

SAGA OF A NATIVE EXPLORER

Pundit Nain Singh C.I.E.

Exploration in Trans-Himalalyan forbidden land
of Tibet and Central Asia during 1865 - 74

Surendra Singh Pangtey, IAS (Rtd)



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**Exploration in Trans-Himalayan forbidden
land of Tibet and Central Asia during 1865 - 74**

by;

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A transliteration of the Diaries of
Pundit Nain Singh Rawat CIE

And the booklet titled
Nain Singh Rawat - Adhyapak, Prashikshyak Aur Lekhak -
Akshyans Darpan Sahit - by Dr RS Toila

Original text of the diaries
Asia Ki Peeth Par (Hindi),
Volume one & two, by Pahar

As a tribute to one of the prominent member of the organisation;

Late Dr R.S. Tolia IAS (Rtd),
*Ex Chief Secretary and Chief Information
Commissioner of Uttarakhand for his indomitable zeal for documentation of
administrative and socio-economic history and traditions of
Uttarakhand in particular and remote regions
of the country in general.*

Published by:

Johar Shauka Varishtha - Nagarik Sangathan, Dehradun, Uttarakhand in
collaboration with Johar Sanskritik Sangathan (JSS), Dehradun and
M/s Bishen Singh Mahendra Pal Singh, Dehradun

2017

Saga of A Native Explorer : Pundit Nain Singh C.I.E. : Exploration in Trans-Himalalyan forbidden land of Tibet and Central Asia during 1865 - 74

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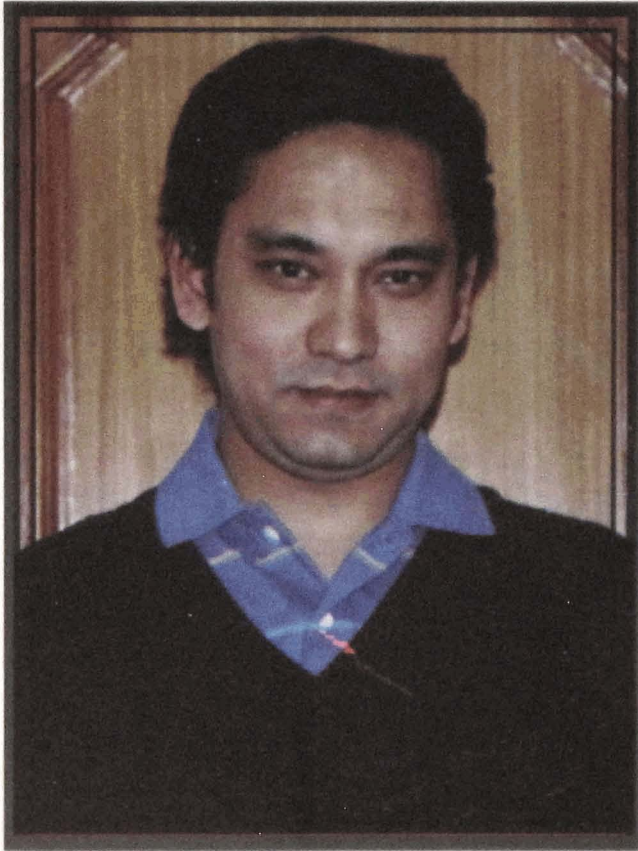
ISBN: 978-81-211-0960-4

Published by Abhimanyu Gahlot for M/s Bishen Singh Mahendra Pal Singh, 23-A, New Connaught Place, Dehra Dun, India and Johar Shauka Varishtha -Nagarik Sangathan, Dehradun & Johar Sanskritik Sangathan (JSS), Dehradun, Printed at Shiva Offset Press and composed by Doon Phototype Printers, 14, Old Connaught Place, Dehra Dun, India.

The Publication of this Book has been sponsored by Dr Bhagat Singh Burfal, Indian forest Service (Retd.) in memory of his late son Rahul Singh Burfal who demised untimely at Young age of 37 years on 11th April, 2017



In Fond Memory
of



Late Rahul Singh Burfal
(24th December, 1979 to 11th April, 2017)

Sponsored by

His father Dr Bhagat Singh Burfal, *Indian Forest Service (Rtd.)*



India's most ingenious native explorer



Bust of Nain Singh - installed at the entrance of Survey of India Complex, Survey Chauk, East Canal Road, Dehradun.

Souvenir – “Everest Bi-centenary Celebration – Survey of India – Dehradun, Mussoorie (4-5 October 1990).

PANDIT NAIN SINGH

The Great Indian Explorer

Pandit Nain Singh, the most successful of the Indian explorers during 1865 to 1885 was born in 1830 in the village of Milam in Johar valley in upper border region of Kumaon in Uttar Pradesh.

He helped his father, a trader, trading across the border in Tibet and thus he learnt the Tibetan language, customs and manners and familiarised himself with the Tibetan people. He served the German scientist Schlagin Weit, who travelled in the Himalayas during the period 1855 to 1857. Pandit Nain Singh was selected by Survey of India in 1863 for two years training in Exploratory Survey of Tibet, Mongolia and Central Asia. He was quite intelligent to pick-up the different survey disciplines without any difficulty i.e. the use of sextant, compass, a thermometer in boiling water for height determination and star observations.

He distinguished himself as a Tibetan, murmuring the Buddhist prayer **Om manipadme hum** with counting beads of a **rosary**, while actually measuring the distance by counting paces by beads and recording survey notes on strips of paper fitted with the prayer wheel. His first famous journey of 1200 miles from Kathmandu to Lhasa and thence to Mansarovar Lake and back to India, which he performed in 1865-66, was a great pioneering feat. He brought back details for a map of the southern trade route of Tibet and of the Tsang-po's course for 600 miles. His last and greatest journey was from Leh in Ladakh via Lhasa to Assam in 1873-75. The route between Lhasa and Assam via Tawang was first explored and surveyed by him. Numerous lakes – some of enormous size and their extent were discovered. He was ranked very high in the **List of Geographical Explorers**, combining extra-ordinary hardihood, endurance and perseverance, with prudence and skilful diplomacy, while his observations were remarkable for accuracy and precision, even at the stake of his health. His journeys won the applause of European explorers and was recognised by the Royal Geographical Society. He was appointed as **Companion of Indian Empire** and was honoured with a **Gold Watch** twice.

After returning from the journey, Pandit Nain Singh retired from public service on a well-earned pension. In 1895, he left for Moradabad (Uttar Pradesh) to look after his estate, granted by the British Government and died there of heart attack.

Nain Singh can be described as a man, who added a great amount of positive knowledge to the map of Asia, more than any individual of his time.



Dedicated

To

Mani Burha, Headman of Johar Valley,
Renowned philanthropist of Johar valley, instrumental in advancement
of Nain Singh and entry of Schlagintweit brothers into Upper Indus
basin.

Pundit Nain Singh, C.I.E

“The Pundit of Pundits” (Colonel Henry Yule)
and his fellow travellers;

Rai Pundit Kishen Singh Bahadur, (Krishna)

Mani Singh,
Kaliyan Singh,
Karamsukh Bushehari,
Jasmal,
Chhumbel,
Chhering Tashi,
and

Colonel Smith : Inspector of Schools of Kumaon who recommended
Nain Singh's name to the Department of Trigonometrical Survey of
India at Dehradun in Sept 1863.

Chhering Norpel : the Agent of Laddakhi trader who allowed Nain
Singh in the disguise of Kinawary servant to accompany with his party
to Lhasa and

Mohammad Shah : the fugitive of 1857 revolt who was also fleeing to
Lhasa with Laddakhi trader and who saved Nain Singh from bandits
near village Demalang on the bank of Lake Yamdok Tso on
2 January 1866



INTRODUCTION

In the morning of 21st October, 2016 at 7:30 am, some of the Johari Shaukas of Dehradun assembled in the Survey of India's East Canal Road premises to pay homage to the Legendary Pandit Nain Singh CIE, the great explorer of the 19th Century on his 186th birth anniversary. A bust of Pandit Nain Singh; along with that of Raibahadur Kishen Singh; has been installed there by Survey of India in memory of this great explorer. At this occasion in his deliberation Shri Surendra Singh Pangtey narrated that although some literature on Pt Nain Singh has been published but the main source of information is the three DIARIES of Pt Nain Singh which is written in Hindustani (Devanagri script) but words of various languages like Hindi, Urdu, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, Nepali, English and local dialects of Johar and other pockets are used in these Diaries, not comprehensible by common reader easily. Due to these constraints it could not get wide publicity nationally and internationally. Therefore efforts should be made to publish the English version of these diaries so that his work could be widely known at regional, national and international level. The '*Johar Shauka Varishtha Nagarik Sangathan (JSVNS), Dehradun*' (organization of the Senior Citizens of the Johari Shaukas of Dehradun) took this responsibility to work on this proposal in association with the '*Johar Sansakritik Sangathan (JSS), Dehradun*' to publish them in the form of a book in English. Shri Surendra Singh Pangtey was requested to solder this responsibility who had collection of valuable literature on Nain Singh. Shri Pangtey happily accepted our request and started working on it. It was also decided that this book would be mainly the English version of the three diaries of the Pt Nain Singh. However, efforts would also be made to incorporate various other available information on him for the benefit of the readers.

Before I try to pen down few lines on Pundit Nain Singh, I would like to bring to the notice of the readers that, Nain Singh was called Pundit whereas he was not a Brahmin (as has been misunderstood by various readers through the various reports published on him). He worked as teacher in the primary schools in Johar and Vyas region of Pithragarh district during 1859 to 1862. Generally people call a teacher 'Pundit ji' in his native land and naturally he was known as 'Pundit Nain Singh'. As such, on joining Survey of India in 1863, his name was

recorded as Pundit in Survey of India's records. His caste name being 'Rawat' he should have been known as "Nain Singh Rawat" instead of 'Pundit Nain Singh'. Therefore in this publication, the writer has also addressed him by the name of 'Nain Singh Rawat'.

According to the '*Itihas Rawat Koum*' (History of the Rawat clan)¹ written by Nain Singh himself and later on a book by Uma Bhatt and Shekhar Pathak², Nain Singh Rawat's father Lata *Burha* (Amar Singh Rawat) migrated from his ancestral village Milam (a village in Malla Johar) in 1824; on account of some family disputes; at the age of 24 years to a village known as 'Bhatkura' situated across the River Gori Ganga (*Gori Par* in Munsyari region). After the death of his two wives, Lata *Burha* got married again while living in village Bhatkura in 1825 to "Majhali"; she was daughter of Jumal Rajput of village Juma, Praganna-Askot. Majhali gave birth to Nain Singh's elder brother in 1826 and on 21st October 1830 (*Samvat* 1887, *Kartik* 6 *Gate* Wednesday), Nain Singh was born at Bhatkura village. Nain Singh had one younger sister, born in 1833 who was married to Manchhu Jangpangi (*Charkhariya Rathh*) and one younger brother named, 'Maga' born in 1836.

In May 1838 Nain Singh's mother expired and to look after his young kids, Nain Singh's father got married again in 1838 to the daughter of Thola Dhapwal named 'Padima' from whom Lata *Burha* had two sons namely: Gajraj and Kaliyan Singh. In 1847 Nain Singh's father came back to Milam (his ancestral village in Malla Johar) with all his six kids, where he died in 1848. After the death of Lata *Burha*, his elder cousin, 'Mani *Budah*' looked after Nain Singh and his brothers and sister. In 1851 Nain Singh left Milam and reached Badrinath via Joshimath. At Badrinath he got married to a girl of Mana village and lived in this village for about three years and leaving Mana in 1854, came back to Milam. Few days thereafter, left Milam with tradesmen like Jeeta Jangpangi and Beeju Dhamsaktu for purchasing sheep, goats and horses to Bharmaur (Chamba region of Himanchal) on 15 April 1854. Thereafter Nain Singh proceeded with his cousin, Man Singh (Mani the *Patwari* of Johar) on 28 February 1856 to work with

¹ Nain Singh Rawat (2010). *Itihas Rawat Koum*. In Johar *Itihas Samgra*: Edited by R.S. Tolia. Johar Prakashan, Malla Johar Vikash Samiti, Munsyari.

² Uma Bhatt and Shekhar Pathak (2006). *Asia Ki Peeth Par*, Pandit Nain Singh Rawat, Jeewan, Anwesana tatha Lekhan. PAHAR, Nainital.

the German explorers Schlagintweit brothers³ from 1855 to 1857 who were travelling in the Himalayas.

From 1858 to 1863, Nain Singh worked firstly, as teacher then, as Head Master of a Government Vernacular School at Milam from where he was also deputed to establish and run a school in Darma Valley. Inspector Colonel Smith visited his school for inspection, and considering the extraordinary performance and intelligence of Nain Singh, selected him to work in the Survey of Indian. Eventually Nain Singh; as directed by Col Smith on 12th January 1863 at Bageshwar; reported at the office of Survey of India. He along with his elder cousin *Patwari* Mani Singh (*Mani Compasi*) joined Survey of Indian, Dehradun for training.

After completing training, Nain Singh's first journey, which was performed during 1865-66, was from Kathmandu (Nepal) to Lhasa and thence to Mansarower Lake and back to Indian. Second journey, was through Mana Pass (in Chamoli District, Uttarakhnad) to the gold mines of Thok Jalung (in Tibet), which he performed in 1867-68.⁴ His third journey was from Simla to Leh and Yarkand with British Yarkand Mission under the leadership of Sir Douglas Forsyth in 1873-74. His last and greatest journey was from Leh in Laddakh to Lhasa and to Udalguri in Assam in the year 1874-75⁵ During his journey, Nain Singh covered the length and breadth of the Himalayan region mainly that of the Tibet, scaled inaccessible heights, and have ventured into where no one had ever set foot. He climbed many soaring mountains, crossed several tough glaciers, walking for days and nights without disclosing his identity, and noted down his observations related to his expedition in his diaries with accuracy and precision. Nain Singh also observed closely and noted down the exquisite play of the nature in those vast mountain ranges, its environment, flora and fauna, origin & flow of rivers (he was the first to locate the source of River Indus), ritualistic life of the people, their unflinching faith and their never ending daily life. Thus he brought back wealth of varied information and won the applause of the European geographers and was known as

⁵ Indra Singh Rawat (1973). Indian explorers of the 19th century. Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

⁴ Dr Sher Singh Pangtey (1992). Madhya Himalaya KI Bhotia Jan Jati (Bhotia Tribes of Central Himalaya) Johar ke Shouka. Takshashila Prakashan, New Delhi.

⁵ Indra Singh Rawat (1973). Indian explorers of the 19th century. Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

the greatest scientific traveller that India produced. For the pioneering and splendid survey performed by him, he was honoured by various prestigious awards and recognition, that include⁶: (i) In 1868, Nain Singh was presented with inscribed gold chronometer/watch by Royal Geographical Society (RGS), London; (ii) in 1876, his achievement was announced in the “Geographical Magazine”; (iii) in 1877, he was awarded with the “Victoria/Patrons Gold Medal” by the RGS, London, later he was appointed ‘Companion of the Indian Empire’ (CIE); (iv) in 1877, he was presented with an inscribed gold chronometer/watch by the Society of Geographers of Paris; (v) in 1877, the British Government (in India) honoured him with a grant of three villages in Rohilkhand (Bareilly) as Jagir and 1000 Rupees as from the revenue collections; (vi) in 2004 (June 27), an Indian postage stamp featuring Nain Singh was issued commemorating his role in the Great Trigonometric Survey; and (vii) Thal-Munsiyari motor road (in district Pithoragarh, Uttarakhand) has since been named after Nain Singh Rawat; after sustained persuasion by Malla Johar Vikash Samiti.

After returning from his last journey, due to bad health, Nain Singh retired from Survey of India. He wrote two books named ‘*Itihas Rawat Koum*’ (History of Rawat Clan) and ‘*Akshyanksh Darpan*’ (Mirror of Latitudes); most probably in 1883^{7,8}. He died in 1895, most probably at Rohelkhnad, the villages which were given to him as Jagir.

I am grateful to Shri Surendra Singh Pangtey (writer of this book), who himself is a great tracker, traveller, lover of nature, and having expertise in adventurous sports for volunteering to take this difficult task of translating Nain Singh’s multilingual diaries (although written in Devanagri Script) in English for the benefit of the readers. I hope through this book the world would know about Nain Singh’s extraordinary achievements as a great explorer and cartographer more precisely.

I am also thankful to the ‘Johar Sanskritik Sangathan (JSS), Dehradun’ for extending help and encouragement for bringing this book out for

⁶ Vinod Pangtey (2010): Legends-of-johar.blogspot.com

⁷ Ram Singh Pangtey(1936/1980): Johar Ka Itihas tatha Vanshawali. In Johar Itihas Samgra, edited by RS Tolia (2010).

⁸ Dr Sher Singh Pangtey (1992). Madhya Himalaya KI Bhotia Jan Jati (Bhotia Tribes of Central Himalaya) Johar ke Shouka. Takshashila Prakashan, New Delhi.

the readers. I am also grateful to all the members of the 'Johar Shauka Varishtha Nagarik Sangathan' (JSVNS), Dehradun for extending their approval to publish this book and for their cooperation.

Date : 20.04.2017

Bhagat Singh Burfal
Indian Forest Service (Retd.)
Chairman
Johar Shauka Varishtha Nagarik Sangathan
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PREFACE

On the occasion of 186th birth anniversary of Pundit Nain Singh, CIE on 21st October, 2016, a small group of Johari Shaukas of Dehradun assembled at the gate of Survey of India's East Canal Road complex at 7:30 am, to pay homage to the legendary Pandit Nain Singh CIE, the greatest explorer of the 19th Century. Here, a busts of three stalwarts of Survey of India; Nain Singh, CIA, Rai Kishen Singh Bahadur and George Everest were installed on the occasion of Everest bicentenary celebrations (4-5 Oct. 1990) to which I was a witness. The solemn gathering, expected me to say something about Nain Singh. It struck me that once I was coaxed by an enthusiastic group hailing from high Himalayas, to undertake the onus of translating the three diaries of Pundit Nain Singh, into English. It was explained to me that many foreigners are keen to go through the details of the diaries but they find it quite difficult to read them since these were recorded in old; now more or less obsolete; Hindustani. Besides, there were words from Urdu (Arabic), Tibetan, Nepalese and Sanskrit and many words used in the official correspondence of British times had also been used by Nain Singh. The text was difficult to understand even by Hindi scholars let alone the Westerners. Probably they thought that perhaps I was the 'jack' of all these languages and it might be possible for me to de-cipher the mixed oriental texts of the diaries.

I thought it was rather a tough job for me, but finding an excuse to wriggle out of such a noble proposition became a problem. To find a possible excuse, I expressed apprehension that on account of my multitude engagements, it may take quite some time. They all said that it was not a matter of time, but it had to be taken up honestly. I had no option but to agree to the virtual diktats of formidable men from the Himalayan heights. I had the opportunity of going through the details of the saga of Nain Singh in the treatises titled "Tibet: A Chronicle of Exploration" compiled by John MacGregor in 1970 and "Himalayan Endeavour" by B.G. Verghese and Sohan Singh. I consider it proper to quote from these works for a better understanding of the sagacity of Nain Singh. Excerpts from the same are given in a separate chapter.

In the evening I opened Volume-Two of the “*Pahar*” series called “*Asia Ki Peeth Par – Pundit Nain Singh Rawat*” (Pundit Nain Singh Rawat—along the Spine of Asia) which contained three of the diaries of Nain Singh besides his scientific document titled “*Akshyans Darpan*” (Mirror/reflections of Latitudes). As I ventured into translating it, I realized that if these diaries were translated verbatim, the outcome would be more difficult to comprehend than the text in its original Hindustani form. These diaries can only be transliterated with a lot of explanations by way of footnotes or otherwise. Even though Capt. (Maj.) T.G. Montgomerie, the then Deputy Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical (GT) Survey, in-charge of the Trans-Himalayan Survey Parties, had given detailed comments on these diaries in his report to the Royal Geographical Society (*copy published by Pahar as Volume three of ‘Asia Ki Peeth Par – Pundit Nain Singh Rawat’*); the full text of the report as submitted by Nain Singh; was not given by him. More over Montgomerie does not give any indication of the style of writing adopted and different languages used by Nain Singh.

It should be remembered that Nain Singh was a native explorer, one of the subjects exploited by the functionaries of the then dominant British Empire. To fulfil their personal ambitions, they did not consider a subject to be more than a slave whom they used in hazardous excursions wherever they themselves were not so successful. During his adventurous excursions, Nain Singh faced all kinds of hazards. He had to venture into areas heavily infested by robbers and dacoits like Kirghiz Jangal of Yarkand region or Changthang plain of northern Tibet. He had to pass certain nights without food or even drinking water. On a couple of occasions he even faced near death. He fell ill or was over fatigued on many occasions. But come what may, he did not forget to accomplish his job of survey including the monotonous and tiresome job of counting his paces in all kinds of terrain for route survey, and stealthily measuring latitude and altitude based on stellar observations and the boiling points of water. He has given out exact number of paces measured stage-wise along with its equivalent length in miles. His counting of paces was so immaculate that he could furnish figures for very long distances. The town of Karghalik and Atak are more than 200 miles apart and there are two alternative routes connecting these two towns. He has recorded exact number of paces and total distance of both routes. Karghalik to Atak are 4,19,726

paces or 210 miles apart via Kugiar – Mazarkhoja and 4,01,085 paces or 200 and half miles apart via Sanju – Shahidulla, he has recorded. On many occasions he did his job even if he fell seriously ill.

It is not surprising that among fellow travellers, he took young Krishna along, in his hazardous journey to Yarkand. Krishna; yet another native explorer of Johar better known as Pundit Kishen Singh; must have learnt much from Nain Singh which made him successful in the secret surveys right up to the borders of Mongolia and so on. He proved to be the true disciple of Nain Singh and earn the title of '*Rai Bahadur*' by dint of his excellence. Nain Singh even took the risk of finding the fallacies of the social order and misrule of Yarkand region. He has given the details of exploitation of not only of the public in general of the region but also of the high gentry by the authorities and rulers. He has exposed the immoral suppression of women by the male population and Islamic clerics of that time.

Nain Singh has used honorific appellations while addressing his superiors, i.e. officers of British government or the members of Asian gentry as was the custom during that period. The honorific appellations used by him indicate the prevailing practices, culture and protocol adopted in official and social interactions of that time. Nain Singh never failed in addressing his superiors in the appropriate manner prevailing at that time e.g. "*Janab Capt so and so Sahib Bahadur Tashareef Farma Huye*" (Capt. so and so arrived) and so on. The present open-minded generations may not like and understand the purpose of use of these terms, but to experience the ways of official and social interaction of that time, I have tried to provide their equivalent version in English. Some words are in use even today like '*Sahib*' or '*Janab*' etc.

Most of the Tibetan words used in the diaries have been elucidated by Nain Singh in the text itself. Wherever it is not, I have tried to explain by way of foot-notes or italic text in brackets. Wherever he did not find appropriate words in Hindustani or otherwise, he has used words from his native dialect of Johar which is a derivation of the Kumaoni language. For willow tree he has used the native word '*bains*' and for dust of borax, he has used the word '*fooli*', for water mill '*gharat*', for grazing camp of shepherds '*gwar*', and for bowing in respect '*nihorna*'. Similarly for running helter-skelter '*dhukur-fukur*' has been used.. However the medium generally used by him is typical

Hindustani with a heavy dose of Urdu and Farsi (Persian language) that was in vogue during the British regime; i.e. the period of his expeditions. Many Turkish words spoken in Yarkand region also have been used. It is a fact that Urdu/Hindustani was the official language, medium of instruction and was part of the educational curriculum in India during his time. The text is so replete with Urdu and Farsi words that unless one has a fairly good idea about these languages, it is rather difficult to understand the meaning. He has used such words in more than one form with very precise connotations. For example for 'plunder/rob', 'plundering/robbery' and 'plunderer/robber' he has used the words '*gaarat*', '*gaaratgari*' and '*gaaratgar*' respectively. The word '*khatir*' has been used for three different meanings; '*khatir jama rakhna*' for 'be rest assured', '*khatir tavajjo*' for 'hospitality' and '*khatir khwah*' for 'to one's entire satisfaction'.

Many of these words were not in common parlance at the time of my joining the civil services in Uttar Pradesh in 1968. But my predecessors and older colleagues had a fairly good idea of them and I tried to assimilate them, but was successful to a very limited extent. Providentially, an Urdu into English dictionary, published by Educational Publishing House, Lalkuan, Delhi, was gifted to me by my son Shailendra a few months earlier. It came in very handy. I can't read Arabic script but this dictionary helps a non-Urdu reader in finding the meaning of Urdu/Farsi words with little probing. Later a copy of an Urdu-Hindi dictionary published by UP Hindi Sansthan, Lucknow was presented to me by Late Dr. R.S. Tolia IAS (Rtd), ex Chief Secretary and ex Chief Information Commissioner of Uttarakhand State. This further made the task easy. I was pleasantly surprised to find that the 'Oxford Hindi – English Dictionary' edited by R.S. McGregor contained most of the Urdu/Hindustani words and it was a real help. I have tried to give a list of some of the Urdu/Farsi words used by Nain Singh with their meaning in English. He has extensively used prevalent Turkish words, and also some that appear to be local derivatives of Farsi. A list of such words also has been given. The meanings of some of these words have been given by Nain Singh himself. The meanings of other words had to be discovered by drawing inferences from the text of the diaries. Even then, it has been impossible to decipher the meaning of a few words such as 'limber', used frequently in the text in connection with the taking of latitude

readings. There can be mistakes in understanding the real meaning of these terms which can be rectified on suggestions of the readers.

The style of writing of Nain Singh is also interesting. While giving the dates, he has used the word '*tareekh*' (date) before giving the date in figures and he has not forgotten to add '*ishwee*' (AD) after the figures of the year. Just to indicate this trait of Nain Singh, I have chosen to give dates as '*5th April, 1867 AD*' and so on wherever necessary. He has given the names of all the villages, towns, camps, passes, rivers and mountain ranges that he physically visited or saw from a distance. On most occasions he has repeated the names in subsequent sentences. Very often he has repeated the names of these locations by mentioning '*this Thok Jalung*' and so on. On the basis of his survey Britishers published maps wherein they gave the location names as per their pronunciation which were often different from the original text. For the facility of locating the features on the map, the spellings given on the map have been adopted. Frequently he has used the Indian method of giving fractions of numbers in words like quarter to four (*paune chaar*) or five and a quarter (*sava paanch*). Besides this, fractions in figures have been given by Nain Singh in Indian style of book keeping, i.e. suffixing ' | ' for a quarter, ' || ' for half and ' ||| ' for three quarter. e.g. for seven and three quarter ' ७ ||| '). All this cannot be reproduced in English and therefore I have replaced them by the arithmetical fractions, i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$.

In the printed text there appear to be some mistakes in paragraphing. On page 369, the last four lines of the first paragraph give details of the places referred to in the next paragraph. Similarly last three lines in the first paragraph on page 370 are totally misplaced. These give some details regarding Karghalik region that is referred to in pages 347 and 348. The detailed description given on pages 363 to 374 relate to the region between Kashgar and Yarkand. Therefore it should have appeared on page 347 where details of Yarkand have been provided. I have shifted the portions of these paragraphs to their proper places. At many places single sentence paragraphs have been given. I have merged such text into previous paragraphs for convenience of printing and reading. The part of diary relating to Nain Singh's return journey from Lhasa to Johar is reported to be missing. As such this part has been simply recorded as mentioned by Maj. T.G. Montgomerie in

his report. Besides the excursions recorded in the published diaries, details of his last journey from Leh to Lhasa in 1874-75; as available in public domain; also has been given at the end of the book.

For convenience for readers, I have divided the volume into three parts; one for each Diary. Further for easy reference, each part is divided into chapters with titles and sub-heads thereof. Certain cross references has been given out as foot notes, where ever such references were available. A map; prepared by my younger brother Kundan on the basis of maps available in public domain; of the routes explored by Nain Singh has also been given in the book for reference. I feel, besides this volume of transliteration of the diaries in English, effort should be made to publish these texts in modern Hindi too for the understanding of new generation.

It may be pointed out here that Late Dr R.S. Tolia; mentioned earlier; had compiled and published the gist of the feats of Nain Singh; in his booklet, mainly written in Hindi titled '*Nain Singh Rawat – Adhyapak, Prashikshyak Aur Lekhak - Akshyans Darpan Sahit*'; in May 1992 under the aegis of Johar Sanskrit Sangthan, Lucknow. It provides many important aspects regarding the saga of Nain Singh not known hither to. As a tribute to his indomitable urge for documentation of socio-economic history, culture and traditions of remote regions of the country, and for the benefit of the general readers, same is being given in this book in its transliterated form.

Mr Dan Jantzen was kind enough to go through the entire draft and edit the script. He edited the draft meticulously and suggested many useful corrections. Two maps given at the end of the book showing the routes taken by Nain Singh have been prepared by my younger brother Kundan on the basis of geographical maps available in public domain.

Dated: 20.04.2017

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EXCERPTS

“Tibet: A Chronicle of Exploration”

John MacGregor – 1970

“The Pundits”

(Chapter 14 page 252 onwards)

“In 1812 Moor Croft and Hyder Jung Hearsey, the natural son of a Bengal infantry officer, explored the Kumaon approaches to the Himalayas on the western flank of Nepal. Disguised as native *fakirs*, they made their way across the Himalayan range into western Tibet to become the first Englishmen to see holy Mount Kailas and the sacred lakes, Mansarovar and Rakas-Tal, which mirror its impressive peak. Re-crossing the Kumaon district on their way home, the explorers were captured on orders of Nepalese authorities and grossly mistreated. Only a fortuitous encounter with two sympathetic and influential Bhutia Rawat brothers, Bir Singh and Deb Singh, saved them from a more serious fate. The Singh brothers intervened to obtain the prisoners’ release and thus began a relationship with the British which would span two generations: their sons were destined to become two of India’s most ingenious native explorers and would carry on the work of early British explorers”. (Page 252)

“It was Montgomerie (*T. G. Montgomerie in-charge of survey of Kashmir*) who found a solution (*Tibet was closed to foreigners since 1792*). This ingenious officer, working in close partnership with General J. T. Walker, set about organising a unique school to train native explorers, popularly called ‘pundits’, in clandestine survey techniques.” (Page 256)

“In 1863 Montgomerie selected the first two students; cousins named Nain Singh and Mani Singh, and began their course of training at Dehradun hill station near Simla. They were the sons of two Bhutias who had been so helpful to Moorcroft and Hearsay in their Kumaon Survey of 1812, and were considered completely reliable. The course of training, which lasted two years, was exceptionally thorough.” (Page 257)

“Nain Singh, the more famous of the two, set out on his inaugural mission in March 1865, travelling by way of Nepal. At the Tibetan frontier town of Kyirong he was turned back by a suspicious governor who found his story unconvincing. The disappointed pundit returned

to Kathmandu where he changed his disguise to that of a Laddakhi merchant – pigtail and all. This time he was successful and passed through Kyirong without detection.” (Page 257)

“Singh arrived in Lhasa on 10th January 1866 and immediately set about his secret survey. He carried out his tasks faithfully during the weeks he remained in Tibet’s Capital: he made sixteen thermometer readings each day for a fortnight, and twenty solar and stellar observations which enabled him to plot the exact location of Lhasa for the first time in history. By noting the boiling point of water he was also able to establish with reasonable accuracy Lhasa’s altitude at 11,699 feet above sea level. . . .Nain Singh’s next mission was to explore western Tibet and upper Indus valley” (Page 258)

“In May 1867 Nain Singh set out for Thok Jalung, walking northward from Musoorie. With two companions he crossed into Tibet through the 18,570 feet Mana Pass. Chinese border guards searched their baggage with more than usual thoroughness but could find nothing. The next settlement they came upon was a Tibetan encampment located on a tributary of the Indus. The headman, with surprising shrewdness, spotted the travellers for what they were. Only with bribery would he let them proceed. One of Nain Singh’s companions, either ill or frightened, dropped out of the expedition at this point, while another, according to prior design, struck out on his own for another sector. Alone Singh climbed the Chomorang Pass to make the long descent on the other side to the gold fields.” (Page 260)

“After three days of blinding blizzard Nain Singh reached his goal. Thok Jalung was a bleak and desolate plain, 16,000 feet high, dotted by black yak hair tents. Strown about aimlessly were bales of fine wool for shawl making, tea boxes and strings of dried beans. The gold was extracted from shallow trenches dug in the alluvial soil by primitive hydraulic method: streams diverted from nearby hills, were channelled through the trenches to wash the soil from gold.” (Page 260-61)

“With the keen intuition which made him one of Montegomerie’s most resourceful agents, Nain Singh assuaged the headman’s suspicions with reassuring remarks and gift of coral ornaments for his wife. . . .Nain Singh stayed long enough to bring back a report of gold fields which was thorough and useful. (Page 261)

“The details brought back by him did much to keep company's dream of Tibet's mineral wealth alive and contributed to a later flurry of excitement in European banking circles over possibilities of systematically exploiting Tibet's gold reserve” (Page 261)

“Marathon journeys of this sort were then not uncommon. Nain Singh, Kishen Singh and Kintup were outstanding examples of the long range reconnaissance agents used by British, but they were by no means unique. The techniques preferred by Survey of India combined with the skill and incredible endurance of the pundits produced a mass of information on the heretofore uncharted waste land of Tibetan plateau.” (Page 266)

“Probably the most tedious of the pundit's tasks – one demanding exceptional self discipline and accuracy – was the linear measurement of the route. It was not uncommon for the pundits to range 2000 to 3000 miles in a single mission over tortuous terrain, counting each step along the way. Not only did they have to compensate for irregular terrain features, such as rocks, precipitous slopes, streams, but were forced to improvise new techniques when faced with unusual situations.” (Page 266)

“Das (*Sarat Chandra Das “Babu”*) was given secret instructions by Nain Singh while Ugyen was more intensively schooled in survey techniques by Colonel Tanner of the Survey.” (Page 268. *Foot note states that it has been quoted from the report of Sir Thomas Holdich*)

“Gold had interested the East India Company from the earliest days and more recent survey of western Tibet's Thok Jalung fields by pundit Nain Singh, had referred this interest.” (Page 308 – Chapter 16 ‘Agent of Czar’)



Colonel Henry Yule's report to Sir Rutherford Alcock of Royal Geographic Society calling him “the Pundit of Pundits”

“that his (Nain Singh's) great merits cannot be fully recognised by anything short of one of the Society's gold medals . . . either of his great journeys in Tibet would have brought this reward to any European explorer; to have made two such journeys adding so enormously to

accurate knowledge . . . is what no European but the first rank of travellers like Livingstone or Grant have done. . . I shall be very glad if you can get him the gold medal of the R.G.S., or any other suitable mark of distinction, in acknowledgement of his excellent services to geographical science."



"The Himalayan Gazetteer"

Edwin T. Atkinson

"The Himalayan Districts of the North-West Provinces"

(Vol. III – Part I, 'Bhotiya Mahals – Character' page 112, published by Cosmo Publications Delhi 6, 1973.)

"Their intelligence is entirely the result of their own observation and experience; they seldom possess any education beyond ability to read write and to keep rough accounts of their trading operations, but of what they may become we have an example in Pandit Nain Singh, the great explorer of the Trigonometrical Survey, and his fellow-travellers, several of whom were Bhotiya residents of the Juhar valley. To this we may add Sir H. Ramsay's testimony:- 'The old race, among whom Debu (who assisted Moorcroft), Huguru, and Fateh Singh were well known, have passed away, and none of the present generation can exercise the power and influence they did : but the Juharis are decidedly the most intelligent and most wealthy of all the Bhotiyas. Dhanu is a very enterprising man, and Mani, (foot note – *He assisted the Schlagentweits in their journey*) son of Debu is Patwari of Darma. He and Mani son of Fateh Singh, Dhanu Janpan, and Gyani, son of Huguru, are now the leading men amongst the Juhari Bhotiyas.' "



"Himalayan Endeavour"

B.G. Verghese and Sohan Singh

"The Era of Exploration"

(Chapter I page 13)

"Nain Singh, the first and the greatest of the "pundits" as most of these explorers were known, was 35 years old and headmaster of a school in Milam, a market town close by Nanda Devi, when he was

recruited to the Survey Department. He reached Lhasa through Nepal in 1866 disguised as a Ladakhi merchant and was the first to fix the latitude and longitude of the Forbidden City. He returned home to Kumaon via Mansarovar but was back in Lhasa again in 1874. His prayer wheel, which was not liable to custom examination, secreted a compass and diary instead of prayer scrolls. His rosary consisted of hundred beads instead of usual 108 – every tenth bead being larger than the others – and he would religiously drop a bead after every hundred paces. He carried a supply of mercury in a coconut for altitude measuring.”



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PART – I

DIARY ONE

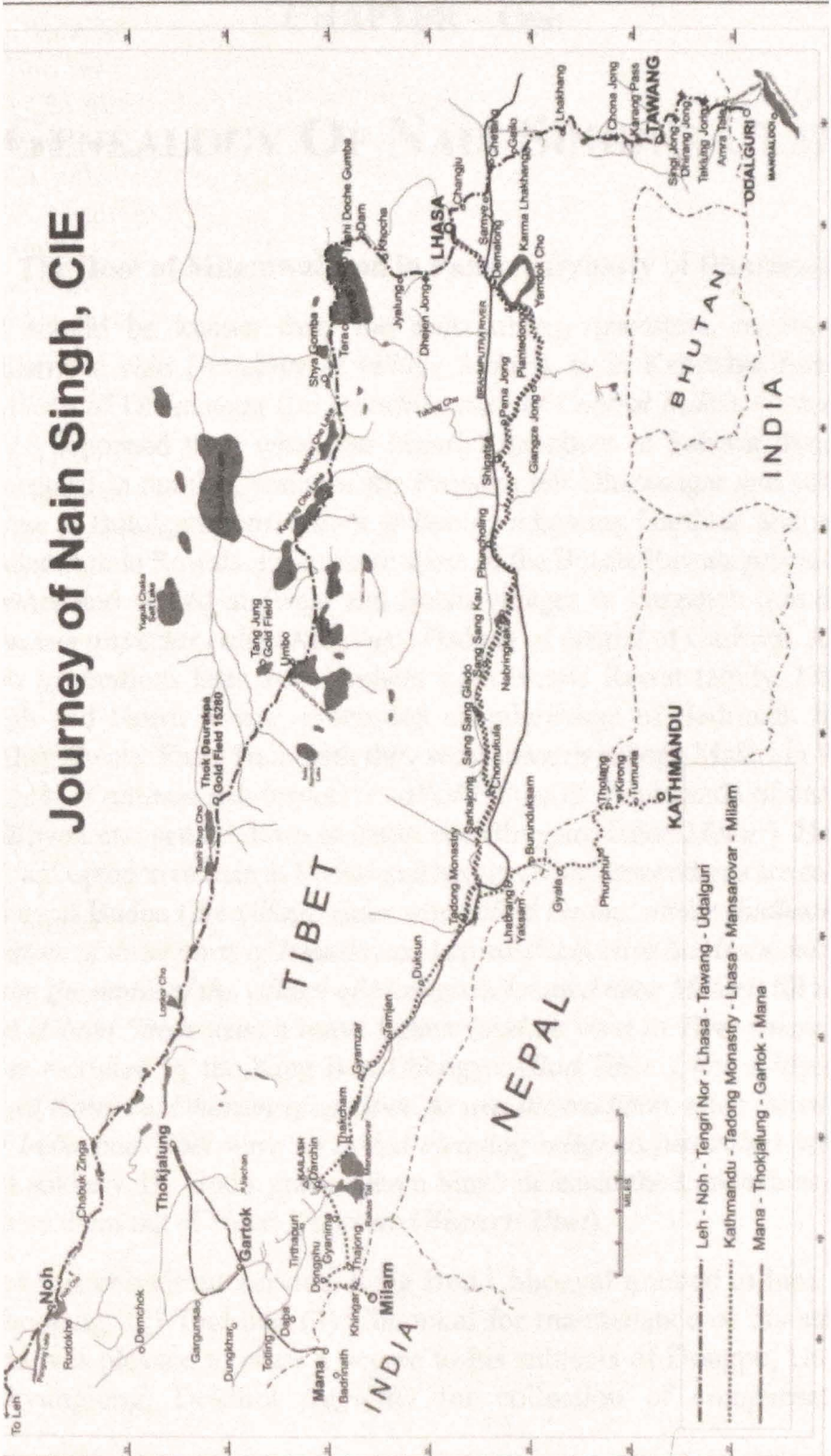
Diary One - First Lhasa Journey (20 March 1865)

Details of the daily routine (*Rojnamcha*) of the journey of Pundit Nain Singh Rawat, C.I.E. from Almora to Kathmandu and from there to Lhasa (Tibet) along the bank of the Brahamaputra River – 20 March, 1865 to 19 June, 1866.

Dehradun (Feb 1863-Mar 1864) → {Manvarovar and returning to Milam-Jan 1865} → Kathmandu via Bareilly, Sitapur, Nepalganj, and Patan (13 Mar 1865) → Jaitpur (20) → Shundriphedi (21) → Mulkot (22) → Ramache (23) → Naklungphu Cave (24) → {on the bank of Gandaki} Shabru (25) → Dangpochho (26) → {check post of Tesuria Manaser} Raswagarhi (27) → Paimanesa (28-30) {sent back by Tibetan officials} → Shyabru (31) → Kathmandu (9 Apr-2 Jun 1865) {Nain Singh and Mani decide to proceed separately} → Dunglang (13-18) → Shyabru (20 Jun-5 Jul 1865) → Tesuria Manasar (6) → Kirong (7 Jul-12 Aug 1865) → Rakma (13) → Thotang (14-15) → Mungaon (16) → Kolung grazing ground (17) → Jong/Jonkhil (18) → Chhorten Phukarwa (19) → La Chumu Phurphur (20) → Cave on the bank of Nubri Chho (21) → Namdul (22) → Lue (23) → Babuk Chhuksa {inter Tibet} (25) → {cross high pass Gyala} Somnath (26) → {cross high pass Nola} Baruduksum (27-28) → Zangra Dung (29) → {along bank of Brahamaputra} Lobrang Yokma (30-31) → Lobrang Gomama (1 Sept 1865) → Rela Gompa (2) → Kiu camp site (3) {at Munna Dung ferry boat capsized - crossing river not possible} → Jangthak Dong (4) → Likche Monastery (5) → {cross Brahamaputra by leather boat} Tadung Monastery (6 Sep-2 Oct 1865) → Thuku (3) → Sirikarpo (4) → {along bank of Minchhu River} Niku Tarjam (5) → Jajung forest (6) → Jalung {bank of Chakachu River} (7) → Sarkajong (8) → Naguling (9) → Chomukhula Tarjam (10-11) → Tarchum forest (12) → Gnangbiako (13) → Ruan forest (14) → Sangsang Giado (15) → Ge forest (16) → Sangsang Kau (17) → Kupak (18) → Ralung (19) → Nambringkaka (20) → Bharka (21) → {on bank of Brhamaputra} Janglarche (22-24) → Tashling monastery (25) → Phunchholing (26) → Jilung (27) → Chakri (28) → Shigatse/Digarcha (29 Oct-21 Dec 1865) {on 13 Nov 1865 he visited Tashilumpo monastery to have darshan of Panjen Lama, on

19 Agent of Kashmir king; i.e. Kolanchyanggomba; arrived who was befriended by him, on 29 agent of Nepal king arrived and he enquired about Mani but he was not with them} → Giang (22 Dec 1965) → Penjong (23) → Takse (24) → Gyantze (25) → {Yamdok Tso} Zara (30) → Nanganchejong (31) → Piahtejong (1 Jan 1866) → {confront bandits near } Demlang (2-3) → Chusuljong (4-7) → Chobonang (8) → Notang (9) → Lhasa (10 Jan–20 Apr 1866) → Natang (21) → Chusul (22) → Khamba Barch (23) → Piahtejong (24) → Nanganche (25) → Raling (26) → Gaynze (27-28) → Takse (29) → Penajong (30) → Shigatse (1-7 May 1866) → Natan (8) → Sabgedin (9) → Silka (10) → Tamchdin (11) → Phunchholing (12) → Chakdong (13) → Janglharche (14-15) → Shingilung (16) → Lharcha (17) → Ngabring Thaka (18) → Rigu Monastery (19) → Sangsangkau (20-21) → Ge camp (22) → Sangsang Diado (23) → Gnanba yako (24) → Raka Thajang (25) → Chomukula (26) → Gyajo jheel (27) → Sarkajong (28) → Tagun Camp (29) → Sirikarpo Camp (30) → Thuku Camp (31) → Tadung Monastery (1 Jun 1866) → Birmalung Camp (2) → Tulu Camp (3) → Dhuksun (4) → Lahro Camp (5-6) → Thanjam (7-8) → Tha Khabro (9) → Gyamzar Camp (10-11) → Urgo (12) → {cross Mariam pass} Nukche Camp (13) → Thokcham (14-15) → {bank of Mansarovar} Sarniaunia Camp (16) → Darchin (17-19) → Unknown Camp (20) → Gyanima (21) → bank of Chu Nakpo (22) → {heavy snow} → Thajang (23) → Ship (24) → {diverted from Donfu} Langlung Camp (25) → Laphthal (26) → {Maj Brenton was stoped by Tibetan soldiers} → Khingur Camp (27) → Topidhunga (28) → {cross Untadhura pass} → Milam (29 Jun 1866).

