

# Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit Road in Retrospect

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## **Abstract:**

*The Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit road was one of the significant routes connecting Jammu and Kashmir with outside world till partition and more interestingly this route was synonymous with Silk Route Trade till 1947. The Partition of Indian Sub-continent into India and Pakistan and consequent division of 'Greater Kashmir' into Pakistan Administered Kashmir (PAK) and Indian Administered Kashmir (IAK) in 1947 marked the end of this particular route along with many others. Over the last few years the Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit road had assumed a great deal of significance in enhancing the bilateral relations between India, Pakistan and China. A sincere effort is being made in this paper to highlight the historical and contemporary significance of Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit road. We hope that many findings in this paper would be quite relevant to the Departments of Trade and Culture in India, Pakistan and China for building up future relations on the basis of the rich historical past, in this age of globalization and regional integration.*

## **Keywords**

*Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit Road, Silk Route, Jammu & Kashmir, Revival, Trade*

## **Introduction**

The term Silk Route is coined by Ferdinand Von Richtofen, a German geographer and explorer. He refers Silk Route as interlinked trade routes across the Afro-Eurasian landmass that connected East, South, and West Asia with the Mediterranean and European world and parts of North and East Africa<sup>1</sup>. It stretched from Xi'an across the mountainous region of Kun Lun and Tien Shan, south of the Taklamakan desert through the famous cities of Kashgar onto Samarkand, Persia, ancient Mediterranean cities of Petra and Aleppo and finally terminating in Rome<sup>2</sup>. The land routes were supplemented by sea routes which extended from the Red Sea to East Africa, India, China, and Southeast Asia<sup>3</sup>. These trans-continental routes spreading over 4,000 miles (6,500 km), enabled traders to transport goods, luxuries such as silk, satin, hemp and other fine fabrics, musk, perfumes, spices, medicines, jewels, glassware, rhubarb and slaves to the markets abroad. Zhang Qian was probably the first to travel the Silk Route and procure information about Central Asia and which obviously opened up vistas for China to trade with Rome in the West. 'Greater Kashmir' or what presently constitutes Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) in India and Pakistan Administered Kashmir (PAK) in Pakistan was connected to it through three routes. One of the routes passed through Karakoram pass into Nubra Valley of Ladakh, another route connected Gilgit with Gurez in India and the third route passed through

Muzaffarabad, Pakistan into Baramulla India along the Jhelum Valley road<sup>4</sup>. These routes were further supplemented by sub-routes including Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit and Poonch-Rawalakote.

## **Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan-Gilgit Route**

### **a) *Historical Aspect***

The Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit link road was an important trans-Kashmir outlet to Central Asia. Its history is obscure due to lack of historical and archaeological evidence. However, Hashmat-ullah Khan reports that the early Aryan settlers in Gilgit and Astor were perhaps the first people to travel the said route towards Baltistan and Purig for hunting, grazing and settlement. The presence of Brokpha's or Dokpa's in the region supports this fact<sup>5</sup>. Logically, therefore, they must have retained their connection with their homeland under the Achaemenians (550-330) who had a vast Central Asian empire which extended upto and including Gandhara and other areas of the Indus. Consequently, Sattagydiens, Gandharians, Dadicae and the Aparytae formed essential territories of the Achaemenian Empire<sup>6</sup>. The Dadicae or Dardai region constituting Gilgit-Baltistan and Iskardu was famous for huge reserves of gold and gold mines<sup>7</sup>. As a matter of fact, the entire area along the Indus River spanning Kharman in Ganche, Tolti and Olding on the present Indo-Pak borders abounded with large quantity of gold. The gold digging was practiced beyond Kharal and Ganganie villages as well. How for this affected the life of common man in the entire region is difficult to ascertain. However, there can be no denial to the role of the Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit link road in connecting India, Pakistan, China and Central Asia in a single network hub; hence it was a significant contributor to the Grand Silk Road<sup>8</sup>.

The said route seems to have survived during various regimes – Alexander the Great established a vast empire in 330 B. C., however he could not extend his domain over the Gilgit region. Even his successors could not make any headway on this behalf. However, north-eastern region of Svsa (Khasa) including Chilas in Gilgit<sup>9</sup> was ruled over by the Mauryan King Ashoka (273-232 B.C.)<sup>10</sup>. If the evidence from Mahabharata about the association of Kha'sas with Mauryan rule is correct, then it is certain that Chilas in Gilgit was a territorial unit of the Mauryan Empire. A. H. Dani discovered a number of inscriptions dating 5th century A.D. which suffice the domain of Khasa state extending up and including Chilas in Gilgit<sup>11</sup>. Quite precisely, Buddhism reached Central Asia either across Gandhara or Chilas or other link routes. From the Central Asian side, Scythians or Sakas (1st B.C-4th century A.D) made the first appearance in Northern Areas (Gilgit) and with that the Chilas route opened up for pilgrims and caravans (moving traders)<sup>12</sup>, with extended connections upto Taxila and its neighborhood. Such connections further strengthened under the Kushans (1st-3rd century A.D). The King Kanishka (78-101 A.D.) organized military expeditions in Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang China) while using the Chilas route as is imaginable from Kushana coins<sup>13</sup> and inscriptions found in Chilas, Hunza and one at Khalatse in Ladakh. The Chilas<sup>14</sup> and Khalatse inscription are identified

after the name of VimaKadphises whereas the Hunza inscription is styled after the name of Kanishka and his successors<sup>15</sup>. These evidences show that Kanishka's rule extended over Chilas, Hunza and even upto Ladakh. Since the said rule was characteristic of enormous trade with the Central Asia, the gold retrieved from Chilas-Ladakh-Kargil region must have been a great contributor to the wide Kushana economy<sup>16</sup>. Such a link was further upgraded for travel by the Hunas after their occupation of Kashmir (4th century A.D) till the establishment of the native rule of the Karkotas (7th century A.D). The Hunas specialized in shooting arrows from the horse back. According to A.H. Dani, 'it is exactly this type of horse riders that we begin to get from the latter half of 5th century A.D. carved on the rocks throughout the entire Northern Areas of Pakistan from Kohistan to Karakoram and from Hindukush to Ladakh and Tibet. They can be seen at Shatial, in Chilas, in Gilgit, in Hunza, in Iskardu and on many rocks and by-roads along which their horses must have bruised their backs. They made a rapid advance throughout this region and clashed not only with the earlier KadariteKusanas of this country but also extended their power right to the Tibet and China.<sup>17</sup>

