime of

²¹⁶ Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 126-130, Consultation May 1872.
sTag-tsan-raspa (1574-1651)\textsuperscript{217}, he sent several religious missions to many monasteries in Tibet. Following were some of them:

“In 1626, sTag-tsan-raspa sent a mission to the Brug-c’en incarnate and to the monastery of rNam-rgyal-thun-po and Ri-bo-rtse-brgyad (on the Manasarovar).

In 1628, he sent a mission to the Brug-c’en and bDe-c’en-c’os-k’or.

In 1629, he sent another mission to Brug-c’en, the Zva-dmar-pa incarnate and bDe-c’en-c’os-k’or.

In 1630, he sent again a mission to Brug-c’en. The mission was headed by the king’s brother Dzam-gling-graps-pa.”\textsuperscript{218}

Each of these missions carried several hundreds of ounces of gold, many more of silver, besides turquoises and shawls.\textsuperscript{219}

The most important mission between Ladakh and Tibet were the Lapchak and Chapa missions, which were set up in 1684 as a result of the treaty of Tingmosgang.\textsuperscript{220}

The annual trade caravan from Lhasa to Ladakh was known as Zhung-tseng or Chapa (tea man) consisting of two hundred loads of tea, and it was to cross the frontier at Demchok only.\textsuperscript{221} The Chronicle of Ladakh mentioned that if the government fails to come every year then the stipulations of the treaty should no longer be binding; as it pointed out:

“Pod nas gzyung Tsong khal ma ney bgyai cha tang chas yong Gry tang/ cha pak du jee di Ladags ma thogs/ gdzan mtha la gdong mi chog/ gzyung-tseng lo tar ma yong chey/ Ngar gi chad don la mi gnas

\textsuperscript{217} He founded several monasteries including Hemis, in Ladakh.
\textsuperscript{218} Luciano Petech, op. cit. 5, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{219} Ibid. p. 53.
\textsuperscript{220} A. H Francke, op. cit. 7, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{221} Ibid. p. 42. Also see Luciano Petech, op. cit. 5, p. 78.
Translation: From Tibet the government traders shall come with two hundred loads of tea and the rectangular brick-tea will brought only to Ladakh. Should the Zhung-tsong trader fail to come annually, then the agreement shall no longer be binding.

The head of the Chapa mission was the Dalai Lama's personal trader to Ladakh, and was always a Tibetan official, either lay or monastic, of some importance. The Chapa mission left Lhasa each June and arrived at Leh in December. It remained in Leh the whole winter months until the following April, when it left Leh for Lhasa, taking with it dry apricots, saffron and sugar, etc.

In return of the Chapa mission, Ladakh sent a mission known as Lapchak. The Lapchak mission went from Leh to Lhasa every three years, with offerings to Tibet for the Smon-lam and for the blessing of the Dalai Lama. The triennial mission would bring a specific amount of presents to the Bla-bran treasury in Lhasa and an unspecific amount of presents to other Lamas. The Chronicle of Ladakh mentioned the following presents:

"Ladags nas pod la rt'en tang chas lo gsum bar du tang gos/ Bla khag sogs la rgyas Sdyos nga's pa ma't kyang/ Bla-bran chag mdz'd la/ ser thur zo chu/ (C MS.) thur zo dow (tola chu); dri sran chu/ (gyor gyum) Hor Z'og byb yogdryg/ bab sta byb chig phyol nas."
The translation means: The mission from Ladakh should send presents to Tibet every three years. The quantity of the presents to ordinary Lamas is not fixed but the Bla-bran treasury in Lhasa shall be given gold, quantity is not known; ten sran (ounces) of perfumes (saffron); six rolls of Hor (Moghul) cloth and one roll of soft cotton cloth.

A prominent Ladakhi headed the Lapchak mission and was accompanied by a leading Ladakhi Muslim (Arghun) merchant of that class which had by a long tradition been permitted to trade in Tibet. The Lapchak mission while in Tibetan territories received all facilities available including free transport (ula), and the Chapa mission while in Ladakh also got the same facilities.

