

---

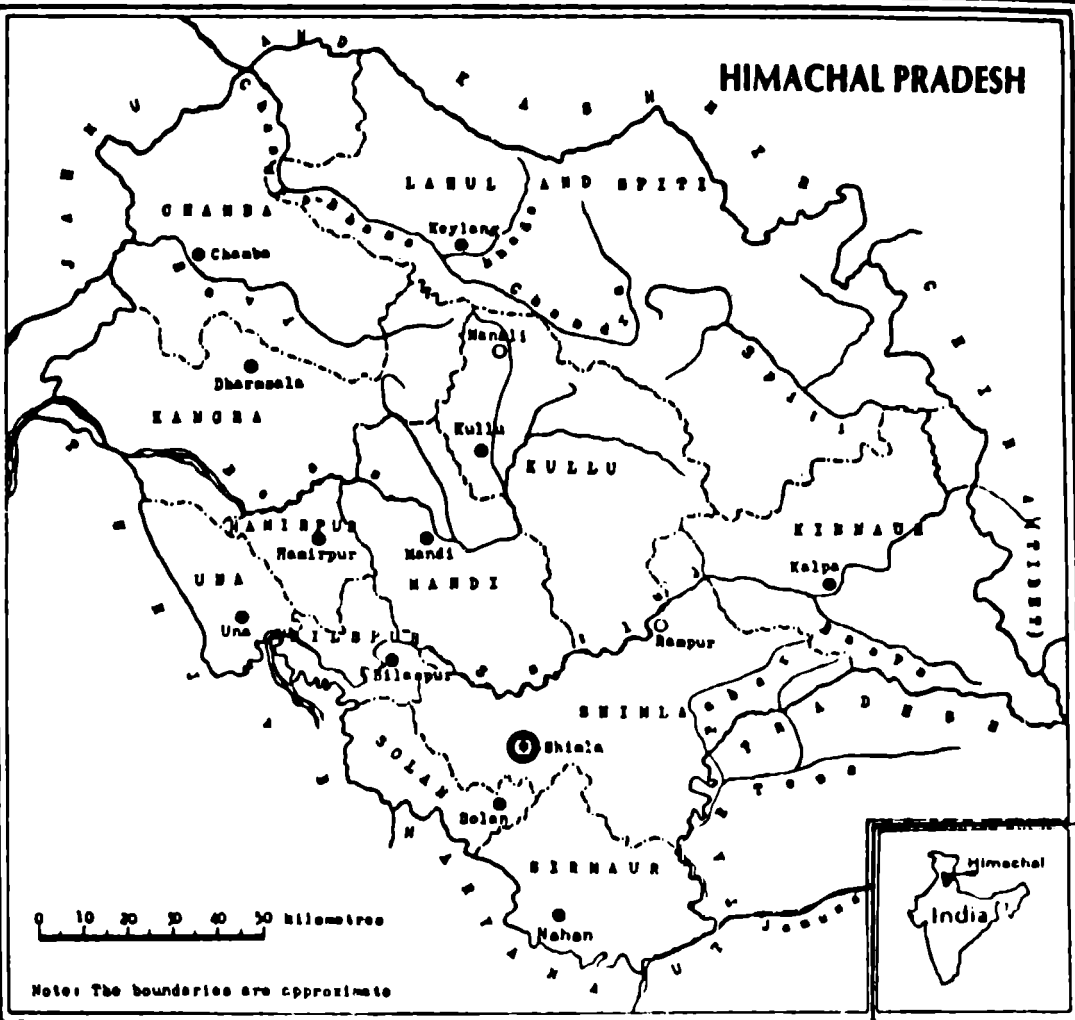
**Traditional Trade  
and  
Trading Centres  
in  
Himachal Pradesh**

---

*Including  
Trade-Routes and Trading Communities*

**POONAM MINHAS**

# HIMACHAL PRADESH



Note: The boundaries are approximate

TRADITIONAL  
TRADE & TRADING CENTRES  
IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

---

WITH TRADE-ROUTES AND TRADING COMMUNITIES

---

POONAM MINHAS



INDUS PUBLISHING COMPANY  
NEW DELHI

Copyright © 1998 Poonam Minhas

ISBN 81-7387-080-2

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any manner without written permission of the publisher.

Published by M.L. Gidwani, Indus Publishing Company  
FS-5, Tagore Garden, New Delhi 110 027, and printed at  
Elegant Printers, Mayapuri Indl. Area, New Delhi





## **Preface**

In the present work, an attempt has been made to present an integrated and cohesive picture of the trade and commerce in this region through ages. And through this medium, to explore the racial, cultural, social and economic behaviour of the people of this area.

I would not like to recount the difficulties that came my way in the completion of this work because, such perils and problems are bound to pop up when one attempts to explore the untrodden paths. So far, no study on the trade and commerce activities of this region has been made and, the present work can, in a humble manner, be termed as a pioneering attempt. Nevertheless, I have felt benefited from the colonial scholarship, that has bequeathed to us a very valuable data by way of travel accounts, administrative reports and gazetteers. All those sources have been duly acknowledged at appropriate places and in the bibliography. Incidentally, I could lay my hands on some of the secret documents preserved in the National and State archives. But most of the information for the completion of this study came from the traditional sources—the elderly people of the traditional trading castes and trading families.

The present study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter gives general introduction to the theme of the book. Second chapter deals with the geo-economic setting of Himachal Pradesh in the context of its significance in influencing the trade and commerce through

the ages. The floral and faunal wealth of this region, having the economic potential, have been discussed at length in this chapter.

Third chapter deals with politico-commercial history of the region. This chapter is devoted to the history of trade and commerce in the Pradesh from the earliest times, with due mention of the political scenario in different kingdoms at different periods.

Fourth chapter deals extensively with different traditional trading castes of Himachal Pradesh and various trading communities. Various factors, which have been responsible for the settlement of trading communities from the mainland in different periods have also been brought forth.

Traditional trade-routes have been discussed in the fifth chapter. There has been a network of tracks and paths interconnecting different villages and trade-centres since the earliest times. Those have been the lifelines for the economy of this region. It has been through those trade-lines that generations of traders, travellers and pilgrims travelled. It were those very routes which were developed and improved by the Britishers and local rulers to give boost to the trade activities in their kingdoms with the view to increase their income.

Sixth chapter deals with the commodities of trade. Those have been divided into four sub-headings i.e., Imports, Exports, Foreign Trade and Prices and Value of Trade. This chapter deals at length the commodities, which have been traditionally produced in Himachal Pradesh for local consumption and export. These particularly include the exotic species of herbs, minerals and animal products of the region. Besides, the agriculture and horticultural produces have also been the items of export. Imports traditionally include the manufactured goods, oils, sugar, molasses etc. Prices and value of the

items at different trade-centres of the princely states have also been detailed.

Chapter seven extensively deals with various trade-marts, which have been flourishing in this Pradesh through the ages past. There are numerous traditional fairs in the Pradesh which are solely held for trade transactions. Lavi of Rampur and Nalwari in the Siwalik are such fairs. Besides, all the religious fairs of Himachal Pradesh have a very strong commercial bias.

The present study can not be claimed as conclusive and it is hoped that it will inspire further deeper study on this subject so that this very important aspect of the socio-cultural history of the people of this area is also adequately illuminated.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Mian Goverdhan Singh for his keen interest, able guidance and constant encouragement. I also express my deep gratitude to my husband Dr. R.S. Minhas, children Dikshant and Sidhant, parents and friends for their help and cooperation. Finally I express my special thanks to the publisher Mr. M.L. Gidwani for taking keen interest in publishing this book.

POONAM MINHAS





## Contents

---

PREFACE	5
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	11
1. INTRODUCTION	13
2. GEO-ECONOMIC SETTING	17
3. POLITICO-COMMERCIAL HISTORY	38
4. TRADING CASTES AND COMMUNITIES	59
5. TRADITIONAL TRADE-ROUTES	73
6. COMMODITIES OF TRADE	112
7. TRADE-MARTS AND TRADE FAIRS	147
BIBLIOGRAPHY	169
INDEX	174

---







## **List of Illustrations**

### **Photographs**

1. A traditional rope-way crossing.
2. An improvised wooden foot-bridge that once existed on the Giri at Dadahu.
3. Inflated buffalo skin used for rafting.
4. A twisted rope-bridge in the interiors of Kinnaur.
5. A cantilever wooden bridge, now a thing of the past.
6. Boat-bridge that existed at Nadaun on the Beas long ago.
7. A modern prestressed concrete bridge on the Satluj at Kandaur.
8. The present Hindustan-Tibet road.
9. Traders' camping ground (from an old drawing).
10. A timber-yard with deodar forest in the backdrop.
11. Rohru—an ancient trading town on the Pabbar.
12. A timber converting unit at Lakkarmandi, Chamba.
13. Mandi, a traditional trading town on the Beas.
14. Arki town, once a capital of Baghal state.

### **Sketches**

1. Himalayan bear
2. *Chakor*
3. Musk-deer
4. *Monal*
5. Himalayan goat

12 *Traditional Trade & Trading Centres in H.P.*

6. An old Gaddi woman carrying items of trade to a fair
7. A Gaddi couple resting at a *paraw*
8. A *tarangari*—an improvised rope-crossing of Pangi area
9. Traditional timber transport method



## **Introduction**

Since the dawn of civilization in this subcontinent, the strategic location of Western Himalaya on the crossroads of racio-cultural movements has been responsible in shaping the socio-economic milieu of the people of this region. It is not merely by coincidence that the geographical division, which now forms a politico-administrative territory as a state of Himachal Pradesh, occupies a very significant position in the Western Himalayan region because of its location on the traditional trunk-routes connecting the Indian mainland with the trans-Himalayan countries in Tibet, China, Central Asia and even Middle-East. It is for this reason that we find evidences of various antiquated localities and living trading towns lacing the foothills of Siwalik bordering on the Indian plains right from Jammu to Poanta in this region.

Politically, Himachal Pradesh is one of the states of the Indian republic and is composed of twelve districts. But, its socio-cultural and economic spheres extend far beyond its political borders to the adjoining parts of Jammu & Kashmir state on the west and part of Uttar Pradesh on the east because of the fact that these adjoining areas are more or less geo-economically contiguous and similar to Himachal Pradesh.

What was the state of trade and commerce in this region prior to the British colonial period is not known precisely, because, no sufficient traditional, literary and archaeological evidences are available for the period

anterior to the colonial era. Nevertheless, some interesting conclusions can be made out from the numismatic evidences and stray references available in the Mughal chronicles. From those sources, it is known that the ancient Himachal had been exporting numerous indigenous exotic items of trade to various places in the mainland.

With the establishment of regular dynastic feudal system under the British paramountcy, the trade and commerce activities of the region were given special attention by the British overlords. They impressed upon the local rulers to accord due priority to the local trade and commerce and develop the traditional tracks and trade-routes into wide roads so that the trade activities could extend to the forbidden territory of Tibet and other trade-marts in Central Asia. It was in the wake of that emphasis that Hindustan-Tibet road in the Satluj valley, Pathankot-Mandi-Kullu road, Hoshiarpur-Mandi road, and Ropar-Mandi road in the Beas valley and Pathankot-Chamba road were developed to the motorable width. The traditional trade-mart at Mandi became an important trade-centre in the Beas valley when the roads leading from the trade centres in the plains cojoined at Mandi and extended further in the Beas valley upto Manali and beyond. It is needless to say that besides other commodities of trade, wool has played very significant role in the development of road network in Himachal Pradesh in that age.

The princely state of Himachal, adjoining the plains of Punjab, were generally considered economically underdeveloped and primarily based upon the symbiotic subsistence economy. It has been a general belief about these feudal kingdoms that these got exposed to the outside world only with the coming of the British rule in the hills. The paucity of source material on the subject,

has generally discouraged the scholars from investigating the trade and commerce of the pre-colonial period of Himachal in due measure. The rise of the colonial government on the scene, however, changed the economic scenario and the improvement in the means of communication and the establishment of trade-centres was very much evident. That logically led to the exploitation of the economy of the region and territorial subjugation. The British could, thus make inroad to many important spheres of life in the region.

An account of those events may be found in the narratives of the European travellers, who passed through this region. Some interesting and detailed information is also available in the administrative records of the period.

Though the available sources are not as rich as one would have liked them to be, yet may be considered adequate to arrive at a fairly clear understanding of the trade and commerce status of the region. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that the erratic and inconsistent narratives of those sources leave much unsaid. This, however, does not distort seriously the broad picture that emerges on the economic situation of the princely states of the colonial period in Himachal Pradesh.

The altitudinal diversity of the mountainous topography, unpredictable weather conditions, the hardships associated with agriculture and the lack of resources, all have resulted into the underdeveloped economy of this region. The geographical diversity that exists even between different segments in Himachal has led to the development of semi-interdependent economy. That state of interdependence existed not only within different princely states of Himachal Pradesh but also between the states and the places far beyond as far as the Central Asia and between the adjoining centres in the Indian plains. There has been, thus, a considerable exchange of commodities

of trade at the respective ends of the trade connections. That situation gave rise to the trade fairs in different state capitals of the princely states. The traditional religious fairs and festivals also became occasion for the mercantile activities. The village trade-fairs and festivals, where local inhabitants and outside traders brought their products for sale, became buzzing centres of commercial transaction. The transactions at those fairs, however, largely remained on the barter system. But, in dealings with the outside traders, monetary transaction was also adopted. Agricultural and horticultural produce, forest produce, minerals, animals, handicraft objects etc. were important items of local production that could form part of the trade and commerce.

In the present work, an attempt has been made to collect, analyse, interpret and correlate the traditions, colonial accounts and the field study of whole scenario to bring out a comprehensive account of the trade and commercial activities in this region.



## **Geo-Economic Setting**

The geography of Himachal Pradesh can not be dealt in an isolated manner within its politico-administrative boundaries because of the fact that the mountain-system of this state extends far beyond its administrative limits, into what by usage has come to be known as the Western Himalayan mountain system. It would, therefore, be essential to discuss the geography of this state in a wider Western Himalayan context.

The mighty Himalayas, oriented in south-western direction, form a giant crescentic crown over the Indian subcontinent. This curvature is more distinct towards the western segments where the Himalayas are at their widest which justifies an appellation of scimitar to this mountain-system, found in the ancient literature. It is this segment which, by usage, has come to be known as the Western Himalaya. This vast expanse of the sub-mountainous and mountainous region is bounded by the Indus in the extreme west and the Tons-Jamuna gorge on the east. The spiny ridges and silvery peaks in the north form a natural border between the monsoonal Indian subcontinent and the arid highlands of the Central Asia, and in the south, the undulating frontal ranges of the Siwalik form a natural border with the plains of the Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. The whole tract is, therefore, approximately situated between  $75^{\circ}$  and  $80^{\circ}$  due east and  $30^{\circ}$  and  $36^{\circ}$  due north. In this Western Himalayan setting, Himachal Pradesh is approximately located between  $30^{\circ}$

-22'-40" and 33°-12'-0" due north and 75°-47'-55" and 79°-4'-20" due east. Towards its north lies Jammu & Kashmir and on the east, it forms India's border with China (Tibet). On the south-east, the Tons-Jamuna gorge forms its border with Uttar Pradesh. On the south and south-west, the Siwalik foothills define its boundary with the Indian plains. The Western Himalayan region largely forms catchment of the Indus drainage system. However, part of it also forms headwaters for the Jamuna towards the east besides, a small part forms the catchment of the Ganges.

The Himalayan mountain system is at its widest in the Indian territory in this region, which characteristic is further signified by the awe-inspiring heights of the silvery summits and spiny ridges, the stupendous valley glaciers and unfathomable river-gorges. The complete geological structure of this system and a rich variety of temperature and alpine flora and fauna that flourish in this region, have been the very source of subsistence and economy to the people since the earliest time and numerous mercantile vocations have flourished on these natural resources.

The Western Himalayan mountain system may broadly be defined in the following ranges: (i) The Siwalik range, (ii) The Outer Himalayan or Sub-Himalayan range, (iii) The Mid-Himalayan range, and (iv) The Great Himalayan range.

### **Siwalik Range**

The outermost sandstone frontal range of the Western Himalaya are the Siwaliks. These ranges roughly mark a natural border between the plains of mainland and the hills of Himachal Pradesh. The range-system of the Siwaliks is formed by parallel ridges and valleys running

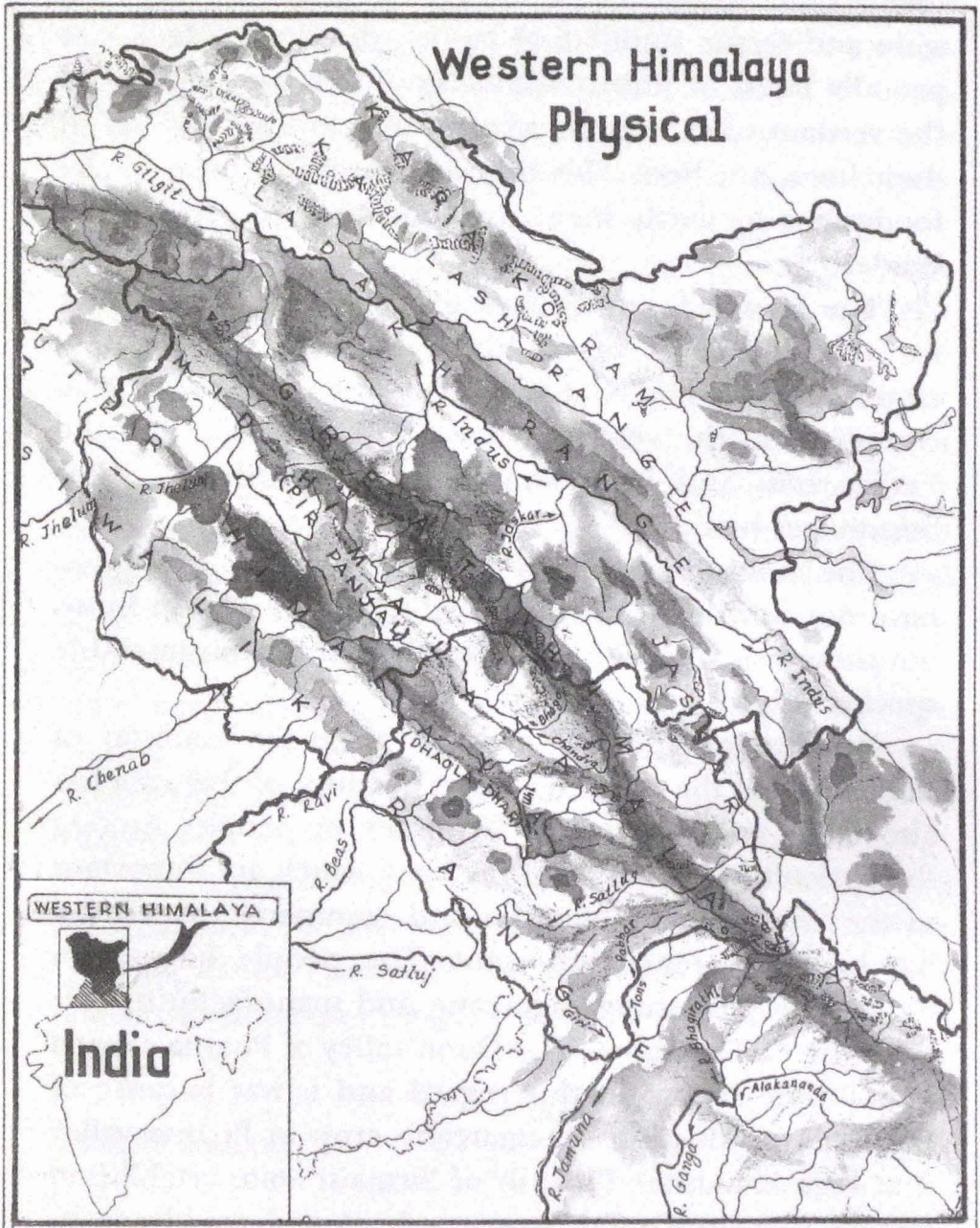
from north-west to south-east, and rising to maximum height of 1500 metres only. The Siwalik hills are steeper towards the plains and ascend gently northward, forming wide and fertile undulating basins, the duns, which can proudly boast of unsurpassable grandeur and charms of the verdant vales, singing streams and lovely lakes, set in their luxuriant best. This dun area provides most of the foodgrains to partly meet the food requirement of the Pradesh.

The Siwalik foothills have been of great significance for the evolution of civilization in the Indian sub-continent. It is said that the first hymns of *Rigveda* were composed in the verdant slopes of the Siwaliks and the Vedic *rishis* and Upanishadic *munis* established their hermitages here.

The monsoonal and temperate forests of the Siwaliks have not only been providing valuable timber and herbs but these have also served as the habitat for innumerable species of birds and animals.

Besides agriculture, which has been the mainstay of the people of the area, the forest produce of this area has also been augmenting the economy of people. Among the agricultural produce of the area, which are important as the commodities of trade and commerce, sugarcane has been the most important. The people have been indigenously crushing sugarcane and manufacturing gur from the earliest times. The Doon valley of Poanta earned nation-wide repute in this regard and it was because of the large production of sugarcane crop in Poanta valley that Raja Shamsheer Prakash of Sirmour state established factory to manufacture cane-crushers and cauldrons in Nahan foundry in 1867. In fact, the people have been depending upon the forest for their day-to-day needs of food and fuel and, also supplementing their agrarian economy from the forests by way of gathering herbs, fuel

# Western Himalaya Physical



wood, structural timber and animals and birds.

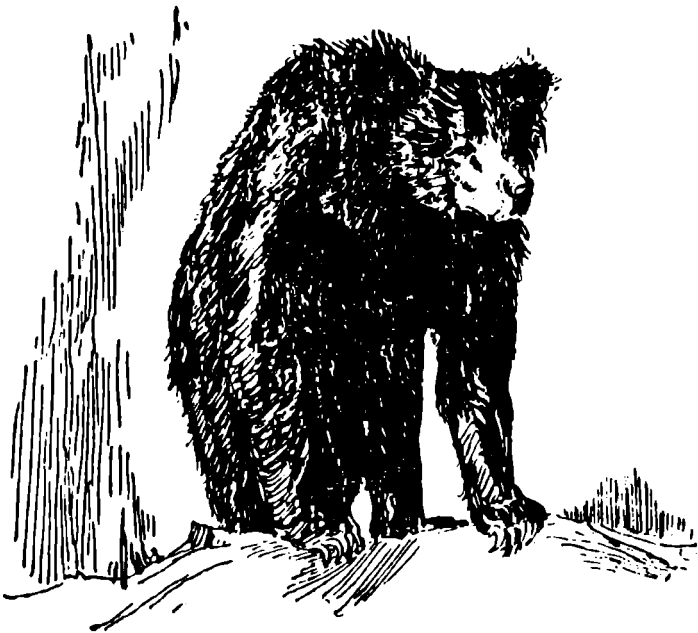
In fact, the savannah of Siwalik has been very rich in the flora and fauna culture. From the forests of Siwalik hills, the most valuable structural timber, *shisham* has been available. Besides *kiker*, *sal*, *tun* are the other varieties of structural timber of commercial importance. It was because of the easy availability of good timber from the Siwaliks, that large furniture manufacturing units came up at various places in the neighbouring Punjab plains. The furniture manufacturing industry of Kartarpur deserves mention in this regard. Similarly the timber depot at Shahpur, Deragopipur and Yamunanagar have been flourishing mainly on the forest resources of the Siwalik foothills.

The bamboo groves of Kangra have been providing raw material for bamboo-based village crafts. Interestingly, a separate community, Bhanjyara, solely earned their livelihood by manufacturing bamboo items. The Siwalik forests have been traditionally famous for producing *bhabar* grass. This is used for manufacturing of paper. A paper manufacturing factory at Saharanpur had been solely depending upon the supply of this grass from the savannah of Siwalik until it found ways to manufacture paper from other varieties of raw material. Besides, *bagar* grass has been used for manufacturing of sturdy ropes. Among other forest produce of the Siwaliks of commercial importance, mention may be made of *harar*, *bahera* and *amala*, the well-known medicinal fruits. Beside these, forests have been producing innumerable varieties of plants and herbs, among which *basuti*, *bahane*, *bare* etc. are important ones. How important these three medicinal plants have been, can well be understood from a popular saying of the Siwalik region, which says “*jes desa bahane, basuti, bare, tethi mahanu kiyan mare*”.

The *katha* plants grow wild in this area. The extract of

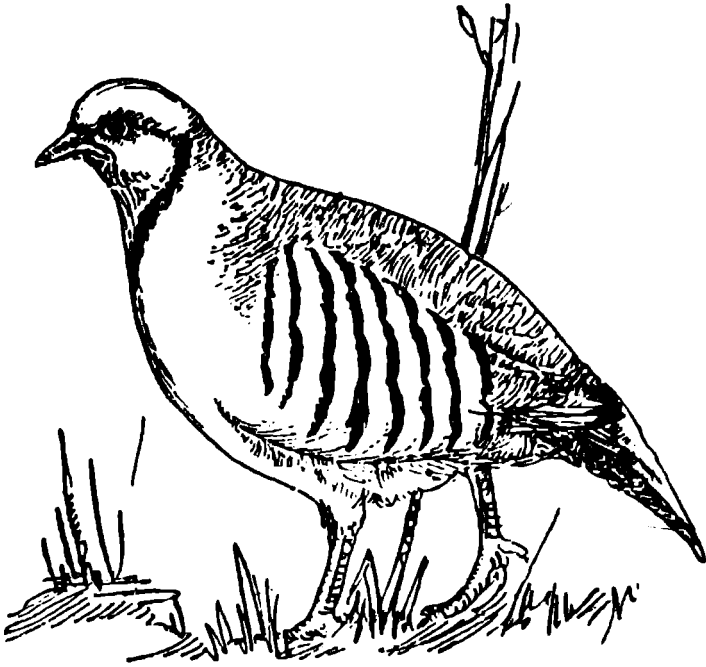
this plant, known as *katha*, is a famous medicinal concoction. Similarly the thorny *kashmal* plant yields medicinal concoction, known as the *rasaunt* or *rasaut*.

The grassy forest of the Siwalik duns provide habitat for innumerable kinds of wild animals and birds. In fact, during the pre-independence past, many people of the Siwalik area, particularly in the Poanta valley, supplemented their income by catching and hunting wild animals and birds. The depleting Banjara tribe earned its livelihood by hunting and catching wild animals. The Doon valley of Poanta was once famous for elephants and tigers. It were these forests in Uttar Pradesh, which inspired Jim Corbet to write *The Man-eaters of Kumaon*. As the history has it, it is a known fact that the imperial Mughals of Delhi had their *shikargahs* in the forests of Siwalik. Besides elephants and tigers of all species, these forests have been rich in stags, spotted deers, barking deers, deers, wild boars and pigs, hares, black bears etc.



Himalayan bear





*Chakor*

Among the birds, wild cock, partridge, *chakor*, peacock etc. are important ones for trade and commerce.

Abutting on the Indian plains, there are several important trade centres in this range. These places have been flourishing as the collection-centres for the mercantile goods from the Indian mainland and the interiors of Himachal Pradesh. Most of these trading towns are populated by the trading communities such as the Suds, Khattris, Mahajans, Bhoras, Aggarwals, Baniyas etc. These trading towns have been getting manufactured commodities from the mainland for being supplied to the trading centres in the interiors. From the interiors of Himachal Pradesh, they have been receiving supplies of raw commodities for being sold to the manufacturing units in the plains. Thus, these trading centres of the Siwaliks have been traditionally serving mainly as the wholesale exchange-centres of the commodities. Among

such exchange-centres, the traditional towns of Poanta, Nalagarh, Arki, Kunihar, Hamirpur, Una and Nurpur are the important ones. Besides, Parwanoo on the Hindustan-Tibet road (N.H. 22) is an upcoming trading centre. Some of the towns in this area also came up with the establishing of English cantonments. Among these towns mention may be made of Sabathu and Kasauli. Although, these towns, subsisted on the local and the British population of the cantonment yet, in due course of time, these places also developed as tiny collection-centres for the exportable farm produces.

### **Sub-Himalaya Range**

The snow-barrier and the outpost of Himalayan mountain system is the sub-Himalaya or the Outer Himalaya range, which stretches along the great bend of river Beas in Mandi district (Himachal Pradesh) and continues north-westward upto Gangdarh peak on the Indus. Total length of this range is about 500 kilometres and is pierced by several rivers like the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Ravi besides minor water courses. Thus, the entire range is broken vertically into several ridges, which are identified by their distinct geographical locations or their specific names.

The sub-Himalaya range is at its loftiest between the Beas river where its most conspicuous range—the Dhauladhar (*Dhavalgiri*) soars up in an abrupt sweep to 4930 metres. Thus, it stands as a formidable obstruction for the low-lying south-westerly monsoon clouds, which release most of their moisture contents before rising high and become dry enough to cross northward. Southern slopes of the Dhauladhar are, therefore, one of the wettest places of the subcontinent. This range roughly marks a boundary between Chamba and Kangra districts, and

forms a most idyllic backdrop for Kangra and Mandi regions. "No scenery, in my opinion", writes Mr. Barnes about Kangra valley in the shadow of Dhauladhar, "presents such a sublime and delightful contrast. Below lies the plain of rural loveliness and repose, the surface is covered with richest cultivation, irrigated by streams which descend from perennial snows, and interspersed with homesteads buried in the midst of groves and fruit trees. Turning from this scene of peaceful beauty, the stern and majestic hills confront us; their sides are furrowed with precipitous water courses, forests of oak cloth their flanks, and higher up give place to gloomy and funereal pines, above all are wastes of snow or pyramidal masses of granite too perpendicular for the snow to rest on".

Southern slopes of Dhauladhar form catchment for the river Beas, which meanders down the beautiful valleys of Kullu and Kangra. The Dhauladhar remains snow-covered for most part of the year, affording no access across. Yet the sure-footed Gaddis have been frequenting its precipitous passes with their quardruped wealth during their seasonal migrations.

The sub-Himalayan range is largely formed by the rocky layers of slate schist, with very thin top soil cover. With the result, most of its southern slopes are rugged and barren. But these have been yielding one of the finest types of the structural states. The slate mines are located in Dharmsala in upper Kangra, Mandi and Kullu districts. Those mines have been supplying quality slates not only for the house of local population but also to far off places southward. It is because of slate quarrying activity that a special community of quarry-workers among the Lohars and Kolis have come up in Kangra, Mandi and Kullu area, and a special community of state-transporters known as the Labanas have come up. The Labanas are mostly concentrated in the lower Kangra and Una districts and

the adjoining Punjab plains. They have been traditionally carrying slate from the queries to the market-centres down hill on their donkeys and ponies.

It is on the southern slopes of this range that salt mines exist at Guma and Drang in Mandi district. Incidentally, these are the only two places where the rock salt is available in India. Some of the nullahs that flow down the slopes of this range near Guma and Drang carry highly saturated saline water. In earlier times the people of this area used to collect this water in the pitchers for their domestic consumption. During the fifties of the present century, a salt manufacturing plant, based on the natural saline water of the nullahs was built at Mandi. But it was abandoned on economic consideration. Nevertheless, crystal salt is still harvested from the saline waterbeds at Drang. Probably, the term Labana might have originated to denote the people who transported rock-salt from the salt mines of Mandi to the markets at different places in the plains.

The northern slopes of this range are thickly wooded with different varieties of trees and plants. Mostly, the forests are covered with thick undergrowth which abound in medicinal herbage. Among those, violet, a medicinal flower is important. Another medicinal herb of great importance, which grows wild here is *brahmi* and *neelkanthi*. While the higher reaches of this range, on the northern sides are covered with deodar, ban-oak, rhododendron etc., the lower reaches deep in the valley abound in temperate vegetation, mostly similar to the ones found in the Siwalik foothills.

Because of the steep profile of this range and the adjoining areas in the Shimla hills, the arable land is very scanty and the terraced fields on the steep slopes look like steps coming down from the heaven. The soil is also unyielding. The people, therefore, mostly grow coarse

variety of dry crops like maize, millets, pulses etc. which hardly meet their domestic requirement. The people, therefore, have adopted goat and sheep herding as a supplementary occupation besides working in forests as labourers. Some of them work as timber-loggers and haulagers, called the *ghalus* in vernacular. With the advent of colonial rule, exotic varieties of fruits were introduced in India and the interiors of Himachal around this range which were found to be ideal for apple cultivation. During British period the Kotgarh area in the interior of Shimla hills and Naggar area in Kullu earned international reputation in apple production. After independence, Himachal Pradesh has come up as one of the largest apple-producing regions in the world.

Seed-potatoe had been one of the important cash-crop of this area for many decades till recently, when the seed-potato variety was developed in the Punjab plains. Nevertheless, the seed-potatoes of Himachal are still valued in national and international market for being disease-free.

In the valley areas of this range on its both sides, several traditional and important towns have come up. Chamba, located on the right bank of Ravi opposite to the northern slope of Dhauladhar, has been the capital town of Chamba state and important centre for the production of exclusive handicraft and art objects. On the southern slopes of Dhauladhar, Dalhousie, Dharmsala, Palampur etc. developed as the important urban health resorts for the Britishers. But Baijnath has been one of the oldest towns on the ancient trade-route from Pathankot to Kullu and beyond. Jogindernagar is another important town on the slopes of this range, which can boast of being one of the earliest hydel power generation centres in the country. It was because of the construction of hydel powerhouse at this place that a narrow-gauge

railway line was laid from Pathankot to Shanan (Joginder-nagar). Further in the Beas valley along the foot of this range, Mandi has been an ancient capital town and trade-centre. Further upstream of Beas, Kullu was a capital town and traditional trade-centre. Bajaura, Bhunter and Manali were developed by the Britishers as the holiday-resorts. In order to facilitate communication between the Indian mainland and the interiors of Kullu valley, an airstrip was laid in Kullu valley at Bhunter. All these places in Kullu valley have now developed as the favourite tourist destinations. It may be interesting to note that the traditional capital towns—Chamba, Mandi and Kullu have been the centres of great religious and cultural activities. The religious fairs, like Minjar of Chamba, Shivratri of Mandi, and Dushehra of Kullu, though of religious importance, have developed into great occasions for trade and commerce.

### **Mid-Himalayan Range**

The Mid-Himalayan range-system rises in the extreme west, on the confluence of Swat and the Panjkora rivers, and continuous for about 750 kilometres eastward upto Uttarkashi in Uttar Pradesh, where it ends up as a cluster of Jamnotri peaks. This system consists of chains of ridges which have been defined into four distinct massifs i.e., (i) Swat range, (ii) Pir Panjal range, (iii) Lahaul range, and (iv) Bushahr range. Of these, Pir Panjal is the significant one.

Pir Panjal range enters from Kashmir in the Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh and runs eastward to form headwaters for the river Beas and its tributaries in Kullu district. The northern slopes of Pir Panjal range form watershed for the Chandrabhaga river in Lahaul & Spiti. Pir Panjal range forms a natural barrier between Kullu



and Lahaul, with only the seasonal communication link through Rohtang pass (4100 metres). Further north-westward, it isolates Pangi valley from rest of the Chamba district, with only a seasonal fair-weather access through Sach pass (4368 metres) and Talangi pass (4573 metres) beyond Tissa. The mid-Himalayan range is an important natural feature so far as the trade and commerce activities in this region are concerned. It is a natural divide that separates this Pradesh into almost two equal halves. The area south of it is more contiguous with the trade-centres in the mainland. It is for this reason that most of the traditional trading-towns of this belt are inhabited by the trading communities who happened to settle here from the mainland with the establishment of feudal system since the early medieval times. The area north of this range is predominantly populated by the indigenous communities who had no flair for trade and commerce but, have been earning their living by draught cultivation and forest resources. The indigenous communities have been bartering off part of their produce in the trading-towns on the other side of the range, which remains generally insensible during the winter months and passable through numerous steep passes during the fair-weather conditions of the summer. This range, thus, has served to insulate the indigenous population on its north from the consumeristic euphoria that pervades on the south of it under the influences of mainland. The indigenous communities inhabiting the northern half of Pradesh have so far been able to pursue their arts and crafts in pristine purity, being effectively insulated by the mountain barrier.

The woollen products, wooden and metal objects of art and craft of this region have not only made mark as the items of day to day use and novelty in the country but abroad also. However, with the development of modern means of communication and transport, this area is

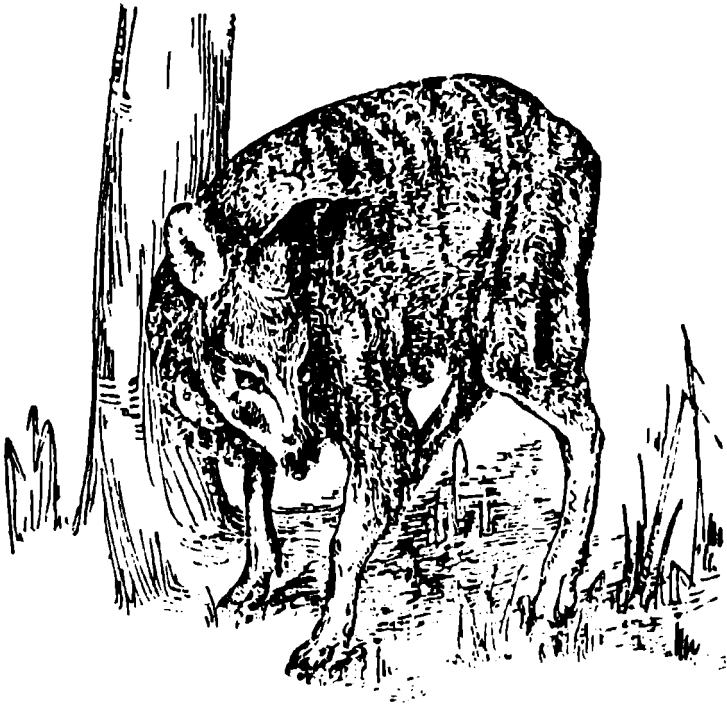
increasingly getting exposed to the alien influences and, it is feared that the traditional reputation of this region as the producer of genuine and splendid works of art and crafts may soon whither away.

The Mid-Himalayan range is thickly wooded with the coniferous forests, with thick herbage cover on the steep surface with the exception where its peaks get above the snow line. These peaks either remain mostly snow covered or when snow melts, their steep and rocky faces remain completely devoid of any vegetation. These forests yield high quality structural timber from their deodar forests. Walnut is another important timber obtained from the forests in this range. The higher slopes of this range abound in birch trees which produce *bhojpatra*. Incidentally, before the paper was invented, *bhojpatra* was used for writing in this region and many ancient manuscripts may be found written on the *bhojpatra* in the archives and museums.

This range is rich in herbs, medicinal and aromatic plants. The locals have been collecting them to supplement their income. *Kuth* is an important basic medicinal produce of this area which is exported. *Dhup*, an aromatic root, is another such wild produce of this area which has earned a wide market in the mainland.

The mid-Himalayan range abounds in a variety of faunal wealth and game animals. Besides the numerous species of deers, the musk-deer is the most important one. It yields the most wanted and highly valuable musk, used for various aromatic and medicinal concoctions.