The successors of the Hunas, the Karkotas best maintained their neighborhood relations with Ladakh and Northern Areas of Pakistan under its founder ruler Durlabhavardhana (627-663 A.D). In the Chinese annals of the T'ang period, Durlabhavardhana was called as Tu-Lo-Pa<sup>18</sup>, he controlled the route from China to Ki-Pin (Kabul valley)<sup>19</sup> around 627-49 A.D. After him, native Kashmiri kings, Chandrapida (711-19 A.D) and Lalitaditya (724-760 A.D) controlled the Karakoram region and the overland caravan (moving traders) routes from India to China<sup>20</sup> with the Chinese support against the growing Arab threat<sup>21</sup>. In the process Lalitaditya occupied Bhautta land inhabiting Ladakhis, Tibetans and the Dards. The development of various dialects in Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit and Kashmir show a close cultural, linguistic and political affinity between the Tibetan and Dardic peoples during the reign of King Lalitaditya.

The Muslim king of Kashmir Shihab-ud-din (1354-73 A.D) also held Gilgit, Dardistan, Baltistan and Ladakh as his domain. He built a big fort in Gilgit and in all probability took recourse to Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan route for onward military adventurism into Eastern and Western Turkistan<sup>22</sup>. But on his death, Kashmir lost control over Ladakh and Baltistan. Obviously, the traffic on the Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan-Gilgit route took a back seat. However, with Sultan Sikander's accession to power in Kashmir (1389-1413 A.D) these territories were re-annexed to Kashmir<sup>23</sup>. His successor, Zain-ul - Abidin (1420-1470 A.D) further tightened Kashmir's control over the Gilgit region<sup>24</sup> while using Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan-Gilgit route for the purpose. The said route was evenly used by the Mughals for their extended military adventurism to Northern areas<sup>25</sup>. The Mughal Emperors Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605 A.D) and Jahangir (1605-1628 A.D) pursued the same route for trade with Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet. In his memoir, Jahangir writes that "the best quality of raw wool for the Kashmiri shawls comes from Ladakh and Tibet<sup>26</sup>." Even Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-55 A.D) made extensive use of the said trade for territorial and financial gains<sup>27</sup>. His military general, Zorawar

Singh, followed the Kargil-Iskardu road along Drass River, attacked and captured Baltistan<sup>28</sup>. Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1855-1885 A.D) treaded the same route in the wake of his onward policy in Northern Areas including Ladakh<sup>29</sup>. Indeed because of its strategic location, the Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan-Gilgit route was fully functional up to 1947 and was closed only with the Partition of India in 1947.

**b) *Geographical Aspect***

The Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit route contained several settlements and villages enroute to Baltistan/Gilgit, Xinjiang China and Central Asia. One of the settlements was the village Hardas situated over the left bank of the Drass River in Kargil J&K<sup>30</sup>. Being fertile, the village produced fruit trees that served as an important means of livelihood to its people<sup>31</sup>. The road followed the Drass River and after crossing a suspension bridge<sup>32</sup> (now HarkaBahadur Bridge) near the junction of Drass and Suru rivers, about 3 kilometers short of Kargil town, reached Kharal village located on the left bank of Drass River<sup>33</sup>. The entire path spread over sandy alluvium, rugged blocks of talus, and on the cliff washed at the base by River. Beyond Kharal at a distance of 10 miles was a small village Ganganie again located on the left bank of Drass River<sup>34</sup>. In between Kharal and Ganganie was situated the “HundermanBahu” cave. Such caves were carved out of the rocky mountains and served as caravansarais (rest houses) for the travelers. Such sarais existed along the whole Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan road at Olding, Bagicha, Tolti and Parkutta. The Aziz Munshi Central Asian Museum of Kargil contains some reminiscences of the famous caravansarai<sup>35</sup>. The road after passing “HundermanBahu” cave terminated at the pretty village of Bielargo which descended to River Drass and ascended over Olding, a hamlet<sup>36</sup> situated at the point of junction of the Drass River. After traversing a small level plain surrounded by a number of giant boulders resting on the upper edge of a very steep slope, the road had a series of ascents and descents along narrow precipitous and villageless ravine. The Olding village was followed by Tarkatta valley, 7800 feet above the sea. The lower part of the valley had a deep and narrow rocky ravine made of precipices of granite which after a certain distance terminated at a ridge<sup>37</sup>. After leaving Tarkatta and Gidiaksdo, one reached the cliff called Bagicha, a hamlet<sup>38</sup> followed by Kharmang (Kartaksha), a small village located unlike above referred villages on the right bank of the Indus River<sup>39</sup>. The road from Kartaksha to Tolti was situated on the right bank of the Indus. But some travellers opted for the left bank road to avoid the labour of crossing the Indus and re-crossing it again and again. From Kartaksha onwards was a road to Khapalu on the Shyok River. On it was the village Tolti on a stony ridge having a fatiguing ascent of more than 1,500 feet above the river. Beyond this ridge, the road abruptly descended amid precipitous rocks and a few villages scattered at intervals on the northern bank<sup>40</sup>.

Ahead of Tolti was Parkuta on the left bank of Indus, a large village at an altitude of 7,870 feet<sup>41</sup>. The entire road between Tolti to Parkuta was characteristic of densely populated villages abounding with vegetation. However, on reaching village Urdi the cultivation contracted due to unfavorable soil composition<sup>42</sup>, nevertheless the road from

Parkuta to Gol is combined both of arable land and rocky cliffs<sup>43</sup>. Near the village Gol the Leh-Iskardu road was connected with the Srinagar-Iskardu road<sup>44</sup> containing ups and downs along the Indus River.