The two missions were the most important manifestation of the close relationship between Ladakh and Tibet. It gave rise to a number of smaller missions, and the feudatories of the king of Ladakh and several of the larger monasteries both from Ladakh and Tibet used to send lesser missions. The Raja of Stok usually sent annual trading missions to Gartok. Certain Muslim traders possessed special privileges to trade in Chinese brick-tea between Ladakh and Gartok. For instance, Haji Hyder Shah, with other relatives, had for many years carried on a trade with Lhasa and his son Ghulam Muhammad had a house and family both at Leh and Lhasa. The Governors of Gartok, the Kharpons, as well as the Tibetan commander of the fort at Rudok used to come to Leh annually to trade. Several of the larger Buddhist monasteries in Ladakh periodically

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230 Alaistair Lamb, op. cit. 62, p. 57.
231 A. H Francke, op. cit. 7, p. 42. Also see C. L Datta, op. cit. 15, p. 65.
232 Alaistair Lamb, op. cit. 62, p. 57.
233 Janet Rizvi, op. cit. 1, p. 160.
234 The Diary of British Joint-Commissioner, Ladakh, 18th June 1890, Foreign, Secret. F, 1-9, January 1892.
235 Alaistair Lamb, op. cit. 62, p. 57.
sent combined religious and trading missions to Lhasa, and at about ten-year intervals a similar mission came to Leh from the great Tashi-lhunpo monastery. Dr. Cayley, British Special Duty at Ladakh mentioned in 1871 that there were a dozen families in Ladakh who had the privilege of going as traders to Changthang and Lhasa. He also mentioned that the old arrangements where still in force, that a trade mission of the Lhasa government came to Ladakh and a return trade mission from Ladakh proceeded to Lhasa, and they were allowed free carriage in their respective areas. Many monks and pilgrims from Ladakh used to go to Lhasa with traders. Lobsang Tonba, an eighty two year old monk from Thiksay monastery in Ladakh went to Tibet around 1935 with traders.

Pilgrims to many sacred places in Tibet were not only Buddhists, but many Hindus also visited to the sacred Mansarowar Lake at the holy mountain of Kailash.

The British Joint-Commissioner at Ladakh reported:

"Every autumn, a large fair is held at Gartok or Gai and the hill people from all sides assemble and purchase pashm, sheep wool, tea, and ponies from all parts of Great Tibet. The Hindus, Buddhist also flock as pilgrims to the sacred Mansarowar Lake, or 'Man Talao' the traditional sources of the four great rivers of India, and the holy mountain of Kailash or Gangri, the most lofty peak of the great trans-Indus range of mountains. Every six-year is especially observed as a great festival, and thousands of devotees collected from all quarters and ascended the sides of the mountain to do homage at the Hindu and Buddhist shrines and bathe in the holy waters of the Lake. One of these high festivals was held in 1870 and the road leading to Rupshu and Gartok were crowded with people and traders with their families and flocks and herds, Lamas, Brahmins and

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236 Ibid. p. 57.
237 Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.
238 Ibid. p. 8.
239 Ladakh Trade Report For 1870, Foreign Department, Political. A. Branch, Nos. 560-597, Consultation June 1871.

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The total distance from Leh to the base camp for Kailash Mansarovar is about 625 kilometers. The road between Leh and Damchok can open throughout the year. It is reported that on the other side of the border the Tibetan towns of Tashigong and Gorzong are located 35 and 150 kilometers away from Damchok. This can be the shortest route of pilgrimage to Mansarovar for Indian devotees.

**Conclusion**

Thus, Ladakh had a long trade relation with her neighbours. The effects of the traditional relationships, which continued for hundreds of years between Ladakh and Buddhist Tibet were felt in nearly every Ladakhi village. Such extensive and long period of active trade and pilgrimage helped in developing the traditional ties between Ladakh and Buddhist Tibet. The trading Caravans of Asia’s highlands gradually declined in importance, disappearing altogether after the Chinese communist rise to power in China and the subsequent occupation of Tibet when the borders were closed.

Ladakhis hope for the restoration of normal border trading and cultural relations with Tibet. The revival of border trade will not only benefit business in the region but there is also a great prospect of pilgrimage and tourism.

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240 Foreign, Political, A, 560-597, June 1871.  
242 The last Ladakhi village nears the border.  