Journey of Nain Singh, CIE



CHAPTER – One

GENEALOGY OF NAIN SINGH'S CLAN

1. The Root of Milamwal clan in Panwar Dynasty of Dharanagar

(It should be known that) the roots of my ancestors, namely of Milamwal clan (*residents of village Milam*), is in Kshetriya Panwar dynasty of Dharanagar (*an erstwhile state of Central India*). (Actually it so happened that) when the (*family*) members of Panwar dynasty increased in number, some of the Panwars left Dharanagar and settled down at Butolgarh (*stronghold of Butols*) adjoining Hardwar and were called Butola Rawats. From there some of the Butola Rawats proceeded further and settled at Jwala and Solan villages in Parganah (*circle of revenue inspector called Kanungo*) Badhan of district of Garhwal. After few generations later, two brothers from Butola Rawat family; Dham Sigh and Heeru Rawat; proceeded on pilgrimage of Badrinath from village Jwala. From Badrinath they went towards village Malari in Patti (*circle of revenue sub-inspector called Patwari*)⁸ Painkhanda of district Garhwal and settled down at camp-site Bhujgara (*near Malari*). Heeru Rawat opted to remain at Malari and his surviving descendants are called Marwal Budha (*the village elder was called Budha, under Budhachari custom of these parts of Himalayas, Marhwal adjective has been derived from the name of the village of Marhgaon located near Malari*) till now. He (*Dham Singh was*) a brave fighter (*and he went to Tibet where he*) was recruited by the King Bod Chhogyal (*Bod Tibet, Chho Religious, Gyal King, i.e. Dharamraj of Tibet. As was the tradition, often the rulers of India and Tibet were so called meaning religious/just ruler*) within his soldiery. By God's grace, Dham Singh defeated the Laddakhies and drove them out of Ngari Khorsum (*Western Tibet*).

For this chivalrous service, King Bod Chhogyal granted to him, (1) Thoptang, (2) Taul and (3) Chhonkal for maintenance of his status and was pleased to issue a decree to his subjects of Dongpu, Dawa, Khyunglung, Dokthol (*regions*) for collection of compensation

⁸ One *Kanungo* circle comprises two or more *Patwai* circles.

(for war expenses) by him. From these traditional dispensations of Chhonkal (*tax-exemptions*), Dham Singh Rawat had annual income of thousands of Rupees. However Dham Singh considered it inappropriate to live at Dawa in Hundesh (*Tibet*) and with the consent of King Bod Chhogyal settled down at village Milam in Pargana Juhar of Kumaon region, on this side of the high Himalayas.

Note: –

- (1) In the language of Hundes (Tibet), the right accruing to a person (who has rendered meritorious service to the government) of being fed and looked after in all respects by the subjects of any village or area, where ever that person travels, is called *Thoptang*.
- (2) In Hundes there is a custom of providing riding ponies free of charge to any title holder for his official journey from one village to another village or as many villages, and this custom is called *Taul*.
- (3) *Chhonkal* is a customary right of collection of trade tax on goods from the subjects on behalf of well wishing government for the trade facilities.

Two brothers, Gelu and Sama Kunwar, who are reported to be original residents of village Badet of Bangar Patti of Garhwal district (*presently in Jakholi sub-division of Rudrapayag district*), were companions of Dham Singh Rawat continuously from Badrinath. They preferred to settle down at Tola village of Juhar and their descendants are now called Tolia. It is said that during that period Pargana Malla Juhar was thinly populated. Burfu was occupied by Burfals and Jangpangis, Lwan by Lwanls and Ralam by Ralmwals and only these three villages were inhabited. People hardly undertook risky and uncertain trade and lived only on barley (*Hordeum caeeste*) and buckwheat (*Fagopyrum tataricum*) crops grown on their land. Unlike in modern times, they did not migrate to places like Munsyari, Sira, Gangoli, and Danpur during winter and lived in Malla Johar all throughout 12 months of the year. They built houses in pits by digging the ground. The roof used to be completely covered by earth. They kept sheep, goats, horses, Jubbus (*cross-breed between cow and yak*), cows but not in as great a number as those kept in modern times. Those who had ten or five sheep and goats, used to provide leather shoes to the animals to protect them from becoming lame, while travelling from

Juhar to Munsyari or Hundes. They did not go to Hundes frequently and Hunias (*people from Hundes*) came to Juhar with salt and gold and used to take back cereals in exchange. Any individual who came from Juhar to Munsyari took back ear of rice to show to the women folk and say that he had visited Mal (*a synonym for rich trade mart of lower foot hills*) at Madkot. People were very simple and innocent. They did not marry young girls like now a days and often married in the tradition of Gandharva Vivah (*marriage by elopement*) in which grown up girls and the boys met on the occasions of singing and dancing (*a social custom of merry making by unmarried youth*) and married after the prospective bride and groom developed intimacy.

Charkhamia Jangpangis of Burfu identify themselves with Nagvanshi (*Serpent race*). They say that the first ancestor of the Jangpangi-Burfal clan was an individual called Galeepa Kala. He died after birth of two sons. His wife lived at *gwar* (*grazing camp of shepherds*) with her two sons at the head of Burfu River. One Nag (*serpent*) chanced to come to *gwar* from a northern hillside. By the mere exchange of glances with that Nag, a son was born to that woman. Charkhamiya Jangpangis claim to have descended from that son of Nag. The rest of Jangpangis and Burfals are believed to be the descendants of the other two elder sons.

No doubt, during the period of Vikram (*Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya*), Sak tribe of tartars (*Barbaric region north of Tibet*) raised a heavy attack on this country (*India*) and Vikram vanquished them. That is why Vikram is called Sakari (*Victor of Sak*). The Sak tribals worshiped Nag and Nag was their emblem (*of their dynasty*). Maybe these Nags were at the root of origin of Nagvanshis here (*Burfu*). The Nagvanshi king of Ramgarh has an image of serpent embossed on his official stamp. It appears that during the time when the Sak tribe attacked (*from north*), some individual Sak or Nagvanshi kept the wife of Galeepa Kala, and Charkhamiya Jangpangis might have been born from this couple.

It has been stated above that Juhar had a small population before the advent of Dham Singh Rawat. Subsequent to the habitation of Milam village, the villages of Bilju, Mapa, and Martoli were also inhabited.

Martolias call themselves descendants of Bhatt of Kashi. I noticed that it was recorded in the past in the Bahi (*a sort of ledger used for keeping records*) of the Pandas (*official priests*) of Badrinath

that Purushttam Bhatt Panthri came to Badrinath from Kashi on pilgrimage. He remained at Joshimath as priest of the (*local*) deity named Narsingh. At Joshimath two sons were born to Purushttam Bhatt Panthri, namely Narayan and Shibu. The elder brother Narayan Bhatt settled down at Martoli in Juhar and his descendants are called the Martolia clan of Martoli. Younger brother Shibu settled down in Danpur. His descendants are surviving among the Chaudiyal clan of village Chaud of Malla (upper) Danpur. No doubt the descendants of Shibu Bhatt were called Chaudiyal because of his blood relations with hill Jat (*local Jad people of Dunda Uttarkashi?*) tribe. Certain words spoken by these Chaudiyal, Harkotias and Martolias are similar like *Titi* and *Lala* for grandfather and grandmother. There are other words also which are similar. The practice of worship of deity of Narsingh by Martolias might have commenced since those days.

Lhaspwal call themselves Garhwali from Gamsali. (*They claim*) their origin from Gamswal in Matchhendranath. Dhapuwals count themselves as descendants of Pant Brahmin clan.

Mapwals, Rilkotiyas and Biljwals claim to have originated from the Karkis of Doti Achham (*Nepal*). It is said that the ancestors of these three villages migrated from Doti Achham and initially settled at Parsari village in Painkhanda Patti in district Garhwal (*now Chamoli*). When their number increased in later generations, (*some*) from among them migrated, and those that settled at Bilju were called Biljwal, at Mapa were called Mapwal, and at Rilkot were called Rilkoti.

It has been mentioned earlier that during previous times people of Juhar did not undertake so much of trade. On a few goats and sheep cereals used to be carried to villages like Khyunglung, Dongpu etc. in Tibet and was bartered for gold and wool. One tenth of the volume of the cereal bartered was paid to the local governor as trade tax. Tibetans used to barter salt with Juharis for equal volume measures of cereals. There was a dearth of currency of any sort within the region. A gold coin weighing 6 *masha* (90 grains or 0.2055 oz)⁹ called *phetang* was in vogue as currency.

⁹ (1 masha = 15 grains or 0.03425 oz, 12 masha = 1 tola = 180 grains or 0.411 oz)

Dham Singh Rawat realized that surrendering one tenth volume of cereal as trade tax by Juharis was exorbitant; he obtained exemption from that trade tax from the Bod Chhogyal of Dawa. The remaining (*Traders*) from each valley of Mana, Niti, Darma etc. are still paying this tax.

2. Raja Bod Chhogyal

It is believed that Bod Chhogyal, the King of Dawa, was from the dynasty of Suryavanchi (*Solar race*). During his time the Kingdom of Tibet was not under China. In fact, the different regions of Tibet were governed individually by various rulers. The rule of Lamas had been established at Lhasa and King Bod Chhogyal, who was childless, merged Ngari Khorsum (*Western Tibet*) with Lhasa during his lifetime and died. Since then Ngari Khorsum has acceded to the rule of Lhasa.

After the advent of Dham Singh Rawat in Juhar, the population grew quite a bit and trade began to prosper to some extent. Many Tibetans began to come to Juhar from Tibet with salt and wool. In accordance with the decree issued by Bod Chhogyal, one tenth of the volume of wool and salt collected from Tibetans went to Dham Singh Rawat. Earlier Juharis used to pay one tenth of the volume of goods of the trade to the Bod Chhogyal, but now Dham Singh Rawat not only got exemption from this tax for Juharis but obtained a decree of collecting one tenth of goods like wool, salt, borax as trade tax from Tibetans at Milam. For this benevolent deed Dham Singh Rawat became popular not only in Juhar but among the richer society of Tibet and (he became) chief of the Juhari people.

Dham Singh Rawat's son was Dharmu, Dharmu's was Sobanu Rawat whose sons were Nakchu and Rechu. Nakchu lived at Milam (*and*) Rechu at Pachhu. Within seven or eight generations the descendants of Rechu increased greatly in number. At Milam too the descendants of Nagchu increased in number but none of them was much reputed. In fact, a family feud ensued and upon increasing mutual dissensions, the descendants of Nagchu occupied village Pachhu after murdering the descendants of Rechu named Thuwa. (*It should be Thapuwa and not Thuwa. Between village Milam and Pachhu, there is a spot named 'Thapuwa/Thwapa Dand' on the right bank of Gori River. It is believed that Thapuwa was murdered here and therefore the spot came to be known as such.*) At that time the Burfal clan of village Burfu were very influential. They never considered others to be of their status. They considered the descendants

of Nagchu to be their rivals due to their increasing reputation. Many Milamwals were captured by them and thrown alive tied in bags into the Gori River near Burfu. The Milamwals could not retaliate at that time. Later on they obtained reinforcement from the Marwals of Garhwal and a fight ensued between them and Lankev Bhurfal etc. at Samgaon. Most of the Burfals were killed and only very young boys were left at home. At that time the whole of Kumaon region was under the sway of the Chand dynasty, the Sirkot king, Harimall, having been driven away.

Eventually many of the women of the Burfals filed a complaint before the king and the Milamwals were summoned because the incident of massacre had been established beyond doubt. The king asked the women what they desired. The women of the Burfals requested that boys from Milamwal clan should marry the girls from their clan and they would marry their daughters to their boys. From then onwards marriage relations between Milamwal and Burfal clans were established. Till then Milamwals had marriage relations with Garhwal and they did not intermarry with people of Juhar.

3. Raja Baj Bahadur Chand

In the seventh generation after Nagchu Milamwal, Kalpa Budha was born. In fact the title of Budhachari (*A custom of appointment of village elder representing the king, called Budha*) was granted by the court of the Chand king upon this Kalpa Budha (*for Juhar region*).

Bhadu Budha was born of Kalpa Budha. This is the time when King Baj Bahadur Chand went up to Taklakhari (*Takla-fort, Taklakot, Purang*) in Tibet by the route of Juhar. (*He*) returned to his capital Almora through the Byas (*Byas Patti of Darma Pargana*) region. Maharaja Baj Bahadur Chand was accompanied by many Juharis e.g. Bhadu Budha and Loru Biljwal etc. The Maharaja appreciated the brave deeds of Bhadu Budha. For rendering such considerable service Maharaja Baj Bahadur Chand **granted estates (jagir)** of the villages of Pachhu, Naka, Buipaton, Dhapa and Teli (*to Bhadu Budha*). Loru Biljwal, who was obedient to Bhadu Budha, was granted land in Kosyari Bada, a hamlet of village Talla (lower) Dumar.

4. Konchyoo, Dhama and Jaspal Budha

The son of Bhadu Budha was Yami Budha, his son was Samjang Budha and Konchyoo Budha was born from Samjang. Konchyoo Budha had two wives. The first, Bijori Budhi was the daughter of Chhinkep Martolia.

Second was a lady from Tolchha clan of village Jelam Garhwal who was won over in a battle and brought to Juhar. From Bijori Budhi, four sons were born. Eldest was Dhama, next Raju, younger to him Baspal and younger to him was Narpal. Narpal died childless. From three marriages Jaspal, Dolpa, Surju, Kukria, Birsingh, Fatehsingh, Debu, Jhemu, Lata and Nagu, ten sons were born to Dhama Budha. Jaspal, Dolpa and Surju were born out of the senior most wife Ganguli Budhi, Kukria and Bijaisingh were born from Toliani Budhi and from the youngest wife Dharmi Budhi who was the daughter of Jitwaan Marcha of Mana village, five sons Fatehsingh, Debu, Jhemu, Lata and Nagu were born. (*At the bottom of page 11 of the manuscript, a note has been made which is illegible.*)

From the second wife of Konchyo Budha who was from Garhwal, Jainta Budha was born. From him Harpal and from him Mushu Budha was born. This Mushu Budha obtained one third of Budhachari of Milam and Darkot. From Mushu, Dhama Padhan and from him Jaspal Padhan was born.

Eldest son of Konchyo Budha, Dhama Budha was a fortunate person. It was during his period that Jagir (*fiefdom*) of many villages were bestowed on him by the court of the Chand kings. For example, the villages of Golma and Kotal were bestowed in Jagir by King Deep Chand in 1735 AD. During that period Dhama Budha (*was*) appointed Thokdar (*collector of revenue*) and Raj Budha (*representative of the king*) of upper, lower and middle Pattis of Juhar with the right of collecting annually eight Katchh or 80 Rupees from the subjects, and many other benefits were granted separately.

Maharaja Chandra Deo granted Thokdari (*holder of a sub-division as coparcenary estate*) with customary right of 8 and 12 measures of gold, equivalent of Rs 120 on the 10th day of Chaitra (*March-April*) in 1735 AD and Maharaja Mohan Chand Deo granted Jagir of villages Kuiti, Shaimilikhet, Talla Bhaiskot and Girgaon on 8th day of Chaitra in 1741 AD.

Dhama Budha was a simple and kind-hearted person by habit. While deciding the disputed cases between his subjects, he did not punish anybody harshly. Many of the men of the period of Dhama Budha who met me, narrated the episodes of his well-meaning verdicts to the extent that the petitioners and the respondents used to go home compromising the dispute. All accepted the Budhachari of Juhar while Dhama Budha was on the seat.

After Dhama Budha, the Budhachari was inherited by his elder son Jaspal. During this period Garhwal and Kumaon fell under the control of the Nepalese. The Chand Raja fled from Almora and went to the plains. But Jaspal Budha kept on fighting against the Gurkha rulers on behalf of the Chand Raja and kept on writing letters calling him back. To the extent that, for eight years, (*he*) did not allow Parganna Juhar to fall under the control of the Gurkhas.

5. Harak Deo Joshi in Juhar

During this period many fights took place with the Nepalese at places like Nakuri and Audan where many Nepalese were killed. Then Harak Deo Joshi advanced towards Juhar on behalf of the Nepalese king. Harak Deo Joshi left the troops behind in hiding and reached Juhar under some pretext. However Jaspal Budha arrested and chained him in shackles and later released him after assurance was given by the Chand Raja not to take his life. His descendants Madan and Narayan of Bakshi (*Bursar or paymaster but more often used for toll-tax superintendent*) family are called Joshis of Jhijar.

When at last disheartened the Chand Raja abandoned his effort to take his country back, (*meanwhile*) the Nepalese forced their way. Bringing the hill rulers under their sway, the rule of the Nepalese extended right up to Kangra (*Himanchal Pradesh*). The Nepalese Commander Bhakti Thapa assaulted our land of Juhar with a four thousand strong force. Jaspal Budha realized that it would be counterproductive to have an inimical relationship with the Nepalese so he exchanged his headgear with Bhakti Thapa to establish friendly relations and conceded to pay tax from Juhar.¹⁰

¹⁰ A. "On the Gorkhali invasion the principal opposition to their arms was made by the Bhotiyas : for the period of nine years, after the submission of the rest of Kumaon, the Juharis frustrated every effort made for their conquest, and it was a consideration of their commercial interests, rather than any successes of the invaders, which ultimately induced a subjection to that power." – 'The Himalayan Gazetteer', Vol. III, Part 1, 'Bhotiya Mahals', (Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1973), pages 145-46, Edwin T. Atkinson.

B. "So fighting the Gorkha guards inattentive Harashdeo Joshi, escaping from the captivity fled towards Johar. By then Johar had not come under the rule of the Gorkhas.", 'History of Kunaun', Part Five – 'Gorkha Rule – 1790 to 1815', (Harshdeo imprisoned again), page 352, - Badri Datt Pande (English translation by C.M. Agarwal, Ph.D., D. Litt. Department of History, Kumaun University – Shyam Prakashan, Shree Almora Book Depot 1993).

When the whole of Kumaon had completely acceded to Nepalese rule, Jaspal Budha was nominated the Nepal King's representative (*as Rajbar*), for regulating the whole of Juhar on his behalf. At this point of time Jaspal Budha was displeased with Jaggu Martolia, father of Bhawan Singh of Budharath sub-clan. The reason for this was that Jaggu Martolia had made false allegations against Jaspal Budha of fixing much heavier tax on Juhar and alleging that it should have been much lower. For this offence Jaspal Budha intended to arrest Jaggu Martolia near a place called Gunkha while he was on his way to Hundes (*Tibet*). But Jaggu Martolia could not be apprehended and (*he*) fled to Garhwal. Jaspal Budha, leaving the charge of Juhar in the hands of his elder son Vijay Singh, proceeded to Garhwal accompanied by many residents of Milam to arrest Jaggu Martolia. Finally arresting and chaining Jaggu Martolia with shackles, he intended to come to Juhar by the route of village Mana of Badrinath valley and Hundes. On the way Jaggu broke the shackles and fled to Hundes. Since he could not settle there, he ran away to Vyans. Jaspal Budha stayed back in Garhwal. It is reported that at that time the most influential person at Mana was Dhamu Molpa and at Malari in Niti valley was Bhoopchand Marwal, who was the nephew (*Bhanja = sister's son*) of Jaspal. With the help of some Kutiyal Vyasis of Pargana Vyas, Jaggu attacked Malari in Garhwal with a force and intent to eliminate Jaspal Budha. At Malari a fierce fight ensued with Bhoopchand Marwal. Many of the Kutiyal Vyasis were killed and Bhoopchand Marwal also was killed with a bullet in this fight. Taking the Marwals to be on the side of Jaspal Budha, Jaggu looted them badly. Later on Jaggu Martolia settled at a place called Chongaf adjacent to Garbyang village in Patti Vyas and called all his family members there. But for Chaukotia Martolia, all the other Martolias were with Jaggu Martolia. Mussu Budha from Budha sub-clan of Mapa, who were descendants of Jainta Budha (the son of Konchyo Budha from his second wife) deserted Jaspal, and were with Jaggu in Vyas.

After the death of Bhoopchand Marwal, his mother, Dhauli Budhi, tried to take revenge for her son with the help of the people of Jumla (*west Nepal*). A fight ensued between the Jumlis and Martolias at a place called Kava situated between Gunji and Chhangru. Many men of Jaggu were killed. Later on after living in Vyas for many years Jaggu died in the plains at Pilibhit.

Jaspal Budha obtained a title of representative of King of Nepal and maintained his sway over Garhwal. Having controlled Garhwal for a few years, he died suddenly below the bridge at Burans near Malari. His two wives who were with him performed *sati* with him. (*an old Hindu practice in which the widow used to throw herself on the funeral pyre of the deceased husband*).

6. Vijay Singh Budha

After the demise of Jaspal Budha, his step brother Debu Budha, born out of Dharmi Budhi Marchyani (*of Garhwali origin*), assumed the mantle of the king's representative (Budha). He came to Juhar after having performed the responsibility of Budha of Painkhanda Garhwal for many years.

After the death of Jaspal Budha, the robe of honour (*khil-at*) of Rajbari (*representative of the king*) came in the name of his son Vijay Singh from the court of the King of Nepal. But the subjects were feeling harassed as the amount of tax fixed by the king of Nepal on Pargana Juhar had reached Rupees 16,000 on account of annual increases. Vijay Singh Budha, also felt that the amount was excessive. He went to Nepal himself in 1810 AD corresponding to Samvat 1867, and obtained approval to reduce the amount of tax to Rupees 7,800 instead of 16,000 from the court of the King of Nepal, and both Parganas of Juhar and Danpur were placed under the complete control of Vijay Singh. A Jagir was granted in the name of Vijay Singh of the villages Ramari, Letla, Phungru and Chhuchuli in Pargana Danpur. The only mistake Vijay Singh Budha committed was that he handed over the management of the affairs of the subjects to his brother Manchhu Budha. He had consented to levy tax on the families of his own uncles. This resulted in a family feud. It is reported that Manchhu Budha had many despicable habits and due to numerous excesses, the subjects of Juhar were dissatisfied. The eventual consequence of this was that the village was divided into two factions and Mushu, son of Harpal, assumed the office of village headman of Milam. (*one line at this spot is illegible*)

Three sons were born to Jaspal Budha. Eldest was Vijay Singh, middle one Manchhu and youngest of all was Gajju. Two sons; Rajpal and Pannu were born to Gajju. Manchhu's son was Bachhu; his son Kunjar

Singh and his Daulat Singh and three sons were born to Bijay Singh. Eldest was Samjang, middle one Dhan Singh and the youngest¹¹ of all was Jawahar Singh. Samjang Budha died childless. Dhan Singh's son was Jasmal Singh, his son Uttam Singh and Jawahar Singh whose son was Ratan Singh.

From the second son Dolpa of Dhama Budha, two sons Chaituwa and Nar Singh were born. Nar Singh had one son Dhama and Chaituwa's two sons are Puria and Konchyo.

Surju, the third son of Dhama Budha, had three sons Madho Singh, Sherjang and Nhatu. Madho Singh's son is Nain Singh and his son is Raju. Sherjang's son is Gumanu and his son is Uduwa. Gopal was born (*sentence is incomplete*).

From Kukria Budha, the fourth son of Dhama Budha, two sons Hagru and Pirmu were born. Gyan Singh and Hari were born to Hagru. Bhauna is son of Gyan Singh. (*some unintelligible words*). Dhanu, Ratnu and Raju are three sons of Pirmu.

From Bir Singh Budha, the fifth son of Dhama Budha, two sons Natthu and Guman Singh were born. Ratanu and Madu were born to Natthu. Guman Singh died childless.

From Fateh Singh, the sixth son of Dhama Budha, two sons Bhawan Singh and Mani were born. Pakhlu, Madu and Dhanuwa are three sons of Bhawan Singh, and Mani Budha has five sons Bachhu, Lachham Singh, Parma, Ramu and Dolpa.

Four sons, Mani, Gulab Singh, Nain Singh, and Krishna Singh were born to Debu Budha, the seventh son of Dhama Budha. From Mani, Pan Singh was born; from Gulab Singh two sons Vijay Singh and Kharak Singh were born. It was this Debu Budha who helped Moorcroft Sahib when he was arrested at camp Dawa in the territory of Tibet in the month of August in 1812 AD. He and his brother Bir Singh gave a surety of Rupees ten thousand each, and got the Sahib released from the authority of Dawa. (q.v. Excerpts 1 and 2)

¹¹ Nain Singh has used the word Lahura (लहुरा) which is a derivative of the word Lahurah which means a part, division thereof. This word is often used for the youngest child affectionately in hilly parlance.

Three sons, Natthu, Jai Singh and Gajju were born to Jhemu, the eighth son of Dhama Budha, but now only Gajju is surviving. Dhan Singh and Kharak Singh are the sons of Gajju.

We five brothers were born to Amar Singh, known by his nick name Lata, the ninth son of Dhama Budha. The eldest was Samjang, and after him is me, Nain Singh. After me is Maga, younger to him is Gajraj Singh and younger to him is Kalyan Singh. Out of we five brothers Maga became a fakir. Kharku, Ramlal and Nandlal are the three sons of Samjang Budha. Nain Singh's son is Balasingh and Mahendra Singh and Dharmu are the two sons of Gajraj Singh.

From the tenth son of Dhama Budha one son Nagu was born and Mohan Singh was his only son and his son is Joga.

7. Descendants of Konchyo Budha

From the second son of Konchyo Budha named Raju, who was younger to Dhama, three sons Yami, Bhadu and Budu were born. From Yami, Sameru and Deb Singh and from Bhadu, Harpal was born. From Budu, sons named Jeetu, Asha, Bachu and Bhuwa Singh were born. Bhuwa Singh died childless. Three sons, Dharmu, Panu and Nainu were born to Jeetu. Three sons, Mani, Teju and Kunu were born to Asha. Two sons Lachhmu and Dolpa were born to Bachu.

Three sons, Amar Singh, Kheemu and Debu were born to Baspal, the third son of Konchyo Budha. Ram Singh is son of Amar Singh and Padu and Bhajram are two sons of Kheemu. Three sons Lal Singh, Sherjang and Kharak Singh were born to Debu.

It was learnt as a secret of life,¹² from one document issued by Bada Bam Shah Chautaria, who was appointed Governor of Kumaon and Garhwal by the King of Nepal, that until 1798 AD twelve villages—namely Pachhu, Nakateli, Buipaton, Dhapa, Golma, Kheti, Girgaon, Saimali, Kuiti, and Talla Bhaiskot were, from olden times, part of the Jagir granted by the King in the name of our ancestors. In the document of 1798 AD, granted in the names of my grandfather Dhama Budha and elder brother of my father Jaspal Budha, it has

¹² Nain Singh has used the word '*raje hay*' (राजे हाय) which appears to be derivative of the word '*raje hayat*' which means 'secret of life' or 'essential truth'.

been clearly mentioned that these villages were within 'your Jagir and now we also confirm it (*in your name*)'.

When this region came under the rule of the valiant (*Bahader*) British government in 1815 AD, the first Commissioner, Col. Gardner Sahib Bahader, gave full charge of administration of the whole of Juhar inclusive of the Talla (*lower*), Malla (*upper*) and Bichla (*middle*) portions, to Vijay Singh, and issued an order to collect land revenue from 28 villages, excluding 12 villages of the Jagir and to deposit Rupees 5,001 in the coffers of the government. After a few years Commissioner Col. Gardner Sahib went back to England and Exalted (*Janab*) George Traill Sahib Bahader became the Commissioner of Kumaon and Garhwal districts. For certain reasons the Commissioner Sahib was dissatisfied with Vijay Singh and on 19 May 1821 AD withdrew all the rights and benefits of Jagir and ordered restoration of only one village of Pachhu as a village exempted from land revenue. In those days our people were simple and straight-forward. Whatever the Commissioner Sahib decided was accepted by them as just. Nobody agitated against it and nobody could file an appeal before the government.

8. Lata Budha – father of Nain Singh

It was mentioned above that Dhama Budha married thrice. These families lived in three separate houses. All the rights and title were divided into three portions. Three brothers from the first wife Manguli Budhi; Jaspal, Dolpa and Surju; had the rights over one third share. Two brothers from the second wife Tulyani Budhi; Kukriya and Bir Singh; were considered to have the right over a one third share. The five sons of the third wife Marchhi Dharmi Budhi; Fateh Singh, Debu, Jhemu, Lata and Nagu; had the right over the third share. All these five brothers lived in a joint family. My father, Lata Budha, was born in 1795 AD. At the age of 24 or 25 years a grave mistake was committed (*by him*), while (*his*) married wife, sister of Kesar Singh Nitwal a resident of Niti valley, was still alive. He abducted (*and forcefully married*) Lakhma, the sister of four Biljwal (*residents of village Bilju*) brothers; Bhadu, Thepu etc. who was legally married into the Sayana Rath (*sub-clan*) of Milam. On this, Lata's brothers Fateh Singh, Debu etc. were annoyed and separated Lata from the family without any share (*in the inheritance*). Whatever ancestral property of the five brothers was there, the four brothers divided into four shares (*for themselves*).

My father, Lata Budha, lived in the (*village*) Bhatkura across the Gori River with his two wives. In 1824 AD he filed a petition for restoration of his one-fifth share in the property of his father in the court of Exalted (*Janab*) George Traill Sahib Bahader but the case was dismissed. He came back home disheartened and after a few days both his Biljwali and Nitwali wives drowned themselves in the river Gori.

In 1824 AD, when my father was 29 years of age, he was greatly disheartened because of the loss of the case of inheritance and the drowning of both his wives.¹ He used to pass his time living with the Jimidars (*land cultivating community of Kumaon*) across the river Gori. Whenever there arose any kind of dispute between the villages, he used to get the dispute settled by the order of Panchayats (*elected village bodies – Village Elders*). He used to get his land cultivated through the Jimidars. This is how he managed to live.

In 1825 AD, father married my mother Yashuli who was a daughter of Lata Rana who was a Jumal Rajput of Jumma village in Pargana Askot. In 1826 AD my elder brother Samjang was born and I was born on 21 October, 1830 AD, that is Wednesday, the 6th day of Kartik, Samvat 1887. In 1833 AD a sister was born who was married to Manchhu Jangpangi of Charkhamia sub-clan. In 1836 AD one more brother was born who was named Maga.

In 1838 AD my mother departed on her heavenly journey and we four children were motherless. To look after us, my father had to marry once more. In 1839 AD he married Padima, daughter of Thaula Dhapwal. In 1839 AD, my stepmother gave birth to Gajraj Singh and in 1841 AD a second son Kalyan Singh was born.

My father lived somehow at village Bhatkura across river Gori for 25 years. In 1847 AD he departed from across river Gori and came to Milam. He died in 1848 AD. On the demise of father, cousin brother senior Mani Budha desired to restore the rights and title of Lata Budha, which he had lost, to his sons. However the other elder and younger cousins did not have any such intention. Helpless, Mani Budha gave some money, sheep and goats from his share to the orphans. Looking at our hapless plight, he cared for us kind-heartedly. At times he used to give money on loan so that we could earn profit from trade. At that time elder brother Samjang was 23 years old and my age was 18 years. We spent money carelessly. There was no income and we used to live on loans. I was more

ignorant than my elder brother. One day my step-mother asked me to do something. I did not obey her and got annoyed and in the month of July 1851 AD left Milam, and going by Munsyari, Danpur, Badhan, Humli, Balan and Irani-Pana, crossing Joshimath reached Badrinath.

Amardeo Marchha of village Mana, situated to the north of Badrinath, got me married to Umtil, daughter of his diseased brother Nirola. I stayed at Mana for three years. Amardeo's daughter, Lati, was married to my elder cousin Mani Budha. I used to live with Amardeo. Amardeo made me agree to continue to live with him and agreed that whatever rights and share he and his brother had shall vest on Nain Singh. Amardeo was a well-off person. I lived at his home quite comfortably, but since living at an in-laws house was considered undignified,¹³ I came back home from Garhwal with my family in the month of March, 1854 AD. At that time the age of my family (*wife*) was 13 years. Even though my step-mother and brothers were happy on my return, since I was unemployed all of us were concerned.

After returning from Garhwal I could stay at home for 10 days only. On the advice of my brother, I borrowed Rupees 600 from elder Mani Budha and on 15th day of April, 1854 AD, proceeded with the traders like Jeeta Jangpangi, Beeju Dhamsaktu etc for purchasing sheep, goats and cross bred of cow and yak, to Bharmor in Chamba (Himanchal Pradesh) region via Tehri, Mussoorie, Simla, Bilaspur Jwalamukhi, Kangra and Bhaksu. Purchased few sheep and goats from Bharmor Chamba. There are many Shiva temples in this village of Bharmor in which well carved-out statues have been enshrined and there is a high snow covered peak in the east direction. Local people consider it to be Madmaheswar. On the lap below that peak there is a lake. Many pilgrims visit this place for darshan (*an opportunity to see the divine image*) of Shiva as Madmaheswar during rainy season. People of this region are called Gaddis and among them all three castes of Brahmin, Rajput and lower caste are there and they wear jackets with wide periphery and open sleeves and caps made of woollen tweed. They fasten a rope of black wool around their waist. Women also wear woollen jacket but unlike men without wide periphery and open sleeves. They cover their head with a cotton sheet. They don't wear

¹³ One who lived with his in-laws was called '*ghar jawain*' and one who accepted this position was considered to be worthless person in Johar and Kumaon.

trousers or petticoats and all the women and men from lower caste to Brahmin caste consume lot of alcohol. Mostly they rear sheep and goats in large number. Good quality woollen tweed and blankets are produced in this region. Every year sheep and goats in thousands are taken from here towards Kumaon and Garhwal for sale. British officials also prefer sheep of this region.

From Bharmor, crossing Himalayan range of Chauvia in three days saw the temple of Trilokinath on the left bank of Chandra Bhaga River. This temple is built in Indian style. But the marble statue is of Budha and religious rituals are performed in Tibetan tradition. Besides this appointed priest is a Lama and inside the temple a huge lamp, which can contain 15 seers (*seer = about a Kilogram*) of Ghee (*proceeded butter*), is kept continuously lit day and night near the statue of Buddha. This lamp is always full of ghee. Between Triloknath and Lawal Keling-Bheling village, I purchased around 350 sheep and goats, 10 crossbreed yak-cows, and one horse. Along with the companions like Jeeta Jangpangi we crossed the Paralhacha pass, through Piti (*Spiti*) region we crossed Bhutbhut La pass in the Sumling region of Tibet and reached Totling via Chhumarti, Khagyaling, Shyangcha, Phiyen, and Dunkar. I met Amardeo Marchha at Totling. He despised me for having quietly left his home. I felt ashamed before him. At last I presented one horse and by promising to pay some money I made him calm down.

As luck would have it, during the period of trade, most of the sheep and goats died of rinderpest (*maan*) disease and only around 100 survived. I became indebted to the moneylender. The amount of debt went up to thousand or twelve hundred. Managing food and clothing became very difficult. The kith and kin did not treat us respectfully. The indebtedness was so heavy that even the interest could not be paid. At this time my stepmother realized that the amount of the debt kept on increasing from year to year. There was no way out for clearance of this debt. With two young sons Gajraj and Kaliyan she separated from us. Whatever food grain and utensils were there in the house, half of that was given to us three brothers including Samjang. In the month of February, 1856 AD, I was on my way to Ramnagar for some trade.

CHAPTER – Two

LADDAKH EXPEDITION, NAIN SINGH AS TEACHER AND FAILURE OF FIRST ATTEMPT TO ENTER TIBET

1. Nain Singh and Mani with Schlagintweit brothers (Laddakh Expedition - February 1856 – February 1857 AD)

It was heard there that magnetic surveyors, valiant (*Bahader*) Adolphe and Herman Schlagintweit Sahibs were to go towards Laddakh and Turkistan. Mani, son of my elder uncle Patwari Debu was also going with them. In my heart I thought, if I go with Cousin Mani, I will get some employment. From Ramnagar I returned home to Tejam covering the distance of two day's journey in one day. I met Mani and expressed my desire. Cousin Mani refused to take me along with him. Not only that, he admonished me harshly. I took it as advice for my betterment. Even then, I requested him humbly again and again but he did not accept me as his companion. On the other hand he was sending letters with persistent request to join him to Dolpa Pangtey and others who were not among his relations. Thinking about my plight and misfortune I cried. Immediately I got up and went to the house of elder Mani, son of elder Uncle Fateh Singh, who was headman of our clan and was often sympathetic to me and cried before him while narrating what Cousin Patwari Mani had said. On my crying, elder Cousin Mani summoned Mani Patwari through a messenger and directed him to take Nain Singh along with him, saying that he will be most obedient to you because blood relation would always be a better well-wisher than others. Only after prolonged persuasion did Mani Patwari agree to take me along.

I made preparations to depart from home on 28th day of February of the year 1856 AD. I made a bundle of my bedding and other necessary items and carrying it on my back became a companion of Cousin Mani. In the company of Mani Patwari were Gulab Singh Negi, Lal Singh Karki, Suruwa Koranga and four servants. Gulab Singh Negi used to carry only the double barrel gun on his shoulders and other porters carried a load of ten seers each. Cousin Mani rode on his

horse. I carried my load and I had taken upon myself to massage the feet of the cousin, wash (*his*) dhoti (*loincloth worn by men*) after bath, make his bed and do all sort of daily chores on reaching the camp, because Mani was older and enjoyed higher social status than me. Serving him did not embarrass me at all. In fact, I used to serve him and considered myself very fortunate. But the irony was that my cousin's servants travelled without any load and I used to lag behind, tired by the burden of my baggage. But cousin would never ask his servants to share the burden of the load of Nain Singh since he was tired. In fact, it used to please him to make his servants travel with brisk speed, listen to false self praise from them, enjoy his horse ride, while his cousin was burdened with a heavy load, and all this he thought added to the splendour of his status. After having covered many stages of the journey, one day we reached a campsite at a place called Bhowali, near Nainital in the morning at the time of having breakfast (*chapatti*). It was an auspicious day of Shiv *Chadurdasi* (*the fourteenth day of the lunar month*). Cousin declared that his horse is going back home while it was also the time for his fasting. But if he fasts, it will be difficult for him to walk and if somebody else fasts on his behalf, he could have his morning meal. I volunteered and told him that I would fast on his behalf. So I went on fast for him. That day a servant of cousin, Gulab Singh Negi, felt pity for me. He said that Nain Singh has opted to fast on behalf of the Patwari Sahib and therefore will find it difficult to travel. Having said so, he divided my baggage among all the porters.

On reaching Nainital it was found that rascal of a porter Lal Singh Karki had dropped my blanket somewhere on the way. Later on we went to Haldwani. Exalted (*Janab*) Ramjey Sahib Bahader gave me Rupees one hundred as travelling expenses. Crossing Hardwar and Nahan we met all three Schlagintweit Sahib Brothers and they very warmly welcomed Cousin Mani. They fixed a monthly pay of Rupees sixty for him, and for Dolpa Pangtey and myself Rupees thirty-five each. With Herman Schlagintweit Sahib, Mani reached Laddakh via Kanawar, Pini, Chhyumuriti. Dolpa and I went together up to Lahul via Kulu with valiant (*Bahader*) Adolfe and Robert Schlagintweit Sahibs. From there, Adolfe Sahib went to Skardu by the route of Zanskar in Baltistan. With Robert Sahib, I entered Leh (*valley*) by the route of Paralacha range via Rukh Shyak. Robert Sahib directed all

the staff to remain in Laddakh. Two Schlagintweit brothers, Herman Sahib and Robert Sahib with all the followers, Mani, Muhammed, Ameen and Maksood and many others reached Pushia village of Khotan on the borders of Laddakh with Turkistan and returned to Laddakh in the month of October. Thereafter we reached Kashmir during the end of October by the route of Kargil. Adolf Sahib also joined in Kashmir, having taken a round of Skardu. After staying in Kashmir for many days we proceeded to Punjab. Going to Baramula, we crossed the river Jhelum or Vitasta by boats. From there, by the dry route of Massyari Yamri hills, halting (*in between*) for many days, we reached Rawalpindi. After staying at Rawalpindi for many days Adolf Sahib desired to go to England, taking the route of Kabul, Bukhara and the Russian country.

2. Nain Singh dissuaded by Mani to visit England

Herman Sahib and Robert Sahib decided to go to England by sea¹⁴. All the three Sahibs were pleased with me because in Laddakh, I regularly did the work of magnetic and barometer observations, the prismatic work and also I taught Tibetan language to them as much as I could. Herman and Robert Schlagintweit Sahibs desired that I go to England for three years. One day Sahib told me that I shall be paid monthly salary of Rupees one hundred and for the family expenses Rupees one thousand would be given in advance. I should go to England with them for just two years and third year I would return home. I refused to go abroad. They were adamant on my going (*with them*). Then I thought in my heart that if I don't follow their directions they would get annoyed. It would be better that I should go to England. Having made up my mind, I went to Cousin Mani in the evening and told him that I would go to England. Mani told me that if I went to England, they would consider me dead right from then and there. They would immediately miss a meal in mourning (*Chhak Chodna*¹⁵) Actually he dissuaded me on many accounts from going abroad. I told him that Sahibs are adamant about it. He advised that I should run away to Khat that night itself and wait there till he arrived. I did as he said. Adolf Sahib took

¹⁴ Nain Singh has used the word *tari* (तरी) which means boat or wetness. Thus by the route of *tari* would mean sea route.

¹⁵ In Johar in particular and Kumaon in general, there is a custom of foregoing one meal immediately after death of a relative.

Mani up to Peshawar. I stayed at Khat doing nothing for two months, till they arrived. At last in February 1857, Mani returned. Travelling from Lahore, Amritsar, Jalundhar, Ludhiyana, Ambala, Saharanpur, Roorkee, Haridwar and Najibabad we camped at the Shiva temple (*Devalaya*) of King Bhuwa Singh at Sirkot. In our company there were many people. One of them was Shibu son of Jayram Joshi of Jhijar, in-charge of the police station (*daroga*). He came to know that we had much money and goods. He mixed a narcotic (*sankhiya*) in the sweets (*laddu*) and made us eat it. We all fell unconscious under the influence of the intoxicant. It was only Mani who did not eat it because of the smell of camphor and thus he remained conscious. Some suffered from diarrhoea and others from dysentery and with God's grace recovered from the adverse influence by the next evening. Thereafter we reached home after few days. Whatever one or two hundred Rupees I had brought were spent on paying the interest on the loan and so on. Elder brother Samjang, younger brother Maga and I lived together. In a fit of mind Maga became a fakir and went to Nepal. Even in such difficult times we passed time somehow.

3. Nain Singh becomes a teacher (May 1859 AD)

In the year 1858 AD brother Maga and I were going towards Bageshwar for a few days. We met Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Henry Strachey Sahib *Bahader* of Ghasat (?) regiment at his camp at Kapkot. I became his servant and went to Munsyari with him. From there he came to Almora by the route of Namik, Penuri and Pindari. After reaching Almora, Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Henry Strachey Sahib *Bahader* managed to get me appointed as the vernacular (*Tahsili*) primary school teacher (*mudarishi*) at Milam in Malla Juhar prefecture (*Paganna*), by recommending my case to Exalted (*Janab*) Waibat Sahib *Bahader*, the Inspector (*of schools*) of Kumaon Region (*Kismat Kumaon*) and Colvin Sahib *Bahader*, Deputy Commissioner. Eventually the government issued an order of appointment of a teacher in the month of May, 1859 AD and I started teaching the boys. But many villagers and close relatives desired to have another school instead of sending their sons to my school. But the government was kind enough and the annoyance of other persons (*with me*) did not make any difference. I kept on teaching the boys till 1861 AD. During this period Inspector Exalted

(*Janab*) Col. Smith Sahib *Bahader* and Deputy Commissioner Colin Sahib *Bahader*, conducted examinations at my school many times. They were pleased and gave me awards and honour. During those days Inspector of Kumaon and Garhwal Districts Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Smith Sahib *Bahader* established many schools in rural areas and all the prefectures. People used to send their sons for education with great enthusiasm. But the people from Darma and Vyas prefectures were not only unaware about reading and writing, it was difficult for others to understand their dialect to the extent that it was difficult to pronounce judgements (*on their*) legal disputes in most of the cases. On this account the government desired to open school in Darma prefecture. Inspector Sahib told me that without my going (*there*) it would not be possible to manage regular school in Darma. For this reason Inspector Sahib issued my (*transfer*) orders for Darma. I reached Darma in the month of January in the year 1862 AD. At camp Dharchula I got a thatched hut for a school built and started teaching the boys. But it became very difficult, during the initial two or three months, to teach the boys of Darma the pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet. For example they would pronounce Gha Gha for Ga Gha, Jha Jha for Ja Jha Dha Dha for Da Dha and Bha Bha for Ba Bha.¹⁶ After quite an effort I made them learn the correct pronunciation of the letters of alphabet and then started teaching.

¹⁶ For recording certain Indian languages the script of *Deonagri* is used. In this the order of the alphabets is called *vernamal* (garland of letters). The consonants are divided in five groups besides certain extra letters like y, r, l, w, sh, s and h. These consonants are grouped together on the basis of sound values, i.e. on the basis of the part of the mouth or throat and the twist of the tongue which cause pronunciation of the letters of the group. Such group of the consonants is called '*verna*'. For example letters k, kh, g, gh and ng originating from throat are grouped in '*ka*' *verna*. These five groups are called *ka* (velar: *kanth*), *Cha* (alveolar: *vantaya*), *ta* (retroflex: *talavya*), *ta* (dental: *dantya*) and *pa* (bilabial: *murdhanya*) *vernas*. Every *verna* has five letters in order of voiceless, voiceless-aspirated, voiced, voiced-aspirated and nasal letters. Many of the ethnic groups of India and Tibet can not pronounce the fourth letters of these groups (*vernamala*) i.e. gha, jha, dha (as in dhow), dha (as in dhotee) and bha. Like most of the South Indian communities, this trait prevails amongst the tribes of Dharchula region. So they would pronounce 'ga' and 'gha' as 'ga' and 'ga', 'ja' and 'jha' as 'ja' and 'ja' and so on. This trait is most distinctively pronounced among the Tibetans. That is the reason why in Tibetan script; even though based on Indian Pali or Prakrit scripts; fourth letter is missing in every such group of alphabet (*vernamala*) and there are only four letters in each group in Tibet script.