Beyond Gol was situated village Kepchang, on the left bank of Indus and the whole road was entirely barren. Infact, Kepchang was only four miles away from Iskardu along a road that ran parallel to southern sector of the river and that housed few villages and hamlets. The Village Iskardu is situated on the left bank of Indus and is 113 miles from Kirkitchu in Kargil. It had a fort and about one hundred and fifty houses scattered towards the south of the river<sup>45</sup>, stood on an alluvial plateau 150 feet above the sandy waste and was approached by long avenues of poplars<sup>46</sup>. It was one of the richest valleys of Baltistan region<sup>47</sup>. Iskardu held a very strategic location towards Ladakh in India on one side and Yarkand region in Xinjiang China on the other<sup>48</sup>. There were two link roads between Iskardu and Gilgit<sup>49</sup>, one via Astor and other through Rondu, both connected with Karakoram highway. The Astor Route along the Indus Valley was the direct route between Iskardu and Gilgit. Ahead of Stokehum, was the village Astor, on the remnant of an alluvial plateau, at a height of some 500 feet above the main river. This place used to be the seat of a Dard Raja, now a cantonment of Maharaja's troops the chief station for the Gilgit brigade<sup>50</sup>.

Next to Astor were the villages of Harcho, Chikdas and Darkin, the latter was a reputed sight of archaeological importance. At Chikdas Astor River was crossed by a bridge towards Mushkin, a large forest area and thence Rondu village on foot. From here the road reached to Doian and further down into the Indus valley, it finally reached HattuPir about five miles away from Ramghat Bridge on ShaitanNala. Ramghat held great importance as it was the early line of communication between Gilgit and Astor though under the Sikhs (1819-46), the road followed the right bank of Astor River till it reached Bunji, then to Jaglot and finally Gilgit<sup>51</sup>.

### c) *Economic Dynamics*

Kashmir was a junction where most of the ancient trade routes converged for various pursuits. Notwithstanding geographical and national boundaries, such connections thrived over the centuries together<sup>52</sup> over various routes and sub-routes. One of the most frequently used route from Kashmir was the Kargil-Iskardu. Kargil was equidistant from Kashmir, Baltistan and Ladakh (Leh) hence it was named as Kar-kil meaning equal distance, which later on transformed into Kargil, a contributor to the grand Silk Route connecting India through J&K<sup>53</sup>. Iskardu and Gilgit was equally an important link between Kashmir and India on the one hand and Xinjiang China and Central Asia on the other<sup>54</sup>. It was as such a bustling centre for trade and commerce<sup>55</sup> besides a facilitator to the spread of Islam in Kashmir. Both regions, one each in J&K and PAK were intimately connected with each other across Karakoram and in that the Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit and other trans-surface trade routes had a great role in shaping the life of the peoples settled along both sides of the Karakoram Mountains. Any disruption to such a trade had devastating effect on the concerned people evidenced by the decline of Kashmir's trade

with Western Central Asia being outcome of its occupation by Soviets in 1930<sup>56</sup> and that of the Tibetan region by the Chinese around the same period<sup>57</sup>. This eventually caused considerable dislocation to the economy of Ladakh and Kargil.

Most of the people in Kargil acted as porters, though many of them, if not all, offered their horses for transportation of goods from one place to other. A horse in the process turned as a symbol of their social elevation because each head of pony earned around Rs. 800 per-month to its owner<sup>58</sup>. However, in the event of economic disruption following decline in trade, the demand for labour and transport automatically declined. In that event they reverted to ploughing of the arable land which however, being stony, sandy and unfertile yielded only a single crop in a year. Because of agricultural insufficiency, the people of Kargil travelled long distance on foot to Kashmir and Iskardu in search of food and other necessities of life. During the process of outmigration few Baltis from Kharmang migrated and settled in Kargil before 1947 in a Mohalla presently known as “Balti Bazaar.” The bulk of them established shops in Kargil to make a living. However, their economy was badly affected due to Indo-Pak and Indo-Chinese wars in 1960s and 1970s.

The horses and ponies were in a way useful contributor to the economic sustenance and transportation. Usually the goods were lifted on the strong, well-patient, and sure-footed-beasts enduring all sorts of hardships<sup>59</sup>. At least one-half of the Ladakhi ponies were imported from Yarkand<sup>60</sup>, for transportation of goods into Central Asia<sup>61</sup>. However, the entire process registered a slight shock after the discovery of Sea Route<sup>62</sup> and the political instability following Partition of Indian sub-continent and the eruption of rigid borders after 1947. Kashmir in itself had no direct access to the sea routes; it had nevertheless substantial trans-surface connections with Central Asian and Chinese world, which sequentially boosted her trade volume despite occasional periods of discomfort and decline. However, data about Kashmir and Central Asia trade volume is available from 1907-08 whence the quantum of imports from Central Asia was estimated at 1891 mounds<sup>63</sup> of goods worth the value of Rs. 18071 for whole valley embodying different routes. Despite the fact that merchandise entering Kashmir and vice versa were properly registered at several toll posts<sup>64</sup>, the share of Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit route to the whole trade structure is difficult to determine in view of limited resource material.