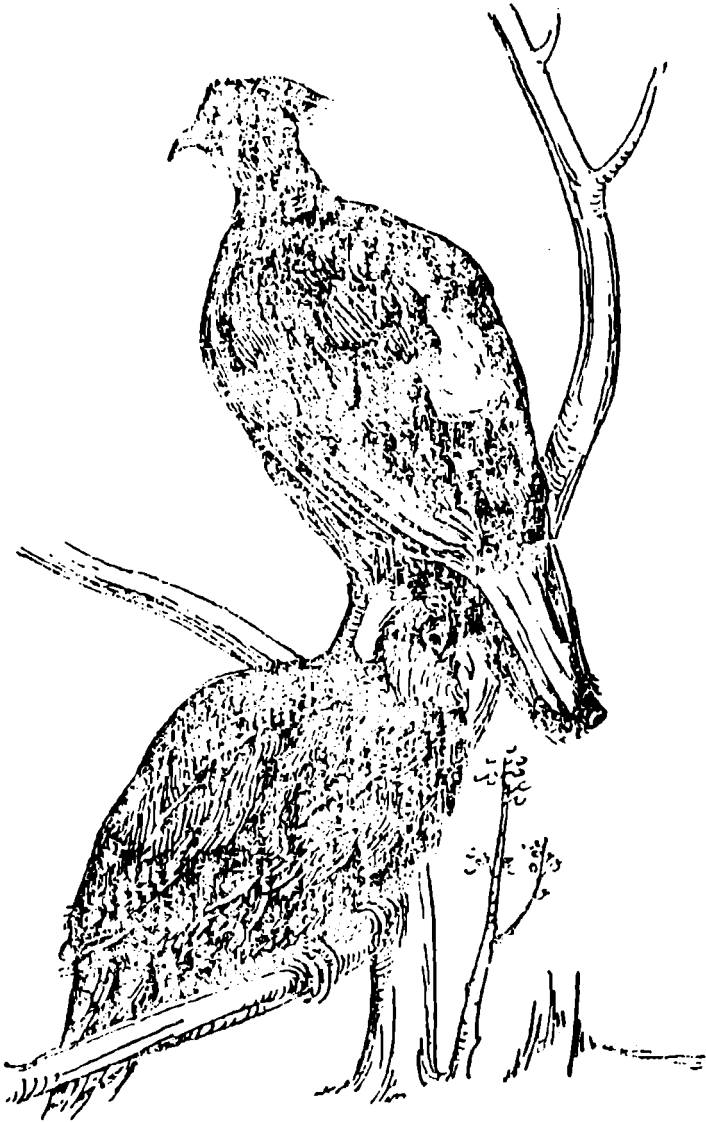
Among the birds, *monal* is the important one for its multi-coloured shining tuft and feathers. The forests of this range abound in wild aromatic flowers. The honey-bees collect nectar from these flowers and produce one of the finest quality of honey in the world. The wild honey of this mountain range has been known all over the world



Musk-deer

since the ancient times. In earlier times, people of this area used to cultivate poppy crop for extraction of opium which had far and wide market. But, cultivation of this crop has been prohibited now for many decades. People still grow hemp, the seed of which is used as a supplementary food and the fiber from its stems is used for the manufacture of ropes. Instances of illegal extraction of highly toxicant stuff from this plant has also been reported and, in fact, till few years back, the Kullu valley had become notorious den of the edicts—the hippies.

Because of the availability of exotic and rare varieties of mercantile commodities from the agricultural and forest resources of this range, numerous trading centres developed in the valley areas on the south of this range. Tissa in the interiors of Chamba, Udaipur in Pattan valley of Lahaul, Keylong in Bhaga valley of Lahaul, Rampur on the Satluj, Rohru in the Pabbar valley are some of the



*Monal*

significant trade centres which flourished on the produces of this range.

### **Great Himalayan Range**

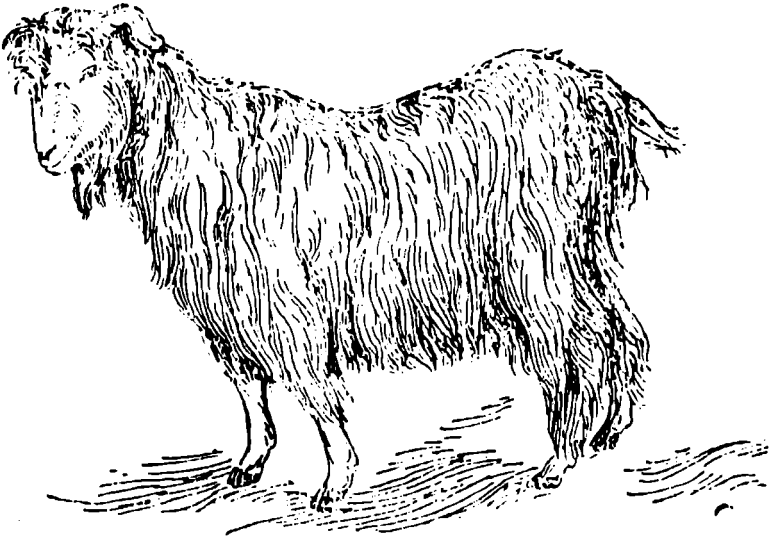
The Great Himalayan range is, in fact, a maze of different ranges which, after reaching their greatest height, decline

north-eastward in numerous parallel sub-ranges and ridges to the edge of Tibetan plateau. Numerous broken peaks of these ranges look like massive icebergs floating over the ocean of skimmed clouds. The main Great Himalaya range rises high above the snow line and forms a magnificent crescentic crest for the Himalayan mountain system. It is a zone of perpetual snow and dazzling heights. Some of the world's highest peaks are located in this range.

This range demarcates a natural ethnic boundary between Lahaul & Spiti and further between Kinnaur and Shimla districts, isolating the Buddhist north-east from the non-Buddhist south-west. Entire region north-west of it, including Ladakh, Spiti and Kinnaur is Buddhist and the region on the south-west, including Lahaul, Kullu and Shimla, are Hindu. In Lahaul, however, Buddhism also has considerable impact.

The Great Himalayan range and its north-eastern sub-ranges form a Great Divide and natural line of demarcation between two climatic and geographical zones. To the north of it, cold and dry climate in the treeless tableland of Tibet predominates against the temperate and monsoonal climate and luxuriant vegetal growth on the Indian side.

To the north of Great Divide lie part of Lahaul subdivision and part of upper Kinnaur district and Spiti subdivision of Lahaul & Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh. This area is devoid of any cognisable variety of vegetation and the land is too sterile to produce enough to sustain large population. Thus the density of population in this region has remained at the lowest stagnate level. The people here subsist on the seasonal harvest of buckwheat and barley, which they grind into flour after perching and consume with sumptuous bouts of *ara* and *chhang*. They also consume lot of meat obtained from their herds



Himalayan goat

of goats and yaks. These animals also provide them clothing from their wool and skin. Although, the tethys are composed of barren and formative mountain ranges, yet the slopes of these ranges provide some of the most exotic varieties of seasonal herbage of great utility. Since ages the collection of these herbs had been a major occupation of many people. *Kala jeera, chora, farma, ratanjot* etc. are some of the medicinal and aromatic plants which spring up wild with the coming of summer on the slopes of these ranges. During the summer when the slopes are covered with the tender shoots of grass, innumerable varieties of alpine wild animals feast on these. Among them the wild goats are commercially important. These goats, while passing through the thorny shrubs and rocks, leave finest of their hair on them, which the local shepherds collect. It is the finest form of wool ever known and is called the *shahtush* or *aslitush*. In fact, a community of wool gatherers and shepherds, known as Khang-pas solely depend on this vocation. In fact, wool has been the chief

item of commerce in this region.

The area is rich in minerals. Some of these have been commercially exploited. Among such minerals, mention may be made of borax and salt, which is obtained from the saline lakes that abound this region. *Shilajit*, one of the most valuable medicinal mineral, is obtained from the rocks. Sapphire, coral, quartz are some of the semi-precious stones obtained from the rocks in this region.

This area has also been famous for Indo-Tibetan type of art and craft objects of decorative and sacramental usage. The metal images, *thankas*, carpets, rugs, shawls etc. are some of such objects. In this area no important trade-centres are located but Kaza and Pooh are the two such important places from where the local produce has been exported to outer markets. Interestingly, the native people of this area have been regarded as one of the shrewdest traders. Their trade activities remained not only confined to their area of habitat but it has extended far and wide to Central Asia and Tibet on one hand and Indian mainland on the other. We shall talk about them in detail elsewhere.

Having talked of mountain ranges and explored their commercial potentialities, it may be worthwhile to say something about the deepest natural features formed by them by way of rivers. The importance of rivers as the life line for the rise and development of civilizations is universally recognised. Himachal Pradesh has a coveted distinction of being the sources of four of the five rivers—the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, the Satluj—of the Indus water system. It also feeds considerably to the Jamuna water system as well. Thus, what India culturally and economically today has, is directly or indirectly dependent on the water resources in Himachal. Himachal may not be able to gain directly from its water resources but has a logical claim for the share in the economic prosperity of

the nation. But this vital core issue has so far escaped the notice of the economists and the planners.

Most of the traditional towns and large habitational areas in the Pradesh are settled along the river banks and many places of pilgrimage and tourist interest have come up in the valley formed by these rivers. These have also opened up different types of commercial activities in recent times. But, traditionally these rivers have mostly been used for haulage and ferrying of timber. These rivers, having passed through different mountain strata and geological formations, have been carrying grains of precious minerals, which get deposited on the sandy banks of these rivers in the flat stretches. The locals have been isolating these minerals from the river sands. The community which collected iron by this process came to be known as Dhaugri. Most of the rivers of Himachal carry iron ore in their own flow. Parvati river in Kullu valley is known to have been carrying silver ore in its sands, and it is for this reason that this valley is known as the Rupi valley. A river named Soan in Mandi district carry gold particles. But most of the above sandy ores are not commercially potential and economically viable.

The major economic potential of the river system of Himachal is in the hydel power generation. The Shanan powerhouse at Jogindernagar, based on the Uhl river, is one of the oldest hydel power generation units in India. During the post-independence period, number of hydel power generation units have come up on the river Beas, Satluj, Giri etc. which has made Himachal surplus state in power generation.

The rivers of Himachal are known for very delicate varieties of fish. Uhl in Mandi, Parvati in Kullu and Pabbar in Rohru are known for trout fishing. Most of the rivers of Himachal carry good quality fresh water fish like mahashir, rohu, gid, goonch, singhare etc. Mirrorcarp is



an exotic variety of fish introduced in Himachal by the British. With the coming up of large reservoirs—Govind Sagar and Pong—fish harvesting has developed as a flourishing trade. Traditionally, a distinct community known as Rana exists in the Siwaliks. These people use to earn their livelihood by fishing.

Most of Himachal's rivers and nullahs are too deep to be harnessed for irrigation purpose. Nevertheless people have been draining water to their fields through improvised *kuhls* from the perennial nullahs in the vicinity. Traditionally, no large irrigation system existed in Himachal with an exception of Rampur-Giri canal in Poanta.

## **Politico-Commercial History**

So far what is known by way of history of Himachal, is mainly the political history of the princely states of this region. For the reconstruction of that history, the names of Dr. J. Hutchison and Dr. J. Ph Vogel reach the foremost. These pioneers collected all the known source material for the reconstruction of the general history of Himachal Pradesh. The history of Punjab hill states that they compiled is a result of wide research, patient observation and brilliant conjecture. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries the British administrators did commendable work of compiling District and State Gazetteers. Those works provide very rich insights into the local history and culture. Besides this, the British administrators also carried out fairly extensive land revenue settlements in almost all the states and districts. Those valuable documents throw significant light on the socio-economic history of the region, and are extremely useful source of information.

The early history of Himachal Pradesh is, in fact, the history of migration of the people to the Himalayan wilderness from time to time. More often than not such exoduses have been out of the compulsions. Whenever there was an outside attack or religious persecution in the mainland, the vanquished or the oppressed fled to the hills in search of security. In the passage of time with the repeated influx of people, a hybrid form of socio-cultural set up, got crystallized and in this region which

in association with the native mores got developed into a distinct way of life reflected in its culture, language and customs.

The early history of Himachal Pradesh is shrouded in mystery, yet in recent researches attempts have been made to throw the obscure recesses of the ancient period of history of this region. It is only in the epic and Puranic literature that we come across of indigenous republics referred to the *janapadas*, *ganarajyas* and *gram-rajyas* in the classical literature. Extant Sanskrit literature speaks of them. Numismatic evidences reveal the names of many such republics, which flourished in different parts of the hilly region between the Jamuna and the Ravi rivers in the B.C and A.D. centuries. The important *janapadas* of the region revealed from classical literature and numismatic evidences were the Audumbaras, the Trigartas, the Kulutas and the Kulindas. The Audumbaras were probably the only *janapad* in the Himalayan region which had established trade relations with the Kulutas in the interiors of Beas valley in Indian mainland.

Those theocratic *ganarajyas* of the hills repeatedly came under pressure from the imperial rulers of the mainland. It was under the King Harsha that those traditional republics were subjugated and brought under the imperial yoke. It was because of the suppression of *ganarajyas* by him that he has been known as *ganahanta*.

The political unification of northern India achieved under the suzerainty of the King Harsha (606-647 A.D.), however could not hold for more after the cohesive force of his personality withered with his death in 647 A.D. With the fall of imperial power, the empire got fragmented and chaotic conditions prevailed which resulted into the formation of small kingdoms in the mainland and some of the ambitious fugitives succeeded in establishing small kingdoms in the interior of this region

where once *ganarajyas* flourished. Those refugee kings, while extending their territorial influences over the *ganarajyas* continue to regard the traditional theocratic system also. The 9th century saw the rise of a number of hill states, some of which maintained their identity if not their independence until recent years, despite their wars with each other and the frequent raids from the plains. States such as Champaka (Chamba), Trigarta, Kuluta (Kullu) and Bushahr managed to remain outside the main areas of conflict in the northern plains.

The most outstanding feature of this period was the rise of the Rajputs. Right from the 7th century to the 15th century, there was a constant inflow of Rajput clan to the mountainous interiors of this region. They founded several small states which stretched from the Siwaliks to the Himalayan interiors and often beyond to the higher Himalayas. Such states, to name only the important among them, were Nurpur, Suket, Mandi, Kahlur, Hindur, Baghal, Baghat, Keonthal, Bushahr, Jubbal, Kumharsain, Balson, Sirmaur and a score of other small hill states.

Most of those states were founded before 11th century. There were about 45 big and small states spread between the mountainous region lying between the Ravi and the Jamuna rivers. These states have been defined into two groups.

The first group comprised Trigarta (Kangra) and various small states between Ravi and the Satluj and the second group of Shimla Hill States and Sirmaur state occupied the mountainous area and a portion of the Dun between Satluj and Jamuna.

The following list includes the names of the Kangra group of states known as the western group:

- |           |             |
|-----------|-------------|
| 1. Kangra | 4. Jaswan   |
| 2. Guler  | 5. Siba     |
| 3. Kotla  | 6. Datarpur |

- |           |              |
|-----------|--------------|
| 7. Nurpur | 11. Kullu    |
| 8. Chamba | 12. Kutlehr  |
| 9. Suket  | 13. Bhanghal |
| 10. Mandi | 14. Shahpur  |

The eastern group or popularly known as the Shimla Hill States lying between Satluj and Jamuna could be further divided into two separate subgroups. In the one were those states which were considerably large in area, population and income. Those were:

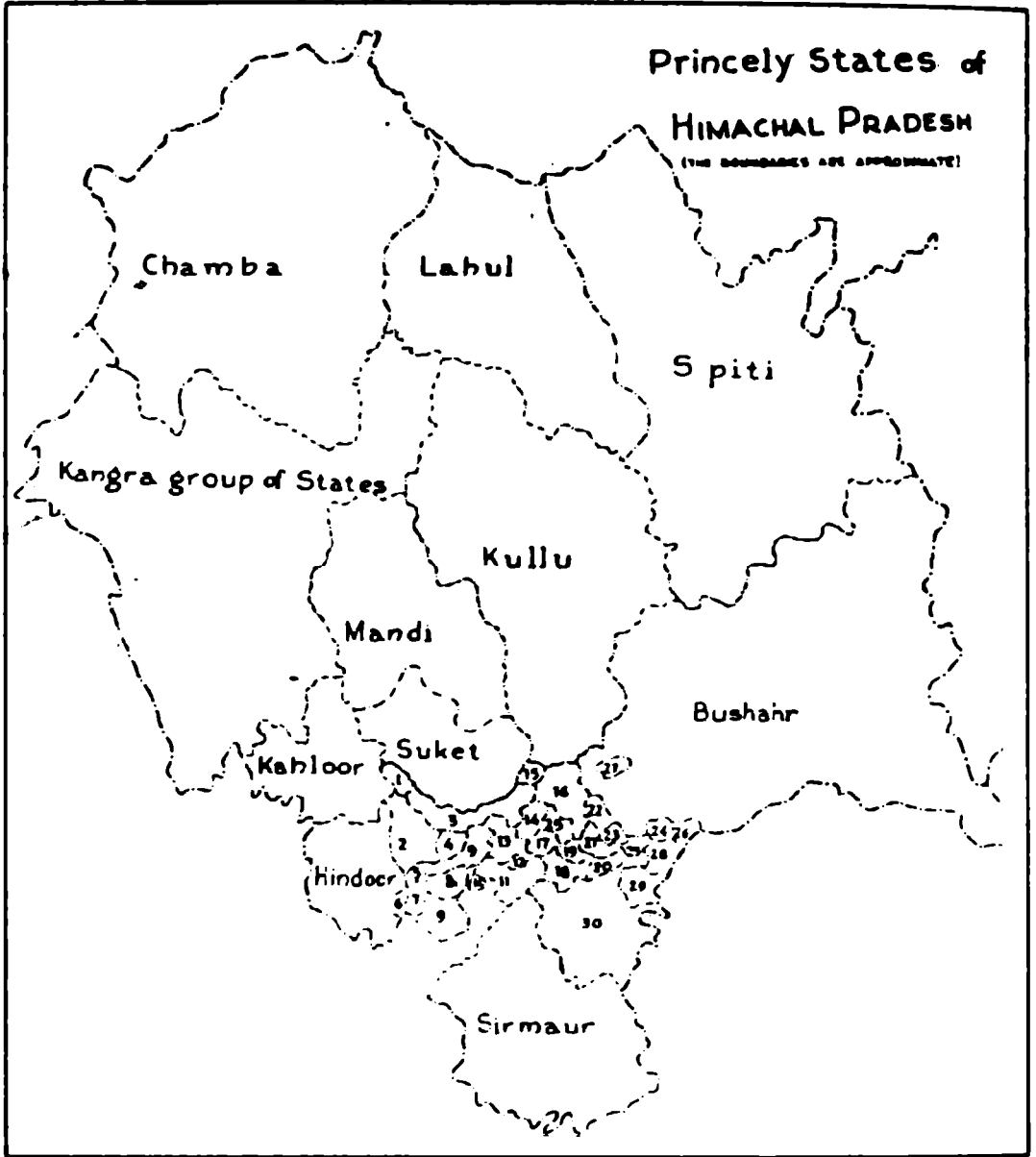
- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| 1. Bushahr | 3. Sirmaur |
| 2. Kahlur  | 4. Hindur  |

The second subgroup included *Athara* and *Bara Thakurais*. The principalities of the *Bara Thakurai* were as under:

- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. Keonthal   | 7. Dhami   |
| 2. Baghal     | 8. Koti    |
| 3. Baghat     | 9. Kunihar |
| 4. Kumharsain | 10. Kuthar |
| 5. Madhan     | 11. Mangal |
| 6. Bhajji     | 12. Mehlog |

The following eighteen principalities known as the *Athara Thakurais*.

- |              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Jubbal    | 10. Nawar       |
| 2. Sari      | 11. Dodra-Kawar |
| 3. Rawingarh | 12. Pundar      |
| 4. Balson    | 13. Karangla    |
| 5. Ghund     | 14. Kotkhai     |
| 6. Theog     | 15. Darkoti     |
| 7. Khaneti   | 16. Tharoch     |
| 8. Delath    | 17. Sangri      |
| 9. Beja      | 18. Bharauli    |



**Petti Kingdoms in the Simla Hills**

- |              |                |                 |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Mangal    | 11. Keonthal   | 21. Kotkhai     |
| 2. Baghal    | 12. Sari       | 22. Khaneti     |
| 3. Bhajji    | 13. Koti       | 23. Darkoti     |
| 4. Dhami     | 14. Madhan     | 24. Nawar       |
| 5. Kunihar   | 15. Sangri     | 25. Beja        |
| 6. Mehlog    | 16. Kumharsain | 26. Dodra-Kawar |
| 7. Kuthar    | 17. Theog      | 27. Delath      |
| 8. Bharauli  | 18. Balson     | 28. Rawingarh   |
| 9. Baghat    | 19. Ghund      | 29. Tharoch     |
| 10. Karangla | 20. Pundar     | 30. Jubbal      |

The following were the important states that existed down to British times.

Trigarta-Kangra was the oldest among the hill states. Its traditional history goes back to the long time anterior of the Christian era. Upto the beginning of the Gupta period, it was a *ganarajya*. Gradually, their elected rulers and leaders became hereditary and independent. The powerful rulers subdued the petty *Ranas* and *Thakurs* and founded Trigarta Kingdom (also known as Jaladhara kingdom). From 1806 to 1809 this kingdom was seized by the Gurkhas of Nepal. After the expulsion of the Gurkhas, it passed into the hands of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who annexed the state of Kangra to his kingdom in about 1828 A.D. On the termination of first Anglo-Sikh war, the hill tracts between the Satluj and the Beas, under the treaty of the 9th March, 1846, ceded to the British Government. Kangra and other subsidiary states, thus came directly under the British control. On very strong military considerations it was decided to annex to the British Indian empire the entire portions of Kangra and Kullu. From Kangra sprang the offshoots of Jaswan, Guler, Siba and Datarpur.

To the far north-west of Kangra was the state of Chamba. For many early centuries when its ancient capital was Brahmpur in the upper Ravi valley, the state was subject to Kashmir. It, however, gained its independence in the middle of 12th century. From 1770 A.D. it became a tributary to the Sikhs. Finally after the first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, it came under the control of British Government in 1847 A.D. A portion of the Chamba state was made over by inadvertence to Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir in 1846, but was recovered from him in the following year and the whole was conferred upon Raja Sri Singh, the rightful owner, and his male heirs in perpetuity by a *sanad* of 1848. In 1863 at the request of Raja Sri

Singh a British Political Officer was appointed to assist the administration, and by the introduction of various reforms inaugurated an era of prosperity, which made the state one of the most progressive in the Western Himalaya.

In 1864 the forests of the state were leased to the government for ninety-nine years which resulted in the increase in income upto 6 lakhs of state. In 1908 the government restored the management to the state.

A *sanad* to Chamba was granted on 6th April, 1846. Afterwards the state was in political relations with the Punjab Government through the Commissioner of Lahore until the establishment of Punjab State Agency in 1921, when it was placed in direct relation with the Government of India through the Agent to the Governor-General Punjab States.

Kutlehr state was spread in Jaswan Dun and was founded by one Jaspal in the 11th century A.D. After 1786 Kutlehr was seized by Raja Sansar Chand but during the Gurkha invasion all his territory was restored. From 1809 the state was subject to the Sikhs.

Banghal state was in Bara Banghal hills between Kangra and Kullu. After the death of Prithipal in about 1720 A.D., a large portion of this state was annexed by Kullu and Mandi. After the death of Man Pal, Kangra and Guler seized all that was left of the state.

In the upper Beas valley, Kullu was an old principality in the Western Himalaya. It was known as Kuluta in the ancient period. Its earliest capital was at Nast (Jagat Sukh). The Sikh army invaded Kullu in 1840 A.D. and brought it under their control.

The founders of Suket, Mandi and Keonthal states were the descendants of a common ancestor, who belonged to the Sen dynasty of Bengal. Local tradition records that Rup Sen of this dynasty, reached eastern



Punjab, where he settled at Ropar at the foot of Shimla hills and gave to the place his name. His three sons subsequently established themselves in separate principalities—Vir Sen the eldest son founded Suket state in 1211 A.D. with his capital at Pangana. Bahu Sen founded Mandi state, and Giri Sen founded Keonthal state with capital at Chauri on the Ashwani Nadi.

Suket and its offshoot Mandi have rarely been on friendly terms and their history is mainly a record of infightings with each other over mean issues. The Sikhs subjugated Suket in 1839. But in 1846, the Suket Chief Raja Ugar Sen turned against the Sikhs and joined with the Raja of Mandi in expelling the Khalsa garrisons from their strongholds in the hills. In return for these services, the colonial government awarded him the 'rights of a chief' in his territories, under the usual restrictions by a *sanad* granted in October 1846, after the British annexation of the Jalandhar Doab.

During the reign of Ruder Sen, people rebelled against his oppressive policy. At length the state of affairs became so serious that the Commissioner of Jalandhar had to intervene. After inquiry, punishments were awarded. Ruder Sen was deposed by the British Government in 1879. Again in 1924 a rebellion broke out in Suket state. The administration of the state was temporarily taken over by an officer of the Punjab P.C.S. under the general control of the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States.

The state was in political relation with the Punjab Government through the Commissioner of Jalandhar until the establishment of the Punjab States Agency in 1921, when it was placed in direct relations with the Government of India through the Agent to the Governor-General of Punjab States.

Mandi was an offshoot of the Suket state. The

separation of Mandi from Suket was followed by frequent wars between two states. The country eventually fell under Sikh supremacy in 1841 A.D. This territory was taken over by the British Government under the treaty of Lahore in March 1846 AD. In that year itself full sovereignty was conceded to Raja Balbir Sen and his heirs under a *sanad* dated 24th October. After 1846, therefore, the British Government possessed large powers of interference in the affairs of Mandi. Settlement in the state was carried out by H.W. Emerson in 1917. Forest settlement was carried out by Mr. H.L. Wright in 1918 and the forests were managed on British lines.

The state remained in political relations with the Punjab Government through the Commissioner of Jalandhar until the establishment of Punjab States Agency in 1921, when it was placed in direct relation with the Government of India through the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States.

In the lower Satluj valley, Kahlur (popularly known as Bilaspur) and Hindur (popularly known as Nalagarh) were two important states founded by an adventurous Chandel prince. It is said the founder of Kahlur state came on a pilgrimage to Jwalamukhi. After worship, his sons retreated in different directions. Bir Chand, the eldest son, retired to the Satluj valley where he conquered a territory from the local rulers and settled on the left bank and founded the state of Kahlur in c. 900 A.D.

Raja Mahan Chand of Bilaspur sought the intervention of Gurkhas, who defeated Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and occupied the fort of Kangra. But the invaders were compelled to retire by the army of Ranjit Singh in 1809 A.D. The Gurkhas however, continued to occupy Bilaspur and the states of Shimla hills till 1815 when with the help of British they were compelled to leave the country.

Thus, the state came under the protection of the

British Government and a *sanad* was granted to Raja Mahan Chand on 6th March 1815 by Lord Moria, the Governor-General.

Until the establishment of the Punjab States Agency in 1921, the state was in political relation with the Punjab Government through the Superintendent, Hill States, Shimla, but afterwards it was placed in direct relation with the Government of India, through the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States.

The principality of Hindur (Nalagarh) was an offshoot of Kahlur. Kahan Chand, the eleventh ruler of Kahlur had three sons. One of them Ajai Chand, carved out a principality for himself at Hindur after defeating the Thakur in about 1600 A.D. The Gurkhas also overran the state but after their defeat in 1815 A.D. the state came under the protection of the British. In that year Raja Saran Singh, one of the important rulers of the Hindur state, was confirmed by a *sanad* dated 20th October 1815 in possession of his territories, exclusively the fort of Malaun. In lieu of that fort, the Thakurai of Bharauli (near Kotkhai) was conferred on him. But later on this Thakurai was passed on to Balson on the payment of Rs. 8500.

Nalagarh was in political relation with the Government of India through the Political Agent, Punjab Hill States Agency.

The territory of Bushahr was the largest in extent of all the hill states. In the north, it extended upto the Tibetan border and in the south to the Tons river. The greater part of it was within the drainage area of Satluj river.

The early history of Bushahr state is generally based on legend and traditions. According to a tradition, the Bushahr dynasty was founded by Pardhuman, the son of Lord Krishna.

Capt. Charles Pratt Kennedy, Superintendent of

Shimla Hill States while submitting his report on the states to the government mentions that this kingdom was founded by an emigrant Rajput from the Daccan in *Samvat* 472 A.D. (412 A.D.) by one named Dunber Singh.

A significant development during the 17th century A.D. was the rise of Raja Kehri Singh (1639-1696) of Bushahr. He was the most powerful chief of his time. He sided with Tibet in its war against Ladakh in 1681-83 A.D. The importance of his role in this war is evident from a contemporary document discovered at Namgia near Shipki pass in Kinnaur. Tibet rewarded him for his help by giving him all of upper Kinnaur. He also signed a commercial agreement conferring on traders of Bushahr the right of free trade and movement in Tibet.

Bushahr was held under the subjugation by the Gurkhas from 1810 to 1815 A.D. But on the expulsion of Gurkhas in 1815, the British Government by a *sanad* dated 6th November 1815 confirmed the Raja of Bushahr possession of all his territories. Thus, the Bushahr state came under the British protection. Further, according to a *sanad* of 8th February 1816, the *Thakurais* of Khaneti and Delath were also conferred upon the Bushahr state, and a part of Rawin, which was a district of the state, was transferred to Keonthal. Kumharsain was constituted as a separate *Thakurai*. The chief of Bushahr was to offer military assistance to the British Government whenever called upon and to furnish *begaris* for the construction of roads throughout his territory, besides paying a tribute of Rs. 15,000/-. The tribute was, however, reduced to Rs. 3945/- as a compensation for the abolition of transit duties on the imports from Tibet in 1847.

In 1850 Shamsher Singh, still a minor, succeeded to the throne. During the popular upsurge of 1857, the Raja kept back his tribute and offered no assistance to the British Government. That behaviour of the Raja displeased

the colonial rulers, but it was ultimately overlooked. On 13th November 1914, Padam Singh was installed as the Raja of Bushahr but powers of rulership were conferred upon him in 1917. He died in April 1947.

Although a scheme for taking over the forests of Bushahr state was prepared in 1850, it could not be effected till 1864, when the Raja of Bushahr leased his forests to the British Government for a period of fifty years. In 1929 a fresh agreement on forests was made and the annual payment to the Raja on this account was raised to Rs. 1,00,000.

The state was formerly in political relation with the Punjab Government through Superintendent of Shimla Hill States. On 1st October 1936, however, it was included in the newly created Punjab Hill States Agency and was in relation with the Government of India, through the Political Agent, Punjab Hill States Agency.

The tract of the country lying between the rivers Satluj and Tons, the former bounding it to the north-west and north and the later to the south-east, was divided into a numerous large and small states, governed by chiefs, more or less independent. Those chiefdoms were recognised under the appellation of the *Bara Thakurais* (Twelve Principalities) and *Athara Thakurais* (Eighteen Principalities). The *Bara Thakurais* were spread in the lower Shimla hills.

Sl. No.	Principality	Founders	Area (Sq m)	Population	Income
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Keonthal	Founded by Giri Sen, a Bengali adventurer in c.1211 A.D.	116	25,560	1,50,000
2.	Baghal	Founded by Ajab Dev Parmar who came from Ujjain in c. 14th century A.D.	120	26,352	90,000

Contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Baghat	The founder of the state, Basant Pal came from Dharanagar in Deccan in c. 14th Century.	36	12,000	1,50,000
4.	Kumhar-sain	The founder of this state, Kirat Singh came from Gaya about 1000 A.D.	90	12,781	75,000
5.	Madhan	Founded by a Chandel cadet in mid-17th century in the upper Giri valley.	23	4,500	15,000
6.	Bhajji	Charu, the founder came from Kutlehr in Hoshiarpur hills.	93	15,413	35,914
7.	Dhami	Govind Pal came from Delhi after the invasion of Shahbudin Gori.	28	5,232	30,000
8.	Koti	Chand who founded Koti principality came from Kutlehr.	50	9,228	94,000
9.	Kunihar	Abhoj Dev came from Akhnur in 12th century.	8	2,168	6,900
10.	Kuthar	Surat Chand, the founder came from Rajauri in Jammu.	26	5,000	55,000
11.	Mangal	The founder of Mangal was Atri Rajput from Marwar.	12	1,200	1,000
12.	Mehlog	Hari Chand, the founder is said to have come from Ayodhya.	47½	8,155	47,000

The *Athara Thakurais* were located in the Himalayan valleys of the Satluj, Giri and Pabar rivers. The principalities were as under:

Sl. No.	Principality	Founders	Area (Sq m)	Population	Income
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Jubbal	Founded by Karan Chand at the end of 12th century.	287	27,000	8,00,000
2.	Sari	Founded by Mool Chand, the younger brother of Karan Chand (founder of Jubbal state) in the 12th century (extinct in 1864).	-	-	-
3.	Rawingarh	Founded by Duni Chand, the youngest brother of Karan Chand in the 12th century AD.	16	855	10,000
4.	Balson	Alok Singh, the founder of Balson belonged to an offshoot from family of ruler of Balson principality, was founded in the later half of the 12th century.	51	6,867	15,000
5.	Ghund	Founded by Janjan Singh Chandel in the upper Giri valley.	13	1,963	2,000
6.	Theog	Founded by Jais Chand in the mid-15th century in the upper Giri valley.	144	6,912	27,000
7.	Khaneti	Founded by Uggan Chand who was related to the founder of Kumharsain state.	22	2,797	5,178
8.	Delath	Founded by Priti Singh, a brother of the Kumharsain progenitor Kirat Singh.	8	-	-

*Contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	Beja	Founded by Garab Chand who came from Ujjain. The date of founding is not known.	4	981	11,000
10.	Nawar	It was part of Sari state, which became extinct in 1864.	-	-	-
11.	Dodra-Kawar	It was a part of Garhwal which came to Bushahr on matrimonial relationship and remained its dependency. But the hold of Bushahr remained nominal.	-	-	-
12.	Pundar	It belonged to Jubbal and was later transferred to Keonthal by the Britishers, who took over it from Jubbal after Gurkha war.			
<i>(Note: Nawar, Dodra-Kawar and Pundar do not appear as separate thakurais in the later British records and the data about their area, population and revenue is not available).</i>					
13.	Karangla	Founded by Kartar Chand, brother of Kirat Singh, the founder of Kumharsain. Later extinct and formed part of Bushahr state.	-	-	-
14.	Kotkhai	Founded by one of the descendants of Kirat Singh, the founder of Kumarsain state.	14	-	-
15.	Darkoti	Founded by Durga Singh who is said to be a scion of the Jaipur ruling family.	6	536	1,598



1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	Tharoch	Founded by Krishan Singh descendant of Deokaran of the House of Udaipur (Rajasthan).	75	4,562	1,30,000
17.	Sangri	It was a part of Kullu state.	19	3,500	14,000
18.	Bharauli	Family became extinct before Gurkha rule. It existed near Balson state.	-	-	-

Among the *Athara Thakurais*, Jubbal state was the important one particularly Jubbal. Before the 12th century A.D. the ancestors of the rulers of Jubbal were rulers of Sirmaur. As the legend goes, heavy flood in the Giri river completely washed away Sirmauri Tal, the capital of Sirmaur. Raja Ugar Chand was drowned in the flood, while his three sons were away in Hatkoti. When Raja Salivahana of Jaisalmer who was at pilgrimage at Haridwar learnt about the destruction of Sirmauri Tal, he at once asked his son Sobha to march to Sirmaur. Thus, a second dynasty of Bhatti Rajputs was established in Sirmaur in 1195 AD. The three sons of Ugar Chand—Karan Chand, Mool Chand and Duni Chand—then respectively became the founders of the states of Jubbal, Sari and Rawingarh in Pabar and Giri basins.

Balson, too, was an offshoot of the ancient Sirmaur state. Ghund and Theog were founded by the sons of a Chandel Rajput of Jaipur.

Similarly, the five states of Kumharsain, Khaneti, Delath, Karangla and Kotkhai also had a common origin. These states were founded by Kirat Singh. Darkoti in the upper Giri valley was founded by one Durga Singh. Tharoch formerly constituted a part of the Sirmaur state and was bestowed as a gift on Krishan Singh, the des-

1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	Beja	Founded by Garab Chand who came from Ujjain. The date of founding is not known.	4	981	11,000
10.	Nawar	It was part of Sari state, which became extinct in 1864.	-	-	-
11.	Dodra-Kawar	It was a part of Garhwal which came to Bushahr on matrimonial relationship and remained its dependency. But the hold of Bushahr remained nominal.	-	-	-
12.	Pundar	It belonged to Jubbal and was later transferred to Keonthal by the Britishers, who took over it from Jubbal after Gurkha war.			
<p>(Note: Nawar, Dodra-Kawar and Pundar do not appear as separate <i>thakurais</i> in the later British records and the data about their area, population and revenue is not available).</p>					
13.	Karangla	Founded by Kartar Chand, brother of Kirat Singh, the founder of Kumharsain. Later extinct and formed part of Bushahr state.	-	-	-
14.	Kotkhai	Founded by one of the descendants of Kirat Singh, the founder of Kumarsain state.	14	-	-
15.	Darkoti	Founded by Durga Singh who is said to be a scion of the Jaipur ruling family.	6	536	1,598

1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	Tharoch	Founded by Krishan Singh descendant of Deokaran of the House of Udaipur (Rajasthan).	75	4,562	1,30,000
17.	Sangri	It was a part of Kullu state.	19	3,500	14,000
18.	Bharauli	Family became extinct before Gurkha rule. It existed near Balson state.	-	-	-

Among the *Athara Thakurais*, Jubbal state was the important one particularly Jubbal. Before the 12th century A.D. the ancestors of the rulers of Jubbal were rulers of Sirmaur. As the legend goes, heavy flood in the Giri river completely washed away Sirmauri Tal, the capital of Sirmaur. Raja Ugar Chand was drowned in the flood, while his three sons were away in Hatkoti. When Raja Salivahana of Jaisalmer who was at pilgrimage at Haridwar learnt about the destruction of Sirmauri Tal, he at once asked his son Sobha to march to Sirmaur. Thus, a second dynasty of Bhatti Rajputs was established in Sirmaur in 1195 AD. The three sons of Ugar Chand—Karan Chand, Mool Chand and Duni Chand—then respectively became the founders of the states of Jubbal, Sari and Rawingarh in Pabar and Giri basins.

Balson, too, was an offshoot of the ancient Sirmaur state. Ghund and Theog were founded by the sons of a Chandel Rajput of Jaipur.

Similarly, the five states of Kumharsain, Khaneti, Delath, Karangla and Kotkhai also had a common origin. These states were founded by Kirat Singh. Darkoti in the upper Giri valley was founded by one Durga Singh. Tharoch formerly constituted a part of the Sirmaur state and was bestowed as a gift on Krishan Singh, the des-

endant of Deo Karan, one of the princes of Udaipur. Sangri originally belonged to the Bushahr state. But was taken away from that state by Raja Man Singh (1688-1719) of Kullu sometime during first half of the 18th century. Later on, it came to be known as Sangri state of the *Athara Thakurai*.

The Shimla hill chiefs appear to have enjoyed almost complete independence ever since their establishment in the hills. They were apparently too insignificant to arouse the jealousy or attract the wrath of the paramount rulers. They had the wisdom, while fighting freely among themselves, to avoid giving offence to the all-powerful Muslim neighbours lest they were deprived of their principalities.

During the end of 18th century and the beginning of 19th century, the Gurkhas of Nepal extended their dominion from Kumaon to Kangra. By 1810 A.D. they occupied the *Bara* and *Athara Thakurais* and controlled the Bushahr state also. Their General, Amar Singh Thapa established his capital first at Rampur and in 1813 at Arki. They also conducted raids in the foothill areas which at that times were under the protection of the British. The British Government was constantly protesting to the Nepal Government against the raids, but with no effect. The hill people were also tired of the harsh and tyrannical rule of the Gurkhas. Therefore, on 1st November 1814 the British declared war against the Gurkhas and the hill people were encouraged to make an attempt to drive them out. In 1815-16 the Gurkhas were defeated and compelled to leave the country. The help extended by the Britishers to the hill rulers for driving the Gurkhas out turned out to be a trap for them. They were obliged by the British Government to sign certain treaties confirming their allegiance to the British overrule.