My elder uncle, Debu Patwari, sent his youngest son Krishna (who was only 12 years old at that time) with me for schooling and my family also joined me at Dharchula later on. At that time I had only one daughter, Govindi, who was only six months old. I had great affection for Krishna. Whenever I made him sleep separately in the night he would sleep walk, throw the blanket away, and become naked. Therefore I always used to make him sleep with me. In the month of April, when we reached Chaudans on migration to Vyans, we had to halt there for many days. On one occasion Krishna defecated in my bed in the middle of the night. My whole body was smeared with his excrement. Govindi's mother brought water and washed Krishna and my bodies. We had to throw the dirty clothes away and change into new ones. When I reached village Garbyang in Vyans Patti, I got a sizable school building constructed without the approval (*financial support*) of the government with the help of Bachhuwa Budha Garbyal, who was the headman of all Vyansi people. In the month of September, Inspector Exalted (*Janab*) Smith Sahib *Bahader* came to supervise the examination of my school. On inspection of the school, and seeing the result of the examination of the pupils, he was very pleased and gave me rewards. Even though my salary as school teacher was Rupees fifteen and collection on account of fees from the pupils at the rate of two Annas (*A rupee = 16 Annas*), would be ten to twelve Rupees, my indebtedness was so heavy that it was difficult to even pay the annual interest. There was no way to get rid of indebtedness. Therefore I humbly submitted before Inspector Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Smith Sahib *Bahader* that even though whatever salary was being given to the slave (*me*) was adequate to maintain my family and status, it was my misfortune that the indebtedness of the slave was too much. Whatever amount of salary is given by the government is adjusted against the interest etc. If Inspector sire (*huzur*) would kindly find some solution, I would keep praying for his life and safety. On hearing me Inspector Sahib had great pity on me and said that there was no such high enough post in this department of ours, on which it would be possible for you to clear the debt. But there is one proposition if you agree; we can send you to the office of the Department of Trigonometrical Survey of India at Dehradun. At Dehradun you would get monthly salary of Rupees forty and after getting trained in the use of compass you would be sent on exploration of Trans-Himalayan countries of Tibet etc. outside the British domain. You will bring back geographical maps from there and

Mani, son of Debu also would go with you. I agreed to this proposition of the Inspector Sahib. Then Sahib said that he was going to Almora by the route of Tibet and on reaching Almora, another teacher will be sent for my school. Then only I should come to Almora. Saying this he departed.

4. Nain Singh Departs for Dehradun (12 January, 1863 AD)

In the month of December, a written order of the Inspector Sahib came for me with the instructions that I should appear before him after handing over all records of the school to Shiv Dut Bhatt. Then handing over records of the school to teacher Shiv Dutt Bhatt, leaving my family at my village Tejam, I appeared before the Inspector Sahib *Bahader* at Bageswar on 12th day of January, 1863 AD. Inspector Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Smith Sahib *Bahader*, having paid Rupees one hundred to me and Rupees one hundred to Mani as salary in advance on behalf of Department of Survey, ordered that for the time being a monthly salary of Rupees forty has been fixed for me and Mani would get Rupees fifty. Now you proceed to the office of the Trigonometrical Survey at Dehradun. Following the orders of the Inspector Sahib, I begged leave of him and Mani and I reached Dehradun in the month of February accompanied by Cousin Kalyan Singh. At that time Col. Walker Sahib *Bahader*, Superintendent G. T. Survey of India was on tour. Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Harsal Sahib *Bahader* was officiating in his place. We appeared before him. Exalted (*Janab*) Harsal Sahib *Bahader* put Mani and me under the charge of Exalted (*Janab*) Johnson Sahib *Bahader* for training in the use of compass. Subsequently Johnson Sahib taught Mani and me the methods of route survey, finding latitude or Akshyans (*in Hindi*) of locations by measuring the altitude of the stars with theodolite and sextant, finding the altitude of the land locations with barometer and thermometer instruments and finding the distance of places with a sextant or Toorinal (*in Hindustani*) in the year of 1863 itself.

5. Nain Singh and Mani proceed to Kathmandu (January, 1865 AD)

In the month of March of the year 1864, Exalted (*Janab*) Major Montgomerie Sahib *Bahader*, Deputy Superintendent of Great Trigonometrical Survey of India issued orders for Mani and me to proceed to Tibet. The order was that, commencing the work of survey from Milam of Pargana Juhar, passing through Mansarovar, accomplish

the task of survey up to Lhasa and bring back the map of the region. Following the orders of the Sahib we arrived at Milam in Juhar but could not find opportunity to go to Lhasa from Mansarovar. Then returning in the month of January in the year 1865 AD we reached Kathmandu, the capital town of Nepal on 13th day of March, 1865 AD via Muradabad, Bareilly, Shahjehanpur, Sitapur, Vansrabondi, Nanpara, Nepalganj, Bhagwanpur, Patan, Ruwani, Hetauda and Chisagarhi. Of course, our journey on this route was considered to be hazardous because the kings and emperors of Asia did not like Britishers and their officials to enter their country. Moreover, they were annoyed just hearing about the projects of survey. That is why I had to make some excuses. I camped in a Dharmashala (pilgrim's inn) on the right bank of the Vishnumati River, near the Rajpul (*bridge*) westward of Kathmandu Township. One day we both, Mani and I, went to the house of Jangbahadur Col. K Sidhhaman Singh to pay our respects. It was because from Nepalganj and Bhagwanpur to Kathmandu I had travelled with his riding horse (*with his caravan*) and on first meeting at Bhagwanpur, I presented a musk bag to him and told him that we had to recover a loan of our people of about forty thousand Rupees from the government officials of Lhasa. For this purpose we desire to go to Lhasa from this route. But the difficulty is that there is no acquaintance of ours in this foreign land (*who could recommend our case for permission*) and therefore we are helpless. Only then, the Colonel assuring to arrange a meeting with the King of Nepal, allowed us to join his caravan. We safely passed through difficult check posts like that of Hetauda, Chisapani and Sheesagarhi etc. with the recommendation of this Col Sidhhaman Singh. One day after reaching Kathmandu, he took Mani and me along with him to Thapathali and arranged for our appearance before the Prime Minister Maharaja Jang Bahadur. The Prime Minister kindly got an royal order issued for Chandravan Karki, Counsellor of Nepal to the king at Lhasa, for extending help in recovery of loan and dues from the debtors of Lhasa and also provided a travel guide from Capt. Krutadwal Thapa. I presented two gold coins while saluting Nepal Maharaja Jung Bahadur. But the Maharaja returned the coins, after touching the coins with his hand, saying that I have accepted your present. And then he signalled to a lieutenant to show his entire museum and the court rooms to us Juharis. Then that lieutenant took us along to a round hall and made us go round the many museums and court rooms. Thus I saw the furs

(skin) of all kinds of animals in one room. In another room I saw musical instruments. Many varieties of imported aromatic scents could be seen. In a third room photographs were on display.

This town of Kathmandu is situated at latitude of 27° 40' and 29" North and longitude of 85° East, having a width of about twenty miles and length of about twenty five miles, about which it is mentioned in old scriptures of the locals that it was part of a lake, around four thousand and fifty feet above sea level, on the east and right bank of Bishnumati river where it meets Bagmati river. Houses are built of bricks and timber and the palace is built in the middle of the town on the street of Indra Chauk for the residence of the king. Close by is the temple of Tulsi Bhawani. The town is longish in north-south direction, wider on the upper side and one mile below would be three quarter of a mile wide. Close by, on the north side, is built the bungalow of the Resident of British government. With a bend on the southeast (*Agnikon*= *Agneya disha*)¹⁷ direction from Kathmandu, at a distance of about one mile is the large town of Patan on the left bank of Bagmati river and in the front across the river, on the right bank of Bagmati river at Thapathali is the country retreat and court of Maharaja Jungbahadur. At southeast angle, around ten miles away is the town of Bhatgaon, whose old name was Dharmapatan. There, besides Newars, many Brahmins live and many royal palaces are built.

Around two and half miles east of Kathmandu, on the right bank of the Bagmati River is built the temple of Pashupatinath Mahadeo which has four doors on east, west, north and south. The statue of the deity also has four faces in four directions and there is fifth face on top of them. And in front, across the Bagmati River on its left bank, there is a small temple of Guru Gorakhnath on a little hillock called Mrigsthal and close by on the north of this hillock is built the attractive temple of Guhya-Kalika, on the roof of which golden vases are installed. On the west of Kathmandu, around three fourth of a mile away, is built a Buddha temple on a small hillock which is called Phagpashangkun by Tibetans and Simbu by Newars. Tibetan Lamas are the priests of this temple and two and half miles away in the north-eastern direction from Kathmandu, is built a Buddha (*temple*) which

¹⁷ The ten directions are called *Uttar*: North, *Eeshan*: North-East, *Poorva*: East, *Agneya*: South-East, *Dakhshin*: South, *Nairaritya*: South-West, *Pashchim*: West, *Vayabya*: North-West, *Akash*: Zenith and *Patal*: Nadir.

is called Chhorten-Gyalankhashyar in Tibetan language. And about one and half miles towards southwest from Kathmandu is a big town of Kirtipur. A famous Kali temple is situated there. It is believed that this temple was built by Shankaracharya himself. It is reported that in former times, four kings from Newar dynasty used to rule from these four towns of Kathmandu, Kritipur, Lalitpatan and Bhatgaon. The Gorkha King Maharaja Prithvi Narayan, who was very brave, subdued them and established his rule.

The Newar residents of Kathmandu and the other four towns used to call Gorkhalis, including the Raja himself as *parwatiya* i.e. hill folks (*in a derogatory manner*). Among the hill folks, many clans like Karki, Rana, Thapa, Pande, Sayee, Kunwar, Chand, Malla etc. Are followers of Vedic faith belonging to Kshetriya caste and many of them like Newar, Magar, Saon, etc. Are recorded more often as followers of Buddhist faith. Very few are of Shaiv faith among these castes like Newars etc. The reason for this is said that Swami Shankar (*Shankaracharya*) came up to Kartupur to wean the population from Buddhist following. Many confrontations were hard fought against the Buddhists. A few of the Buddhists adopted the belief of Swami Shankar. But Swami Shankar could not win over many of the Buddhists. That is the reason of the fact that there are many Budhists in Nepal even now. But like Newars etc most of the Budhists are meat eaters in Nepal. Not only that flesh of buffalo, chicken, fish and eggs along with alcohol is major part of their diet. The irony is that in the houses of Brahmins of Nepal, the responsibility of the kitchen is with Kshetriya Rajput and the task of fetching water for kitchen and all other observance followed by the family (*kul-kar*) are in the hands of Newars. I am eye witness to and it is well known and accepted fact in Nepal that Tibetan Lamas or Tibetan men and women are like high religious priests like *sarol* Brahmins for Newars. What a paradox Pant, Pandey, Joshis of our Kumaon region, before entering into their houses from bazaar (*out side*) sprinkle water (*for purification*) on the stairs of their houses to boast (*about purity of their caste*). But while these very people visit Nepal, Newars; eaters of buffalo (*meat*), chicken and egg; are seen serving in their kitchens. I am eye witness to thousands of Newar traders in the country of Tibet, who have houses at places like Lhasa, Digarcha etc regularly maintain marriage relations, meals, general behaviour, religion etc with the people of Tibet. Right in Nepal in every town, in the families of high caste gentry Bhuttani or Tibetan women are kept

as wives. Many high caste Brahamins from our country, who have their priesthood relations in Nepal or those who go to Nepal in search of some employment go to the houses of Bhutanees and Newars to enjoy their hospitality and accept gifts as their priests.

It is said that a ruler named Bhagwan from Newar dynasty was a valorous king of Kathmandu in former times. This king extended his sway in Tibet right up to Lhasa. From that time itself there is behavioural intermingling between Tibetans and Newars. There are two routes from Kathmandu for Lhasa. One of them in the north east direction from Kathmandu via Nelam or Kooti to Ghinghriganga or the plain of Ghinri on Tibetan border and Shakya, Shikachai, Gyagchai goes to Lhasa and the other route from Kathmandu is in the direction of Shimal to Kirongjong and Jokajong on Tibetan border and through Paglu Tso lake via Ghingri plain which meets the route coming from Nelam. On enquiry it was revealed that there are 45 stages of the journey from Kathmandu to Lhasa by the route via Kooti but between Kooti to Ghingri plain the mountain pass being quite high, the route opens only in the month of July on account of the route being covered by snow. On the route via Kirong the mountain pass between Jokajong, Jonkajong and Tingri plain is low. This route is open all through twelve months of the year. During the season when I had decided to proceed from Kathmandu, the route via Nelam and Kooti was closed because of snow. Therefore I decided to go by the route of Kirong and Jonkajong.

6. Nain Singh and Mani proceed to Lhasa via Kirong (20 March, 1865 AD)

On 20th day of March in the year 1865 AD I proceeded from Kathmandu on the journey, accompanied by Mani and four other servants. Having covered five and half miles in the north direction we camped near a small village called Jitpur at the foothill of the Neelkanth range.

On 21st day, early in the morning climbing two miles on the Neelkanth range in a north-westerly direction from Jitpur, we crossed Kahariapawa, Jaiphalpawa, Rani ka pawa, Chautaria pawa, and after trekking for eight and three quarter miles, we camped at a place named Shundriphedi on the bank of a small stream. There is a small village with two to three shops and from Rani ka pawa to Shundriphedi there is steep descent of three miles.

On 22nd day, starting early in the morning from Shundriphedi and after trekking for two and a quarter miles towards west, we descended in the northwest direction into the valley of the Surjamati river which originates from Himalayan range on the northeast and flows in a south-westerly direction and falls into Gandaki or Trisuli River, a little below village Malkot situated on the right bank. On the north of this village a feudal lord appointed by the king lives at Nuwakot on the hill.

7. On the bank of the Gandaki River at Batar Bazar (23 March, 1865 AD)

At a distance of one mile from Malkot towards the west, is a small market called Batar on the left bank of Gandaki River. (At) Batar bazar from the left bank of Gandaki River there is a heavy wooden bridge at a distance of two and a quarter miles along the Trisuli Gandaki River. There is a market called Khinchyad on the right bank of the river. From this bridge on Trisuli one track goes toward west or little northwest which leads to Shor (*Pithoragarh*) from Jhulaghat on the border of British territory via Pokhara and Seelgarh.

Every traveller from Kathmandu to Doti or Shor and Muktinath etc. or from this side to Kathmandu is enquired about for entry permits at this bridge. Without a valid permit issued by the authorities of Nepal, nobody can proceed further and tax for goods and individuals have to be paid here.

From Trishuli Bridge, travelling along the left bank of Gandaki for four miles in a north-westerly direction, Betrawati stream meets Gandaki River from an eastern range of Himalayas. At this tri-junction a small village is located. During the night we camped on the bank of Betrawati having travelled for eight and half miles.

On 23rd day of March, early in the morning we ascended a steep climb of one mile from Betrawati up to a spot called Dyabang where a dharmashala (*inn {pava in Nepali}*) has been made. This location is 3,100 feet above sea level. From this Dyabang, travelling for two miles on a steep climb in northeast direction is a Bhotia village named Helango. Beyond this village live Buddhist Bhotias. In characteristics and language they are similar to Tibetan people of Lhasa. Travelling for three miles in north direction from Helango, we camped at village Ramche. On this stage we travelled for six

miles. This Ramche village is situated at the latitude of $28^{\circ} 1'$ and $33''$ and is 5,875 feet above sea level.

**8. On the bank of Gandaki River: Tesuria Manasar (*Bhansar*)
(27 March, 1865 AD)**

On 24th day travelling for six miles from Ramche and passing through Garang, Tangu, Boldong we camped in a rocky cave called Naklungphu. On the 25th day, departing from Naklungphu, we passed through Langcha, Chhimbo, Dungleang and Bharku villages, and after travelling for six and a quarter miles camped at village Shabru. This village is situated at the latitude of $28^{\circ} 2'$ and $33''$ north and at the longitude of $85^{\circ} 20'$ east and is 5,000 feet above sea level on the left bank of Gandaki River. A small stream (*Lendi-Chu – Maj Montgomerie*) meets with the Gandaki from eastern range of Himalayas. The village is situated near the confluence. A high official called Deva Kham Sum Agri lives in this village who is the representative of the Nepal king. Tax is collected from the traders at this village. We paid four Annas¹⁸ per person as tax. The tax collected for cereals is two seers per load.

On 26th day, early in the morning we camped at a small village Dangpochho (*Medongpoda – Maj Montgomerie*) situated at quarter to two miles on the north on the left bank of Gandaki River. All of my companions and me were in the guise of Bhotias, but at this camp whole day we made caps like that of people of Kanawar and disguised ourselves as Kanawari Bhotias.

On 27th day, starting early in the morning, we saw a big village called Tesuria Manasar (*tax collection check post*) four miles north of Dangpochho. At this village is the check post of the Nepal king and a Jagati community lives here. The official in-charge of this check post collected entry tax from us. Subsequently he searched my entire baggage. But the compass and other instruments were packed in my box in such a way that he could find nothing. Collecting four Rupees as tax he allowed us to leave. The custom is to take two Gorkhyali coins per head from anybody going to Lhasa via this route, provided he has no goods for trade.

¹⁸ One Rupee had 16 Annas and one anna had four Paise before decimal system of coins was introduced in India.

After travelling for quarter to two miles toward the north from Temuria Manaser, and travelling further for 6 miles in all, we camped at a deserted fortress called Raswagarhi. This fortress is on the left bank of Gandaki River at the place where Lendi Chu River meets Gandaki from the north-eastern side. It is said that this fortress was built in 1855 when the King of Nepal attacked Lhasa. It is on the boundary of Nepal and Lhasa. On the left corner of the bridge on the border, on an erect rock, some words have been carved in Chinese alphabet. It is popularly believed that in the past, King Ranbahadur Swami, King of Nepal, had attacked Lhasa. He kept on conquering and reached Digarchi (Shigatse). The Lama of Tashilunpo monastery of Digarchi, Panjan Rimpoche, ran away to Lhasa. The troops of the Nepal King severely looted Digarchi town and Tashilunpo monastery. Goods worth many crores (*One crore = ten million*) of Rupees came in their possession and the news reached the King of China. A huge army of the Chinese King reached Tibet and they got Digarchi vacated from Gorkhalis. Not only that, the Chinese royal army then reached Trisul near Nepal (*Kathmandu*). The Gorkhalis killed many Chinese troops and many died of smallpox. Even then, they were about to take Kathmandu, when the Nepal King sent a commander to the King of China with a message for compromise, agreeing to pay tribute, and at that time the Lendi River near Raswagarhi was decided to be the boundary between Nepal and Lhasa and the rock with Chinese letters was erected at the spot. In accordance with this written agreement, the King of Nepal sends tribute and presentations every fifth year through one royal agent (*Kaji Wakil*) to the court of the King of China at Peking.

This Raswagarhi is situated at the latitude of 28° 16' and 32" north and at the longitude of 85° 22' east and is 5,901 feet above sea level on the left bank of Gandaki River.

On 28th day of March, travelling for two and half miles early in the morning from Raswagarhi we reached camp Paimanesa, where, on behalf of the ruler of Lhasa, the Jongpen of the fortress of Kirong was in-charge of the check post assisted by an accountant and a helper. This check post in-charge did not allow us to proceed to Lhasa and said that foreigners are not permitted to go to Lhasa by this route. This camp of Paimanesa is in the forest. From the month of October to the month of June, this check post is maintained for collection of taxes. For three months of the rainy season, the in-charge of the check post is out of work since there is no trade during this period.

CHAPTER – Three

NAIN SINGH AND MANI DECIDE TO PROCEED TO LHASA SEPARATELY

1. Ex Garpon of Gartok, Garpon of Kirong known to Mani - Back to Kathmandu (10 April, 1865 AD)

On 29th and 30th dates, we stayed at Paimanesa and requested the check post in-charge repeatedly, even by offering gifts, to allow us to go to Lhasa by this route. But we did not succeed in our efforts. At last we returned to Raswagarhi in the evening highly disheartened.

On 31st day of March, 1864 AD, we arrived at Shabru village and heard from someone that Devakhamsum Angri Bhotia of this Shabru village was a quite influential person and is a common messenger of both the Kings of Nepal and Lhasa. To whomsoever he gives a route permit is allowed to proceed. Hearing this I went to his house and presented some gifts and obtained a route permit from him. As we decided to proceed by the route of Kirong Garhi, we got the information that the incumbent fortress in-charge of Kirong Garhi was the same individual who was governor (*Garpon*) of Gartok (*Purang-Takalakot-Maj Montgomerie*) with whom my cousin was well acquainted. As such we realized that we will not be allowed to go to Lhasa. The Kirong fortress in-charge will recognize Mani immediately and will not allow us to proceed further. Considering the situation, I advised Cousin Mani that with certain porters I would go by the route of Kirong and he should come via the route of Nelam Kooti. Mani did not agree with this most practicable advice. Disheartened, we returned to Kathmandu on 10th day of April 1865 AD and lived in the street of Asan Tole at the house of Singh Bir Newar Didda, son of Hariram Hathwal Bhauna, resident of Chhulaye village of Kali Kumaon.

2. Mani accompanies the Agent of Nepal

Every day my only work was to find a way of reaching Lhasa from Newar traders who had their houses at Lhasa and Digarchi and were about to proceed to Lhasa. Meanwhile I befriended many helpful

individuals like Singh Bir. On inquiry I came to know that foreigners are not permitted by Tibetans to cross the boundary of their land. Newar traders who go to Lhasa from Kathmandu by the route of Kooti or Kirong have to first show a route permit issued by the Nepalese court at the border check post of Lhasa at Kooti or Nelamjong, and then such an individual has to be identified by a respectable person (Nebu)¹⁹ of Nelam. The in-charge of the fortress of Nelam then allows the traveller to proceed to Lhasa with a route permit on the surety of the Nebu who has to declare that this individual is a trader of Nepal, he has a house at Lhasa, and he knows the individual very well. And again at the Tingri plain, he has to surrender this route permit to the local governor (*Hakim*) and obtain a fresh route permit. Else it is difficult to reach Lhasa for anyone. People advised me that we can only go if one or two of us could follow the Newar traders in the disguise of their servants, with as many as six in a group we would never reach there.

Then I, in consultation with Cousin Mani, decided that out of our four servants two should be sent back home and with one servant Mani should proceed to Lhasa with some Newar or agent of king of Nepal who may be going to Lhasa by the route of Nelam. And I, with one servant, should again try to proceed by the route of Kirong, the route from which we had returned earlier.

Initially my cousin did not agree with this proposal of mine, but with persuasion he finally agreed. As a result, two servants were sent back home, and it was fixed that Mani would go with the agent of the King of Nepal.

3. Nain Singh at Kirong (7 July, 1865 AD)

I decided to go in the company of Dava Namgyal Bhotia, resident of Syabru village. But this arrangement of mine failed. This Dava Namgyal took advance payment of hundred Rupees from me for helping me in reaching Lhasa and advised me to go and wait for him at his residence at village Syabru. He would come and join me four or five days later. As per his desire I left Kathmandu on 3rd day of

¹⁹ In Tibetan language shelter for travellers is called Nechang and the individual who gives shelter is called Nebu. Ne is the Tibetam term for pilgrim place.

June and started off for Syabru with my servant Chhambel. Gradually advancing, we reached Dungleang village on 13th day of June where I fell seriously ill. For four or five days I was unconscious on account of fever. After some loose motions, with some medication I recovered a bit. Then on 20th day of June I reached the residence of Dava Namyal at village Syabru, but Dava Namgyal had not arrived from Kathmandu. Beyond Dungleang, the region is called Panch Sau Khola (*five hundred rivulets*). The residents are Bhotias of Buddhist faith. There is a terrible custom in this region. They offer their wives to any guest visiting their home and consider it a necessary part of their hospitality. They took me to be friend and guest of Dawa Namgyal, and his family desired to welcome and look after me under this custom. Hearing this I was highly frightened and established a separate camp.

Waiting for Dawa Namgyal, I had to spend many days at Syabru. Many times I sent messengers to Kathmandu to call him. That dishonest person did not turn up. At long last Devakhamsum Angri, who was a real maternal uncle of Dava Namgyal, arranged my departure to Kirong accompanied by his nephew with a recommendatory letter to the official in-charge of Kirong fortress and a letter to his nephew Chhongchyu, the brother of Dawa Namgyal. On the 6th day of July in the year 1865 AD, I reached Temuria tax collection check post. On 7th day I went to a house called Lhabrang of Kirong Lhakeshawe, in which Dava Namgyal's brother the Chhyangchu lived. This individual was Chhyangchu of Samghaling monastery of Kirong.²⁰ After reading the letter of his maternal uncle Devakhamsum Angri, he welcomed me warmly and made me settle in one of the rooms of his house, and learning from me the dishonest treatment at the hands of his brother Dawa Namgyal, he really felt ashamed. This Chhyangchu recommended my case to the Jongpen of Kirong for a route permit for Lhasa. The Kirong Jongpen, realizing that giving route permit was not within his competence, referred my case to the Daivon (*the guard*) of Tingri plain. The request was rejected at Tingri plain. Later on I submitted a petition for allowing me to return home by the route of Gyalha, Chumnu and Marhi. On this the Jongpen ordered that I being a foreigner, and my going to Lhasa having been prohibited, he would not allow me to travel through their land. The

²⁰ Chhyangchu is a manager of the temple of monastery supervising all affairs of priests and Lamas.

Chhyangchu pleaded many times for my returning home via Gorkhali (*Nepalese*) region of Dagamchum and gave surety that if I went to Lhasa surreptitiously, he would be considered an offender of the order of the government. By giving written assurance he obtained a route permit for me to go to Nubari.

This Kirong is a township situated at the latitude of 29° 27' and 5" North and at the longitude of 85° 23' East and is 9,100 feet above sea level on the left bank of the Gandaki River. On its northwest are high Himalayan peaks. During winter snow falls very heavily and it is severely cold but three crops are grown annually. Wheat and barley are sown in October and harvested in June and a cereal called Do, a crop from the family of *fagopyrum tataricum* (*Ogal*) and mustard are sown in May and harvested in the month of September. And one variety of wheat without skin, which is called Nai (*Hordeum Caeeste*) by the locals, is sown in July and harvested in October. Besides this, radishes, green vegetables, and many varieties of vegetables are grown in large quantity. More than three thousand people live in the township. Many of the shops are of Bhotias and around twenty are that of Newars of Nepal. On the eastern side one small fortress is built of stone that is called Shyarjong and on the western end is yet another fortress called Nubjong²¹ by the locals. On the northern end is a huge Buddhist temple full of grandeur which is called Phagpa Chengra by locals. Inside this temple are kept many statues of Buddha painted with golden colour. At Kirong the trade goes on for all the twelve months. Nepali traders from Trisuli, Nuwakot, Sankhu, Kathmandu etc. come with food grains like rice, goods like tobacco, textiles, chilli etc. and cash. From here they take in exchange salt, tweed cloth, horses, sheep and goats etc. This Kirong is 12¾ miles north of Paimanesa and at a total distance of 64 miles from Kathmandu.

4. Nain Singh at Thotang (14 August, 1865 AD)

I waited at Kirong till the 12th day of August. I was not permitted to proceed to Lhasa. At long last, on the surety of Chhyanchu the brother of Dawa Namgyal, a route permit for a return journey by the

21 In Tibetan language *syar* means east, *nub* means west and *jong* is used for fort or fortress. The words of for north and south are *jyang* and *lho* respectively.

route of Nubri was obtained. But probably on the suspicion that I might quietly sneak away towards Lhasa from any place in between, the Kirong Jongpen sent a letter of direction to tax collector of Kirong to escort me up to village Pangsing; the Pangsing tax collector up to Magal; the Magal tax collector up to Rakma; the Rakma tax collector up to Thotang; the Thotang title holder up to Nubri by the route of La Juktumba in Gurkhali land via Chum. With further direction that Nurbu²² and Chhambel would submit a report of my arrival to Dawa Kinawari, the headman (*Chigev*) living at Nubri.

I left Kirong on the 13th day of August, 1865 AD. I was escorted up to Pangsing village by Kirong officials like a convict of the offence of murder. The Pangsing villagers escorted me up to Magal; Magal villagers up to Rakma village. On this stage I covered a distance of eight miles and camped at night at Rakma, which is situated on the right bank of the Gandaki River.

On 14th day of August, the Rakma villagers escorted me up to Thothang village. This village of Thothang is situated at 10,619 feet above sea level. We travelled for 31 miles up to this stage. However the tax collector of this village made me rest for a day and provided two men to escort me.

5. Nain Singh at Mungaon (16 August, 1865 AD)

On 16th day, travelling for 7¼ miles along right and left banks of Gandaki River, I saw village Sangda which is situated on right bank of Gandaki River. From this village one broad highway goes along the bank of Gandaki River in a northern direction to Jonkajong which is about 24 miles away. From Jonkajong towards the east along the lake of Palgu Tso the track meets the Nelam highway at Ghinghrigang which goes on to Digarcha and Lhasa, and from Jonkajong, crossing a high Himalayan range, one route goes to Hapchen region of Tibet. The Dokpa people of Hapchen come to Kirong through this route with salt, wool, sheep and goat. Kirong people travel to and fro to Hapchen region and so on through this very route.

Travelling two miles in a northwest direction from Sangda village we halted at Mungaon in the evening. On this stage we travelled for

²² Nain Singh had adopted Kanawari name Nurbu as per Tibetan custom.

9 miles. Though the location of Mungaon is at quite a height at the bottom of La Juktumba Mountain, they grow good crops here. There are about fifteen houses of Bhotias who follow Buddhist religion.

6. **Nain Singh at Chun-Vilbe** (18 August, 1865 AD)

From Mungaon, on the morning of 17th day of August, 1865 AD we negotiated a steep climb of quarter to four miles on La Juktumba Himalayan range and reached the pass and on investigation it was found that it was at an altitude of 15,400 feet above sea level. From this La, one route on the northeast goes to Jonkajong and on the north of this hill is a huge range of Himalayas. On the south it extends to the confluence of Gandaki, Trisul and Budhi Gandaki Rivers. The mountain range of this region is the boundary between territory of Nepal and Lhasa. From Juktumba La we descended for six and a quarter miles from the source of Gandaki, travelling along the bank of the river camped in a Dharmashala (*Dongkhang* = inn) at the Kolung grazing ground (*Chuksa*) situated at an altitude of 11,984 feet above sea level at the confluence where a river named Cheke Chu meets the Budhi Gandaki River from the northwest direction. This place belongs to residents of the village of Chum within the territory of the Nepal King. Here thousands of yaks, sheep and goats of Chum villagers graze during summer months. It provides an adequate quantity of nutritive grass. For protection of shepherds and herdsmen from inclement weather, many small stone shelters have been built. From Kolung one route goes along the bank of Cheke Chu in the northwest direction crossing a high pass at its source, and enters into Hapchen region of Tibet at Doshyad. The Bhotia people from the villages of Chum go to and fro to Doshyod in Tibet by this route. In fact, Tibetans come and go to Chum from this route for trade. On this stage we travelled for 10 miles.

In the morning of 18th day, after travelling for five and half miles along the right bank of Budhi Gandaki River, we saw a large village named Chum. Across the river on the left bank of the river is another large village called Vilbe. In both these villages around 700 houses are there. On the flat land on right and left banks of the river the soil is very fertile. On the east and southwest direction there are high snow covered mountains from where large streams of water fall into the Gandaki River. In the vicinity of the villages, mane

walls²³, Chhortens²⁴ and monasteries are built hither and thither which provides very beautiful scenery. The residents are Bhotias and follow Buddhist faith. Crops are just like that of Kirong i.e. three crops per annum. People trade with Tibet during summer and during winter trade at Pokhara or Kathmandu.

After travelling for five miles from Chumgaon, we passed through dense habitations like Chulve, Phuruve, Lahar, Nah etc. and seeing temples and stupas halted for the night at Jonk or Jonkhil (village). On this stage we travelled for ten and half miles. This village of Jonk is 10,000 feet above sea level and crops like in Kirong are grown here. There is a bridle path from Kathmandu to Jonk fit for use by animals with loads.

7. Nain Singh at La Chumo Phurphur (20 August, 1865 AD)

On 19th day, crossing many up and down patches of bad track for seven and half miles, we camped at Chhorten Phukharwar village. There are many other villages in near vicinity of this village. People follow the religion of Buddhism and build mane walls and chhortens like the people of Tibet, but do not speak the language of Tibetans and instead speak a strange language.

On 20th day, after descending and negotiating a long steep climb and travelling for four miles we camped in a cave at La Chumu²⁵ Phurphur and on 21st day climbing a little from La Chumu Phurphur²⁶ on La Pache²⁷ and on investigation found out the height of the pass to be 11,600 feet above sea level. Local people believe that a *Chumo* flew in to the sky from this hill. Since then this mountain is called La

²³ A stone wall of any length on which slabs with *Om mani padme hum* mantra inscribed on them in Tibetan alphabet are piled up. This actually is a *Sanskrit* mantra which means 'Om' i.e. the spirit or the essence of life is in the centre of the lotus i.e. the *kundalini*. Buddha is often depicted meditating in 'Padmasana' viz the lotus posture of *yoga*.

²⁴ Buddhist Stupa.

²⁵ Chumo means nun who saves off her hair and remains a celibate.

²⁶ *Furfur* indicates fluttering of flag etc.

²⁷ *Pache* is heap of stones (cairn) on the ridge with prayer flags.

Chumu Phurphur. From this hill, descending for 3 miles on a very bad track, we camped for the night in a cave on the bank of Nubri Chu River. On the way I slipped at many places and I had many injuries on my arms and legs.

8. Nain Singh in Nubri (Athhara Sau Khola) region (22-25 August, 1865 AD)

On the day of 22nd August 1865 AD, travelling for 9¼ miles on the right bank of Nubri Chu, we camped at the house of Chhumik Dorje, brother of Chigev Chhawang, at Namdul village within the region of Nubri or Kodang. On 23rd day we travelled for five miles and camped at the house of Waro (a wealthy person) Nima Kinawari at the village Lue. On 24th day we travelled for nine and quarter miles in the north and camped at the house of Chigev Ngawang in Babuk Chhuksa.

Two persons from village Thotang of Kirong region escorted me to the house of Chigev Ngawang at Babuk Chhuksa as per the orders of Kirong Jongpen. At that time Chigev Ngawang had gone to Tibet. Therefore the two persons of Jongpen obtained a receipt of escorting and making me over to him from Thenle Dorje, the elder brother of Chigev Ngawang who was at home, and they returned to Kirong. This region of Nubri is called the region of eighteen hundred rivulets (*Athhara Sau Khola*) by Nepalese of Kathmandu. This region of Athara Sau Khola is within the territory of the King of Nepal. The residents are Kinawaris or Tibetan communities of pure emigrants. People are quite rich on account of flourishing trade. The headman of highest status is Chigev Ngawang who is said to have roots from Kinawar. In this region of Nubri *Delphinium cashmerianum* (*Montgomery has called it Zedoary which is an Indian plant related to turmeric with aromatic rhizome*)²⁸ grows in large quantity. By the route of Gya La and No La passes, salt, wool and Tibetan goods from Dosyad, Lhabrang region of Tibet are brought and sold in the territory of Nepal and from Nepal food grains, tobacco, and textiles are taken and sold in Tibet. Often yaks are used as animals of burden. This Athhara Sau Khola (or Nubri) is inhabited by Bhotias who follow Buddhist religion.

They mainly raise yaks, cows, sheep, goats, horses, male and female cross-breeds of yak and cow and also cultivate land. They especially

trade in salt, wool, tweed imported from Tibet in the townships like Pokhara in Nepal. From here, they take food grains like rice, jaggery, and textiles, utensils, tobacco and *Delphinium cashmerianum* products to Tibet. For correspondence they use Tibetan Ujen¹ or Ume² alphabets and for the correspondence with Nepal government certain persons like Chigev Ngawang headmen are proficient in Hindi also.

The people from Babuk, Chhyuksa and Nubri camp within this region during the summer season. During the rainy season sheep, goats, yaks, and horses are brought here for grazing and during the winter season they migrate to villages like Namdul for camping. From this camp of Babuk one route goes towards the east crossing the Himalayan range to Jonkajong and another towards west crossing Himalayan range reaches Muktinath (or Mustang) after five days journey. Beyond this Babuk there are no trees in the jungle.

On 25th day of August one caravan of Nubri traders was to go to Tibet. I hired two yaks from one of the traders, Varo Thenle Dorje resident of village Rue, loaded food grains and necessary items and started off for Tibet with them. After travelling for three and half miles on the north, we camped at a place called Gya La Salang.

9. Nain Singh crosses Gya La pass and enter Tibet (26 August, 1865 AD)

On 26th day, early in the morning we climbed a steep slope for quarter to two miles to the mountain pass of Gya La and on investigation by observing the boiling point by thermometer, found that the height of this pass was 16,680 feet above sea level. During that season snow was only on shady places on the pass and in north and southwest directions high snow covered peaks of Himalaya were visible. This range of Gya La Mountain forms the boundary between the territory of Nepal and Lhasa. From this pass, descending three and half miles in a north-eastern direction saw the village called Sangjumba of Tibetan region. From there travelling for quarter to two miles toward the north we camped at a place called Somnath. This place is 14,000

²⁸ An anti-toxic herbal plant growing in high Himalayas used in snake bites, burns etc.

²⁹ Alphabet used for printing religious books.

³⁰ Alphabet used for general correspondence.

feet above sea level. On this stage we travelled for eight miles. From village Namdul of Nubri region the track is good and fit for riding horses.

10. Nain Singh falls ill and halts at Baruduksum (28-29 August, 1865 AD)

On 27th August, climbing for seven and half miles in the northeast direction, we reached a high pass of No La which is 16,623 feet high. Even though this pass is not higher than Gya La pass, the breathing problem and headache was felt more by the climbers on this pass in comparison of Gya la. From this pass, descending for a little distance in the north-eastern direction on a flat land, we camped at Baruduksum plain. On this day I fell ill and due to headache could not sleep whole night. Therefore we had to halt at Baruduksum on 28th day. On 29th day we travelled for eight and half miles on the north along the flat land, and camped at place called Zangra Dung with Rebo³¹ people in the Doshyod region of Tibet. At this place I saw many tents, sheep, goats, yaks and horses. This place is within the territory of Doshyad region and their Jongpen³² is stationed at Sarkajong. At this camp of Jara, one river called Shorra Tsangpo, originating from the Himalayan range in the south, meets Brahamaputra River in the north.

11. Along the bank of the Brahamaputra River (1-6 September, 1865 AD)

On 30th day of August, we travelled for sixteen and half miles on the level ground toward the north and camped at Labrong Yokma. This Labrong Yokma is at the latitude of 29° 13' and 21" north and at the longitude of 84° 38' east and is 14,617 feet above sea level. In the near vicinity of this Lhabrang Yokma, Tibetan populations residing in tents have camps at many places like Yak, Kyu on the banks of the Brahamaputra River. They do not undertake any profession other than animal husbandry and trade. Crops do not grow in this region. The residents are Tibetan, follow the Buddhist religion and do not practice the caste system like Hindus. They eat with anybody. At Labrong Yokma, I had to do star gazing with difficulty throughout the night with telescope for making observations regarding the latitude.

³¹ Communities living in tents engaged in sheep and goat rearing.

³² *Jong* means fort/fortress and *Jonpen* means fort commander or governor

At this time my health further deteriorated. Therefore on 31st August we rested at the camp.

On 1st day of September, 1865, travelling only for 3 miles in northwest direction along the flat land on the right bank of Brahamaputra River we camped in the morning close to Yak, Kayu (*Montgomery has given the name as Yakau*), and Labrong Gomama (*probably Gompa i.e. monastery*) where many Tibetans had established their camps.

On 2nd day of September, travelling ten miles on the north along the bank of Brahamaputra River, we camped at a large monastery called Rela Gompa. Around this monastery many mane walls and stupas have been built. In near vicinity many yaks and horses and among the wild animals Kyang (wild horse) and Gwa are seen in the valley.

On 3rd day we travelled 6 miles towards the north to a camp site called Kyu on the right bank of the Brahamaputra River where 20 shelters of the valley dwellers could be seen and from there we travelled for four and half miles towards the northeast direction to Munna Dunga (*Dunga means ferry site where the boats harbour*) ferry site. As luck would have it, on my arrival at Munna Dunga a boat carrying three persons capsized, drowning all in the river. The ferry was closed. Consequently I had to return back to Kiu camp. At this Munna Dunga there were many camps of the traders of Nubri people and Hor people from Shyankor. I met Chigev Ngawang, administrator of Nubri here. On his recommendation I met Rela Gova (*headman*) who was chief of this valley. I presented items like spectacles to him and with his help I could reach Tadum.

On 4th day we travelled for about eight miles from Kyu in a northwest direction, and camped at Jangthakdong where many Tibetans had camped. On 5th day, travelling for 14¼ miles in northwest direction along the flat land and witnessing hither and thither the camps of the residents of the valley, we camped near Likche monastery on the right bank of the Brahamaputra River. This monastery is built on a small hillock on the right bank of the Brahamaputra River in which many lamas reside and there are many statues of Buddha inside the monastery. On the south of the monastery there is a mile long and as much wide lake. There is a ferry at this site. The boats are made of thin sticks from inside and bound by yak hide from outside. At a time

15 to 20 persons can be ferried across. At this location the width of River Brahmaputra would be around 500 paces. In these boats only human beings are ferried and animals cannot be ferried.

From this Likche monastery one route goes southward to Lhochhayumik Gorsa, which is called Mustang by the people of Nepal. This region of Mustang is within the territory of the Gorkhalese. Within this very Mustang is located Muktinath. From Likche one can reach Mustang in five days. This Likche region is called Doshyod. On the north of Doshyod region is Shyankor region. Inhabitants of Doshyod and Shyangkor regions visit Mustang region of Nepal for trade in salt, wool, tweed, sheep, and goats and from there they import food grains, textile, tobacco, jaggery and utensils. Similarly traders from Mustang visit Likche and Tadum and take away products of this region. In the region of Doshyod food grain crops are not grown.

NAIN SIGH AWAITING AT TADUM MONASTERY FOR ARRIVAL OF LADAKHI TRADERS

1. Tadong Monastery (awaiting Laddakhi trader) (7 September- 2 October, 1865 AD)

On 6th September after crossing the River Brahamaputra by leather boat, I travelled six and a quarter miles toward the north and camped at Tadum monastery where the route from Laddakh and Mansarovar leading to Lhasa meet. This Tadong monastery is at latitude of 29° 49' and 21" north and at the longitude of 84° 3' and 5" east on a small hillock and is 14,187 feet above sea level. On its east, west and south is plain land for miles together and on southeast, south and southwest in the middle of fertile land are many small ponds hither and thither on account of which it provides a very beautiful panorama. Four miles west from Tadong a large river called Tsachu Sangpo (a small stream is called Chu and large river is called Sangpo) joins the Brahamaputa River or Namjyonkha Sanpo from Shyankor region on the north. On both right and left banks of the rivers of Brahamaputra and Tsachu Sangpo the land is plain for many miles which are devoid of forest, hills and trees. A lot of grass grows there for grazing animals. Yak and cow dung is available in plenty for use as fuel in the kitchen. There is no question of growing crops in this region.

A large and grand monastery is built here at Tadong. Inside the monastery there are many statues of Buddha and a large number of religious books. Around the temple eight or nine small houses have been built for performance of religious rituals. Lamas and the caretakers of the postal check post called Tarjamba³³ live in the monastery.

³³ Postal check-post is called *Tarjum* and the Postmaster is called *Tarjumba*. It is his duty to provide riding ponies and load pack animals from the subjects for the use of any representative of the government travelling between Ngarikhorsum and Lhasa regions. His salary also is collected from the subjects.

On reaching Tadam I was pondering in my heart that if I meet any trader from Laddakh or Kinawar, I would go to Lhasa with him. Luckily on 8th day of September many people and Lamas from Laddakh reached Tadam on way to Lhasa. From them I learned that Kalan Chhyang Goba, the appointed trade representative of King of Kashmir called Lopchak (in Ladakhi language the appointed trader of the King of Kashmir for Lhasa is called Lopchak), had reached Gartok. His assistant, Chhering Norpel, is likely to reach Tadam within 20 or 25 days with goods. On hearing this I made up my mind firmly to go with the assistant of Lopchak and kept waiting for him at Tadam. At long last, Chhering Norpel, assistant of the Lopchak of Laddakh entered **Tadam** on 2nd day of October, 1865 AD with 70 yaks, loaded with dry fruits (*dried plum, grapes*), and trade goods. I invited Chhering Norpel to my place and looking after him warmheartedly offered a fabulous dinner. Introducing myself as Khunu, that is a Kanawari, I arranged to accompany him to Lhasa. He was a nice person and said that since we were pilgrims we could accompany him and he will ensure that nobody stops us en route. If anybody objects, he would say that we were his servants.

2. With Chhering Norpel on way to Lhasa (3 October, 1865 AD)

The goods of this Chhering Norpel, or the Lopchyak, were transported from one Tarjam to another Tarjam without hiring charges by the people of the region. As per this custom, 70 yaks were provided at Tadam Tarjam for transportation and the goods of the Lopchyak were loaded on these yaks. Chhering Norpel got my entire baggage also loaded on the yaks and we started off from Tadam on 3rd day of October. Travelling on flat land for 9¾ miles to the east we camped at a place called Thuku. There were 5 to 7 camps of Tibetans at this place. These people provided manpower to Chhering Norpel and erected the tents and offered meat for the meals.

On 4th October we witnessed many camps of Tibetan residents of the valley at Lakchan, Phuchungma, Gama and so on and travelled for 15 miles towards the east and camped at a place called Sirikarpo on the left bank of River Brahamaputra. In the near vicinity of this place also there were many Tibetans residing in the valley. At this place the Min Chu Sangpo River meets Brahamaputra from the northeast and north.

On 5th October, travelling for seven and half miles along the bank of Min Chu River towards northeast, we camped at Niku Tarjam. This Niku Tarjam is situated at the confluence of Min Chu River. Where a large tributary of the Min Chu meets the river, in whose catchment is reported to be the region of Shyankor. The smaller tributary comes from the east and on the north the Himalayan range is visible. There is no house here and everywhere tents are seen. The jurisdiction of the Tadam Tarjam came to an end here and the yaks and porters of Tadam returned and new porters and yaks were enrolled by Niku Tarjam. For the night halt a large tent was erected near the residence of the Tarjamba of Niku Tarjam. All the subjects and Tarjambas of Tibet were at beck and call of Chhering Norpel because the Lopchyak of Laddakh had special trade rights and privileges.

