



Trade and travel in Early-Modern recordings in Ladakh and Baltistan

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Abstract

Ladakh and Baltistan, the frontier districts of Pakistan and India had been two major halting-stations for the Silk route merchants, which was closed since 1950. Their importance is not-valued by contribution in material product sale in this cosmopolitan business in the silk road trading markets but through their sheer existence at geographical mountain location in trans-Himalayan kingdom that they had been unavoidable bridge to traverse for the merchants of central Asia and Indian sub-continent to exchange goods to east, west and south Asia. This article is one such aspects of their role in those vast networks of transactions. Mainly presenting historical scenario since colonial times and changes occurred in their lifestyle and local-economy.

Keywords: trade and travel, cosmopolitan business, Ladakh and Baltistan

Introduction

Trade and travel in Early-Modern recordings in Ladakh and Baltistan

One of the excavated sites in Ladakh at Khala-tse called Balu-Mkhar [Dwarf fort] had found inscriptions and express that the fort was a custom house built to levy tax to the caravan heading to Yarkend [Eastern Turkestan] and belongs to Lamayuru monastery. It was inspected by Mr. Francke, Miss Jane E. Duncan, Munshi Yeshe Rigdzin and their associates in 1904, the members of Moravian mission at Khalatse [Ladakh]. Out of many items that they have discovered in it, one of the inscription dates it 800-1000 A.D. In the words of Miss Jane E. Duncan, "We find that the place belonged to the king or monastery of Lamayuru, a large village, 15 miles to the South-west on the Leh road and 33 miles from Shergol, where the first Buddhist monastery is met with on the way from Kashmir. The facts stated in the inscription, given and explained below in the Notes on the inscriptions, and the expressions used in it go to show that it belongs to a date about 800-1000 A.D.^[1]" The other items were found as local and imported Beads of Blue, Red, Yellow and white colour, Quartz crystals, Ibex-horn, stone mortar of Oil-presser, Stone pot [rdo-ltrog], stone axe, Iron arrow-heads -knives, -Nails -ring- ornament, pottery Jar [rdzama] and several Dice. The mentioned date of the existed 'Dwarf-fort' that is around 800-1000 A.D. makes the region more inclusive into the ancient commercial trade leading through Ladakh to Eastern Turkestan. Although the items found in this custom house do not speak much about first millennium A.D. and BCE. The excavators had found no coins, products that can speak of far-off countries imported here, commercial ties it had and any [paper] documents in their reports. The Khalatse custom house fort supports evidence as Ladakh being important commercial-conduit from India to the Eurasian steppe not just in modern sense but from ancient times. By placing Ladakh and Baltistan as a road between Persia,

India and China, both can be related to larger commercial contacts between west and eastern Asia.

Ladakh and Baltistan was the meeting conduit to the merchant of India and central Asia, "The Historical trade between South and Central Asia via Ladakh was an economic endeavour, and at the same time a system of multiple social networks linking people from diverse cultural and religious background to facilitate trade transactions, and to create new possibilities for economic gain^[2]". Gold dust, Jade, Chinese silver ingots, tea, hemp items, Chinese Silk, Russian leather etc. were the items used to import from central Asian junctions, which were exchanged at main market of Skardu and Leh. Sometime traders from Yarkend used to travel beyond Ladakh and Baltistan to Punjab and Kashmir looking for profits, in the same way traders from India goes beyond Ladakh and Baltistan to purchase product directly from the source and for profits. Traders from India deals in Indian items like Kashmir Shawl, British^[3] cotton clothes, indigo, spices, dyed goat skin, opium, brocades, coral, medicine, books, sugar and fruits. In 1840 the value amount of seven and a half lakh rupees worth business interchanged at Ladakh^[4], this also include business transactions of Kishtawar, Nupur, kulu and Bushar province of Jammu and Himachal Valley's. Alexander Cunningham also gives accounts of business outputs during his physical, historical and statistical survey

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, September 1905, pp.204.