Those states were thus, placed under the supervision of the Assistant Political Agent/Political Agent at Sabathu

to the Governor-General through the Commissioner of Delhi. The first Assistant Political Agent was Capt. Ross and in 1822 he was succeeded by Capt. C.P. Kennedy who remained on this post upto 1835. The last Political Agent was Mr. Edwards. It appears that the Political Agent was also the administrator of the British *Illaquas* of Shimla, Bharauli, Sabathu, Kotkhai and Kotgarh and it was only after 1850 that a Deputy Commissioner was appointed at Shimla, who was also designated as Superintendent of Shimla hill states. Thus, the incumbent had a dual charge. This position remained upto 1936 when a separate office called Shimla Hill State Agency under a Political Agent was created with headquarters at Shimla. This position remained upto 15th August 1947 when the Britishers left India.

After having a brief knowledge of the factors responsible for the establishment of dynastic feudalistic system in this region, it would be essential to go into the details about the trade and commerce activities in those kingdoms in pursuance of the main theme of the present study. As we have already learned in the preceding part of this chapter, most of the kings and chiefs of this region migrated to their area at different period from the Indian mainland under various compulsions. Those fugitive cadets should not have been alone to seek refuge in the hills, but with them people belonging to different vocations—Brahmins, traders, serfs and soldiers also might have accompanied. The process of further migration from the mainland continued in the following centuries when the dynastic rule in the hills introduced by the fugitive cadets got stabilised. The trading communities of the mainland constituted major bulk of the immigrants in that period for the traders could find green pastures in the commercially unexposed towns and villages in this

region. Thus we come across trading communities of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh settled since generations at Nahan, the hereditary tradesmen of Raipur-Rani, Narayan Garh etc. of Ambala district settled at Rampur, business community of Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Pathankot etc. settled at Chamba.

The Suds of Kangra, who in the remote past had settled at different places in the Kangra area and found root there, also spread far and wide in the interiors of Himachal Pradesh and established their trading business in a very effective and successful manner. This community is found concentrated at Kullu and other places in that kingdom. Mandi developed as a cosmopolitan trading-centre having attracted trading people from almost all corners of the mainland. In fact, Mandi is located strategically at such a location at which number of trading-routes from the Indian mainland meet and an international trade-route takes off along the upstream course of the Beas to Kullu, Mandi, Lahaul, Ladakh and the Central Asian marts. It is because of the commercially important location of this place that this town came to be known as Mandi, i.e. a marketing place.

It is a universally known fact that most of the settlements were built along the river banks but this consideration appears to have been qualified by another consideration in the mountainous Himachal while establishing the capital centres of different kingdoms. That consideration was kept in view that the capital towns received considerable supply of commodities from the hinterland so that those could be exported and manufactured goods imported from the trading-centres in the plains. Thus, an essential economic-infrastructure for the survival of town could be created. The later consideration seems to have been a riding factor in the selection of capital town. Many of which are not found located on the

river banks. Nahan town is a unique example to the point besides most of the petty kingdoms of Shimla hills as their capitals are not in the valleys but on the mountain spurs. This leads us to believe that in the establishment of capital towns of the feudalistic kingdoms and principalities of Himachal Pradesh not rivers but the trade potential has been the main consideration and trading communities played a very decisive role in the feudalistic administration. In fact, in most of the cases the *wazeer* and courtiers of the local chiefs were drawn from the elites of the town and majority of them came from what is generally known the Vaishya community. In fact, the often repeated term Kayash or Negi used for Prime Minister or *Wazeer* of the rulers of the princely states of Himachal Pradesh belonged to Vaishya community.

As we have noted earlier, agriculture has never been a major source of subsistence for the people of Himachal Pradesh in the colonial period. Even the local rulers and the colonial overlords remained not very optimistic about the agricultural potential of this area. They, however, encouraged cultivation of cash crops like potato, chillies, turmeric, ginger etc. Raising of orchards by introduction of exotic variety of apple was also encouraged by the foreigners but that production was mostly meant for being exported because only a part of this commodity could be used by the local people. In exchange of the exports other essential items of consumption and manufactured goods were imported. Obviously this transaction could not have been impossible without a sound trading infrastructure available in the capital towns of the princely states and other marketing centres.

In fact, most of the revenue that accrued to the states was from *zakart*, *rahadari*, *chungi* etc. from the imports and exports. Bushahr state depended considerably on the revenue collected by it from the wool trade through its

territory. In order to boost up trade activity in the territory, a road linking Tibetan market with the Indian mainland was laid out. That road came to be known as Hindustan-Tibet Road and can aptly be termed as the wool road analogous to the silk road of Central Asia. Jubbal state depended on its foremost resources from its sustenance.

In fact, the income from the commodities of trade and export obtained from forests had been the major source of income for most of the hill states and the trading community had important role to play in this context. It was the wealthiest community in one state and at times extended loans to the state and other needy persons. It is said that a ruler of Kahlur state Raja Amar Chand used to take loan from a local *sunar*. How affluent some of the traders of this region have been may well be known from one Baijnath temple inscription. This grand temple was built from the donation extended by two local merchants named Manuk and Ahuk. Similarly some of the ancient temples in Mandi were built by the people of the local trading community.

The trading community of this region had thus formed an integral part of the socio-cultural system of Himachal Pradesh since the establishment of feudalistic system. They not only controlled the purse of the state but also extended helping hand in philanthropic activities.



## **Trading Castes and Communities**

During British period the mountainous region to the north of Punjab plains was inhabited by a great variety of people. There have been migrations of people from time to time for a number of reasons. The most important of these reasons is the location of holy places in and around the Himalaya, for which people from India and Central Asia have always felt drawn to the Himalaya. High caste Hindus migrated to the southern parts of Western Himalaya during the troublesome times that prevailed in northern India under alien invasion, especially during the medieval period. Other important reasons were trade and politics.

For ascertaining the role of these various ethnic groups in the history of trade and commerce of the region now forming Himachal Pradesh during the British time we shall have to examine the ethnological and occupational structure of the people. During those days business was in the hands of two type of traders. The local traders and the traders from outside. There were four main cultural starta. The first two were represented by native folk. The Kolis who formed nearly 30 per cent of the population, were regarded as low caste. They appeared under various caste names such as Koli, Hali, Sippi, Chamar, Dumma, Barwala, Megh, Darain, Rehra, Sarara, Lohar, Batwal, Dagi, Chanal, etc. They are known to have come from the original stock of the Kolarian (Kol) race

which once inhabited the whole Western Himalaya. They formed the lowest socio-economic strata of the hill society. Those people were mostly smiths and artisans who worked as Lohars (ironsmiths) Badis (carpenters and masons), Julahas (weavers), Kumhars (potters), Chamars (cobblers), Nagaloo or Bhanjyaras (basket-makers) drummers etc. These professional guilds formed an integral part of the village community. These distinctions were merely occupational and in general came within a broad category as Kolis. Agriculture, animal husbandry and artisans' work led to trade and commerce. The leather-based occupation was in the hands of Chamars who also made leather for their consumption from the hides of dead animals.

The most important element in the population of the hill region between the Ravi and the Jamuna rivers was of the Khasha or Khashia people. They are known to have preceded the Indo-Aryans in their settlement in Indian subcontinent. They settled in the mid-Himalayan belt from Kashmir to Nepal. Later, they were driven deeper into the interior hills by the advancing wards of Indo-Aryans from the Indian plains.

Khasas did not have caste distinction. But with the passage of time, and under alien Indo-Aryan influence, they split into numerous sub-sections and clans. The Kunindas were another important subdivision of the indigenous population of this region. They are identified with the ancient Kunindas in the Sanskrit classics and are mentioned as peace-loving agrarian and mercantile people. The Kanets were divided into several sub-castes or Khels. Some of the Khel names were derived from the name of the prominent founder of the household, others indicated the places from where their ancestors had migrated. Kanets were generally agriculturist and owners of land and held 40 per cent of the cultivated area in the

outer Siwalik area. Some Kanets were, nevertheless, good traders and mostly traded in agricultural produce like opium, potato, ginger, turmeric, honey, walnut, wool etc. which were generally exported to the plains. But most of the trade done by them was based on barter transaction, and rarely on monetary system.

Allied with the Kanets, were the Rathis and Thakurs. The former were mostly found in Kangra and Chamba and the later throughout the state and comprised more than half of the total high caste population. Sir J.B. Lyall, the Settlement Officer of the Kangra from 1866 to 1869 said that "There is an ideal current in the hills, that of the land holding castes the Thakurs, Rathis, Kanets and Girths are either indigenous to the hill or of mixed race and indigenous by the half blood, and that the Khattris, Brahmins, Rajputs and others are the descendants of invaders and settlers from the plains."<sup>1</sup>

The Thakur people were larger in number than can be satisfactorily accounted for, and it can be concluded that in later times, a large number of people were received from other higher castes, especially from the Rajputs, by inter-marriages and other connections. It is possible that any Rathis may have assumed the title of Thakur for in some parts of the hills the names were regarded almost synonymous. On the whole, however, the Thakurs ranked a little higher than the Rathis. The Rathis were essentially an agricultural class and were mostly found in Kangra and Chamba regions.

The Girths formed a considerable part of the population of the Kangra region. They were concentrated in the valleys of Palampur, Kangra and Rihlu and also Haripur. They possessed the richest and the most open lands in the hills. The Girths were largely the agriculturists.

Like Kanets, the Raos also sprang from the Khashas, but Alexander Cunningham opined that Rao was a branch

of Kanet. The main occupation of these people was agriculture and livestock raising. The educated were engaged in trade and industry. Their fertile lands yielded double crops and they remained incessantly employed whole year in various operations of agriculture. In addition to cultivating their fields, the Girth women carried wood, vegetables, mangoes, milk and other products to the trading squares.

Rajputs and Brahmins came from the Indian plains from time to time for a number of reasons, sometimes as adventurers and at times in search of security.

The Rajputs descended from the ruling houses founded centuries ago by the fugitive princes of the Indian plains who settled in the hills in Himachal. Each class comprised numerous subdivisions. As family size increased, individuals left the royal house to settle on some estate in the country and their descendants retained the generic appellation of the race. Another class of Rajputs, who enjoyed great distinction in the hills, came from the descendants of ancient chiefs or Ranas, whose title and tenure were said to have preceded that of the Raja themselves.

The Rajputs were divided into two classes—upper and lower. The former used to refrain from ploughing and their farm work was done either by hired servants or by tenants who were paid *batai* or fixed wages. The Rajputs of later class worked in their own fields and were called *halbahu* or the ploughers. But under economic compulsion majority of land owners were forced to pursue trade and commerce to supplement their income.

The Brahmins were divided into two groups. The first group of Brahmins descended from those Brahmins who accompanied the Rajput rulers from the plains. They were religious guides, astrologers, ministrants in temples of family priests. They avoided agriculture and abstained

from touching the plough. Some of them later adopted trade and service also as their vocations.

The second group comprised the agriculturist Brahmins who were looked down upon by those of the higher classes. They were known as *halbahu* Brahmins. Besides acting as priests, the *halbahu* Brahmins tilled their own land holdings. In Sirmaur the *halbahu* Brahmins are known as Bhats.

Among the religious orders in the hills, Naths and the Gosains are significant. They have been living principally in the neighbourhood of Nadaun and Jwalamukhi and some in Mandi, but were also scattered in small numbers throughout the district of Kangra. They have been an enterprising and sagacious people. These people had almost a monopoly of the trade in opium, which they procured in Kullu and interiors of Mandi. They also traded in *charas*, shawl-wool and cloth. It is said that their trade extended as far as Hyderabad in the south, and indeed over whole of India. The Naths and Gosains have essentially been the religious people but they combined the trading with their religious wanderings to supplement their income.

The high caste Hindus like Khatris, Karars, Mahajans, Suds, Baniyas, Aroras, and Bohras are known to have migrated to the hills during the Muslim rule of the north India from the 12th to 17th century for fear of tyranny. Those were the trading classes in their native places also. Practically, they have been holding entire trade and the hill areas in their hands. Almost whole of the mercantile and commercial transactions in this part of the Western Himalaya, excepting petty hawking and peddling, were conducted by one or the other of these communities. The people of these communities were divided into five groups, the first consisting of Baniyas, Dhunsars, Bohras, and Pahari Mahajans. The second, consisting of Suds and

Bhabras; the third of Khattris, and Bhatias; the fourth of Aroras; and fifth of Khojahs and Parachas. These business groups were spread in the whole country. In the interiors of Himachal they were numerically insignificantly low for, these tracts include none of the commercial centres, and the needs of the people in those days were simple and easily supplied locally. Nevertheless, in minority as they were in the interiors, they commanded a coveted reputation as shrewd traders and money-lenders. They constituted a very important and indispensable part of the socio-economic set up of the hill people.

Numerically the most important of these commercial classes has been that of the Khattris, in whose hands the petty trade of the hills has remained mostly confined. The territorial distribution of these people has been very well marked. They mostly have been living in the towns and large settlements, where they have been easily carrying out their business. Khattris have been mostly concentrated in Mandi, Kangra and Chamba, whereas they were sparsely found in other parts of this hilly region. In olden times in Mandi state, the Khattris entered as merchants and shopkeepers at the invitation of the Rajas and by the acumen and astuteness rose to the positions of influence and authority.

Besides, they were also found as traders in Shimla, Sirmaur, Suket, Bushahr and Nalagarh. Trade was their main occupation, but they have also remained involved in the business of lending money and buying and selling foodgrains.

There has been a subordinate class of the Khattris, although somewhat lower, yet of equal mercantile energy. They are called the Roras of Chamba, most of the Gaddis call themselves as the Khattris. Khattris had numerous clans. The most important in point of social rank are the Malhotras or Mahras, the Khannas, the Kapurs and the

Seths. These four clans belonged to Bahri section of the community.

The Baniya group of people are spread along the outer hill region along the Siwalik and are mostly concentrated in Sirmaur. The word 'Baniya' is derived from the Sanskrit *Vanijya* i.e. trade; and the Baniya as the name implies live solely for and by trade and commerce. They have been mostly shopkeepers and occasionally money-lenders, and have played significant role in the economic life of the people.

It is sometimes said that Baniya is not a true class identity but has been generally in popular usage as an occupational term equivalent to a shopkeeper and that the great divisions of this occupational identity, the Aggarwals, the Oswals and like, in fact, occupy the position of sub-castes. This is in a sense true.

The Bohras too were strangers. According to one account they were originally Baniyas of the plains. According to a story their forefather came from the Deccan to Kangra with Raja Sher Chand, and became his Prime Minister. His descendants afterwards took to trade and spread themselves among the lower hills. As traders, they were less pushing and enterprising\* than the Suds. In the hill country north of Punjab plains any money-lender or shopkeeper has been called a Bohra. It was interesting to note that in the hill states, where the Bohras were in great number, Baniyas were hardly represented in one of the census returns of the last century. In Mandi state the Bohras are regarded at par with the Mahajans of Kangra. They have been generally the shopkeepers, traders, bankers and clerks. The Bohras have been mainly spread in Kangra, Mandi, Suket and Bilaspur. But with the opening up of the inner hills, they have also penetrated in the interior areas of Kullu, Bushahr, Shimla hills and Chamba in search of new trading grounds.

The Bohras in the hills have been Hindus and intermarry with Rajputs, Rathis, etc. They have been very quiet and social people and have hardly commanded any influence in hill society. Nevertheless, the Bohras of Suket held some very important and influential posts in the state administration and a high position in society and state.

The Mahajans or Pahari Mahajans are mostly found in Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Chamba. 'Mahajan' means 'great folk', but this term in the hills really refers to an occupational community rather than to the name of a particular caste. Even a Brahmin shopkeeper could be addressed as a Mahajan. In the feudal past even a Mahajan *Munshi* was called a *Kayath*. The Mahajans were also mentioned as bankers, traders and shopkeepers.

The Suds are generally concentrated in Kangra area. From Kangra they are known to have moved to the other hill states in search of new business grounds. The Suds trace their origin to Sarhind. It is said that Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India seven times. Every time, the target was Sarhind, as it was an important trade-centre. The invaders wanted to annex Kabul. But on Abdali's return, this town was wrested every time from the invader by the local ruler. Disgusted with the incessant loot, plunder and unrest, some trading-families migrated from Sarhind to mountainous regions in the Siwalik foothills where they settled in 52 villages. Thus, 52 sub-castes of the Suds came into existence after the names of the villages where they settled, such as Bajwaria, Mohdoddia etc.

The Suds who migrated to the hills have essentially been the mercantile people. But during the British time some of them opted to serve as doctors, engineers, lawyers and high government officials. The Sud community is known for a high sense of service, dignity and duty. By and large the Suds are found to be hard working and



industrious and whenever business, trade or other professions have been opted by them, they have earned respect and confidence of the people with whom they came in contact. The Suds are religious and contribute liberally for philanthropic work like schools, *sarais* etc.

Kaiths and Karars were two other trading sub-castes. The Kaiths of the hills were not the same as Kayaths of the plains. The Kaiths in the hills belonged to Vaishya, or trading class. They have settled only in the administrative or commercial towns. The following table would show the distribution of the above mentioned trading classes in different hill states in 1883.<sup>2</sup>

Hill states	Baniyas	Bohras	Pahari Mahajans	Suds	Khattris
Shimla	1,042	—	—	401	337
Kangra	89	50	4,120	5,775	7,760
Mandi	4	926	—	41	2,960
Chamba	498	—	—	2	1,378
Nahan	1,335	3	—	98	237
Bilaspur	3	333	—	11	1,487
Bushahr	33	129	—	3	45
Nalagarh	32	171	—	11	570
Suket	14	618	—	3	466

The Gujjars in these hills have been exclusively a nomadic and pastoral community, and scarcely cultivated land. They have been keeping herds of buffaloes and living on the sale of milk and milk products. The Gujjars are Hindus as well as Muslims.

The wealth of the Gujjars consist of buffaloes. They live in the skirts of the forests and maintain their existence exclusively by buffalo herding. The Gujjars of Chamba are known to carry a brisk trade in *ghi*.

The Gaddis reside in Bharmaur region of Chamba

and on the snowy mountain spurs between Chamba and Kangra. They are a semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural people. The greater portion of their wealth consisted of the flocks of sheep and goats. Though the Gaddis are not involved in trade, yet the wool they shear and the manufactured woollen products, like *pattu*, *patti* etc. form an important salable commodity for them. Gaddis mostly subsist symbiotically with their neighbours in lower Chamba, Kangra, Mandi and Kullu.



An old Gaddi woman carrying items of trade to a fair

Some other people of the Himachal Pradesh have also remained involved in trade. The Kinnauras, like the Gaddis, have been maintaining large herds of sheep and goats. These animals produce fine quality of wool, known as *byajis*. Kinnauras have been a very enterprising people. According to Sir H. David.

“The Kanawaris are probably of Indian race though in manners and religion they partially assimilate to the Tibetans. The people of the north are active traders proceeding to Leh for

“Charas” and to Gardok for shawl-wool, giving in exchange money, clothes and spices. The mountain paths are scarcely practicable for laden mules, and merchandise is carried chiefly on the backs of sheep and goats.”<sup>3</sup>

In the past Kinnaura traders used to trade not only with the nearby Tibetan and Ladakhi trading towns but they also used to reach far off places like Central Tibet, Yarkand, Kashmir, Lahore, Delhi, Calcutta, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. James Baillie Fraser states that:

“Indeed they are almost exclusively the commercial couriers between Hindustan and Tartary, and also between Tartary and Kashmir, frequenting the routes from Leh in Ladakh, to Lhasa and Degruchó and Nepal on trading speculation.”<sup>4</sup>

Traders from Kinnaur used to visit Tibet in the month of May and June and return in the month of June and July, whereas traders from Tibet came to the neighbouring Indian marts in the month of October and November and returned in the month of November and December. They travelled in batches of twenty to twenty five, carrying provisions with them. Alexander Gerard remarked that:

“The Koonawuree take to Garoo the same things as to Leh, with the exception of goats and sheep, which are abundant in that country. In exchange they bring back, much rocksalt which is dug out of the lakes. Beangee and shawl wool, the produce of the Tartar sheep and goats, gold dust, tea and borax, Nirbissi or Zedoary, a few shawl goats and Beangee sheep and large Tartar dogs of a very ferocious breed, which guard their flocks from panther, leopards, and other wild beasts, and are excellent watch dogs for preventing bears for committing ravages amongst the vineyards.”<sup>5</sup>

Punjab Government Records of 1911 show that the Kinnauras were engaged in trade and commerce, notwithstanding the difficult climatic conditions.

“Surrounded by the rocks of difficult access, inimical to industry, offering little inducement to cultivation, in a climate of protracted rigours, the inhabitants of Kunawur have followed that course which nature dictates, and we find them active, enterprising and industrious, occupied in extensive commercial intercourse and trade, rearing vast flocks which form their chief dependence and trafficking into remote countries under great hardships and privation to gain a comfortable subsistence for their families at home.”<sup>6</sup>

Trade with Ladakh was also carried out by the Kinnaura traders. All travellers in the course of 19th and early 20th centuries like Fraser, Alexander Gerard, Thomas Thomson, A. Wilson and many others spoke highly of the Kinnaur trade. Prosperity of these people was chiefly due to trade. The Kinnauras used to import several items of trade from the Indian plains and export them to Tibet and Ladakh on substantial profits.

The Lahaulas have been the born traders. They have been making huge money by trade since very early times. The trade carried out by them and the Gypsy of Khampas, Baltis and others, who went to and fro between Indian and Central Asian marts, extended to Amritsar, Kullu, Mandi, Shimla Hill States and the countries beyond the mid-Himalayan ranges towards south. The Lahaulas used to bring wool from Tibet and barter it with other commodities much sought after in Tibet. The Lahaula traders took cash and commodities into Tibet each year in summer and brought back wool and manufactured woollen products. They also exported silver, copper and items of gold ornaments etc. to Chang-thang in Tibet.

Large number of Lahaulas were engaged in trade both as traders and as transporters. They used to purchase indigo, rice, piece-goods, and brass and copper wares at Kullu and carry them on their ponies and goats to Ladakh and Tibet, which they bartered for borax, wool and other products.

The Zamindars i.e. the farmers of few states were also involved in trade. They used to take their agriculture produce for sale to the regular market-centres and at the trade fairs. The Zamindars of Sirmaur generally carried their produce of dried ginger, turmeric, honey, ghee, walnuts etc. to Taxsal, Bilaspur, Ambala and Jagadhri. The Zamindars of Kullu were also involved in sale and purchase business. A.F.P. Harcourt, the Commissioner of Kullu Division in 1869-70 remarked that, "the Kooloo Zamindar cannot be termed as trader at all; he must be regarded more in the light of a farmer, who disposes by retail and wholesale of the produce of his land." The Zamindar of adjoining areas of Sabathu used to get the produce to Sabathu Bazaar in order to get some money. Colonel Wace writes as follows:

"There were no traders in Bharauli area. If the Zamindar needs the money to pay his revenue he takes some ghi, wheat, maize or rice to the Sabathu bazaar and obtain necessary cash by selling this produce."<sup>7</sup>

#### REFERENCES

1. J.B. Lyall, *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District*, Punjab, 1865-72; Lahore, 1889-72, p. 27.
2. Denzil B. Ibbetson, *The Census of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1916, p. 238.
3. *Gazetteer of the Simla District*, 1888-89, Delhi, reprint 1992, p. 6.

4. James Baillie Fraser, *Journal of a Tour Through Part of the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains, and to the Sources of the Rivers of Jamuna and Ganges*, London, 1820, pp. 274-75.
5. Alexander Gerard, *An Account of Koonawar, in the Himalaya*, London, 1841, p. 84.
6. *Punjab Government Records*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1911, p. 278.
7. *Gazetteer of Simla District*, 1888-89, Delhi reprint, 1993, p. 35.

## **Traditional Trade-Routes**

Trade and commerce activities of the feudal hill kingdoms of Himachal Pradesh with the adjoining areas, the mainland in Punjab plains and the Central Asian trading towns, may be grouped in three distinct categories:

1. Trade directed to north with Tibet, Ladakh, Zanskar, Baltistan and Kashmir and other Central Asian markets.
2. Trade with the markets in the Indian mainland.
3. Trade between the different kingdoms within Himachal Pradesh.

Trade was both external (at times foreign) and internal, locally within Himachal Pradesh and with the markets in the plains, and this involved both exports and imports. Goods of trade within the princely states and to the plains were carried generally manually on mules, ponies and goats. Sometimes asses, camels and bullocks were also employed for this work. The trade in the higher altitude areas like Kinnaur, Spiti and Lahaul, and with the trans-Himalayan region of Ladakh and Tibet was carried on goats, yaks and *goonths*—the trans-Himalayan ponies. To ensure safety, the traders travelled in large groups well armed, as the routes were infested with highway robbers in the trans-Himalayan area. At times the carvans had a common leader, who used to conduct his fellow-traders safely against the perils of travel from drought, famine, wild beasts and robbers.

The trading season with Tibet and Ladakh was between May and October, as after that period, the routes generally remained snowbound and hazardous. Trade with the plains was carried out throughout the year except during the rainy season, when the unabridged mountain torrents became unfordable. Before proceeding on a trade in the Tibetan-Ladakh marts, the traders were required to obtain licences from the authority and get themselves registered at Wangtu in Bushahr and Sultanpur in Kullu on payments of trade fee. It was formerly a custom that each trader should exchange presents with the Garpon's (Governors) at Gartok on every visit to Tibet.

The physical features of the country have greatly influenced the lives and occupational habits of the people. The numerous riverine valleys in Himachal Pradesh, especially the Satluj, the Beas and the Ravi and their tributaries have offered, since the remotest times, most convenient of communication and shelter. It is for that reason that most of the human settlements are located on their banks. This consideration can, however, not be much impressed upon so far the rivers of Himachal Pradesh are concerned. Most of the rivers flow in steep gradient through the rocky strata in this region in the interior region, forming deep 'V'-shape bankless gorges. It is for this reason that number of villages in upper Chandrabhaga, upper Ravi and Satluj gorges are located far higher from the river course on the mountain spurs. The villages in Kinnaur are the examples in this regard. Most of the trade in the pre-independence past was carried along bridle paths laid in the valley, mountain spurs and high mountain passes. *Paraws* i.e., the posts were maintained at different places. So that the traders and travellers could spend the night safely.

At such posts, the wealthy merchants and the local rulers had built shelter-huts—the *sarais*. In the course of





A Gaddi couple resting at a *paraw*

times those staging-points developed into regular settlements and came to be known as *sarais*. Thus, one would find not less than half a dozen *sarais* in Himachal Pradesh at different places which, in the past had been the night-halts for the travellers. Of numerous *sarais*, the two have become famous in the present time. The Sarahan in Rampur Bushahr for the Bhimakali temple and the Sarahan, a midway station on Shimla-Nahan road. Besides, there is one below Bashlan pass in Outer Seraj, one near Dharmsala in Kangra, one below Churdhar in Chaupal, Shimla district and one in Chamba and elsewhere in the Pradesh. Interesting accounts of those ancient trade-

routes, which remained active even during the British times, have been left by many European travellers and adventurers. Important among those are James Baillie Fraser (1815), Alexander Gerard (1817), William Moorcroft and George Trebeck (1820), Godfrey Charles Mundy (1828), Edward C. Archer (1828), Victor Jacquemont (1829), Baron Charles Hugel (1835-39), Godfrey Thomas Vigne (1835), Thomas Thomson (1847), Alexander Cunningham (1847), Philip Henry Egerton (1862), Andrew Wilson (1873), W.G.N. Van Der Sleen (1924), Sir Edward Wakefield (1929) and many others. James Baillie Fraser was a civilian officer with British army under Maj. Gen. Martindell who, with British troops, intensively travelled in Sirmaur, Shimla hills, Bushahr and Garhwal during the Gurkha War in 1814-15. Alexander Gerard of 27 Native Infantry was a famous naturalist and surveyor. He travelled in 1817 and 1818 from Subathu to Kinnaur and carried the trigonometrical survey of Satluj valley. William Moorcroft was a veterinary doctor in the services of East India Company. He travelled in 1820 from Calcutta to Ladakh and Iskardu via Sirmaur, Bilaspur, Nadaun, Mandi, Kullu, Lahaul in the guise of a horse trader. Godfrey Charles Mundy was ADC to Lord Combermere. He travelled from Nahan to Shimla and then to Kinnaur via Rohru in 1828. Edward C. Archer was also ADC to Lord Combermere and accompanied him in his tour to the upper Shimla hills in 1828. Victor Jacquemont was a French naturalist, who extensively travelled in the Shimla hills and Kinnaur in 1830. Baron Charles Hugel was a German traveller, who travelled in 1835 in the Punjab hills. G.T. Vigne was an English traveller. He travelled in the Punjab hills, Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardu between 1835 and 1839. Thomas Thomson was a naturalist. He was sent by Government of India in 1847 to Kinnaur. He has described his journey and route

from Shimla to Kinnaur and Leh in a part of his book *Western Himalaya and Tibet*, (1852). Alexander Cunningham was a great Archaeologist and travelled extensively in this area. Andrew Wilson, journalist and traveller wrote his book *Abode of Snow*, (1873) partly in Fagu Dak Bungalow on the Hindustan-Tibet road. Van Der Sleen was a Dutch naturalist. He travelled from Shimla to Kinnaur and Kullu in 1928 and wrote a book *Four Months Camping in the Himalaya* (1924). Edward Wakefield, an ICS officer, led a party of trade mission in June 1929 from Shimla to Gartok in western Tibet. The expansion of the Gurkhas in the late 18th and early 19th centuries towards the west placed practically all the passes and routes in the Himalaya to Tibet and Ladakh under their control. The Gurkhas' policy of excluding foreign traders and controlling all trade between Tibet and plains prevented the British merchants of the East India Company from a commercial exploitation of the hill markets. They wanted to control these areas, not so much with a view to collecting revenues but, to gain monopoly on the trade and for the security of commercial communications with the markets in Tibet, where finest type of shawl-wool was produced. Tibet was also the richest source in the world for borax and other minerals. In the Western Himalaya the valley of river Satluj provided a safe and age-old route directly linking Punjab plains with the plateau of western Tibet. The state of Bushahr in the upper Satluj valley had acquired great importance as convenient midway stage on that route leading to Ladakh and Tibet.

It was to Rampur, the capital town of Bushahr state, that traders from Kashmir, Ladakh and Yarkand have been coming down to transact with the local traders and merchants from Indian mainland and to barter the merchandise of Central Asia for wheat and manufactured

goods of the Indian plains. It was along the Satluj valley that most of the Indian merchants travelled to the famous annual fair at Gartok, a commercial capital of the Western Tibet, when every September, traders from Ladakh, Kashmir, Tartary, Yarkand, central Tibet and China haggled, bartered and bargained, filling the streets with crowds and colour. This was the mart where the very best shawl-wool was brought for sale. The East India Company understandably became interested in that highly profitable Himalayan trade and the Britishers' Himalayan policy of 1814, besides having strategic issues, was mainly directed towards the opening and controlling of the trade-routes in interiors of Western Himalaya right to the Tibetans trading-towns.

After the conclusion of the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-15, the hill states spread between the Jamuna and the Satluj came under the direct protection of the British Government. As a result of that, the states of Sirmaur, Bilaspur, Hindur, Bushahr, Jubbal, Baghat, Baghal, Keonthal, Kotkhair, Balson, Kumharsain among the others were restored to their traditional rulers under the British overlordship. The chiefs of those states were granted *sanads*, conferring upon them their kingdoms in perpetuity. Under the *sanads*, the hill chiefs were put under specific obligations in return for the protection granted to them by the Britishers. They were to allow free passage in their territory to the British merchants and their goods, they were to furnish a fixed number of *begar* labourers and also to construct twelve feet wide roads in their territories.

The most frequented highway from the Punjab plains to the international border in the Bushahr state started from Pinjor. It was the same traditional route which later on came to be known as the fabled Hindustan road. From this road, numerous roads branched off to various

destinations in the interiors. Capt. Charles Pratt Kennedy, Assistant Superintendent Hill States, while submitting a report dated 6th July 1824 through W. Murray, Deputy Superintendent, Hill States to C. Elliot, Agent to the Governor-General, Western Provinces stated that:

“The great road of communication from Sirsa or Pinjor over the mountainous region to Rampur, the capital of Bushahr and entrepot of the commerce betwixt the Sikh and Hill States and other transverse roads, are in the best state of preservation, and calculated to afford ample facilities to the trade, which although yet in its infancy has increased to a degree beyond the most sanguine expectation, and I met considerable caravans of loaded mules, jack-asses and hill porters conveying iron from the mines in Saree and Nawur to Seeswa, a possession of the Sikh chieftain, Deva Singh and importing a return cargo of Lahore rock salt.”

“The erection of the *Sangas*, or wooden bridges across the Satluj at Wangtoo and Namptoo have much accelerated the general purposes of commerce and a really, safe and commodious passage over this rapid and dangerous stream is now effected to Shipke and Shealkur, the Chinese frontier town on the north-east and to the town of Leh and district of Ladakh on the north.”

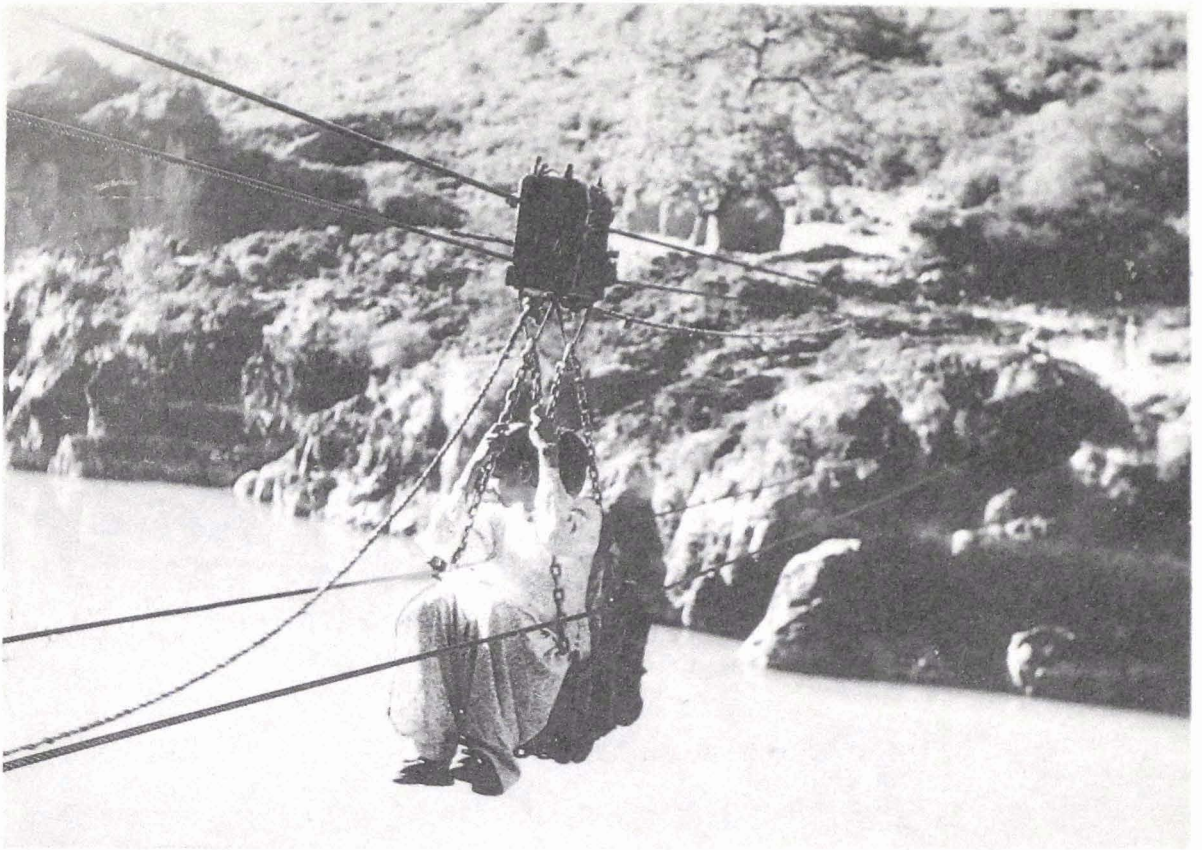
“In the *Sunnads* originally granted by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council in 1815-16 to the several hill chieftains, the Rajas of Bushahr, Hindoor, Kuhloor, Sirmour and Rana of Keonthul, with Putteala, had each a clause sanctioning the levy of a transit duty upon the trade passing through their several domains; and although a prohibition in express terms was not conveyed to

the numerous petty Ranas, yet it was generally understood by them, as they had received no permission in their *Sunnads* they had virtually no right to demand a tax from the traders.”