On 6th day, travelling for 11 miles towards the east, we camped at a place called Jagung in a forest. On the seventh day, after travelling for three and a quarter mile on the plain land towards east on a gradual climb we reached a hill called La-lung. From this hill one route goes towards the south to Jongkajong. Thereafter, travelling for a quarter to five miles towards east we saw a big river called Charta Sangpo which meets Brahamaputra from the northeast after flowing for six or seven miles in a southern direction. On the right bank of this river the remains of an old fortress could be seen on a hillock which is called Gyakhar-Jyakhar.³⁴ It is said that in former times the King of Kashi (*Varanasi India*) had visited this land and this fortress was built by him. On the left bank is built the monastery of Darkialing where the Lamas reside and there are many statues of Buddha inside the temple. We waded through this river of Charta Sangpo where the water was knee deep. The river is divided in many streams. Wading through all these streams we crossed the five hundred paces wide bed of the river. It is reported that during the rainy season it is difficult even for the horses to cross the river and in fact one has to cross the river on boats. It appears that this river Charta Sangpo originates from the

³⁴ In Tibetan language, India is known as *Gyagar* and *khar* is the term for fortress or stronghold. *Jya* indicates bird which relates to the *Pön* tradition of *tantra* proclaimed to having been founded by divinity that landed from sky on earth. Therefore the real name of the place appears to be *Gyagar-Jyakhar* i.e. the fortress/fort founded by 'Indian tanctrics'.

Targodalha range of Himalayas. Thereafter, travelling a short distance we reached the bank of river Chhaka Chu. Travelling along the right bank of that river for 15 miles we camped at Jalung on the bank of the Chaka Chu. This river meets Charta Sango River before merging with Brahamaputra.

3. Nain Singh at Sarkajong as Chhering Norlep's Kinawari Servant (8 October, 1865 AD)

On the morning of 8th October we travelled in the east direction for three miles, along the right bank of the same river and camped in a house of a large village called Sarkajong. We saw about 50 houses and some tents in this village and two Jongpens also reside here. From here one route goes to the south to Kathmandu via Jonkajong and during the summer months people from Jonkajong visit Sarka. Sarka people go to Jonkajong for trade. From here they take wool, salt, and tea to Jonkajong and from there food grains, textile, tobacco and utensils are brought back. Besides this, the Garche people from Shyankor and Hor region (*Mongolia is called Hor in Tibetan*) also often visit Sarkajong, and this Sarkajong is considered to be the main hub of activities of Dashyod and Dogthol regions. Here the local Jongpen enquired as to who my servants and I were and Chhering Norlep replied that we were his Kinawari servants. Then the Jongpen had nothing to say about us. The yaks and porters of Niku Tarjam engaged for transportation of the goods of Lopchak returned back from here.

On the 9th day we travelled from Sarka in southeast direction for quarter to nine miles on the plain land and camped at a place called Naguling on the left bank of Chaka Chu Sangpo (River). Around seven or eight miles from this place on the north there is a high snow-covered peak named Hurkyangkari. From the northeast of that peak comes Chaka Chu Sangpo.

The task of finding latitude and boiling point with the thermometer became difficult in the company of Chhering Norpel. For the task of measuring the length of the route I used to walk some time ahead of Chhering Norpel and some time behind him. At the camps, finding the latitude of the place by star gazing was difficult for me.

4. Gyalha Mountain crossed (10 October, 1865 AD)

On 10th October, travelling for 4 miles in southeast direction on a plain with a gradual climb we reached the ridge named Gya La. Then descending for five miles on a gentle slope we saw a village called Upshi in the deep valley where there were five to seven houses, some cultivable land and kitchen gardens of radish. Thereafter we travelled for 8 miles in a northeast direction and camped at Chomukula Tarjam. On this stage we covered a total distance of 17 miles. This Chomukula Tarjam is at latitude of 29° 21' and 17" north in a deep valley. Besides the camps there are no houses or buildings. From this Tarjam yaks and porters of Sarkajong returned to Sarkajong. Since yaks and porters were not available for our onward journey, we had to halt on 11th day.

On 12th, travelling for quarter to eight miles in a northeast direction on a plain with gradual climb we saw a large Lhapchak³⁵ on Gur La hill. From somewhere near this hill originates the Raka Sangpo which flows towards the east. Thereafter, travelling for seven and a quarter miles towards the east, we camped in a forest at Tarchung. On this stage we travelled for 15 miles. From this site towards north at a distance of around twenty miles, a Himalayan range is visible which appears to be about 40 miles long from east to west. This place is very cold. I could not find opportunity to measure the height. But this flat land could be at least 15,000 feet high from sea level on a rough estimate. I saw thousands of Kyang³⁶ on this plain.

On 13th day of October we travelled for 13½ miles towards east along the plain of Raka Thazung and camped at a place called Gngangbiako on the east of which is a high hillock of black colour looking like a grand stupa. This place also is very cold and quite high.

On 14th we negotiated a gradual climb of 4 miles and reached a small hill called Gngang La. Then travelling east for seven miles on plain land we reached the ridge of Singbi La. Then descending a little we camped at a place called Ruan in a forest. On this stage we covered a total distance of 8 miles. At this place high Himalayan peaks are

³⁵ In Tibetan cairn (heap of stones) with flags or twigs is called *Lhapchak*.

³⁶ In Tibet, wild ass called *kyang* are found in wilderness.

visible towards south. This range of Himalaya is on the northern bank of Brahamaputa River.

5. Observation of Stars at Sang Sang Giado at night (15 October, 1865 AD)

On 15th October we travelled for 9¼ miles in a northeast direction and camped at Sang Sang Giado Tarjam which is located at latitude of 29° 31' north and at the longitude of 86° 13' east on a flat land and is 14,000 feet above sea level. On the east and southwest there are two lakes and on the south is the range of Himalayas. There is only one house for the residence of Tarjamba and the rest of the population live in tents. From here many peaks of the Himalaya are visible at a distance in a northeast direction. It appears that these peaks are of Targod La range of Himalayas. The yaks and porters of Chomukula returned from this Tarjam of Sang Sang Giado. Yaks were arranged for carrying the loads further from here. At this Sang Sang Giado I quietly measured the degrees of the location by observation of stars only after Chhiring Norpel was in deep sleep.

On 16th October we travelled for 14½ miles towards east and camped at a place called Ge in the forest. On the 17th day we travelled for 20 miles in northeast direction and camped at the house of Sang Sang Kau Tarjam. This Sang Sang Kau Tarjam is at latitude of 29° 25' and 29" north and at the longitude of 86° 42' east and is 14,203 feet above sea level. At this Tarjam a big house of unbaked bricks has been built by the government for the residence of Tarjamba. Two other houses also are built and there are camps here and there on the plain. On the east, west, north and south there is an extensive plain. At a little distance toward the north the river Raka Sangpo flows towards east from west which makes the panorama very beautiful. At this Sang Sang Kau the yaks and porters of Chhiring Norpel were replaced.

On the 18th day we travelled for 6 miles towards the east and then southeast and reached a small hill called Ka La. This hill is the boundary between Chang and Dokthol regions. Thereafter we travelled for 6 miles in the same direction and camped at a place called Kukap. On this stage we covered 12 miles. Here we saw many Tibetans camping in tents.

5. Nubring Kimcho Lake (19 October, 1865 AD)

On the 19th day we ascended 2½ miles in a south-easterly direction and climbed Thang La pass. On the east, close to this ridge in a north-easterly direction, there is a large monastery called Rigutapjang on a hill. Thereafter, travelling further, 14 miles in all, in a southeasterly direction we camped at Ralung village. This Ralung village is at latitude of 29° 19' and 10" north and at the longitude of 87° 4' east and is 14,000 feet above sea level. At a short distance in the east there is a lake called Nubring Kimcho that is 8 miles in length from east to west and around 4 miles in width. About a quarter mile west of the village there is a hot water spring, and in Ralung village there are four or five houses and a monastery. Crops are grown here extensively. This village is within the territory of Chang region. It took me 16 stages from Tadam to Ralung. I saw cultivated fields nowhere on the route but for this village.

On 20th October, travelling for around six miles from Ralung in a southeast direction, we camped at the house of Nabringkaka Tarjam. This Nabringkaka is at latitude of 29° 15' and 55" north and at the longitude of 87° 10' east and is 13,486 feet above sea level. Around 20 houses are built in this village and towards northeast at a distance of about 5 miles there is a large village called Nabringjong on the eastern banks of Nubring Kimcho Lake. In that village there is a fortress in which the Jongpen of that territory resides. Many monasteries, mane walls and stupas have been built here and rich crops are grown. Only one crop of barley, wheat or peas is grown in a year. Right from Tadam up to this Nabringkaka, yaks are provided for transportation of trade goods. Yaks of Sang Sang Kau Tarjam returned from this Tarjam and for onward transportation of goods, donkeys of an improved breed were provided.

7 The town of Janglache on the bank of Brahamaputra (22 October, 1865 AD)

We marched onwards on the 21st day. After ascending a short climb there is a village called Chaulung at a distance of 5 miles in northeast direction from Nabringkaka, in a valley. From there in the east is a village called Demalung at a distance of three and half miles. From

there, at a distance of one and half miles, there are Lharcha and Nama villages on the western bank of Lang Cho Gonak Lake. This lake is three miles long and about two miles wide. On the northern bank is a monastery and on the eastern bank is another monastery named Lalung. The water of the lake is not potable. Travelling for one and half miles beyond this lake we camped at Bharka. On this stage we travelled for 18 miles. There are 8 to 10 houses in this Bharka village and rich crops are grown here.

In the morning of 22nd day we marched on from here. From this Bharka village in the southeast direction there is a village called Kharu at a distance of 2 miles. From here at a distance of 2 miles in southeast direction there is a village called Singilung. Two miles further on in a southeast direction there is a village called Napsi on the left bank of Brahamaputra River. Three miles from this Napsi village on the east is Gadue village and the monastery of Degung. Four miles further on, in the east is Chyunka village. Two miles east from Chyunka, we crossed the Brahamaputra River by a big wooden boat and camped at the Gyakhang³⁷ of Janglache town. On this stage we covered 15 miles.

This Janglache town is at latitude of 29° 8' and 59" north and at the longitude of 87° 38' east on the right bank of the Brahamaputra River and is 13,580 feet above sea level. Close to the town on the bank of the river there is a big and strong fort famous as Janglache and close by a large monastery is built separately. Inside the monastery there are many statues of Buddha and many Lamas. There are at least 300 houses and a big government house with courtyards built on the north of the town which the locals call *Gyakhang*. This building of *Gyakhang* has been built here for the residence of the Amban of China whenever he visits this town. Besides this, when ever high officials visit this town on tour, they also stay in this house. The Lopchak of Laddakh is considered among the high gentries in Tibet, and therefore our camp was established by the locals in this Gyakhang. There are many shops of Nepalese Newar traders in the town. The rest of the shops are run by Tibetans. One can get almost anything in the bazaar. Compared to any place in Tibet, food grain rates are lowest at Janglache. There is very fertile land along both the banks of River Brahamaputra. Plenty

³⁷ In Tibetan *gyakhang* is used for official guest house.

of wheat, barley, peas, radish, turnips etc are grown here. During winter people from Hor region, Nakchyang, Gognak and Pontochhad bring salt, wool and **dust of borax** (*ul, phooli*).

The route that goes from Kathmandu, Nepal to Lhasa via Nelam and Tingrighanga or Ghigri plain, passes through this very location of Janglache. One and a half miles to the north there is an iron bridge over the Brahamaputra River that is called Chyaksam.³⁸ On the left bank of the river is Debung monastery. For crossing the Brahamaputra River strong wooden boats are available. Many animals like horses, oxen, donkeys etc. and human beings can use these boats for crossing the river. Besides this, different kinds of leather boats are also available. These can be used only by human beings and goods but not animals. All types of these boats are used at this place for transporting goods by the river route to Shigatse by those who desire to transport their goods by ferry. The people of Janglache suggested we transport our goods by ferry but Chhering Norpel, the servant of Lopchak, did not approve of the river route and opted for the dry land route.

It is said that the water of this river Brahamaputra freezes into ice³⁹ for four months of December, January, February and March. There is no boat journey then and people just walk on the ice. By comparison the women of this region are more laborious than men. All the domestic work, shop keeping, and cultivation including ploughing the land, and rowing the boats is performed by the women. The men are lethargic and do little besides smoking tobacco. Despite all this, the women are so subservient to the men that if his nose needs blowing or his mouth is watering she would wipe his nose and mouth with a handkerchief. If a man is lying totally drunk in some others house, the woman would bring him home on her back.

8. On the bank of the Brahamaputra at Phunchholing (26 October, 1865 AD)

We halted at Janglache on the 23th day. On 24th day the Lopchak servants Chhetan and Johara joined us with the trade goods loaded on fifty donkeys. On the 25th day around 125 donkeys were provided

³⁸ In Tibetan *chyak* means iron and *sam* means bridge.

³⁹ It appears *yak* has been printed by mistake for *kh yak* which is the term for ice in Tibetan.

at Janglache *jong* for transportation of trade goods to the servants of the Lopchak. The goods were loaded on them and we departed from Janglache and travelling for 18 miles in a northeast direction, and passing through densely populated habitation like Chakdung Phangji, we camped at the building of Tashiling Monastery. This village is at latitude of 29° 20' and 34" north and is 13,774 feet above sea level. There are seven or eight houses in this village.

On the 26th day we travelled for five miles in the northeast direction along the right bank of Brahamaputra River up to the spot where the river Raka Sangpo meets Brahamaputra River from the west. Travelling for two more miles in a southeast direction we camped at Phunchholing town. On this stage we covered 7 miles. In this town there are about 200 houses and a large and really grand monastery, in which huge statues of Buddha in multiple depictions are made. These are worth viewing. Everything is available in the bazaar. Close to the town an iron bridge has been made over the Brahamaputra River, which is called Chyaksam⁴⁰ by the locals. But beside human beings, animal like horses etc cannot cross the river by this bridge.

On 27th October we passed through densely populated habitations, travelling in the southeast direction for 20 miles and camped at Jilung village. However, 7 miles to the east from Phunchholing there is an iron bridge and from this bridge a route goes in a northeast direction to Senjajong within Hor territory and another in north direction to Nakchang Gomnak via Chaihiul. And one and half miles on the south from this Chyaksam is a big village called Tashi Kang from the eastern corner of which one river flowing towards south originating from Himalayas on the south of Shakya monastery meets Brahamaputra River. There are around 250 houses in Tashi Kang village. This Jilung village is at latitude of 29° 12' and 20" north and at the longitude of 88° 11' east and is 12,800 feet above sea level.

9. Shigatse (Digarcha) town (28 October, 1865 AD)

On the 28th we travelled for 7 miles in a northeast direction and passed through a big village called Sabgeding with around 400 houses. Close

⁴⁰ In Tibetan *Chyak* means iron and *sam* means bridge

to this village one river meets Brahamaputa River from the southeast direction originating from the northern slopes of the mountains of Sikkim region. From this village, passing through several densely populated habitations on the east, we camped at village Chakri. On this stage we covered 26 miles. On 29th day, travelling 6½ miles towards northeast we reached the camp of Natang village in the afternoon. There is a monastery worth seeing in this village. Eight and a half miles from Natang towards northeast, in other words 15 miles from Chakri, is situated Digarcha or Shigatse town. This Shigatse town is at latitude of 29° 16' and 32" north and at longitude of 88° 48' east and is 11,822 feet above sea level. One mile long in the north-south direction and a quarter mile wide this Shigatse town is situated at the foot of a small hillock on the west bank of the Penanang Chu River. And close by on the northwest, on a hill, a strong fort called Jyangmarjong is built. It is believed that this fort was built by demons (*Asura*).⁴¹ And on the southwest, on the southern foot of the hill, there is a large monastery with fantastic grandeur called Tashilumbo, which is spread within a circumference of one mile. In Tashilumbo are three huge temples with most attractive roofs plated in golden colour. And many residential houses for Lamas and other temples are built here. On all the sides of the monastery along the walls, Chakri⁴² have been built as shelters for the visitors. Two large gates, one on the northeast and the other on southwest have been built for entry into the premises of the monastery. Near the gate on northeast two or three big *mane* walls have been erected which are meant for circumambulation by Lamas every day. The beauty of the colourful statues kept in the temples cannot be described in words and have to be seen to believe. Inside the walls and roofs of the monasteries colourful silk cloths are fastened like festoons and along the walls or in the middle of the house, here and there innumerable metallic figures with one, four, five, six, eight and ten faces are kept on the throne-like golden bases. Similarly, very strange statues with two or multiple hands, decorated with many jewels like diamond, emerald, topaz, sapphire and red turquoise are kept there.

⁴¹ In Hindu mythology the term *Asura* is used for ancient human race who were opposed to *Sura* or *Devas*. The consequence of *Devasur Sangram* (battle between *Devas* and *Asuras*) culminated into *Samudra-Manthan* (churning of ocean) which resulted in emergence of products called *navaratna* (nine jewels) including *amrit* (nectar) and *visha* (poison).

⁴² *Chakri* means shelter built around the walls of the monastery.

Near these statues and among the offerings for worship, bright bronze bowls are filled with water to the brim; on certain plates food grains are heaped up. The lamps are so huge that these can contain five *seers* (*seer* = little more than a kg) to two *mounds* (*mound* = 40 *seers*) of ghee (purified butter). The flame is lit throughout the day and night. Lamas occupying high seats here and there keep worshipping by reading holy books. But ironically they keep drinking tea and eating while worshipping. However nobody eats meat during the ceremony. Besides, eating meat is prohibited to the extent that any Lama who has eaten meat at his residence is barred from reciting the Holy Scriptures unless he has subsequently taken some *sattu*.⁴³ Eating *Sattu* is like brushing the teeth and washing the mouth.

10. Panjam Rinpoche the Lama of Shigatze (Tashilumpo Monastic)

In this monastery of Tashilumbo 33,000 Lamas live. Among them Panjan Rimpoche is the most venerable. Newars of Nepal, Tibetans, Chinese and Shaks of Tartar consider this Panjam Rimpoche to be the true incarnation of Buddha. It is said that there have been eleven incarnations of this Lama and the present one is the twelfth. From this incarnation onwards the practice of reincarnation would discontinue. Among the earlier incarnations were Chichun, Palden, Hissey and Panjan Rimpoches. Among them the tenth incarnation of Panjan Rimpoche called Panden Chhyu lived for 180 years. Tibetan people are sure that Panjan Rimpoche is omnipotent and knows the past, present and future and can give blessings or curse to anyone.

On the 1st day of November 1865 AD, I went with Chhering Norpel, the servants of the Lopchak and Chhetan Aati to have a darshan (opportunity to see a holy object) of Lama Panjan Rimpoche. At that time he was a very handsome boy of merely eleven or twelve years sitting on a high seat. On his right and left many Lamas were standing with respect with their eyes down. We put the presents in the front and bowed before him in reverence. He put his hand on our heads and indicated to be seated. After we sat down the Lama immediately asked us just three questions. These were, (1) is the ruler of your land just, (2) do the crops grow well in your country and (3) are you

⁴³ Flour made by grinding parched wheat or barley (*stirabout* - Montgomery)

free from ailments. We all jointly replied in positive and said that it was due to his blessings. Thereafter his assistant lamas put two foot long and one inch wide red silk cloths around our necks and took us around all the temples and made us have darshan.

Between Shigatze town and Tashilumbo monastery there is long and wide place which is called Thom⁴⁴ by the locals. On this land they hold a daily bazaar. At daybreak all the residents of the town arrive at Thom with their goods. After marketing for the whole day they return to their houses in the evening. In this manner the bazaar is full of activities every day. On the east, northeast, southeast and south of the town and monastery numerous mane walls and chhortens⁴⁵ have been built hither and thither. On the southeast, south and southwest of the town the plain land spreads for about ten to eleven miles where there are villages and agricultural land. On the west, flat land extends for 16 miles and on the north and northeast the plain land extends for six or seven miles right up to the bank of the River Brahamaputra. One river called Penanang Chu originating from the Himalayas on the south of Gyangze town and flowing by Gyangze and Penajong meets the Brahmaputra River from southeast a little north of the eastern corner of Shigatze town. Besides this, two army commanders and a Jongpen reside here and there are about 100 Chinese troops and 500 Tibetan troops are stationed here. In all, including Lamas, there would be a population of up to 20,000 at this town.

11. Kalan Chhavongambo Lhc^hhyak of Laddakh

From the south of Shigatze one route goes to the Walung Sumgola region in Nepal via Lhagulung hill, Chhontodong Lake and Tashirak and another route goes from the southwest to Kathmandu, Nepal via Shakya monastery, Tingrighanga and Nelamjong. During the summer

⁴⁴ *Thom* in Tibetan means bazaar.

⁴⁵ Buddhist stupas (called *Dhamekh* by Kashi (Varle) is called *Chhorten* by Tibetans. It also means 'devine' because it is believed that in the year 543 BC, when Shakya Muni renounced his body at the age of eighty years at Kushinagar, below a *Shal* (*Sausuria Robasta*) tree his body was assigned to the flames. The ashes and bones, picked up from the pyre were devided into ten parts by Dron Brahimin and stupas were constructed to preserve them. Subsequently Emperor Ashoka got numerous stupas made all over the country with the ashes. Tibetas now mix the ashes of high Lama and construct stupas acclaiming the Lama to be a higher living being.

months they trade with people from Nepal and during winter they trade with Horpas of Hor territory. In fact, thousands of Horpas visit Shigatze with gold, ghee (purified butter), salt, wool, **dust of borax** (*ul, phooli*), sheep, goats, and in exchange take away food grains, tea, textiles etc. In the town, the shopkeepers are mainly Bodpas.⁴⁶ Besides them, many shops are of Newars of Nepal, Khampas of Kham region, or Gyamis.⁴⁷ Gyamis are mainly bakery professionals. In this Shigatze there are at least twenty five thousand people including lamas and traders.

My camp was established with the Laddakhis in the south corner of Shigatze town in a house called *kunkhang*.⁴⁸ From this house I made 13 repeated observations of latitude by sextant and compass of the sun, polar star and two other stars and came to the conclusion that the town is at latitude of 29° 16' and 32" north. But Capt. Turner Sahib *Bahader* has determined the latitude to be 29°, and 4' north. There is no doubt that Sahib had taken only a single observation, that too of only one planet, and thus his result is often not reliable.

On the 13th day I accompanied Kalan Chhavongambo and visited Tashilumbo monastery for darshan of Lama Panjan Rimpoche and had a nice round of the monastery. On the 22nd day of December the Lopchak dispatched his trade goods on about hundred donkeys with servants like Chhetan etc. to Lhasa. I also started with them and travelled for 13 miles in a southeasterly direction through villages and habitations situated hither and thither on the way, and camped in the evening at Giang village.

On the 19th day (*of November?*) the Lopchak of Ladakh, Kalan Chhavongambo (Kalan Chyang Goba – the Trade Representative of the King of Kashmir), arrived at Shigatse. I also befriended him closely. But I was waiting for Cousin Mani who was to come with the consul of the King of Nepal by the route of Nelam. But I heard that

⁴⁶ Tibetans call the region of Lhasa, Digarcha and Vachang as Bod and its residents as Bodpas. It may be a derivative of Buddha. It appears followers of Buddhism called themselves Bod in Tibet.

⁴⁷ Chinese are called *Gyamis* (residents of *Gyanak* i.e. China).

⁴⁸ In Tibetan an inn is called *kungkhang* and it is officially managed by an appointed caretaker called *kungye*

the new consul of the King of Nepal had already arrived at Lhasa. The old consul, Chandraman Karki, arrived at Shigatse from Lhasa with great pomp and show on his way back to Nepal on the 28th day of November. I had estimated that Mani, after reaching Lhasa with the new consul, might be returning with the old consul, so I searched for him around his camp.

On the 23rd day we travelled for 7 miles to the east and camped at *kunkhang* of Penajong town on the right bank of the Penanang Chu River. This Penajong town is at latitude of 28° 10' and 37" north and at the longitude of 86° 6' east. There is a fortress on a hillock where the Jongpen resides.

12. Gyangze town (25 December, 1865 AD)

On 24th day we travelled for 16 miles along the right bank of Penanang Chu River passing by villages and habitation situated hither and thither and camped at a big village called Takse. On the 25th day we travelled for 14 miles toward the southeast along the right bank of the same river and camped in the *gyakhang* of a large town called Gyangze. This town is at latitude of 28° 55' and 37" north and at the longitude of 88° 31' east on a flat land on the right bank of the Penanang Chu River that is 12,900 feet above sea level. It is a big town inhabited by fifteen to twenty thousand persons. In the middle of the town there is a fortress on a hillock called Gyangzejong and a very grand monastery is built there in which statues and pictures of different religious characters are kept. There reside two Jongpens, two Daipons and Chinese troops up to fifty and Bodpa (*Tibetan*) troops up to 200. Even though this town is located at higher altitude than Lhasa and Digarche (Shigatze), the land is very fertile here. In comparison to all the other regions of Tibet, items like food grains, ghee (purified butter), oil, meat, woollen tweed etc. are cheaper at this town and several types of woollen cloth called *Gyamthanhabu*, *Chutku* and *Purikanhabu* of better quality are made here. During winter it is pretty cold here. I saw the water of Penanang Chu frozen in the month of December. On the southwest, south and northwest of the town the plain land extends for miles together in the middle of which the Penanang Chu River, originating from an Himalayan range on the south, flows in a north-westerly direction irrigating land on

its right and left banks. Big villages and habitations are located here and there on the right and left banks of this river. From this Gyangze town one route goes in southern direction to Pharijong that is at a distance of four day's march crossing over the Himalayan range. This Pharijong is within the territory of Lhasa region. But south of Pharijong is the territory of Dhukpa² region. Bodpas come and go to Calcutta and India by the route of Pharijong through Darjeeling.

On 26th and 27th December we rested at the camp. On 28th day we travelled for 16½ miles to the east and camped at the village of Gobzi which is at latitude of 28° 50' and 17" north and at the longitude of 89° 44' east and is 13,780 feet above sea level. In the mornings of 28th December it was so cold that the mercury was not rising in the thermometer. On 29th day we travelled for 13½ miles to the east and camped at village Gomtang near village Ralung which is 14,000 feet above sea level. This place is very cold and no crop is cultivated here. On the northeast and east there are very high peaks of Himalayas.

On the 30th day of December, we travelled for 10 miles towards northeast and climbed the pass of Kharo La which is 16,700 feet above sea level. Thereafter, descending for 3¾ miles we camped near a place called Zara where a building has been built for the check post of the Amban of China. On this stage such a strong blizzard blew on the way that it became almost impossible to open the eyes because of the dust. It was so cold that limbs became quite numb.

13. Around the Lake of Yamdok Tso

(31 December-2 January, 1865 AD - narrow escape from bandits)

On 31st December we travelled for 14½ miles towards east and camped at Nanganchejong on the west bank of Lake Yamdok Cho. Near this village there is a fortress built on a small hillock. This place is within the territory of Kachang Hee region, which is often called oktan area⁵⁰ because the local residents hardly cultivate land and only rear yaks, sheep, goats and horses. From this Nanganchejong, one

⁴⁹ Bhutan is called *Dugyul* (Dragon country) and the residents are called *Dugpa* (resident of *Dugyul*) or *Lhoba* (residents of southern land).

⁵⁰ Shepherds are addressed as dokpa and land where crop cultivation is not possible is called dhoktang where only shepherds reside.

route goes in the southeast direction to Tsonajong, Lhobrajong and Mon Tawang.

On the 1st day of January, 1866 AD and travelling for eighteen miles in northeast direction along northwest bank of Yamdok Cho Lake we camped at the village Pyathejong on the northern bank of the lake which is at latitude of 28° 6' and 4" north and at the longitude of 89° 17' east and is 13,700 feet above sea level. There is a fortress in this village that has its foundation right on the bank of the lake. By rough estimate, Yamdok Cho Lake would be 30 miles long and 20 miles wide. But in the middle of the lake is an evergreen tall hill feature which has a length of 20 miles east to west. This hill feature is surrounded by Yamdok Cho Lake on all the four sides. The real lake is like a big river at places and would be three miles in width. On both the banks of the lake there are villages here and there. It is said that there is a dry land route from the south to the said island hillock, but from north, east and west side one can only reach the island on the leather boats.

On 2nd day travelling for 11 miles in a northeast direction from Pyathejong along the bank of Yamdok Cho Lake we camped at Demalang village. But on this day in this route, I was saved by the almighty at the hands of bandits. For taking observations by telescope clandestinely en route, I often used to walk alone, hiding from my Ladakhi companions. On that day, because of pain in my thighs, I had hired a riding horse. For measuring the length of the route, the servants were properly briefed and sent as companions of the Laddakhis. Unfortunately, bandits had camped nearby on the bank of Yamdok Cho Lake. One of them caught hold of the reins of my horse and asked me to dismount. Meanwhile, as luck would have it, Mohammad Shah Musalman, a revolutionary fugitive of the year of '57 (1857), who was fleeing to Lhasa with the Laddakhis, arrived from behind. He did not know the language of Bod (Tibet). He asked me, as to why was this person holding the reins of my horse. I said that he is a bandit ready to loot me. Mohammad Shah shouted aloud and immediately raised his whip towards that bandit who released the reins, but drew his sword from its scabbard and rushed to kill him. Just as I got the opportunity I whipped the horse and ran away. After me Mohammad also came running. Meanwhile many bandits appeared. They released many ferocious dogs behind us. Later on they fired two rounds from the guns but it did not hit us. The horses

ran with speed and reached the village of Demalang. At that attack the saddles of those bandits were not fastened on the back of the horses and the horses were left for grazing. If they had been on the back of horses with well-fastened saddles like us, both of us would have been killed by them.

On the day of 3rd January we rested at village Demalang. On the 4th day, ascending for three quarters of a mile towards north, we climbed the pass of Khamba La. This mountain of Khamba La is the boundary between the Woo and Chang provinces. On the east of this mountain is Woo province and the bigger towns like Lhasa etc and the region on the western side extending up to Sang Sang Kau Tarjam is called Chang province, wherein are located the big towns like Ngawring, Janglache, Phunchholing, Shigatze, Gyangze, Shakya, Tingri etc. From this Khamba La pass, 4 miles in the north direction descending a steep slope, Khamba Barchi village is located on the right bank of the Brahamaputra River. From this village we boarded a leather boat and navigated downstream for five miles towards the northeast. At this location there is an iron bridge over the Brahamaputra River suspended with iron chains that can be used by human beings but not by animals. For ferrying animals and goods, there is a big wooden boat. On this spot on the bank of the river is situated the village called Chaksam Chori. Further from there, at a distance of 3½ miles to the northeast, is a big village called Chusuljong which is 11,334 feet above sea level. It is situated at the confluence of the Brahamaputra and Ki Chu Rivers. A large *gyakhang* has been built in this village and a fortress is built at the foot of the hill. High quality crops are grown here. From this village the Brahamaputra River flows on east into Takpo and Combo regions passing through Samyechtang.

We rested for three days at camp in the village Chusul. On 8th day of January, 1866 AD, we travelled for 6 miles to the east and northeast direction along the bank of the Ki Chu River and camped at Chabonang village.

On 9th day we travelled for 12½ miles in a north-easterly direction along the bank of the same river, passing through villages and habitation hither and thither, and camped at *gyakhand* beyond the Notang village.

CHAPTER – Five

THE TRADITION OF INCARNATION OF GYEWA RIMPOCHE OF LHASA (DALAI LAMA)

1. Arrival at Lhasa (10 January, 1866 AD)

Wednesday, 10th day of January, we travelled for 10½ miles in a northeast direction along the right bank of Ki Chu River, had meals in the afternoon in the bazar of Singdonkarjong and thereafter travelled for five miles to the east and camped at a house called *Thongbakhang* in the middle of the Lhasa town. The town of Lhasa is at latitude of 29° 29' and 17" north and at longitude of 91°, 6' east on the northern bank of Ki Chu River in an 8 miles long and 4 miles wide depressed valley, which at one time was part of the sea, as is evidenced from their scriptures. It is 11,700 feet above sea level.⁵¹ The town is about one mile long and is not very wide. And on the Northwest corner on the mound of a small hillock is built a very strong fort called Potolah,⁵² wherein live Lama *Gyewa Rimpoche*⁵³ and his deputy *Gyalbo*⁵⁴. On the west end of the town is a monastery called *Kontyaling* and a small hillock called Chakri. In the middle of the town one large temple of *Jhiyo*⁵⁵ is built which is very grand, and worth seeing. Its roof is plated with golden sheets. There are innumerable charismatic statues of gold and bronze studded with a variety of jewels. Besides this, on the east of Potolah fort, close to the town on its north are Ramochhiya

⁵¹ "He (Nain Singh) arrived at Lhasa through Nepal in 1866 disguised as a Ladhaki merchant and was the first to fix the latitude and longitude of the forbidden city. He returned home to Kumaon via Mansarovar but was back in Lhasa again in 1874." - 'Himalayan Endeavour' – Edited by B.G. Verghese.

⁵² Potolah fort was built by the Fifth Dalai Lama; Gnowang Gyatso (1617 – 82 AD); the most successful Dalai Lama popularly addressed as "The Great Fifth".

⁵³ *Gyewa Rimpoche* means the religious head or *Dharamraj*.

⁵⁴ *Gyalbo* : the king.

⁵⁵ Name of the deity which is called *Machhendranath* by Newars of Nepal.

and Muru monasteries and on the southeast of the fort and on northwest corner of the town is the monastery of Takyaling Chumoling which also is worth seeing. On the southwest corner of the town one huge house has been built for the Amban of China in which the Chinese Amban and his troops are stationed. At a distance of 3 miles on the west of the town there is one large monastery called Drepung wherein 7,700 Lamas reside and 3 miles on the north of the town a grand monastery is built where in 5,500 Lamas reside. Innumerable numbers of statues and books have been kept in them. The beauty and style of the statues cannot be described and one has to see them to believe.

In the northeast direction from Lhasa at 14 miles eastward, there is a monastery named Dakyarpa in a cave on the slope of a hill and 26 miles east of Lhasa, on the left bank of Ki Chu River is built a grand monastery named Gaden worth seeing, within a circumference of around one mile, having many temples and houses in the premises. These are covered by plated golden roofs. Innumerable statues are kept in there with one, four, five or multiple faces and many hands, very beautiful and worth seeing and some of them are very awesome with long protruding teeth. Many swords, guns and bows and arrows and other weapons have also been kept in the store. In this monastery 3,300 Lamas reside. Among them, one, holding the title of *Gyalden Thiwa*, is the chief (*of the sect*).

2. Lhasa – Lama Gyewa Rimpoche (Incarnation of Padmasambhawa)

From Abdul Wahab, a trader residing at Lhasa, I learned that in the year 1854 AD, a census of the town of Lhasa was taken on the orders of the emperor of China. In this, besides Lamas, children and seasonal visiting traders, 9,000 women and 6,000 men were counted as residents of the main town. But in my estimate there are at least 50,000 people in the town including the rich gentry of the town, Newars of Nepal, Khampas and Kashmiri visitors and foreigners like Chinese and lamas residing in monasteries of Sera, Drepung, Kontyaling, Chyumoling, Ramochhiya, Muru etc. Around 1000 troops of the government (*of Devajyung*) and around 500 of China also are there. I saw 7 artillery guns myself. *Gyewa Rimpoche*, also called *Kyongon Rimpoche*, is regarded as the ruler of the whole of Tibet. He is taken as the Padmasambhava (Guru) himself or the incarnation of Nagarjuna. But he is only for worship and is said to be

immortal. When his body decays due to ageing, he changes his body. The body discarded by the Lama is mummified and is preserved in a golden coffin—in other words they convert the body into a golden stupa and it is kept in the temple for worshipping. I saw 9 such old golden stupas inside of Potalah fort with my own eyes. They are around six feet tall and with a circumference of nine feet. On them numerous precious stones like sapphire and coral are studded. Below the Lama Guru *Gyewa Rimpoche*, is his deputy *Gyalbo*, and below him are four Ministers (*Kalan*). The governance is especially in the hands of these four ministers. The cabinet of these ministers is called *Kshyak Lhakya*. But in reality, besides the Lama Guru or the king or the ministers, the de facto ruler is the resident commander Amban appointed by the emperor of China who resides at Lhasa. The king and the ministers all sub serve the Amban.

It is well known among the public of Lhasa that when the Lama (*Gyawa Rimpoche*), about whom mention has been made earlier, reaches the age and dies, before death he informs his advisors that in the next generation he would take birth in a particular region. They should look for him there. However if at the time of death, he fails to forecast, enquiry about his place of birth is made from the Lama (*Lhawa*) of Samye monastery and that *Lhawa* makes predictions instantly about the region of re-birth of the *Gyewa Rimpoche* Lama. Once it is known to *Devajung* of Lhasa that *Gyawa Rimpoche* has taken birth in a particular region, the names of all the boys born in that region within one year or six months from the date of departure of last *Gyawa Rimponche* is written on separate pieces of paper and paper balls made out of these pieces are put in an earthen round pot (*Handi*) with narrow neck. The pot is shaken and the boy whose name is written on the paper ball whichever jumps out first, is brought with pomp and show and made to occupy the seat of the next Lama. Thereafter he is trained and groomed in such a way that he explains things in the manner of the previous Lama, and his disciples and general followers are assured of his bona fides. It is also a custom that the house in which *Gyewa Rimpoche* is born is demolished and a *Lhakhang*⁵⁶ is built in which statues of himself, that of previous

⁵⁶ In Tibetan language *Lhakhang* means residence of divinity, i.e. an individual who attains supernatural powers by practicing *tantra*. The spirit of such a person is enshrined in the statue or any object and worshipped.

Lamas and Shakya Muni are kept for worship. All the relatives of that Lama are brought to Lhasa and are titled as *Dunkhar* and Jagirs are bestowed on them. On account of this tradition, the community called *Dunkhar* is considered the highest gentry in whole of Tibet.

Some say prior to the present *Gyewa Rimpoche*, there have been thirteen incarnations from the very initiation of the custom, but others say there have been only eight previous incarnations.⁵⁷ I am also doubtful about the fact, but it is correctly stated by the people that the first Lama was Kyagon Ngawa. After him was Chhuthimgya and after him was Lotalotak Gyaje and thereafter Kesang Gyaje was the fourth incarnation. During the period of this Lama the region of Tibet including Lhasa came under the control of the emperor of China. The Lama after Kesang Gyaje, called Ringjen Chheyang Gyajo, was a drunkard and very sensual person. Even though the *Gyewa Rimpoche* is prohibited from going out of Potala fort, and drinking alcohol or getting married is totally banned, this Lama Ringjen Chhewang Gyajo used to visit brothels of Lhasa in disguise, and playing the instrument of tamboura/tambura (*Damden*) sang songs with the prostitutes. It is said that this Lama compiled a bulky book of fine lyrics.⁵⁸ This Lama became so infamous that the resident Chinese

⁵⁷ One of the *Gyewa Rimpoche* of *Gelukpa* sect (Yellow Hat sect), Sonam Gyatso (1543-88) of Depung Monstrey was successful in treating Khorsod Mongol ruler Altai Khan, who bestowed the title of Dalai Lama to *Gyewa Rimpoche*. Two previous *Gyewa* Lamas, viz Gedun Trup (1391-1475) and Gedun Gyatso (1475-1542) were recognized as first and second Dalai Lamas posthumously. Sonam Gyatso was the the third and Yongten Gyamtso (1589-1617), the great grand son of Altai Khan became the fourth Dalai Lama.

⁵⁸ The sect of Lamaism called *Karmapa* (founded by Tutsum Khepa -1110-93), sub-division of old sect of *Kargyupa* was established in Tsang province and *Gelukpa* sect was established by Lama Tsong Khapa (1357-14-19), originating from *Phagmutra* of U province. Buddhism could only take root in Tibet by adopting certain tantric rituals from old Pönist (Bonist) cult traditions. *Karmapa* was closest to Pön faith. Seeing growing influence of *Gelukpa* sect in Tibet *Karmapa* Lamas of Tsang province provoked the ruler of Tsang named Lingden Khan to attack U province. On the call of Dalai Lama Gnawang Gyatso, Gusari Khan of Khorsod Mangol arrived with force and killed Lingden Khan of Chahar, king of Tsang province at Samdruptse near Shigatse in 1642. The family of the ruler and his advisers were exiled and Gusari Khan established his rule in whole of Tibet which he eventually handed over to Dalai Lama of *Gelukpa* sect. Gnawang Gyatso also known as 'The Great fifth' strengthened his control over Tibet and undertook the construction of

Amban of Lhasa reported the matter to the emperor of China. The emperor of China issued order for summoning this Lama before him for punishing him. When he was being taken in custody to China, after a two-month journey up to Khamlingdo, he expired. The stories of miracles performed by this Lama are narrated to the extent that, at the time of death, a porcelain cup filled with hot tea was held by him between the palms of his hands, and the cup turned into a ball of wax and he sent it to the emperor with the soldiers of China. When the cup reached the hands of the emperor after a long time, the cup opened up by itself and miraculously the tea was still hot. The emperor was so surprised that he took it as a miracle performed by the Lama and drank it. At Khamlingdo, before death he sang a song for his beloved which meant, 'Oh! White feathered humble Crane, give your feathers to me, I wouldn't go too far away to China, I shall return from Khamlindo'.

3. Lamas of Lhasa

(Calculation of the period of the tradition of Dalai Lama)

Lama Ringjen Chheyang Gyajo was succeeded by Lama Jyamygy Gyajo followed by Lama Khaitub Gyajo. And the last preceding Lama called Then ley Gyajo occupied the seat as ninth Lama. The age of this Lama

Potala fort at Lhasa. He died in 1682 when the fort was yet to be fully constructed. Apprehending trouble from Tsang rulers, the fact of his death was not disclosed and his body was preserved in his room in a sleeping position under the plea that he was unwell. Thus the search for the next incarnation was postponed. The fact of his demise was disclosed only when Potala fort construction was over. Thereafter only the search of new incarnation of Dalai Lama was launched from amongst the male children born around the time of death of 'The Great Fifth'. And Tsanggyang Gyatso was made sixth Dalai Lama. But by then he was already a grown up boy who have had tasted the sensual pleasures. Excluded from the world and restricted within Potala he could not renounce his old ways of life. Under the circumstances it was but natural that he lead a profane life style and expressed his feelings in poems. Translation of two of his poems published in many document are as under;

My compassionate One ! Be like the holy mountain, Rirab Lhumpo.
Stay still, and let the sun, And the moon, encircle you, Day and night.
Faithful, like the sun and moon, Shall I be to you.

The cuckoo bird, From the land of Mon, brings rain.
It descends from sky, It brings blessings to the earth.
Life grows and blossoms, When the cuckoo bird comes from Mon.
My lover and I join as one, In body, heart and mind.

was about 13 years in 1866 AD. I am an eye witness to it. His deputy was King Gyalbo Khirong Gyajo.

It has already been mentioned above that during the period of Lama Kesang Gyajo in 1720 AD, this country of Tibet was subjugated by the Emperor of China. Since then, up to 1866 AD, five Lamas occupied the seat at Lhasa but expired at quite young ages. Only Lama Kyongon Ngawa lived for 80 years. Of the succeeding seven Lamas some lived for twenty and some for thirty years. Rarely could they survive for a maximum of forty years. Taking the average age at 35 years, the period of 7 Lamas comes to 245 years. Adding 80 years of Lama Kyongon Ngawa and 13 years of the last one, Lama Kyogon Thenley Gyajo in 1866 AD, it comes to 338 years from the beginning of their existence. And calculating it differently, Lama Kyongon Ngawa's period was 80 years, after him taking the average age of the three Chhuthim Gyajo, Nondo Gyajo and Lotalotak Gyajo at 35 years, we get 105 years. And it has been proved that the Chinese came during the period of Kesang Gyajo around 1720 AD. Therefore from 1720 AD to 1866 AD it comes to 146 years. On this basis also the period of these nine Lamas comes to 331 years from the beginning. It is believed that prior to Kyongon Ngawa five Lamas came into existence secretly or they did not appear openly before the public. That is why eight lamas from the fifth Lama Kyongon Ngawa⁵⁹ up to Lama Thenley Gyajo who were known to the public and plus five lamas before Lama Kyongon Ngawa, in all 13 lamas are accounted for.

Tibetans and Chinese consider these lamas to be God personified. Their influence is such that urine, saliva and defiled leftover food of lamas are partaken as *prasad* (devotional offering). For example, mixing the urine of Lamas with many spices, colourful urine tablets (*Chhyap Rilü*) are made and likewise mixing the defiled food of the Lama with many spices, colourless or multiple coloured tablets (*Agej Rilü*) are made and distributed among the devotees. People with extreme reverence swallow these tablets without chewing them. They believe that by partaking of these tablets they are saved from all ailments in this life and attain salvation after death.

⁵⁹ In Tibetan language *Ngä* means five and *Ngawa* means fifth

4. Return journey to Milam : 21 to 29 April 1866 (The portion of the diary of this part is missing)

Note:- The part of the diary bearing details of his return journey from Lhasa commencing on 21st of April, 1866 and crossing the high pass of Untadhura (into his home country Malla Johar and village Milam) on 29th of April, 1866 is reported to be missing. The details of this part of journey have been given in brief by Montgomerie. As per Montgomerie Nain Singh left Lhasa on 21st April and reached Netang village. On his return journey he camped at Chusul on 22nd, Kamba Barch village on 23rd, Piate Jong village (crossing over Khambala mountain) on 24th, Nanganche village on 25th, Ralung village (crossing over Kharola mountain) on 26th, Gyantze town on 27th, Takse village on 29th (having halted at Gyantze for 28th) and Pena Jong village on 30th.