#### ***d) Commodity Structure***

Like other routes, the Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan-Gilgit road was round the year traversed by the caravans for transportation of goods between India and Central Asia over Kashmir via Kargil, Iskardu, Gilgit<sup>65</sup>. The trade was of a varied nature and depended on law of supply and demand. However, the chief articles of trade remained unchanged for centuries together. In fact the legendary gold mines of the Mount Kailash, the world famous pashm (raw wool) of Changthang, the Chinese silk, tea, salt, borax and spices passing through the brittle tracks of Kargil, pre-empted many rulers to occupy Kargil for economic benefits, political leverage and regional influence. Kashmir imported a certain quantity of stone and jade, textile fabric, gunny bags, corals, turquoise, silver, steel and

iron utensils from Central Asia across the said route<sup>66</sup>. The presence of remains of turquoise, bridal jewelry, hookahs of different types and shapes, silk, brocade clothes, caps and boots of distinct size, shape and value and pots and horse saddles in a privately owned Central Asian Museum at Kargil<sup>67</sup>, give insights into commodity structure of the Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit route. To be precise numerous caravans carrying exotic merchandise like silk, brocade, carpets, felts, tea, poppy, ivory and so forth halted at Kargil for their onward movement to China, Tibet, Yarkand and Kashmir. The traditional bazaars on the Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit route were always housed by rarities from the neighboring countries, and such bazaars were functional even sometime after the closure of borders due to Indo-Pakistan and Indo-Chinese wars in 1960s and 1970s. In fact, Kargil was the epicenter of the aforesaid trade and the most preferred route by the Punjabis or lalas of Hoshiarpur for transportation of various commodities from India to Central Asia and these included the silk, saddles, boots, carpets, salt, wool, medicines, spices, cotton clothes, muslin, indigo, soaps, mirrors, combs<sup>68</sup>.

The commodity structure of the above route included other sorts of agricultural produce<sup>69</sup> and to that effect Iskardu abounded with wood and orchards plentiful in grapes, melons, plums, apples, pears, mulberries and apricots of peculiar excellence especially when dried. Hardas village was famous for its apricots (Chuli) of which the plant seeds were imported from Iskardu<sup>70</sup>. Apricots coloured with sulphur were exported to foreign countries like Kuwait and Dubai and former Soviet Union. They were processed for medicine to cure cancerous patients; hence, it had a great market demand<sup>71</sup>. Even large quantities of dried apricots were exported to Kashmir from Baltistan<sup>72</sup>. To quote E.F. Knight: "During my progress through Baltistan, was presented with apricot and mulberries in profusion at every halting place. Large groves of apricots surround every hamlet in this province, and the dried fruit is the principle export, the kabana (apricot) of Baltistan being famous in the entire neighboring region<sup>73</sup>."

#### **e) Trade Interdependence**

The human civilizations had interdependence in diverse contours. Economic relationships among various societies were mainly determined by the law of supply and demand and political stability in a given space. The inherent human tendency was to monopolize and exploit economic resources for their own benefit. Accordingly, the exchange of goods was an integral part of people's social life in Kashmir and elsewhere. Different villages towns and cities were as such connected with Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit route to sustain regional interdependence and exchange commodities as per need and surplus.

The Hunza men sold peaches and apples in the bazaars of Gilgit<sup>74</sup>. Furthermore, Gilgit alone produced woolen cloth and that too for self-consumption. Nevertheless, it had pre-eminence for being an important commercial centre on way from Kashmir to Kargil, Yarkand and Kashgar<sup>75</sup>. Its Nagar town had practically no outlet except down the river Indus to Gilgit. With impassable mountains towards east and Great Rakapushi Range towards south, Nagar was dependent on Gilgit for weapons, cotton cloth, salt,

sugar etc; mostly produced in India and Turkestan<sup>76</sup>. Large number of fine quality of flocks and herds were annually reared in Tangir and Darel for sale in the neighboring valleys<sup>77</sup>. Some traders brought goods from Kashmir and the Punjab for sale in lieu of gold dust from Astor<sup>78</sup>. Different villages around Bunji enroute to Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit sold their local produce in major towns of Gilgit to make their living<sup>79</sup>.

Ladakh had no specialty nonetheless it had a strategic location for trade between Kashmir, India and Central Asia. A part of imports from India to Kashmir was meant for onward transmission to Central Asia via Ladakh or Gilgit. Likewise, the imports from various parts of Central Asia were transacted to India and Kashmir via Gilgit, Ladakh and Kargil. The shawl industry of Kashmir in particular depended upon the supply of wool not only from Ladakh and Tibet but also from Central Asia<sup>80</sup>. Its dependence on Yarkand for the purpose was by an established convention and any violation thereof, was punishable with confiscation of the commodity<sup>81</sup>. Kashmir also exported ornamented shoes, tobacco, and saffron to Ladakh, Central Asia and China for trade<sup>82</sup>. It is interesting to note that Ladakh produced a special type of goat whose undercoat was woven to produce a Kashmiri pashmina<sup>83</sup>. Salt was largely exported to Iskardu and in less degree to Kashmir and was exchanged for tobacco, grain, fruits and ponies<sup>84</sup>. Tea was imported from China, Khotan, Ladakh, and British India<sup>85</sup>. The goods exported from Kashmir to Central Asia were mostly luxurious and included saffron, shawls, carpets, cannabis, opium, bheng<sup>86</sup>, clarified butter<sup>87</sup>, and spices<sup>88</sup>. The volume and range of silk exports was not that extensive as that of shawls<sup>89</sup>: The latter had tremendous market in Persia and Russia.

#### **f) Merchant Community**

Trade and commerce was conducted on a large scale by a heterogeneous, community of merchants from different regions and ethnic backgrounds<sup>90</sup> the Russians British, Indian, Chinese (Manchus, Khitai, Tunganis)<sup>91</sup>, Badakshanis, Afghans, Kashmiris, Kanjuts, Baltis, Khokhandis, Bukharans, Kazakhs, Mongols, Armenians<sup>92</sup>, Iranians, Shirvanis, Tartars, Hindus and Central Asian Jews (of whom there was a large colony in Kokand)<sup>93</sup>. Besides, there were the Yarkandis, Argons<sup>94</sup>, Hindus from Kullu and Hoshiarpur and Muslims from Purig<sup>95</sup>.