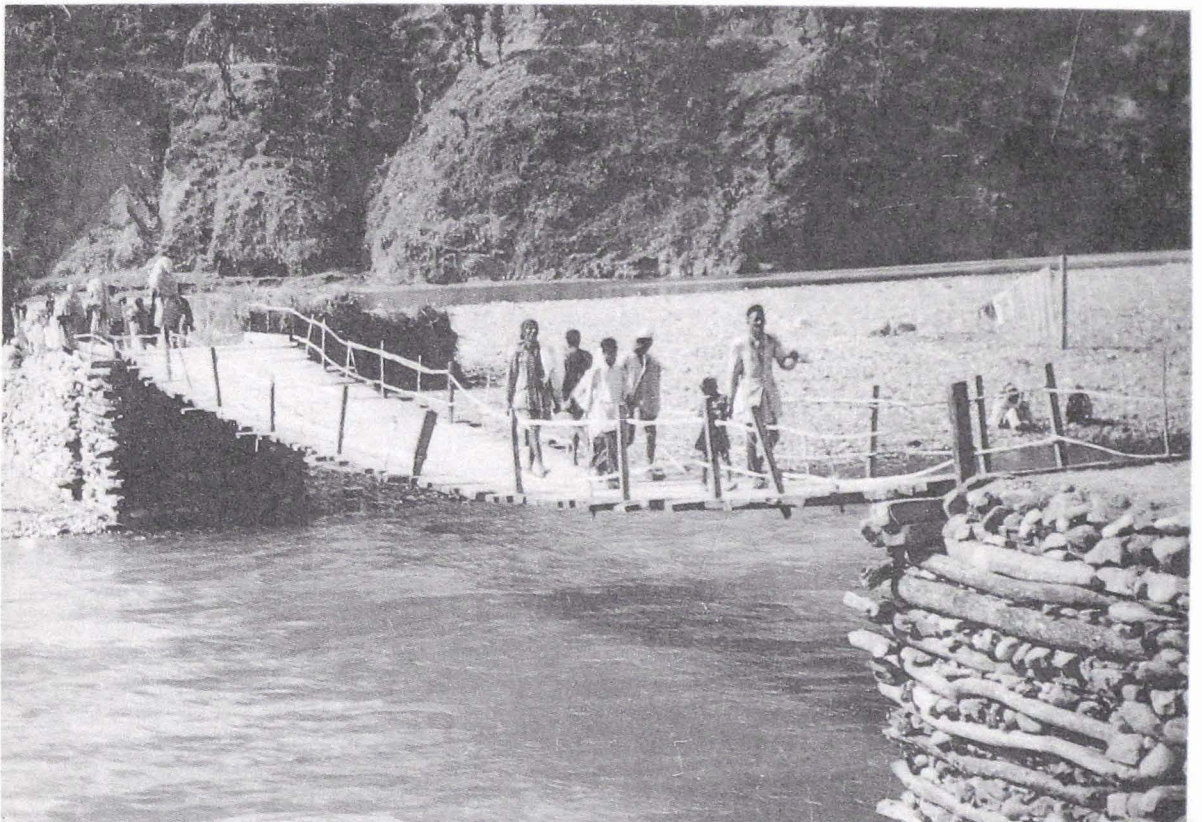
Before this report of C.P. Kennedy, the Assistant Superintendent of Simla Hill States, Alexander Gerard, the Surveyor of East India Company, was perhaps the first European to travel in August 1817 and again in September 1818 on the aforementioned route to Shipki pass on the Indo-Tibetan border and to a some distance beyond that point. He wanted to visit Garo (Gartok) but at Shipki he was asked not to proceed further. Therefore, he came back to Namgia and from there he went towards Spiti upto Shealkhur, the last post on the border with Ladakh. Nevertheless, he has bequested a detailed account of the route between Shipki and Gartok. He records “Garoo or Gartop (Gartok) is eleven marches beyond Shipke. The road, consisting of gentle swellings, is described as being so good that the trade is carried on by yaks. From Kinnaur to Garoo there were three roads: (1) from Shipke, (2) from Shealkhur through Choomoortee, and (3) from Nisung through Gangtung pass. Kinnauri traders who crossed Gangtung pass used to put on considerable extra clothing in order to defend themselves against the excessive cold.” In his first journey of August 1817 to Kinnaur, he travelled through Rohru, then a part of Bushahr in the Pabbar valley, and after crossing Shatool pass (between Rohru and Kinnaur), he entered Kinnaur. During his journey, which he started in September 1818, he travelled on the route which later on came to be known as the Hindustan-Tibet road. On the basis of his extensive touring in the interiors of Satluj valley, the account left by him may be of interest. He says:

“From the rugged nature of the country, the greater part of the roads, however, much pains



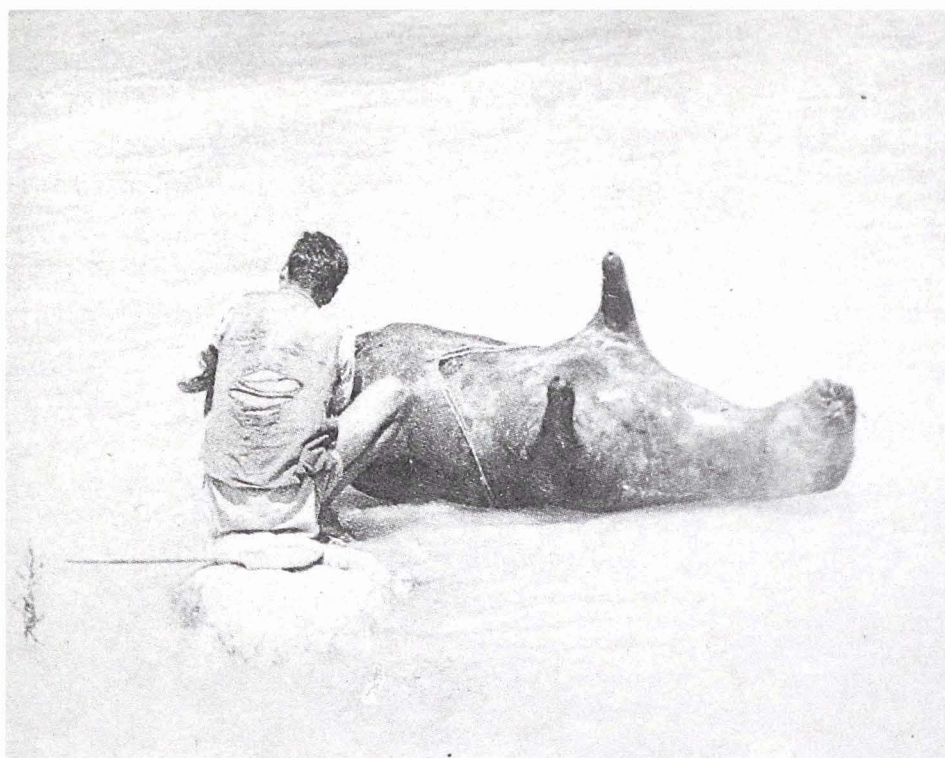


1. A traditional rope-way crossing.

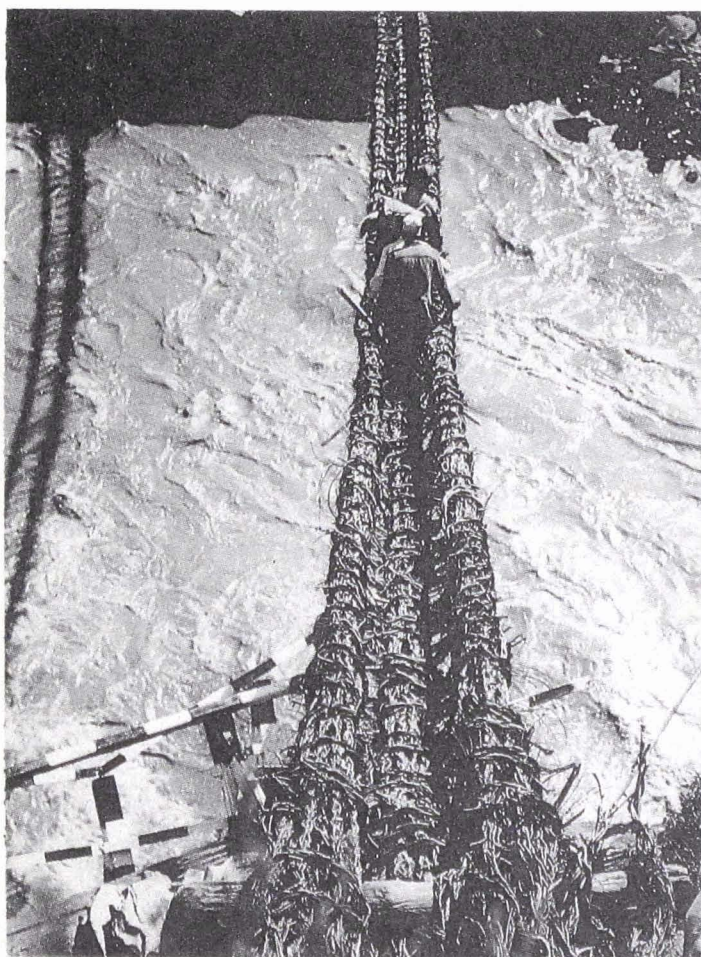


2. An improvised wooden foot-bridge that once existed on the Giri at Dadahu.





3. Inflated bufallo skin used for rafting.

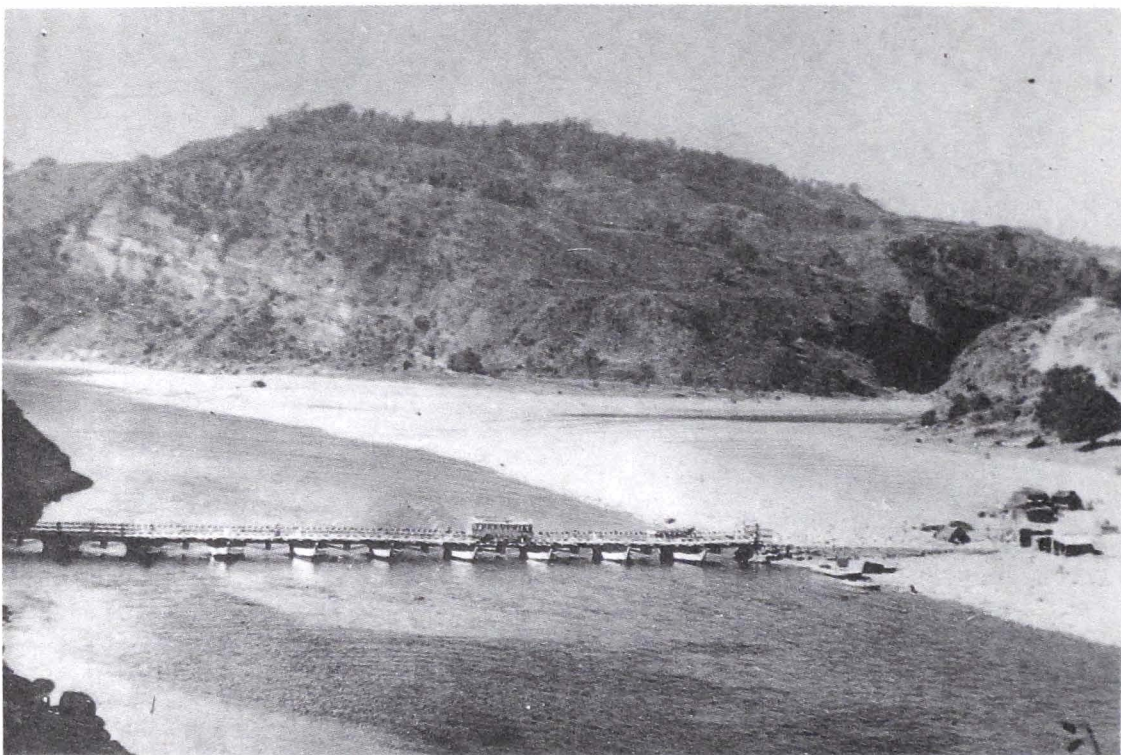


4. A twisted rope-bridge in the interiors of Kinnaur.





5. A cantilever wooden bridge, now a thing of the past.

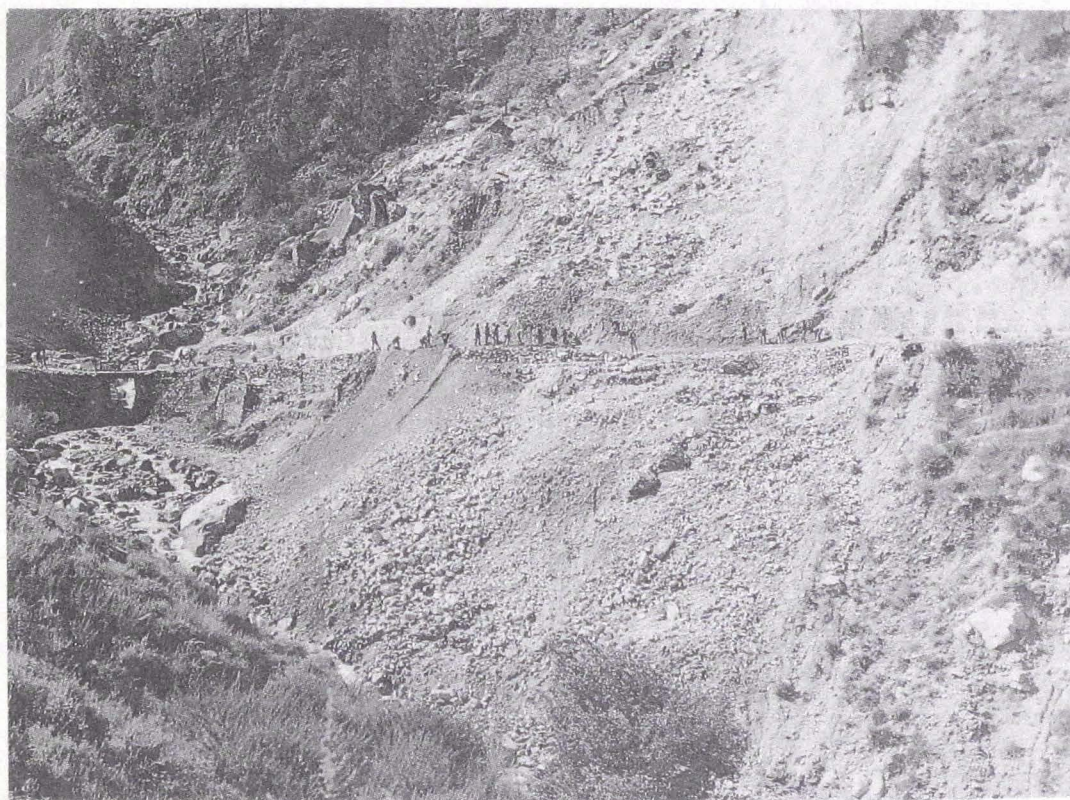


6. Boat-bridge that existed at Nadaun on the Beas long ago.



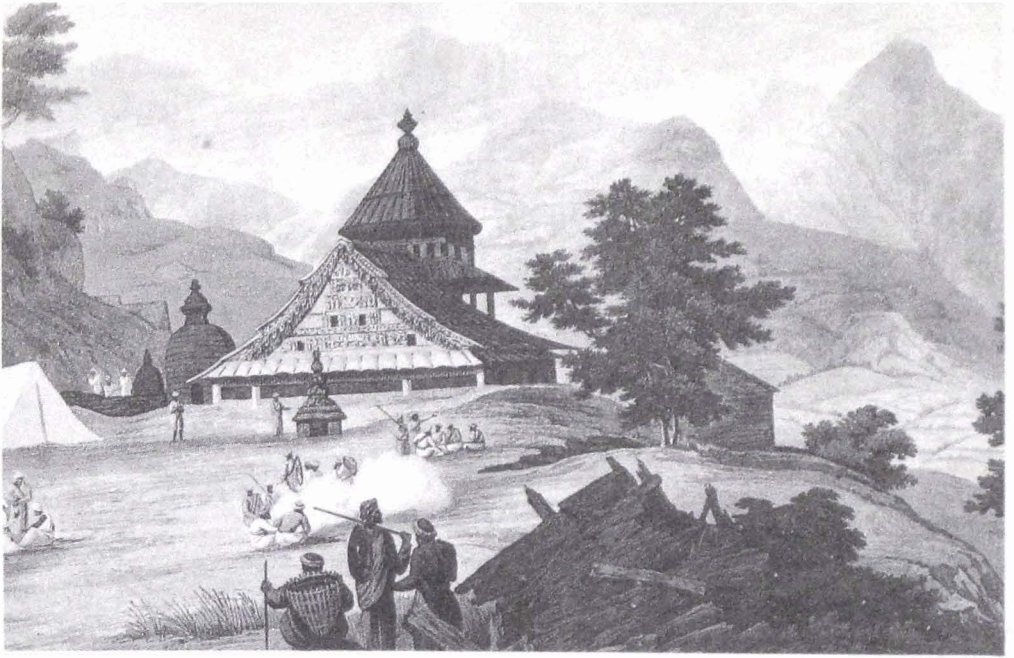


7. A modern prestressed concrete bridge on the Satluj at Kandaur



8. The present Hindustan-Tibet road.





9. Traders' camping ground (from an old drawing).



10. A timber-yard with deodar forest in the backdrop.



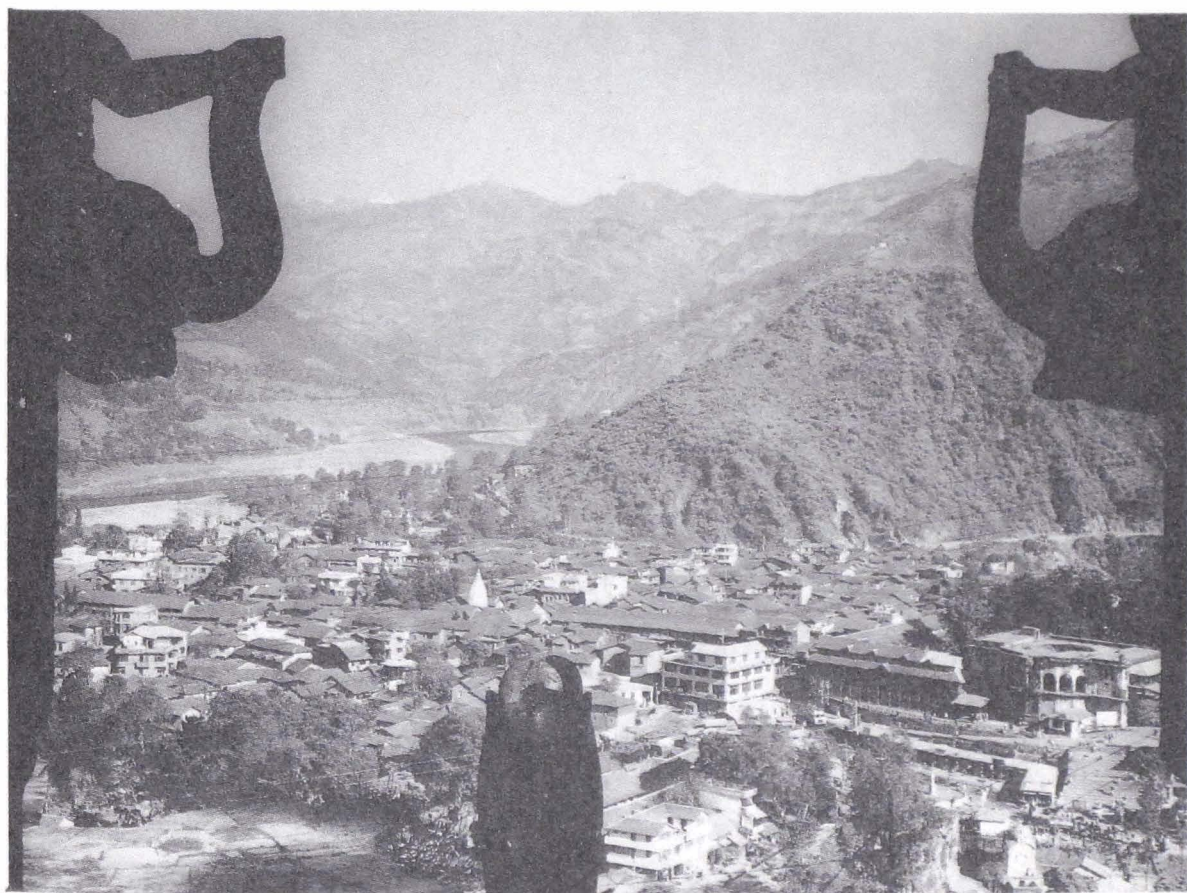


11. Rohru—an ancient trading town on the Pabbar.



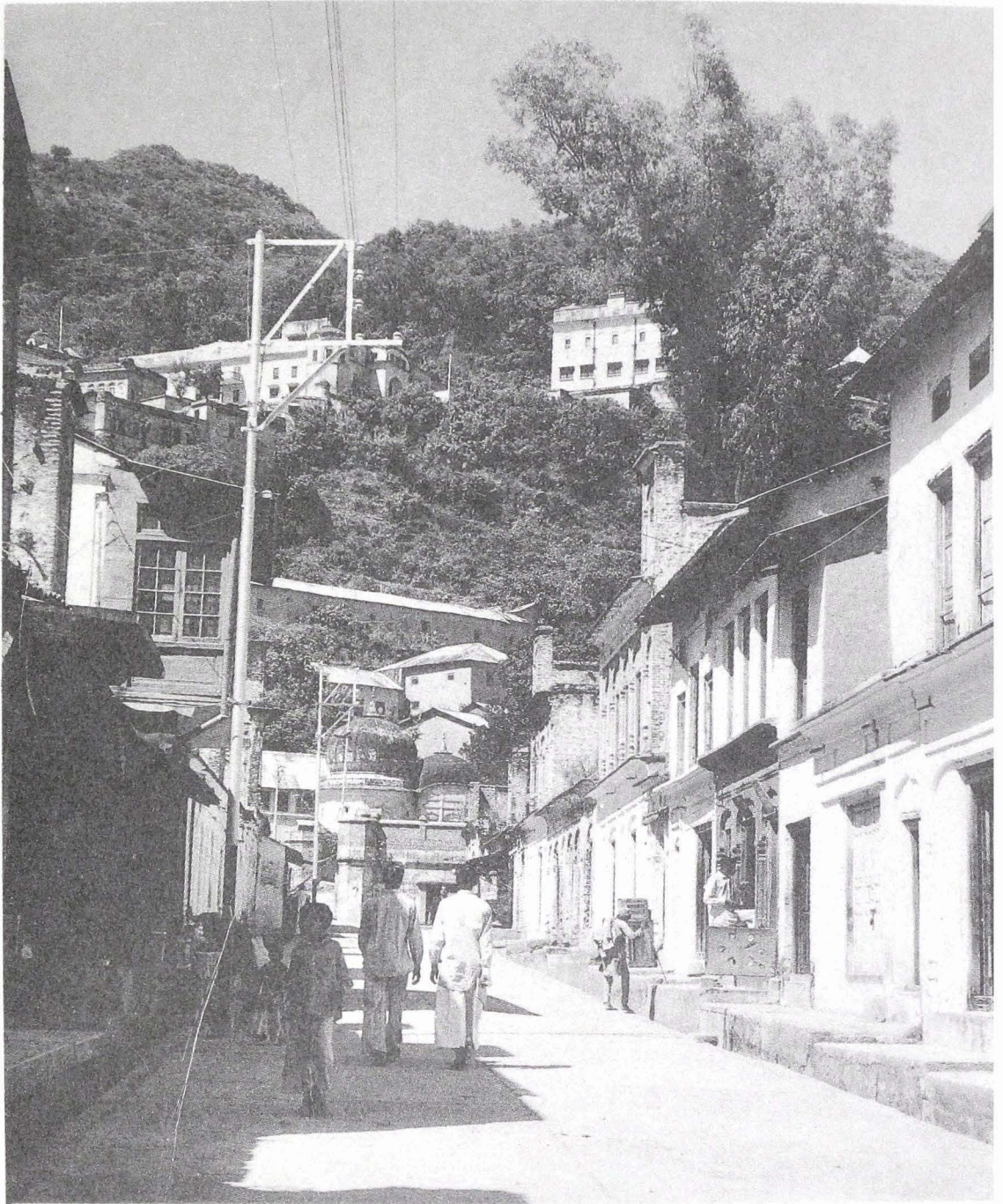


12. A timber converting unit at Lakkarmandi, Chamba.



13. Mandi, a traditional trading town on the Beas.





14. Arki town, once a capital of Baghal state.

may be bestowed upon them, can never be good for any length of time. Every year some places are destroyed by the falling of rocks and it very frequently happens that the paths are so astonishingly rough, as to surprise the travellers how they could have been constructed with so small a population."

"The roads in general consist of narrow footpaths, skirting precipices, with often here and there rocks, that would seem to come down with a puff of wind, projecting over the head; to avoid which, it is necessary sometimes to bend yourself double. The way often leads over smooth stones steeply inclined to a frightful abyss with small niches cut or worn, barely sufficient to admit to point of the foot; or it is upon heaps of gigantic angular fragments of granite or gneiss, almost piercing the shoes, and piled upon one another in the most horrid disorder. Where rocks are constantly hurled from above, there is not the slightest trace of a path, and cairns of stones are erected within sight of each other, to guide the traveller. There are often deep chasms between the rocks, and it requires a considerable degree of agility to clear them, and no small share of caution to avoid over turning the stones which now and then shake under you; more than once, I have seen several of enormous size just up on the poise from over weight, and we were obliged to make a sudden and violent exertion to gain another, perhaps not more secure; and it sometimes happened, that the one we had just quieted upset with a dreadful crash, from the impulse it received in our taking a leap to the next. Here and there beds of hard snow, inclined at an angle of thirty to thirty five degree, are met with, to ascend or pass along which it is necessary to cut steps with a hatchet and to descend them, the easiest and most

expeditious mode is to slide down. The worst are the inclined rocks, and great slopes of hard gravel, and small stones rolling under the feet, to a deep and rapid streams; some of these cannot be passed with shoes, and although I only took mine off at one place, yet I have often been obliged to grasp hold of a person's hand".

"The most difficult path, I saw, was where ropes were used to raise and lower the baggage, and this did not arise from the path having given way: now and then flights of stone steps occur, notched trees and spurs from rock to rock rude scaffolding along the perpendicular face of a mountain, formed of horizontal stake driven into the crevices, with boards above, and the outer ends resting on trees or slanting post, projecting from clefts of the rock below."

Alexander Gerard undertook two journeys to Kinnaur. In 1817, he was accompanied by Dr. Goven and in 1818 by his brother Dr. J.G. Gerard.

In his second journey of 1818, Alexander Gerard travelled to Kinnaur through Kotgarh, Rohru and crossed Boorando pass to Brooang village in Tukpa division of Kinnaur.

Leh, the capital of Ladakh on the right bank of the Indus was at a distance of sixteen days journey from Shealkhur. There were several roads to it from Kinnaur. One from Wangpo, another from Soongnam and two from Shealkhur.

From Numgi he struck off to the north-west towards Ladakh, crossing the Satluj a mile from the village by a rope bridge. The first Ladakh village was a days journey from Shealkhur.

About his return journey to Subathu he has mentioned the following stages—Leo, Hango, Soongnam, Hungrung, Lubrung, Kanam, Leepa, Akpa, Jangee, Rogee, Meroo, Chagaon, Nachar, Wangtoo, Turanda, Soorahun,





A *tarangari*—an improvised rope-crossing of Pangi area

Dhar, Rampur, Kotgarh, Huttoo, Jeenwo, Nagkanda, Muteeana, Mandunee, Bunee and then back to Subathu.

In 1850 A.D. Hindustan-Tibet road was widened by Maj. Brigs. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India during his sojourn in the hills also travelled on this road upto Chini, near Kalpa. He wanted to reexamine the possibility of a trade-route to Tibet. The outcome of this visit was the construction of Hindustan-Tibet road. The first lap of the road was constructed in 1850-51 and was realigned to pass through Dharampur, Solan, Kandaghat, and Tara Devi to reach Shimla. Hindustan-Tibet road upto Shimla came to be used for wheeled traffic by the 1860s. After the conquest of Punjab, there also was concern on the utility of the road and the high cost of maintenance required for it. The road beyond Shimla, therefore,

remained a "small cut bridle path. It was never more than seven or eight feet wide, zig-zagging from Shimla to Theog, Narkanda, Kotgarh and along the right bank of the Satluj river to Rampur. At Wangtu, it followed the left bank of the Satluj to Chini across a bridge on the Satluj.

A legendary name Bhalkoo Jamadar connected with the Hindustan-Tibet road deserved mention. He is still a popular legend among the people of the Shimla hills. Though he possessed no qualifications or experience in road engineering, he is said to have surveyed the entire route passing through the difficult mountainous country right from Kalka upto the Tibetan border with a simple road compass. His place of birth was somewhere near Chail in the Shimla hills. The certificates in the possession of his descendants reveal that he joined the P.W.D. as a cooly in 1847; and was also employed as a disbursing agent with the field force of the Army Transport Corps at Delhi from July to October 1857. Then he had been constantly employed on the Hindustan-Tibet road, and had completed 30 years of service in January 1877. His qualities of honesty and sincerity and aversion for the things of the mundane world, were highly commended by Lt. Col. David Brigs., Superintendent Engineer Bihar Circle in his letter dated Dharampore, November 6th, 1870 on the eve of his departure to England. His intuitive powers in surveying difficult cliffs and precipices without any instrument except a simple compass is simply borne out by the opinion expressed by Maj. A.M. Long, R.E. Fagu Bangalow. . . . "He has an instinctive aptitude for selecting the best line for a road across precipitous country. . . he should in my opinion, be ranked for his length of service and his unsurpassed zeal, intelligence, and special powers as a hill road maker, with any Ist class overseer of the Department." He was the first who surveyed the present Hindustan-Tibet road.

During the year 1914-15 Mr. Allan Michell, I.C.S. was the Manager of Bushahr state. He mentioned in his report on 'External Trade Report of the Shimla District 1914-15', that:

"the most extensively used route is the Shalkar-Chango route both for imports and exports. This route leaves the Hindustan-Tibet road at Kanum or Shiasu and makes a northward detour entering western Tibet somewhat to the north of the Shipki pass which is the present objective of the building of Hindustan Road. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

"The Shipki route does not appear to be as popular as was supposed for export. It is hardly used at all. This is accounted for partly by the fact that the bulk of the export trade is in May and early June before the snow on the upper Shipki pass has finally melted. There is a lower path on which the snow melts earlier but the traders say this road is bad. The importers used the Shipki route more as these come mostly in October before the winter snows have fallen. Another reason given for the unpopularity of the Shipki route in the past is the fact that uptill recently there has been no bridge over the Shiasu Gad and the change to the wire ropeway on the gad (river) interferes with the trade and the traders prefer to strike from Kanum over the hill to Sunam. The Public Works Department bridge at Shiasu has recently been completed and traders with whom the manager of Bushahr has discussed the matter are of opinion that the Shipki route will now be more popular."

"It appears, however, that the two routes Shalkar Chango and Shipki will never be merely alternative routes for getting to Gartok. They open up different areas in Tibet and the traders regard the adequate construction of both roads

as essential: The programme to be aimed at by the Public Works Department should, therefore, be as follows."

"At present the road stops at the Kirang Gad, 5 miles beyond Jangi. The road should now be continued from the Kirang Gad to Kanum 8 or 10 miles. From there the road should fork following the two main routes, viz."

(A)

1. Shiasu to Poo 10 miles (16 kms.)
2. Poo to Namgia 10 miles (16 kms.)
3. Namgia to Shipki 10 to 12 miles (16 to 19.20 kms.)

(B)

1. Shiasu to Sunam 5 miles (8 kms.)
2. Sunam to Hango 8 miles (12.80 kms.)
3. Hango to Lio 7 miles (11.20 kms.)
4. Leo to Chango 10 miles (16 kms.)
5. Chango to Changcham 8 to 10 miles (12.80 to 16 kms.)

At Changcham this route joins an existing road from Shipki into Tibet. The imports and exports on these routes were registered at the Nachar Post.

Trade with Tibet for all practical purposes has entirely been carried on by the Kinnauries. The traders have been Kinnauries, whose homes were situated between Nachar and the Tibetan border.

In 1929 Sir Edward Wakefield, ICS was deputed by the Punjab Government to look after and project the interests of the Indian traders under the Anglo-Tibetan Trade Regulations 1914. A British Trade Agency had been established at Gartok, the capital of western Tibet for this purpose. Unfortunately the two Garpons—joint Governors of the western Tibet had for some years refused the British Trade Agent facilities to carry out his duties. Represen-

tations to the Tibetan Government at Lhasa had proved ineffective and the Government of India had decided to send a British Officer to Gartok to negotiate directly with the Garpons, to survey the whole field of Indo-Tibetan trade relations and to make recommendations for the future of the trade Agency. Punjab Government, therefore, deputed Sir Edward Wakefield on this mission. He started his journey on 4th June 1929 from Shimla. He also mentions that "For the first fifteen marches, about 190 miles, I followed the mule-track, known as Hindustan-Tibet road, which started at Shimla, runs along the Satluj valley in a easterly direction as far as Poo near the Tibetan border. The track from Poo to Gartok, sixteen marches away, ran over Shipki pass."

During the medieval period Rampur, the capital of Bushahr state, situated on the right bank of Satluj river, was the central place for trade along those routes. While prior to that, the caravans travelled via Baspa valley to the Garhwal and Doon valley. The route passed through Shatool and Barando passes connecting Baspa valley with Pabbar valley (Rohru area) of lower Bushahr and Garhwal and Doon valley. Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief along with his ADCs travelled in September 1828 through Fagu, Parellee (Paralla then in Theog state), Khotekie (Kotkhai), Koopa mountain (source of the Giri river), Jubbal, Deora (capital of Jubbal), Saree (a tiny state), Rooroo (Rohru), Chergong (Chergaon, a village in Pabbar valley), Dogolee, Roole, the Shatool pass and than back to Krassoo (a village in Nawor valley of Rohru), Kushaine (in Rohru area), Kotgarh and then back to Shimla.

The two Garpons of western Tibet (Urko-Kong and Urko-Yoke) lived during the summer and winter months at Garguna. A big horse race fair called *chogdu* was held here on *Bhadrapada Purnima*, when the officials of all the

four Zongs (Governors) of western Tibet assembled. The fair lasted for four or five days. A small *mandi* was held by the Bhotias from the middle of August to the middle of September, though a few merchants used to go there. It was also the headquarters of the British Trade Agent, western Tibet in summer.

Another track which played an important part in the trade, was through Kullu and Lahaul. This route has been used from very ancient times by traders and travellers between Punjab and Ladakh and the adjoining countries. The route passed largely through the Beas river valley upto Rohtang pass to Keylang and thence to Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is possible that early Buddhist missionaries might have travelled to Kullu, Lahaul and ultimately to Ladakh on this route. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (630-643 in India) travelled on the very route upto Kullu in 635 A.D. He mentions in his account that Tathagata himself visited Kuluta to preach Dharma. Hiuen-Tsang further mentions that Emperor Ashoka built a *stupa* there.

In November 1631 A.D. two Christian missionaries, Francisco de Azevedo and John de Oliviera travelled from Leh to India via Kullu crossing Himalayan mountain passes. They were the first Europeans to travel on this route.

The famous traders-in-disguise William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, also travelled on this very route in 1820 A.D. through Lahore, Kangra, Mandi-Suket, Kullu, Lahaul to Ladakh.

After the conclusion of Anglo Sikh war, the Himalayan interiors were opened for exploration in various manners. J. Henderson in 1834-35 crossed the Baralacha pass to Leh and travelled down the Indus to Skardu, crossed the Alampi pass to the Astor river and the Burjil pass to Srinagar. Alexander Cunningham travelled

extensively as Commissioner, appointed to examine the boundaries of Maharaja Gulab Singh's dominion, including his conquest in Ladakh, with the newly acquired British territories and with Tibet. With him, in 1847 A.D. and 1848 A.D., were Henry Strachey and Dr. Thomas Thomson, Surgeon to the commission and a keen naturalist. Together they covered much of Zaskar, almost the whole of Rupshu and eastern Ladakh and much of Baltistan.

No particular attention was devoted to this route until Devices, the Secretary to the Punjab Government, in 1862, issued his Trade Report and drew attention to the advantages that might accrue from encouraging commerce on this route. Subsequently by 1863, a regular track had been laid along the Chandra river in Lahaul. For sometime afterwards there were apparently but few efforts made to improve the existing communications. But in 1865, Forsyth, Commissioner of the Jalandhar Division, reported favourably on the advisability of extending the existing road and from 1866 onwards various sums were allowed from the government funds for this purpose.

A.F.P. Harcourt, who was Assistant Commissioner of Kullu Division from April 1869 to March 1871 described this route as:

“Main Trade Route commencing at the crest of the Bubhoo, passes through Sultanpur (Kullu town of today), and winds by the left bank of the Beas upto Manalee (Manali) shortly after crossing the Solung, it ascends to Rolla and traversing the Rohtang, descends by the new road to a spot opposite to Kakbur village. It then turns up the left bank of the Chandra, and near Kaksur rest-house passes to the right shore, following the course of the river till it is joined by the Bhaga. The path now lies over this last stream, and along its right bank past

Kielung, Kolung, and Darcha to Putseo, where it changes to the left side of the river; and just beyond Zingzingbor, to the encampment at the foot of the Baralacha, again leads back to the right bank, and so ascends the pass, from thence proceeding into Ladakh by Lingtee."

"All throughout Kooloo this road is in excellent order for mule traffic, the gradients are easy and the pathway from ten to twelve feet wide; and both over the Rohtang and for various portions of the line through Lahaul, it is easily traversable by baggage animals, but as it nears the Baralacha, the path becomes lost in boulders, and speedy locomotion is impossible."<sup>2</sup>

On the Kullu-Leh trade route, Capt. H. Ramsay, the British Commissioner, Ladakh reported to the British Resident in Kashmir that—"In the autumn of 1887 the first Palampur fair was held, for the purpose of stimulating the Central Asian trade." Mr. Forsyth, in his letter to the Punjab Government reporting on the results of the fair wrote, assuming that the route between Yarkand or Khotan and the Punjab to be the only feasible one:

"We have a choice of two great lines, one from Leh through Kashmir to the plains, the other through the Lahaul, Kullu and Kangra. Undoubtedly if Kashmir were a British Province, there are certain advantages in adopting that route for the mountain passes between Leh and Srinagar which are lower than those between Lahaul and Ladakh. But even here there are counter balancing advantages on the Lahaul line and comparing the two lines as they are present to be viewed politically, there is everything in favour of the Lahaul line. British territory runs upto the Lingti river within seven marches of Leh and thus we can ensure traders from exaction so far. Consideration too may



be given to the fact of our tea district being trapped by this route, and it would make a material difference to the tea merchants whether they took their consignments direct by Kullu and Lahaul to Yarkand markets, or went by the circuitous and consequently expensive route of Kashmir."<sup>3</sup>

Shaw, the owner of a tea garden of Bhagsu of Kangra, was particularly interested in the improvement of the Kullu route. The Kullu route led to Amritsar which was even then on the line of railway. This route remained open for six months and of its marches passed through high and uninhabited region, where supplies were not available and it also crossed over four passes on way to Yarkand.

1. Taglangla Pass (5,000 metres)
2. Lachelung Pass (5,070 metres)
3. Baralacha Pass (4,897 metres)
4. Rohtang Pass (3,955 metres)

The Kullu route was originally advocated by Forsyth not because it was better than the Kashmir route but, because it enabled traders to avoid the heavy taxes levied on them in Kashmir.

In the north-west, Chamba and its division Bharmaur in the upper Ravi valley and Pangi in Chenab valley, had contact with Jammu, Basohli, Kishtwar and the main valley of Kashmir.

There has been two important traditional routes connecting Chamba with Jammu & Kashmir. One route from Chamba to Jammu passed through Bhagwantpur, Chil, Sanjip. The other, Koti-Sundla-Langera-Jammu boundary road linked Chamba with Udhampur, Jammu & Kashmir through Sundla, Salooni, Kihar, Bandal and Langera. Another track from Chamba to Udhampur passed through Gurjan, Drabla, Gilech, Chatri, Bhalun,

Kathet, Tissa, Kutehi, Jane, Quila, Alwas, and Shatrundi. One road from Kutehi branched off to Chandra, Bindraban, Kalatop, Kilar, Bajwas, Dharwas and then entered into Udampur in Jammu & Kashmir. From Dharwas one track branched off to Kanwas, Tongor, Tissa and finally proceeded to Padum in Zanskar.

One road from Pangi ran along the Chandra-Bhaga river via Bhujund, Kund, Bara, Udaipur, Trilokinath Tholong to Keylong, and further, on crossing Baralacha pass to Leh. Another road in Lahaul passed through Rakh, Benog, Ghitrar, Lal, Bharmaur, Phat, Dharoul Ghat and Kugti and after a short distance entered Lahaul.

Maj. Gen. D.J.F. Newell (Bengal, retired), Fellow of Royal Geographical Society, travelled several times in this area from 1849 to 1872. In his account of travel, he has mentioned several routes that connected Kashmir with Chamba and Lahaul.

Arthur Neve has also mentioned some important routes that connect Chamba with Jammu & Kashmir region. The stages on the route of Kishtwar are as under:

Chamba to Manjir	25.60 kms
Manjir to Bhandal	22.40 kms
Bhandal to Langera	19.20 kms
Langera to Thanala	24 kms
Thanala to Bhadarwah	11.20 kms
Bhadarwah to Joorā	24 kms
Joorā to Jangalwar	11.20 kms
Jangalwar to Kaneni	19.20 kms
Kaneni to Kishtwar	16 kms

The other important routes that connected Chamba with Jammu & Kashmir were:

1. Chamba to Jammu passing through Bathri 22.4 kms, Sandhara 32 kms, Basohli 4.20 kms, Mandpur 19.20 kms, Padu 19.20 kms, Samburti 19.20 kms,

Ranikot 19.20 kms, Mansar 16 kms and after crossing Tawi river to Jammu.