At Shigatze town on 1st of May, Digarcha on 7th (having halted for six days at Shigatze for collecting provisions for the journey), Natang village on 8th, Sabgeding village on 9th, Silka village on 10th, Tamcheding village on 11th, Phunchholing village on 12th, Chakdong village on 13th, Janglhache town on 14th (halted here for a day for collecting provisions for journey up to Mansrovar), Shingilung village (crossing the river of Brahamaputra) on 16th, Lharcha village on 17th, Gnabring Thaka Tarjam on 18th, at the foot of the hill on which Rigu Tapjang Monastery is built on 19th, Sang Sang Kau Tarjam on 20th, Ge camp on 22nd (halting at Sang Sang Kau for a day), Sang Sang Giado Tarjam on 23rd, Gnanba Yako camp on 24th, Raka Thazang Tarjam on 25th, Chomukula Tarjam on 26th, Gyajo Jheel camp on 27th, Sarka Jong on 28th, Tagung camp on 29th, Srikarpo camp (after passing Niku Tarjam) on 30th and Thuku camp on 31st.

At Tadung Monastery on 1st of June, Birmalung camp on the left bank of Brahamaputra; called as Tamjan Khamba; Machang and Gnari Chu Sangpo by the locals; (crossing the stream of Chachu) on 2nd, Tulu camp on 3rd, Dhuksun Tarjam on 4th (here sheep, goats, yaks etc are seen in large numbers, salt is bartered for grain brought from Jumla), Demar and Lahro camps on 5th and 6th, Thanjam Tarjam on 7th (here sheep, goats, yaks and horses are seen in large numbers, salt brought from Chaba is bartered for grain brought from Muktinath and Jumla), halted here on 8th, Tha Khabjor on 9th (the servant fell

ill and Nain Singh had to request his Ladakhi companions to assist him in his route survey), Gyamzar camp on 10th where he halted for a day, Ugro Tarjam on the bank of Gyundyud Chho lake (10 miles long and 2 miles in width) after crossing Mariam La mountain on 12th, Nukche camp on 13th, Thokcham Tarjam on the right bank of Some Chu stream on 15th where he halted for a day, Sarnia Unia camp situated half a mile away from the bank of Mansarovar lake on 16th, large village of Darchan on 17th (here he met a Kumaoni called Supia Shopol who helped him to discharge from his debts which had been accumulating since he left Lhasa, he left his ailing servant at this location as security against the debt of Supia, however he could not redeem his watch and requested the person in possession of it to relieve it at Gartok where he would send the debt money, here his Ladakhi companions departed for Gartok where as he started for Kumaon with two sons of Supia, an unknown camp site on 20th (*he appears to have halted at Darchin on 18th and 19th for making arrangements for onward journey*), Gyanima camp on 21st (this being the trading centre for his community of Johari Saukas which is visited by many traders from far and wide during rainy season), right bank of Chu Nago on 22nd, Thajang camp on 23rd. Here he was surprised to see heavy snow even on low hills which he had never seen before. This made crossing over the pass of Kungribingri impossible and he had to take the route of Niti pass which also was covered by snow and he slipped accidentally breaking the thermometer. He camped at Ship camp on 24th, Nukchang camp on the bank of Sak Chu stream on 25th. Sak Chu stream not being fordable he had to travel along the bank of the stream till he reached Dongfu village. Here he was detained by the Bhotia villagers even though he disclosed that he was a Bhotia just like them. Since no pass was opened yet they suspected him. They asked from him to show the permit issued by Taklakot Jongpen. On his saying that he had forgotten to carry the permit at Darchin he was directed to return to Darchin to bring it. So he went back three miles on Darchin route and stuck out by a jungle path over hills and arrived at Lamlung camp. He could not continue his route survey on this part of the route.

Arrived at Laphthal camp on 26th where he saw four Bhotia (*Tibetan*) soldiers sent there to stop the progress of Major Brenton. He was questioned by them whom he answered that he was coming from

Niti village, arrived at Khingur camp on 27th where he met Major Brerenton in his camp. He halted for half of the 28th day at this camp where Major Brerenton treated him warmly. Arrived at Topidhunga camp on 28th where he left his servants since one of them had suddenly fallen ill. On 29th crossed Untadhura pass and arrived at Milam from where he travelled to Mussoorie through the territories of Kumaon and Garhwal regions. His servant Chhumbel, whom he had left at Darchin joined him on the way having recovered from his illness.

His brother (*cousin Mani*) who had returned to British territory much earlier had been directed to cross the pass and assist Nain Singh. Nain Singh gave his sextant to his brother for completing the survey from Dongphu where he was forced to leave it. And thereafter to carry out the survey up to Gartok and also redeem his watch. He was successful in all these tasks.

PART – II

DIARY TWO

Thok Jalung Diary 1867 (25 July 1867)

Mana (heavy rains Jun - 25 Jul 1867) → {Sarji, i.e. Tibetan messenger arrived - 9 Jul 1867 and returned with Gangia - 13 Jul, heavy rains till 24th} → Ghastoli (25) → Chanirau (26) → at the foot of Chirbitia mountain (27) → {cross Chirbitia mountain} Kururoa (28) → Lumurti (29) → {order of Chuprang Jongpon not to proceed further until all traders of Mana collect at Chiurkank, Mani visited Chuprang for seeking permission on 31 Jul 1867} Chiurkang (1-2 Aug 1867) → Barka near Chuprang (3) → Totling (4-6) → {cross Satluj River at Ling Chaksam Gobji Monastery} Dovo (7) → at the foot of Ogotha Mountain (8) → Other side of Ogotha Mountain (9) → bank of small stream near Garyarsa {Gartok} (10) → {to avoid Tibetan officials stationed at Garyarsa took detour and cross Garjyung Chu; i.e. Lambo Chhia River} Gugti (11) → Dunling Sumdo (12) → {cross Gugti pass on Kailas range} Gyufti (13) → Lujang (14) → Rakma Gyang near Chaju Gungsa (15) → bank of Gyamchi Cho (16) → {cross saline water lake of Navi Chho} barren spot in the depression (17-18) → {no water - night passed thirsty and hungry, Chiring Tashi volunteered to go back to Navi Chho to bring saline water in the night, leaving Chiring Tashi at the camp visited Navi Chho and returned to the camp} → Kyagma Chumik (19) → {in the valley of Sindh/Indus River} Giachuraf (20-21) → {Tibetan officials informed Nain Singh that nobody is allowed to proceed further as in the previous year smallpox spread in Gnari region through Bisheri traders} → {Nain Singh visited Gova Tazam; explained that they were Bisehari but their ancestors had migrated to Mana and therefore they have come from Mana pass - part of Nain Singh's party was allowed on oath and with assurance that he will purchase Pashmina wool from him on return} → Camped in the valley (22) → {heavy snow} Chimorong (23-25) → {met known Rudokpa trader partners of Joharis - cross Chimorongla pass} Thok Jalung (26-30) → Chomorong (31) → Giachuraf (1-3 Sep 1867) → {Gova Tazam was not home} Sildong (4) → {cross Atak River} Gyamchung Cave (5) → Thangkur (6) → Pekia (7) → bank

of Atak River (8) → Marku (9) → Giamuk (10) → Ralajung (11) → Lajunchumik (12) → Jioo (13) → Gargunsa (14) → Longong (15) → Garyarsa/Gartok (16-19) {well wishers informed Nain Singh that Tibetan officials had been informed about their mission} → Khangia (20) → bank of Amchyung Stream (21) → Ngusun Jangal (22) → Shiyang (23) → Dunkar (24-25) → Totling (26 Sep - 3 Oct 1867) → Mangnang (4) → Khambasheesa (5) → Dhauylarao (6) → Kaikurao (7) → {Nain Singh fell ill} Poti (8) → Saunirao (9) → Ghastoli (10) → Badrinath (11-25) → Arudi (26) → Joshimath (29 Nov 1867) → Kotdwar (14 Dev 1867) → Report to Capt Montgomerei : 14 January 1868.

CHAPTER – One

EXPEDITION TO GOLD MINES OF THOK JALUNG

1. To enter into Tibet: Receiving Gamgiya: Collection of Bond The tradition of *Sarjee*: the Official Agent of Tibetan

..... (some portion of the text appears to be missing) it rained heavily and lot of snow fell on Mana pass. As a consequence there was quite a delay in opening of the pass.

There is a custom in this valley in which, before opening of the pass, two or three messengers of the Chuprang Jongpen visit Mana or Badrinath in this valley in the month of June, to obtain information as to whether all is well or not, and this team is called *Sarjee*. The *Sarjee* enquires about the region and the country and epidemics and disturbances, if any, of any kind. The Mana people have to guarantee against any possibility of epidemics or disturbances against the law of the land, and for that the head man of Mana has to submit a written guarantee which is called *Gamgia* by the Tibetans. Until they alert their country in all respects and reach Chuprang and submit the guarantee (*Gamgia*) to the Jongpen, the Chuprang Jongpen would not allow the people of Mana, or any other person, to enter from Mana pass into their territory in Tibet.

Mani reached Badrinath on 28th day of June, 1867 from Mussoorie with his equipment. Before Mani's arrival, as per the direction of the British government, I trained Kaliyan Singh extensively in the use of compass and made all preparations necessary for the journey with our team. Even after the arrival of Mani at Badrinath, we had to halt at Mana for many days because the pass had not opened and the *Sarjee* had not arrived and all the residents of Mana were waiting for the arrival of the *Sarjee*. They were wondering what had happened this year, because in other years *Sarjee* used to arrive in the month of June. Suddenly without prior information, the *Sarjee* team of Chuprang, comprising three persons, arrived at Mana on 9th of July and stayed

for three days at Mana. They obtained the *Gangia* from the headman of Mana and went back on the other side on 13th day of July. Many persons from amongst the *Marchhas* of Mana had intended to proceed on 14th day of July, and to accompany them we also established our camp near Vyas Pothi⁶⁰ outside the village. We were ready to proceed on 15th day but it rained heavily from the 14th to 24th of July. On this account we remained near Vyas Pothi for ten days.

2. Departure from Mana village on 25 July 1867 (Delay – on account of heavy rains)

One Bula Bisehari man named Karamsukh, resident of Morang village in Bisehar,⁶¹ met me at Badrinath. From a conversation with him it was learnt that he had visited Thok and hence I recruited him to guide us along the route. With assistance from the three persons i.e. Karamsukh, Topkia of Zangskar and Mukamu Badwal of Mana, we arranged all the beasts of burden and porters and recruited servants. We hired twelve donkeys for carrying the loads of rations and other goods for four months. These seven persons namely Mukmu Marchha of Mana, Topgia of Zangskar, Karamsukh of Bisehar, Pale and Chhiring Tashi of Laddakh and Ram Singh and Dhan Singh of Juhar had been recruited with effect from first of July for our onward journey. When the twelve donkeys could not carry all the goods, one horse had to be purchased for carrying the additional load and some ration had to be ferried up to Totling by hiring the sheep of Lala Badwal of Mana. In all 13 animals, 8 servants including Chhambel plus Mani, Kaliyan Singh and me (a total of eleven persons) formed the team. Apprehensive of robbers we had to purchase a few guns and swords. A few of them we borrowed from the Mana people on the promise of returning them after the return journey was over. Thus arranging everything for the journey, we started off on the 25th day of July from Mana and camped at Ghustoli for the night. This place is called Sumdo Ding Ding by Tibetans.

On 26th day of July 1867 AD we reached Chanirau and on 27th day camped on this side at the foot of Chirbitia Mountain, within Mana

⁶⁰ A cave covered with thin layers of sedimentary rocks taken to be the book (*pothee*) written by Vyas Rishi and therefore called Vyas Gufa (the cave of Vyas Rishi) on the northern slope of Mana village.

⁶¹ The region of Bishehar/Bussair in the State of Himanchal Pradesh.

valley, which is called Taresumdo. A confluence of rivers is called *sumdo* by Tibetans.

On 28th day of July 1867 AD after reaching the top of Chirbitia mountain of Mana valley I took observations by boiling point with thermometer and found that this ridge was 16,446 feet above sea level. By the evening we camped on the other side of the mountain at a place named Kururao.

On 29th day of July 1867 AD we reached the camp of Lumurthi within Ravonthok region and on arrival there, Dorjia read out to us a notice issued by the officials of Chuprang Jongpen that we were not permitted to proceed any further in the presence of the local traders. The direction of Avtuk, an official of Chuprang (or Dawa Jongpen) was that unless all the traders of Mana along with their headman collect at Chiurkang and thereafter the Ravon of Ravonthok also submits his report to us that all the traders have arrived, and then you deposit requisite trade tax (*thal*) and local tax (*varchhong*) after reaching at Chiurkang, only then will you be allowed to proceed towards Ling or Chuprang.

The amount of cash collected for undertaking trade within their region is called *varchhong*, and one tenth of the trade goods paid to the government from the traders are called *thal*. But *thal* is collected only on cereals, tobacco, dates, sugar candy, jaggery etc. but no *thal* is paid on precious stones like coral, pearl, turquoise etc.

With us were two or three caravans of traders from Mana like that of Gaje Singh, Lala Badwal, and Suvaru. We were highly disheartened on hearing that onward journey from Chiurkang would not be allowed, because the arrival of traders from Mana with the headman was much delayed and we would have to stay here for a long time until the arrival of the headman. And by then any rascal might divulge our real identity and get us arrested by the local authorities. Considering this, in consultation with Lala Badwal, we requested Dorjia, the representative of Ravonthok, that we shall abide by the orders of the authority and stay there with all the goods. But we request that he allows two to three persons to go to Chuprang to request and make submission to the Avtub, the representative of the authority, for a route permit. If we succeed in obtaining permit,

well and good, otherwise we will have no alternative but to stay till the arrival of the Mana headman. With this submission we requested him to let two or three of us go to meet the Avtuk at Chuprang. On this undertaking he allowed us to go. Then resting for one day at Lumurti, Mani went to Chuprang to meet the Avtub accompanied by Mukmu and Lala Badwal on 31st day of July 1867 and the rest of us stayed back at Lumurti. On first August 1867 AD, I too shifted my camp from Lumurti to Chiurkang that is also called Shibuk by the people of Mana, which is at a distance of four miles. At this place a building constructed for the Chuprang Jongpen is in a dilapidated condition. Staying in this place, the Avtuk of the Chuprang Jongpen inspects the goods brought by traders of Mana and fixes one tenth as *thal* and directs them to deposit the share of the goods as *thal* and cash as *varchhong* at Chuprang. This Chiurkang is 14,011 feet above sea level and is at latitude 31° 12' and 30" north. The place is called Chiurkang because the drinking water has been brought there from a stream by digging a channel. The water originates from a *Kanri* (*Khangri*), that is, a glacier. Therefore the place is named Chiurkang and the whole region is called Ravanthok.

Northeast of Chiurkang, at a distance of about one and half miles, there were camps of Ravonmi Dorje etc at Kinfu. Not more than five or six families in all live at Ravonthok. They live on sheep, goat and yak rearing and crops are not grown here.

3 Real traders at Totling

(Nain Singh advised to abstain from carrying out survey by a Tibetan friend)

On the first day of August, one person of Lhasa named Phunchho Angel, who was earlier an official of Dawa Jongpen of Kuker, visited my camp with Dorgia Ravonmi and I respectfully made them be seated and offered tea to them. He inquired from me as to how far and for what purpose I was going. I disclosed that I was going up to Gartok for the purpose of trade. Then he told me that it was known that in the preceding year I had travelled as an envoy of the British government and prepared many maps of Lhasa and submitted them to the Britishers, and that this time also you might be on a mission of espionage of God knows which region. He said

that I should abstain from doing so. Even though I am no longer an official of the government, but you, Mani are friends of mine and my master Jongpen Kuker, and considering you as one of our people I am advising you. If you deviate from your normal destination of Gartok this time also, you will definitely land badly in the clutches of our government. On this I totally denied my reaching Lhasa and I made him depart with the gift of a matchbox. But at heart I was gravely concerned and thought if the report of my journey to Lhasa is known to the local authorities of this region, God knows how they would behave with me.

On getting the message from Mani on second day of August, 1867 AD, that our request to the Avtuk for proceeding further had been granted and that I should advance ahead, I commenced the journey on August 3rd from the camp of Chiurkang. At about four o'clock we established our camp at Barku, near Chuprang, and as I was preparing to go to meet Avtuk and Mani, the Avtuk himself arrived before me riding on a horse, and first of all he searched all our baggage. But he did not find the survey equipment. He was not acquainted with me so he considered us to be genuine traders. And then he asked me to show the goods for trade. As per his request I showed him the corals worth one hundred and fifty Rupees that were in my possession and he liked them very much. He directed me to visit his house at Chuprang with these corals and said that my companion Mani was also there and the amount of tax also had to be settled with us. Saying this he prepared to depart, and I, leaving the camp behind, accompanied the Avtuk to Chuprang. On reaching Chuprang, Mani and I went to the house of the Avtuk together. When the Avtuk inquired about the cost of the corals I quoted a rate double the purchase cost because I was not at all interested in selling the corals to him. We had pretended to be traders, and as we had nothing but these corals as trade goods which we needed to show as trade goods to the people on the further journey. Since the bargain failed with Avtuk, he demanded *thal*, *gothal* and *lhathal* at the rate of one tenth of the volume of the ration. We did not deposit ration as *thal* but paid in cash in its place and after calculating *lhathal* at the rate of six *annas* per individual made the payment and *gothal* was also paid at the same rate. Then only we were released from there.

But for the Marchhas of Mana, Duriyals of Pandukeshar, Rathurashi Bhandari and Khamba and from all new traders who visit Totling through the Mana pass for trade, *lhathal* or the tax for crossing the pass is recovered at the rate of two *tyamashas* (unit of measure for barter) that is six and quarter *annas* per person and same is the rate of *gothal*, that is the tax on the security of the individual, and on the cereals one tenth of the quantity is collected as goods tax. But Khambas do not have to pay tax on the cereals and they have to pay only *lhathal* and *gothal*; that too only once in the initial year; when they enter for the first time. Thereafter they may come for any number of times within a years and they do not have to pay anything. The Marchhas of Mana are exempted from *lhathal* and *gothal*. Only the *varchhong* tax of 44 Rupees per annum is fixed and goods tax at the rate of one tenth also is paid. The Duryals of Pandukeshwar used to pay 44 Rupees annually as *varchhong* earlier, and now it is fixed at 25 Rupees per annum. From the temple of Badrinath, 100 yards of cloth, 5 Rupees cash, one piece of sandalwood and seven bags full of dried fruits tied in small bundles are sent to the Chuprang Jong per annum. In exchange for this, one piece of woollen tweed, four bags full of tea tied in small bundles, and raisins, comes to Badrinath temple from Chuprang Jong.

At this Chuprang a *khar* or fort is made on an earthen mound that is seven hundred paces tall. And at the foot of that mound there is a spring of water. It is said that a tunnel was dug from that fort to the source of water. And it is also believed that there is a ditch like a blind well in the fort in which a divine spirit in the shape of an animal dwells, which is called Dikpa King by the locals. If an animal is suspended into the ditch with a rope from its rim, that divine spirit sucks that animal, in such way that only the bones and the skin remains, and all the blood and flesh are all partaken of by spirit. Therefore when a decision is taken to execute a convict, he is pushed in this ditch and the divine spirit devours that individual instantly.

In the scriptures of the Bhotias (the term used for Tibetans) it is written that in olden days Lintsanchin Gyalbo was the King of the whole of Ngari Khorsum who is also called Gyalbo Keshar Sindoor. Later on there were two kings in Ngari namely Bod Chhogyal at Dava and King Chyodakpo Gyalbo at Chuprang. At one time the region of the

King Chyodakpo was subjugated by the King of Ladakh. On the basis of a compromise the territory of Chyodakpo was returned to the king of Chyodakpo later on. Even now, a large house built by the King of Laddakh, stands near the fort. When no child was born to the King Bod Chhogyal of Dava and King Chyodakpo, then both these kings presented their Kingdom to the *Gyewa Rimpoche* of Lhasa. From then onwards all this land came under the control of Lhasa.

On 4th day of August, 1867 AD we reached Totling and camped in the house of Amardeo Marchha within the campus of the monastery. Along with the stupa this monastery is located within a periphery of about one mile on the left bank of the Sutlej River. For worship of the diety around fifty to sixty Lamas live here headed by a high Lama of the rank of *Lingkhanuwa*, who is very just. This monastery is the largest and most beautiful among the monasteries of Ngari Khorsum. Close to Totling towards southwest at a distance of about three quarters of a mile, there is an old fort on a mound called Lingkhar. It is said that this fort was constructed by Sanchin Gyalbo (that is Gyalbo Keshar⁶²) and inside this fort the *thak* (back trap loom a primitive weaving apparatus for weaving tweeds manually) of the queen of Gyalbo Keshar was kept lying. This *thak* used to weave in such a manner that on each day one thread used to be added to the tweed by itself. Most parts of the tweed had been woven and only a little was remaining. When the commander of the King of Kashmir Maharaja Gulab Singh, named Jorawar Singh, invaded Tibet with troops, in fear of him the local Lamas collected the *thak* of the queen of Gyalbo Keshar called Duguma and kept it in hiding in the belly of an earthen statue. It is also recorded in their scriptures that the day the weaving of tweed is completed on this *thak* of queen Duguma, the whole of earth will be destroyed completely. The reason for the name of the monastery at Totling is explained thus; that in olden days a piece of sandalwood one and a half yards long and quite thick landed here from the sky. It landed there with a sound resounding 'Totling' and because of that the place was named Totling. Witnessing this miraculous event, the local people constructed a temple of the diety

⁶² The reference of king Keshar and Lingkhar refers to the Tibetan tradition of the first king of Tibet named Kesar who is believed to have landed from the sky in Ling Province in the eastern Tibet.

there and after putting the sandalwood in the belly of a statue started worshipping it. From this Totling, in northeast direction at a distance of about a quarter to two miles, a strong iron bridge has been built in the past over the Sutlej River which is called Lingchaksam Gobzi. Human beings and animals can easily cross over this bridge even riding a horse.

4. Such was the Region (Abundance of wild animals)

This Totling monastery is situated at latitude $31^{\circ} 30'$ north and is 10,800 feet above sea level and only one crop is grown in a year. An inferior variety of wheat called *Oowa* (*Hordeum Caeeste*) is sown in the month of April and harvested in September and, besides radish no vegetable grows here. The jungle and hills are devoid of trees. But there are trees of *Shyaan* that is *Mughalpata* which are also called *Java*, at some places near the villages. On the banks of the river at places are *Omfu* and a variety of thorny trees that are called *Siya* and *Damkarpo*.

After resting for two days at Totling monastery, we departed from Totling on 7th day of August, 1867 AD and crossing the iron bridge over Sutlej River at Lingchaksam Gobzi we camped at village Dovo in the evening. Crops are grown in this village too. At this place we donned dress like Busahiris. By cutting black woollen tweed we made round caps like that of Bushahiris and made all including the servants to wear them. On the 8th we camped at the foot (*Lharcha*) of Ogolha mountain and on 9th day reached the top (*Lhapche*) of Ogolha mountain. On making observation by boiling point I found that Ogolha Mountain was 17,154 feet above sea level. At that time some fresh and some old snow was visible on the ridge. That day we camped on the other side of Ogolha Mountain in the evening and it snowed mildly in the night. On 10th we camped in a rivulet at a small distance from Gar Yarsa. On 11th August, rising early in the morning and crossing Garjyung Chu that is River Lanbo Chhiya, and taking a little detour we took the route through a jungle. Since the regular route passes quite close to Gar Yarsa, where Tibetan authorities like Garpon were camping, and apprehending that they would stop us we did not go by the route of Gar Yarsa. In the evening we camped at Gyukti where five

camps of Tibetan shepherds of yak and sheep were visible. On the 12th day of August, 1867 AD we camped at Dunglung Sumdo on this side of Gyukti pass, at its foot.

On 13th day, 1967 AD when we reached Gyukti La, I took observation by boiling point and found that this pass was 17,480 feet above sea level. This mountain is part of the Mount Kailas range and in comparison to Ogotha it had more snow on it. This day we camped at a place named Gyufti in Dokthol area across Gyukti Lha pass. Six camps of Chajuwa people were visible. At this Chajothal, two species of Tibetan deer called *Cho* and *Guwa* by the locals were visible in large numbers. On the plains, flocks after flocks of deer are seen just like grazing flocks of sheep and goats. It is said that there are many wild yaks on the range of Gyukti pass.

5. Pinnacle of Dirchri

On 14th day of August we camped at Lujang and on 15th reached near Chaju Gansa that is called Rakma Gyam. At this place Chajo Pon who is in-charge of the region lived during the period of winter and his Chhyokhang is built in a cave on the mountain of Rakmagyam. Close to Rakmagyam, on the southeast is a peak of the mountain called Dirchiri. That peak is erect in the middle of a plain as if it had been made by hand by somebody. Somewhat like the pot used for playing dice,⁶³ it is thick at the root and around half a mile tall from the bottom and it is thin towards the top. There is no snow on that mountain and climbing it is very difficult for human beings. However local people have raised a flag on a wooden pole on top. This peak is visible from long distances.

On 16th day of August we camped near a small lake called Gyamchi Cho. Many water birds were seen in that lake and human beings and their habitations were not seen anywhere. Everywhere small hills, plain land and barren areas were only visible. We only realized that there is water on the side of Gyamchi Lake but we could not find any sign of the track in that barren land. Our servant Karamsukh Bishsheri

⁶³ Tibetans play dice using a conical metal pot. The dice is put into the pot and the player has to cover the lid with his palm and shake it before putting it down on the place assigned for the dice.

had said to me at Badrinath that he had visited Thok, but on enquiry he said that he had taken the route of Tashika to approach Thok.

6. Quenching thirst with Saline Water of Navipa Cho (17-18 August, 1867)

On 17th day of August, 1867 AD we took our meal early in the morning and started off from Gyamchi Cho. Progressing gradually we found a small lake called Navipa Cho in the afternoon when we and our load animals were quite thirsty. But the water of that lake was saline. As we all were so thirsty, we closed our eyes and drank the water. Nearby there was some sign of fire having been made by the travellers and we could find beaten track leading further on. But we did not know as to where this track would lead. Further from that place beyond a small ridge there was a deep depression and Karamsukh and all others opined that there must be water in this depression. Considering that it was no use camping at mid-day, and that we should cover as much distance as possible, we left the lake of Navipa Cho and travelled further on. Travelling the whole of the afternoon we reached the bottom of that depression where we had hoped to find water. Where we thought there was a depression, we found an extensive but barren plain. The wilderness was void of wild deer or birds or any wildlife. The reason for this was that there was no water nearby. Under the apprehension of losing the track we did not consider it wise to travel during the night. So we camped there but at heart were feeling restless on account of the thirst. Then I addressed the servants and said, "Friends! Two or three of you should show valour and go to the Navipa Cho Lake, which we left behind in the night, and fetch water. Then only can we survive, otherwise we shall all perish. Anyone who brings the water shall be rewarded with Rupees two by me." Hearing this everybody looked downwards and nobody agreed to go. Then Chhering Tashi said he would go. That brave man set forth in the evening and returned with water while some part of the night was still to pass. But since we did not have a large pot, an adequate volume of water could not be brought. Till he arrived everyone's mouth had dried up and the tongue was sticking to the palate. Because of thirst none of us could sleep during the night. I gave one bowl of water to each one but it did not quench the thirst of anyone. At daybreak I saw that everyone was in bad condition. Just as in a cholera epidemic the

face of everyone had changed, with deep sunken eyes. Karamsukh Bushahiri was not even able to speak and whatever we asked of him he would make signs with his hand. Then we pondered that if we move ahead, it is not likely we will find water nearby. Now we should leave the goods here and retreat to Navipa Cho Lake, and after taking water there we can return here in the evening.

I made up my mind accordingly and whatever little water was remaining gave it to Chhiring Tashi on 18th day of August and asked him to stay put there to look after the baggage, and the rest of the group returned to Navipa Cho with the animals. By the afternoon we arrived at the lake and drank saline water. We took our meal immediately and filling all the pots with water for the evening returned to the camp in the night.

7. Kyangma Chumik

(Sweet water spring -19 August, 1867)

On 19th day of August we started off early in the morning from that desolate spot. Following the beaten track and footprints of humans we advanced to the limit of a hill and travelling along the plain land reached the foot of that hill late in the afternoon. Riding a horse, I was travelling in the front. On the right side of the track four or five wild horses were visible. I thought in all likelihood there is water there and that is the reason these wild horses are there. I galloped to that place and found that a spring of water was flowing there. Then we halted there that day. At the spot from where this spring was flowing there were many sheets of ice over the surface near the opening of the source. This location is called Kyangma Chhyumik.

On 20th August, as we were ready to start with loaded animals, two persons from Singmed met us. On enquiry from them about the route to Thok, it was found that we were on the correct path and they gave us the names of the places not known to us. Hearing the incident of our not finding water they said in this region, wherever there is a shortage of water and travellers cannot survive without carrying water in a water-skin (*musk*). They also informed us that we would find the Singh-Gi River on the other side of Pawa La pass where we will come across many camps (*rewo*) of local people from whom we can enquire about the route. Hearing this from them we were

consoled to some extent. From there when we reached the ridge (*lhapchak*) of Pawa La I took a boiling point observation and found that this Pawa La Mountain was 16,148 feet above sea level. From this ridge one can see a high snow peak called Alungkari towards Khang Tingchai. Leaving this Pawa La in the evening we reached a place called Giachuraf in Singmed region on right bank of Singh-Gi Chu River. On both the banks of the river there were twelve to fifteen camps (*rewo*) of Bampuwa people.

CHAPTER – Two

NAIN SINGH AT THOK JALUNG – GOLD MINE AREA

1. When Nain Singh had to take an oath at Giachuraf (21 August, 1867)

This Singh-Gi Chu River is also called Singhi Kha or Singhikhamba⁶⁴ and Indians call it Atak and Britishers call it Indus. In fact it is said that this is the river which originates exactly from the back of mount Kailas and downstream from the spot of its origin lies the region called Bongthol on the banks of the river, which takes a journey of about eight to ten stages to cross. This Bongthol region is divided into two parts namely Giachuraf region; the habitations settled around on the banks of Singhi Chu River; is called Singmed and the habitations in the region toward the origin of the river is called Singtod. The meaning of Singtod and Singmed is that *tod* means upper and *med* means lower or behind and that is why the region is known after the name of the river. It is said that after seven day's march from Giachuraf toward the origin of the River Singh Chu, one can reach mount Kailas. And crossing the range of mount Kailas near the origin of Singh-Gi Chu River the route passes above Dhedifu monastery and goes over Dolma La pass. People from Bongthol reach Darchin after a journey of seven or eight days from Giachuraf by this route. This Singh-Gi Chu River would be as big as Jyung Chu River of Gar which is also called Lambo Chhiya, or may be the Singh-Gi Chu River might be a little larger in size. At Giachuraf, the Singh-Gi Chu River would be at least thirty

⁶⁴ The Indus River is called *Singe Kha-bab* in Tibetan language which means 'Pouring out of the mouth of lion'. In Tibetan tradition the rivers and streams are supposed to originate from the mouth of animals. Besides Indus River three other major rivers originating from the region of Kailas Mansarovar, are addressed as *Lhangchen Kha-bab* i.e. pouring out of the mouth of Elephant (Sutjej), *Mapchyo Kha-bab* i.e. from the mouth of Peacock (Karnali) and *Tamchyo Kha-bab* i.e. from the mouth of Horse (Brahmaputra). The Indian tradition of River Ganga pouring out of the mouth of Cow arrears to be legacy of same tradition.

paces wide and four to five feet deep. The water of this river is much cleaner than that of Garjung River (*Jyung Chu River of Gar*) and this river is full of fish and water birds.

As we established our camp on arrival at Giachuraf in Singmed, the local village head man (*Gowa*) of Tazam sent two of his men on horses to our camp to obtain a report about our intentions. On arrival at the camp they enquired from us as to who we were and where were we going. We answered that we were Bishehari and were going to Thok Jalung to purchase pashmina wool and sell corals. After enquiring this much, those persons on horses returned to their headman. Later on after about half an hour (*two ghadi*)⁶⁵ after it became dark, the same two persons arrived at the camp by crossing the river. They informed us that we cannot proceed further because their government had prohibited Bishahiris from entering Ngari region. Not only that, the prohibitory notification of Shivchet and Garpon had been circulated among all the authorities of the different regions directing that from which ever passes or regions Bisheharis enter into our land, the in charge of the pass or the region would stop them. This year they will not trade in our land because last year their region was infected by smallpox epidemics and they denied the fact. We believed them and on submission of security of one thousand Rupees we allowed them to enter our land. And because of their presence there were huge casualties in many of the villages in Ngari Khorsum region on account of smallpox epidemics. There might still be some infection in their area. Therefore until we issue permits for the entry of Bisheharis, officials of every region would not allow Bisheharis to enter their region. In spite of such an order, how could you escape and come up to this location. We have heard that two hundred Bisheharis have been stopped at the border by Chhyumurti-Pon. Probably you have come stealthily. Besides this, many of you do not know the language (*Bihsehari*) and by your conversation it is apparent that all of you do not hail from the same region. Indicating me, they said that I was

⁶⁵ Traditional Indian method of measuring time : 8 *pahar* = one day, 7·5 *ghadi* = one *pahar*, 60 *pal* = one *ghadi*, 60 *pratipal* = one *pal* (correspondingly 2·5 *pratipal* = one second, 2·5 *pal* = one minute, 2·5 *ghadi* = one hour and one *pahar* = 3 hours.)

⁶⁶ Joharis who are called *Shaukas*, by hills people of the region of Uttarakhand are addressed as *Kyonom* by Tibetans

Bodpa (that is resident of Lhasa region) and somehow I had changed my appearance. For Mani they said that he was from Johar (*Kyonom*)⁶⁶ and said that many among you are Thavas. Only Karamsukh, who was Bishehari in reality, was identified as Bishehari by them. They further said that they have suspicions of our being men of British government and probably had hidden our British masters somewhere nearby. At last they said that one or two of us who understand things better should accompany them to their headman. Their headman had summoned us.

Then with Karamsukh Bishehari I went across the river straight to Gova Tazam with his men and saluted him. Then the headman reiterated whatever these two men had said earlier, in other words he prohibited us from proceeding any further. Then I requested about our visit and said on oath that we were nothing but traders and they should not nurture any suspicion in their heart. We were originally from Bishehar but since many generations have settled in the valley of Niti and Mana and now permanently reside there. At present we have entered from the pass of Mana. You know very well that there is no epidemic in that valley. We had heard at Gartok that this year entry of Bishehari people in to Tibet is prohibited. Thinking that since Bisheharis will not come this year, and therefore hopefully we shall get goods at cheaper rate in this region, we came in this direction. We have some corals for sale which fetches a higher value at Thok Jalung, hence we had intended to visit Thok. Similarly, when I had submitted many such well-reasoned pleas, the village headman of Tazam, said "All right, now you go to your camp. If you are real traders and there is no fear of disease from you, tomorrow your goods will be searched and we shall also inspect your trade goods. But in any case you can not go towards Thok Jalung. Whatever wool or Pashmina wool you desire to purchase, you will have to purchase here and return back from here. Or else you have to show the route permit issued by authorities like Garpon or Shivchet." Saying this he went to his camp which was a little away from the tent where we met and I also returned to my camp. But thinking of being stopped or subjected to search, we were seriously disheartened. During the night itself we wrapped the instrument in bundles and kept them in hiding. Some of the items were hidden underground by digging the earth. Then we put our heads together and thought of pleasing this

headman of Tazam by offering some presents so that he would allow us to proceed further.

Early in the morning of 21st August, with a few items such as a set of goggles, some soft stone toys like a ship, fish and duck, and a string of beads and five Rupees cash to be presented as gift, I went to the camp of the headman of Tazam with Karamsukh. Presenting the items mentioned above as a gift I humbly requested permission to go to Thok, but he bluntly refused and said that if we were really traders why could not we purchase goods here only. I said we may purchase Pashmina wool here only but I have corals and I am confident it will fetch a better price at Thok. I showed all the corals that I had to him. Then after pondering for some time he said if you have decided to sell corals at Thok only, then you can maintain your camp here and two or three of you can visit Thok and return after selling corals there. I shall provide a guide for you. I have already communicated the message to our officer Bampuwa Pon at Singtod Konchen about detaining you here. If you agree with me, do as I have said, but I shall not allow the whole party to go at any cost. And for that too you will have to take an oath about not being infected from epidemics. Then I did not further argue with him and agreed to whatever he had ordered. He made me take an oath that I shall return from Thok after only selling corals and on my return I shall purchase Pashmina wool worth Rupees one or two hundreds from him. After this entire oath taking he put his religious book and a small statue on my hand and asked me to take an oath on that divinity that there was no infection of any epidemic and there were no other apprehensions from our side. Then I took the oath on that statue. Then he wrote a letter and handed it to me saying that I should give this letter to the authority of Thok Jalung named Yutuk Jyola. He had written in this that we were Bishehari, well known to him, and have not entered from Bishehar, but from Badrinath. There is no apprehension of epidemics from them and he should not have suspicion of any kind from us. We had good quality corals for him and that is the reason he had sent us to him. He should help in a profitable sale for.

Having said all that the headman accompanied us to our camp and searched our baggage. He could not find the instrument but we had about thirty yards of broad cloth (*banat*). He purchased the broad

cloth for 15 Rupees and said that he would pay the cost after we return from Thok. Then we decided among ourselves that two of us, Kaliyan Singh and Karam Sukh would carry out the survey along the bank of Singh-Gi Chu River to the limit of its origin, as far as possible towards Mount Kailas. The other two, Mani and Ram Singh, should look after the baggage at Giachuraf and act as a surety of our return, and make known their presence with the headman of Tazam.

2. Nain Singh at Thok Jalung – gold mine area (26 August, 1867 AD)

In the evening when I reached Thok Jalung, we established camps near a camp-site (*rewo*) on the west corner of the township. On 27th August, after morning breakfast I went with Mukamu Marchha and Chhambel to the house of Chhyudok Jyola Bhingma on the eastern corner of the township, who was the authority in charge of the region. I saluted him with respect and presented the gifts of soft stone toys like a ship, fish and duck to Chhyudok Jyola and presented one string of glass beads to his wife and handed the letter written by Tazam headman to Chhyuduk Jyola. Taking the letter from me he enquired as to who I was. I introduced myself as a Khunuwa (*resident of Khun Bishehar*). He opened the letter and started reading it. While reading he could not understand one or two words so he gave the letter to his wife who read it. I realized that his wife was wiser than him. Having read the letter she said that the Tazam headman had recommended my case very strongly. Otherwise, this year, Khunuwas were not allowed to come here. Now you should trade your goods quickly and depart from here immediately. Having said that he asked me to show the corals that were in my possession. On his demand I showed him all the corals. He was greatly pleased to see those corals. Eventually he purchased those corals from me at a cheaper rate by threatening me. For the sake of a sample I purchased one *sarsyon* gold from his mine. One *sarsyon* is equal to half *tola* and eight *ratties*.⁶⁷ *Ratti* is called *manu* by the people of this region. Four *manu* that is *ratti* is equal to one *sartang*, and fifteen *sartang* is equal to one *sarsyon*.

⁶⁷ One tola = 180 grains or 0.411 oz and ratti red and black seed of a plant called *arbus precatorius* (crab's eye) used for weighing precious mettles and stones. 8 barley corns = one ratti.

3. The method of extracting gold from the mines

In this Thok Jalung, the gold mines are within a marshy plain but it does not have much water underneath. There are gold mines within this plain that extends for about one mile in length in a east-west direction. There are ditches at places as deep as one bamboo length or at other places a little less in depth. Those who dig the gold are called *sarva*. The method adopted by these *sarvas* to extract the gold is that near the mine they make a little high mound and make a tank of water on it. From that tank a drain half-pipe is laid along a gradual slope and this drain half-pipe is covered by a lining of a clean cloth on which round pieces of stones are fixed. One person pushes the water from that tank into the drainpipe and another person keeps poring soil dug out from the gold mine into the drainpipe. A third person sitting close to the half-pipe keeps watching the drain. The water is made to gush out in that drain with a force. The soil and fine stone particles get washed with the water but the gold particles do not flow with the water on account of its heavy weight and get settled in the depressions around the round stones fixed in the drain pipe. In this manner for the whole day the soil dug out from the gold mines gets washed in the drainpipe. Then early in the morning they go and inspect the drainpipe and wherever bigger particles of gold are found in the depressions around the round stones are picked up with forks. And the fine particles/dust of gold which are mingled with the soil are kept in the pots and strained off separately.

On both the sides of the mines, *sarva* people have their market. But besides the camps nobody has any house. When I visited Thok Jalung there were three hundred twenty five camps. I saw that the camp of Dyanjen Akha, who is the richest trader of that region, was the biggest of all the camps. To be precise, about two hundred customers could take a seat in there. I saw all the camps in Ngari Khorsum pitched over the plain land but in this Thok Jalung tents have been pitched in depressions. Rarely one is pitched over the flat land. Some of them cannot even be seen from a distance. On top of the tents of the people of this region a flag is tied on an erect pole. Only these flags are visible. In this Thok Jalung it is very cold and the wind blows quite a lot. For this reason they pitch their tents in the depressions. I have travelled all over Tibet quite a bit, but I

found no place colder than this Thok Jalung. Even in the month of July and August the water remains frozen. During those days I saw that wherever there was a little water in that marshy area it used to flow only during the daytime and during the night it was frozen into ice. But they did not drink that water but used to dig the earth with a spade and take out the ice and melt it for drinking. (*Here he has preferred to use the word eating in place of drinking*). I often noticed that the melted ice water was sweet but the taste of the flowing water was salty.

It has been mentioned above that gold miners are called *sarvas*. Some of these *sarva* people are from the surrounding area of Thok Jalung but people from places like Shigatze of Tsang province have also migrated and settled in this Thok Jalung region especially for mining gold. During day time thousands of people gather around the mines and engage themselves in digging gold in their respective portions of the mines. When the *sarva* people engage themselves in their daily routine within their mines, all men and women converge in to a commune and keep working and singing a song together aloud. The collective voice of all the *sarvas* makes a very loud sound that can be heard by people as far as half a mile from the mines. It has been mentioned above that when I visited Thok Jalung there were three hundred twenty five tents in Thok Jalung. But the residents of that area said that during the rainy season many of the residents have migrated to places hither and thither for trade. Many of the *sarvas* have raised their tents and they have gone to their camps (*revos*). During the winter season many of the people gather here at Thok Jalung as it is difficult to dig gold during the rainy season and it is easier during winter. The reason for this is said to be the fact that during winter the underground water being frozen, one can dig as deep as one wishes since the mine does not collapse, whereas during the rainy season digging deeper causes the upper side of mines to slide down burying the miners. Then extra labour is called for. Therefore during the winter many people establish their camps up to 500 for digging gold here.

CHAPTER – Three

RETURN JOURNEY FROM THOK JALUNG

1. Goods looted from Karamsukh by robbers (At Jyachin)

It is reported that on the north and northeast of this Thok Jalung, after every twelve to fifteen miles are located the six gold mines called Thok Sarlung, Thok Munnak, Thok Nyanmo, Thok Rakung, Thok Ragyok and Thok Dalung. It is said that previously much gold was found in these mines but now on account of much less gold being found there only small populations of *sarvas* stay there. It is further reported that at these mines not more than four to five families of *sarvas* camp. It is also reported that the colour of the gold of Thok Sarjung and Thok Dalung is the best among these mines and around these gold mines are located salt mines called Dajang Chakchaka⁶⁸ and Purang Chaka. These gold mines and salt mines are within the region of Tinchai. Compared to the above mines a bigger quantity of gold is found at Thok Jalung. That is the reason *sarvas* of every other mine have settled at Thok Jalung. It is said that this gold mine of Thok Jalung has been discovered seven years earlier. That is the reason why this Thok Jalung is also called Thok Samva or new mine. But compared to other mines, the gold of this mine is lighter in glitter.

On the east of this Thok Jalung is Majin country. The mines of borax are reported to be located there. On the south and southeast of Thok Jalung is spread Seliphug country. There are borax mines there also. But it is known that the boundaries of Majin and Seliphug regions are quite close to the boundary of this Thok Jalung. It is also reported that Majin and Seliphug is heavily infested by robbers. In fact the inhabitants of Majin and Seliphug themselves commit dacoity and robbery. When these people roam round for dacoity, they are called Khambas or dacoits. It has been mentioned above that at the location of the Chakchaka salt mine, is a mine of Chyak Nakpo. The local people do not mine it, but whatever little bit people steal is from

⁶⁸ In Tibetan language the term used for salt is *chha* and *kha* means mouth. Therefore *chhakha* or *chha-kha* would mean salt mine.

there. I have seen such stolen borax. The crystals of this borax were one and half inches thick and three inches long. One of the crystals was in my possession which I lost. This Thok Jalung is situated at latitude $32^{\circ} 25'$ north and is 14,500 feet above sea level. It is said that on the north, southeast and south, for many miles from this Thok Jalung there are no rivers. There are springs of water at places far between which only can be used for drinking. On account of this there is shortage of drinking water in the region and due to severe cold climate crops are not grown here. The complexion of the people of this region is like that of copper and they follow the religion like that of Tibetans of Lhasa etc. But the inhabitants of Ngari Khorsum and Lhasa call them Dokpa and in the near vicinity of Thok Jalung or even at long distances there from, there are no high snow covered mountains besides Alung. This Alungkari is in the northeast direction of Thok Jalung, which may be at a distance of about 30 miles. It is reported that this mountain is near Rawan Tinchai on the west. It is visible in the distance from Thok Jalung and it remains snow covered throughout the year.