² Kulbushan Wariko, 'Gateway to Central Asia the transhimalayan trade of Ladakh', 1846-1947. *Proceeding of the fourth and fifth international colloquia on Ladakh*, Henry Osmaston and Philip Denwood [editors], Motilal Banarasi Dass publishers private limited, Delhi, p.235, 'social Networks and Transnational Trade in Early 20th century Ladakh', by Jazqueline H. Fewkes and Abdul Nasir Khan'.

³ J H Fewkes, "The British officer was a trade official and a political agent to ensure that the Maharaja did not have full control over the trade with Central Asian (Jina 1994:25)", cite in, *Trade and Contemporary Society along the Silk Road*, published by Routledge Contemporary Asia Series, p.47.

⁴ Henry Starchey, 'Account of Ladakh trade', [National Archives of India], footnote's by Kulbushan Wariko in 'Gateway to central Asia, the Transhimalayan Trade of Ladakh', 1846-1947, p.236.

to Ladakh, Baltistan and Valleys of Himachal Pradesh^[5]. In the accounts of major Alexander Cunningham's [1846-47] the list of Chinese articles imported to India were; silver bars called in Turki Kuru and Yambu in Tibetan dialects, various kinds of Felts from wild mountain herds, Camel hair called Suklat, Green and Black Tea, Sugar Candy from Yarkand, Russian leather called Bulgar, Sable-skin called Kunduz, a black leather called Gama, golden color leather called Kimsan, green leather Sagri, clothe made of hemp bark called Laka, Velvet fabrics both coarse and silky, Silk clothes called Mashru from Badshahi, Alchinbar and Khotan, soft and silky clothe called Siling of two kinds Shirun and Gorun, Gold thread called Ziri, Silver thread, turquoise from Bokhara and Persia, carpets from khotan, Musk, Coral, Soap, a yellow root called Mamira used to cure bad-eyes, a neck stone called Gala-patther used to cure swollen necks, liquorice-root called Mulhatti used for coughs, ponies, Salt from lakes of Chang-thang and Chobchini which is called china-root was largely imported to Calcutta. In the same way the articles he had listed at Leh[le] Market that are carried to Yarkand from India were; a goat skin called Laki from Nurpur, Cottons by flowered chicken, Cottons bit coarse called Ghara, Cottons thin called Gaji, Silk and Lungi from Multan, Shawls from Khasmir, Turbans, Opium, Indigo, Shoes from Nurpur, Pearls of all sizes, Otter skin, Turmeric, Cardamoms, Ginger, Cloves, Black paper, Honey, Tamarinds [dry], coarse sugar –Gur, Narkat or Narachor called for root of reed used as scent and medicine, dates called khurma or Chhudra and Salt. The produce of Saffron, rice, Shawls and fruits of Kashmir monopoly items transported to Tibet via Ladakh as well as items from Khotan and Kashgar. Similarly brick-tea which was monopoly item from Tibet is consumed in Ladakh, Baltistan and Kashmir. Trade of this large network in the countries mentioned were influenced by the political situations that had taken place due to wars and upraising. The first Muslim merchants who were given land to settle in Leh known as Khar-tshong-pa [palace traders] by the king of Ladakh –Jamyang Namgyal [1595-1616]^[6], had happened- according to the oral tradition - the king of Ladakh waged war with Balti chief [known as Maq[k]pon-] Ali Mir. In the war Ladakhi king was captured and imprisoned in Skardo, during his imprisonment the king fell in love with the daughter of Ali Mir of Baltistan and married the princess Gyal-mo Khatun. In the marriage along the route the Queen was followed by retinues – singer, dancers, caretakers and they settle down at Phyang, Shey and Chushot regions of Ladakh. Another war expedition, between Kashmir-Moghul [Ali Mardan Khan and Hussain Beg] coming to aid Balti ruler [Adam khan] against King of Ladakh Sengey Nmagyal [son of Jamyang Namgyal and rGyal-mo Khatun] had blocked caravan leading through Ladakh for 24 years; which was serious commercial and economic loss for Ladakh. This conflict had changed the trade route from India to central Tibet to Patna-Nepal-Lhasa and trade from Kashmir to central Asia shifted to Skardo-Shigar to Kashgar^[7], in the words of Luciano Petech, it was “*real disaster to the economy of Ladakh*”. Another war