2. Chamba to Kishtwar. The stages were—Chamba, Sundla 22.4 kms, Saluni-Diur 12.8 kms, Khanga 16 kms, Makan 16 kms, Jagasar 25.6 kms, Neti 16 kms, Batoli 16 kms, Pringal 16 kms, Balesa-Jawalapur 19.20 kms, Surur 19.20 kms, Sarteli 16 kms and then Kishtwar 19.20 kms.
3. Chamba to Bhadarwah:
  1. Chamba to Sundla 24 kms
  2. Sundla to Bhandal 22.40 kms
  3. Bhandal to Langera 19.20 kms
  4. Langera to Thanala (in Kashmir territory) 25.60 kms
4. Chamba to Kashmir. The stages on the route to Srinagar in Kashmir were:

1. Chamba	—
2. Manjir	25.60 kms
3. Bhandal	22.40 kms
4. Langera	19.20 kms
5. Thanala	24 kms
6. Bhadarwah	11.20 kms
7. Kaneni	19.20 kms
8. Kaneni	19.20 kms
	(a village of same name)
9. Assar	19.20 kms
10. Batoti	19.20 kms
11. Srinagar	158.40 kms
	<u>342.40 kms</u>

There is another route from Chamba to Srinagar via Kishtwar. The stages were as follows:

- |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Chamba | —         |
| 2. Pukhri | 12.80 kms |

3. Sundla	11.20 kms
4. Bhandal	22.40 kms
5. Langera	19.20 kms
6. Thanala	24 kms
(The state of frontier was at Kundi, Manal)	
7. Bhadarwah	11.20 kms
8. Chinla	6.40 kms
9. Jaura	19.20 kms
10. Jangalwar	11.20 kms
11. Kaneni	19.20 kms
12. Kishtwar	19.20 kms
13. Mughal Maidan	17.60 kms
14. Tsingam	17.60 kms
15. Sinthan	11.20 kms
16. Doosoo	22.40 kms
17. Islamabad	35.20 kms
18. Srinagar	70.40 kms

Shimla remained the summer capital of the British Government of India and the Punjab Government. It was a district headquarters of Deputy Commissioner of Shimla and also of the Superintendent of Shimla Hill States and after 1936, of the Political Agent of Simla Hill States. People like businessmen, traders, travellers, foreign and Indian Government officials, nobles and princes frequently visited this trading centre and a metropolitan hill city. Situated on the famous Hindustan-Tibet road, it has remained well connected by numerous routes and roads with western Tibet, Ladakh and Kashmir. Shimla has remained a focal point since its birth because not less than sixty-three routes, directly or indirectly converged at this place. Some of the important roads that have taken off from Shimla since the Britishers are as follow:

1. The Hindustan-Tibet Road, the most important one, has already been discussed.

2. The second route from Shimla to Leh was via Kullu and Lahaul. It branches off from the Hindustan-Tibet road at Kumharsain and diverted to Dalash in Kullu and reached Manglor via Chawoi, Kot and Jibi. From here it joined the Kullu-Leh road, which has already been discussed.

Arthur Neve of the Kashmir Medical Mission has also given a list of stages on another route from Shimla to Leh via Spiti.

1. Shimla	—
2. Wangtu	193.60 kms
3. Dankar (in Spiti)	129.60 kms
4. Kaza	25.60 kms
5. Khyibar	19.20 kms
6. Jughtha	19.20 kms
7. Dutung	16 kms
8. Umdung	27.20 kms
9. Norbu Sumdo	32 kms
10. Kyangdom	17.60 kms
11. Kazarak	20.80 kms
12. Puga	27.20 kms
13. Thail	40 kms
14. Debring	22.40 kms
15. Gya	22.60 kms
16. Upshi	19.20 kms
17. Machalong	19.20 kms
18. Chushot	19.20 kms
19. Leh	16 kms
Total	<u>688 kms</u>

3. Shimla was also connected with the other two or three different routes with Kashmir. One ancient route was via Bajaura (11 marches) and Baijnath (16 marches) to Chamba (24 marches) thence as mentioned in route

between Chamba and Kashmir through Kishtwar or Bhadarwah.

4. Another road was via Bahaura (11 marches) upto the Kullu valley, across the Rohtang pass (16 marches) into Lahaul down the Chenab through Pangi and Padar to Kishtwar, 30 marches from Shimla. Thence to

1. Paloti	24 kms
2. Asan	22.60 kms
3. Kullen	25.60 kms
4. Bheli	16 kms
5. Jangalwar	22.40 kms
6. Kaneni	20.80 kms
7. Kishtwar	24.00 kms
8. Mughal Maidan	17.60 kms
9. Tsingam	17.60 kms
10. Simtha	11.20 kms
11. Doosoo	22.40 kms
12. Islamabad	35.20 kms
13. Srinagar	70.40 kms

5. There was another route from Shimla to Srinagar (Kashmir) which passed through Kangra and Chamba. The stages were as under:

1. Shimla	—
2. Sairi	16 kms
3. Sahiki Hatli	32 kms
4. Bilaspur	34.40 kms
5. Kumharhatti	14.40 kms
6. Dangash	12.80 kms
7. Hamirpur	25.60 kms
8. Nadaun	23.20 kms
9. Jwalamukhi	10.40 kms
10. Ranital	18.40 kms
11. Kangra	14.40 kms
12. Rilloo Hutli	20.80 kms

13. Sihanta	19.20 kms
14. Rapir	14.40 kms
15. Chauri	11.20 kms
16. Raseri	22.40 kms
17. Chamba	9.60 kms
18. Manieri	25.60 kms
19. Digi	17.60 kms
20. Bungul	17.60 kms
21. Mur (Camp)	16 kms
22. Bhadarwah	19.20 kms
23. Kaleh	17.60 kms
24. Doda	16 kms
25. Bhagwan	11.20 kms
26. Ganji	14.40 kms
27. Camp	11.20 kms
28. Chaon	20.80 kms
29. Vernag	16 kms
30. Srinagar	83.20 kms

There were routes from Lahaul to Kashmir, which passed through Zanskar and also Palampur to Leh through several routes which connected Punjab and the Shimla hill states with Tibet, Ladakh, Zanskar, Baltistan, Kashmir, Srinagar and Jammu region for trade and other commercial purposes.

The southern trade of the hill states with the markets in the Indian mainland was mostly confined to the markets in Punjab and Eastern United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). The main marts were Lahore, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Pathankot, Sarhind, Sirsa, Ambala, Jagadhri etc. Mostly the traders from Chamba, Kangra, Mandi, Kullu and Bilaspur traded in Punjab whereas traders from the Shimla hills and Sirmaur used the trade marts of Ambala, Jagadhri, Yamunanagar, Saharanpur and Dehradun.

As the ordinary routes of travel through the plains

had been unsafe during the medieval times, merchants and other travellers proceeding to Kashmir and the north-west frontier areas adopted a route which passed through the outer hills near Nahan and passed through Bilaspur, Nadaun, Haripur (Guler) and Nurpur to Basohli on the Ravi and thence to Jammu. That has been, in fact, an ancient trade-route but, it probably fell in disuse during the settled times of the Mughal rule.

The traders from the eastern Shimla hill states have been travelling to Haridwar, Jagadhri, Saharanpur and other trade-centres of the eastern Uttar Pradesh through the Pabbar and Tons river valley routes passing through Rohru, Hatkoti, Arakot, Tuini, Dakpathar, Minus and then to Dehradun and Haridwar. There was another road which started from Shimla and passed through Fagu, Sainj, Chopal, Tikri, Maindrot, Katiyan, Kinanipani and Chakrata. This route was known as the Shimla-Chakrata road. Traders from Sirmaur used the Poanta-Dehradun road also called Doon road, for trade in Uttar Pradesh and the Nahan-Kala Amb-Ambala road for trade with eastern Punjab trade-marts.

Trade routes from Lahaul to Hoshiarpur passed through Manali and Mandi. This was the shortest route to any railway head in the plains. There was also mule and camel transport on the route between Mandi and Hoshiarpur. Labanas with their bullocks and Kumhars with their mules have been the chief transporters. The camel traffic along the Hoshiarpur road was also considerable even in the cold weather, and generally there was no lack of transport and the *ekkas* ran regularly from Una to Hoshiarpur. The stages from Mandi were as follows:

1. Galma	17.60 kms
2. Bhamla	20.80 kms
3. Aghar	25.60 kms
4. Barsar	20.80 kms



5. Una	30.40 kms
6. Jaijon or Bankhandi	19.20 kms
7. Hoshiarpur	19.20 kms

The routes from Mandi to Ropar and thence to Doraha railway station was 109 miles (174.40 kms.) and usually used by the pilgrims to Haridwar.

There has been a route between Pir Nigaha on the Hoshiarpur boundary and Sirkhand on the borders of the Mandi territory, a distance of 41 miles (65.60 kms.). It extended from Mandi across the Dulchi pass to Bajaura in Kullu. This route suited the conveyance of traffic on mules and camels and of passengers on *ekkas*.

There were regular routes from Dharmsala to Hoshiarpur which passed through Kangra, Ranital, Gopipur, Dehra and Bharwain. Similarly a route from Dharmsala to Gurdaspur passed through Shahpur, Kotla, Nurpur and Pathankot, Communications on the road from Pathankot to Dharmsala was slightly interrupted in the rains by the swelling of Chakki torrent, which was unbridged. A narrow gauge railway line was laid between Pathankot and Jogindernagar in Mandi state. This proved to be a boon for the traders of this region.

Chamba and upper Ravi valley region was connected with the Punjab plains by three different routes. Those routes converged at Pathankot, which was the broad-gauge railhead. They were known as the Banikeht road, the Shahpur road and Chuari or Nurpur road. Nurpur-Chuari-Chamba road has been the ancient line of communication between the plains and Chamba hills. In olden times the principal and in fact, the sole mode of communication was the road, with crossing of rivers and streams on inflated skins and rafts. And on the road, it were mostly the ponies and the mule, which constituted the mode of transport. Vehicular conveyance being confined only to the stretch of road between Banikhet

and Chamba proper, about 30 miles in length. Mostly the people travelled on foot and merchandise were carried on mules, sheep and goats.

### **Internal Trade Routes**

None of the hill states of the colonial period of this region was economically self-sufficient and viable. Not much attention was paid to the road construction and communication by the local rulers because they had neither the resources nor the will to develop communication. Yet those states were well connected by the age-old hill tracks and bridle paths maintained by the village folks and merchandise were generally carried on these paths on human back or by sheep and goats. Where paths were little wider, mules, hill ponies and donkeys were used. On the hill torrents and streams improvised rope bridges were built or those were simply crossed on inflated skins on rafts. At that time there were very few wooden bridges.

Many rulers took keen interest in the construction of roads and trade-routes, passes, wooden bridges on the rivers and halting places at different stages. After the



Traditional timber transport method

Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, the hill area between Satluj and Ravi came under the control of British. They returned the area of Suket, Mandi and Chamba to their rightful owners and retained the hill areas of Kangra, Kullu, Lahaul and Spiti. The condition of construction and maintenance of roads and free passage to the British merchants and their goods was also imposed on the rulers of those states. As for Kangra and Kullu, Government took keen interest in the construction of roads and routes as it knew well their importance.

On the east, Sirmaur was the largest state with its capital at Nahan. Nahan was also an important trade-centre for local people as well as for the traders of adjoining areas of the plains. All roads and routes to the interiors of the state off took from there. The important routes in Sirmaur state have been as follows:

Nahan-Subathu-Shimla road has been an ancient trade-route in the interiors. Capt. Godfrey Charles Mundy and Major Archer accompanied Lord Viscount Combermere on this road to the interior of the hills in 1828 A.D. The road was tolerably wide but steep for loaded camels and elephants. Capt. Mundy mentions that the road was built in proper condition by the Raja of Nahan. He observes that it was remarkably well constructed; and though in several precipitous points it had been found necessary to support it with masonry, it was rarely narrower than 8 feet. He mentions, "I found my goonth, mountain-pony, rather too small and weak for the steep roads and long marches, but my mule, which bears not half its appearance of strength, carried me extremely well." The stages from Nahan to Shimla mentioned by Capt. Mundy were:

1. Nahan
2. Bennett (Bungalow)
3. Suran (Sarahan)
4. Bhole

5. Subathu
6. Sahree 20.80 kms from Subathu
7. Shimla

A French traveller Victor Jacquemont also travelled in 1829-30 from Nahan to Shimla and then to Rohru and Kinnaur, and in 1838 Lord Auckland, the Governor-General also travelled on this route from Nahan to Shimla. It appears that in those early days of 19th century there were two or three routes which connected this part of the hill country with Nahan and beyond with Poanta, Dehradun and Haridwar.

Another Shimla-Nahan road took off from Fagu through Keonthal state to Bhojal. Thence to Chalha in Jubbal and on the Kalabag near the crest of Chaur Mountain. The stages on this road were Tirri, Lana-Cheta (famous for iron mines), Annum, Ponyal, Mahipur.

Other important internal roads were:

1. Nahan to Rainka road—16 miles (25.60 kms.).
2. Nahan-Rampur road. This road between Nahan and Rampur Ghat has been in an excellent condition.

The main roads of Shimla hills were those which started from Kalka to Shimla and from Shimla onwards to Rampur and Chini (now Kalpa). Only a small portion, however, of those routes ran in the British territory. There were two roads from Kalka to Shimla.

1. The old road was via Kasauli and Subathu and was possible only by foot, horse, mule, pony etc. It was not intended for wheeled conveyance. The distance from Kalka to Shimla was 41 miles on that route. The stages were:

- |            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. Kalka   | —         |
| 2. Kasauli | 14.40 kms |

- |              |           |
|--------------|-----------|
| 3. Kandaghat | 17.60 kms |
| 4. Sairi     | 17.60 kms |
| 5. Shimla    | 16 kms    |
2. The new cart road, which passed from Kalka to Shimla, was 57½ miles. The important stages on it were:
- |               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| 1. Dharmpur   | 24 kms    |
| 2. Solan      | 19.20 kms |
| 3. Kiari Ghat | 23.30 kms |
| 4. Shimla     | 25.60 kms |

The road to the hill stations of Kasauli, Subathu and Dagshai branch off from the Kalka-Shimla road. The famous Dyer and Co. brewery at Solan is situated on this road.

In Bilaspur the main trade-routes were the two bridle paths in the feudal past, one coming from Ropar in Punjab and passing through Swarghat, Bilaspur and ultimately leaving to Suket and Mandi, and the other came from Nadaun in Hamirpur and ran via Bilaspur to Shimla. Both those routes converged at Bilaspur and contributed to some extent to its trade and prosperity. George Foster (1783), William Moorcroft and George Trebeck (1820) G.T. Vigne (1835, 1839), Baron Hugel (1835) were among some of the foreign travellers who pursued their journeys through those older routes. Those routes were mostly fit for pedestrians and pack animals like mules etc.

It appears that during the British times the attention of the rulers was drawn primarily towards the development and maintenance of roads and routes in their territory at the British intervention. As a result, road transport was reasonably developed, as would appear from an account contained in the *Gazetteer of Bilaspur* of 1911 which runs as follows:

“Much has been done of late years to improve communications and there are now 104 miles of road in the state fit for camel transport.” Details of these are as follows:

1. Dehra to Namhol	20.80 kms
2. Dehra to Swarghat	41.60 kms
3. Bilaspur to Nawal	20.80 kms
4. Rajpura to Bhajun	11.20 kms
5. Brahampukhar to Jhanda	3.20 kms
6. Bilaspur to Hari-Tilianger	33.60 kms
21 miles Hoshiarpur and Kangra beyond to	
7. Auhar to Talai	27.20 kms
8. Naina Devi to Bijainagar	8 kms

The Settlement Report of Bilaspur, 1933, mentions about ten routes which connected the twelve *Parganas* of Bilaspur state.

On the Naina Devi-Anandpur road further improvements were effected as the main lines of communication. The Swarghat-Nalagarh road and the Bilaspur-Ghumarwin road were also improved.

There has also been a road from Shimla to Bilaspur and then branching out to Suket and Mandi on one side and to Nadaun and Kangra on the other.

The Shimla-Masuri road branched off from Shimla-Rampur road at about 12 miles (19.20 kms.) from Shimla at Fagu and passed to the north of the Chaur mountain continuing eastwards via Chaupal to the valley of Tons.

One road branched off from the Hindustan-Tibet road at Theog. This road passed through Kotkhai, Jubbal Hatkoti to Rohru. From Hatkoti, one road branched off to Arakot. Tuini and then to Chakrata, Dehradun and Haridwar.

Another road from Shimla passed through Mashobra, Naldehra, Suni to Karsog and then to Sundernagar and Mandi. Because of the famous trade-fair Lavi, Loi-Jeth

and Dhal of Rampur Bushahr, it was connected with internal trade-routes and roads with Kinnaur, Rohru and other neighbouring states. Jubbal was also of considerable size and importance. Its capital was Deorah which was connected with Chaupal area by all-weather road. It was also connected with Rohru, Tuini, Chakrata, Minus and Dakpathar.

Other small states like Keonthal, Theog, Madhan, Kotgarh, Delath were situated on the old Hindustan-Tibet road and similarly Ghund, Balsan, Kotkhari, Khaneti, Jubbal, Rawingarh, Dhadi etc. were located on the old Shimla-Theog-Jubbal-Tuini route. This road was commonly used by traders and travellers.

A road from the Hindustan Tibet road branched off at Fagu to Dhamandri (in Theog), Sainj, Parala, Deha (in Balsan state) to Chaupal and then to Sarahan (in Chaupal tehsil) and ultimately to Sirmaur. Natives as well as traders from the plains used to trade in opium, herbs, *ghi*, skins, honey, timber etc. through this inner riverine route to take their merchandise from one place to the other.

In the mid 20th century there were four main roads in the princely state of Nalagarh. These were:

1. A road from Nalagarh to Bilaspur, Suket, Mandi and Kullu with halting stage and rest house at Kundlu, 13 miles (20.80 kms.) from Nalagarh.
2. From Nalagarh to Ropar, 14 miles (22.40 kms.).
3. From Nalagarh to Baddi, 10 miles (16 kms.) where a halting stage and rest house existed. From Baddi the road continued through Patiala state territory to Kalka.
4. From Baddi to Patta in Mahlog state, and thence to Shimla via Kakarhatti and the old Kalka-Shimla road. The first three were fit for country carts. Baddi-Patta road was rough and only fit for mule traffic.

Mandi, on the left bank of the Beas, has been one of the largest states of the Punjab hills. It has been an ancient trading centre. All trade-routes to the interior of the state and to Kangra, Kullu, Bilaspur and Hamirpur took off from here.

There were three main routes—(1) Mandi-Palampur-Puthan; (2) Mandi to Kullu over the Dulchi Pass; and (3) Mandi to Hoshiarpur through the Balh and southern portion of the Sarkaghat tehsil. The trade along each of those three routes was considerable. The wheeled traffic was possible only on the first, but was practically non-existent. On others, Labanas with their bullocks and Kumhars with their mules were the chief transporters of goods. The camel traffic along the Hoshiarpur road was also considerable in the cold weather, and generally there was no lack of routes fit for mule traffic in the state viz., Mandi to Pandoh; Mandi to Saraj and thence to Rampur Bushahr; the Shimla road via Suket; the Jhungi-Kullu road over the Bhabu pass; and the Mandi-Riwalsar road. There were numerous bridle and foot paths which had ready access to the outlying villages, but along those paths goods had to be carried manually.

Yet another route from Mandi to Shimla was that through Kullu, and to the leisured traveller this was the most attractive of all.

The important routes that connected Kullu with adjoining areas of Mandi, Kangra, Lahaul and Shimla hill states were Pathankot-Mandi-Kullu route, Shimla-Fagu-Dalash-Kullu route, and Rhala-Manali-Chawoi-Dalash-Shimla route.

Kullu was connected with Rampur Bushahr which was the capital of Bushahr state and important centre of wool trade. The stages on that route to Rampur were as under:

1. Sultanpur to Manglaur 45.60 kms
2. Manglaur to Bathad 27.20 kms



3. Bathad to Sarahan (in Kullu) 16 kms
4. Sarahan to Arsu 12.80 kms
5. Arsu to Jagat Khanna 12.80 kms
6. Jagat Khanna to Rampur.

All the above routes were practicable for mules. The main trade-route to and through Lahaul started from Rohtang pass. It was the only road in Lahaul worthy of the name. The others were mere footpaths and were possible for both mules and horses.

The other routes of the region were:

1. Route to Chamba and Pangti.
2. Direct route from Dharmsala via Kukti pass.
3. Between Lahaul and Bara Bhanghal.
4. Route to Spiti via Hamta pass and Lahaul.
5. Route to Spiti via Baralacha pass.

The main route or path through Spiti valley crossed the Spiti river at Losar from the right to the left bank. There was a *jhula* for foot-passengers and a ford for animals. The path was practicable throughout for the hill ponies.

It will be seen from the above discussion that to get to Spiti from Kullu one was required to go through Bushahr territory and over the Bhaba, or cross Hamta or Rohtang passes into the valley of Chamba in Lahaul and thence over the Kunjam pass into Spiti. Both routes were ordinarily closed by heavy snow from October till late May. The bridges on this trade-route over the torrents in Spiti were rare. The travellers, were required to ford the icy waters.

The principal roads and routes of the Kangra region, together with the halting places on them were:

*From Dharmsala to Hoshiarpur*

From Dharmsala, Kangra was 17.80 kms. From there

the next post was Ranital 19.20 kms. The third station Dehra was 20.80 kms. From Dehra Bharwain across the Beas was 17.80 kms. Last station was Hoshiarpur which was an important trade market at the foot of the Kangra hills.

*From Dharmsala to Shimla via Hamirpur and Kumharhatti*

1. Kangra	17.60 kms
2. Ranital	19.20 kms
3. Jwalamukhi	18.40 kms
4. Nadaun	10.40 kms
5. Hamirpur	22.80 kms
6. Mahr-Ki-Hatti	15.60 kms
7. Kumharhatti	19.20 kms

Chamba state was the most north-western state of the Punjab Hill States group. Its capital Chamba, situated on the right bank of Ravi river was an ancient town. It was an important centre of trade and commerce of this region. All roads, routes and paths coming from the southern area like Pathankot, Silakot, Nurpur, Dalhousie, Kangra and even from Jammu and also from the northern interiors of the state, all converged at Chamba.

The routes in Chamba were best described by Lt. Col. J.B. Hutchison in 'Guide to Dalhousie, the Chamba State, and the Neighbouring Hills' in 1869-70. This guide was again revised by H.A. Rose, Assistant Commissioner and J. Hutchison. The details given by them are reproduced here in original to give a better picture of the routes in the state during the 19th and early 20th century.

*Pathankot to Chamba via Sindhara*

This was an ancient line of communication with the plains, dating probably from very early times. After touching the Ravi at Shahpur, it followed the left bank of

that river, passes Phangota (19.20 kms.) and entered Chamba at Kairi. From Sindhara (16 kms.) it ascended the Gaggidhar ridge, north of Dalhousie, and was connected by a branch from Banikhet with the Dalhousie road. After sinking into Bathri valley (19.20 kms.) it rises again to cross the Chil spur, and descended to the Ravi at Udaipur, and ran up its left bank to the suspension bridge 24 kms. which was 91.20 kms. from Pathankot. The road was much used in winters, but the road was rough, and at places dangerous for laden animals. This was an important trade-route between Chamba hill and Punjab plains.

*Chamba to Kashmir via Kishtwar*

*Bhadarwah Road:* This road ran down the right bank of the Ravi to Kiyani and across to Pukhri, (12.80 kms.) from Chamba descended to the Kothi bridge over the Nala and Sundla (22.40 kms.). It then rose to Saluni, on the Prithvi Jor ridge, which divided the upper from the lower part of the Siul river, and gradually descended to the Pala bridge and crossed to Kihar, ran on to Bhandal (24 kms.). The whole of this road from Sundla, near the Kothi bridge to Bhandal was new.

The old road from Sundla followed the right bank of the Siul to Manjir, rose to Saluni and descended to cross the Siul at the Kalor bridge, rejoined the new road at Pala bridge. From Bhandal the old road followed the left bank of the Siul to Langera (19.20 kms.) and was very rough at places. Then it ascended the Padri pass 10,000 feet and descended rapidly to Tranala in Bhadarwah (25.60 kms.). The state frontier was at Kundi Maral, 8 kms. from Langera, where the road enters Jammu territory.

The Bhadarwah road was good, with easy gradients as far as Bhandal, and pack animals were able to go all the way to Langera. Ponies went through Bhadarwah, but parts

of the road on the Padari pass were rough and somewhat unsafe for animals. The descent to Thanala was very steep.

The road then ascended to China (6.40 kms.) and the top of the Jaura ridge, along which it ran to Jaura (19.20 kms.). Extensive views were obtained of the Chenab valley. From Jaura there was a rapid descent to Jangalwar (16 kms.) near the Chenab. The road then ran up the left bank of the Chenab to Kandani (19.20 kms.) and Kishtwar (19.20 kms.) and fairly level and good all the way. The same coolies used to be taken from Jangalwar to Kishtwar as they were difficult to obtain at Kandani without previous notice to the Tehsildar of Kishtwar.

The stages via the Sinthan pass were—Chatru (25.60 kms.), Simthan (20.80 kms.), Dusu (22.90 kms.), Achibal (24 kms.), Islamabad (11.20 kms.). The road crossed the Simthan pass, 12,300 feet and was good all the way. The road from Chatru to Islamabad via the Marbal pass, 11,550 feet, was little used.

The above account reveals that there has been a very intimate relationship between trade, trade-routes and politics. It throws light on the socio-economic and political conditions in the Punjab hill states and adjoining regions during the medieval and colonial period. After the expulsion of Gurkhas from the hills the Britishers brought peace to the area and took keen interest in the hill trade. They impressed upon hill chiefs to maintain trade-routes, which passed through their territories. The ancient trade-route in the Satluj was widened and maintained. It came to be known as the Hindustan-Tibet road which connected Punjab plains to Shipki pass and beyond that to Gartok, the wool-marts of western Tibet. Similarly after the first Sikh war of 1845-46 when Punjab hills between Satluj and Ravi rivers came under the control of British Government, they paid great attention to the trade-route that ran through Mandi, Kullu and Lahaul & Spiti to Leh, the

capital of Ladakh, and other important trade-centres. In the north-west, the trade-routes connecting Kangra and Chamba regions with Jammu & Kashmir became more popular. Many Kashmiris migrated to Chamba, Nurpur, Amritsar and Ludhiana and started wool and wool-shawl manufacturing industries at those places.

The routes connecting these hills with the Indian plains were being frequented from time immemorial by the pilgrims, adventurers, peace-seekers and traders. With those traders and merchants, the religion and culture of the mainland also travelled to other countries like Tibet, China, Yarkand, Central Asia and products of those distant lands inflowed to Indian plains through those hilly valleys and high altitude passes. The traditional trade-routes of Himachal Pradesh have not only been the lifelines of the hill economy but also the umbilical chord for the international trade between the Indian mainland and Central Asia.

#### REFERENCES

1. *Report on Administration of Bushahr State for the year Samvat, 1971 (1914-15)*, Simla, p. 17.
2. A.F.P. Harcourt, *Himalayan District of Kooloo, Lohoul and Spiti*, Delhi, reprint, 1972, p. 15.
3. Foreign Department Secret F. No. 167-187, D.J.F. Newell. *High Lands of India*, Vol. I, London, 1882, p. 53.

## **Commodities of Trade**

To trade by exchange of commodities for another commodities is known in general parlance as barter. The trade and commerce as it has existed till the colonial past in the hill states, was mainly based on the barter system so far as the internal dealings between different traders in the hills were concerned. Complementary to the barter system of trade, there had been an age-old system of inter-family dealings between different communities irrespective of cost distinction. That institution has survived innumerable vicissitudes of times as an integral part of the traditional social set-up for the inherent quality of the mutual benefit vouchsafed in it. It has been the traditionally sanctified symbiotic system on which the local socio-economic set-up has been subsisting. Under this system, the people have been mutually exchanging the commodities surplus with them for their own bonafide use, and not for being traded away.

In fact, until the establishment of colonial administrative set up, very little trade and commerce in the modern sense of term existed in most of the hill states. The town of Rampur in Bushahr state had been a flourishing trade-centre due to its location of the age-old inter-nation trunk-route. This town also served as an entrepot. Not only within India and the neighbouring countries did it have trade relations but with China, Russia and Yarkand also as is mentioned in the report of 1824. It states:

“A few articles of Russian manufacture find their way to our frontier. The chief are felts, beads, corals, amber, clothes and leather.

Tea from China and bars of silver stamped by authority, from Yarkand, toys from Russia, may occasionally be had at the Rampoor fairs, mandarin chopsticks, cups and saucers very costly silks, satins of very beautiful patterns and texture come also to the same fair.

Gold coins of Belgium and Russia are occasionally seen in the Subathu bazaar and the purity of the gold is highly esteemed.”<sup>1</sup>

The region of Kinnaur in Bushahr state bordering on Tibet also had a flourishing tradition of trade. “In Kunawar the people chiefly subsist by trade. . . . The prosperity of Bushahr mainly depends upon this trade.” In the past Kinnaura traders used to trade not only with the nearby Tibet and Ladakh, but they also used to visit far off places like Central Tibet, Yarkand, Kashmir, Lahore, Delhi, Calcutta, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. James Baillie Fraser remarked about them in 1814 that, “Indeed they are almost exclusively the commercial couriers between Hindustan and Tartary as also been Tartary and Kashmir, frequenting the route from Leh in Ladakh to Lhasa and Dagrucha and Nepal on trading speculations.”<sup>2</sup> In fact, the prosperity of these people has been mainly due to their enterprising nature in trade.

Woollen cloth, shawls and *pashmina* shawls were manufactured in cottage industries through the Bushahr state and especially in Kinnaur. According to Thomas Thomson, “The Rampur town has a good deal of trade with Tibet, principally in shawl-wool and is the seat of a small manufacture of white soft shawl cloth.”

Mandi town was a busy centre for trade with the other hill states. That trade was based upon the considerable surplus produce of the state itself. Due to the opening up

of Una-Manali Road, Mandi became an important rendezvous-point for traders from all sides.

Secondly, Mandi lay upon the trade-route between Central Asia and the plains. This trade-route passed through Sultanpur in Kullu and consequently the town of Sultanpur too emerged as an important trade-mart.

“Through Kullu and Lahaul all Indian markets have always demanded salt, wool, borax, to say nothing of the more precious merchandise of Central Asia. The hungry Tibetians would still risk much to get the wheat of the plains and the incomparable barley of Lahaul.”<sup>3</sup>

Woollen cloths were also woven in Kullu, Lahaul and Spiti and the best blankets were produced in Saraj and Wazeeri Rupi. Woollen fabric of Spiti was superior and was exported. Spiti also had trade with Tibet.

Kangra had export trade in tea and rice which it produced in the slopes of Dhauladhar and in the terraced rice-fields. The Kangra tea was sold at Amritsar from where it was sent to Kashmir, Afghanistan and Central Asia. A considerable trans-frontier trade was carried on between Kangra and Ladakh and Yarkand. For that purpose, a registration station existed at Sultanpur in the Kullu valley. Much business was also done at the annual fairs at Kangra and Jwalamukhi. To encourage trade, in 1868 the Government of Punjab started a fair at Palampur, with a view to fostering trade with Central Asia, but it did not prove favourable and was discontinued in 1879, when it had dwindled merely to a local gathering. Palampur in Kangra had been a serving trading centre with Central Asia for some time. Palampur also served as an entrepot.

Shimla has been attracting a stream of trade almost from every part of India as well as outside India. It was an important entrepot. A considerable foreign trade was registered through Shimla. According to a report:



“A clerk for the registration of foreign trade with India is posted at Wangtu on the Sutlej, not far from Kotguru. The bulk of the traffic registered is carried on with Chinese Tibet and consist of imports of borax, salt and wool. In 1882-83 the value of imports from Chinese Tibet was Rs. 1,77,102; the export trade has always been insignificant; in 1882-83 it was valued at Rs. 15,296; the most important articles of export is cotton piece goods. Trade with Yarkand and Ladakh is also registered at this post, but this trade is of insignificant proportions; in 1882-83 it was valued at imports Rs. 14,020; exports Rs.9,343.”<sup>4</sup>

The trade and commerce has mostly depended upon availability of surplus commodities after the local needs had been met. Deficit commodities had to be imported in order to meet the needs of the local people. All those factors have remained related to agricultural produce and other items of trade including minerals, industrial production of local craft objects etc. The living standard of the hill people has not been extravagant but very down-to-earth and depended on their own resources. Agriculture had not been very developed in the mountainous topography of the region and irrigation possible only in the broad valleys from the torrents and *nullahs* in the low-lying areas. Poppy cultivation had been carried out in the hills and this yielded considerable quantities of opium. Ginger, chillies, turmeric etc. were also produced. Medicinal herbs had been in plenty throughout the hills from the Siwalik states to the trans-Himalayan heights. The hill tracts produced enough to meet the local requirements of food to some extent, but nothing to sell off. Sub-mountainous and Dun area, of course, exported a little surplus produce to outside market. The supply of grains to the interiors of the hills and military stations

had to be imported from the plains. Whatever forest produce was extracted in the form of timber was exported by hauling them down the river. Sugarcane crusher units and related appliance made at Nahan were also exported. Some interesting observations regarding trade and commerce of the region have been made by European travellers. It might be worthwhile to quote them. In the words of Fraser:

“The direct commerce of Bischur with other hill states and with the plains is very limited, chiefly consisting of imports of sugar, clothes, small quantities of iron work, brass utensils, little tobacco, musk, bhang, turmeric, which is much esteemed, and the articles which pass through the hills from Bootan. The exports of Bootan and Garha, are, corn to the nearer and barren parts, ghee from Kunawur, iron, opium, tobacco and wooden cups for tea; and from the plains it becomes a thoroughfare for all the common articles of produce and manufacture as sugar, sugarcandy, clothes both coarse and fine, indigo, etc. The returns are almost entirely wool, both shawl and common, of a fine quality. Salt, as much tea as they can afford, with a little fine Chinese cloth, some musk borax etc., are brought to exchange for low country commodities at Rampur.”

“Kunawur sends little to Ludhak besides ghee.”<sup>5</sup>

Equally interesting are the observations of another traveller, Gerard who passed through the area during 1841:

“Almost all the trade is conducted by barter. The Koonawurees take to Ludak, Kharwa or strong red cotton clothes, white cotton cloth and chintzes of various sorts both coarse and fine, a little broad cloth, a few silks, gongs or

large circular metallic instruments struck with a hammer and used by Lamas in their devotions, iron both wrought and unwrought from Nawur and Koot Laha or Bushehr, Tutenang or Spelter and lead from Sirmour and Junsan, copper and brass pots, matchlocks, straight swords, sabres, shields, bows and arrows, knives, scissors, spectacles, looking glasses, sunkhs or sacred shells used by the Hindus and Lamas in their religious ceremonies, crystals, precious stones, sandalwood, porwa or vessels of juniper-wood made at Soongnum and Ropa, in Koonawur, and much resembling scotch cogs, other skins, called 'Oetur', indigo, oil, ghee, or boiled butter, opium, tobacco, rice, wheat, barley, walnuts, apples, raisins, almonds, shungtee or neoza, the seed of a pine, peculiar to Koonawur and other mountainous districts, where there is no periodical rainy season, and in taste similar to the pistachio nut, cloves, cinnamon, nutmegs, cardamoms, misree, goorh, cheenee and shukur, four different kinds of sugar, sheep and goats and Rakh, a spiritous liquor, distilled from the grape in Koonawur."

"The Koonawurees bring back, kesur or saffron, produced chiefly in the hill state of Kooshtwar, N.W. of the river Sutlej, coarse shawls manufactured in Ludak, numdas, or felts, dochuks, or ingots of silver, soom, a kind of blanket dyed red and blue thermas, goodmas, punkhees and pushmeenass, four sorts of woollen stuffs, the latter of shawl wool, bulghar, or bulkhal or skins of red Russian leather, tincal and borax."

"The Koonawurees take to Garoo the same things as Leh, with the exception of goats and sheep, which are abundant in that country."

"In exchange they bring back, much rock salt which is dug out of the lakes, Beangee and shawl wool, the produce of the Tartar sheep

and goats, gold dust, tea and borax, Nirbissi or Zedoary, a few shawl goats and Beangee sheep, and large Tartar dogs of a very ferocious breed, which guard their flocks from panthers, leopards and other wild beasts, and are excellent watch dogs for preventing bears from committing ravages amongst the vineyards.”<sup>6</sup>

In brief borax, wool, *pasham*, *charas* etc. were imported from Tibet and Ladakh and Yarkand. Woollen fabrics and shawls were exported to British India. The export and import to the plains was through the adjoining foothill towns, located in the British territories adjoining the hills and in the Punjab plains. Grains were exported to Churpur in Dehradun district of Uttar Pradesh from Sirmaur. The imports of foreign goods, vessels of brass and other metals, silver, gold etc. was done from or through these places in British territory.

Pathankot as the rail-head, was the depot for all trade to and fro the hills, and a very considerable volume of both outward and inward traffic passed through this place, supplies of all kinds were imported for the troops and civil population at Dalhousie, Bakloh, Dharmsala etc. and in the summer, especially the road traffic to and fro plains was very heavy.

## IMPORTS

Imports to the interiors of Himachal Pradesh firstly included commodities imported from outside the region to meet the local requirements. Secondly, the commodities which were surplus in one part of the hill area were imported by another part to meet the domestic requirements. In the third category were those articles which were imported for consumption by troops stationed in the area. Lastly, goods imported from outside i.e., from

foreign countries and British territories and re-exported either entirely or in part, after meeting the local requirements.

### *Cloth*

Cloth has been the basic necessity of the people. Mostly it was imported from different places in the plains. Cloth was imported from Ropar, Kalka, Ludhiana, Rahon, Jagadhri, Bilaspur (in Ambala), Hoshiarpur, Shahpur and Pathankot to cater to the demands of the people in different princely states by the traders. Country cotton cloth was mostly imported to Kangra from Jalandhar district. *Khaddar* was also imported to Kangra hills from Batala. There were 150 looms at Batala and at one time much *khaddar* was exported to Kangra hills. It is however, significant that coarse cotton cloth called *mota-khaddar* was woven by the village *Julahas* in the Siwalik foothills for the consumption of their patrons.

### *Metal Wares*

The requirement of metal wares was mostly met from Ropar, Anandpur, Kalka, Delhi, Amritsar and Jalandhar. These also included foreign piece of goods, metal wares. Gold and silver ornaments were imported from Amritsar and Hoshiarpur market. Iron articles from the plains were also exchanged at the Rampur fair for woollens, opium and iron ore. Major Coldstream writes: "there is a good deal of iron smelting carried in the Paragana of Kotkhai. Metal working generally is crude and elementary."<sup>7</sup>

### *Salt*

Salt, one of the most important item, was imported through the plains. Mandi rock-salt met the domestic requirements of the adjoining areas in Kullu, Lahaul and even Ladakh and in the British territory to some extent.

However, the other part of the hills imported Kheora salt from the plains through Ropar, Kalka, Jalandhar, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Pathankot, Shahpur, Jagadhri, Bilaspur (Ambala) etc. Even in Mandi territory, Kheora salt was imported which amounted to about 5000 mounds (2000 quintals) annually. It was carried by thousands of mules on their way from Hoshiarpur to Yarkand and Ladakh, which passed through the town of Mandi. Mostly, the people preferred to carry it on their backs from the mines because it was the cheapest way of obtaining it. Sometimes it was purchased by Labanas, who used to carry it to Kullu, laden on pack bullocks.

### *Tobacco*

Tobacco was grown in the Kullu area as a regular *kharif* crop for home consumption and in some places for the market as well. The Sarajis could not grow enough for their domestic consumption and they had to import it from upper Kullu. The main purchase of this commodity was from the market in Kullu and Mandi. The Europeans also had weakness for the local tobacco. Due to insufficiency of the local production, tobacco was imported from Kalka, Ropar, Jalandhar, Amritsar and Pathankot. Tobacco was also carried by the traders from Hoshiarpur to Mandi while going to Yarkand. In the fair at Rampur, it was sold by the traders from the plains.

### *Foodgrains*

The hills have always been deficient in the production of foodgrains and most of the items of foodgrains, largely the cereals, pulse and oil etc., were imported. The rain-based agriculture on the steep and rugged terraced fields produced only coarse variety of millets and pulses. The foodgrains were imported to the hill states from the markets in Punjab plains and the situation has not

changed much even today. Foodgrains were imported to Shimla from Karnal, Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar. Kangra had been importing grains from Jalandhar, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur and Pathankot. Grains are also imported to Nahan from the nearby markets at Jagadhri and Ambala etc.