Besides this survey so far carried out in Thok Jalung area, we were directed by Montgomerie Sahib that it would be better if we could bring back the record of the latitude of Namcho Chimbo located to the east of Thok Jalung towards Lhasa or the record of the latitudes of the locations of the region from Thok to Rudok and towards the border of Kiriya village on the eastern boundary of Khotan. In achieving these two objectives, the first obstruction was that the Tazam headman disallowed the movement of our camp from Singmed as per the report of Keshar Singh Marchha. Our people like Mani were stopped there with baggage. The second problem was that only five of us could reach Thok Jalung. Because of enhanced fear of dacoits in that country in those days, the servants were not prepared to accompany me on a long journey. It was not practicable to go towards Namcho but it was possible to go towards Kiriya through Rudok. Meanwhile I met one caravan of Laddakhi traders at Thok Jalung. There were about thirty persons with them. They were on their way back to their home from Thok Jalung via Rudok, after having completed their trade. Then I pondered; if I go towards Rudok with them, our camp with Mani and Kaliyan Singh would have to stay back in Singmed and my returning to Singmed from Rudok would also be very difficult. And then I

pondered, would the headman of Tazam not kill them. If I do not return to Singmed, he would definitely detain them for many days. With a little allurements they would be freed. I would send a letter to them through somebody informing that we have advanced towards Rudok, you also return after paying something to the local authority.

Thinking all this I visited the camp of the Ladakh people and requested them that I would like to accompany them up to Rudok for a certain task. I also said that it is heard that about thirty horse-riding dacoits are roaming around this Thok Jalung area these days and they have in fact already looted many parties. That is why I wish to come with you. They said yes, I could go with them without any doubt and they were many in number in the group, therefore there would not be any danger to them from the dacoits. I finally made up my mind to go with them. After having taken many observations of the stars at Thok Jalung, I thought of proceeding with Ladakh people next day up to Rudok and to advance and survey the route towards Kiriya if possible, and if not to return to Gar or Totling. Having decided this I slept in the night. But in the night suddenly I got acute pain without any prior indications on the back of my waist and I could not stand erect for another two days. Meanwhile the Ladakh people had departed. At long last, disheartened, I decided to return and after completing the observations of stars there for many days, departed from Thok Jalung on 31st day of August, 1867 AD and reached the camp of Chemorong. And on 1st of September, 1867 AD reached Giachuraf where Mani and the rest of our companions were waiting. The same day in the evening Kaliyan Singh also returned from Singtod. Kaliyan Singh and Karamsukh Bishehari were deputed to proceed from Giachuraf toward Singtod to explore the place of origin of the Singh-Gi Chu. On their return it was known from them that they had travelled for three days covering 47 miles along the bank of Singh-Gi Chu towards its origin. They had heard that 40 horse mounted dacoits had arrived at Kongchin and looted Laddakhi traders, and actually when they had advanced for 6 and half miles from Jyachin, they had met the informers of the Dacoits who were without weapons. At that time one donkey and Karamsukh were at the camp. Kaliyan Singh was on his way towards a depression in search of water and his sword was also with him. Two robbers approached Karamsukh and started snatching utensils, ration, and goods like mercury, thermometer etc. from

Karamsukh, and when Karamsukh objected they slapped him twice or thrice. As they were preparing to depart with the loot, Kaliyan Singh arrived at the spot and seeing the situation of Karamsukh he attacked the robbers with all force. Catching hold of both of them by their pigtails he recovered all the items from them. Taking Kaliyan Singh to be a strong fighter and seeing the sword in his possession, they ran away leaving their goods there. Kaliyan Singh estimated that some more dacoits of their group might be somewhere nearby with weapons and under this apprehension they travelled day and night and returned to Giachuraf. On enquiry from the locals, we found that only four days march was remaining to Mount Kailas from the spot from where they returned.

After arrival at Giachuraf I rested for two days. Later on I thought of going to Tashigong along the bank of Singh-Gi Chu River. At that time the Tazam headman who had stopped us at Giachuraf was not there. He had gone to Konchenvangpuwa Pon and we were still to collect the cost of 25 yards of broad cloth from him. We did not consider it worthwhile to continue camping and waiting for him there only for the collection of these Rupees. We were apprehensive that he may not allow us to go by this route. And if he insisted we purchase Pashmina wool worth Rupees 100, we would land in trouble. It would be better to run away without collecting cost of 25 yards of broad cloth. As we were preparing to leave, his family members directed us not to depart without the permission of Tazam headman. Then we took the plea that we were going to the Kovi headman that was at the distance of only one day's march. There after we shall come back within one or two days and weigh your Pashmina wool (for purchasing). And in any case we have to collect Rupees 25 from the headman and why would we run away without collecting the money. Hearing this they agreed.

2. Without food and baggage for two days (22-23 September, 1967 AD)

Then on the 4th day of September we departed from Giachuraf. In the evening we camped at a place called Shildong. On the 5th we travelled along the left bank of Atak River and camped at Gyamchyung cave. Singmed region extends right up to this location and there is a human habitation here. On 6th day of September, 1967 AD we camped at a place called Thankur. Many camps were seen on the way from

Giachuraf down to this place. And at this place across the river the house of a Purang physician (*Amjee*) is built on a cliff. Below this Thankur huge bushes of *Omphu* were seen at regular intervals.

On the 7th day we camped near village Pekia. There are four small houses in this village and the land is cultivated. This village is said to belong to Purang physician. When we arrived at Pekia the local villagers were harvesting a barley-like crop, that is the crop of Oowa (*Hordeum Caeste*).

On the 8th day of September, 1867 AD, travelling along the bank of Atak River we camped on the left bank of the river. Across the river on its right bank is a deserted village called Barkung. Near this village a big stream flowing from the direction of Alangkari range meets the Singh-Gi Chu River. And around this village and at a distance from this village the banks of the river are covered by dense forest of *Omphu* trees. I did not see forests like this anywhere else in Ngari Khorsum.

On the 9th day of September we camped at a place called Marku, where on the bank of Atak River up to five or six hundred horses were seen. It was said that these horses were from the stable of Pajo Pon. On 10th day of September, 1867 AD we camped near Giamuk village on the left bank of Atak River. From this location Giamuk village is at a distance of around four miles between east and southeast direction. About four to five small houses are built here and one monastery is located in this village and the land is cultivated. Chajo pon is said to be the landholder of this village. On the 11th day of September, 1867 AD, travelling along the left bank of Singh-Gi Chu River, we camped at Ralajung. On 12th day of September, 1967 AD, travelling along the left bank of Atak River we reached Lajunchumik. At this place the Gartang Chu River flowing from Gartok meets the Atak River. At this place the maximum width of Gartang Chu River would be 250 paces and maximum depth would be 2 feet. But nowhere was it less than a hundred or hundred and fifty paces wide. At this place, compared to Gartang Chu, the width of Singh-Gi Chu i.e. Atak River is not as much. Its maximum width would be around 200 paces and minimum of 100 paces. Its depth would be up to four feet. These rivers actually meet one and half miles downstream from this place. At that place these rivers are one hundred and fifty paces wide. But the Singh-Gi Chu is deeper compared to Gartang Chu. The fact is that the volume of water is more in Singh-Gi Chu River as compared to Gartang Chu River.

Our instruction from the government was to get the course of the river Atak mapped, by the route survey method, in whatever meandering ways it flows from Tashigong to Demchok. And it was also desired that the route survey of the river should be undertaken from Tashigong to Garyarsa via Gargunsa. Therefore Kaliyan Singh was deputed to conduct a route survey and latitudinal observations from this Lajunchumik to Tashigong and then to Totling Math via Demchok, Khagialing and Shyache. Dhan Singh Juhari and Karamsukh Bishehari were sent with him.

Myself and Mani decided to reach Garyarsa via Gargunsa and on 13th day of September Kaliyan Singh proceeded toward Tashigong and we departed towards Gar. In the evening we camped at a place called Jioo. At this place some cultivated land was seen. We reached Gargunsa on the 14th day. At Gargunsa there are two large houses of the Garpon of Shivchet and one big house of the monastery is there. A few small houses belong to poorer people. It is remarkable that land is not cultivated here. It is very much possible to cultivate land here but surprisingly these people do not do so.

On the 15th day of September we camped at a place called Longong. Making a big dash, we reached Garyarsa (Gartok) in the evening of 16th day of September 1867 AD. At this Garyarsa there are four brick houses; one house of Shivchyat, one belonging to the monastery which is called Kuramkang and two houses of the Gar Pon; and around two hundred tents were seen. It was said that compared to other years, this year there is much less gathering in the fair. But for the river flowing toward Gartok there is no fixed name. Instead the river is called by the name of the place it passes, e.g. at Lambochhiya it is called Lambochhiya Chu and at Khangia by the name of Khangia Chu. Beyond Gartok down to Lujyangchhyumik is called Garjung Chu. The Atak River has four fixed names, namely Singhikhamba, Singhikha or it is also called Singhi Khabab. The fifth name is Atak used by Indians. I discovered that Gajyung Chu originates from somewhere nearby and Singh-Gi Chu River originates in far away land, exactly from the back portion of mount Kailas and reaches here after flowing through many territories.

After reaching this Garyarsa we engaged in exploration work for three days. During this period Dhan Singh Tolia and many well-wishers asked us why we were care freely camping here. Somebody

has reported your arrival to the Garpon. Hearing this from him we were worried at heart and on 20th day of September, 1967 AD departed from Garyarsa and camped at Khangia in the evening. On the 21st day we camped on the bank of a stream called Amchyung. From here we lost the track. Our baggage had gone by the route of Dunkhar with Chhambel. Four of us; Mani, two servants Mukumu and Ram Singh and myself deviated from the route and in the evening landed in a jungle called Ngusum without baggage and ration. In the night we were very hungry and thirsty. We had nothing to eat. On the way to Shipki a resident of two travellers (*met*) . . . they offered a cup of tea (*Tibetan salted butter tea*) to each of us. Except for this we had nothing to eat. In the morning of the 23rd, crossing the range of Lhauchhiya La, we made a huge dash on an empty stomach and reached the village Shiyang. There we obtained some sattu (*flour made by grinding parched barley or wheat called Tsampa in Tibet*) from the villagers and ate it. On the 24th day of September, 1967 AD we arrived at Dunkar village where we found our baggage and servants like Chhambel. Then on the 25th day we camped there and rested for the day. On 26th day of September, 1967 AD we arrived at Totling. But Kaliyan Singh had not arrived from Demchok side. Therefore we halted there on 27th day. On 28th day Kaliyan Singh also arrived after completing his job.

3. Unconscious at heart and body due to serious illness (At Kyakurao - 5 October 1967 AD)

From Kaliyan Singh we came to know that from Lajunchumik he reached Tashigong on the first day to, second day at Dama Kolok, third day at Demchok, fourth day at Demchok Phurebo, fifth day camped at a place called Devochhe after crossing the pass of Charding La. On sixth day at Medokding, seventh day at Dilcha Chini Sumdo, eighth day on the bank of Langyochhai River . . . after a journey of 16 days via Bhik, Pot and Khagialing Kaliyan Singh arrived at Totling on 28th day of September. After resting on 29th day Mani and Kaliyan Singh left for Shipki on 30th day of September 1967 AD. I remained unwell for two or three days. When I recovered a bit then on 4th day of October, 1967 AD we departed from Totling for Badrinath and camped at Mangnang in the evening. On fifth day we camped at Khambasheesha, on sixth day at Dhauylarao and on seventh day at

Kaikurao. From this day onwards my health deteriorated badly and I was virtually unconscious of my soul and body.

4. Arrival at Badrinath on horseback (11 October 1967 AD)

On the 8th day we camped at Poti, on 9th day at Saunirao, on 10th day at Ghastoli and on 11th day of October, 1867 AD we reached Badrinath. On account of illness my servants managed to bring me on horseback. My hands were frostbitten on Mana pass on account of heavy snow there. I was ill at Badrinath for many days. Since, even after resting for many days at Mana, my health did not improve and the temperature also came down, I thought of resting at a warmer place a little lower down from Badrinath. With this intention I asked Ram Singh Burfal to bring the horses from the jungle on 24th October. When he brought the horses in the evening the horse of the government slipped from the bridge at Mana and died. On the 25th day we camped en route and on the 26th day arrived at Arudi. I stayed there for many days and recover from illness to some extent. But I was worried about Mani and Kaliyan Singh who had not arrived till then. Snow had fallen further on Mana pass. I was apprehensive of their being buried under the snow while crossing the pass. All of a sudden on the 14th day, Dorje, a resident of Totling, arrived and met me at Badrinath with one donkey and a letter from Mani. Mani had written in the letter that the route from Nelang was reported not to be safe for horses and donkeys and that is the reason I have sent the horse and the donkey to you with this Dorje. Dorje informed me that the horse of Mani died on the way and only the donkey survived. Mani and party had proceeded towards Nelang. On account of the snowfall they could not return. Then I paid Dorje some amount and bid farewell. It was confirmed that Mani and group would not come from this pass. I prepared all my animals and porters for my journey towards my office. All of a sudden Kaliyan Singh arrived and met me at Joshimath on 29th November leaving Mani at Mukpa (*probably Mukhba village in Gangotri valley*). Then Kaliyan Singh and I, on the direction of the government, reached Kotdwar on the 14th day of December, 1967 AD. On the 14th day (*probably of January 1968*) I reported (*my arrival*) in the presence of Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Montgomerie Sahib.

Signature (Nain Singh, Native Surveyor)

PART – III

Nain Singh with British Yarkand Mission

DIARY THREE

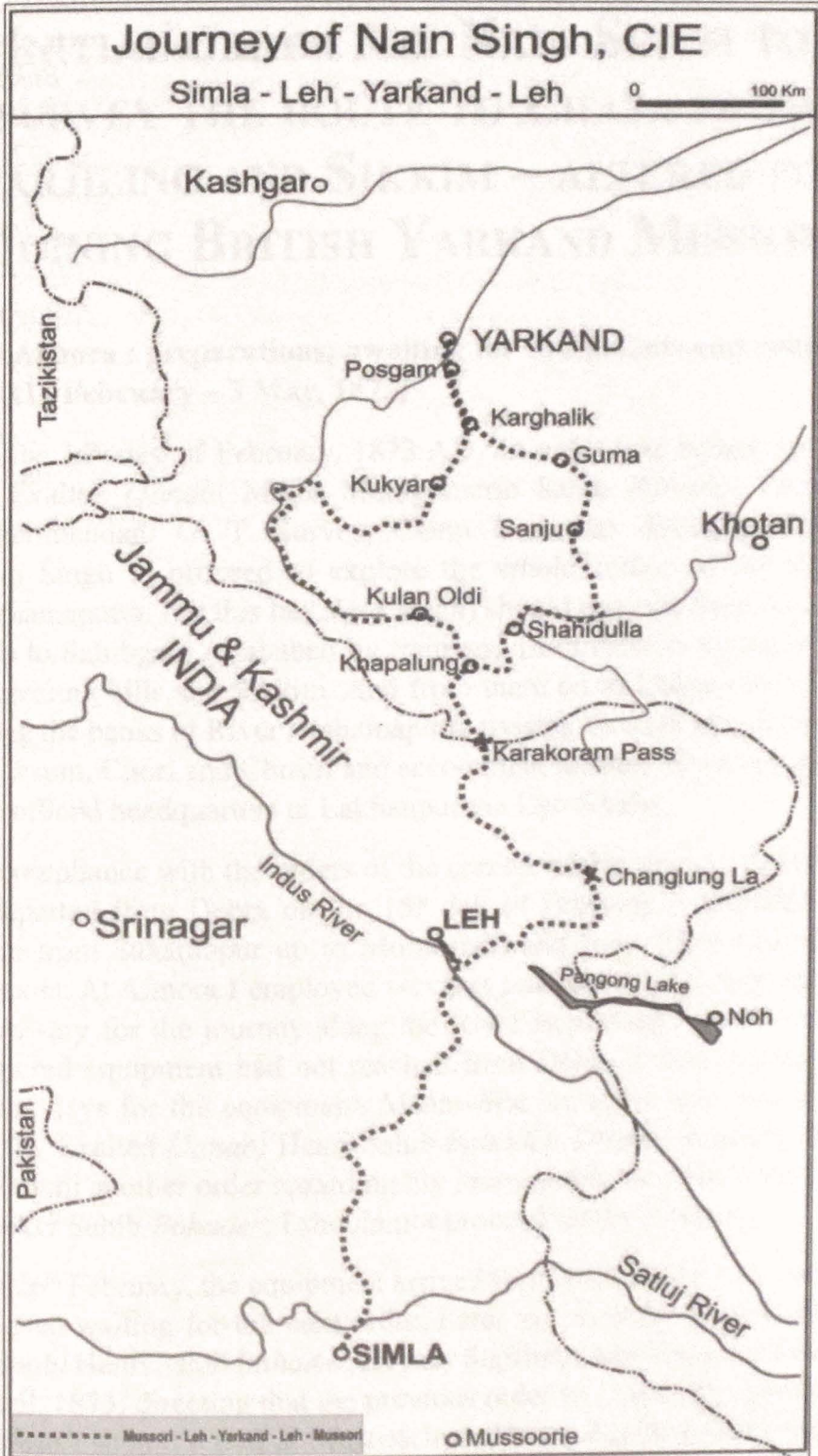
Diary of Yarkand - Khotan 1873 – 74

(With Yarkand Mission under Sir Douglas Forsyth)

Almora (2 May 1873) → Mussoorie (18 May - 8 Jun 1873) → Simla (20 Jun-10 Jul 1873) → Phagu (11) → Matena (12) → Kumharsain (13) → Dilas (14) → Kot (15) → Jibbi (16) → Larji (17) → Mueem (18) → Sultanpur (19) → Dobi (20) → Dana (21) → Rale (22) → Khoksar → (23) → Gundale (24) → Keylong (25-26) → Kolong (27) → Dabra Sumdo (28) → Dojam (29-30) → Lharcha (31) → {cross Para Lhacha pass} Falam Danda (1 Aug 1873) → Chirap (2) → Gyamname (3-4) → Lhachlungla (5) → Kyangchu (6) → Rokchem (7) → Taklang (8) → Gya (9) → Mastelang (10-11) → Leh (12 Aug - 28 Sep 1873) → Chhoral/Khardonla Pulu (29) → {cross Khardungla pass} Kharjo (30) → Satigaon (1 Oct 1873) → Tirit (2) → Tughur (3) → Panamik (4-5) → Changlung (6) → {cross Lasgya pass} Totia (7) → Saser Pulu (8) → Khomdam (9) → Gyapsyan (10) → Daulatbeg Uldi (11) → {cross Karakoram pass} Brangsa/Valti (12) → Ak-tagh (13-14) → bank of Yarkand River (15) → Khulelong (16) → Kashmiri Jilga (17) → bank of Yarkand River (18) → Chong/Kirghiz jangal (19) → Sokh Bulak (20) → {cross Tapo Diwan pass} Khalchakyung (21) → Shahidula (22) → bank of Karakoram Stream (23) → {cross Janju Diwan pass} Gyajgya (24) → Tam Langar (25) → Khewas Langar (26) → Sanju (27 Oct - 1 Nov 1873) → {Nain Singh told he was not part of Yarkand Mission, he had to allure his workers with higher wages} Khushtakbag (2) → Wetwagrak (3) → Bora (4) → {cross Mazar Khoja} Basrak (5) → {along Tizanaf River} Karghalik (6) → Posgam (7) → {cross Yarkand town from Khanga gate to Aloon Gate} Yangi town (8 Nov - 25 Mar 1874) → Autanchlok Kashlak (26) → {cross Zarafshan River} Posgam (27) → Chahwag (28) → Karghalik (29-30) → Besterek (31) → Kugiar (1-5 Apr 1874) → Kusar (6-7) → Ak Massjid (8-9) → Essak Aagzi (10) → Quida Mazarkhoja (11-12) → Thusuktas (13) → Gurangzikar

(14) → *Khataitham* (15) → {*cross Yangi Diwan pass*} *Muzpass* (16) → *Kulunaldi/Sasak Bulak* (17) → {*Zarafshan river frozen, party without bedding and food*} *Kirghiz Jangal* (18) → {*cross Bukhari Ulde, Kashmiri Jilga pass*} *bank of Zarafshan River* (19) → *bank of Kufelong River* (20) → *Ak-tagh cave* (21) → *Wahab Jilga* (22) → *Brangsa/Valti-Dangsa* (23-24) → *Taslaganja* (25) {*Karakoram pass being heavily covered by snow, party returned*} *Wahab Jilga* (26) → *Ak-tagh* (27) → *Chhipra* (28) → *Sued* (29 Apr–5 May 1874) → *Ak-tagh* (6) → *Wahab Jilga/Dakdong* (7) → *Brangsa* (8) → *Taslaganja* (9) → {*cross Karakorum pass*} *Valti-Pulu* (10) → *Kizlaya/Gyapsen* (11) → *Khomdan* (12) → *Saser-Pulu* (13-14) → *Totiya lake* (15) → *Changlung* (16-18) → *Panamik* (19) → *Tughar* (20) → *Tirit* (21) → *Satigaon* (22) → *Digar* (23) → *Digar-Pulu* (24) → *Subugaon* (25) → *Leh* (26 May 1874).

CHAPTER - 06



Prepared by Kundan Singh Pangtey, ONGC (Rtd.)

CHAPTER – One

INITIAL ORDER FOR NAIN SINGH TO SURVEY THE ROUTE TO LHASA FROM DARJILING AND SIKKIM – ALTERED FOR JOINING BRITISH YARKAND MISSION

1. Almora : preparations; awaiting for equipments and orders (16 February – 3 May, 1873)

On the 14th day of February, 1873 AD, an order was issued for me by Exalted (*Janab*) Major Montgomerie Sahib *Bahader*, Deputy Superintendent G. T. Survey, Camp Dehradun directing Pundit Nain Singh to proceed to explore the whole course of the River Brahmaputra. For this he (*Nain Singh*) should proceed from Almora hills to Sahibganj Allahabad by train and from there to Gyantze via Darjeeling hills and Sikkim. And from there on to Lhasa; surveying along the banks of River Brahmaputra passing through places called Chaksum, Chori and Chusul and accomplish the task of survey up to the official headquarters at Lakhanpur via Lho Khalo.

In compliance with the orders of the commendable (*mausoof*) Sahib, I departed from Dehra on the 15th day of February. I travelled by train from Saharanpur up to Moradabad and from there rushed to Almora. At Almora I employed servants and made the arrangements necessary for the journey along the River Brahmaputra. Since the required equipment had not reached from Dehra, I had to wait for many days for the equipment. Meanwhile, an order was issued for me by Exalted (*Janab*) Henri Sahib *Bahader*, Deputy Superintendent that until another order regarding my journey was received from Col. Walker Sahib *Bahader*; I should not proceed on the journey.

On 26th February, the equipment arrived through Krishna. Many days elapsed waiting for the next order. Later on, an order from Exalted (*Janab*) Henri Sahib *Bahader*, Deputy Superintendent was issued on 5th April, 1873, directing that the previous order be treated as cancelled. Instead I should report at Mussoorie and bring Krishna also along. I

should recruit two more surveyors and after rapidly training them in the work of survey, take them along. This year you have to travel to Yarkand and Aksu in the company of Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* and Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader*. From the camp of Aksu, you will be sent to the desired destination.

2. Arrival at Mussoorie (18 May, 1873)

Arrangements made under earlier orders were reversed and fresh arrangements were made. Krishna had left for home on leave. I despatched a man to recall him and started a search for recruiting two more surveyors. A few days later Krishna reported back and two persons were recruited namely Kaliyan Singh and Jasmal and after employing a few servants, we departed from Almora on 3rd May and entered Mussoorie on 18th day of May. On the way, I kept on training the new explorers on the job.

On arrival at Mussoorie, the Ever Rising Star (*Dam iqba laho*) Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Walker Sahib *Bahader* put me, Kaliyan Singh and Jasmal under the charge of Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* and ordered that you will proceed to Aksu with above mentioned Sahibs and from there you will be sent to desired destinations.

Thereafter, on the orders of Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader*, with Krishna and the other explorers, we departed from Mussoorie on the 9th day of June and by the route of Chakrata and Jubbal reached Simla on 20th day of June. A few days later Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* also arrived at Simla by train journey from Mussoorie.

On 1st day (*it appears to be a misprint for 21st*) of June, 1873 AD Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* ordered me that we shall proceed to Leh by the route of hills of Mari and Kashmir and the three, Kaliyan Singh, Krishna and Jasmal should reach Leh via Kullu and Lahul. From there, gradually travelling for two months, all of us shall reach Aksu by December.

Orders for me were that for the time being I should stay back at Simla so long as Exalted (*Janab*) Mr. Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* (*Sir Douglas Forsyth*) prefers to remain at Simla. When the above mentioned Exalted (*Janab*) Sahib *Bahader* departs from Simla for Yarkand,

in a few days, you will get an order for porterage for the journey. Permission to visit Khotan and from Khotan to Aksu by the route of Ruduk, Manchhaka, Pulu, Kiriya will be issued. You have to come by this route, carrying out the task of survey from Hanle. Having issued this order Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* proceeded to Ladakh by the route of Mari (*Mari*; on way to Rohtang pass?) Hills. I stayed back at Simla and started preparations for my journey.

3. Krishna, Kaliyan Singh and Jasmal depart for Leh via Kullu (6 July, 1873 at Phagu Chauki - goods and sextant stolen)

On the 6th day of July, Krishna, Kaliyan Singh and Jasmal with one servant started for Leh by the route of Kullu. That night they camped at Phagu Chauki. Unfortunately, that night at the Chauki some goods and one pocket sextant was stolen from their possession.

On the 7th day they sent a report about the theft of goods to me. I submitted the same report before Exalted (*Janab*) Mr. Forsyth Sahib *Bahader*. The above mentioned Sahib then sent a written report in the name of the Exalted (*Janab*) Deputy Commissioner Sahib *Bahader*, Simla, for investigation into the matter. The Deputy Commissioner Sahib had the matter investigated and the sextant was recovered from the thieves.

I was summoned by Highly Exalted (*Janab-e-Ali*) Mr. *Alkab* (apparently the Arabic word *alkab* meaning title holder has been used) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* at his residence on 9th day of July, 1873 AD and directed that the earlier order for me for travelling to Aksu via Khotan by the route of Rudok be treated as cancelled and it is expected from you that you also reach Ladakh along with Krishna and his group, and I shall write a letter to Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter (*about it*).

4. Departure from Simla along with the party of Krishna (Phagu camp 11 July, 1873)

As commanded by the above mentioned Exalted (*Janab*) Sahib, I made personal arrangements on the 10th day. On 11th day I departed from Simla and Krishna, Kaliyan Singh etc. became my companions from camp Phagu.

From Almora, I had (*brought*) a horse for riding en route. Since from Simla, I was directed to proceed to Khotan and Aksu by the route

of Rudok, I thought, taking the horse along was not practicable. On the request of Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* I dispatched the horse with Krishna's group. That horse came in handy for my riding from Phagu again. (*We camped*) at Matena on 12th day, at Kumharsain on 13th day, at Dilas on 14th day, at Kot on 15th day, at Jibbi on 16th day, at Larji on 17th day, at Mueen on 18th day, at Sultanpur on 19th day, at Dobi on 20th day, at Dana on 21st day, at Rale on 22nd day, at Khoksar on 23rd day, at Gundale on 24th day and at Keylang on 25th day. We halted at Keylang on 26th day to arrange portorage for the next 9 days march up to Rokchen. For the carriage of rations and other goods necessary for 9 to 10 days, we hired five horses at the rate of Rupees 9 per horse.

5. Jasmal swept by swollen river but saved by brave Kaliyan Singh (at Gyamname – 4 August 1873)

We camped on the 27th day at Kolong, 28th day at Darcha Sumdo, 29th day at Dojam. On 30th day we halted at the camp because of rains and on 31st day of July camped at Lharcha, 1st day of August 1873 crossing Paralacha at Falam Danda, 2nd day at Chirap, 3rd day at Gyamname where a good crop of grass was seen across the river and all the horses were sent across. On the 4th day the level of the river rose considerably and the hired porters could not go across the river. Krishna and Jasmal only could swim across. Actually Jasmal was swept by the current for quite a distance and he would have surely died but for the courage of Kaliyan Singh who jumped into the river and brought Jasmal back from the current of the river. On account of this incident we halted there for the day.

We reached Lachulung La on 5th day, Kyang Chu on 6th day and Rokchen on 7th day. At camp Kyang Chu Kaliyan Singh fell seriously ill. We reached Taklang on 8th day, Gya on 9th day, Martselang on 10th day and Leh on 12th day. We camped near the residence of Exalted (*Janab*) Shah Sahib *Bahader* at Karjubagh. Kaliyan Singh was examined by the physician Shah Sahib *Bahader*. Medication started from that day and he started recovering gradually.

Exalted (*Janab*) Johnson Sahib warmly welcomed me. At Karjubagh, the G. T. survey station in Ladakh, I secretly took many observations of latitude and kept on getting the job done by Kaliyan Singh, Krishna

and Jasmal. But we ensured that nobody came to know that we were employed for the job of compass survey. Johnson Sahib had also advised us to work secretly.

6. At Leh – Arrival of Capt Trotter, Capt Biddulph and Dr Stoliczka (27 August 1873 – survey carried out openly wef 11th September 1873)

On the 27th day of August, 1873 Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader*, Capt. Biddulph Sahib *Bahader* and Doctor Stoliczka Sahib *Bahader* honourably arrived (*tashareef farma*) at Leh. On 29th day of August, Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* directed me to take observations of barometer etc every hour openly without hiding the instruments. On this I submitted before him that it would be better if we work secretly and show ourselves to be traders. On this, the above mentioned Sahib *Bahader* directed that the work relating to compass (*survey*) would be carried out openly from the region of Ladakh to Yarkand. Not only that, the agent of the King of Yarkand will also be told about it. From that day onwards I started to carry out work relating to compass (*survey*) openly.

On the 11th day of September 1873, the aforesaid Sahib *Bahader* instructed me that along with Kaliyan Singh, Krishna and two servants he would proceed to Shahidulla by the route of Changchenmo and that until Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* does not grace Ladakh with his presence (*raukan afroji*), I should remain in Ladakh only. On arrival of Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader*, Jasmal and I should accompany the high dignitary as followers up to Shahidulla by the route of Nubra and Karakoram.

He further instructed that we were not part of the official Yarkand Mission. We would not share anything from whatever ration, portorage and other travel arrangements (*vardaish*) were kept ready, between here and Shahidulla for the Yarkand Mission. We were to arrange for our warm clothes, ration and portorage ourselves. Under these instructions I made all arrangements myself and the same were the instructions for Kaliyan Singh and Krishna.

CHAPTER – Two

ARRIVAL OF YARKAND MISSION AT LEH

1. Arrival of Mr Douglas Forsyth at Leh (20 September, 1873)

On 12th September Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* along with servants and Kaliyan Singh, Krishna etc, and accompanied by Exalted (*Janab*) Capt Biddulph Sahib *Bahader* and Doctor Stoliczka Sahib *Bahader* started off for Yarkand by the route of Changchenmo. On 20th day of September 1873 AD, Exalted (*Janab*). Forsyth Sahib *Bahader*, accompanied by Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Gardener Sahib *Bahader*, Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader* and Exalted (*Janab*) Doctor Bellew Sahib *Bahader* arrived at Leh camp at about 10 o'clock in the morning.

I saluted all the Sahibs. Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* ordered me to accompany him to Yarkand and work under the instructions of Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader*. On arrival at Yarkand I will have to proceed towards Aksu and Lop. From 21st day of September, I began taking barometer readings and observations for latitude from time to time under the direction of Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader*.

2. Departure from Leh (29 September, 1873)

On the 29th day of September we marched ahead from Leh camp. On the directions of Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader* I started a route survey from Ladakh. That day we camped at Chhoral or Khardong La Pulu. Barometer readings and observations for latitude were taken.

On 30th we started off early in the morning. At 8 o'clock in the morning we reached Kurmalha pass. I took a boiling point observation there. The mercury rose to 181° and air temperature was 17°. Exalted (*Janab*) Doctor Bellew Sahib *Bahader* had instructed that until they arrive at Khardong La pass, I should keep the barometer erect. We shall read the barometer ourselves personally. Therefore I kept the

barometer erect. In the meantime the wind blew very strongly. The Sahib arrived at half past nine and read the barometer and took boiling point with his own thermometer. The conditions were so adverse on that pass that all of the persons started having headache and many of the party could not remain on horseback and kept falling. That day we camped at village Kharjo. There are 15-16 houses in this village and land is cultivated. That night it rained and half a foot of snow fell. On account of this latitude observation could not be taken.

Snow kept on falling till 8 o'clock in the morning of 1st day of October. It stopped a little between 9 and 10 o'clock. Then we started off from the camp. That day we camped after reaching village Sati. I took latitude and boiling point observations at this village. There are 8 to 10 houses in this village. On 2nd day we camped at village Tirit. Here too I took observation of stars and so on. In fact I used to take observation of latitude at every camp every day.

We halted at village Tughar on the 3rd day. At this village there are 25 to 30 houses and a monastery or temple with images is built there. Arrived at village Panamik on 4th day. Some 20-25 houses and a temple (*lhakhang*) are at this village. On the east of the village, at one place on the side of a hill, there is a hot water spring. Putting the thermometer in it, the mercury rose to 167°F. We halted at Panamik on the 5th day. As desired by Exalted (*Janab*) Capt Chapman Sahib *Bahader*, by making the Lama agree, he brought all the statues out. The aforementioned Sahib took a photograph of all the statues along with the Lama and presented Rupees 5 to the Lama.

On the 6th day we camped at village Changlung. On the north of this village at a distance of half a mile at the foot of the mountain, hot water springs keep flowing from many places. On arrival at the camp Exalted (*Janab*) Doctor Bellew Sahib *Bahader* proceeded to see the hot water springs and on the desire of the aforementioned Sahib, I also accompanied him. We arrived at the hot water spring after negotiating a steep climb. Putting a thermometer into it the mercury rose to 174°F. The above mentioned Sahib got soil and pebbles collected from the spot. Just below the large spring hot water flows in a running stream and a hut has been built. Often many people come to this place to take bath in hot water. Exalted (*Janab*) Doctor Bellew Sahib *Bahader* discovered from his assessment that there was a copper deposit inside the hot water spring.

3. Route Survey Notebook goes missing (6 October, 1873)

From there I came back to the camp accompanying the aforementioned Sahib. I put the soil and pebbles of the hot water spring on the table of above mentioned Sahib and came back to my camp. When I looked for my route survey notebook in my pocket for writing some details of the hot water spring, I found it missing. I realized that it was dropped some where en route to the hot water spring while going or coming back from there. I searched for it everywhere and that day I did not eat food the whole day. I declared among all the followers and porters that whosoever finds the notebook I shall pay two Rupees to him. The details of the route survey right from Ladakh were noted on that notebook but it could not be found. Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* and Chapman Sahib *Bahader* consoled me that right up to this place, a map has already been prepared and if the notebook is lost no harm is done. But I will have to be more careful in the future.

The same night Exalted (*Janab*) Chapman Sahib *Bahader* took latitude and longitude observations by the theodolite and as per directions of Sahib, after he had completed his task, I took 4 to 5 observations of the stars for determination of latitude. Besides this, he also took observation of lunar distance for confirmation of the findings of the previous exercise. The area between village Khardong and village Changlung is called the region of Nubra. But in the annals of Bhotias it has been referred to as Tumra. The spots where there are dense groves of trees are called Tumra. In fact in Nubra valley, along the banks of the river, there are dense forests of a thorny tree called Chharma.

On the 7th day I restarted the survey work from Changlung. Crossing the pass of Lhasgya camped at Totia Lake or Pangdangsa. It was a very cold place. The mercury of the thermometer was frozen. As per the conditions, I took star observations here too. At this stage I had travelled for 21,700 paces, that is 11 miles.

On 8th day we climbed towards the Saser valley. On the way we had to traverse through a lot of snow. On account of the snow our steps used to slide down. It was impossible to have the count of paces. Even then, somehow I kept on carrying out the route survey. I arrived at Sasser Valley at 1 o'clock in the afternoon quite exhausted. A strong

and very cold blizzard kept on blowing. With great difficulty I could steady myself and took a barometer observation. I tried to make a fire for taking a boiling point observation but because of the wind it was not possible to make a fire with a matchstick. I provided cover against the wind with many sheets and clothes and tried to make fire by burning cloth with the charcoal but it did not burn. At long last I made a big ball of a sheet of clothes and put the charcoal in the middle of it and thus could make a fire with great difficulty. Then I put the thermometer in the boiling water. Meantime Doctor Sahib arrived after two hours. He also took boiling point observations. From 1 o'clock till 4 o'clock, I and a few servants assigned to me stayed in the valley. Late in the evening, after nightfall, we reached the camp site Saser Pulu tottering all along the way. The number of paces came to 31,400.

On the 9th day in the morning Exalted (*Janab*) Chapman Sahib directed me that we shall go towards Daulatbeg by the route of Kizyl Angur with all the baggage and followers. It would be proper that Jasmal with followers would carry out a route survey up to Daulatbeg and I should remain in the company of Sahibs and by the route of Khomdan shall meet the party of followers at Daulatbeg.

On account of the snow the eyes of Jasmal were aching. In that condition he started off on a route survey with the followers. I remained in the company of the Sahibs and took the new route. While traversing this route we saw ice; that is a snow bridge (*kangrud = {seasonal} glaciers bridge*) at one place. On the left side was the snow bridge, on the right side was a rock face, and in between was the river. The river was also frozen on the banks at some places. For about two to three miles we kept travelling along that river. Because of the water and ice, men and animals faced difficulty. We camped at Khomdan in the evening. My servant collected some fuel of Burchai wood that night and made tea for us. The ration and firewood was not provided on this route. That night Sahib took a latitude observation while I kept the time. The number of paces was 21,000.

On the 10th day of October, we camped at a place called Gyapsyan. We found some grass and firewood near this place. At 177° from this place there is a high snow peak which is called Khomdanri. At this camp Sahib took latitude observations. I also took the latitude of Polaris and Meridian with a pocket sextant. On this stage we covered 18,500 paces i.e. 9 miles.

On the 11th day, after travelling for one or two miles, we left the bigger river. At the head of that river in the northwest direction we saw many ice sheets or snow bridges (*kangrud*). We travelled in an easterly direction and arrived at Daulat Beg-Uldi in the evening. Jasmal also joined us with the followers travelling by the old route. On this stage we covered 32,300 paces.

At this place a Turk named Daulat Beg had died. That is why the place is called Daulat Beg-Uldi. At this place also I took latitude readings of the Polar and Meridian stars and observation of boiling point. And Exalted (*Janab*) Chapman Sahib *Bahader* also took latitude and longitude observations. At this place also a severe cold ambient temperature prevailed to the extent that the mercury of thermometer was frozen and in the morning, it had gone down to minus five degrees from the minimum knot.

On the 12th day we reached the pass of Karakorum at 2 o'clock in the afternoon where the boiling point rose to 181°F. There was no snow on this ridge. The climb is not much, and on both the sides there is a gentle gradient for about three quarters of a mile. But while climbing one breathes very heavily. It was a very long march on this stage covering a distance of 46,200 paces, before we camped at Brangsa (that is Valti) in the evening. This place also was very cold. On the 13th day of October the thermometer rose to 15° in the morning. About 4 to 5 inches of snow fell during the night.

On the 13th day we covered the distance of two stages in one day and at 8 o'clock camped at Ak-tagh. The Sahibs had arrived earlier with the baggage. Due to the work of route survey I got delayed. A distance of 4-6 miles was remaining, but I had to abandon the route survey since night had fallen. On the 14th day, being a rest day, I completed the previous day's survey work up to the camp. On this stage we travelled for 54,500 paces or twenty seven and a quarter miles.

4. Nain Singh in dacoit infested region

(Yarkand River Valley up to Kighiz Jangal - 15 October, 1873)

At this Ak-tagh, Exalted (*Janab*) Capt Trotter Sahib *Bahader* accompanied by brother Kaliyan Singh joined us. The aforesaid Sahib directed me to follow the Yarkand River up to Kirghiz Jangal and from there to join the group at Shahidulah through any route.

On this instruction I got ready to proceed. The Bhotia porters from Ladakh hired on wages did not agree to proceed. They said that dacoits take shelter in the Kirghiz Jangal who watch for human beings and take them to Kanjoot and Badakshan for sale. Exalted (*Janab*) Johnson Sahib also asked why I desired to risk my life and go towards the Kirghiz Jangal. If I desired to go, it is up to me, but I will end up grazing sheep and goats of the Kirghiz people instead of taking observations on compass. I explained the position to my superior Sahib. On this, the above mentioned Sahib directed me to send a clever person ahead to watch out for Kirghiz people and carry out the work of survey following him. Wherever we see Kirghiz we should return back from there. Then with great difficulty I made the porters agree, but there was nobody who knew the route. Only a person from Argon called Islam among the followers of the Sahib knew that route. I requested Sahib to allow him to come with me but Sahib said that he also needed him. Then I enquired about the route from Islam who explained whatever was known to him.

On the 15th day of October 1873, the sahibs started off for Shahidulah by the main route of Suget. As per the directions of Sahib, Jasmal and I, accompanied by servants and 3 porters, 3 horses and five men in all, took the route of Kirghiz Jangal along the bank of the Yarkand River. One horse was loaded with fodder and the other two with tents and ration.

On the right bank of the previously mentioned river, I could find traces of an old route but at places it was untraceable. The track was well identified. Starting at 10 o'clock in the morning from Ak-tagh, when the sun became quite hot and all the men were tired, they wanted to halt but due to lack of firewood we did not stop. In the hope of getting firewood ahead, we kept on walking till late in the evening. In the north, on the left bank of the river, we found some firewood of Budche and Omfoo and camped there. I took observations of latitude and boiling point at this location and named the location Omfoo camp. On this stage we travelled for 36,200 paces i.e. 18 miles.

On 16th day travelling along the left bank of Yarkand River we reached a place called Khufelong at 10 o'clock in the morning. At this place a large river joins Yarkand River from direction of 160°. We came to know that this river comes from a long distance. We saw many trees of Omfoo on the bank of this river and a little bit of grass was

also seen. Descending into the river repeatedly, at 3 o'clock in the evening we saw some grass and lot of firewood on the left bank of the river, so camped at this place. The night being overcast and latitude observations were not possible. I took barometer and boiling point observations and recorded Nain Singh as the name of this camp. On this stage we travelled for 26,800 paces i.e. 13½ miles.

On the 17th day of October, 1873 we camped at Kashmiri Jilga. At this place a large stream joins Yarkand River from the direction of 255°. At this place the signs of travellers camping recently were visible. Clear signs of a fireplace were present. There was not much grass but firewood was in abundance. On this stage we travelled for 26,100 paces (13 miles) while descending into the river at certain places. At this place I saw 4 wild horses and took latitude and barometer observations of this location.

5. Nain Singh at Chong in Kirghiz jangal (19 October, 1873 – ruins of houses and fortress with holes for guns)

On the 18th day we travelled along the right and left banks of the river and camped on its left bank. On this stage we travelled for 33,700 paces or 16¾ miles. I took latitude and boiling point observations of this location and recorded Nain Singh as the name of this camp too. At this place there was some grass and lots of firewood. We saw a dense forest there and rags drifted by in the river and horse dung was visible on the banks at many places.

On the 19th day of October, 1873 AD we arrived at Chong in the Kirghiz Jangal at around 8 to 9 o'clock in the morning. Here, on the right bank of the Yarkand River, we saw old ruins of 20 to 25 houses and a fortress like construction, round in shape with an open roof which was six paces long and five paces wide on the inside. On all the four sides there were holes for guns and inside in one corner a *tandoor* (oven for baking chapattis) was built on the pattern of an English fireplace. At this place there is hardly any grass but lots of firewood is available. It is said that these houses belong to a tribe of Kirghiz wandering in the forest who used to camp here for plundering travellers in the past.

At Chong, Kirghiz Jangal, the Yarkand River flows in the direction of 312° for about four miles and from there in a western direction. It is said that the river reaches Yarkand after flowing through the region of Kanjoot. At Chong, in Kirghiz Jangal, one stream joins Yarkand River from the direction of 50° . At the confluence on the right bank of the river and the stream there are houses. One track from here leads to Shahidulla along the right bank of the aforesaid stream. After taking observations by aneroid barometer at Chong, Kirghiz Jangal, we took the route to Shahidulla along the bank of aforesaid stream. As we covered $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the left bank of the stream, on the left bank of that narrow stream we saw 3 to 4 old ruined houses. There was no grass and firewood there. We pushed further on for another $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles along the stream and then lost the track. At that place we left the stream flowing at 105° which we had been following and instead followed a dry stream at 42° as we noticed that along its course, stones had been heaped at some places. After a short distance of about three fourths of a mile we saw the marks of an old track and a piece of old curtain which indicated that we were on the correct path to Shahidulla. We arrived at the Sokhbulak pass after negotiating a steep climb for 700 paces at 96° . This ridge is quite high and had some fresh snow on it. On the north, northeast and south we saw snow peaks. The boiling point reading was 185° and that of the aneroid barometer was 17 inches. From these readings we came to know that it was 15 to 17 thousand feet above sea level. From that ridge, travelling for some distance on a gentle descent in the east direction, we came across a stream originating from a nearby Himalayan range. Travelling along the left bank of that stream we camped at Sokh Bulak. On this stage also we found a fairly good track and covered 25,700 paces or about 13 miles. In the evening about 3 inches of snow fell, on account of which a latitude observation was not possible. The boiling point was recorded at 186°F .

**6. Two persons on horseback galloping towards the party
(Near Thapo-diwan - 21 October, 1873)**

On the 20th we carried on the survey work and camped at Thapo-diwan on the right bank of the Sokhbulak River. We found abundant grass and firewood but did not see any human habitation on the way right up to this place from Ak-tagh. I took latitude and boiling point observations at this place.

On the 21st of October, as we advanced for about two miles from camp Thapo-diwan, we saw two horse riders galloping towards us. When they arrived before me and stopped their horses, they asked some questions in Turkish language. I realised from the signs they made that they were asking from where we had come. I replied that I am a servant of Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* who is at Shahidulla, and I am going there. We lost the way and landed at this place. Hearing this, one of them remained with me and the other galloped back towards the direction from where they had come. I thought in my heart that they might be robbers and finding us outnumbering them, one rider had galloped away to bring more members of their band.