treaty called treaty of Tingmosgang of 1684^[8] [August] had again made changes in the conduct of trade products and procedures between Ladakh, Tibet-Mongol and Kashmir-Moghul. The treaty of Tingmosgang had made Ladakh to send every three year 18 piebald horses, 18 pods of musk and 18 white yak-tails to Kashmir and in return Ladakh received yearly 300 to 500 bags of rice and a *Jagir* [Land]^[9]. The treaty had given concession and monopoly to Kashmir over Ladakh's raw wool material for Kashmir Shawl industry. The same treaty had formed once in three year trade mission from Ladakh to Tibet which was called the *Lophak* [lo-p'yag], it pronounce as “*Lo – chak*”, ‘*Lo* means year and *Chak* means salute or Salam, so, literally it mean yearly-salute”; a blessing offering called smon-lam. Under which Ladakh had to send present to the Dalai Lama, it had to serve *Labrang-bla-bran* [treasury] in Lhasa ten tolas of gold [*t'ur-zos*], ten ounces of perfume [*sran*], six rolls of Mogul clothe [brocades]. The people who are assigned to carry the Lophak mission will be supplied horses, stay and labour at the expense of Tibetan government. The treaty also fixed route for 200 animal loads of rectangular brick-tea to be transported only through Demjok [bDe-mc'og, present frontier of India in eastern Ladakh with Chinese occupied Tibet] via Ladakh to Kashmir. The merchants who were given the job of *Lophak*-mission by the king of Ladakh were mainly composed of Muslim merchant's, and the Tibetan Brick-tea traders were known as *Chaba*. Similar political happenings in modern period as, when the relationship between ruler of Kokand, Omar khan and Chinese authorities in Eastern Turkestan strained, an uprising occurred against Chinese rulers in eastern Turkestan by the Khoja^[10], the trade treaty of 1870 between government of India and Jammu and Kashmir [exempting custom duties on Central Asian traders if the goods are sold in Jammu and Kashmir], when war between Yakub Beg [ruler of kashgaria] and Chinese forces [1877] took place, Russian and Chinese treaty at St.Petersburgh [1881], Russian prohibition on British-India goods in Russian occupied central Asia, formation of Soviet supremacy in central Asia and Sinking [Xinjiang] taking over by communist china were some of the major political incidents that had influenced ‘rise and fall’ of trade between British-India, Russia, China, central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, Tibet, Punjab and Kashmir transacting ‘around’ Ladakh and Baltistan. By 1950 the traffic between all of these countries came to end and, Ladakh and Baltistan, which were cosmopolitan market hub for traders from Bukhara, Andijian, Kashghar, Yarkend, Kabul, Badakhshan, Tibet, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Kulu, Nurpur, Bushar, Kashmir [many parts of the India] since pre-modern period had closed; in the words of Fernanda Pirie citing state report [Jammu and Kashmir, political department: 1979/42/p.Box 1942], ‘notes on Ladakh by A.N.Sapru and Pundit Shirdhar kaul’, “ In 1941, more information on Ladakh was made available to the State Government by the Head of the District Administration, A.N.Sapru. He had experienced increasing difficulty in collecting revenue as well as the disasters wrought by a Typhoid epidemic in Ladakh. Consequently, he felt compelled to produce a detailed report

⁵ Cunningham, *Ladak; Pphysical, Statistical and Historical*, Pp.248-249-250-251.

⁶ John Bray, ‘Trader, Middleman or Spy? The Dilemmas of a Kashmiri Muslim in Early Nineteenth-century Tibet’, *Islam and Tibet interactions along the Musk routes*, Ashgate Publication, p.315.