The merchant community that conducted trade between India and Central Asia across Kashmir, Kargil, Iskardu, Ladakh and Gilgit and Eastern Turkestan, was broadly fragmented into two groups, the “Andijanese<sup>96</sup>” or “Kashmiris.<sup>97</sup>” The Andijanese were those who traded at Kashgar which in first quarter of the 19th century was a bigger city than Bukhara and the Kashmiris were those who traded at Yarkand<sup>98</sup>. The Andijanese also operated at Kokand, Tashkent and Bukhara though their role was considerably smaller at Tibet, Ladakh, Baltistan, Afghanistan and the Pamir countries where Badakshanis, Afghans, Baltis, Tibetans and Hindus, if not Jews or Russian Tartars, were certainly predominant<sup>99</sup>. The Kokandis, Bukharans, Badakshanis and Kashmiris had trade cooperation with the *Begs*<sup>100</sup> (local chiefs) in Atishahr region. Since Kashmir bordered closely with Central Asia, its capital city, Srinagar, was the hub of trading activity for the Turkish, Tibetan, Ladakhi, Balti, Indian and Kashmiri merchants. These traders had rest



houses as well as religious Shrines in Kashmir. The community of Kashmiri merchants brought pashm (raw wool) to Srinagar, though a few Chinese and Tibetan<sup>101</sup> traders termed Bakals who were also involved in the said trade<sup>102</sup>.

The ruling class to a certain extent had a good share in the trade structure of the region. The governor of Khotan traded in saffron, Kiryana, Kemkhabb and white silk<sup>103</sup>. The Ladakh trade was exclusively conducted by the Urghuns in accordance with old custom; hence was not taxed as compared to the Kulu men and other merchants. They made advance payments to their agents for shawl wool, and at times held their own flocks of shawl-goat sheep which they grazed through the Tibetan herdsmen. The Kashmir looms mostly derived their wool supplies from this source<sup>104</sup>. On the other hand, the Rajas or chieftains of Hunza, Yasin and Chitral, directly sold lots of slaves who had been held by them during war or loot to the Badakshan traders, and these slaves were of different ethnic backgrounds, the Gilgitis, Dards, Dogras, the Punjabis and Pathans. It is worth mentioning that one of the sources of survival of the aforementioned Rajas was derived from the periodic loot and plunder of the traders doing business on the Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit and other route. It was in this backdrop that Maharaja of Kashmir once sent a military expedition to punish the Raja of Yasin for having looted Kashmiri traders and their horses on way from Badakshan and Yasin to Kashmir<sup>105</sup>. Whereas the Afghan governors dealt in with shawl trade<sup>106</sup>, Maharaja of Kashmir held trade monopoly in food grains<sup>107</sup> shawls and pashm (raw wool) in the personal capacity. The Kashmiri merchants settled in Ladakh were obliged to provide a share from their earnings to the Maharaja from the trade of shawl wool in Chang-thang region. The long distance traders conducted their business through a number of service men employed for driving ponies and camels and loading and unloading necessary loads at different halting places. The Shammas, bold and enterprising as they were, under took long distances deep into Western Tibet and Gertse, which usually measured 700 kilometres covered in 11 months and 2 days from their residence in the Indus valley. They also made regular trading expeditions to Iskardu, Kargil and Srinagar, to them therefore, trade especially in pashm (raw wool) and salt was virtually a fulltime occupation<sup>108</sup>.

**g) State Policy**

The state was by and large well disposed to promoting trade and commerce for boosting economy<sup>109</sup>. Regardless of the border and other disputes, it largely offered safeguards to the traders and merchants through a number of measures<sup>110</sup>. Since the state consumed big chunk of Central Asian goods, it was therefore, seriously concerned about the fluctuating prices of goods in Indo-Central Asian trade<sup>111</sup>. The state despite limited financial resources stimulated trade and commerce by constructing roads and bridges in different parts including Dardistan and Ladakh. Ladakh already linked with Kashmir by roads, was further hooked with Gilgit Agency through a road from Bunji to Iskardu built in 1893-94. In 1914 a new trade route from Leh to the Karakoram Pass was opened for traffic<sup>112</sup>. Among the 26 passes<sup>113</sup>, Zojila (11,300 ft) was largely preferred by the traders for

onward connection with the most important trade routes one moving over to Kargil and onwards to Iskardu, Ladakh, Samarkand, Khutlan and Kashgar.

The state offered protection and encouraged local traders to go for export trade, and provided them tax exemption on exports. In 1891-92, the Kashmir Darbar (Dogras) provided incentives to the Kaliwal Indus valley men for trade between Kashmir and the Punjab. In 1885, Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1829-1885 A.D) of Kashmir, through a parwana (farman) exempted the traders from payment of octroi duties in Gilgit, though the unscrupulous officials unlawfully realized the same and forced the traders to sell their goods at lower prices than fixed by the Dogras. The merchants were evenly charged Rs 1.80 on each load of Indian or Kashmir merchandise at Gilgit. This was besides Rs 1.80 and Rs 1.00 charged per-load of exports in Yasin, Chitral, Hunza and Nagar respectively. In 1891-92, the merchants complained through the political agent to the state government against the aforesaid exactions of the state officials. As a deterrent, the Dogras appointed a Naib Wazir at Gilgit to ensure fair price of local produce and prevent under-rate sale of goods. The realization of aforesaid octroi duty on imports from Kashmir and India was reduced to Rs. 1.0.0 of course for a particular year. However, tax levied by the Punial Raja of Gakuch was left un-disturbed<sup>114</sup>. Similarly, the local governor of Rudok and Jungpen exempted the Kullu traders from the duties on the goods for their personal use<sup>115</sup>.

Likewise, the State patronage was visible in the construction of countless rest houses or sarais (rest-houses) in the far off and nearby villages towns and cities for the comfort and stay of general and caravan traders. In fact, sarais were an apparent sign of good government<sup>116</sup>. Kargil, centrally located for trade towards Iskardu, Suru Valley, Leh and Srinagar had a big sarai and a trade depot in the form of an inn where goods flowing in from different directions changed hands. Their structure being the same across the Srinagar-Iskardu-Gilgit and Leh-Iskardu routes, the sarais characterized an inn-cum-warehouse with rooms on the upper storey for accommodation of the merchants and storerooms in the ground floor besides pasturage for the horses<sup>117</sup>. The Baltis and the Kashmiri traders wearing regular dandies in long jackets and turbans stayed at Kargil sarai with their caravans of pack-horses. The sarais constructed at other major halting places contained provisions of food and forage for the horses looked after by an officer called British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh<sup>118</sup>. For the convenience of the Central Asian traders, Kashmir government built two sarais<sup>119</sup> in Srinagar<sup>120</sup>.