### *Jewellery*

The precious metals like gold and silver in the form of bullion for the manufacture of ornaments and jewellery articles were imported from the plains, mostly from Amritsar and Delhi. The local *Sunars* were engaged by the people to manufacture ornaments for them. It is for this reason that one finds many regional and localised forms of ornaments in the interiors of this Pradesh.

### *Other Items*

There are items which were exchanged in different parts of this region internally. For instance, Kumharsain people procured sheep and goats from Kullu and wool from Bushahr. Kullu also supplied surplus of coarse rice, wheat, barley and woollen items to Bushahr. Spiti supplied lake-salt, *pattus* and ponies to Bushahr. Tea, tobacco and iron were traditionally imported from Kullu to Bushahr. In exchange, Kullu imported from Bushahr wooden pots, wares etc. Kangra area procured black salt (rock-salt) from Mandi.

Shimla town used to meet the requirements of deodar, pine, walnuts, boxwood, firewood and charcoal from different places in the surrounding hills and other articles of consumption from almost every part of British India. Mostly cloth, manufactured articles of common use, oil, sugar, leather, spices, kerosene oil etc. were imported from the markets in the mainland for local consumption of the hill states.

## EXPORTS

The articles exported from the region firstly include the indigenous commodities which were sent to the outer markets. Secondly, there have been commodities those were traded within the region. Lastly, there were articles which were imported from one external destination and re-exported to other area after meeting the local requirement. The exports of articles under these categories from Himachal Pradesh include tea, opium, grains, ginger, potatoes, *ghi*, honey, timber, and many other items. These are discussed as follows:

### *Tea*

Tea was exported during the pre-independence times from Kullu, Mandi and Kangra. The Kangra tea once captured foreign markets and it ousted China tea entirely from the United Kingdom. How the tea industry in Kangra valley developed since 1892 may be gleaned from a note prepared by F. Ballard, Chairman of the Kangra Valley Planters Association. He says:

“During the period under review three or four European gardens have been sold to natives. The cause to which this is attributable have affected the industry generally and are due to the output in India having risen from 124 to 175 million pounds and in Ceylon from 72 to 150 million with the result that in spite of increased consumption the stocks of both kinds in all the markets of the world have increased by thirty percent. Well known causes have led to this state of affairs, suitable land was obtainable at a moderate price, labour was plentiful in other districts and the depreciation of silver with its concomitant drop in the exchange value of the rupee to about 50 percent of its nominal value so reduced the



cost of production that the margin of profit was sufficiently great to attract *almost universal* attention, without a thought, the future extensions were pushed forward to a degree unwarranted by the situation. 107,000 acres in India and 80,000 in Ceylone were planted in the five years preceding 1900; land was rushed up in price and much of doubtful value brought into cultivation; all available leaf was plucked and stimulants used to force the natural yield, already bounteous owing to favourable season gardens in private hands were turned over to companies at inflated price and the stability and prosperity of the industry were never called into question. Hailed at the time as a blessing events have proved that the large profits made were well high disastrous. The usual results of excess in supply followed; price steadily fell and to add to the difficulty of profitable cultivation the rupee gradually depreciated in value until in 1899 it was artificially raised to a fixity of 1s. 4d. To meet all this expenses at to be curtailed, the poorer lands no longer paid for cultivation and profits were reduced, and in many cases heavy losses were sustained. More than this, and most important of all, the price of tea to the consumer was lowered to a range without precedent. This low range of price has not been without its advantages and may be said to have served its days, it has checked expansion, it has helped to oust China tea almost entirely from the United Kingdom, and to a great and increasing extent from the other markets of the world."

"Reasonable facilities exist for the transport of teas exported from the district; camels and carts, though rather scarce, are procurable at most seasons, and on these teas for export and for the European markets are conveyed to the

plains, the nearest railway station being Jalandhar, a distance of about 110 miles from the centre of the plantations. Native traders, who generally purchase the coarser teas, black and green, make their purchases at the factories, and bring their own carriage—usually mules, ponies and collies; and these teas, as a rule, not being packed in lead and wooden cases, but in coarse bags, those description of carriage are found suitable.”

“Four markets were available for the sale of Kangra tea. The home or London market, the local European market, the local native market, and the Central Asian market. There was also the prospect of another market for Indian teas in Russia. At the time this report was written the Kangra teas were but little known in the London market, they were received in small quantities.”

Maj. Paske writes about the large scale supply of Kangra tea to Amritsar and from there to Central Asia and other parts of world. He writes:

“Amritsar is the great mart for the supply of teas, alike for the native markets throughout upper India and for the Central Asian market. Native merchants from Amritsar and one or two from Nurpur also are very regular in visiting all the plantations in the valley at certain seasons of the year, and in purchasing very large supplies of the coarser black teas and the green teas, the latter for Central Asian market.”

He further writes:

“It is, as a rule, the Amritsar merchants who secure all the teas that go from Kangra valley to the countries of Central Asia. Amritsar is most favourably situated in regard to its export trade with countries to the north. It commands every route alike, that via Jammu and Kashmir

to Ladakh and the Eastern Provinces of Central Asia as well as the route via Peshawar through Kabul to the great mart of Herat, Khiva, Bokhara, Samarkand. It also commands the Indus valley route. Its exports supply the Sindh merchants, who trade via the Bolan pass with Kohat and Herat; and Indian teas are carried from Amritsar to Karachi to meet the vast trade of Biluchistan and of ports in the Persian Gulf. The universal custom of tea-drinking that prevails among all classes of inhabitants in countries north of British India and in the provinces of Central Asia, creates an increasing demand for Indian teas, and the valley planters are in the best position to meet this demand. Black tea from Palampur was exported to Amritsar."<sup>8</sup>

There was very little land in the Kullu valley which was well suited for the cultivation of tea. Nevertheless, tea was grown at Bajaura, Shamshi, Raison, Naggur etc. in Kullu valley. In 1863 the Kullu tea secured first prize as the best black tea in India at the Lahore exhibition. Some quantity of tea from Mandi was exported to the plains of British India during the colonial days. Tea was, thus an important item of export from hill states. Although, tea industry suffered setback since independence, yet it is again registering a comeback and Kangra tea may now be found in the north Indian markets.

### *Opium*

Poppy cultivation was done in Kullu and in some other hill states. Besides seed and oil from this crop, opium was also extracted. The purchasers of Kullu opium were mostly the shopkeepers from Sultanpur and Mandi. The traders from Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar purchased opium from Kullu in a large quantity for further sale in the plains. Though, the opium trade was important in Keonthal state,

but it constituted a part of other exportable commodities. Baghal state was also involved in exporting opium to the plains. Opium from there was exported to Kalka and Ropar. The Muhammadan merchants from Ropar and Rohan and traders of Pehowa took the opium produce from Jubbal to the plains especially in large quantity to Phul Maharaj in Nabha state. It was also mentioned in the Excise Drug Supply Report that a major portion of the raw opium produced in Jubbal state was exported to Bilaspur state. Around one mound and 10 seers (about half a quintal) of raw opium for Rs.168/- per seer was exported to Bushahr state. Almost all the opium produced in Sirmaur state was exported to Patiala and Nabha. The Pajhota *ilaga* of tehsil Pachhad of Sirmaur state was famous for the fine quality of opium. Opium trade was also popular in Bushahr state. The best opium was obtained from the mountainous tract to the north and east of the Shimla range. Demand for it from the Sikh states was very extensive. Opium was of so pure a quality that the sanyasee, merchants, the naths and bairagis came every year from the western districts in the Punjab to purchase it in Bushahr state. Regarding the opium exports from the hill states, C. Elliott states:

“As the collectors in the western provinces are furnished with opium for sale from Behar and Banaras and as it appears to be the wish of the Government to obtain an increased quantity of this drug, perhaps no objection would arise to our receiving the tribute from the hill states in opium, which might be delivered to Murray at Ambala and by him forwarded to the collector of Saharanpur for circulation to other collectors as required by them; but on this point, Government will no doubt wish to consult the Board of Customs.”<sup>9</sup>

### *Foodgrains*

Bilaspur, Nalagarh and Doon valley in Sirmaur produced surplus quantities of grains which could be exported after meeting the local requirements. Grains from Bilaspur were exported to Ropar and Kalka. Valley area of Sirmaur produced sufficient grains for its own consumption, and even had a surplus for export. Grains were exported from Doon valley to Ambala district and Chuharpur in Uttar Pradesh. In those days, grains including wheat, maize, grams and rice, were chiefly taken over by foreign traders. From Nalagarh the surplus grains were exported to Ropar and Kalka. The locals mostly subsisted on coarse varieties of grains, maize, buck-wheat, barley, *koda* etc.

### *Rice*

The arable flat valley area in Kangra, Kullu, Sirmaur and Chamba produced rice in excess of local requirement. Rice has been the staple produce of the upper Kangra valley. *Begami*, *basmati*, *jhinwa* and *nakand* etc. have been the kinds of rice produced and exported on a large scale from Kangra. A rough estimate of the export was framed from the *Famine Report of 1879*, and it stated that a lakh of maunds (40,000 quintals) of rice was exported annually. Rice from Kangra was largely exported to Jalandhar, Amritsar, Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Rawalpindi and other towns. The usual mode of conveyance was by camels, mules or bullocks, which used to bring up loads of other commodities from the plains in exchange. The rice produce of Kullu was either disposed off to the shopkeepers or consumed by the Kullu people themselves. Harcourt observed that, "The Lahoulees are the great purchasers of and perhaps half of the entire quantity was taken over by them during their winter stay in Kullu."<sup>10</sup> Only Bhatiyat in Chamba exported rice to the plains. Sirmaur also exported some quantity of rice to the plains.

Doon in Sirmaur state exported *basmati* rice to some of the other hill states and to the plains. In Mandi, *rorā* has been the coarse red rice used for making *chathi* and *sur*, the local alcoholic drink, and grown only on *barani* land. After meeting the local needs, it was exported to Kangra, Kullu and Hoshiarpur. Some grains from here were also exported to various Shimla Hill States, especially Bushahr. As a whole, Mandi was a large exporter of agricultural produce, and found a ready market at remunerative prices. About 1/5th of the grain produce was exported from Hamirpur to the plains.

### *Ginger*

Ginger has been one of the major traditional cash crop of the Sirmaur state. It has been exported fresh and in dehydrated and treated form as *soonth* to the markets in the plains. It was the chief agricultural produce of Sirmaur. The farmers carried their dried ginger down to Dadahu, from where it was transported to Nahan, Ambala, Amritsar, Bilaspur (in Ambala district) and Delhi. The finest ginger obtained from Bushahr was exported to the Sikh states. From Bilaspur state, ginger was exported to Adampur and Ropar. The ginger produce of Keonthal was taken over by the Sud traders of Kangra and was exported to the plains. Baghal exported its surplus produce of ginger to Kalka and Ropar.

### *Potatoes*

Chamba has been a large producer of seed-potato. From Chamba it was exported to the plains through Shahpur. The staple articles of the export from Kangra also included potato. From Kangra it was largely exported to Jalandhar, Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Rawalpindi and some other towns. Lyall remarks:

“The cultivation of the potato in the villages on the slopes of the Dhola Dhar has much increased since Mr. Barnes wrote, and it can no longer be said that the potatoes they rear are very small and poor. I have nowhere found larger or better ones than grown in the small level places where the flocks are penned for the night (*goonths*) in the hanging forests or grassy slopes of the Dhola Dhar, at elevations of from 7,000 to 11,000 feet. The introduction of the potato has, in fact, given a greatly increased value, not only to these *goonths*, but also to all culturable land above 5,000 feet elevation. The fields round the Gaddi peasants’ houses, which formerly produced at the best only maize, wheat or barley. The Gaddis express this by saying ‘The potato has become our sugarcane. It is becoming more appreciated by the natives as an article of food, but the consumption is restricted by the high price which it fetches in the European cantonments. A large part of the crop is exported every year to the plains.’”<sup>11</sup>

The Keonthal and Mandi states produced large quantity of potato and a considerable part of it was sent down to the plains. The potato grown on the high lands of the Ghoghar-ki-Dhar near Jhatingri in Mandi state is rather small in size but excellent for eating. Practically, the whole produce of that area was sold to the traders from Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Pathankot, who came every year with their mules and ponies and bought as much as they could get. Keonthal exported some quantity of potato to some parts of the plains. Baghal exported its surplus produce of potatoes to Kalka and Ropar. How important the potato has been as a cash crop in Lahaul area may well be understood from the fact that the Potato Growers Association has been organising its export to the plains for decades now.

*Ghi*

*Ghi* was exported from Bilaspur to various places out of the state. It seems that *ghi* was produced in abundance in Bilaspur. From Bilaspur it was exported to Anandpur and Ropar. Baghal state appears to be another area surplus in *ghi* production and it is known to have exported it to Kalka and Ropar. Other areas surplus in *ghi* were Kullu, Kangra, Bushahr, Chamba and Mandi states. From Kullu *ghi* had been exported in considerable quantity to the plains and also to the Shimla hill states. At Rampur it was exchanged by equal weight with the Tibetan wool. From Kangra it had been exported to Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur. *Ghi* had been an export article from Mandi, though in a small bulk. Buffaloes were kept principally by the Gujjars in Chamba, Kangra, Mandi, Kullu etc. and their milk was used to make *ghi* for domestic consumption and export. Some villagers of Chamba carried *ghi* to Shahpur. It was also exported from Bharmaur in Chamba state but in small quantity. Since oil has been an item of import, people preferred to use *ghi* even in place of oil.

*Honey*

Apiculture, though in a very primitive form, had been an import product from the wild bees in a wide area in this region. Many villages also kept improvised beehives to procure honey. The village folks of Mandi carried their honey to the plains. Kullu honey had been considered extremely palatable and had been an important item of export. Almost every house in Kullu valley kept some beehives to produce sufficient honey for domestic consumption and export. Honey obtained from the hives in June is of dark colour and was generally kept by the producers for their domestic consumption. But honey of winter harvest is crystalline white and sweeter, thus, suitable for export with better profit. For honey the



merchants from the plains usually have been coming to the peasants' doors. Chamba used to export its honey produce to markets in the plain. It is available in Chamba town also. From Kangra honey had been exported in large quantities, however the export trade of honey in Kangra in comparison to other export items was insignificant. Bushahr and Sirmaur also used to export a considerable quantity of honey.

### *Timber*

Extensive ranges of richly wooded forests existed throughout Kullu. The produce of deodar was floated down the Beas river to the depots in the plain areas. The note by Colonel Stenhouse gives a clear picture of timber export from Kullu:

“Deodar timber is the chief article of export from the Kullu forests. It is brought out of the more accessible forests in the form of logs and from those more remote in the shape of sawn timber such as broad or narrow gauge sleepers or other scantlings. The logs are conveyed by slides and launched at the commencement of the rains in the Beas or its tributaries. The sawn pieces are carried by coolies to the nearest floating stream and launched at the end of the rains to avoid loss by floods. Logs and scantlings are collected at Nadaun and other catchling depot, whence they are rafted to the Wazir Bhular sale depot.”<sup>12</sup>

The timber produce of the upper Ravi forests of Chamba state converted into sleepers and scantlings was floated down in the Ravi river to Shahpur in Gurdaspur district. A certain number of sleepers were sent to Pathankot for the railway and to Lahore in British territory. The timber of Pangi valley of Chamba state was floated down in Chenab river to Akhnur in the form of

logs, where those were caught, tied and rafted down to Wazirabad in British Punjab.

Timber was mostly extracted in the form of sawn scantlings and sleepers and carried to the nearest stream for being floated and then launched and hauled down to the main river. Mandi possessed the most suitable floating streams, which considerably reduced the cost of extraction. Timber launched in the Beas from Mandi was collected at Dera Gopipur in Kangra and then rafted to the railway depot at Wazir Bhullar. On the Satluj, timber was rafted to Nangal, from where it proceeded through Ropar and then by the Sirhind canal to the sale depot of Doraha.

The Bushahr produce was floated down the Satluj to Ropar. From there these were rafted through the Sirhind canal to Doraha in British territory. The timber logs, which were not caught at Ropar, were then secured at Phillour in Jalandhar district. Jubbal also exported timber, mostly in sleepers, which were floated down to Jagadhri. Sirmaur exported timber through the Jamuna river to Ambala district. Besides deodar, chil, sal and sain timber were also transported through the neighbouring hill states to Abdullah Pur Depot.

### *Yak Tails*

Yak tails of a fine silky hair are termed as *chowries*. These are waved over the deities and sacred books. During the feudal past it was waved over the rulers as a symbol of their superior states. The yak tails have been an item of export from Spiti and Bushahr to the plains.

### *Hops*

Hops is produced in the Pangi area of Chamba state. This plant is used in the production of beer and was exported to Murree brewery in the colonial period.

In Baghal state, there was a regular brewing industry. Messrs Dyer and Co. had a brewery between Solan and Slogra, and Messrs Meaken and Co. had one near Kasauli in the Baghat territory. From these places, beer was exported to the plains. Shimla also exported some quantity of beer and spirit to the plains.

### *Machinery*

Nahan Foundry was established in 1867. It was one of the largest iron foundry in northern India, and had agencies in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

The foundry mainly manufactured sugarcane crushing machines of a very high standard. Those were very popular throughout northern India. Besides, it manufactured lathes, planing machines, fans vices, chaff cutters, *angithee* etc. It carried on an extensive business in sugarcane crushing machines inside as well as outside the state. But after independence, due to the industrial development in the plains, the Nahan Foundry fell in bad days under various constraints.

### *Medicinal Herbs*

Medicinal herbs have been regularly exported to different parts of the plains from the hill states. Baghal state exported violet to Kalka and Ropar. Some quantity of medicinal herbs was also exported from Bushahr. Bushahr state exported violet, *mohra* and *karru* to the plains. Those articles were sold in Rampur during the annual fairs. Mandi also exported to the plains violet, musk, medicinal herbs of which *rasauta* concoction of the root of a kind of barberry was the most profitable. Chamba and Sirmaur also exported varieties of medicinal herbs. From Chamba bagar grass, hemp, kaur, violet, and other medicinal herbs were exported. Sirmaur exported a quantity of *harar*, *amla*, *bher*, *bare*. In upper Kinnaur and

Spiti, *chora*, *farna*, *kala-zeera*, *ratanjot* have been growing wild. These had been important items of export from those places. *Kuth* has been an important item of export from Lahaul.

Wild pomegranate seed (*anardana*) were exported in large quantity. The produce of it in Sirmaur state had been in excess of the local demands. After meeting the local requirements, the dehydrated pomegranate seed was exported to the plains. Bhagal state also exported a good quantity of it to the plains.

Another article which had been largely exported from the hills to the plains was turmeric. The villagers of Sirmaur exported a large quantity of turmeric to Jagadhri. Kahloor state also produced turmeric which was taken over by the traders from the plains. After meeting the local requirements, Keonthal too exported some quantity of it.

#### *Wool and Woollen Clothes*

Wool, woollen clothes, blankets, *pasham*, shawls, carpets, *gudmas*, *pattus* and *thobi* etc. have been the different woollen articles of export from different parts of the hill states to the plains and even abroad.

Wool trade was very popular in hill states of Rampur Bushahr, Kangra, Mandi, Chamba, Kullu, Lahaul and Spiti etc. To encourage this trade, in 1820 a government agency was established at Kotgarh. Its main purpose was to encourage the export of shawl-wool to the British territories. In exchange small quantities of copper, steel and woollen goods were bartered. This project, however, did not succeed, principally because of the unwillingness of the hill men to bring their goods so far. The attempt was, therefore, abandoned.

Woollen *pattus* were made in all parts of Chamba state. Pangi produced those alongwith *thobis* in a small quantity

and were exported with other articles like *zeera*, *kuth*, *thangi*, *tilla* etc. to the plains via Shahpur.

From Kangra, wool, *pattus*, blankets, *pasham* and shawls were exported to the plains. This trade passed for the most part, through the towns of Palampur, Jwalamukhi, Nurpur and Triloknath. Blankets and *pattus* were hand-made, *pashmina* shawls and cloth was exported from Nurpur and Triloknath. Coarse woollen cloth (*pattus*) and blankets woven by the Gaddis found ready sale in the town of the plains to which they were exported.

A considerable variety of woollen articles have also been exported from Kullu, Lahaul & Spiti. The Kullu people made large quantities of *pattus* and blankets, which they exported to the down country. Blankets came from Saraj and Wazeeri Rupi, Kullu also exported wool and *pasham*. Lahaul & Spiti has also been exporting wool. *pasham* and cloth.

The capital, Rampur, was famous for its wool trade. The well known Rampuri *chaddars* has been the product of this town. It was from this town that considerable quantity of the shawl-wool (*pasham*) used to be sent to the British India. Besides *pasham*, the coarse varieties of wool were also brought in large quantity to Rampur for export to the British territory. Wool from different hill areas was initially brought to Rampur and then exported to different places. A small quantity was also exported from Mandi. Articles like blankets and *pattus* were sold at religious fairs.

### *Fruits*

Fruits have been one of the important items of export from hill states. There was a large export trade of fruits of every kind from Chamba to various places in the region and to the plains. Chamba exported walnuts, apples, peas, hazelnuts, *chilgoza* and *sukri* (dried apricot) to the plains.

There has been excess production of fruits in Bushahr state. With many other articles, Bushahr also exported fresh and dry fruits to the plains. *Neoz*, apricots and grapes are some of these. Fruits, fresh and dry, were brought into Rampur by the local traders of Bushahr and sold there at the annual fairs of Loi, Dhal and Loi Jeth. Citrus fruits, like galgal, lime etc. have been the items of export from the Siwalik region, bordering on the Indian plains.

### *Birds*

The traders, called *papralas*, came from Ambala and Patiala to Kullu to purchase hawks, which they taught and then sold at profit in the plains. The hawk-catchers were paid as high as Rs. 60 for a young bird, the older ones were, of course, less valuable. Hawks were also exported from Mandi state to the plains.

### *Livestock*

Trade in livestock from Mandi with Shimla was done on a large scale. Most of the transaction was done during the Nalwari cattle fairs. Goats were kept for sale to butchers and also for their hair for weaving blankets. Sheep from Kullu were sold by the Gaddis and Koli shepherds to the butchers from Shimla.

### *Salt*

Salt was another important commodity of export from Mandi to the British territory. A report was submitted by Lepel. H. Griffin in 1873 which gives detailed information regarding Mandi salt mines:

“The salt mines are situated at Gumah and excavation as in Europe would be called mines, the salt being dug out of the face of a cliff, which is about 5400 feet. Formation is difficult and steep but a new road has been lately

constructed, which renders it far more approachable. At Gumah the salt is dug out from a gorge some 500 feet below the village, to which it is carried to be weighed and sold. Dirang is at the foot of the same range, about twenty miles nearer Mandi, and only four miles from the Beas. The mines are given to the contractors. This salt is however, almost exclusively used in the higher hills as far so Lahoul, that of Gumah finds its way westward into British territory as far as Nurpur and Pathankot, and that of Dirang to Nadawn, Bilaspur and even Ludhiana."<sup>13</sup>

Salt from Mandi was exported to Gurdaspur, Dinanager, Nadaun, Una, Palampur, Hamirpur, Kullu state, Bilaspur and Bushahr. A large quantity was exported to the native states and British territory. Thus, Mandi salt had been in great demand.

### *Iron Ore*

Iron was another commodity which was exported from Himachal Pradesh. Iron was found at Sanor, Badar, Nachani, Saraj and Chauri. The quality of Mandi iron ore was very high. Axes, frying pans and griddles etc. made of Mandi iron had a great reputation for durability. These were exported to the plains. Speaking about the iron mines Vigne, has recorded his impressions as follows:

"The iron mines of Mandi are said to be very rich. They are to be reached by ascending, for about twelve miles, the bank of the Beyas (Bias). I did not visit them but the Raja produced specimens of the ore, and presented them to me. The greater of glare (sparking) iron, and which is found abundantly."<sup>14</sup>

Iron was also found in the Kangra valley. In Kangra it was exported from the village Bir. Indicating the existence

of iron ore in Kangra, Moorcroft has recorded that, "The natural products of Kotoch (Kangra) are not many, iron has been found, but the ore has not been wrought."<sup>15</sup>

### *Other Export Articles*

Beside the articles of export already mentioned, Chamba exported *suil*, *phullan*, *khashkhas*, *dhaniya*, bee-wax, *narian*, soapnuts and *dhup* through Shahpur and Pathankot. Mandi state also exported some quantity of soapnuts, *rasaunt*, millets, walnut, tree bark, deodar and resin to the plains.

### *Internal Exports*

Kumharsain state had a surplus produce of gram. It was exported to Shimla and Bushahr. Mandi had many surplus articles which were, after meeting the local requirements, exported to the plains as well as to the adjoining hill states. Mandi exported its produce of gram and salt to Kangra and other neighbouring hill states. Sirmaur also exported grains to Baghal, Jubbal, Kullu and Mandi. Wheat, rice and tobacco have been cultivated in Kullu and the surplus was exported to Lahaul & Spiti. The opium produce of Kullu found its way to Mandi state.

## **Foreign Trade**

Trade remained not only confined within the states of the hills and neighbouring Indian territories, but also extended to Tibet, Yarkand, China, Russia and Central Asia.

"A clerk for the registration of foreign trade with India is posted at Wangtu on the Sutlej, not far from Kotgarh. The bulk of the traffic registered is carried on with Chinese Tibet, and consists chiefly of imports of borax, ponies, sheep and goats, salt and wool. In 1902-03 the



value of imports from Chinese Tibet was Rs. 2,02,276 as compared with Rs. 1,77,102 in 1882-83. The exports trade always been insignificant, in 1902-03 it was valued at Rs. 39,972 as compared with Rs. 15,296 in 1882-83, the most important article of export is cotton piece goods. Trade with Ladakh is also registered at this post, but this trade is of insignificant proportion, in 1902-03 it was valued at imports Rs. 1400, exports Rs. 981. The trade with Yarkand also registered at Wangtu, had in 1902-03 altogether disappeared owing to the prohibition by the Kashmir Durbar on the export of *charas* into Shimla.”<sup>16</sup>

Many important things were imported and exported from these places. Even the British took keen interest in promoting foreign trade. With this objective in mind the Government in 1868 started the fair at Palampur to foster the trade with Central Asia. The fair was held till 1879.

The Russian traders, who were known as ‘Oroos’ carried on trade with Ladakhis via Yarkand. A few articles like felt, beads, corals, amber, cloth and leather were imported from Russia. Russian toys and other foreign articles were found at Rampur fair. Mandarin chopsticks, cups and saucers were seen in Kinnaur. Gold coins of Belgium and Russia were occasionally seen in the Subathu bazaar and the purity of the gold was highly esteemed.

The trade with Tibet was almost entirely carried on by the Kinnauris. Some of them were men of considerable wealth and whatever money they had in their homes they took into Tibet for trading purpose. According to S.H. Davies:

“The people of the north are active traders proceeding to Leh for *Charas* and to Gardok for shawl wool, giving in exchange money, clothes and spices. The mountain paths are

scarcely practicable for laden mules and merchandise is carried chiefly on the backs of sheep and goats."<sup>17</sup>

Lake salt was brought from Tibet to Lahaul, where it was bartered by equal weight for barley. After meeting the local requirements of the Lahaulis, it was brought to Kullu, laden on sheeps. The Tibetan salt was superior to the Mandi salt and about 72 to 125 maunds (30 to 50 quintals) was imported annually from Tibet to Lahaul. Goats, sheep and yaks were also imported from Tibet to Kullu, Lahaul & Spiti. Spiti imported wool, wooden cups, knives, turquoise, saddles and praying wheels from Tibet. Rampur imported wool and *pasham* from Tibet. But after 1834, there was a downfall in wool trade due to attack of Jorawar Singh, who wanted to divert wool trade to Kashmir.

On the other hand tea from Kullu was exported to Tibet. Very important trade was conducted by the Lahauli people with Tibet in *kuth*. That trade rapidly increased after 1935. It was an important source of cash income. Kuth was also exported to United Kingdom, Canada, France, Switzerland, Japan and Malaya.

Trade between Yarkand, Ladakh and Kangra was also recorded. A clerk was stationed at Sultanpur in the Kullu valley for the registration of foreign trade with Yarkand. In 1882-83 the value of the registered imports was Rs. 4,98,817 and of the exports Rs. 3,12,915. The most important items of import were ponies, borax, charas, raw silk, wool and for export were cotton piece goods, indigo, skins, opium, metal wares, manufactured silk, sugar and tea, Korans too occasionally appeared among the exports. Kangra tea was an important commodity of export to different parts of the world. According to the report of Major Paske:

“It is not uncommon for these merchants to anticipate the production of the classes of teas they required, and to offer to purchase, at fixed rates, all that may be manufactured in the ensuing season. The Central Asian market, which is of great and increasing importance, is fed by the operations of the native merchants who supply the native markets generally. In my experience I do not recollect having seen any Kabul merchants or traders from the Western Provinces of Central Asia dealing with planters directly. I am told that one Bokhare merchant did visit the valley this year (1872) and one or two merchants came up from Shikarpur in Sindh. The traders from Eastern Turkistan, that is the Yarkand is, adhere too closely to the custom barter to make it possible for them to deal direct on any extensive scale with the Kangra planters.”<sup>18</sup>

The intercourse between the Chinese frontiers and Rampur Bushahr was pretty extensive. According to Capt. C.P. Kennedy:

“The month of May and June is the season when the people of Bussahir repair to Garoo, which is the chief mart of shawl wool on the Tartar frontiers, and the Chinese resort to Rampur in October and return in November. No danger but that of the precipitous nature of the road is known. Formerly the remote portion of Bussahir in Kunawar was possessed by the Chinese and was given upto them. The Tartar pergunnah of Hun-Rung is a portion of Bussahir and for its size is a main source of its resources. Blankets, raisins, nuts, tobacco, rice, horse shoes, saddles, agricultural instruments, firearms and other produce of the higher Himalayas form the chief exports to the Chinese territory; wool and salt the imports.

The prosperity of Bussahir mainly depends upon their intercourses."<sup>19</sup>

Chamba had considerable export trade in cloth, cutlery, oil, leather and spices to Yarkand and Turkistan. The chief imports were *charas*, *pashmina*, carpets and brick tea. *Kuth* was also exported from Chamba.

Shimla was another district where foreign trade was registered.

### Prices and the Value of Trade

There are very few statistics available on trade and commerce in the hill states of Himachal Pradesh. The information in respect of the Shimla Hill States was included in the Annual Administration Reports of Punjab, but that too is very brief. Nevertheless, the related information in the traveller's accounts, reports and the district gazetteers of the Punjab and Shimla Hill States provide some material in this regard. The annual export of rice from Kangra to the plains was one lakh maunds (40,000 quintals). This was approximately worth rupees two lakhs and twenty five thousand. The Kullu rice was sold at the rate of about Rs. 2/- per maund (i.e. about 40 kilogram) at the time when Capt. Harcourt was Assistant Commissioner of Kullu from 1869 to 1871.

The annual import of grains from the plains was about nine lakh maunds (3.60 lakh quintals) in Kangra. In Shimla it was 77,800 maunds (31,120 quintals).

Some quantity of Kullu tea was exported to England. Most of the produce was sold to the traders from plains. The rate of tea at that time was Rs. 1.50/- to Rs. 2/- per pound. The total output of tea in Kangra during 1868 and 1872 was 2,41,332 pounds (99,187.452 kgs.) and 4,28,655 pounds (17,617.720 kgs.). The statistics of trade during 1884 to 1888 are as follows:

Indian tea	Value of imports	Value of exports
1884 (Kangra tea)	49,147	40,720
1885	67,240	58,485
1886-87	97,820	92,787
1887-88	1,04,600	99,200

China tea	Value of imports	Value of exports
1884	15,550	13,028
1885	15,280	9,764
1886-87	31,120	23,500
1887-88	Nil	Nil

In the year 1892, its sale was as under:

1. London market 41,848 pounds (17,199.528 kgs.)
2. Calcutta market 34,453 pounds (14,160.183 kgs.)

The export of Kangra tea was 5,00,000 pounds (205.500 kgs.) in 1892.

The annual yield of opium in Kullu was estimated at 100 maunds (40 quintals) per year. The estimate was considered below the actual produce. The price of opium was Rs. 6/- to Rs. 15/- per seer (approximately one kg.) or on an average Rs. 10.50 per seer.

The Chamba forests were leased to the Punjab Forest Department in 1868. The total revenue from the leased forests upto 1903-04 was Rs. 73,38,000/-.

Price of *chowries* was 2 to 6 shillings per piece around 1869.

The blankets of Kullu were sold to visitors at a price ranging from Rs. 2.25 to 5/- per piece. The price of Rampur *pashmina* shawl was Rs. 6/- to Rs. 9/- unbleached and Rs. 10/- to Rs. 16/- for bleached shawl per piece. In 1840, the value of *pashmina* imported to Rampur was

valued by Capt. Cunningham at about Rs. 90,000. Mr. Baden said "About 2,000 maunds (800 quintals) of wool are annually brought to Rampur, and about half that quantity of *pasham*. The price of wool averaged about four pound per rupee, and *pasham* Rs. 2/- to 4/- for 2 pounds."<sup>20</sup>

Selling price of tobacco was Rs. 6/- to 8/- per seer (approximately one kg.).

One seer of Tibetan lake salt was exchanged for 2½ seers of husked rice at Rampur, making a handsome profit.

In 1820, the price of salt at the mines in Mandi was seven annas (42 paisa), in 1846, 8 annas (50 paisa) and in 1868, 12 annas (75 paisa) per maund (40 kgs.). In 1845, the revenue from salt was about Rs. 60,000, in 1850 it had risen to Rs. 83,000 and in 1862 to Rs. 1,00,545. There was a decrease in 1867-68 on account of the great quantity of rain that had fallen during the year which hindered the working.

Giving reference of Mandi salt Moorecroft writes, "the salt is the property of the Raja and is sold at two *pakka* or six *kacha* mounds for a rupee. The average profit is about sixteen thousand rupee a year. The workmen are paid at a rate of two rupees a month, half in cash and half in salt."<sup>21</sup>

The quantity of borax imported from Changthang in Tibet territory to Rampur and Sultanpur in Kullu was annually about 2,500 maunds (1,000 quintals). In 1853 it was sold in Shimla for Rs. 9/- per maund (40 kgs.). The price of imported commodity was Rs. 22,500/- per year.

Table on the next page shows the value of total trade that passed between Leh and India.

The information reported in respect of Shimla and Kangra of imports and exports from the Chinese Tibet, Ladakh and Yarkand for the year 1895-96 are given in the tables on the next page.<sup>22</sup>

**Value of total trade between Leh and India**

1876	4,24,130	1882	8,63,917
1877	2,39,702	1883	5,44,987
1878	2,85,836	1884	5,74,342
1879	4,84,792	1885	3,54,687
1880	4,23,666	1886	4,15,305
1881	5,96,421	1887	7,82,30

**Imports from Chinese Tibet, Ladakh and Yarkand**

Name of country	Maunds	(Quintals)	Value (in Rs.)
(a) Shimla			
Chinese Tibet	5,702	(22.80)	1,37,575
Ladakh	19	(7.60)	708
Yarkand	18	(7.20)	1,800
(b) Kangra			
Chinese Tibet	3,813	(1525.20)	85,473
Ladakh	2,794	(1117.60)	51,026
Yarkand	3,693	(1477.20)	3,12,898

**Exports from Chinese Tibet, Ladakh and Yarkand**

Name of country	Maunds	(Quintals)	Value (in Rs.)
(a) Shimla			
Chinese Tibet	2,064	(825.60)	37,420
Ladakh	112	(44.80)	5,245
Yarkand	18	(7.20)	1,728
(b) Kangra			
Chinese Tibet	1,566	(626.40)	44,046
Ladakh	6,714	(2685.60)	3,84,810
Yarkand	-	-	-

## REFERENCES

1. *Report of Lapsed*, 1824, p. 201.
2. James Baillie Fraser, *Journal of Tour through part of the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains and to the Sources of Rivers of Jamuna and Ganga*, London, 1820, p. 275.
3. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province*, Vol. I, Delhi, reprint 1970, p. 487.
4. *Gazetteer of Simla District*, 1888-89, Delhi, reprint 1992, p. 73.
5. Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-75.
6. Alexander Gerard, *An Account of Koonawur in the Himalayas*, London 1841, pp. 181-184.
7. *Gazetteer of Simla District*, 1888-89, p. 72.
8. *Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 124, 125, 190, 191.
9. *Punjab Government Record*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1911, pp. 250-51.
10. A.F.P. Harcourt, *Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lohoul and Spiti*, 1897, p. 52.
11. *Gazetteer of Kangra District*, Part I (Kangra), 1883-84, p. 159.
12. *Chamba State Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 233-234.
13. Lepel. H. Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab being the History of Principal State in the Punjab and their Political Relation with the British India*, 1873, London, p. 80.
14. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo, the Countries adjoining the Mountain Course of the Indus and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab*, Vol. I, Delhi, reprint 1981, p. 100.
15. William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in India Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab in Ladakh and Kashmir*, Vol. I, reprint 1989, Delhi, p. 140.
16. *Gazetteer of Simla District*, part A, 1904, p. 86.
17. *Gazetteer of Simla District*, 1888-89, p. 6.
18. *Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1833-34, pp. 190-91.
19. *District Gazetteer, Lahoul and Spiti*, Simla 1975, p. 142.
20. *Gazetteer of Simla District*, 1888-89, pp. 72-73.
21. Moorcroft & Treback, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 159-160.
22. *Report on the Administrations of Punjab and its Departments*, 1895-96, p. 133.



## **Trade-Marts and Trade Fairs**

The organisation of commercial activity and markets are interdependent and flourishing on each other. It has already been stated that trade and commerce activities in the hill states were relatively limited in scope and restricted in nature. The import and export activities were mainly carried out during the annual fairs in different states. But in real sense most of the hill states had no regulated markets. Bushahr, Mandi, Kullu, Shimla, Lahaul & Spiti, Subathu and Una had business places, which could be termed as the markets. These markets catered to the local requirements and also served as entrepots.

The expansion of Gurkhas to the Western Himalaya practically placed all the trade-routes through the Himalaya to Tibet and Ladakh under their control. The Gurkha policy of excluding foreign and even Indian traders and controlling all trade between Tibet and the plains, prevented the British and Indian merchants from the commercial exploitation of the hill markets. Lt. Ross, incharge of the relations with the cis-Satluj hill states, suggested that the government should probe the possibilities of a commercial connection with the Raja of Kullu, a small state across the Satluj, which straddled the main trade-route from Ladakh to the Punjab. He pointed out that the trade in shawls and shawl-wool could be tapped in Kullu and drawn off into the Company's territory. But, the Governor-General considered the plan "liable to considerable objections, since it might be viewed by Ranjit

Singh as an attempt to form a connection with countries lying on the other side of the Satluj and as justifying any measure on his part to renew his intercourse with the Sikh Chief on this side. . . .” Fear of offending Ranjit Singh undoubtedly weighed heavy with the government. But at the same time the Company was also deliberating upon the expediency for the British Government of appropriating to itself hill tracts east of Satluj. They wanted to control those areas, not so much with a view to collecting revenue as for the security of commercial communications with the country of Tibet, where shawl wool was produced. Tibet was also the richest source in the world for borax and musk. The plains of the north-west were the meeting place for merchants, who used to come by land from Tibet, Ladakh and Kandhar. In the Western Himalaya, the valley of the river Satluj provided a broad natural highway directly linking the Punjab plains with the plateau of western Tibet. The small state of Bushahr in the upper Satluj valley had acquired great importance as a convenient half-way stage on the route from Ladakh and Tibet. It was at Rampur, the capital of that state, that the sellers from Kashmir, Ladakh and Yarkand came down to meet the lowland traders and to exchange the precious merchandise of Central Asia for wheat and manufactured goods of the plains. In the words of James Baillie Fraser, who visited Rampur in 1815 A.D., “they had become the commercial carriers between Hindustan and Tartary, as also between Tartary and Kashmir, frequenting the routes from Leh in Ladakh to Lhasa and Shigatse and Nepal, on trading speculations. It was by the Satluj route, no doubt that Indian merchants travelled, when they went to the great annual fair at Gartok, capital of western Tibet, where every September traders from Ladakh, Kashmir, Tartary, Yarkand, Tibet, China and Bushahr haggled, bartered and bargained.” This was the area where the very best shawl-

wool was produced; a fact which, together with the monopoly enjoyed by Ladakh and Kashmir, made Western Himalaya the natural centre of the trade in this immensely profitable commodity. The places in hill region between the Indus and the Satluj were linked with roads, pathways in the river valleys which led to Punjab in south, to Kashmir and Ladakh in the north and to Tibet in the east. Thus, the East India Company became interested in Himalayan trade. This was because it offered the possibility of making available another Indian commodity, shawl-wool, which the Company could use as a vehicle for transferring funds from India to England profitably. The British Himalayan policy in 1814 A.D. was, therefore, fashioned under two types of necessities. Those created local border problems derived from the economic and strategic issues. Therefore, on November 1, 1814, the British declared war against the Gurkhas.