⁷ Petech, *The kingdom of Ladakh, 950-1843A.D.*, PP.51-52.

⁸ Bray, *Ladakhi Histories Local and Regional Perspectives*, p.18.

⁹ *ibid*, p.74.

¹⁰ Wariko, ‘Gateway to Central Asia the Transhimalayan Trade of Ladakh 1846-1947’, *Proceedings of Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*, p.241.

on the state of the region. Through intensive use of revenue and settlement data, it was concluded that the economy of the region as suffering because of exorbitant interest rates on loans in cash or kind, running at 25% p.a. By adding to the already mentioned issues further problems such as the recent closure of the old trade links with Central Asia ^[11]”.

Domestic-Trade and social network of Ladakh and Baltistan

Though Ladakh and Baltistan had been a major trade emporium, locally it was just a convergence of traders not much increasing the local economy. The local social trading system was managed by the ‘local traders’. The region was thin populated and business people were largely outsiders. However, there were local merchants that deal in intra-regional trades. Local farmers had had been supporting this large networks of trans-continental trading’s by supplying ponies, as porters, forage for loaded animals and Saris [halting house] for merchants. Domestic-rich traders who were involved in import and export business with outside world were Arghun ^[12]. Arghun are Sunni Muslim business community whose ancestors where traders from Central Asian countries married to the local Buddhist women and settle down at Leh. They usually own family trade in Skardo, Yarkend, kashghar, Lahual, Nurpur, Tibet and Kashmir. Their business expansion through family trading networks and local marriages had made them most affluent community in Ladakh. The family business documents found in the Khan Manzil residence Leh of Mohammed Deen Khan as Khan Archives ^[13] documented by Jacqueline H.Fewkes and Abdul Nazir Khan, had found Business and personal papers of their family trading networks from 1904 to 1948 are of, ‘personal memos, business letters, registered letter envelopes, money order receipts, export permits, telegram receipts and account books concerning goods, trade of cloth, dyes, drugs, weaponry, household items, jewellery and carpets. The Khan Manzil documents talks about their family-business networks were dealing in Yarkend, khotan, kashgar, Karachi, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Afghanistan, Samarkand, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Shrinagar, Calcutta and Bombay. The 1000 pages of documents found in Khan Manzil had dealt in Urdu, Bhoti, Persian and English languages. The Argun’s such as Mohammad Deen Khan ancestors Bahuaddin khan and Shamsuddin Khan [Shamsuddin is today changed to Shamu

(Buddhist house name) a prosperous business family based in Leh and Delhi] had come to Ladakh from Khotan and settled at Leh marrying local Buddhist women, brothers’ of Bahauddin Khan, Omarduddin khan based in Lahore and another was governor of Khotan, which speaks of how trading networks of Argun’s were connected and communicated with each other. Their economic exercises were buying, transport, customs, taxation, and selling merchandise ^[14]. Other Buddhist-house name defining Muslim retention in Skurbuchan[lower Ladakh] are Gazichen, Abdal, Shamchu-from Sham-chud-din. Pascale Dollfus ^[15] quotes H.Ramsay about Argun, “*The Arghons, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhist, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages, Viz.Tibetan and Turki, or Tibetan and Kashmiri*”. Alexander Cunningham says the commerce of Ladakh as home trade were “*confined to the manufacture of blanket, coarse woollen clothe and bags costing at Le [Leh] two to three rupees each*” ^[16], it was made of Yak hair or Ox. The home produce foreign export items were chiefly Wool, Borax, Sulphur and dried fruits. The mediums of exchange were coins from different parts of the trading networks. There were Tila [gold coin used by Muslim merchants worth six rupees at Leh] of Bokharo and Kokand, Silver and pierced copper coins of China called Kuru by Yarkendis and Yambu by Tiebtans, silver of Nepal worth of half-rupee issued by Gorkha chiefs, copper dumps of Bushar, rupees of Moguls of Delhi, rupees of Nanak and Govind sahi and Ranjit singh, rupees of British-India, and Ladakhi silver coin called Jao worth of one quarter of a rupee. Jao the coin of Ladakh has Persian inscription read on one side as Muhamad Shah and other side as Zarb-i-Butan ‘stuck in Butan’ i.e. Buddhist Ladakh. It bears Muslim name because Ladakhi king was converted to Islam in 1684, when Mogul governor of Kashmir aided Ladakh to drive-off Tibetan-Mongol army. The gold coins were called *Ser-jao* or *ser-ki-dong* ‘face of gold’ or simply *Dong* or *Dongtse*. The silver coins were called *Nul-ki-dong* or *Nuk-Dong*. The copper coins were called *Zangi-Dong* or *Zang-dong*. The money- cash currencies were called Marba or Markyang. The weights in Ladakh are measured by *Batti* [under 2 kilogram] and Man or Maund. Other measurement of Ladakh is called *Khal*; it was used to measure heavy weights like grain and wool, it is of two kinds *Dek-khal* ‘weight *Khal*’ or *Shor-khal* ‘measure *khal*’. *Khal* is the prefix used to measure on different scales like if it *Luk-khal* is ‘sheep weight’, *rTa-khal* is ‘horse weight’ and *Yak-khal* is ‘Yak weight’.