However, the passage of caravans hardly had a smooth sailing in the face of the organized robbers. For safety, the state as well as traders at times if not always, brokered deals with marauders or robbers. In some cases, the caravans were directly given protection by the state army. Despite this, while treading Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit and other routes they did not escape and in that event frequent raids from Kanjuties, the inhabitants of Hunza and Nagar, the State took recourse to military action<sup>121</sup> to protect Kashmir-India-Central Asian traders at large.

#### ***h) Tax Structure***

There was no uniform and well organized tariff or tax structure on imports and

exports before 1846. Like in Central Asia<sup>122</sup> the right to trade on various routes was framed out in Ladakh. Thus, the tax on shops, brokers and traders in Ladakh was framed out to the tune of Rs 3,840 a year<sup>123</sup>. In Gilgit, each incoming trader paid a duty (Masool) of one roll of cloth each load or two percent of live stock or the equivalent thereto in other goods. Money payments were made in gold-dust, a strong unit of payment. A special man called Burro was appointed to collect the dues<sup>124</sup>. Like Ladakh nearly everything was brought under taxation. The usual method was to make all products a state monopoly and to farm out their monopoly to some contractor. Silk, saffron, violets, various kinds of forest products, hemp, tobacco, water-nuts and paper formed the subject of state monopoly<sup>125</sup>. Accordingly each contractor paid fixed amount to the government against the duties collected from above products<sup>126</sup>.

However, during the 19th-20th century a proper tax system was evolved not only in Central Asia<sup>127</sup> but in Jammu and Kashmir also. The Europeans were charged as much as 20% of the import duty on the value of their goods as compared to 5% charged from Hindu merchants and only 21/2% from the Muslim traders, thereby giving tough competition to the European traders in the trade structure of the region. The following table shows the rate of customs duty at the custom post of Zojila pass on the commodities imported from and exported to Central Asia:

**Table-5<sup>128</sup>**

*Imports from Central Asia into Kashmir and India*

| Quantity in local units of Weight                              | Rate of custom duties |       |       |
|--|-----------------------|-------|-------|
|  | Rs                    | Annas | Paisa |
| Per <i>maund</i> of white coloured shawl wool ( <i>pashm</i> ) | 15                    | -     | -     |
| Per <i>maund</i> of black coloured shawl wool ( <i>pashm</i> ) | 12                    | 8     | 2     |
| Per <i>trak</i> <sup>129</sup> of wool                         | -                     | 4     | -     |
| Per <i>trak</i> of borax and sulphur                           | -                     | 6     | -     |
| Per <i>trak</i> of jade  | 3                     | -     | -     |
| Per <i>trak</i> of crystal                                     | 1                     | 8     | -     |
| Per <i>trak</i> of dry fruits                                  | 1                     | 12    | -     |
| Four and half <i>seer</i> <sup>130</sup> of green tea          | 4                     | -     | -     |
| Four and half <i>seer</i> of black tea                         | 2                     | -     | -     |
| Per <i>seer</i> of fannelkhatan                                | -                     | 8     | -     |
| Per <i>seer</i> of tea khatan                                  | 1                     | -     | -     |
| Per <i>seer</i> of Zadoary                                     | -                     | 8     | -     |
| Per <i>seer</i> of YarkandiCorintha                            | 2                     | 4     | -     |
| Per <i>seer</i> of Momiren China                               | 3                     | 8     | -     |
| Per <i>seer</i> of rhubarb China (rawand)                      | 4                     | 8     | -     |
| Per <i>seer</i> of soda earth                                  | 5                     | -     | 2     |
| Per <i>tola</i> <sup>131</sup> of gold dust                    | 1                     | -     | -     |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> <sup>132</sup> of wollen sheets (Loi)        | 6                     | 4     | -     |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of <i>pashmina</i> sheets (Loi)              | 7                     | 8     | -     |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of TibetanPattu                              | 8                     | 3     | -     |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of Tibetan Shawl                             | 1                     | -     | -     |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of <i>pashmina</i> pattu                     | 1                     | -     | -     |

|  |    |   |   |
|--|----|---|---|
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of Linen cloth of khatan       | 2  | - | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of woolen cloth (Zangos)       | 9  | 5 | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of white woolen felts          | 10 | 6 | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of white <i>pashmina</i> felts | 1  | - | - |
| Per Sheep  | 4  | - | - |
| Per rosary                                       | 11 | 8 | - |
| Per String of pears                              | 12 | 8 | - |
| Per china cup                                    | 13 | 3 | - |

*Exports from Hindustan and Kashmir into Central Asia*

|   |    |   |   |
|---|----|---|---|
| Per <i>trak</i> of bazazi (cotton, piece goods)                     | 6  | - | - |
| Per <i>trak</i> of tabbacco   | 14 | 5 | - |
| Per <i>trak</i> of iron   | 15 | 6 | - |
| Per <i>trak</i> of edible oil, clarified butter and butter          | 16 | 4 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of blue indigo                                      | 17 | 4 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of looking glass                                    | 18 | 1 | 2 |
| Per <i>seer</i> of small cardamomas                                 | 19 | 1 | 2 |
| Per <i>seer</i> of sugar  | 20 | 2 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of almonds  | 21 | 2 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of spices (turmeric, peepers, ginger, anise)        | 22 | 4 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of tin and salammoniac                              | 23 | 2 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of kashmiri snuff                                   | 24 | 1 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of pashawari snuff                                  | 25 | - | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of cutlery (maniari)                                | 26 | 2 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of shalls (nakus)                                   | 27 | 2 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of saffron (Ist. quality)                           | 28 | 8 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of zarda saffron (second quality)                   | 29 | 5 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of opium  | 30 | 4 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of shoes  | 31 | 2 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of shoe- slipper                                    | 32 | 1 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of cream leathered shoes                            | 33 | 4 | - |
| Per <i>seer</i> of socks  | 34 | 2 | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of embroidered cloth                              | 1  | - | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of kimkhab  | 4  | - | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of colouredpattu and coloured woolen sheets (loi) | 35 | 4 | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of other skin                                     | 36 | 4 | - |
| Per <i>tha'an</i> of European chintz                                | 37 | 1 | - |
| Per shawl   | 2  | - | - |
| Per sword   | 38 | 1 | 2 |
| Per musket  | 39 | 8 | - |
| Per simple comb   | 40 | - | 2 |
| Per coloured and designed comb                                      | 41 | 1 | - |
| Per wooden box  | -  | 1 | - |
| Per quire of paper  | -  | 1 | - |