7. Nain Singh's party welcomed Kirghiz people at Khalchakyun (Kirghiz people civilized - guide provided up to Shahidulla – meet Mr Forsyth)

After advancing a little, we saw a big camp with *Namdas* (athick felt rug made from raw wool) laid down with hundreds of horses, sheep, goats and yaks. When we arrived at the camp that person hurriedly dismounted and spread a *Namda* and made us sit on it with great respect. His wife put a vessel filled with dried plums in front of me and putting her hand on the chest bowed down in greeting. Many others also greeted me in the similar way. These Kirghiz people were very nice, civilized people. On my enquiry about the name of that place, they said it was Khalchakyun. And on my inquiry about the route to Shahidulla, one Kirghiz was deputed to accompany us. They informed us that this man would guide us up to Shahidulla. I gave one rupee to that Kirghiz and departed from there. With Kirghiz guide I marched ahead, instructing Jasmal to carry out the survey work secretly. Eventually we reached Shahidulla at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. On this stage we covered 23,300 paces or around 11¾ miles. At Shahidulla we met Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader*, Doctor Bellew Sahib, Chapman Sahib *Bahader* and Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader*. Biddulph Sahib and others had advanced ahead on that day itself and even the baggage of Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* had also gone ahead and aforesaid Sahib was ready with his riding horse. The aforesaid Sahib instructed me that Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* would camp here till the arrival of the Agent of the

King of Atalik and I should accompany him after arranging portage etc. I should reach his camp each evening without difficulty as taking latitude observations is not required of me since he would have already taken the readings. Only a route survey would be required, to be done secretly. When the superior Sahib would arrive later at Sanju with the Agent then permission to work openly would be obtained and till then it has to be done secretly. Sahib marched ahead riding the horse after giving these instructions. I enquired from Tara Singh about arranging animals or horses for carriage of baggage. Since portage could not be arranged, we halted at Shahidulla that day and released three porters who had been hired by me at Ladakh and Aktagh after making payment of their wages. I took latitude and boiling point observations during the night.

At this Shahidulla a river called Karakash, flowing from the southeast direction, meets another river flowing from the west. At the confluence of these two rivers a fort like building is built on behalf of the King of Jammu. On the left bank of the confluence there is a black mound on which flags, banners and yak tails have been tied on wooden poles. It is believed that on this spot one person called Shahidulla Khoja of Turkistan had died and that was the reason why this place became known as Shahidulla Khoja.

In the morning of 22nd October, Tara Singh provided two very weak horses obtained from the local official (*kardar*) of the King of Atalik. No help for loading the horses was available. We loaded the horses ourselves and started off along the bank of the Karakash River. But these two horses were so weak and lazy that they kept on dropping the load on the way here and there. With great difficulty these were made to walk on the route. Carrying on the job of route survey on the one hand, and on the other hand loading the horses, was troublesome. Somehow we reached in the evening at Nazar Kurgan. At this place, on a rock on the left bank of the Karakash River, one old fortress and at its foot a free public kitchen (*lungar*) is built. On this stage we travelled 31,000 paces or 15½ miles. The caravan of Sahibs had marched ahead. We had no ration with us. We had tea in the evening and with the tea had roasted flour (*sattu*), of which a small quantity was remaining.

CHAPTER – Three

NAIN SINGH ON HIS OWN IN KARGHALIK – POSGAM REGION – NO HELP FROM YARKAND MISSION

1. Sympathetic representative of King of Atalik (Provided corn as ration and exchanged week horses - 23 October, 1873)

On the 23rd, after travelling for 3 miles from Nazar Kurgan, we came across a representative of the King of Atalik who was on his way to Shahidulla with horses carrying loads of corn with some hired coolies. I humbly requested from him to give us some ration and pleaded to exchange these two tired horses. He was a very nice person and changed our tired horses. Considering our pathetic condition he let one of his porters accompany us. He said that he did not have rations but if we desired he would give us corn grain. Desperately we took 4 to 5 seers of corn from him. We camped at the stream called Karakuram in the evening and ate roasted corn. On this stage we travelled for 25,300 paces or 12¾ miles.

On the 24th day of October, we had to negotiate a steep climb of Sanju Diwan. The path was very difficult with snow and ice so the horses and men slipped often. At many places the loaded horses fell down. With great difficulty we reached the pass of Sanju Diwan in the afternoon. On the other side too it was very difficult to descend. I took an aneroid barometer observation of the pass and after slipping and falling arrived at a little flat land after one and a half miles. Late in the evening we reached the camp of Gyajgya. At this place we met Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader*, Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Biddulph Sahib and party who had established their camp. They all gathered around us. On this stage we travelled for 29,500 paces. But I have my doubts whether due to snow and climbing up and down, the count of paces might have been a little on the higher side.

On the 25th day, travelling along the right bank of the river for 20,000 paces or 10 miles we camped at Tam Langar. At this place there are 2 to

3 small houses and some cultivated land. I took a latitude observation at this location too. On the 26th day we reached Khewaj Langar. There are 4 or 5 houses and cultivated land at this village. On this stage we travelled for 33,200 paces or 16¾ miles. I took latitude observations at this place too. From Sanju Diwan to this Khewaj Langar, we had to cross the river at many places and had to traverse through a narrow mountainous valley. Onwards from Khewaj there are small hillocks and the land is open and wide and one does not have to wade through the river and there are habitations all along.

On the 27th day we arrived at Sanju village or town. From Khewaj onwards we saw villages here and there on the right and left banks of the river. The hillsides and plains were devoid of trees. Only around the villages there are orchards of fruit and many varieties of shady trees. Among them are trees of seedless apple, pomegranate, *jadaloo*, plum, peach, pear, mulberry, *unnabh* (a fruit like berry), other varieties of pear, *safeda*, walnut, *chinar*, willow, *vains* etc.

From Khewaj to Sanju we travelled for 28,800 paces or 14½ miles. This Sanju is a sizable village in a rural area. There are around 1,500 houses in it. On every second Monday a market takes place wherein sale and purchase of *namda*, textiles, dry fruits and other crops takes place between all the villagers. This Sanju is within the jurisdiction of the administrator of Guma town and the river that comes from the side of mountains around Sanju Diwan and nearby areas flows at 69° towards Guma town.

On the 30th day of October, Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* arrived at Sanju accompanied by Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader* and Exalted (*Janab*) Doctor Bellew Sahib *Bahader*. A representative of the King of Atalik, Yakub Khan Sahib, also was with the party.

2. Yarkand Mission of no help to Nain Singh's party (Sanju on 31 October, 1873)

On the 31st day of October Kaliyan and Krishna also joined at Sanju. Sahib had directed them to separately visit Suved Wilakche for independent work. From them I learned that they underwent great hardship there. No help was extended to them from the Yarkand

Mission. They even had to purchase sheep for transportation of baggage, which meant they used to reach the camp late in the evening after completing their work. Whenever they requested firewood from the stock from the head assistant of the Yarkand Mission, it was refused. Leave alone the ration, without firewood they slept without eating anything on many nights.

On the 1st day of November 1873 AD Mr. Exalted (*Janab*) Trotter Sahib *Bahader* directed me that the work of survey from Sanju to Yarkand has to be done stealthily until Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader* asked for open survey from the Agent of the King of Atalik. He said that even though they have no objection with the work of survey, residents of Yarkand region are very rough and uncivilized. By chance they may create any problem. The same day our Sahib desired to take some photograph of some people. Many people were made to stand near the camera. At that very moment a Turk came and made all the people go away from there.

On the 2nd day of November the caravan of Sahibs marched forward and I also started off conducting route survey quietly. On account of the very heavy traffic of thousands of people on the way, taking bearings with the compass became difficult. With great difficulty I conducted the work, hiding from the observation of the people.

3. Nain Singh had to persuade his disgruntled servant (Allurement of higher wages to them)

All the members of the Yarkand Mission including fodder gatherers and menial servants were provided with riding animals. Only we were travelling on foot. On this account my servants used to feel bad and often used to quarrel with me. They used to argue that we were also government servants, then why are we not provided with riding animals. They were so annoyed that they were prepared to abandon the work and return. I persuaded them and promised to pay higher wages. Then only they agreed with me.

There is a public kitchen (*langar khana*) at a distance of 14 miles from Sanju in the northwest direction. At this place there are one or two houses, a pond of water and a few orchards. Between Sanju and this location there is no water on the way. When a distance of one or

two miles was left to be covered to Khushtagh camp, it became dark. I took the bearing of the fire burning at the camp and read the degree in the light of a burning match stick. Travelling $11\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the last public mess we reached Khushtagh village. There is no water in between on the way. On this stage we covered 51,200 paces or $25\frac{3}{4}$ miles. This Khushtagh is also a rural centre. Cultivation, orchards and gardens are like that of Sanju. One river originating in the south flows in a north-easterly direction. At this place also I took latitude and aneroid barometer observations.

On the 3rd day we came to Wetwaghkak village. We travelled for 38,300 paces on this stage. Few families reside here. One stream comes at 225° and flows in the direction of 20° from here that is called Kilian Ustang. It is said that it comes from Ustang and Kilian range. A route along the banks of this stream crosses the mountain of Kilian or Faliyan and leads to the fortress of Nazar Kurghan.

On the 4th day we negotiated the gentle climb of quarter to two miles from Wetwaghkak and descending on other side some time on the level ground and some time on gentle slope camped at Bora village having travelled for 24,000 paces. This Bora is also a rural centre with cultivated fields and orchards. A small river flows towards the north from the south that vanishes into the desert after flowing for about 3 miles in the north direction.

It is reported that from this Bora village one route meets the Shahidulla high way near the fortress of Nazar Kurghan crossing the mountain of Kilian Diwan. Travelling in the direction between south and southeast from Bora that is three *tass*⁶⁹ that is 15 miles, one reaches a place called Mazarkhoja. The Kilian Ustang stream of Wetwaghkak flows near this place. Travelling for 20 miles in the southern direction from Mazarkhoja comes the big village of Kilian on the right bank of Kiliang Ustang having 100 houses. There is a camp site called Kachyung on the bank of the aforesaid river 10 miles south of Kilian where valley dwellers reside. This Kirghiz tribe is called Wakinlek who rear sheep, goats, yaks and horses. It is said that these people were dacoits in the past and they have now renounced the evil profession.

⁶⁹ *Tass* apparently is the term for the unit of distance equal to five miles used in the region of Yarkand and Khotan.

After travelling for 15 miles in south from Kachyung one reaches the forest called Sirakyurak. And travelling further for twenty miles in southern direction along the bank of said river, one can reach the forest of Karok. From there travelling for 8 to 10 miles in southern direction along the bank of said river, one reaches the forest of Lhamlung. Travelling for 10 to 12 miles in southern direction from there along the bank of the river one reaches the place called Khatai Tham. Up to this place grass (fodder) and fire wood are plentifully available at any place and the route is straight and comfortable. From here, travelling for 12 to 15 miles in southern direction, one can reach at the foot of Thube Diwan that is Kalian Diwan. This is the place where the aforesaid river is visible for the last time. Travelling for 15 to 20 miles from here, one reaches Tuginam or Ranthak after crossing the mountain of Kalian Diwan. From this mountain a river originates that flows to the fortress of Nazar Kurghan. Travelling for 12 to 15 miles further towards the east from Tuginam along the bank of the said river, one reaches the camp of Kyansiwar. From Kyansiwar, along the bank of Kalian Ushtang, for 12 to 15 miles eastward, one reaches the fortress of Nazar Kurghan via Vostang camp.

On 5th of November we arrived at village Basrak which is a rural centre, after travelling for 48,500 paces or 24¼ miles in northeast direction from Bora. One small river flows near this village from south to north that originates from the mountains of Khalak and Thuwa Diwan and flows along Azghan and Yawash. From Basrak village, 10 to 12 miles to the south, Yawash village is situated on the right bank of said river. There are 200 to 250 houses in that village.

4. Nain Singh at Karghalik town

(5 November, 1873 – here 500 Chinese troupes were killed in 1865 AD)

After travelling for 10,850 paces or 10½ miles in a north-easterly direction from Basrak we arrived at Karghalik town. In this town of Karghalik there are about three to four hundred houses. In the middle of the market one canal flows from south to north. It is reported that this canal has been taken from Tijnap River.

There are 64 villages and 11,000 houses within Karghalik district. Village Basrak also is within Karghalik. There are 3,000 houses in

this village. Calculating at an average of 5 persons per house there would be 55,000 people there.

One mile east of Karghalik town there is a deserted fortress of Chinese period on the south of the highway. It is said that when in 1865 AD the citizens of Tungania and Yarkand revolted against the Chinese, about 500 Chinese came under siege in this fortress. At the end of the struggle the explosives caught fire and all of them were burnt to death.

From Karghalik one route leads to Khotan, the stages on this route as inscribed on pillars in *jummal* system⁷⁰ are as under.

At the distance of 3 *taas* i.e. 15 miles on the east of Karghalik is located village Lokang. 6 *taas* i.e. 30 miles on the east there from is located Chulak Langar Khana. 3 *taas* i.e. 15 miles on the east there from is Guma Township. It is reported that in this town, there are about 1500 houses. One prefect is a local governor who is authorised to maintain law and order (*dadkwah hakim*). His rule extends right up to Khushtagh and Wetwaghrak of Sanju region. The river flowing near Sanju flows through the town of Guma. On the east is a big village called Chuda at a distance of 3 *taas* i.e. 15 miles from there. 4 *taas* i.e. 20 miles on the east there from is located big village of Moji. 4 *taas* i.e. 20 miles on the southeast there from is located the village of Pialma. 4 *taas* there from on the southeast is Zavabazar. One local governor lives at that bazar. All the travellers passing through this bazar to Yarkand or Khotan have to show their route permits to this governor before they are allowed to proceed further. Travelling for 4 *taas* i.e. 20 miles to the southeast from Javabazar comes Ilchi town or Khotan. This town is the capital town of Khotan.

From Kashgar to Yarkand, from Yarkand to Karghalik, and from Karghalik to Khotan via Guma, the track is well marked but the track from Karghalik to Khotan is sandy and often the track-mark disappears on account of sand and dust blown by the wind. For identification of

⁷⁰ Nain Singh has used the term as '*juma argon*', which appears to be '*jummal arkan*'. *Arkan* means tower or pillar and '*jummal*'; somewhat like the system of Roman numerical; is a system of reckoning according to Arabic alphabetical order (*abjad*) in which every succeeding letter has been assigned ascending value. In the hazardous region of Khotan and Yarkand there must have been the practice of inscribing the distances on pillars, rocks and boulders in *jummal* system for the guidance of travellers.

the track tower-like heaps of stone and boulders have been erected along the way. The travellers identify the track by these towers and are saved from getting lost on the way. At the town of Kashgar on every second Monday a weekly market is held. People from every village visit the market and take part in transactions of all kinds of goods and crops. From this Karghalik town another very gentle and easy route goes to Shahidulla and Khoje crossing the passes of Thuwa and Khalak Diwans. The stages on this route as inscribed on pillars in *jummal* system are as under.

Beshterek, a large village is situated 4 *taas* on the south of Karghalik. From there 2 *taas* on the southeast is the village of Thulrak where there are 200 houses. 2 *taas* from there on the south east is a small village named Ak-chigh where there are 4 to 5 small houses From there 4 *taas* on the south is a place called Tugme-chigmen where tent dwellers camp. They rear animals like sheep, goats and horses. From there, crossing the pass of Topa; 4 *taas* in the south; there is a camping area in the forest of Azgan. At this place two large streams meet, one branch coming from southeast and another branch from Khalak Mountain and thereafter they flow in the northeast direction towards Basrak village passing through Yawash village. 3 *taas* further in the southeast direction comes the camp site of Thuwa or Jarak at the foot of Khalak Mountain.

From the foot of Khalak Mountain, 4 *taas* in the northwest direction, across the pass of Khalak, there is a campsite of this stage in Gurjikar forest. Travelling along the bank of the river for 2 *taas* in southeast direction from there one reached Mazar Khoja. Travelling further for 2 *taas* in southeast direction one reaches Karakash River. The river originating from Khalak Mountain meets Karakash River at this location. From this spot Shahidulla is at a distance of 21,700 paces or 11 miles to the southeast. And quarter to four miles on the northeast is the fortress of Nazar Kurghan.

I made quite a few queries from many people and from these camps and came to know that compared to the routes from Sanju Mountain, Kaliyan Mountain or Yaki Mountain, the best route among them is the one from this Khalak Mountain. Fodder and firewood are available at many places in good quantity. The route is without obstructions. In the direction of Khalak Mountain only one steep climb is reported and

that too of only 1½ miles which is an obstacle-free wide track. It is also confirmed that this route is the shortest of all. If one rides a horse from Yarkand he would make it to Shahidulla in five days. During the period of Chinese domination this route was normally open. Now since the time of King Atalik the Turkman, this route is closed.

From the inscriptions on pillars in *jummal* system it was known that from this Karghalik town one route meets the highway coming from Karakorum at Ak-tagh via Thuwe Mountain, Yaki Mountain and Kugiar and Kirghiz Jangal. The stages of this route are mentioned as under.

From Karghalik the first stage is at a distance of 4 *taas* toward the south to Beshterek village. Kugiar village is 3 *taas* on the west of Beshterek. 2 *taas* on the south from Kugiar is Phosar village. 6 *taas* east of Phosar village is Ak Masjid. During rainy season shepherds and goatherds reside at this place. From Ak Masjid 4 *taas* on the northeast across the pass Topa Mountain is situated the camping site in the forest of Chiklik on the bank of Tiznaf River. This river originates from Yanki Mountain and flows down to Karghalik town and the location of the Monday bi-weekly market and so on.

The next camping ground after Chiklik forest is at Mazarkhoja jungle that comes after travelling a distance of 5 *taas* along the bank of Tiznaf River in the southwest direction. This location is often visited by Kanjooti people for robbery. From Mazarkhoja along the bank of Tiznaf River in southwest direction is the camp site of Dova in a jungle.

Travelling for 4 *taas* toward the southwest from Dova is the camp site of Thushaktas in a forest. Travelling along the bank of aforesaid river for 4 *taas* in a southwest direction from Thukashtas is the camp site of Gurangjekar or Thuve Yangi Mountain. A little ahead of this place is the origin of Tiznaf River. On this stage fodder is plentiful but firewood is not.

Negotiating a very gentle climb for 1½ *taas* on the south from Gurangjekar forest comes the end of Yanki Mountain. Descending for 1½ miles from this pass is the camp site of Kulunaldi in the forest. On both sides of this mountain the track is quite easy but on the descent, there being flowing springs at some places, the horses are prone to slip on account of frozen ice during the period of winter. But it is

not as dangerous that the horses would die from a slip. The route between Sanju Diwan and Yanki Diwan is reported to be good. Grass and firewood are plentiful at this camp of Kulunaldi.

Travelling for 3 *taas* to the south from Kulunaldi is the campsite of Kirghiz Jangal in a forest on the bank of the Yarkand River. Grass and firewood is plentiful at this place. From there the river Yarkand, traversing the land of the Kanjootis for a distance of 4 to 5 days journey in a south-westerly direction, flows towards Yarkand. Travelling for 5 *taas* to the east from Kirghiz Jangal is the campsite of Chong Kirghiz in a forest. I had come to this very place from Ak-tagh which has already been mentioned.

5. Nain Singh at Posgam town (7 November, 1873)

On the 6th day of November I halted at Karghalik and took latitude observations. On the 7th day we started off from Karghalik continuing the job of route survey. Travelling a little less than 13 miles toward the northeast, I came to the bank of Tiznaf River and waded across to the left bank. It was 70 paces wide, 1¼ feet deep flowing south to north. It is reported that this is the river originating from Yanki Mountain. There is a place for a weekly market at 4½ miles from Tiznaf River. It is 700 paces long and on every Monday a market takes place here.

Travelling for 4¼ miles to the northwest from Tiznaf River, one comes across a big canal from Yarkand River on which there is bridge. This canal flows from 200° towards the northeast. It is 47 paces wide and 2 feet deep. It is reported that this canal has been diverted from 10 miles upstream of the river.

Travelling for 5,000 paces or two and half miles from this canal we camped at Posgam town. On this stage from Karghalik to Posgam we travelled a total of 48,340 paces, that is 24 miles. There are 200 to 250 houses at this commercial centre and on every Tuesday a weekly market is held and people from every village and town gather here. All variety of goods are purchased and sold.

At this Posgam there is a hereditary (*Beg*) revenue official of the prefecture. Within the revenue prefecture (*Yort or Parganna*) of

Posgam there are 48 *Karjak* i.e. villages. Every village is inhabited by a maximum of 300 families. Total land revenue at present is fixed at 500,000 *tanga* i.e. 100,000 Rupees per annum. During the rule of the Chinese it was 200,000 *tangas* that is 40,000 Rupees. One canal coming from 190° flows through the middle of the market towards the north. There are thickly populated habitations and quite fertile land continuously all the way from Karghalik to Posgam town. Canals have been made here and there and orchards and gardens which make the panorama quite picturesque. I took latitude and boiling point observations at this Posgam town.

**6. Yarkand Mission at Yarkand town (8 November, 1873)
(Cross Yarkand from Khanga gate to Altoon gate camp at
Yangi rest camp)**

On the 8th day of November, 1873 we started off early in the morning from Posgam and travelling for 7,400 paces or 3 3/4 miles, we reached the bank of the Yarkand River which flows from west to east. It was 103 paces wide and 2 feet 3 inches deep. Thereafter travelling for 1,000 paces or half a mile, we came cross another tributary of the aforesaid river coming from 277° and flowing on at 95°. It is 90 paces wide and 2 feet deep. This river is called Dariya Jarao and also Dariya Zarafshan. In olden times gold, that is *jar*, was extracted. That is why it is called Golden River (*Dariya Jarao*).

Travelling for 17,800 paces or little less than 4 miles from Dariya Jarao we reached a free public kitchen (Langar Khana) of Badakshani. At this place the representative high gentry of local governor responsible for enforcement of law and order, with a few appointed soldiers, arrived to welcome Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader*. From Badakshani Langar we travelled for 7,900 paces or a little less than 4 miles and arrived at the Khanga gate of Yarkand city. This gate is on the south of the town. Travelling for 34,100 paces or 17 miles from Posgam we arrived at Khanga gate of Yarkand city. From Posgam to Yarkand city there are thickly populated habitations and highly fertile land. Interspersed with villages, orchards and gardens it presents an attractive landscape.

I stopped the work of route survey at Khanga gate and entering the city of Yarkand from Khanga gate we came out of the city from the

Altoon gate. Travelling for 610 paces from Yarkand city on the west is the fortified township of Yangi. In Yangi there are neat and clean big houses within walled compounds. All the Sahibs stayed in those houses and even the servants were allotted houses for their residence and high quality carpets and *namdas* were spread on the floors of these houses.

On behalf of the Minister Incharge for enforcement of law and order, the party was welcomed and looked after as special guests each day. Ration for the servants, sheep for mutton, fodder, firewood, grain feed for the horses and whatever was needed was provided by the government of Yarkand. For the Sahibs, a variety of fruits like grapes, seedless pomegranates', pistachios, almonds, etc were supplied. The high ranking officials of the King Atalik were continuously present each day to attend on Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader*. After 4/5 days of arrival at Yarkand, Exalted (*Janab*) Forsyth Sahib *Bahader*, accompanied by all other Sahibs called on the Minister Incharge for enforcement of law and order and later on returned to their respective houses.

After few days, on the instructions of Exalted (*Janab*) Capt Trotter Sahib *Bahder*, I prepared a map of Yarkand city with the help of a pocket compass. Yarkand constitutes twin cities, namely Koonaa and Yangi. The circumference of Koonaa is 7,953 paces or about 4 miles and this city has five gates. The Altoon and Teeri gates are on the western side of the city. The Valti gate and Aksu or Miskeen gates are on the east side of the city and the Khanga gate is on the south of the city. One large canal enters the city through the protective wall on the southwest. This canal is divided into streetwise feeder channels and here and there reservoirs built within the compounds in the city. The water is variously used by the residents of the city. On the western side of Khanga gate a market is held in the evening. Of all the five gates, the maximum to and fro traffic in the evening is from the Altoon gate. A little less is from the Khanga gate, lesser still is that from the Aksu gate, and then from Tiree gate and least from Valti gate. A large market takes place and everything is marketed here.

The shape of Yangi city is squares and its circumference is 3,532 paces or 1¾ miles. This Yangi city has two gates. However, one of the gates called Kashgar gate, located on the west side is closed forever.

The other gate is in the eastern direction. It is called Koon gate and this gate is used for to and fro traffic of people. This gate is 610 paces or one quarter of a mile, west of the Altoon gate and both of these gates face each other. Outside the protective wall of the fort a ditch has been dug all around. On the protective wall, 40 towers have been built. From the western side two small canals have been provided and the water has been made to flow inside the fort. This fort was built during the Chinese rule. It is said that the agent (*Amban*) of the King of China, in charge of the region of Yarkand, used to reside here. It is also said that in the year 1865 AD, when there was a revolt in Yarkand, the Tungans laid siege to this fort. The Chinese *Amban*, along with the troops and families, was burnt to death by their own explosives. Now the Minister of the King Atalik; who is also the administrator of justice of Yarkand; resides in this fort.

It is reported that there are 10,000 houses in Yarkand city. The population appears to be around 40,000. On every Wednesday a weekly market is held and all the rural people gather here. I visited all the streets and counted 40,000 heads. But the population might not be less than 60,000 to 70,000 because the figures derived by me were based on rough estimates. In this country silk clothes that they call *dariyae* are available. Carpets of *chyakman*, bowls of *shootas* and high quality *namdas* are made. Silk is produced in large quantity in Guna and Khotan regions. Khotan produces high quality carpets. Muskmelons, watermelons, pomegranates, apples, seedless pears, almonds, plums, peaches and grapes are plentiful. The cereals of maize, rice, wheat, barley, pulses of *moong* and *mash or urad*, and peas grow in large quantities.

CHAPTER – Four

NAIN SINGH AT YARKAND TOWN

Taxation system – Local Customs & Traditions and Trade and Transaction Rules

1. Nain Singh at Yarkand town (7 November, 1873 to 26 March, 1874)

Winter Climate of Yarkand: I remained at Yarkand from beginning of November in the year 1873 AD until the end of March 1874 AD. From the 15th day of November the water started freezing gradually. And eventually from 15th December the water of the rivers, lakes and canals started freezing into ice. My men used to melt the ice into water. It became very cold and temperatures fell very low. In the morning of 6th January 1874 AD, the mercury was at 8°F in the thermometer. From the 6th the mercury started rising slowly. There was no rain in the four months of November, December, January and February but often the sky was overcast. On some days it used to be sunny. Often on a new moon day or full moon day the sky used to be cloudy. On the 9th of March one inch of snow fell in the night. Again on 12th of March half an inch of snow fell in the night. During the daytime on 12th it kept on snowing sporadically. On 14th of March it again snowed for a while but did not accumulate on the surface. Till this day I saw water freezing into ice during the night. From the 15th onwards water did not freeze at Yarkand and it became less cold.

Repeated Limbering up for Observation of Stars: From the last of November 1873 AD till 27th February 74 AD, I took observations with a barometer and wet and dry thermometer every three hours from 9 o'clock in the morning till 9 o'clock in the evening. Minimum and maximum readings were recorded at 9 o'clock in the morning. From 28th of February till 25th of March, I took observations by the barometers from 6 o'clock in the morning till 9 o'clock in the evening. And during the four months of December, January, February and March I took hourly observations with barometer during day and night from 12 o'clock of 20th day till 9 o'clock of 22nd day in the morning.

I took latitude observations up to 36 limbers at Yarkand and took meridian altitudes of the lower and upper tangent of Polaris star. The meridian altitude of lower tangent of *Vitaminoris* was taken at Yarkand which I could not take with the sextant in Tibet at Lhasa. The *Aldevaran* and *Rigalus* stars, being very high, could not be measured with my sextant in Tibet at Lhasa or in India. So I got hold of these two stars at Yarkand.

Taxation and Land Revenue System: It is said that during the Chinese rule the tax and revenue on the land was reasonable in the province of Yarkand. Now after the conquest of the Atalik, it is reported to be on the high side. For example, on the production of food grains worth 10 Rupees, 1 Rupee is taken away by the King. And on production of food grains worth 10 Rupees one *ulak*, that is 8 *chark* or 2 Rupees per *maund* of husk (*saman*) belongs to the king. And tax on orchards and gardens of fruit trees is fixed at the rate of five *tangas* or 1 rupee on one *thanap* (that is 30 yards long by 30 yards wide) or 900 square yards of the garden. A grass called *veda* for fodder for the horses also is grown and for that too tax is collected at a similar rate; for one *thanap* five *tangas* is fixed.

For water mills, which operate all through the year, 200 *tangas* or 40 Rupees per annum is fixed. And on the cultivation of tobacco too, 10 *tangas* or 2 Rupees per *thanap* is fixed as tax. On cultivation of cotton also, tax at the rate of five *tangas* 1 (by mistake 2 has been printed) rupee per *thanap* is fixed. On the cultivation of vegetables like radish, carrot etc, on one *thanap* area of land 3 *tangas* or a little above 9 annas (*16 annas in a rupee*) is fixed as tax.

For cultivation of muskmelon and watermelon, five *tangas* i.e. 1 rupee per *thanap* is collected. For rearing sheep, goats, female yaks, camels and horses, on every 40 heads one is vested in the government annually. For every mare five *tangas* per annum is fixed. Besides this, the tax for goods of general merchandise is collected separately. Even in the case of death of a head of the family, may it be in a town or may it be in a village, for every share worth one hundred Rupees in the divided ancestral property among the heirs, 2½ Rupees gets vested in the government. For calculation, the ancestral property is divided in shares of 500 Rupees each. On the one hand the wife and sons of the deceased cry in mourning and on the other hand the local governor and government officials search his house for the ancestral property and prepare a list thereof..

On all the traders coming to Yarkand from other towns or countries, on the goods worth one hundred Rupees tax is collected at the rate of Rupees 5 from Muslims and Rupees 10 from Hindus. If the goods of any trader are left unsold over the year, he has to pay the tax again. But on enquiry I was told that on account of the visit of Sahibs this year (Yarkand Mission), lower rates of taxes were levied on traders compared to other years. That is, for the goods worth one hundred Rupees, Rupees 7 from Hindus and Rupees 4 from Muslims was collected. Besides this tax, on the basis of alien-caste (*jajiya*) is separately fixed on Hindus thus: on wealthy persons 10 (ten) annas per head per month, and on poor persons like hired servants etc. two to four annas per head per month.

2. Local Customs and Traditions

Marriage: It is said that in Yarkand as compared to men, women are more in number. In good looks and fairness they are like English women. There is a horrible custom among these Yarkandis, that they marry young girls even if she may be 8, 9 or 10 years of age. The parents of the girl also give their consent to such marriages. It is reported that often such young girls die of conjugal relationship with the husband; even then they do not learn a lesson. They consider that the younger the girls they marry the higher glory they attain and consider as if they have served their faith better. It never comes to their mind that it would be better morally if they would live with such girls or women all their life. After one or two months and at best one year from the date of marriage they divorce the previous wife and marry another girl, to the extent that one person marries 50 to 60 times during his lifetime. One who marries more frequently is considered to be more respectable in the society. Instances of living with one wife or husband all through the life would be one among hundreds.

In the marriage of these Yarkandis, not much expense is involved. On the day of the wedding a few relatives of the man and woman gather with a priest (*mullah*). On behalf of the man, 7 breads with tea is kept on a *dastkhan* (piece of cloth spread on the floor for serving meals). Every relative is given half a yard long piece of cloth as handkerchief and 7 paisa (*four paisa = one anna*) and half a yard length of cloth is given to the priest. And then the priest questions both man and woman whether they agree to the marriage. The man answers that he agrees

and the woman maintains silence. Later on, one of the male relatives of the woman puts a piece of bread drenched in the tea in the mouth of the bridegroom and one woman relative of the groom puts a piece of bread drenched in the tea in the mouth of the bride. After this all of them collectively eat 7 pieces of bread with tea and pronouncing that God is Great (*'allah-ho akbar'*), leave for their respective homes. Thus the marriage is complete and the man provides all necessary garments to the bride including the shoes.

Purdah for Women: It is said that during the Chinese rule, the women of Yarkand used to go around without covering the face with purdah. Now, since the beginning of the rule of King of Atalik, the custom of covering the body with burqa with purdah of mesh on the face is in practice. Whether the women are of higher or lower society, they freely go around the market place covering their faces with purdah. However on every eighth day one magistrate (*kaji*) with four or five scourge-bearing executors of physical punishment (*mutsid*) surveys the streets of the market looking for women. Any woman, whether she is with open face or with purdah who fails to run away and encounters the magistrate is punished by beating with the scourge 20 to 25 times. I am an eyewitness to the incident of all the women leaving the streets and running helter skelter right and left, slipping and falling, on seeing the magistrate riding his horse through the market from a distance. I heard that once the magistrate was on the visit to the town, and by chance one pregnant (*the word used is 'hamal' for pregnant lady which should be 'hamilah'*) woman could not run away from the overcrowded street. The magistrate beat her with the scourge 15 times and as a result the woman aborted. The child died but the woman survived after a couple of day's ailment.

3. Exchange⁷¹

(Rules regarding transactions)

Statements on oath relied for disposal of disputes: Judgements over disputes are delivered on the basis of swearing. Statements of specific witnesses are not taken (*not relied upon*). In the matters of advancing loans, even if the moneylender has a written bond agreement, if the

⁷¹ Nain Singh has used the word '*adal*' obviously for the word '*adal-badal*' which means exchange or barter.

borrower swears that he has paid back the loan, the document and the witnesses of the moneylender stand annulled. Punishment for murder and theft is a death sentence. In the month of January one person was hanged at Nakkhas market after performing *halal* (a Muslim custom of performing a religious rite before killing). His body was kept hanging for three days. On my asking as to what was his crime, people said that he had stolen a cow and after slaughtering it he sold the meat in the market. One person brought a boy after stealing him from Khotan and sold him to someone at Karghalik. Once the crime was proven, the man was made to stand whole day near the Hindu inn in the middle of the town after piercing a nail in his ear and smearing his face with black ash and was eventually let off after giving him a thorough beating with the scourge.

People from all the countries like China, Kuchar, Turfan, Aksu, Romchi, Kara, Shahar Khota, Bokhara, Badakshan, Kandahar, Balkh, Kabul, Afghanistan, Chitral, Kanjoot, Baltistan, Kashmir, Ladakh, India, Samarkand, Tashkent, Andijan and Tungan reside in Yarkand town.

The flesh of all animals including horse, camel, ox, sheep, goat etc. is eaten. Among the wild animal's tiger, bear, stag, deer etc. are also eaten. Flesh of only swine, dog and donkey is not eaten. But stealthily, the donkey is killed and its meat is sold in the market. For this offence the magistrate punished many in the past. Outside the cities and towns, the houses of the agricultural population are not in clusters of 20-30 like that of the Indian villages. In fact, single houses and orchards are situated at distances of quarter, half or one mile and even two miles. In the language of Turkey, villages with such scattered houses are called Kashlak. The administrative circle of such 20 to 25 or 100 or thousand scattered houses is called a Yort, which is kept under the charge of an official called a *Beg*.

THE LAND OF MINES, IDOL WORSHIPPER AND RICH URBAN SETTLEMENTS

1. The land of mines and beautiful women (The town of Sammal)

.....drops of water sprayed for quite a distance.⁷²

From Jaga Urdhang 30 miles on the east, is Yaka Urdhang with 20 houses. Firewood and grass for fodder are plentiful on this stage. This Yaka Urdhang is situated on the right bank of the Mujaf River. This river is a hundred paces wide and maximum 4 to 5 feet deep. When the water rises up to this level horses cannot wade through. The water is transparent with no silt in it but boulders are there. The terrain is with a gentle gradient; hence the river flows with quite a force. On the banks of this river grows a kind of thorny tree which is called Jik⁷³ with small red fruits which are sour in taste. The local people eat them and often use it against heat in the stomach. From this location one route leads to Shamal, which is 3 days march from Yaka Urdhand and then on to Karavag which is the head quarters of a circle. One companion of mine hailing from Aksu met me at Karavak. From Karavak, at a distance of 12 day's march in the direction of Shamal is the town of Ela. Earlier this town belonged to the Chinese. Subsequently it fell into the hands of Taranjis and now it is occupied by Russia.

The circle of Karawak is within the jurisdiction of the administrator of Aksu. There are about 4 to 5 hundred houses within this circle. So far as crops are concerned only barley and peas are grown here. But horses, camels, sheep and goats are reared in large number. The

⁷² It appears that part of text is missing here.

⁷³ Probably seabuckthorn, or a bush called Sepla by Johari people.

people are quite well off. This area lies within the region of Himalayan Mountains which extends in the direction of Shamal. But the river Mujat, mentioned earlier flows from Ela cutting across the said range. This region is very cold. River Mujat joins River Zarafshan after flowing for quite a distance in the southern direction.

After travelling for 24 miles from Yakase one reaches the village of Kushatmi Ordhang where there are 50 to 60 houses. Grass and firewood are plentiful here. 46 miles to the southeast from Kushatmi, flows Kapaslang River which comes from Shamal and after flowing in the southern direction along the route covered for several days, meets Yarkand River. It is a large river with fast current. Annually many people get drowned in this along with their riding animals. This river is mainly fed by the snow-covered mountain range. After travelling for two miles from this river, one reaches Wai town. There are 4 to 6 hundred houses in this town and one administrator resides here. Near this town there are high mountains towards Shamal. Copper mining goes on in these hills in large quantity. Coal mines are situated hither and thither. People use coal as fuel in place of firewood because it provides better heat than wood. Chickens, eggs and mustard oil are available at very low prices, e.g. the price for full chicken is just two paise.⁷⁴ Crops of barley, wheat, mustard and peas are cultivated here. The climate of this region is very good, cooler than Yarkand. 45 miles ahead from Wai town in the southeast direction is the town of Saram where there are about 200 houses. This town was better known earlier. It is reported that during Chinese rule, traditionally the official in-charge of this town was promoted as second in-command to the royal Amban of Yarkand. Within the region controlled by this town there are mines of gold, copper and coal at numerous places.

At a distance of 40 miles from Saram town in the south-easterly direction is a place called Kizil Warthang having 30 houses and a bazar where everything is available. This Warthang is situated on the right bank of Kizil River. This river flows from north to south. After flowing a distance of 3 to 4 day's march in the southern direction, it merges in to Yarkand River. The river is a hundred paces wide and 2 feet deep. Nowhere in the world would women be as beautiful as

⁷⁴ 4 *paisa* = 1 *anna* and 16 *annas* = 1 *rupee*.

the women of this town. From Warthang very close landscape of Himalayan range is visible in the direction of Shamal. Barley and wheat crops are grown and horses and camels are plenty in number.

At a distance of 30 miles from Kizil Warthang in the southeast direction one house has been built for travellers on the gentle hillside. It is called Yodangja meaning the house kept by a family for the traveller. Fodder and firewood are brought from great distances and kept in store here. The direction of this range is from northeast to south. From this Yodangja, across the pass there is another Yodangja at a distance of 35 miles in the southwest direction. That Yodangja also is kept by a family.

From the second Yodangja, Kuchar town is 25 miles on the east where the number of houses on a rough estimate would be 10,000. Close on the east of this town is the deserted town of Kuna of the period of Chinese rule. Adjoining to this town there are many mines of salammoniac (ammonium chloride), alum, iron and coal. Among the wild animals *sulesoon* and *moloan* provide highly valuable fur⁷⁵. Among the crops most of the species of cereals like paddy, wheat, *veda* for fodder, lentils and so on, are cultivated here. Compared to Yarkand, fruits are available in greater abundance there. Better varieties of pear etc are grown here. The climate is very congenial.

From Kuchar town, 3 to 4 miles on the east is Ordhand of Doos Rai. At this Ordhang⁷⁶ there are 40 houses. Close by on the north is a hill with reddish hue. Grass does not grow on this hill. But the grass grows on the flat land in the valley. On the east of Ordhang is the town of Veegur with about 30 to 40 houses. On the north is a snow covered mountain. This place is quite cold and paddy is not grown here. Wheat, barley, millet are cultivated. They keep large number of sheep, goats, horses and camels.

40 miles on the east of Veegur is the town of Yangasar with about 200 houses. On east of Yangasar is Achma Orthang at the distance of 40 miles with about 10 houses. Near this Orthang a snow covered

⁷⁵ The word used is '*poshteen*' which appears to be local derivation of *posht* which means skin, hide and fur.

⁷⁶ Warthan, Ordhang or Orthang appear to be same word spelt differently due to slip of pen.

mountain lies in north to south direction and the place is very cold. On east of Achma Orthang is Chechi at the distance of 40 miles with about 40 houses. Fodder and firewood are plentiful. On east of Chechi is Durvil Orthang at the distance of 30 miles with about 20 houses. On east of Durvil is the town of Kola at the distance of 40 miles situated on the left bank of river that comes from Kara town. This river is 1½ feet deep and is 60 paces wide. There are 4 to 5 hundred houses in this town. Crops are grown extensively even though paddy is not grown so much. Large flocks of animals like sheep etc are maintained everywhere. Gold is mined hither and thither but its quality is not as good as that of Khotan. Dry fruits like raisins etc. are produced in larger quantity than Yarkand.

After travelling for a distance equal to one day's march, i.e. 40 miles along the bank of the river in southern direction from Kola, one arrives at a place where the river coming from Kola merges with the river that flows through Yarkand, Khotan and Aksu region. At that place, the size of the river is very large and local people ferry across by boats. I travelled for 25 miles on the south from this place along the bank of the river and found that the whole of the river disappears in the desert here. That is why this place is called Lop. And Lop is not a lake. At Lop 4 to 5 houses have been built at a distance from each other. It is said that in olden times these people were nomads living in wilderness. They used to keep away from civilised society. The Chinese brought them closer to civilised society 140 years ago by motivating them gradually. I enquired from people of Lop if the river emerges on the surface again anywhere. They informed that at distance of 7 day's march from this Lop, it reappears again near Sanju town. People disembark from the boat at that place. From Sanju town, flowing through Janan territory it merges in to the sea. Wheat is grown at Lop and sheep and goats are in large number. But fruits are not grown.

Dangjal Orthang is 8 miles east of Kola town which has just one house. Wash Aegen is one mile on the east along the bank of the river from Dangjal Orthang. Kara town is 30 miles on the east from Wash Aegen (*Gaegen has been mentioned here*) on the right bank of the said river. This river originates 40 miles upstream from Shamal, Bheegurash and large lake named Kol. This lake is really huge and

it takes about 4 months to go round it. This lake is abode of a wild bird called Kodan. Its fat is used as medicine. The water of the lake is saline. There are about 125 houses in Kara town. It is a very cold place and snow falls heavily. The crops of barley, wheat and a kind of peas are grown. However no fruits are grown. The fact is that it is a trade centre. Traders from different countries like Khotan, Aksu, Turfan, Urumchi, Kumul, Dalla and Russia congregate here annually. In the three months of Vaishakh, Aasoj and Paukh⁷⁷, it is overcrowded by traders. About three thousand people gather here. Better breeds of horses, camels etc are found in Kara town in large numbers.

2. The region of idol worshippers (Kalmak people)

It was reported that there is a small lake 80 miles on the south of above said Coal (*Koila*) town. Its circumference is equal to a distance covered by 3 day's journey or about 120 miles. Around this lake reside Kalmak people in tents who are idol worshippers (*butparasht*). Kamal Vai Sahib has said that in the month of June of the year of 1870 AD, he was in Koila town. The king of Turfan kingdom, Khush Vegi visited Koila himself with an army. The Sokpo, that is the minister of the Kalmak ruler, presented himself before him and honoured him with many yaks, horses and camels as gift. But the Majesty (*Badolat i.e. the Turfan king*) directed that he would not be satisfied unless their king and head priest attend on the Majesty in person. After going through the message communicated through the letters, the head priest, the queen of the king and the princess presented themselves with lot of gifts in his honour, as the king of Kalmak was on a visit to Peking (Beijing). The Majesty went to Kuchar with all the presents and directed the in-charge governor of Koila that until the queen and head priest present much more wealth from their territory to him, both of them will be kept at Koila as prisoners. As per the directions of the king, the in-charge administrator Hazi Mirja kept the head priest and the queen imprisoned there. After 3 months 14,000 Kalmaks arrived and killing 200 soldiers of the governor and injuring 14 of them, freed their queen and the head priest. Hazi Mirja could not be

⁷⁷ The second, third and fourth months of Indian calendar correspond to spring season.

apprehended, since he had fled away. Those Kalmak people did not plunder anybody and simply returned back.

And when the Kalmak people went away with their queen and Lama, on the third day after that, 2,400 Solon Kalmak traders from Daley etc. had gathered at Aya town. They were rounded up. And when they complained that they were Solon Kalmak from Daley etc. that in-charge governor Hazi gave a false report to the Majesty that the Kalmak forces attacked and killed 200 of his troops and he also killed many of them and have apprehended 2,400 of them. He submitted as to what should be done with the captives. Majesty ordered to massacre them. Those innocent 2,400 traders were massacred mercilessly without any reason. After 2 months, when the Majesty heard the truth, the governor Haji was held guilty and was removed from the post.

3. The land of rich urban conglomerate (Kara, Turfan, Lesan, Romchi {comprising 7 towns}, Manas)

Ushak Tal Urthang is situated 45 miles east of Kara town, where there are 2 houses. From Ushak Tal at the distance of two day's march, or 60 miles on the east is Toksun village where there are 100 houses. From Toksun 35 miles on the east is Turfan town in which there are roughly 2,000 houses. Among the fruits small and large raisins etc are grown. Millets, peas, wheat and barley are grown but paddy is not cultivated. The climate is quite hot. If compared it would be as hot as the town of Amar.

In the eastern and southern direction of Shamal Turfan snow covered mountains are at a distance of one or two day's journey. In these hills are the mines of iron, copper, gold, sal ammoniac, alum etc. For drinking water there are wells. For irrigation water is made available by digging tunnels at the foot hills with hard labour. Otherwise water is not visible on the surface of the earth.