The domestic economy in Ladakh and Baltistan operated in two kinds, by domestic traders and local migrant labour. The domestic traders were peasants engaging in trade mostly from Sham [lower Ladakh] areas and nomads of Changthang [eastern Ladakh] plateau called Changpa ^[17].

¹¹ P Fernanda, *Legal Autonomy as political Engaement: The Ladakhi Village in the wider world*, published by Law and society Review, Vol.40, No.1 (March, 2006), p.145.

¹² F H Jacqueline, “The origin of the term “Arghun” are uncertain. In a 1931 publication the explorer George N. Roerich linked usage of the term in Ladakh to the Central Asian name “arkagun-arghun” for Nestorian Christian (Roerich 1931:29). This Nestorian connection is dubious; I have never seen the idea forwarded by any other authors, or an explanation of how the Arghun community of Ladakh would be related. Roerich himself could not provide the answer, writing only that the similarity between the words “ is interesting to note”(Roerich 1931:29). Similarly unsubstantiated relationships of origin for the term could be drawn with the Arghan River in the Tarim river basin(Hedin 1940:155), and the Arganglas Mountain, part of the Karakorum Range in Ladakh. The term may be even be indicative of pan-Turkic identity, as the word “ Arghan” is a part of some modern Turkish names, including the Turkish ambassador in Jordan in 2002. Arghan Ozar”, in *Trade and Contemporary Society along the Silk Road*, published by Routledge Contemporary Asia Series’, p.63.

¹³ J H Fewkes, and A N Khan, ‘Social network and Transnational Trade In Early 20th Century Ladakh’, *Ladakh Histories Local and Regional Perspectives*, pp.321-322-324

¹⁴ *ibid*, P.328.

¹⁵ P Dollfus, ‘Ethnohistorire Des Musulmans Du Ladakh Central’, *Recent research on Ladakh, proceeding of fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*, Henry Osmaston and Phillip Denwood [editors], Motilal Banarasidass publisher private Limited, Delhi, p.305.

¹⁶ Cunningham, *Ladak; Physical, statistical and Historical*, p.238.