The above table reveals the contrasting figures of rates of duty on imports and exports. While the imports from Central Asia were predominated by non-agricultural products, level of taxes levied thereon was more and especially on wool imports from Ladakh and Central Asian countries. The shawl industry being lucrative enough, its manufacturing was dependent upon the supply of shawl wool from Central Asia<sup>133</sup>. Realizing its importance, the State earned an annual revenue of thirty five lakhs of rupees from the said industry<sup>134</sup>. On the contrary, the export mostly comprising of agricultural products of Kashmir had relatively less range of duties payable at the Zojila customs post. Precisely for this reason, the state revenue on imports was higher than the exports notwithstanding the greater bulk in the latter case<sup>135</sup>. The highest range of revenue on exports amounted to Rs. 17,902 in 1909-10 and the whole lot of exports weighed 578 maunds in 1922-23<sup>136</sup>.

The taxes imposed on the exports via Zojila pass onwards to Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit or Ladakh routes did not only include the goods produced in Kashmir but also those from different parts of India. To boost the trade along these Kargil-bound routes from Kashmir, the State government revised its taxation policy from time to time. A considerable income was thus generated from customs and octroi levied on the import-export trade<sup>137</sup>.

## **Conclusion**

The Kargil-Iskardu-Baltistan-Gilgit route has been an important outlet for Kashmir to Central Asia. It was on a junction where most of the ancient trade routes converged for different pursuits. Constituting a difficult geographical terrain, connections thrived over the centuries together<sup>138</sup> on this route. The route was an important contributor to the grand Silk Route connecting India through J&K to Iskardu<sup>139</sup>, Gilgit and then onwards to Xinjiang China and further to Central Asia<sup>140</sup>. The route passed through bustling Centres of trade and commerce<sup>141</sup> besides proving to be a facilitator in the spread of various faiths in the region. Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit along with many other trans-surface trade routes had a great role in shaping the life of the people settled along the two sides of the Karakoram Mountains and any disruption to such a trade had devastating effect on the people.

## **Notes & References**

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3. See Ulric, *op. cit.* (note 1).
4. N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, (Tra.), *Tarikhi-i-Rashidi* (Delhi, 1986).
5. MaulviHashmat-ullah Khan, *MukhtsarTareek-e-Jammu wa Kashmir*(Jammu, 1992).
6. A. H. Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*(Islamabad, 1991).
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8. See Dani, *op. cit.* (note 6).
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13. M.A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*(Delhi, 1989).
14. See Dani, op. cit. (note 11).
15. See Dani, op. cit. (note 11).
16. See Dani, op. cit. (note 6).
17. See Dani, op. cit. (note 16)
18. Tu-Lo-Pa (Durlabha-the abbreviated name of Durlabhavardhana of coins) was, according to the Chinese annals, charged with having conducted the envoy of Ki-Pin safely to their country: M.A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Vol. I(Delhi, 1989).
19. Ki-Pin generally, if not invariably, meant Kapisa or north eastern Afghanistan under the Han and Wei dynasties of China, the term ordinarily meant Kashmir: V.A. Smith, *The Early History of India*(Great Britain, 1957).
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23. See Elias & Ross, op. cit. (note 4).
24. See Dani, op. cit. (note 16)
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31. Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Dar, *Kargil its Social, Cultural and Economic History*(New Delhi, 1999).
32. Communication was maintained over the rivers at certain points by hanging bridges. These were made of plaited bird twigs with a dip in the middle to avoid strains of load. At many places, the bridges with high traffic were renewed yearly. However, those with little traffic were not repaired for two or three years. Accidents were few and men accustomed to them carried large and cumbersome loads to the other end of the river/s without fear: Sir Francis Younghusband, *Wonders of the Himalayas*(Chandigarh, 1924); Major John Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*(New Delhi, 2001).
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35. Based on the field work conducted by the investigator from 24-8-2010 to 10-10-2010.
36. See Arora, op. cit. (note 35).
37. See *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, op. cit. (note 36).
38. See Arora, op. cit. (note 35).
39. De Bourbel, *Routes in Jammu and Kashmir*(Calcutta, 1897).
40. See *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, op. cit. (note 36).
41. See Arora, op. cit. (note 35).
42. See Bourbel, op. cit (note 41).
43. See Arora, op. cit. (note 35).
44. E.F. Knight, *Where the Three Empires Meet*(Srinagar, 2008).
45. William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in Kashmir (From 1819-1825)*(Srinagar, 2008).
46. See Knight, op. cit. (note 46).
47. Baltistan was located amid enormous mountain-chains ranging between the height of 18000 and 20,000 feet. Such mountain peaks had height between 25,000 feet and 28,000 feet.
48. See Dani, op. cit. (note 6).
49. See Knight, op. cit. (note 46).
50. Frederic Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*(New Delhi, 1996).