Soon after winning the war in 1815 A.D., the British East India Company made enquiries about the trade potential of the hill region, particularly of Bushahr state. Capt. R. Ross, Assistant Agent to Governor-General deputed one Munshi Karimuddin to Garo and Ladakh for the purpose. He submitted a remarkable report to the government detailing routes, distances, commodities of trade with rates of selling at Garo in Tibet and in Lavi fair in Rampur, the capital of Bushahr state. Rampur was the only market in Bushahr state and was considered the emporium for the adjoining states.

Capt. C.P. Kennedy, Assistant Deputy Superintendent, Hill States, in his report of 1824 mentioned to Lt. W. Murray, Deputy Superintendent, Hill States that:

“the inhabitants appear very industrious and have a manufacture of coarse shawls and other woollens. There is an excellent bazaar, and at three periods of the year fairs are held which

are attended by people from Sikh plains, Cooloo, Kunawar, Tartary, Ladakh and Cashmere. . . . The streets in the bazaar are broad and well laid out; the houses stand in square, have an area in the centre, appearing neat and possessing great convenience and comforts.”

“Rampur may be considered the emporium of these states. It is a channel of commercial communication between Chinese Tartary, Ladakh and Cooloo. It is the resort of people of many countries, characters and customs. The Tartar was observed putting his wool in own scale and receiving its weight in tobacco, or coarse sugar, from the trader of the plains of India, neither of them being able to comprehend each other’s language. The common steel yard was observed in general use in the fair for weighing articles of the trade.”

“The marts of Nepal oppression meet the eye constantly in the populated and decayed houses in Rampur. The town begins now to wear the appearance of progressive improvement, and in the course of a few years, if the present Raja retains his senses and proves a blessing to his country, this capital may be fairly expected to resume its former flourishing trade. There is an air and appearance here altogether different from the character of Asiatic town.”<sup>1</sup>

Rampur was the only mart in the hills. Most of the shopkeepers in Rampur are the natives of the Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Kangra and Patiala. Their way of dealing with the local people is thus described in the Assessment Report of that tehsil.

“Every shopkeeper keeps two kinds of weights, one equal to 5 seers (*pukka*) and the other weighing 4 seers, which for the purpose of sale is considered a five seer weight ‘*pachsera*’. Those

articles which are given to the cultivators are weighed with the latter, while those things which are bought from them are weighed with the former. Thus there is always a difference of 25 per cent, between both weights."

"The measures also are of two kinds, one yard is equal to 16 *girah* in length, while the other is 13 *girah* only. Things purchased from the *zamindars* are measured with 16 *girah* yard, while those sold to them are measured with 13 *girah* yard."

"The weights used for the purchase of grain are also of two kinds and are known as *tamat* and *patha*."<sup>2</sup>

From Rampur a considerable part of the shawl-wool was exported to British India. This wool was brought to Rampur market by the hill people, both of the Spiti mountains and of Chinese Tartary. Part of it was used for the manufacture of shawls known as Rampuri *chaddar*, but the greater part was bought up by merchants for importation into British India. Besides *pasham*, the fine shawl-wool, common kinds of wool were also brought in large quantity to Rampur for exportation to British India. In 1840 the value of *pasham* imported to Rampur was valued by Capt. Alexander Cunningham at about Rs. 90,000. Mr. Baden Powell mentioned that "about 2,000 maunds of wool are annually brought to Rampur and about half that quantity of *pasham*".

The principal items of trade at Rampur have been wool, *pattu* cloth and blankets, *pashmina* cloth, *neoza* (edible pine nut), *zeera* (cummin), honey, *ghi*, *karru*, violets, *dhup*, apricots, grapes, yak's tails and *mohra* (aconite, white and black). These articles are brought into Rampur and sold there at the annual fairs. The Kinnauri traders used to bring from Tibet wool, *pasham*, salt, borax, *numdas*, carpets, and *charas*, and disposed off them at the

Rampur annual fairs of which there were three (1) Lavi from 22nd Katak (10th November) to Ist Magh; (2) Dhal from 12th to 25th Poh; (3) Loi Jeth from 22nd Baisakh to Ist Jeth.

The first named has been the most important and was an interesting spectacle. The Kinnauri traders have been bringing down large herds of sheep and goats laden with bundles of *pasham* or little bags of salt and borax from Kinnaur, Tibet etc. Tiny donkeys laden with *pattu*, blankets, *neoza*, *zeera* etc. come from various parts of Kinnaur. There were lama horse-dealers too. Kullu dealers used to bring *pattu*. Besides these, *phulli* (a kind of soda), salt and musk were bought in from Changthang by the local traders and the travelling merchants from Punjab. In return of those commodities, brocades, broad cloth, sugar candy, *kiriana* (drugs, groceries etc.), cotton piece goods and rice were brought in from Punjab and neighbouring states for ready sale.

There are various versions about the origin of Lavi fair. According to the popular one, this fair came into being in the wake of historic treaty between Bushahr state and Tibet, concluded in the 17th century (c. 1681 A.D.) during the reign of Raja Kehari Singh (1639-1696 A.D.). That treaty provided:

“In the name of the Supreme Saint Buddha it is announced that till the Mount Kailash, the abode of the omniscient gods and situated in the centre of the Earth, will have snow, till the sacred Mansarovar lake will have water, till the Judgement Day, this friendship will last.”

The clause of the treaty provided that “In addition to the trade, the safety and convenience of the travellers will be ensured, and once in three years an ambassador from Bushahr will visit the important trade centres of Tibet.”<sup>3</sup> This treaty resulted in the liberation of Tibet, a deeper

friendship and free and increased trade between the two states. The Lavi fair, it is said, started as a memorial to that treaty. The treaty is believed to have been executed in 1881 and the antiquity of the fair is thus marked to that date.

During princely days Lavi was the biggest trade fair in the hill regions, if not in north India, that commanded participation from Tibet and all the surrounding regions. The traditional trade between Bushahr and Tibet had been disrupted a few times and this had its effect on the Lavi fair. One such incident was when the Gurkhas occupied Rampur and the other was in the time of Raja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, who being interested in diverting the Tibetan tradesmen to his own territory, sealed the routes between Tibet and Bushahr on account of which the flow of shawl-wool to Rampur dwindled to a trickle and the Dogra influence extended to Rudak and Gartok.

The wool trade between India and Tibet, however, continued on the traditional lines, without much change despite political manoeuvrings by the British Government of India, and it went on similar lines even after India attained independence in 1947. But in the wake of hostilities precipitated by the Chinese in October 1962 on the international border involving grazing rights for goats and sheep, the inter-border trade between India and Tibet came to an abrupt halt.

On 7th September 1993, after a gap of thirty-one years, a trade agreement was signed between the Indian Prime Minister and his Chinese counterpart. It provided for the resumption of inter-border trade between the two countries mainly on the traditional lines. India, according to the agreement, may import wool, goatskins, *pashmina*, yak-tails, goats, sheep, horses, salt, China-clay, butter and silk in exchange for the traditional Indian merchandise.

In pursuance of that agreement, trade between the

two countries was once again resumed on 16th July 1994 at Jiuba, the venue of trade-mart in Tibet. On that occasion 63 Indian traders crossed over to the Tibetan territory from Chuppan in Namgia village of Kinnaur with 27 mule-loads of traditional commodities of trade besides some new items. Incidentally, no Chinese trader could reach the mart on that occasion for 'sudden' collapse of a bridge at Lapshak on the Satluj and blockade of track. It may, however, be hoped that the inter-border trade activities shall pick up once again at Jiuba in Tibet and Chuppan in India. This time it will not be only the traditional barter dealing but fully convertible currency system shall also be adopted for which the Indian side has already made infrastructural preparations.<sup>4</sup>

After the expulsion of Gurkhas from the hills, the British Government decided to retain a foothold in the strategic areas. Two such important posts were Subathu and Kotgarh. It is said that the area, which later on came to be known as Shimla was first traversed by a British officer in 1816 A.D., who recounted its beauty to his colleagues on his return to his headquarters at Subathu. But it was only in 1819 A.D. that then Assistant Political Agent of the Hill States, Lieutent Ross, set up the first British residence.

His successor, Lt. Charles Pratt Kennedy, erected the first *pucca* house in the area three years later in 1822 A.D. Shimla's First Settlement Report recounts that from 1824 A.D. onwards:

“European gentlemen, chiefly invalids from the plains, had, with permission of these chiefs, established themselves in the locality, building houses on sites granted rent free, and with no other stipulation than that they should refrain from the slaughter of pine and from the felling of trees, unless with previous permission of the proprietors of the land.”



The 'Final Report on the First Regular Settlement of Simla District, 1884' states:

"The station became gradually favourably known as a Sanatorium, and in 1830, the government directed that negotiations should be entered into with the chiefs of Patiala and Keonthal, for as much land as was deemed sufficient to form a station."<sup>5</sup>

Accordingly Maj. Kennedy, the then Political Agent, negotiated an exchange with the Rana Keonthal for his portion of the Shimla hill. The climate of Shimla soon became famous, many more English and Indian people resorted there and built houses. Accordingly, the population of Shimla began to swell, and finally Shimla was rendered fashionable by the Governor-General Lord Amherst who visited the station during the summer of 1827 and stayed there for two months.

Throwing light on the early growth and trade activities of Shimla, Pamela Kanwar mentioned that:

"to provision Shimla with essential foodgrains, the construction of several new routes and the diversion of others was required. Shimla did not lie on an established trade route; traders from the *mandi* (wholesale markets) of Hoshiarpur and Jagadhri had to travel there. The creation of *chowkis* by hill rulers charging transit duties posed a problems here. Along the Pinjore-Subathu-Shimla route, the Patiala ruler framed out *chawkis* at Barh and Haripur to the higher bidder. The ruler of Bilaspur levied a tax on traders travelling from Kangra and Shimla."<sup>5</sup>

In 1824, all duties levied by hill rulers were abolished.

"To trace an alternative mule road a link to Shimla via Subathu across Nahan, with the

markets at Jagadhri, was made. In 1832, octroi and other transit duties imposed at sale were abolished and traders were free to trade without search, detention or question. The traditional items of trade between Bushahr and the plains passed through Shimla market, the principal imports from the plains being grains, cloth, cotton, silk, copper and brass, while the exports included hill produce opium, cumin, seed, borax, shawl-wool, ginger, walnuts and honey.”<sup>7</sup>

Capt. C.P. Kennedy distributed potatoes for planting to villages along the route between Fagu and Theog. The potato flourished and became a cash-circulating medium and trade item for impoverished hill villagers.

With the growth of Shimla and its population many traders from Kangra and Hoshiarpur came to Shimla. They built shops and started their business in Lower Bazaar. In 1848 A.D., William Edwards planned a market called the Ganj (later named Edward Ganj), where traders from the surrounding hills and from the plains could sell their grains to retailers at their own risk. The Ganj was below the Lower Bazaar, in a shaded spot. Free accommodation was built for itinerant traders. When Edwards found that traders did not settle at the Ganj he ordered that nothing was to be bought or sold except at the Ganj.

Since the early 19th century, the Indian *bazaar* had grown in the heart of the town on a flat piece of land which was later converted into the Ridge. With the growth of the town over the next forty years, it had spread over the hill side to cover the southern slope. In 1861 a Deputy Commissioner proposed the removal of the *bazaar* from the central part of the town.

“My idea is to give Simla as much as European tone as possible. . . . I look forward to the radical removal of the Bazaar at Simla which is

at present occupied by natives and to substitute European traders in their stead; in improved buildings.”<sup>8</sup>

By the eighties of the 19th century, the Mall was flanked by European style shops. Muleteer, saddlers, clothiers, chemists, jewellers, dress-makers and general provision stores, mostly owned by British traders, catered to the needs of Shimla’s European population. The great demand for European imported goods was met by British traders, many of whom had come from Calcutta and Lahore and established a branch at Shimla.

Lower Bazaar was the hub of Indian commercial activities. There were broadly two types of Indian shopkeepers: Those, whose shops functioned as the branches of the ones at Delhi or Lahore, and the Sood traders, who maintained a permanent business interest at Shimla. Sood traders, largely from the twin villages of Garli and Paragpur (Kangra district), and some from Hoshiarpur district, had migrated to Shimla since its inception in the early 19th century to set up business as retailers, wholesalers and money-lenders. The wealthier of them were commission agents (*Ahrtis*) and controlled the wholesale trade in foodgrains, pulses and edible oils, carried on in the heart of Lower Bazaar at Edward Ganj. They procured these commodities from the *mandis* at Hoshiarpur for sale to wholesalers and retailers, charging a commission for the task of procuring, weighing and selling. As commission agents, wholesalers and money-lenders, they were in a position to manipulate prices and the availability of their goods. The commission agents organised the Ahrties Association of Shimla in 1931.

Shimla became the focal point, where no less than sixty-three routes, directly or indirectly connected by intervening routes, converged. For hill products, such as opium, honey, borax, fur, woollen cloths, goats and ginger

and also *neoza*, *kala zeera*, walnut from Kinnaur, Shimla was an important market. Some Shimla *ahrtis* served as *modis* to the Ranas and Thakurs of the hill states. They used to supply various commodities ordered by the later.

Sultanpur (called Kullu since 1920) has been the capital of Kullu state. It is situated at the junction of the Beas and the Sarvari at an elevation of 4,092 feet above sea level, occupying the plateau on the top of the high bank overlooking the two streams. It is situated on the trade-route from Punjab plains to Leh, the great mart and capital of Ladakh. This route passes through Lahaul & Spiti.

Maj. Gen. J.D.F. Newell mentions that:

“the modern capital Sultanpur, 12 miles lower down, also on the left bank is a great mart for traders of many provinces and covers a large area of ground.”<sup>9</sup>

William Moorcroft, who passed through it in 1820, described it as an insignificant village. There were nearly 500 houses. Kullu Gazetteer of 1897 mentions that:

“the suburb forms the winter quarters of a considerable colony of Lahulis; who have to seek a refuge from the rigours of their native climate. It boasts of a number of shops, owned by tradesmen from Kangra, Lahul and Ladak, and a *sarai* has been erected. The traders of the town are all foreigner, from the Punjab or from Lahul and Ladak, engaged in the transit trade between the plains on the one side and Leh and Central Asia on the other.”<sup>10</sup>

Wherever people get together in the hills, a market normally springs up. Such a growth supplements the annual fair as well. Kullu being on the ancient trade-routes connecting Yarkand, Ladakh, Tibet and Lahaul & Spiti on one end and the plains of Punjab on the other, this

festival also turned into an annual market with the week long fair in October every year, later on it came to be known as market fair.

The wool brought from Rudok in north-west Tibet, and Rupshu in Ladakh, carpets and silk goods brought from Yarkand through Leh were sold in large quantities at the fair. An equally important fair for bartering of wool with barley and tea was held at Patseo in Lahaul in the month of August.

This autumn season fair was held in Dhalpur *maidan*. The fair marked the celebration of the Dushehra festival which was the most important fair in this region, indeed in the whole of Punjab Himalaya. The gods of the neighbouring villages were brought down in gaily-caparisoned palanquins to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets and laid at their assigned places. Large number of booths and shops were set up. Brisk trade in different products, local from Ladakh and Yarkand and the Indian plains was conducted. Gold and silver were also brought down in small quantities, and about 1883, there was a considerable import of sapphires because of the discovery of a 'pocket' in Zanskar, which was worked for some time without the knowledge of Kashmir Government.

Mandi, the capital of princely state of that name, is situated on the left bank of the Beas river at an altitude of 2,557 feet.

Various guesses have been offered to explain the name of Mandi. Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Vogel have interpreted it as a "market", connected, as it was, with the Ladakh and Yarkand trade which passed through Sultanpur and Mandi to Hoshiarpur and Punjab plains. It was a centre of busy trade on the ancient route connecting Central Asia with Punjab plains. Though the state itself had little interest in the Ladakh and Yarkand trade, the passage through its territory of hundreds of

mules each year stimulated exchange. The trade of Mandi has been chiefly in the hands of Khattris, but there were a few Bohras and others. Quite apart from the trade, the exchange between Mandi and the plains was large. Mandi had salt mines and it was exported in very large quantities, carried on mules, ponies, camels and bullocks. Timber, tea, *ghi* and potato were important items of export. The other items were hides, hawks, soap nuts, wooden goods, herbs and musk.

Important imports to Mandi market were European piece-goods, household wares of brass, copper and other metals, gold and silver from Amritsar market, *gur*, oil and country made cloth from Hoshiarpur district and a certain amount of *khewra* salt (about 5000 maunds) (2000 quintals). Traders from Shimla used to visit the Gujjars of Mandi at their home for milk and milk products.

In the hills the religious fairs have been the occasions for trade as well as devotion. Shivratri fair of Mandi has been also an important religious as well as trade fair of mid-Beas valley which is celebrated annually in the month of February.

Hundreds of gods and goddesses visit Mandi Shivratri fair every year. They are accompanied by their worshippers, temple bands and dancers. During the fair many traders used to come from the Punjab plains and neighbouring hill areas of Kangra, Kullu, Shimla hills and Bilaspur. Brisk trade was carried out in local products like woollens, opium, honey, *ghi*, walnut and walnut-bark, and general merchandise brought by Punjab and Kangra traders.

A very large number of villagers attend this fair for shopping at cheaper rates. In olden days there were no shops in the interior. On one hand it was an enjoyment and on the other it was a gainful shopping. *Gur*, molasses, salt, sugar, tobacco, and utensils were the items they

required. Local women and girls were interested in jewellery.

### **Kangra Region Markets**

The lower Beas valley was formed by whole of Kangra district and Una area of Hoshiarpur district. The principal centres of internal trade of the region were Kangra town, Palampur, Nurpur, Jwalamukhi, Haripur, Sujampur, Hamirpur and Dharamsala. All these places were permanent markets where the normal trade of the Kangra district was transacted.

In olden times Kangra was known as Nagarkot and on account of a temple of goddess Brajeshwari it was a great centre of pilgrimage where thousands of people used to come from far and near during *navratra* days in the months of March and April. Much business is done at these annual fairs at Kangra.

Jwalamukhi has been of considerable importance on account of the temple of Jwalamukhi which was visited by thousands of people throughout year. Thus, it grew up into a trade mart of the area.

The principal inhabitants of the town are Gosains. Their enterprise as wholesale traders gave a certain commercial importance to the town as an entrepot for traffic between the hills and the plains. The main item of trade was opium, collected from Kullu and passed on to the plains.

At the temple of Jwalamukhi two fairs during the *navratra* days in the months of March and October are held. Traders from the neighbouring areas and Punjab plains visit these religious trade-fairs. These fairs are of great commercial importance.

Nurpur was an ancient state of commercial importance. Its principal inhabitants were Pathania Rajputs,

Kashmiris and Khattris. Kashmiris migrated to Nurpur in 1783 due to a grievous famine. Some Kashmiris came in 1833. They carried with them the manufacture of their native valley, the shawls of *pashmina* wool, and made the town famous for the production of these and other woollen clothes. The value of the annual turnout of *pashmina* goods was estimated in 1875 to be about two lakhs of rupees. They found sale potential in the province, but seldom penetrated to foreign markets. The *pasham* used was imported in part direct from Ladakh and in part from Amritsar. After Franco-Prussian war this trade dwindled down and later on confined to the manufacture on the small scale of shawls and woollen fabrics.

Palampur grew up into a tea trade in the Punjab Himalaya. Kangra tea was much in demand in Afghanistan, Ladakh and other Central Asian countries. It was nearly all bought up locally by the green-tea merchants or '*dalals*' principally in Palampur, who exported it to Amritsar. They were as a rule the local agents of larger Amritsar firms. Many outsiders from Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar districts settled in this district and functioned as trade intermediaries between India and Tibetan countries. To foster the tea trade with Central Asia, a fair was established by the government in 1868. In that year 19 Yarkandis were present. They brought with them silk, *charas*, *pasham*, carpets and ponies for sale. The fair was held annually till 1879 when it had dwindled to a mere local gathering and was then abolished.

In the inner Ravi valley Chamba is an important ancient town and trading-center which was bounded in the west by Jammu, in the north-west by Kashmir and in the north by Zanskar.

Chamba is situated on the junction of the Saho-stream with Ravi river. Many routes from Kangra and Punjab plains to Kashmir, Zansker and Lahaul pass through



Chamba. It has been a busy market. The bazar presented a cheerful vision of industry and thrift. The shops are very clean and neat. Many of the shopkeepers are Muhammadans. Salt and brass are principal articles dealt in, and cheap country jewellery, of which the local people are extremely fond, is sold in the majority of the shops.

Woollen *pattus* are made in all parts of the state and are brought to Chamba town by the producers from where these articles are exported accordingly via Shahpur. Excellent *chappals* known as 'Chamba *chappals*' are made in Chamba which are generally regarded as superior to those made anywhere else in the hills. Chamba *rumals* are made by women. Pangi produced *pattu* alongwith *thobis* and exported them with *zeera* or cumin, *kuth*, *thangi*, edible pine, *tilla* etc. Once hops were sent to the brewery at Murrea. The articles of trade were *ghi*, honey, *kuth*, *banafsha*, walnuts, walnut-bark, *zeera*, *attis* (medicine). Chamba had rich forests and timber for railway sleepers which were floated down in Ravi river to Pathankot and Punjab plains.

There is no fair organised for wholesale trade and commerce. However, Minjar *mela* is held annually in the month of August where brisk trade in woollen items and other local products are bought and sold to local and alien traders.

Chamba proper is the main clearing venue. The imports by and large, are first brought to the town and then taken into the interior. Likewise the export, for the most part, passed through the town.

In the Siwalik hills the chief local centre of trade was the town of Nahan. This town is well connected by roads to the market centres like Jagadhri, Ambala etc.

With the growth of the town, it became an important trading centre of Sirmaur and other adjoining hill areas. People have been carrying surplus grains and other

produce of the hills like wheat, maize, rice, potatoes, chillies, gram, turmeric, dried ginger, opium, honey, *ghi*, dried pomegranate seeds, walnut, resin, herbs and medicinal herbs to Nahan for being exported.

Grains were exported to Ambala district from Doon valley by the traders. These were also exported to Shimla and Solan.

All kinds of cloth, metal and other utensils, salt and sugar were imported to Nahan from where these imports were purchased by the traders from the interior hills.

No trade fair is held at Nahan, but a worth mentioning religious and trade fair of local interest was held at Rainuka in the month of November every year. People from the neighbouring hills used to bring their produce especially ginger, turmeric, walnuts, honey, *ghi*, opium, agricultural implements, etc. to the fair for sale. Traders and shopkeepers from Nahan and plains used to come to the fair to purchase local produce like ginger etc. in large quantity. An other fair of considerable importance was held at Trilokpur in March-April.

Sirmaur had two tea estates namely: (i) Kowelagarh Tea Estates, and (ii) Annfield Tea Estate in district Dehradun. The nearest market for this tea was Amritsar. It was however sent to Kashmir, Calcutta and North West Frontier Province and Kabul. The management of the Estate was carried out by a Manager under the direct supervision and control of the Controller of Tea Estate and the Finance Minister.

### **Trade Marts of the North**

In the north, in the trans-Himalayan region, there were a number of marts. These had good trade relation with the Punjab Himalaya and Indian plains. The most notable marts were Gartok in western Tibet and Leh in Ladakh.

These marts were situated on the trade routes to Tibet, Yarkand, Kashmir and Central Asia in the north and Indian plains in the south.

Western Tibet, though cut off from India by the formidable mountain barrier of the Himalaya, was nevertheless visited every summer by Indian traders especially Kinnauras who bartered grains and cloth for wool and borax. Under the Anglo-Tibetan Trade Treaty Regulations 1914 a British Trade Agency had been established at Gartok, the capital of western Tibet, to protect the interest of these Indian traders. Thakur Jai Chand of Lahaul was British Trade Agent in 1910s and in 1920s Rai Sahib Devi Dass of Kotgarh also remained British Trade Agent at Gartok.

Gartok also known as Garyarsa was the capital of Ngari district in the western Tibetan highland. It was the seat of the Garpons (Governor-Generals) of western Tibet and headquarters of British Trade Agency. British Trade Agent was appointed under the Treaty of Lhasa. It was a trade mart of Tibet, situated on the bank of Indus on the road between Shigatse and Leh, to the east of Shimla in India through the Shipki pass. This route was centuries-old and used by the traders of Bushahr state.

During the summer season a brisk trade was carried on between the nomads from the southern plains, the Zhikatse merchants and the traders of Kinnaur and from India and Nepal. The official government merchant, or Yungchong used to come to Lhasa with commodities of every kind, such as carpets, tea, cloth, etc. to sell at the market. Regular fairs were held throughout the summer attracting about 2000 people daily with hundreds of tents littering the bare plain and hillside during the night. This fair was attended by traders from India, Ladakh, Kashmir, Tartary, Yarkand, Lhasa and China. At this annual gathering business, both official and mercantile, was transacted,

and was blended with pleasure in the shape of horse-racing. There were prizes for the first fine ponies to come in. These prizes were presented by Lhasa Government. These horses were used to fetch high prices in the market.

Leh, the capital of Ladakh and an important mart, was situated 4 miles from the right bank of the upper Indus about 100 miles east of Srinagar and south of Yarkand, Sinkiang and 11,500 ft. above sea level.

Leh was a centre of Buddhist monasteries and of the trade between India, Sinkiang and Tibet as it was the meeting place of routes from Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Lhasa. The two chief roads from India to Leh traversed the Zozila pass (11,578 ft.) via Srinagar and the Kullu valley respectively. Another route from Leh to Bushahr in Shimla hills and down to the plains passed through Satluj valley. Similarly from Leh the Janglam trade route to Lhasa and China passed through the Masiam La pass into the valley of the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra). Subsequently, Leh was the great emporium of trade which passed between India, Chinese Turkistan and Tibet. Here met the routes leading from Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and Lhasa. Under commercial treaty with Maharaja of Kashmir, a British officer was deputed to Leh to regulate and control the trade and the traffic, jointly with the Governor appointed by Kashmir state.

The main items of export from Leh were wool *pashmina*, felt, borax to Punjab and Kashmir, grains and dry fruit to Tibet and sugar and spices to Sinkiang. The main items of imports were wool, salt, tea and borax from Tibet and sugar, hardware, cotton textiles and household goods from Punjab and Kashmir.

In the south the important trade centres of Punjab which had intimate trade relations with the hill states were Jagadhri, Ambala, Churpur, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Amritsar and Pathankot. Commodities of daily use like

clothes, *gur*, cooking oil, salt, brass and bronze utensils were imported, and from the hill state opium, herbs, wool, *ghi*, skins, etc. were exported to these centres. This trade was generally carried out by traders from Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Amritsar and Pathankot. Some traders from these areas settled in the hill states.

Having discussed the whole gamut of trade and commerce in Himachal Pradesh during the pre-independence era, we have now reached a stage when we can have a wholesome picture of this activity in a broad historical perspective. So many winds have blown over the mountain ridges of Himachal Pradesh during the past fifty years of independence. The Pradesh has been ushered in to the era of socialistic egalitarianism and the effects of economic boon is evident even in the remotest corner of the Pradesh. With the vast network of all-weather high-speed motorable roads in the state, even the remotest villages of the hinterland have been connected with a commercial capital towns of the country. Thus the local produce of the people can find profitable markets outside the state without interruption and so can the consumer items and manufactured goods reach them directly from the trade-centres in the mainland. This development has resulted into the shrinkage of trading activities in the traditional trading-centres within the Pradesh. Most of the traditional trading houses in Himachal have shifted to wholesale business so that these can serve as a link between the main trading-centres in the mainland and the retail shops in the interior towns. With the opening of all-weather trunk routes many ancient trading towns have fallen in bad days which fact is evident from the stagnate position of these towns during the past five decades. Nahan, Bilaspur and Chamba are possibly such miserable towns. In case these towns are not associated with some viable economic activity, their glory

may further deteriorate.

While Nahan and Chamba can be developed as midway tourist resorts, Bilaspur town has rich potential for paragliding and water sports. While the expansion of communication network has brought out prosperity among the people, these have also inducted numerous vices of the consumeristic psychology. This has resulted into debasing of public taste and traditional moral values, perhaps that is the cost which the tradition may have to pay for the economic prosperity.

#### REFERENCES

1. *Punjab Government Records*, Lahore, 1911. Vol. I, pp. 286-87.
2. *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, pp. 60-61.
3. A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1914, p. 25.
4. O.C. Handa, *Textiles, Costumes and Ornaments of the Western Himalaya*, Delhi, 1998, pp. 67-68.
5. E.G. Wace, *Final Report on the First Regular Settlement of Simla District*, Calcutta, 1884, p. 20.
6. Pamela Kanwar, *Imperial Simla*, Delhi 1990, p. 20.
7. Indri Krishan, *An Historical Interpretation of the Correspondence of Sir George Russel Clark*, Delhi, 1952, p. 366.
8. *Report on the Improvement of Simlah, General Political*, 1861, (Ambala Division Record).
9. D.J.F. Newell, *High Lands of India*, Foreign Department Secret F. No. 167-187, Vol. I, London, 1882, p. 54.
10. *Gazetteer of the Kangra District*, Part II, Kullu, Calcutta, 1897, p. 123.



## **Bibliography**

### **I. Primary Sources (Archival)**

#### *(a) National Archives (Delhi)*

*Foreign Department (Revenue A and B file)*, 1860-69.

*Foreign Department (Secret File)*, F. No. 115/116, 1853.

*Foreign Department (Secret File)*, F. No. 24-25, 1887.

*Foreign Department (Secret File)*, F. No. 25-26, 1887-88.

*Foreign Department (Secret File)*, F. No. 35-37, 1841.

*Foreign Department (Secret File)*, F. No. 73-76, 1842.

*Home Department (1879-1880) Revenue and Agriculture A and B file.*

*Home Department (1879-1880) Revenue and Agriculture and Forests A and B file.*

*Revenue and Agriculture Department, Forests A and B files (1881-1947).*

#### *(b) State Archives (Shimla)*

*Administration Report of the Bilaspur State 1942-43.*

*Annual Report on External Land Trade*, B. No. 28, 54, Sr. No. 906.

*Assessment Report of Kullu Tehsil excepting Waziri Rupi*, F. No. 7, B. No. 1.

*Capt. Hay's Report on Spiti Valley*, B. No. 34-60, Sr. No. 1025.

*Centralization of the Vegetables & Fruits Trade in Shimla*, B. No. 13, Sr. No. 144.

*Communications-Roads-Transport, H.T. Road*, B. No. 15, Sr. No. 420.

*Economic Survey Report of Mandi State (B.K. Chopra)*, B. No. 32, Sr. No. 885.

*Economic Survey Report of Mandi State*, F. No. 885, B. No. 32.

170 *Traditional Trade & Trading Centres in H.P.*

*Excise-Drugs-Supply Opium*, B. No. 11, Sr. No. 357.

*Excise-Drugs-Supply Opium*, F. No. 31, B. N. 11, Sr. No. 357.

*Final Settlement Report for the Simla District* by J.D. Anderson, Lahore, 1915-16.

*Government Rules Regulating the Imports of Timber and other Forest Produce into Shimla*, F. No. 5, B. No. 133.

*Import Trade Control Policy*, B. No. 28, 54, Sr. No. 910.

*Kangra Valley Tea Co's Land Declared to be Free Sample*, B. No. 7, Sr. No. 239.

*Kullu to Kalka Road and Construction of Bridge at Dihar*, F. No. 31, B. No. 12, Sr. No. 359.

*Preservation of Hill Roads*, B. No. 23, Sr. No. 579.

*Report on External Land Trade*, B. No. 28, 54, Sr. No. 907.

*Report on External Land Trade*, F. No. 10, B. No. 1.

*Report on Ladakh Trade*, F. No. 30, B. No. 4.

*Report on Tea in Kangra Valley*, Lahore, 1930.

*Report on the Administration of the Baghat State for 2000 to 2001 Samvat*, 1943-44.

*Report on the Administration of the Bushahr State for Samvat 1971*, Simla, 1914-15.

*Report on the Administration of the Sirmour State for 2003 Samvat*, Ambala, 1946-47.

*Report on the Administration of the Sirmour State for 2000 Samvat*, Reprinted Ambala, 1943-44.

*Report on the External Trade in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1904-1905.

*Report on the Indo-Yarkand Trade*, File No. 31, B. No. 4.

*Report on the Protected Sikh and Hill States and on the Latter Generally* by Captain Kennedy. Lahore, 1824. Public in Punjab Government Records, Lahore, 1911, Vol. 1, pp. 251-324.

*Report on the Trade of Ladakh*, F. No. 32, B. No. 4.

*Reports on the Trade of Chinese Turkistan*, B. No. 28, 54, Sr. No. 909.

*Rules and Orders Regarding Permits to Travellers Intending to Visit Spiti and to Cross Inner Line*, B. No. 34-60, Sr. No. 1030.

*The Punjab Trade Employees Rules-1940*, B. No. 42-63, Sr. No. 1098.

*Trade with Tibet & Ladakh Distinction Between and Trade Routes in Kullu*, B. No. 28, 54, Sr. No. 908.

*Yarkand Mission-1871*, B. No. 34-60, Sr. No. 1027.



(c) *Traveller's Accounts*

- Forester, George, *Journey from Bengal to England through Northern Parts of India, Kashmir*, London, 1798.
- Francke, A.H. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (Reprint Delhi, 1972). Calcutta, 1913-26, 2 Vols.
- Fraser, James Baillie, *Journal of a Tour Through Part of Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains and to the Sources of the Rivers Jamuna and Ganges*. London, 1820.
- Gerard Alexander, *Account of Koonawur in the Himalaya*, London, 1841.
- Harcourt, A.F.P. *Himalayan District of Kooloo, Lohoul and Spiti*: London, 1871.
- Hugel, Baron Charles, *Kashmir and the Punjab*, London, 1845, (Reprint 1972).
- Jacquemont, Victor, *Letters from India, 1829-32*, London, 1834, 2 vols. (also in one volume 1936).
- Lloyd, William and Gerard, Alex., *Narrative of a Journey from Caunpur to the Boorendo Pass in the Himalaya Mountains*. London, 1840, 2 vols.
- Moorcroft, Wm. & Trebeck, George, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab*. . . London, 1841 (Rept. 1972), 2 vols.
- Murry, Ansley (Mrs.) J.C., *An Account of a three months Tour from Simla through Bussahir Kunawar and Spiti to Lahaul*, Calcutta, 1882.
- Newell, D.J.F. *High Lands of India*, London, 1882-86, 2 vols.
- Russell, William Howard, *My Diary in India in the year 1858-59*, London 1860, 2 vols.
- Thomson, Thomas, *Western Himalaya and Tibet*, London, 1852.
- Van Der Sleen, W.G.N. *Four months Camping in the Himalayas tr. from Dutch*, London, 1929.
- Vigne, Godfrey Thomas, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountain course of the Indus and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab*, London, 1944, 2 vols.
- Wakefield, Edward, *Past Imperative*, London, 1966.
- Wilson, Andrew, *Abode of Snow*, London, 1875.

(d) *Gazetteers*

- Frowde Henry, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, Oxford, 1909.
- Frowde Henry, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1909.
- Gazetteer of Ambala District*, 1892-93.
- Gazetteer of Amritsar District*, 1904, Vol. XXA, Lahore.
- Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, Vol. XXIIA.
- Gazetteer of Gurdaspur District*, 1914, Vol. XXIA, Lahore.
- Gazetteer of Hoshiarpur District*, 1904, Vol. XIII-A.
- Gazetteer of Kangra District*, 1904, 1917, 1924-25, Vol. VIIA, XXXA.
- Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, Vol. XIIA, Lahore.
- Gazetteer of Punjab State, Mandi and Suket*, 1904, Vol. XIIA, Lahore.
- Gazetteer of Simla District*, 1904, Vol. VIIIA.
- Gazetteer of Simla Hill State*, 1910, Vol. VIII.
- Gazetteer of Sirmour State*, 1904, 1934, 1939.
- Hunter, W.W., *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, London 1881.
- Hunter, W.W., *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, Second Edition.

(e) *Census Reports*

- Ibbetson, Denzil Charles Jelf, *Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on the 17th February, 1881*, Calcutta, 1883.
- Kaul, Pandit Harikrishan, *Census of India*, Lahore, 1911.
- Kaul, Pandit Harikrishan, *Report on the Summer Census of Shimla*, Lahore, 1912.
- Khan, Ahmad Hasan, *Census of India*, Lahore, 1931.
- Middleton, L. and Jacob, S.M., *Census of India*, Lahore, 1921.

**II. Other Works**

- Aitchinson, C.U., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring Countries*, Calcutta, 1863.
- Beotra, B.R., *The two Indias, being an historical sketch of the treaty relations between the Indian States and the Paramount Power*. Calcutta.
- Buck, Edward, *Simla Past and Present*, Calcutta, 1904.

- Cammann, Schuyler, *Trade through the Himalayas*, Princeton (USA), 1951.
- Datta, C.L., *Ladakh and Western Himalayan Politics*, Delhi, 1973.
- Farooqi, Mian Bashir Ahmad, *British Relation with the Cis-Indus States, 1809-1823*, Lahore, 1941.
- Fisher, James, F. *Trans. Himalayan Traders, Economy, Society, Culture in Northern Nepal*, Delhi, 1987.
- Griffin, Lepal, H., *Rajas of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1870, (Reprint, 1977).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. Ph., *History of the Punjab Hill States*. Lahore, 1933.
- Hyde, H. Montgomery, *Simla and Simla Hill States under British Protection, 1815-1835*, 1961.
- Moti, Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1977.
- Warminton, E.H., *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Delhi, 1975.