¹⁷ Hashmat Ulla Khan, *History of Tibet and Great Tibet*, translated by Zain-ul-Aabedin Aabedi, Atlantic publisher and distributors (p) LTD, New Delhi, “ The Changpa’s keep moving throughout their life. There are some Changpas who are having ten thousands loaded sheep and every sheep carry “12 Man Sharyi” or 15 kgs. Thus one can calculate the total

who were also known as the ‘Salt merchants’. The peasant traders from lower Ladakh called Shama. Raw wool from Changthang nomads for large industry of Kashmir Shawl passes through Sham regions to Kashmir and carry with them Barley, Butter, dry apricots to exchange with nomads. Salt was the most sought after commodity available from the Blue-salt lakes of Changthang plateau. The nomads of Eastern Ladakh were both merchants of Salt and producer of raw wool for Shawl industry; they have meat and dairy products to their subsistence. The peasant traders Sham-ma and Salt and wool-producer Chang-pa every year in the month of autumn used to meet below the Chang-la Mountain pass at the place called Chemrey. Here at the Chemrey Salt market merchants from Baltistan, Purig, Mulbek, Chigtan barter their Barley, Butter, Dry fruits and Wheat for Salt. The salt merchants used to trek and travel far beyond Ladakh to the Kashmir, Baltistan, kishdawa, kulu, Zanskar, Calcutta, Kalimpong and Lhasa and with their profits they used purchased items like maize, millet, buckwheat, tea, cooking oil, molasses [gur], kerosene, Chinese cups^[18], turquoises and religious books.

The community-free-labour services in Ladakh and Baltistan; wherein people without payment and reward work and offer ‘personal resources’, and, in-return same thing is expected from other’s [house, animal and person]; Kim Gutschow researching on Kingship in Zangskar^[19], says, “*The household is the principle nexus around which the economic relations of labor, production, and subsistence are arranged. The household serves as one of the primary corporate groups of society. The most critical obligation an individual owes to society is labor, labor exchanges are conceptualised as relations between households rather than individuals. In metonymic substitution which binds together village households, each individual involved in a reciprocal labor exchange serves as part which stands in for the whole*”. This traditional ‘community-free-services’ had been enhanced by the state^[20] government during the Dogra-rule by giving it a nomenclature called Res or Bari, when Collie [load-carrier] became the important mode of transport in Ladakh and Baltistan during summer months for State and British trades. Res is a local dialectical-term means ‘Turn’ and Bari is in Hindi meaning to it, which is a word also popularly used. Under this system, the state government had asked every villagers’ to provide a required number of Collies [load-carrier] turn by turn, beside some fixed payments, they were also given a tip called *Bakhsheesh* according to their Job. This *Coollie* –system [Res and Bari] had formed bigger networks as migrant-labour. The local migrant labour are called *kiraiyakash*^[21] [*kiraiya* means to

hire]. They are porters or coolies who in search of work travel distance lands leaving behind family and home. They prepare to go in search for job when winter sets in the months of October and November and return in the month of May when summer arrives. Jenet Rizvi quotes, “A traveller in 1852 found most of Leh’s male population absent, working in the Sulphur and Borax mines at Puga, leaving the womenfolk to work as porters, both carrying traveller’s baggage on the road and shifting loads of merchandised in Leh bazaar”^[22]. The *Kiraiyi* migrant labours were the ‘modern-employment’ generated-in by the British roads, bridges and other large scale construction sites. [Initially] the *kiraiyi* had also played major role in the British trading’s and transportations. British constructions of roads and employments in the hills of Kulu, Manali, Kangra, Chamba and Shimla [Simla] brought a complete change in people way of life and source of income, as in the words of Mahesh Sharma^[23], “The British presence in the hills brought about a complete attitudinal change. Known as ‘Lat Sahib’, (an honorific), they were feared as ‘rulers’, more so as “magicians” for whom even the ‘iron’ worked-an oblique reference to the building of railroads in the Kangra valley. The Gaddi-shepherd couplet says: Dhan ho angrezan di mau [The great be the mothers of English] Lohe te bhi canda marau [She can even exhort work out of ‘iron’]. The number of migrant labour from Ladakh and Baltistan in the hills of Punjab [now Himachal Pardesh] was 35 in numbers of porters in 1860 working in Shimla, as in the words of Jenet Rizvi, “ In 1860 an expedition setting out from Simla employed as porters 35 Ladakhis, the able-bodied portion of the inhabitants of a small village near Simla occupied by emigrants from Ladakh, who had been induced to leave their native wilds by the (comparatively) high prices given for coolie labour in and about Simla. Their principle work consisted of bringing in from the forests in the interior, planks, heavy beams and rough timber for building purposes”. During my visit to Dhramshala in 2014, at Maclordganj, I had interacted with Shina porter who was carrying on his back heavy metal-loads down-below the hill crisscrossing up to the busy-market settlements. My interaction with one such family member from Nubra valley house-name-Hilbe [of Sumur village] of Ladakh, their uncle had gone as migrant labour to Himchal Pardesh before independent India and did not return. The Hilbe’s-uncle is ‘one’ among many migrant labours from Ladakh and Baltistan who had remained back to the source of employment and settle down permanently. In 2014 Wangyal the grandnephew of Hilbe-uncle visited Simla and found their family in the small community area called Ladakhi Mohalla [colony] below the Cart road^[24]. Some of them had