51. See Dani, op. cit. (note 6).
52. Trade Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State, Samvat year 1989-90 (The Development Department of his Highness Government, Jammu and Kashmir, 1934).
53. See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 32).
54. See Dani, op. cit. (note 6).
55. See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 32).
56. The whole of Central Asia had come under the establishment of Soviet power by 1930.
57. China occupied Tibet in late fifties and their descended the iron curtain against relations with India, including Ladakh.
58. See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 32).
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61. See Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op. cit. (note 36).
62. Devendra Kaushik, *Central Asia in Modern Time* (Moscow, 1970).
63. A unit of weight equal to 37 kg/82 lb.
64. Trade Report, (1907-08).
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66. See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 32).
67. Renu Pokharna, 'Silk Route: The Legend and the Romance', *Epilogue*, I, 10 (2007), p. 27.
68. Navreet Milton, 'Opening of the Kargil-Skardu route: a reflection', *Jammu and Kashmir Trade across the Line of Control*, (2010), p. 52.
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70. See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 32).
71. See Mohi-ud-din, op. cit. (note 33).
72. See Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op. cit. (note 36).
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84. Walter Lawrence, *the Valley of Kashmir* (Lahore, 1991).
85. See Lawrence, op. cit. (note 87).
86. See Bates, op. cit. (note 83).
87. See Lawrence, op. cit. (note 87).
88. See Bates, op. cit. (note 83).
89. See Lawrence, op. cit. (note 83).
90. Mushtaq A. Kaw, Aijaz A. Bandy (eds.), *Central Asia: Introspection* (Srinagar, 2006).
91. Staunch Muslims as they were, Tunganis spoke the Chinese language and had scanty hair and resembled Mongols for they were actually the offshoots of the Tartars, (those Central Asians who came from East Central Asia and founded an empire stretching into Serbia, Russia, and Ukraine) and Chinese women. They made up the largest part of the immigrant Muslim population from Kansu, Chen-his and Szechwan and professed Sunni faith (some of their Jurists belong to the Hanfi School of Law and others to the Shafiteschool of Law). They had great influence of Naqash Bandiya (Sufi order), offered prayers in Arabic language, abstained from pork, wine and Tobacco and shaved their moustaches and used the Chinese language for sermons and commentaries. Their commercial talent and their culturally intermediate position between China and the Muslim world enabled them to play a powerful role in trade. Since many of them could speak a little Tartary, they

- also had an advantage in the trade with the Kazakhs, and the people of Ili and Tarbagatai regions:  
The Cambridge History of China, Vol. X.
92. H.W. Bellow, *Kashmir and Kashgar: A Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy to Kashgar (1873-74)*(Delhi, 1989).
93. Cambridge history of China, Vol. X.
94. They were the descendant of Muslim traders of Yarkand and Kashgar and the local Ladakhi women with whom the former married and lived, during prolonged winters when the Karakoram pass would remain closed due to heavy snowfall. Mutah qualifies a man to marry with a lady of his choice for a stipulated period of time which varied between few hours to 100 years. The practice of Mutah obtained in Arabia as a process of ecological adaptation. The arid or semi-arid situation that existed in Arabia also existed in Kargil: See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 32). Drew believes that the Arghaun race developed due to the intermarriage of Kashmiri merchants with women of Ladakh: See Drew, op. cit. (note 53).
95. See Arora, op. cit. (note 35).
96. Andijan being the name of a city and of a region in the Farghana Valley area under Kokand's control.
97. See Moorcroft and Trebeck, op. cit. (note 48).
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99. W.H. Wathen, 'Memoir on Chinese Tartary and Khotan', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 4, 48(1835), p. 654.
100. See Cambridge History of China, op. cit. (note 96).
101. Janet Rizvi, *Trans-Himalayan Caravans*(New Delhi, 1999).
102. The merchants of Srinagar who dealt in Pashm from Ladakh were also known as Tibet Baqals.
103. File no. 332, Samvat 1923 (1866-67), His Highness government of Jammu and Kashmir, Persian/General records.
104. See Chohan, op. cit. (note 63).
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106. Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and Punjab*(Delhi, 1845).
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108. See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 105).
109. See Bellow, op. cit. (note 95).
110. File no's. 332, Samvat, 1923 (1866-67) and 771, Samvat, 1935-36 (1878-79), His Highness Government. J & K Persian/General records.
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113. G.T. Vigne, *A personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan*(New Delhi, 1986).
114. See Chohan, op. cit. (note 63).
115. Captain R.L. Kemon, Assistant to the Resident for Leh, Ladakh to Resident in Kashmir, No. 509, November 8, 1899, GOI, FGN, Front-A, February 1900, No's 17-18 (A.S.P. 286).
116. Mushtaq A. Kaw, *Agrarian System of Kashmir 1586-1819 A.D.* (Srinagar, 2001).
117. See Rizvi, op. cit. (note 105).
118. See Nazaroff, op. cit. (note 86).
119. Kaksarai and Safa Kadalsarai were halting points for some of the caravans from Kargil, Leh as well as Yarkand.
120. See Bamzai, op. cit. (note 31).
121. Ataliq Ghazi sent punitive expedition against the plunderers of Hunza and Nagar in the Kanjut Valley, to punish them for their plundering tendencies and incessant and intricate difficulties they caused to the traders on the Yarkand-Kashmir route. Most of them including their chief were seized as slaves. Colonel Durand brought them to their knees and posted a British Commissioner to ensure smooth passage of caravans along the route in 20th century: See Knight, op. cit. (note 46).
122. During 17th -18th century one such trade route connected the Sinkiang region with Kabul. The



right to trade on it was auctioned to the highest bidder against a lump sum amount paid to the King:  
C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia (1603-1721)* (New Delhi, 1921).

123. See Chohan, *op. cit.* (note 63).
124. See Biddulph, *op. cit.* (note 34).
125. See Lawrence, *op. cit.* (note 87).
126. Jammu Kashmir Chief Political File No. 69 of 1898: cf. Ali Mohammad Dar, *Trade and Commerce during Dogra Rule in Kashmir (AD 1846-1947)* (Faridabad, 1999).
127. See Cambridge History of China, *op. cit.* (note 96).
128. Dastural-amal-i-Kashmir, f. 117: See Dar, *op. cit.* (note 129).
129. One-sixteenth of a kharwar was designated as trak.
130. A unit of weight equal to one kilogram.
131. A unit of weight equal to 180 grains troy weight or 11.7 grams.
132. One roll of cloth.
133. See Bates, *op. cit.* (note 83).
134. See Bamzai, *op. cit.* (note 31).
135. Trade Report (1907-08).
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