## Index

- Abdullah Pur Depot 132  
Achibal 110  
Adampur 128  
Afghanistan 114, 162  
Aggarwals 23, 65  
Aghar 98  
*ahrtis* 157  
Ahuk 58  
Akhnur 131  
Akpa 82  
Alampi pass 88  
alcoholic drink 128  
almonds 117  
Alwas 92  
Ambala 56, 71, 97, 98, 121, 126,  
128, 132, 136, 150, 163, 164,  
166  
amber 113, 139  
Amritsar 70, 91, 97, 111, 114,  
119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127,  
128, 160, 162, 164, 166, 167  
*amla* 133  
Anandpur 104, 119, 130  
Anglo-Nepalese War 78  
Anglo-Sikh War 43  
apiculture 130  
apples 117, 135  
apricots 136, 151  
Arakot 98, 104  
Arki 24  
Aroras 63, 64  
arrows 117  
Arsu 107  
Asan 96  
Ashwani Nadi 45  
Asiatic town 150  
*aslitush* 34  
Assar 93  
astrologers 62  
*Athara Thakurais* 49, 50, 53, 54  
Attis 163  
Audumbaras 39  
Auhar 104  
Badar 137  
Baddi 105  
Baddi-Patta 106  
Badis 60  
*bagar* 21  
bagar grass 133  
Baghal 40, 49, 78, 126, 128, 129,  
130, 133, 134, 138  
Baghat 40, 41, 50, 78, 133  
Bahaura 96  
Baijnath 27, 95  
Bajaura 95, 99, 125  
Bajwaria 66  
Bajwas 92  
Bakloh 118  
Baleasa-Jawalapur 93  
Balh 106  
Balson 40, 41, 47, 51, 53, 78,  
105  
Baltis 70

- Baltistan 73, 89, 97  
 Ban-Oak 26  
*banafsha* 163  
 Banaras 126  
 Bandal 91  
 Banghal 41  
 Banikhet 100, 109  
 Baniya 23, 63, 65, 67  
 Banjara tribe 22, 28  
 Bankers 65, 66  
 Bara Bhanghal 41, 107  
 Bara Thakuries 41, 49, 92  
 Baralacha pass 88, 90, 91, 92,  
 107  
 Barando passes 87  
*barani* 128  
*bare* 133  
 barley 117, 127  
 Barh 155  
 bars 113  
 Barsar 99  
 Barwala 59  
*basmati* 127, 128  
 Basohli 91, 92, 98  
 Baspa valley 87  
*basuti/bahane/bare* 21  
 Batai 62  
 Bathri valley 109  
 Batoli 93  
 Batoto 93  
 Batwal 59  
 beads 139  
*beangee* sheep 69, 117, 118  
 Beas 25, 28, 35, 43, 74, 106, 108,  
 131, 132, 137, 158, 159  
 Beas river valley 14, 39, 44, 88  
 bee-wax 138  
 beeds 113  
 beehives 130  
 beer 132  
*begami* 127  
*begar* 78  
*begaris* 48  
 Behar 126  
 Beja 41, 52  
 Belgium 113, 139  
 Benog 92  
 Bernett 101  
 Beyas 137  
 Bhaba 107  
*bhabar* grass 21  
 Bhabras 64  
 Bhabu pass 106  
 Bhadarwah 92, 93, 94, 97, 109,  
 110  
 Bhaga 89  
 Bhaga valley 31  
 Bhagsu 91  
 Bhagwan 97  
 Bhagwantpur 91  
 Bhajji 41, 50  
 Bhajun 104  
 Bhalun 91  
 Bhamla 98  
 Bhanda 92, 93, 94  
 Bhandal 109  
 Bhang 116  
 Bhanjyara 21, 60  
 Bharauli 41, 47, 53, 55, 71  
 Bharmaur 67, 92  
 Bharwain 99, 108  
 Bhatias 64  
 Bhatiyat 127  
 Bhats 63  
 Bheli 96  
*bher* 133  
 Bhimakali 75  
 Bhojal 102  
*bhojpatra* 30  
 Bhole 102  
 Bhoras 23  
 Bhotias 88  
 Bhujund 92  
 Bhunter 28

- Bhutan 69, 113  
 Bijainagar 104  
 Bilaspur 65, 67, 71, 76, 78, 96,  
     98, 103, 104, 105, 106, 119,  
     120, 127, 128, 130, 133, 137,  
     155, 160, 167  
 Biluchistan 125  
 Bindraban 92  
 Bir 137  
 birds 136  
 black salt 121  
 black tea 125  
 blanket dyed red 114, 117, 134,  
     135, 141, 151, 152  
 Bohras 63, 65, 66, 67  
 Bokhara 125, 141  
 Bolan pass 125  
 Boorando pass 82  
 Bootan 116  
 borax 69, 71, 114, 115, 116, 117,  
     118, 138, 140, 144, 148, 152,  
     156, 157, 166  
 bows 117  
 boxwood 121  
 Brahami 26  
 Brahampukhar 104  
 Brahmin 55, 61, 62, 63, 66  
 Brahmpur 43  
 Brajeshwari 161  
 brass 71, 116, 117, 118, 156,  
     163, 166  
 brass pots 117  
 brick 142  
 British 13, 165  
 British India 118, 135, 151  
 British paramountcy 14  
 British Punjab 132  
 British rule 14  
 British territory 136, 137  
 brocades 152  
 broad cloth 152  
 bronze utensils 166  
 Brooang 82  
 Bubhoo 89  
 buck-wheat 127  
 Buddha 152  
 Buddhist 33, 88  
 Bulghar 117  
 bullocks 73, 160  
 Buneer 83  
 Bungul 97  
 Burjil pass 88  
 Bushahr 28, 40, 41, 47, 49, 54,  
     57, 64, 65, 67, 74, 76, 77, 78,  
     79, 80, 87, 106, 112, 113,  
     117, 126, 128, 130, 131, 132,  
     133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 141,  
     147, 148, 149, 152, 153, 165,  
     166  
 Bussahir 141, 142  
 butter 153  
 Byajis 68  
 Calcutta 69, 113, 143, 157, 164  
 Camels 160  
 Carpets 134, 142, 151, 158,  
     162, 165  
 Cashmere 150  
 Central Asia 13, 14, 15, 17, 35,  
     58, 59, 70, 73, 77, 90, 111,  
     114, 124, 125, 138, 139, 141,  
     148, 162, 164  
 Central Asian marts 56, 124  
 Central Tibet 69, 78, 113  
 cereals 120  
 Ceylon 122  
 chaff cutters 133  
 Chagaon 82  
 Chakki 99  
 Chakrata 98, 104, 105  
 Chamar 59, 60  
 Chamba 24, 27, 28, 29, 31, 40,  
     43, 44, 56, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67,  
     68, 75, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 99,

- 100, 101, 107, 108, 109, 111,  
127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133,  
134, 142, 143, 162, 163, 167
- Chamba *chappals* 163
- Champaka 40
- Chanal 59
- Chandel 46
- Chandra 89, 92
- Chandra-Bhaga 28, 74, 92
- Chang-Thang 70, 144, 152
- Chango 86
- Changocham 86
- Chaon 97
- charas* 63, 69, 118, 139, 140, 142,  
151, 162
- charcoal 121
- Chathi 128
- Chatri 91
- Chatru 110
- Chaupal 75, 105
- Chaur mountain 102, 104
- Chauri 45, 97, 99, 137
- Chawoi 95, 106
- cheenee* 117
- Chenab 24, 35, 96, 110, 131
- Chenab valley 91
- Chergong 87
- Chetna 102
- chhang* 33
- chil* 91, 132
- chilgoza* 135
- chillies 57, 115, 163
- China 13, 18, 78, 110, 111, 112,  
113, 122, 138, 165
- China-clay 153
- Chinese 116, 141, 153
- Chinese frontier 79
- Chinese Tibet 138, 139, 144
- Chinese Turkistan 166
- Chini 83, 84, 102
- Chinla 94
- Chintzes 116
- Chogdu 87
- Choomortee 80
- chopsticks 113
- Chora 134
- chowkis* 155
- chowries* 132, 143
- Chuharpur 127
- chungi* 57
- Chuppan 153, 154
- Churdhar 75
- Churpur 118, 166
- Chushot 95
- cinnamon 117
- cis-Satluj Hill State 147
- citrus fruits 136
- cloth 113, 116, 119, 121, 139,  
142, 156, 160, 165, 166
- clothiers 157
- cloves 117
- Colonial era 14, 132
- Cooloo (Kullu) 150
- copper 71, 117, 156, 160
- corals 113, 139
- cotton 156
- cotton textiles 166
- country cotton cloth 119
- crystal salt 26
- crystals 117
- cumin 156, 163
- cups 113, 139
- cutlery 142
- Dadahu 128
- Dagi 59
- Dagrucha 113
- Dagshai 103
- Dakpathar 98, 105
- dalals* 162
- Dalash 95, 106
- Dalhousie 27, 108, 109, 118
- Dangash 96
- Dankar 95

- Darain 59  
 Darakoti 41, 53  
 Darang 26  
 Darcha 90  
 Darkoti 52  
 Datarpur 41, 43  
 Debring 95  
 Degrucho 69  
 Dehra 104, 105, 108  
 Dehradun 97, 98, 102, 104,  
     118, 164  
 Delath 41, 51, 53, 105  
 Delhi 55, 69, 113, 119, 121, 157  
*deodar* 26, 121, 131, 132, 138  
 Deorah 87, 105  
 Dera Gopipur 132  
 Dhal 105, 136, 152  
 Dhalpur maidan 159  
 Dhamandri 105  
 Dhami 41, 50  
 Dhandi 105  
*dhaniya* 138  
 Dhar 83  
 Dharampur 83, 103  
 Dharamsala 25, 27, 75, 99, 107,  
     108, 161, 118  
 Dharoul 92  
 Dharwas 92  
 Dhaugri 36  
 Dhauladhar (Dhavalgiri) 24,  
     25, 27, 114  
 Dhola Dhar 129  
 Dhunsars 63  
*dhup* 30, 138, 151  
 Digi 97  
 Dinanagar 137  
 Dirang 137  
 Dochuks 117  
 Doda 97  
 Dodra-Kawar 41, 52  
 Dogolee 87  
 Doon valley 19, 87, 127, 164  
 Doosoo 94, 96  
 Doraha 99, 132  
 Drabla 91  
 dried ginger 57, 61, 71, 115,  
     122, 128, 156, 157, 164  
 dried pomegranate seeds 163  
 drug 126  
 drummers 60  
 Dulchi pass 99, 106  
 Dumma 59  
 Dun 115, 128  
 Dushehra 28, 159  
 Dusu 110  
 Dutkung 95  
 East India Company 149  
 Eastern provinces 125  
 Eastern Turkistan 141  
 edible pine 163  
 Edward Ganj 157  
 egalitarianism 167  
*ekkas* 98  
 England 142, 149  
 Estern United Province 97  
 European 154, 156, 157, 160  
 European markets 123  
 European travellers 15  
 Fagu 77, 87, 98, 104, 105, 106,  
     156  
 felt 113, 117, 139, 166  
 ferna 134  
 fire wood 121  
 foodgrains 120, 127, 155  
 Foreign markets 122  
 France 140  
 Franco-Prussian War 162  
 Frontier province 164  
 fur 157  
 Gaddis 25, 64, 67, 68, 129, 135,  
     136



- Gaggidhar 109  
*galgal* 136  
*Ganahanta* 39  
*Ganarajya* 39, 40, 43  
 Gangdarh peak 24  
 Ganges 18  
 Gangtung pass 80  
 Ganj 156  
 Ganji 97  
 Gantung 80  
 Garatok 80  
 Gardok 69, 139  
 Garha 116  
 Garhwal 87  
 Garli 157  
 Garo 80  
 Garoo 69, 117, 141  
 Garpons 74, 86, 87, 165  
 Gartok 74, 77, 78, 87, 148, 153,  
 164, 165  
 Gartop 80  
 Garyarsa 165  
 Gaurkhas 147  
*ghalus* 27  
*ghee (ghi)* 71, 105, 116, 117,  
 122, 130, 151, 160, 163, 164,  
 167  
 Ghitrar 92  
 Ghoghar-ki-Dhar 129  
 Ghumarwin 104  
 Ghund 41, 51, 53, 105  
 Gid 36  
 Gilech 91  
 Giri 36, 53  
 Giri basins 53  
 Giri valley 53  
 Girth 62, 64  
 goats 138, 153  
 goatskins 153  
 gold 118, 119, 160  
 gold coins 113, 139  
 gold dust 69, 118  
 gold ornaments 70  
 Gongs 116  
 goonch 36  
*goonths* 73, 129  
 Gosains 63, 161  
 Govind Sagar 37  
 grains 115, 118, 122, 127, 156,  
 164, 165  
 gram 163  
*Gram Rajyas* 39  
 grapes 136, 151  
 Great Himalayan range 18, 32,  
 33  
 gudmas 134  
 Gujjars 67, 130, 160  
 Guler 40, 43, 44  
 Guma 26  
 Gumah 136, 137  
*gur* 160, 166  
 Gurdaspur 131, 137  
 Gurjan 91  
 Gurkha 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 54,  
 76, 77, 110, 149, 153, 154  
 Gya 95  
 Gypsy 70  
 Halbahu 62, 63  
 Hali 59  
 Hamirpur 24, 96, 103, 106,  
 128, 137, 161  
 Hamta 107  
 Hamti pass 107  
 Hango 82, 86  
*harar, bahera, amla* 21  
 Hari-Tilianger 104  
 Haridwar 53, 98, 99, 102, 104  
 Haripur 61, 155, 161  
 Harsha 39  
 Haryana 17, 56  
 Hatkoti 53, 98  
 hawk-catchers 136  
 hawking 63

- hawks 136, 160  
 hazel nuts 135  
 hemp 31, 133  
 Herat 125  
 herbs 105, 133, 160, 163, 166  
 hides 160  
 Hill States 79, 121, 154  
 Himachal Pradesh 13, 15, 17,  
     18, 23, 27, 28, 33, 35, 38, 39,  
     57, 58, 59, 62, 64, 68, 73, 74,  
     75, 118, 122, 137, 142, 167  
 Himalaya 38, 59, 63, 77, 88, 141,  
     147, 149, 162, 165  
 Himalayan mountain 18, 24, 33  
 Himalayan range 33  
 Himalayan region 39  
 Himalayan valleys 50  
 Hindoor 79  
 Hindur (Nalagarh) 40, 44, 46,  
     47, 78  
 Hindustan 69, 113, 148  
 Hindustan Tibet road 14, 24,  
     58, 77, 78, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87,  
     94, 95, 104, 105, 110  
 Hiuen Tsang 88  
 honey 61, 71, 105, 122, 130,  
     131, 151, 156, 157, 160, 163,  
     164  
 hops 132  
 horse 141, 153  
 Hoshiarpur 56, 66, 97, 98, 99,  
     104, 106, 108, 119, 120, 121,  
     125, 128, 129, 130, 150, 156,  
     157, 160, 161, 162, 166, 167  
 Hungrung 82  
 Huttoo 83  
 Hydrel power 27  
 Hyderabad 63  
  
*Iliaquas* of Shimla 55  
 India 59, 94, 112, 144, 150, 153,  
     162, 164, 165, 166  
 Indian 70, 147, 149, 153, 154  
 Indian mainland 13, 58, 97  
 Indian markets 125  
 Indian plains 13, 15, 18, 60, 62,  
     70, 78, 136, 153  
 Indian Republic 13  
 Indian subcontinent 17, 19  
 Indian teas 124, 125  
 indigo 71, 116, 117  
 Indo-Aryans 60  
 Indo-Tibetan 87  
 Indus 35  
 Indus valley 125  
 ingots of silver 117  
 iron 116, 117, 119, 137, 138  
 Islamabad 94, 96, 110  
 Iskardu 76  
  
 Jagadhri 71, 97, 98, 119, 120,  
     121, 132, 134, 155, 163, 166  
 Jagat Khanna 107  
 Jaijon Bhakhandi 99  
 Jaipur 53  
 Jaisalmer 53  
 Jalandhar 45, 46, 56, 89, 97,  
     119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127,  
     128, 130, 132, 162, 166, 167  
 Jalandhar Doab 45  
 Jammu 13, 91, 97, 98, 108, 109  
 Jammu & Kashmir 13, 18, 91,  
     92, 111, 124  
 Jamnotri peaks 28  
 Jamuna 18, 35, 39, 40, 41, 60,  
     78, 132  
*janapadas* 39  
 Jane 92  
 Jangalwar 92, 94, 96, 110  
 Jangee 82  
 Jangi 86  
 Japan 140  
 Jaswan 41, 43  
 Jaswan Dun 44

- Jaura 94  
 Jaura ridge 110  
 Jeenwo 83  
 jewellers 121, 157, 160, 163  
 Jhanda 104  
 Jhatingri 129  
 Jhelum 24  
 Jhinwa 127  
*jhula* 107  
 Jhungi 106  
 Jibi 95  
 Jiuba 154  
 Jogindernagar 27, 36, 99  
 Joor 92  
 Jubbal 40, 41, 51, 53, 58, 78,  
     87, 102, 104, 105, 126, 132,  
     138  
 Jughtha 95  
*julahas* 60, 119  
 Jwalamukhi 46, 63, 96, 108,  
     114, 135, 161  
  
 Kabul 66, 125, 141, 164  
 Kahloor (Kahlur) 40, 41, 46,  
     47, 134  
 Kailash 152  
 Kairi 109  
 Kaiths 67  
 Kakarhatti 105  
 Kakbur 89  
 Kaksur 89  
*kala zeera* 134, 158  
 Kala-Amb 98  
 Kalabag 102  
 Kalatop 92  
 Kaleh 97  
 Kalka 84, 102, 103, 105, 119,  
     120, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130  
 Kalpa 83  
 Kanam 82  
 Kanawaris 68  
 Kandaghat 83, 103  
  
 Kandani 110  
 Kandhar 148  
 Kaneni 92, 93, 96  
 Kanets 60, 61, 62  
 Kangra 24, 25, 40, 43, 44, 46,  
     54, 56, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67,  
     68, 75, 88, 90, 91, 96, 99,  
     101, 104, 106, 107, 108, 111,  
     114, 119, 121, 122, 127, 128,  
     129, 131, 132, 134, 135, 138,  
     140, 141, 142, 143, 150, 155,  
     156, 158, 160, 162, 166  
 Kangra tea 114, 124, 125, 140  
 Kangra valley 25, 122, 137  
 Kanum 85  
 Kanwas 92  
 Kapurs 64  
 Karangla 41, 52, 53  
 Karars 63, 67  
 Karnal 121  
*karru* 133, 151  
 Karsog 105  
 Kartarpur 21  
 Kasauli 102, 103, 133  
 Kashamal plants 22  
 Kashgar 166  
 Kashmir 28, 43, 60, 69, 73, 76,  
     77, 78, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96,  
     97, 98, 109, 113, 114, 139,  
     140, 148, 149, 153, 159, 162,  
     164, 165, 166  
 Kashmiris 161  
 Kashuli 24  
*katha* plants 21  
 Kathet 92  
 Katiyan 98  
*kaur* 133  
 Kayash 57  
 Kayaths 66, 67  
 Kaza 35, 95  
 Kazarak 95  
 Keneni 94

- Keonthal (Keonthul) 40, 41, 44,  
45, 49, 78, 79, 102, 105, 125,  
128, 129, 134, 155
- kerosene 121
- kesur 117
- Keylong 31, 92
- khaddar* 119
- Khampas 70
- Khaneti 41, 48, 51, 53, 105
- Khang pass 34
- Khanga 93
- Khannas 64
- kharif* 120
- Kharwa 116
- Khashas 60, 61
- Khashia 60
- khaskhas 138
- Khatris 23, 61, 63, 64, 67, 159,  
161
- Khel 60
- Kheora salt 120
- Khiva 125
- Khojahs 64
- Khotan 90, 166
- Khotekie 87
- Khyibar 95
- Kiari Ghat 103
- Kielung 90
- Kihar 91, 109
- kiker 21
- Kilar 92
- Kinanipani 98
- Kindi 109
- Kinnaur 33, 48, 69, 70, 73, 74,  
76, 77, 80, 82, 102, 105, 113,  
133, 139, 152, 153, 165
- Kinnaura 68, 69, 70, 80, 86, 139,  
151, 152, 165
- Kirang Gad 86
- kiriana* 152
- Kishtwar 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 109,  
110
- knives 117, 140
- koda 127
- Kohat 125
- Kolarian 59
- Kolis 25, 59, 60, 136
- Kolung 90
- Kooloo (Kullu) 71, 90
- Koonawur (Kinnaur) 117
- Koonawuree 69, 116, 117
- Koopa mountain 87
- Kooshwar 117
- Koot Laha 117
- Koran* 140
- Kot 95
- Kotan 166
- Kotgarh 27, 55, 83, 84, 87, 105,  
134, 138, 154, 165
- Kotguru 115
- Kothi 109
- Koti 41, 50, 91
- Kotkhai 41, 52, 53, 55, 104,  
105, 119
- Kotla 40, 99
- Krassoo 87
- Kuhloor 79
- Kuhls 37
- Kukti pass 107
- Kulindas 39
- Kullen 96
- Kullu 25, 27, 28, 33, 36, 41, 43,  
44, 54, 68, 70, 71, 74, 76, 88,  
90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101,  
105, 106, 107, 111, 114, 119,  
120, 121, 122, 125, 127, 128,  
130, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138,  
140, 142, 143, 147, 152, 158,  
160
- Kullu valley 31, 125, 130
- Kuluta 29, 40, 44, 88
- Kumaon 54
- Kumharhatti 96, 108
- kumhars* 60, 98, 106

- Kumharsain 40, 41, 48, 50, 53,  
 78, 95, 121, 138  
 Kunawar (Kunawur) 70, 113,  
 116, 141, 150  
 Kund 92  
 Kundlu 105  
 Kungti 92  
 Kunihar 24, 41, 50  
 Kushaine 87  
 Kutehi 92  
*kuth* 30, 134, 135, 140, 142, 163  
 Kuthar 41, 50  
 Kutlehr 41, 44  
 Kyangdom 95  
  
 Labana 25, 26, 106, 120  
 Labanasr 98  
 Lachelung 91  
 Ladakh 33, 48, 56, 70, 71, 73,  
 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 88,  
 89, 90, 94, 111, 113, 114,  
 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 139,  
 140, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150,  
 158, 162, 164, 165  
 Ladakhi 69  
 Lahaul (Lahul) 29, 31, 56, 69,  
 73, 76, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95,  
 96, 97, 98, 101, 107, 111,  
 114, 119, 129, 137, 140, 158,  
 159, 165  
 Lahaul & Spiti 28, 33, 134, 135,  
 138, 140, 147, 158,  
 Lahaul range 28  
 Lahaulas 70, 71, 140, 158  
 Lahore 44, 69, 79, 88, 97, 113,  
 125, 127, 128, 157  
 Lahoulees 127  
 lake salt 121, 140  
 Lama 117, 152  
 lana-cheta 102  
 Langera 91, 92, 93, 94, 109,  
 110  
  
 Lapshak 154  
 lathes 133  
 Lavi 105, 152  
 leather 113, 121, 139, 142  
 Leepa 82  
 Leh 68, 69, 77, 79, 88, 92, 95,  
 97, 111, 113, 117, 144, 158,  
 159, 164, 165, 166  
 Lhasa 69, 113, 148, 165, 166  
 lime 136  
 Lingtee 90  
 Lio 86  
 livestock 136  
 logs 131  
*lohar* 25, 59, 60  
 Loi 136, 152  
 Loi Jeth 105, 136  
 London 124, 143  
 looking glasses 117  
 Lower Bazaar 156  
 Lower Beas valley 161  
 Ludhiana 111, 119, 137  
  
 Machalong 95  
 Madhan 41, 50, 105  
 Mahajans 23, 63, 66  
 Mahajans (Pahari) 63, 66, 67  
 Mahashir 36  
 Mahipur 102  
 Mahlog 105  
 Mahr-ki-Hatti 108  
 Mahras 64  
 Maindrot 98  
 mainland 73, 121  
 maize 71, 127, 163  
 Makan 93  
 Malaun 47  
 Malaya 140  
 Malhotras 64  
 Manal 94  
 Manali (Manalee) 14, 28, 89,  
 106, 114

- Mandarin 113, 139  
 Mandi 14, 25, 26, 28, 36, 40,  
     44, 45, 46, 56, 58, 63, 64, 65,  
     67, 68, 76, 88, 97, 98, 99,  
     101, 103, 105, 106, 111, 113,  
     114, 119, 120, 121, 122, 125,  
     128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134,  
     135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 144,  
     147, 159, 160  
 Mandi district 24  
 Mandi-Suket 88  
 Mandpur 92  
 Mangal 41, 50  
 Manglor (Manglaur) 95, 107  
 mangoes 62  
 Manieri 97  
 Manjir 92, 93, 109  
 Mansar 93  
 Mansarovar 152  
 Manuk 58  
 Marbal pass 110  
 Mashobra 104  
 Masuri 104  
 Meaken 133  
 medicinal herbs 115, 163  
 Megh 59  
 Mehlog 41, 50  
 merchandise 69  
 Meroo 82  
 metal wares 118, 119, 160  
 mid-Himalayan 18, 28, 29, 30,  
     60, 70  
 mid-Beas valley 160  
 Middle East 13  
 military stations 115  
 milk 62  
 milk products 160  
 millets 120, 138  
 minerals 115  
 Minjar 28, 163  
 Minus 98, 105  
 mirrorcarp 36  
     *misree* 117  
 Modis 157  
 Mohdoddia 66  
*mohra* 133, 151  
 molasses 160  
*mota-khaddar* 119  
 Mountainous topography 15  
 Mughal chronicles 14  
 Mughal maidan 94, 96  
 Muhammadan 126  
 mules 69, 160  
 muleteer 156  
 Multan 127  
 Mur (Camp) 97  
 Murrea 163  
 Murree Brewery 132  
 musk 30, 116, 148, 160  
 Muslims 67  
 Muteeana (Matiana) 83  
  
 Nabha 126  
 Nachani 137  
 Nachar 82, 86  
 Nadaun 76, 96, 98, 103, 104,  
     108, 131, 137  
 Nadawn (Nadaun) 137  
 Nagaloo 60  
 Nagarkot 161  
 Naggur 125  
 Nagkanda 83  
 Nahan 57, 67, 98, 101, 102, 116,  
     121, 128, 155, 163, 164, 167  
 Nahan Foundry 19, 133  
 Naina Devi 104  
*nakand* 127  
 Nalagarh 24, 46, 47, 64, 67,  
     105, 127  
 Naldehra 105  
 Nalwari 136  
 Namgia 48, 80, 86, 153  
 Namhol 104  
 Namptoo 79

- Nangal 132  
 Narayan Garh 56  
*narian* 138  
 Narkanda 84  
 Naths 63  
 Native traders 124  
*Navratra* 161  
 Nawal 104  
 Nawar 41, 52  
 Nawur 79, 117  
*neel-kanthi* 26  
 Negi 57  
*neoza* 117, 136, 151, 152, 157  
 Nepal 43, 54, 60, 69, 113, 148,  
 150, 165  
 Neti 93  
 Ngari 165  
*nirbissi* 69, 118  
 Nisung 80  
 northern India 133  
*numdas* 117, 151  
 Numgi 82  
 numismatic evidences 14, 39  
 Nurpur 24, 40, 41, 98, 99, 108,  
 111, 124, 135, 137, 161  
 nutmegs 117  
 nuts 141  
  
 Oetur 117  
 oil 117, 120, 121, 142, 160  
 opium 31, 61, 63, 105, 115, 116,  
 117, 119, 122, 126, 143, 156,  
 160, 163, 164  
 Oroos 139  
 Oswals 65  
 outer Himalaya range 18, 24  
  
 Pabbar 31, 36, 53, 80, 87, 98  
 Pachhad 126  
 Padar 96  
 Padari 110  
 Padu 93  
  
 Padum 92  
 Pajhota *Ilaqa* 126  
 Pala bridge 109  
 Palampur 27, 61, 90, 97, 106,  
 114, 125, 135, 137, 139, 161,  
 162  
 Paloti 96  
 Pandoh 106  
 Pangi 91, 96, 107, 132, 134  
 Pangi valley 29, 113  
 Panjkora 28  
 Papralas 136  
 Parachas 64  
 Paragpur 157  
 Parala 105  
*paraws* 74  
 Parelee 87  
 Parvati 36  
 Parwanoo 24  
*pasham* 113, 118, 134, 135, 140,  
 142, 143, 151, 152, 153, 161,  
 162, 166  
 Pathania Rajputs 161  
 Pathankot 27, 28, 56, 97, 99,  
 108, 109, 118, 119, 120, 121,  
 129, 131, 137, 138, 163, 166,  
 167  
 Patiala 105, 126, 150, 155  
 Patseo 159  
 patta 105  
 Pattan valley 31  
*patti* 68  
*pattu* 68, 121, 134, 135, 152,  
 168  
*pattu* cloth 151  
 peas 135  
 Pehowa 126  
 Persian Gulf 125  
 Phangota 109  
 Phat 92  
*phullan* 138  
*phulli* 152

- pine 121, 163  
 Pinjor 78, 79  
 Pinjore-Subathu-Shimla route  
     155  
 Pir Nigaha 99  
 Pir Panjal range 28  
 pistachio nut 117  
 Poanta 13  
 pomegrante 134  
 Pong 37  
 ponies 138, 140, 160, 162  
 Poanta 19, 22, 98, 124  
 Poanta valley 22  
 Ponyal 102  
 Poo 87  
 Pooh 35  
 poppy 115, 125  
 porwa 117  
 potato 57, 61, 122, 128, 129,  
     160, 163  
 Princely States 15  
 Pringal 93  
 Prithvi Jor ridge 109  
 Pukhri 94, 109  
 Pundar 41, 52  
 Punga 95  
 Punjab 14, 17, 21, 26, 27, 38,  
     44, 46, 47, 59, 65, 70, 76, 77,  
     78, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94, 97,  
     98, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110,  
     114, 118, 120, 133, 142, 143,  
     147, 148, 149, 152, 154, 158,  
     160, 161, 162, 163, 166  
*punkhees* 117  
*pushmeena* 117  
 Puthan 106  
 Putseo 90  
 Putteala (Patiala) 79  
  
 Quila 92  
  
*rahadari* 57  
  
 Rahon 119  
 Rainuka (Rainka) 102, 164  
 Raipur-Rani 56  
 raisins 117, 141  
 raison 125  
 Rajpura 104  
 Rajputs 61, 62, 66  
 Rakh 117  
 (Rampoor) 113  
 Rampur (Rampoor) 31, 54, 75,  
     77, 79, 83, 84, 87, 102, 104,  
     105, 106, 107, 112, 113, 116,  
     119, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136,  
     139, 141, 144, 148, 150, 151,  
     153  
 Rampur-Giri canal 37  
 Rampuri *chaddar* 151, 135  
 Ranas 43, 157  
 Ranital 99, 108  
 Rapir 97  
*rasaunt* or *rasaut* 22, 133, 138  
 Raseri 97  
 Rathis 61, 66  
*ratanjot* 34, 134  
 Ravi 24, 27, 35, 39, 60, 74, 98,  
     99, 101, 109, 110, 131, 163  
 raw silk 140  
 Rawalpindi 127, 128  
 Rawin 48  
 Rawingarh 41, 51, 53, 105  
 red Russian leather 117  
 Rehra 59  
 resin 138  
 Rhala 106  
 rhododendron 26  
 rice 71, 117, 127, 138, 141, 152,  
     163  
 Ridge 156  
*Rigveda* 19  
 Rihlu 61  
 Rilloo Hutli 97  
 Riwalasar 106



- rocksalt 69, 117, 119  
 Rogee 82  
 Rohan 126  
 Rohru 31, 36, 80, 98, 102, 104,  
 105  
 Rohtang 89, 90  
 Rohtang pass 29, 88, 91, 107  
 Rohu 36  
 Roole 87  
 Rooroo (Rohru) 87  
 Ropar 99, 103, 105, 117, 119,  
 120, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130,  
 132  
 Roras 64  
 Rudak 153  
 Rupshu (Rupashu) 89, 158  
 Russia 112, 113, 124, 138, 139  
 Russian 113, 139  
  
 Sach pass 29  
 Saharanpur 97, 98, 126  
 Sahiki Halti 96  
 Sahree 102  
 Sain timber 132  
 Sainj 105  
 Sairi 96, 103  
*sal* 21, 132  
 saline water 26  
 Salooni 91  
 sait 26, 115, 116, 119, 136, 137,  
 138, 141, 151, 152, 153, 159,  
 160, 163, 166  
 Saluni 109  
 Saluni Diur 93  
 Samarkand 125  
 sanatorium 154  
 sandal wood 117  
 Sandhara 92  
*sangas* 79  
 Sangri 41, 53, 54  
 Sanjip 91  
 Sanor 137  
  
 Sarahan 75, 105, 107  
*sarais* 67, 74, 75, 158  
 Saraj 114, 135, 137  
 Sarajis 120  
 Sarara 59  
 saree 79, 87  
 Sarhind 66, 97  
 Sari 41, 51, 53  
 Sarkaghat 106  
 Sarvari 158  
 satin 113  
 Satluj 14, 35, 36, 40, 41, 43, 46,  
 47, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 84,  
 87, 101, 110, 115, 117, 132,  
 138, 148, 166  
 saucers 113, 139  
 scantlings 131, 132  
 scissors 117  
 seeswa 79  
 Sen dynasty 44  
 Shahpur 41, 99, 119, 120, 130,  
 131, 135, 138  
*shahtush* 34  
 Shaiasu 86  
 Shalkar-Chango 85  
 Shamshi 125  
 Shanani 28  
 Shatool 87  
 Shatool pass 80, 87  
 Shatrundi 92  
 Shawl wool 63, 69, 77, 78, 113,  
 116, 117, 118, 134, 135, 141,  
 147, 148, 149, 151, 156, 162  
 Shealkhur 79, 80, 82  
 sheep 153  
 Shiasu 85  
 shields 117, 118  
 Shigatse 148, 165  
 Shikarpur 141  
*shilajit* 35, 40, 41, 45  
 Shimla 27, 33, 40, 41, 45, 46,  
 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 57, 64, 65,

- 67, 75, 76, 77, 80, 83, 85, 87,  
94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102,  
103, 105, 106, 114, 121, 126,  
128, 130, 133, 136, 138, 139,  
142, 144, 147, 154, 155, 156,  
157, 160, 164, 165, 166
- Shipke 79
- Shipki 48, 80, 85, 86
- Shipki pass 80, 85, 87, 110, 165
- shisham* 21
- Shivratri 28, 160
- shoes 141
- Shungtee 117
- Sialkot 108, 127
- Siba 41, 43
- Sihanta 97
- Sikh 148
- Sikkim 69, 113
- silk 116, 153, 156, 162
- silver 118, 160
- silver ornaments 119
- Simtha 96
- Simthan 95, 110
- Simthan pass 110
- Sindh 141
- Sindhara 108
- Sinkiang 166
- Sippi 59
- Sira 79
- Sirhind 132
- Sirkhand 99
- Sirmaur 19, 40, 41, 53, 63, 64,  
65, 76, 77, 78, 79, 97, 101,  
105, 117, 118, 126, 127, 128,  
131, 133, 134, 163, 164
- Sirmauri Tal 53
- Sirsa 97
- Siul 109
- Siwalik 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22,  
23, 26, 37, 61, 65, 119, 136,  
163
- skins 105, 166
- sleepers 131, 132
- Slogra 133
- soap nuts 138, 160
- Solan 83, 103, 133, 164
- Solung 89
- Sood 157
- Soom 117
- Soongnam 82, 117
- soonth* 128
- Soorahun (Sarahan) 82
- southern plains 165
- spices 69, 121, 139, 142
- Spiti 33, 73, 95, 101, 103, 111,  
114, 127, 132, 134, 157, 158
- Srinagar 88, 90, 93, 94, 96, 97,  
116
- Stupa 88
- sub-Himalayan range 18, 24,  
25, 115
- Subathu (Sabathu) 24, 54, 55,  
71, 76, 82, 83, 101, 102, 103,  
113, 139, 147, 154
- Suds 56, 63, 66, 67, 128
- Sugar 116, 121, 140, 152, 160,  
166
- sugarcane 133
- sugarcane crusher 116
- suil* 138
- Sujanpur 161
- Suket 40, 44, 45, 64, 65, 66, 67,  
101, 103, 105
- sukri* 135
- Sultanpur 74, 89, 107, 114, 125,  
140, 144, 157, 158, 159
- Sunam 86
- Sundernagar 105
- Sundla 91, 93, 94, 109
- Suni 105
- Surur 93
- Swarghat 103
- Swat 28
- Swat range 28

- swords 117  
 Symbiotic system 112  
  
 Talai 104  
 Talangi pass 29  
 Tanglangla pass 91  
 Tara Devi 83  
 Tartar dogs 69, 118  
 Tartar sheep 69, 117  
 Tartary 69, 78, 113, 141, 148,  
     150, 165  
 Tathagata 88  
 Tawi 93  
 Taxsal 71  
 tea 69, 116, 118, 121, 122, 123,  
     125, 140, 142, 160, 164  
 Thail 95  
 Thakur 43, 61, 157  
 Thakurai 48  
 Thanala 92, 93, 94  
 Thangi 135, 163  
 Tharoch 41, 53  
 Theog 41, 51, 53, 84, 104, 105,  
     156  
 Thobi 134  
 Tholong 92  
 Tibet 13, 14, 33, 35, 48, 69, 70,  
     71, 73, 74, 77, 86, 88, 89, 94,  
     97, 111, 113, 114, 118, 138,  
     139, 140, 147, 148, 152, 153,  
     154, 158, 166  
 Tibetan countries 162  
 Tibetan highland 165  
 Tibetan plateau 33  
 Tibetan-Ladakh 74  
 Tibetan lake salt 144  
 Tibetan wool 130, 151  
 Tibetans 114  
 Tibetan border 47  
 Tibetan market 58  
 Tikri 98  
*tilla* 135, 163  
  
 timber 30, 105, 122, 131, 160  
 Tirri 102  
 Tissa 29, 92  
 tobacco 116, 117, 120, 121,  
     138, 141, 150, 160  
 Tongor 92  
 Tons river 47, 98  
 Tons-Jamuna gorge 17, 18  
 traders 66  
 Tranala 109  
 trans-Himalaya 73, 115, 164  
 tree bark 138  
 Trigarta-Kangra 39, 40, 43  
 Trilokinath 92, 135, 164  
 Tsangpo 166  
 Tsingam 94, 96  
 Tuine 98  
 Tuini 104, 105  
 Tukpa 82  
 Tun 21  
 Turanda 82  
 Turkistan 142  
 turmeric 57, 61, 71, 116, 134,  
     163  
 turquoise 140  
 Tutenang 117  
  
 Udaipur 31, 54, 92, 109  
 Udampur 91, 92  
 Uhl 36  
 Umdung 95  
 Una 24, 25, 98, 99, 114, 137,  
     147, 161  
 United Kingdom 122, 123, 140  
*Upanishad* 19  
 Upper Kangra valley 127  
 Upper Ravi valley 43  
 Upper Satluj valley 148  
 Upshi 95  
 Uttar Pradesh 13, 17, 18, 22, 28,  
     56, 97, 118, 127, 133  
 Uttarkashi 28

- Vaishya 57, 67  
*Vanijya* 65  
Vernag 97  
vineyards 69  
violet 26, 133, 151
- walnut 61, 71, 117, 121, 135,  
138, 156, 157, 160, 1163, 164  
Wangpo 82  
Wangtoo 79, 82  
Wangtu 74, 84, 95, 115, 138,  
139  
*wazeer* 57  
Wazeeri Rupi 114, 135  
Wazirabad 132  
western Himalaya 17, 44, 59,  
60, 78, 147, 148  
western Tibet 77, 78, 87, 88,  
110, 148, 164, 165  
western provinces 79  
wheat 117, 138, 163  
white cotton clothes 116  
wooden cups 116, 140  
Wool 61, 68, 70, 71, 106, 114,  
115, 116, 118, 121, 134, 135,  
138, 140, 141, 151, 153, 158,  
165
- Woollen articles 111, 113, 114,  
117, 118, 119, 134, 149, 157,  
160, 162, 163
- Yak tails 132, 151, 153  
Yaks 73  
Yamunanagar 97  
Yarkand 69, 77, 78, 90, 91, 111,  
112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 120,  
138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144,  
148, 158, 159, 164, 165, 166  
Yarkandis 162  
Yungwhong 165
- zakart* 57  
*zamindars* 71  
Zanskar 73, 89, 92, 97, 159, 162  
Zedoary 69, 118  
*zeera* 135, 152, 163  
Zhiktse 165  
Zozila pass 166