numbers. These goods are unloaded once in a year either in China and India. The rest of the year it remains on the back of the sheep, unless the sheep remains healthy. The Changpas are in a large number, one of their tribe is called “Dolpa” these people are more than fifty thousands family”, p.44.

¹⁸ Rizvi, ‘Trade and Migrant Labour: Inflow of resources at the grassroots’, *Ladakhi Histories Local and Regional Perspectives*, published by Library of Tibetan works and Archives, 2011, p.310.

¹⁹ K Gutschow, ‘Kinship In Zangskar: Idiom and Practice’, *Recent Research on Ladakh Proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth international Colloquia on Ladakh*, Henry Osmaston and Phillip Denwood (Editors), Motilal Banarasidass Publishers private limited, Delhi, p.342.

²⁰ Satish Chandra Saxena, Chapter seven –Modes of Transport, in, *Trade in Ladakh during Dogra Period 1842-1947 A.D.*, published by Central institute of Buddhist Studies, Choglamsar, Leh-Ladakh, 2006, p.262.

²¹ Rizvi, ‘Trade and Migrant Labour: Inflow of resources at the grassroots’, p.310, Jacqueline H Fewkes’s, ‘Social strategies for profit;

Ethnographic present: The kiraiyakash’s village’, inside, *Trade and Contemporary Society along the silk Road*, p.81.

²² Rizvi, ‘Trade and Migrant Labour: Inflow of resources at the grassroots’, p.311.

²³ Mahesh Sharma, *Western Himalayan Temple Records State, Pilgrimage, Ritual and Legality in Chamba*, edited by Johanne Bronkhorst in co-operation Richard Gombrich, Oskar Von Hinuber, Katsumi Mimaki and Arvind Sharma, Brill Leiden Boston 2009, p.13.

²⁴ Rizvi, “ By 1910 It was established that most of the ‘coolies’ –i.e. load-carrying porters, as opposed to the rickshaw-pullers-in Simla were either Kashmiris, or Shia Muslims from Khargil. They were said to have been brought originally by a Kashmiri labour contractors some decades earlier. The khargilis were largely engaged in house construction; they lived in the Ladakhi Mohalla below the Cart Road, and their social life centered around the Imambara (Kanwar 1990:180)”, ‘ Trade and Migrant Labour: Inflow of Resources At the Grassroots’, p.311.

travelled in group every year, other's had been brought by contractors ^[25].

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²⁵ Dollfus, "The poorer immigrants from Purig and Baltistan came to Ladakh in search of work, the Baltis who were Shina, mainly Nurbakshi, spoke a Tibetan dialect, The Baltis were employed by the Kashmiri Muslims of Leh, or by rich Arghons, in lowly task. they worked also as butcher, leatherworkers and shoemakers, the poorest among them were employed in the thankless work of sorting, carding and washing pashminah and shatush", 'EthnoHistory of Muslims in Central Ladakh', *Recent research on Ladakh proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth international Colloquia on Ladakh*, Edited by Henry Osmaston and Phillip Denwood, Motilal Banarasidass Publisher private Limited, Delhi, pp.322-323.