At a distance of 3 day's march or 60 to 70 miles on the south from Turfan there is a big town named Lesan situated between the mountains. It is reported that the Chinese Amban resides there. When Turfan king could not overpower Tunganis even after fighting with them for 15 days, a message was sent to Amban of Lesan stating that

he had to come to help him and shall return after capturing Romchi Turfan, you should also come (and fight). Then the Chinese attacked and killed the Tunganis. Thus the Turfan king got the control of Turfan.

At a distance of 6 day's march in the southeast direction from Turfan there is a large city of Romchi where there are 500,000 houses. That is 50 times bigger than Yarkand. It is said that there are 7 towns within this Romchi. It is reported that during Chinese rule there were 10,000,000 Chinese in these seven towns. It is under the control of Chinese at present too. These seven towns are adjacent to each other at a distance of one or two miles. In one of these seven towns live a fighting class of Manjus, in second live Kara Khatais i.e. Chinese landlords, in third live Khooja i.e. tenant farmers of the royalty, in fourth Tunganis, in fifth occasional visitors, in sixth traders and in seventh live Chyapman people. In Romchi fruits are not grown but a lot of trade and cultivation of crops take place. In the seven towns reside 7 Ambans.

4. Trees bearing sugar candy fruits (Locals believe that these candy fruits drop from sky)

At a distance of 7 day's march in the east direction from Romchi is a big town of Manas. Romchi is a large tract of country lying within the hills, 50 to 60 times larger as compared with the valley of Kasmir. Within that valley there are small hillocks covered with evergreen grass. But on the north and south direction snow peaks are at a distance. This valley is spread in length from east to west. Small springs of water flow from the hills. Land is very fertile with lots of moisture like marshy land. The hills, covered by flowers of many colours, look very attractive. Up to Turfan not much rain falls but it rains quite a bit in Romchi adequate for cultivation of land. Forest is abundant in Romchi and a specific species of tree grows in Turfan and Romchi. In the leaves of these trees in certain years grow fruits like small candy like seed of cardamom weighing one or two *miskals* (one *miskal* is equivalent of one and three seventh of a drachma or 4.5 *masha*). In taste it is just like sugar candy. The local people believe that it comes from the sky. In Aksu etc there grow on the leaves of these thin and tall trees. In certain years sugar candies grow on these

leaves. That is on these leaves grows a white ball like hail weighing 2 *miskals*. After collecting them with the leaves and boiling them in water it becomes like honey. In taste it is sweet as honey like Russian fruit, very delicious with cool flavour. Kamal Vai says this grows in thousands of *maunds* (a measure of weight about 40 KGs) in Aksu region. He purchased large quantity since it was available in plenty in that season. When he enquired as to what was the mystery behind it, the local people replied that by the charisma of the nature these sugar candies fall from the sky. It had fallen once about 50 years before. Thousands of *maunds* were taken away by the king of China. It falls only in certain years from the sky.

On oral enquiry from people of Yarkand I learnt that often in the months of July and August, hot air storm blows during daytime 3 to 4 times per month from the direction of Aksu. As a result it becomes dark like night during daytime for one or two hours.⁷⁸ At such times the shopkeepers light lamps during day time. There is no force in such storms and trees and branches do not swing. It becomes very hot at that time and red and yellow coloured clay rain from sky. At times half a foot thick layer of clay fall. This clay is gathered and used in place of lime and red ochre in the building of houses. Such storms are called *Buran*. When a blast of wind⁷⁹ blows it does not become dark. That is called *Shamal*. (*Last four lines of the printed text regarding Karghalik region have been shifted to the page where description of Karghalik has been given*).

5. Silviculture

Within Yarkand region silk is produced at Karghalik, Basrak, Guma, Khotan etc. The seed of silk is fine like the seed of poppy with white texture. In the month of May when the leaves start sprouting on the trees of mulberry, the seed of silk is wrapped in a cloth and kept below the armpit of a chaste (*pakeej*) lady for 15 to 20 days. After 15 to 20

⁷⁸ Nain Singh has used the word '*ghari*' (घड़ी) which is traditional unit measure of time practiced in India. According to this tradition divisions of time are as under : -
1 day = 8 *pahar*, 1 *pahar* = 7.5 *ghari*, 1 *ghari* = 60 *pal*, 1 *pal* = 60 *pratipal*,
Correspondingly 1 *pahar* = 3 hours, 1 hour = 2.5 *ghari*, 1 minute = 2.5 *pal* and 1 second = 2.5 *pratipal*.

⁷⁹ The word used is '*jhakkar*' which appears to be the corrupt version of '*jhakora*' which means a gust, blast of wind, a heavy shower, squall

days, due to the body warmth of the lady's armpit, the seed gives birth to the larva which starts making movements. Then one room is cleaned and the leaves of mulberry are spread therein. The seed is then sprinkled on the leaves of mulberry. The seeds immediately stick to the leaves and slowly larvae grow into silk worms and eat the leaves of mulberry. Some more leaves are again spread in the room and the worms keep eating them. Thus the leaves of mulberry are spread regularly every two or three days. The worms increase in size every day and foam comes out of their mouth. That foam spreads around their body and thus shells are prepared for them. Eventually during the month of August, shells take the shape of thick and strong eggs. By the end of August, when the winter season sets in, the worm covers itself completely within the shell (cocoon). The shell's opening is also closed. These worms are one and half inches in length and as thick as the thumb of a man. The *khut* i.e. the silk worm along with its shell is egg shaped, two and quarter inches in length and 4 to 5 inches in circumference. At the end of August when the opening of the shell is closed, these worms neither make any movements nor eat anything. Like eggs they remain lying wherever stored. As many worms as are required for future hatching of seeds are kept at a warm corner of the house with great care, separately in boxes or earthen pots placed on a layer of husk and then covered with another layer of husk. Later on, after the season of winter is over, these worms eat away the silk of their shells. Having eaten the whole shell, the worm itself dies. From the stomach of the worm thousands of small seeds of silk like seeds of poppy come out. From these seeds silk worms are produced as elaborated above.

At the end of the month of August; after keeping the worms meant for future regeneration of seeds in earthen pots; the remaining worms with the shells are placed in warm water in a large pot and then it is boiled. Consequently the shell of the worm becomes soft and the silk threads are separated. Then extracting the thread from one end of the shell, it is wound around a spinning wheel or made into a ball manually. The thread of silk does not break till the whole of the shell is finished. Just one continuous thread unwinds until a very thin paper like inner lining of the shell wrapped around the worm is exposed.

The thread is thicker on the outer side of the shell and thinner and softer on the inner side. The thicker thread extracted from the outside of the shell is used in preparing rougher cloths like long coat of soldiers (*chapkan*, by mistake *chakman* has been written) and the inner ones are the real silk threads. When the balls of silk threads dry up, tassels of threads are made. Silk cloths like *dariyayee* are made. The hue of certain silk cloth is yellowish but more often it is white. Subsequently these are dyed in yellow, red or any colour of one's choice. From one shell of silk worm, two or one and half or one *tola*⁸⁰ of silk is extracted. Strange are the ways of the almighty, creator of the universe who has created the worm of silk in such perplexing manner that the worm dies but the seed remains. Then from the seed grows the worm, from the mouth of which liquid and foam emits and out of the liquid such strong thread of silk is made. The ingenuity of mankind also is so mind boggling.

6. Gold mines

. houses are nonexistent. It appears that there were houses at Takley on the east and north of Khotan town. On the northern direction from Naya also it appears that there were many houses.

In the region of Khotan the Sorkhag or Sorkhan gold mines are 30 miles on the south of Naya. Much gold is mined here. At the present time, 3,000 persons are engaged in mining gold. It is said that earlier there was a town at this site and in former times, worshippers of idols used to reside in the regions of Yarkand, Khotan etc. At that time Hajarat Imam Jafar Sadique visited towns of Yarkand with the intention of forcing people to adopt his belief with a force of 80,000 and converted the residents to Islam (*deen*) on the strength of the sword. He struggled on and entered the region of Khotan and spent 12 years fighting with the people of Khotan. All the troops perished but could not overpower Sorkhan town etc. Hajrat himself was killed at the place called Naya at the hands of idol worshippers. At the distance of two day's journey from Naya town towards Shamal there is a mosque of that Hajarat Imam Jafar Sadique on a sandy hillock. At the foot of that hillock, there are two small ponds. People from Yarkand visit this place often on pilgrimage.

⁸⁰ Measurement of weight (about 13 g).

Yarkandis claim that the army of Hajarat Imam Jafar Sadique was massacred at the hand of kafirs (non believers). Neither the town of Sorkhan was overpowered by him nor did the people adopt Islamic faith. Eventually he prayed to the God and caused the rain of sand from sky burying the town of Sorkhan and he himself vanished under the sand at this spot. The mystery of gold mines is explained thus. The people of Sorkhan asked Hajarat Imam Jafar Sadique that if he was a messenger of God, he should show them a charisma converting everything including boulders, soil, walls of whole of the town into gold. Then only they would adopt his faith. Hajarat prayed to the God and converted everything into gold. But even then kafirs did not stop fighting nor did they adopt Islamic faith. Then only Hajarat caused the town to be buried.

The residents say that in reality sometimes while mining for gold at Sorkhan, they discover houses. Copper and bronze vessels and clothes are found inside the houses intact as these were. If touched, these items get converted into ashes. All this proves that the town did get buried under the sand at this place. But it cannot be believed that it was caused by Hajarat Imam Jafar Sadique. Another evidence of burying of the town is the fact of *buran* storms of July and August when one or half foot layer of sand rains and causes darkness like night during the daytime. Burying of towns on account of windy storms in sandy country side is not un-common.

7. Lightning

It is learnt that within the region of Yarkand, the clouds never thunder and lightning bolts never strike. The sky is often overcast but it rains very little. Had it rained like in India, all the mud houses would get washed away just in one night. Earthquake strikes the region but rarely.

I heard that the farmers of Dholan and Aksu build pit houses by digging the earth. From a distance houses are not visible and only on arriving close by one can see these houses under the surface. Or when at the time of evening or morning smoke rising from the earth surface is seen, it is known that there is a village at that particular place.

8. Sultanate (Sovereign Power)

It is said that in olden times, no king had sustained rule over the region of Yarkand. It is reported that earlier on idol worshippers used

to live within whole of the region of Yarkand and Khotan. Later on a member of Anjali tribe named Jangir Khoja controlled the region, and the shape of the coins issued by him were like this (*round shaped*). After him Hajarat Imam Jafar Sadique took over. Then it came under control of the Chinese.

In the year 1857 AD Walikhan Anjali revolted. At that time Amban of Yarkand closed his door and did not oppose Walikhan in any way. When the king of China came to know, 8 to 10 thousand Chyampian, five thousand Kalmak came from Thorkod and drove away Walikhan from Yarkand.

During the former period this region of Kashgar-Yarkand was within the rule of pious Hajarat Sultan Khoja whose capital⁸¹ was at Atus town, northwest of Kashgar at a distance of two day's march from there. That king was from the dynasty of idol worshippers but had converted to Islam during the time of pious Hajarat Sultan Khoja. Hajarat Imam Jafar Sadique visited the region during his time. Pious Hajarat Sultan Khoja was his companion. A fierce battle was fought at Guma and people of Guma apparently adopted the faith of Islam but quietly used to worship idols. That is the reason why the place is named Guma.⁸² Later on they advanced toward Khotan and both of them including pious Hajarat Imam Khoja were killed with the army at that spot.

After the death of Imam, Hajarat Sultan, who was in his company overpowered the kafirs and made them follow the faith of Islam. After Hajarat Sultan, Jangir Khoja Anjani became the ruler of the region, of whom Bujargkhan is a descendant who was apprehended by Atalik forces and was despatched to Makka. Jangirkhan was a very brave fighter. It is said that he even visited Beijing that is Peking in China and fought many battles. On his way back died at Uch Turfan.

⁸¹ Nain Singh has used the word '*daru-saltanat*' (दारु-सलतनत) which obviously has been used for '*darul-hukumat*' (दारुल-हुकूमत) which means capital or abode of the authority/government.

⁸² Guma means lost or missing or hidden or inglorious.

CHAPTER – Six

NAIN SINGH ORDERED TO SURVEY LEH AND PARE-CHU, EXTORTIONIST ADMINISTRATION OF YARKAND RULER

1. Nain Singh ordered to survey Leh and Pare Chu (23 March, 1874)

On the 23rd day of March, 1874 AD, Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader*, Secretary of the Yarkand Mission arrived at Yarkand. Through the aforesaid Sahib the orders for me from Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib *Bahader* was delivered to me with the instructions that I, with Jasmal Singh, should proceed to Ladakh carrying out the survey work through the route of Kugiar, prepare the map at Ladakh and sent it to him. Thereafter, proceed from Ladakh to Mussoorie surveying the River Parechu. Besides this, comply with the additional instructions given by Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader*. Kaliyan Singh also should follow the instructions given by the aforesaid Sahib.

Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader* ordered that Tara Singh and party would go to Ladakh with the baggage of the government via Kugiar. I should carry out the survey following the route to Leh in accompaniment of Tara Singh via Kugiar. From there, go to Mussoorie conducting the survey along the Parechu River. But after arrival at Leh prepare the map and send it to Capt Trotter Sahib. And the orders for Kaliyan Singh were that Kaliyan Singh should complete the route survey from Yarkand to Sanju, Shahidulla, Khoja, Sasser and from there to Shyangyok and Dangche Yadurgo. Thereafter again survey Shyangyok to Ladakh via Digar.

As per the orders of the aforesaid Sahib, on 26th March with Jasmal and Kaliyan Singh, I started off from Yarkand. From Yarkand, I began route survey again. Completing the job for the day we camped at Autanchikok Kashlak in the evening. On this stage we travelled for 17,620 paces or a little less than 8¾ miles. On this day Tara Singh along with all the servants camped somewhere close to Yarkand city and the government baggage was in my custody.

On the 27th we started off from Autanchikok Kashlak. After travelling for $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles or 5,724 paces, we arrived on the bank of river Zarafshan or Zaraf River that was 44 paces wide and two feet deep. After travelling for 717 paces we went across the river and landed on its right bank. At this place it was 200 paces wide and 2 feet deep. Travelling for 9,150 paces from the riverbank, we camped at the inn situated within the bazaar of Posgam. On this stage we travelled for 15,591 paces or about $7\frac{3}{4}$ miles. At this Posgam bazaar I took latitude and barometer observations. Tara Singh also joined us here.

2. Nasra Khan, Beg of Posgam Prefecture (*Yort*) (the extortionist system of tax collection in Yarkand region)

The prefect in charge of Posgam prefecture, Nasra Khan Beg, is a very nice and prudent gentleman. It was this Nasra Khan Beg who narrated the real prevailing conditions in Yarkand region to me. He said that during the Chinese rule, all the subjects of Yarkand were quite wealthy and satisfied and they were never subjected to extortion. Tax on the land etc. was quite low. Even then the Amban, executives, and the Chinese army personnel were quite well off and liberal. If any trader or person, be he an Indian or from any other country, presented any gift to the Chinese officials, they would pay back its entire satisfactory price. In other words mutual respect⁸³ was highly appreciated during those days and quite a lot of trade took place. Goods for trade used to come from Yamboos and Beijing, that is China, loaded on hundreds of camels. On this account people in general⁸⁴ were wealthy and satisfied.

He said that the conditions prevailing now are such that, firstly, the major part of the property of subjects was looted during the riots by Vali Khan Anjani and the Tungans. And subsequently, in the beginning of the settlement by the Atalik, their remaining wealth also was snatched from them. It is a fact that respectable and well-off gentry were arrested and put behind bars and were deprived of their wealth. The tax on the land also was two times higher than the

⁸³ Nain Singh has used the word '*sutash*' which appears to be local derivation of the word '*sutoodah*' meaning appreciation.

⁸⁴ Nain Singh has used the word '*khalkat*' which appears to be local derivation of the word '*khalak*' or '*khæek*' meaning citizen or people in general.

amount previously imposed. Now the taxes on land, orchards, water mills, animals etc. have been fixed as follows. In the circle of Posgam, which is in my charge, there are 48 Kashlaks i.e. villages. There are 10,000 houses and on an average there are 30,000 residents. For them tax on crops is fixed at 145,000 *tangas*, on orchards 70,000 *tangas*, on vegetable varieties like muskmelon etc. 15,000 *tangas*, on *Veda* grass (fodder) 16,000 *tangas*, on animals like sheep 20,000 *tangas*, on water mills 11,000 *tangas* and in all a total of 277,000 *tangas* or 55,400 Rupees is fixed for my circle. There is a village called Peenak in the circle of Posgam in which there are about 150 houses. Near this village there are furnaces of iron and glass. These furnaces operate in this village only. For this a separate tax is fixed at 40,000 *tangas* or 8,000 Rupees per annum.

This prefect in charge of Posgam Prefecture, Nasra Khan Beg, under the hereditary governor of Yarkand, remained at the camp of Tara Singh and me throughout the night narrating the conditions and oppressive behaviour of the administrator of that time. He cried and his eyes were filled with tears. He said that nobody is prepared to serve as prefect in charge of this prefecture in subordination to the present hereditary governor of the Atalik because there are no benefits and heavy losses are sure to be inflicted. No salary is paid and nothing much can be recovered from the subjects. On the other hand, once in a year the prefect in charge of the prefecture has to call on the hereditary governor, presenting gifts from his pocket of 2 to 4 *koorus* (*probably 'qurs' which means disc - the round shape of large sized coins probably of gold as they were called in the Yarkand region*), which was levied by the regional hereditary governor on the prefect in charge of prefecture. At times, when called by the hereditary governor for enquiry, presenting oneself before the chair empty-handed is considered un-becoming (*it was expected that some gift would be presented*). On this account many prefects in charge of Posgam Prefecture became insolvent in the past. Now I am the prefect of this prefecture. Often I have managed to present gifts by selling many pieces of land, orchards, animals like horses etc. Now I am devoid of wealth. When the rascal (*the word used is 'hजारत' which actually is used before a title for a saint like "Hजारत Moosa" but if used contemptuously it means a mischievous person or*

rascal) comes to know that the incumbent in charge of a particular prefecture has become devoid of wealth, any person with wealth who comes to his notice, would forcibly be appointed as uncharged of the prefecture. In this manner most of the wealthy gentry of Yarkand have been virtually strangled. At present Yarkand has been rendered totally devoid of wealth.

Tax levied on the shares of heirs of deceased person (*trikane*): Another example of extortion is that from the total collection of the annually fixed amount of taxes on land etc., not even a penny is allowed to be spent (by the local prefect) and it has to be deposited in the coffers of the government. For meeting the day to day expenditure, the orders are that it should be met by imposing fines, collections by coercive measures, forfeiture of property and *trikane* (*most probably it is derivation of the word 'tarikhan' or 'tarikah' which means a share inherited from the property of a deceased person. Nain Singh has already explained that a tax, at the rate of two and half Rupees per hundred was levied on the share of heirs immediately after the death of any person*). And for management of day-to-day expenses, a designated official of a certain rank of the government is appointed. Whenever the demand for expenses arises, orders are received that a certain quantity of goods and grains are required for the king/government (*hujoor*), and a certain length of cloth of a type for long coats (*Chyapan*) are required for the troops. These items are taken on loan by the designated official of the government from the local shopkeepers on behalf of the king and sent to the governor of the region. The price is paid off out of the amount collected as fines and taxes on shares of the family inheritance (*Trekane*). If the incumbent governor of the region expires, only half of the price of the goods supplied on loan to government/king through the designated official is paid.

Loans taken by the official from local trades men paid at half rate: When I was at Yarkand, the incumbent hereditary administrator of the region expired. The burial procession (*janazah*) was taken out in a grand manner. At that time, it was generally heard from the people that the loan of lakhs (*hundreds of thousands*) of Rupees advanced to the deceased administrator, through the designated officials, and still unpaid; all that money was gone down the drain. Now the lenders would get half or a quarter of their amounts and that too after 4 or 5 years.

3. Nain Singh again on Karghalik route (28 March, 1874)

I started off from Posgam on the 28th. The government stores and my baggage were loaded on 6 *revas* (*crossbreed animal between yak and cow*). *Revas* travel with very slow speed. The baggage of Tara Singh was loaded on state-owned horses. Tara Singh could reach Karghalik while I with *revas* only reached the public free kitchen (*lungar*) of Chahwag in the evening, completing my survey job simultaneously. On this stage we travelled for 34,970 paces or 17½ miles. At this Chahwag I took barometer and latitude observations.

On the 29th, departing from Chahwag, we camped at the inn near the market of Karghalik. On this stage we travelled for 15,460 paces, around 7¾ miles. At this inn of Karghalik I took barometer and latitude observations. Prefect Majoom Vai Beg, in charge of the prefecture, resides at Karghalik. On inquiry I learned that within the circle of Karghalik, there are four sub-divisions (*Yorts*); that is Karghalik, Basrak, Sukop Kache and Suget. Within these four sub-divisions it is reported that there are 64 *kashlak* (villages) and the details of 11,000 houses of these areas are reported thus: 1,000 in Karghalik, 3,000 in Basrak, 3,000 in Sukop Kache and 4,000 in Suket sub-divisions. The total population is around 50,000.

The total revenue for Karghalik is 285,000 *tangas*, the details of which are: 200,000 *tangas* as land revenue on orchards, cereals, *veda* fodder etc., and 85,000 *tangas* as tax on water mills and animals. Thus a total of 285,000 *tangas* or 57,000 Rupees is fixed. At this Karghalik, every second Monday a weekly market takes place and people from all the villages gather and all types of goods are sold and purchased. On the 30th March we halted at Karghalik and purchased goods as necessary for our onward journey. For transportation and portorage we arranged two horses and two porters for Kaliyan Singh, and for me we engaged one more servant.

On the 31st Kaliyan Singh departed for Sanju. Jasmal Singh and I, along with two servants marched towards Kugiar. Until three quarters of an hour after nightfall we continued our work and arrived at Beshterek village. Since it became dark, we had to discontinue the work on the way. Early in the morning of 1st day of April I completed

the work of the previous day. On this stage we travelled for 42,580 paces or a little more than 21¼ miles. I took a barometer observation at Beshterek village. But latitude observation could not be taken on account of an overcast sky.

On the 1st day of April, 1874 we marched on while completing the work. Tara Singh went to Yolarik village. I reached late in the evening at Kugiar village with the baggage. On this stage the route to the destination was easy. We travelled for 45,980 paces or a little less than 23 miles. Tara Singh arrived at Kugiar village on 2nd April. Tara Singh arranged for porterage and rations till 5th day of April. For preparation of accounts and documents he asked for help from me which I did.

From 1st to 4th April, every three hours I took observations of barometer, aneroid dry and wet bulb thermometer readings at Kugiar and from 6 o'clock in the morning on 5th April till 6 o'clock in the morning of 6th April an observation was taken every hour and latitude observation was taken up to 9 limbers (*probably used for attachment and detachments the instruments on the tripod or stand for the purposes of taking observations*). Every morning observed minimum and maximum temperature readings.

The in-charge of the prefect, Meer Abdulla Beg, resides at this Kugiar. Within the prefecture of this prefect there are 3 sub-divisions viz. Kugiar, Yolarik and Ushakvas. It is reported that there are 300 houses in Kugiar, 300 houses in Yolarik and 400 houses in Yawash sub-divisions or 1,000 houses in all. At Kugiar fodder and firewood is plentiful but only a crop of barley is cultivated. Cows, sheep and horses are also kept in large numbers. In the southeast and northwest directions, at a distance of about 3 miles, the land is quite open and flat, situated within the mountainous valley. High quality *namdas* are made here.

On the 6th April from Kugiar we came to Kusar village. On this stage we travelled for 14,230 paces or a little more than 7 miles. There are 2 to 3 houses in this village. Wheat, barley and fodder grass are grown here. I took latitude and barometer observations at this village. There are no habitations beyond this village. On the 7th day we halted at this camp. I sent Jasmal to take the bearings of the hills and carry out an investigation of a stream. On this day I took barometer observations every hour from 6 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock in the evening.

On the 8th we left Kusar and travelling for 35,769 paces or a little more than eighteen and a quarter miles, we arrived at Ak Masjid in the evening. At this Ak Masjid, on the right bank of Ushtang a small house like a cottage is built. It is said that there was a mosque at this place earlier. Now it's remains also are not visible. In Turkish language Ak means white. The soil at this place is mostly of white colour. That is why it is named as Ak Masjid.

In the near vicinity of this Ak Masjid, near Takhtakhoon, Jabrail, Chyak Manglak, Sogok passes and at a place called Koshungur 15 families of Wakhan of Badakshan region, 2 families of Fakmulik water spot and one family from Kugiar (18 nomadic camp-dwelling families) reside. They raise sheep, goats and Kotash horses. At Ak Masjid and a few other places in the valley they cultivate land in small patches.

4. A slave at Ak Masjid sold by Kanjooti robbers (8 April, 1874)

One person from Wakhan residing at Ak Masjid said that he is an original resident of Badakshan Wakhan. Eighteen years have passed since both he and his wife were captured by Kanjooties in the hills of Wakhan and were sold at this Ak Masjid for 40 Rupees at the hands of a person. He said "I served him like a slave for 3 years. Later on one Yarkandi gentleman had mercy on me and paid 40 Rupees to my master and freed me after lot of persuasion. Now by the grace of God I am leading a peaceful life." This man is still living here and is quite well off with his wife and children.

It is said that many a time Kanjooties raided this place of Ak Masjid and by force took away sheep, goats and men. This Ak Masjid is a scenic place around 4 to 5 miles long and one mile wide on a large sloping plain land on the bank of a river. Plenty of grass, firewood and wild animals like *keek* (local mane of some wild animal) for hunting are available. At a few places there are large trees of a particular variety.

On 9th April we halted at the camp to collect grass fodder for the animals. I sent Jasmal for investigation of Takhta Khoon pass along the stream. He brought back figures of a route survey that he conducted

up to 8 or 9 stations. He saw some camp dwellers and cultivated land along a few places in the stream. Along this stream one route leads to Shanush after crossing a pass. It is said that Shanush is the home place of Muhammad Amin who was a servant of Adolphe Schlagintweit Sahib. His two sons are present at Shanush.

On 9th of April I took barometer observations once every 3 hours and latitude observation of Polaris, Jupiter, Rigalus and the Sun up to 9 limbers at this Ak Masjid. Even though the temperature was 32°F as per the thermometer reading at 6 o'clock on April 9, we felt it was very cold. At this Ak Masjid I took double measurements of Isnavi peak, took its bearing and also measured its elevation with a sextant. Its bearing came as 146° 45" and elevation 39° 26' 20".

On 10th day of April, after travelling for little more than 5¾ miles we reached near Ak Korum Diwan or Tupa Diwan pass. The route is plain and easy and without boulders up to this Diwan. The hillside is comprised mostly of clay without boulders. Beyond this point the hills are full of boulders. On this, hill grasses like *budche* and two other species of grass grow. And near the foot of the hill, are huge trees of deodar that is called *aache* by Turkish people. During this season some snow was seen at a few places especially in the depressions. The boiling point measured by thermometer was 193.20°F and air temperature was 37.0°F and barometer reading was 20.290 inches in the morning hours. Descending for 2½ miles beyond this Ak Korum Diwan one arrives at a place where the track is damaged on account of boulders (*landslide*) which requires repairs. Descending for 3½ miles from the Ak Korum Diwan pass, one lands on the bank of the Tiznaf River which originates from the mountains of Yangi Diwan, Shanush and Doba Fagpu *Yort* and flows through Karghalik and the weekly market place. There are forests of large trees on the banks of this river.

From here onwards, travelling along the right and left banks of the Tiznaf River, we camped at a place called Essak Aagzi. From Ak Masjid to Essak Aagzi we travelled for 25,880 paces in total or a little less than 13 miles. A donkey is called *essak* and mouth is called *aagzi*. At this Essak Aagzi one stream joins River Tiznaf at 232°. Along this stream a route goes to Fagpu *Yort*. Since this place is visited by donkeys and horses in large numbers, it is called Essak Aat Aagzi.

We saw 2 to 4 camps of Kirghiz people at Chiklik and Essak Aat Aagzi only. But on the bank of the Tiznaf River we saw old cooking fire places (*tandoor*) and campsites of Kirghiz people here and there. I have heard that the aforesaid stream comes from a distance of 30 to 40 miles. Phagpu *Yort* is situated in the catchment of this stream. There are 50 – 60 houses scattered in different streams. Land is cultivated and people often rear sheep, goats and Kotash horses. It is a fact that they are called Kirghiz. It is said that in the past there were 100 odd houses in Phagpu and they were quite well off. But on many occasions their property was looted and animals were driven away by Kanjootis. Consequently many have left Phagpu. It is reported that there is a separate circle in-charge for Phagpu.

5. Nain Singh at Holy Quida Mazarkhoja (11 April, 1874 - at grave of Saint Sultan Asamuddin Aulia)

On 11th day of April, after travelling for three quarters of a mile from Essak Aat Aagzi, we saw a place called Kumar Lak or Kadlak. At this place a large river called Ulupaylak joins the Tiznaf or Quida River from the southeast. At the confluence there is a fairly high mound on which yak tails, flags and buntings have been hoisted. At the source of Ulupaylak River there is place named Ulupaylak where 4 to 5 families camp during the rainy season. There is an abundance of grass and firewood here. From the direction of Shanush one stream joins the Ulupaylak River. In the catchment of this stream Shanush is located where there is a house and 50 – 60 families live in camps. The house of Mohammad Amin servant of Adolphe Schlagintweit Sahib is also at Shanush. There is an extensive marshy land there. Grass and firewood are plentiful and the land is cultivated.

After travelling for 10 miles from Essak Aagzi, we saw an empty house and cultivated land at Thepa Sakzi. One large stream joins River Quida or Tiznaf from the direction of 280°. There is a route to Phagpu along this stream. The house mentioned above is five paces long and 4 paces wide on the inside. It is very windy and snow falls here. On account of the cold weather my hands became numb. I warmed my hands by making a fire in this house. Travelling for 3 miles from this house we arrived at Quida Mazarkhoja. From Essak Aagzi we travelled for 13 miles to Quida Mazarkhoja. At this

up to 8 or 9 stations. He saw some camp dwellers and cultivated land along a few places in the stream. Along this stream one route leads to Shanush after crossing a pass. It is said that Shanush is the home place of Muhammad Amin who was a servant of Adolphe Schlagintweit Sahib. His two sons are present at Shanush.

On 9th of April I took barometer observations once every 3 hours and latitude observation of Polaris, Jupiter, Rigalus and the Sun up to 9 limbers at this Ak Masjid. Even though the temperature was 32°F as per the thermometer reading at 6 o'clock on April 9, we felt it was very cold. At this Ak Masjid I took double measurements of Isnavi peak, took its bearing and also measured its elevation with a sextant. Its bearing came as 146° 45" and elevation 39° 26' 20".

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Mazarkhoja there is a mosque and a free public kitchen⁸⁵ (*ashkhana*) in which two cooking pots of steel have been kept and around the large holy grave of Saint Sultan Asamuddin Aulia about 20 high spots for reading Holy Namaj loudly⁸⁶ (*mukkabiren*) are built. Around the grave hundreds of flags, buntings and yak tails have been hoisted.

It is said that Sultan Asamuddin was a very benevolent saint (*aulia*). He expired at this place. For cleansing his hands before reading Holy Namaz, he (*with his spiritual powers*) made a spring flow. That is why this place is called Quida Mazarkhoja. It is also said that in former times, about 20 years ago, about 100 to 125 rich and wealthy families used to live in Phagpu Yort (region). At that time Mr. Shekh Fajjulla of Yarkand used to reside here at Quida Mazarkhoja. He was greatly respected by all the residents of Phagpu. It was he who built the Aashkhana (*kitchen for free food*) at this place. He also died at this place. After the period of those 20 years, the residents of Phagpu were plundered repeatedly by Kanjooties. Consequently Phagpu is now much less inhabited.

It is reported that on the west of Mazarkhoja there is a copper mine near a hill. It is said that during the Chinese rule quite a bit of copper was mined and 200 persons resided there continuously for mining of copper. One mile before reaching Mazarkhoza a large stream called Wozwan joins Quida or Tiznaf River from the west. Along this Wozwan stream a route leads to Phagpu Yort.

On the 12th day of April we remained at Mazarkhoja. For investigation of Wozwan stream I sent Jasmal. He conducted a route survey of that stream up to 6-7 limbers but could not reach its source on account of snow. On the day of our arrival at Mazarkhoja there was an overcast sky and little bit of snow fell and so we could not take latitude observations. On the next day, 13th April, latitude observations for four limbers and hourly barometer observations and dry and wet bulb

⁸⁵ The word used is 'aashkhana'. *Aash* means liquid food and as such 'aashkhana' appears to be a local term for public kitchen.

⁸⁶ The word 'mukabirre' has been used by Nain Singh. *Mukabbir* means a high spot in a mosque on which the cleric climbs for reading the Holy Quran loudly so that he is heard by the devotees. It appears that at the grave of Saint Sultan Asamuddin Aulia, 20 such posts had been built.

thermometer readings were taken from 6 o'clock in the morning till 9 o'clock in the night. The remains of cultivated fields and irrigation channels are visible at Mazarkhoja even now.

On 13th day of April after travelling for about one mile, we reached a place where one large river joins Tiznaf River at 190° after flowing for 25 – 30 miles from Quida Mountain. I waited at the confluence and sent Jasmal 2 to 3 miles along the Tiznaf River. It is said that there are two passes at the source of this stream. The pass on the west leads to Sarakol, and the route from the pass on the south on Quida Mountain leads to Kanjoot region via a place called Charagsalde on the bank of Yarkand or Jarab River. Often Kanjooti people visit Mazarkhoja by this route.

Travelling for 22,439 paces or 11¼ miles from Mazarkhoja we arrived at camp Thushuktash. At Thushuktash which means boulder with a hole, I took barometer and latitude observations of stars on the north and south up to 4 limbers. A little less than 2½ miles short of Thushuktash there is place called Doba. At this place one large river comes from the direction of 120°. Here is a large forest of fodder and firewood.

On 14th April we started off from Thushaktash and after travelling for 12 miles or 11,721 paces we camped at Gurangzikar. From this place I took bearings and double altitude (that is elevation) of three peaks. Thus the bearing of peak X was 66° 45', of peak Y was 33° 46' 40" and that of peak Z was 54° 45' and the elevation of peak X was 66° 14' 30", that of peak Y was 33°46'40" and that of peak Z was 54°45'. As per the thermometer readings during daytime at 3 o'clock the thermometer reading was 54° and dry and wet bulb thermometer readings were at 46° and 40°. On account of clouds latitude observation was not possible.

On 15th day we travelled 12,760 paces or a little less than 6½ miles and camped at Khataitham. At this place on the left bank of the river there is a flat ground within a walled compound about 80 paces long and 80 paces wide. The wall is now in dilapidated condition. It is said that during the Chinese rule, security guards were deployed here on behalf of the Ambans. The observation of stars was not possible at Khataitham on account of overcast sky. I took barometer observations every three hours.

On the 16th day of April, after travelling little less than six and half miles from Khataitham, we reached the pass of Yangi Diwan during the daytime at 3 o'clock. The wind was so strong and cold that it was not possible to stand on the ridge. I took barometer and boiling point observations with great difficulty. Barometer reading was 17.300 inch and thermometer reading was 15°F. On the Kugiar side of the hill the steep climb is only for three quarter of a mile. But during that season there was two feet deep snow there. At places there was no snow because of the wind. After gradually descending for two miles from the pass, we camped at a place called Muzpas. We travelled for a little less than 8½ miles from Khataitham to Muzpas. At Muzpas firewood of *Budche* is plentiful. I could not find water here at this time of the season. Food was cooked by melting snow. The overcast sky did not allow star observations but I took barometer observations.

**6. Nain Singh's party on frozen River Zarafshan
(17 April, 1874 – in the domain of Kajooti robbers)**

On the 17th we started off from Muzpas. The water of *Ushtang* (the steam) was totally frozen into ice. Descending gradually on the frozen ice of the river we travelled for a little less than 7¾ miles and arrived on the right bank of the Yarkhand River or Zarafshan which was 50 paces wide and 2 feet deep. From this place the river takes a turn in the southwest direction and eventually flows west. After wading across the Zarafshan River and then after travelling for little more than one and a quarter mile, there is a place called Kulunaldi, which in Turkish language means dead (*ulde*) wild horse (*kolan*). It is said that Kanjooti people often visit here on raids and on many occasions members of trader caravans have been held hostage by Kanjooties at this place. I heard personally from Meer Abdulla of Kugiar, who is in-charge of Kugiar *Yort* at present, that he himself with seven or eight persons were captured by Kanjooties with their goods and property and were taken to Kanjoot, where all of them were sold.

I intended to make a halt at Kulunaldi for 5 to 6 days and with an escort of 5 to 7 armed men undertake a survey of the River Surakhbad from the source of which the route leads to Baltistan, Shigar and Skardu. Secondly, I would undertake investigation of the terrain beyond the confluence of River Zarafshan with the River Khumyalak, which

originates from the Kanjoot mainland and flowing through Sarakol region, joins River Zarafshan near village Rasak. I humbly requested Tara Singh to camp at Kulunaldi for 5 to 7 days while I accomplished the survey of these rivers. Right from camp Mazarkhoja I had been making this request of Tara Singh. Earlier he promised to halt for the sake of my task. But as he reached near Kulunaldi, he was so scared that he did not even camp at Kulunaldi. With all the baggage he marched ahead from Kulunaldi and camped at a place called Sasak Bulak, three and three quarter miles further on. I reached Sasak Bulak in the evening after accomplishing my work en route.

It was reported that a route from Mazarkhoja, crossing over the pass of Queda Diwan, joins at a place 3 *tass* (15 miles) west of Kulunaldi called Urdak Salde or Urdalik. The meaning of Charag Ulde is extinguished/lost (*salde*) torch (*charag*). Through this route only people from Kanjoot visit Mazarkhoja. At a distance of five *tass* (25 miles) along the bank of Zarafshan River there is a place called Vajardura where a large stream originating from the hills of Phampu joins the said river. Three *tass* (15 miles) west of Vajardura one large river called Surkhabad or Shyaksakambo joins the Zarafshan River from the south at Chirag Salde. From its source a track leads to Baltistan and Skardu.

Travelling for five *tass* (25 miles) from Surakhabad, a sizable river called Khumlayak originating from main land Kanjoot, joins Zarafshan River adjacent to village Rasak within Sarikol region. The volume of water in the above mentioned two rivers is reported to be a little bigger than that of the rivers flowing near Khufelong or Ak-tagh. The distance between Muzpas camp to Sasak Bulak is 23,840 paces or about 12 miles. This Sasak Bulak is on the left bank of Zarafshan River and there exists a spring of water at this place. That is the reason it is named Sasak Bulak. I took barometer observations at Sasak Bulak and kept awake for whole of the night and took latitude observations of the stars on the south and north up to 6 limber. At Sasak Bulak Mr. Islam delivered a written message for Tara Singh issued by Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Chapman Sahib *Bahader*, Secretary to the Yarkand Mission. Tara Singh informed that the orders for him are to return soon. Therefore we shall have to cover longer distances on daily stages.

CHAPTER – Seven

NAIN SINGH HIT BY VIOLENT BLIZZARD – COLD BLOODED MURDER OF ADOLFE SCHLAGINTWEIT BY CRUEL WALIKHAN ANJANI

1. Cold blooded murder of Adolfe Schlagintweit (by Walikhan Anjani at Kashgar)

On 18th day of April we left Sasak Bulak very early in the morning. The River Zarafshan was totally frozen. Travelling over the frozen river for 26,510 paces or 13¼ miles we arrived at Kirghiz Jangal where 20 to 25 ruins of houses and a small fortress were seen. It is said that in Kirghiz Jangal, the houses and the fortress were built by Alinazar Anjani who had fled from the region of Kokand with 50 to 60 soldiers and their children and families in the year 1834 AD. It was he who built the fortresses in Kirghiz Jangal and here and there in the area of Kaliyan Kurghan and Ali Nazar Kurghan. And it was his soldiers posted as guards along the way who started plundering and collecting unlimited amounts of money from the traders. In this manner, for a period of 7 years, they kept on indulging in the profession of highway robbery. Consequently the traders were thoroughly harassed and on account of this the traders appealed to the Chinese Amban of Yarkand. The Yarkand Amban dispatched a force of 500 soldiers and killed Ali Nazar Vai at Kaliyan Kurghan. Some of his soldiers were killed and the remaining were taken to Yarkand and Kanjoot along with the children and family of Ali Nazar. The wife of Ali Nazar was kept by Mahmood Beg who is now at Sanju with the woman.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ As mentioned it is a fact that Ali Nazar was killed by the Chinese and the wall compound existing at Tam (*Khataitam*) also was built by Ali Nazar. He extensively plundered Sanjua and surrounding area, Ali Nazar was not killed by Kanjooties but by Chinese.

Once Ali Nazar was killed, Mr. Mohammad Amin Shanushi, with 25 to 30 men occupied his position and started troubling the traders as Ali Nazar had done.⁸⁸ On getting the information the Yarkand Amban also apprehended Mohammad Amin, but he was allowed to remain at his place in Shanush and carry on his business. Since then Mohammad Amin carried on his business. Later on, in 1856 AD, he served Herman and Robert Schlagintweit Sahib *Bahader* and guided these Sahibs up to the Kiriya village of Khotan region. Subsequently he served as a guide with Adolfe Schlagintweit Sahib up to Yarkand. It is said that at that time Walikhan Anjani was at war with the Yarkand Amban. The above mentioned Sahib desired to meet Walikhan. Mohammad Amin declined to go but the Sahib did not listen to him. Eventually the Sahib visited Kashgar to meet Walikhan and that meanest of a man committed cold-blooded murder of the Sahib.

2. Nain Singh's party without food and baggage (18 April, 1874 – in Kirghiz Jangal)

On the day of departure from Sasak Bulak, Tara Singh advanced beyond the limits of Kirghiz Jangal. I was delayed on account of the work en route. At about 3 miles beyond the limits of Kirghiz Jangal it became dark and I could not advance further since the frozen ice of the river was broken at one spot. All our baggage including bedding, ration, cooking utensils etc. had gone ahead with Tara Singh. We were compelled to remain there the whole night without baggage and food. But we could not sleep for a moment on account of the cold. Four of us—Jasmal, me, Angchyung and an Afghan passed the night with great difficulty. My whole body became stiff on account of cold.

In the morning of the 19th we arrived at the camp of Tara Singh after travelling for little more than one and half miles and got our baggage. My man immediately cooked food. I took barometer observations at this place. From Sasak Bulak to this camp of Tara Singh we travelled for 36,710 paces or a little more than eighteen and a quarter miles. The same day, 19th, after travelling for 4 miles we arrived at a place called Bukhari Ulde. One Bukhari had died at this place. His grave has been constructed on the right bank of the river. A river or sizable

⁸⁸ The word used '*tasdiya*' (तस्दिया) which appears to be derivation of the term '*tarsidah*' (तर्सीदः) meaning frightened.

stream meets the river from the left at 241°. After travelling for 4 miles from Bukhari Ulde we arrived at a place called Eegarsalde. At this place we came across a small hill range aligned along the bank of the river from southwest to about three and a quarter of a mile on northeast. One has to cross this hillock for onward journey and the pass looks like a horse's saddle. On the route to the saddle it is quite sandy. In Turkish language the saddle is called *eegar* and *salde* means 'dropped down'. It is believed that at this pass, the saddle of someone dropped down from the horse. That is the reason the place is called Eegarsalde.

After travelling for five miles from Eegarsalde we arrived at Kashmiri Jilga. At this place one large stream (*dura*) joins Zarafshan River at 236°. At this place earlier, while on the way to Yarkand, I had taken latitude observations. In Turkish language a Jilga means 'pass'. After travelling for five and half miles from Kashmiri Jilga we camped at the camping ground on the left bank of the Zarafshan River. From Tara Singh's camp to this camping ground we travelled for 35,695 paces or a little more than 17 3/4. At this stage about 3 inches snow fell during the night and so latitude observation was not possible. I could take barometer observations only.

3. Violent Blizzard hits Nain Singh causing unconsciousness (20 April, 1874 – while taking bearing with compass)

On the 20th of April we started off early in the morning. After travelling for 6¾ miles we discovered that there was no route along the bank of the river on account of frozen ice. So from the left bank of the river we made a detour climbing the hillside. On the way, with the intention of taking bearings, I mounted the prismatic compass on a ridge. At that very moment there was a sudden snowstorm splashing quite a bit of fresh snow into my face. It suffocated me and I fell down. I thought I would die. After 10 to 12 minutes, I found myself buried in the snow. By then Jasmal had come to me and the wind had stopped. Jasmal took the bearings en route. After gaining consciousness I arrived on the bank of the Khufelong River, carrying out the job en route. On this stage we travelled for 25,182 paces or a little more than twelve and half mile.

At this Khufelong one large river joins Zarafshan River at 260° in which the volume of water is two times that of Zarafshan River at Ak-

tagh. It is reported that at the source of this Khufelong River there are two passes. One leads to Gonbo village through the route of Nubra from the head of the river. And the second goes to Chaldor village of Baltistan region after crossing over Chaldor La (pass). At Khufelong, grass and firewood are in abundance. On an average, right from Kugiar up to Khufelong firewood is available in plenty and grass for fodder also is adequately available at the camps.

On the day of our arrival at Khufelong latitude observation was not possible because of overcast sky. I took barometer observations only. I intended to halt at Khufelong for 3 to 4 days to carry out a survey of the Khufelong River. But Tara Singh did not agree with my proposal. On the 21st after travelling for 3 miles from Khufelong, a porter of mine slipped on the ice and the barometer was broken. On this I was quite upset. After travelling for 41,571 paces or $20\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Khufelong, we camped at the cave of Ak-tagh. This day I was totally exhausted and arriving at the camp late in the evening I fell sick. From this cave, the place Ak-tagh where the Sahibs had camped is 2,600 paces in the south to southeast direction.

By the route of Kugiar and Mazarkhoja, the distance from camp Karghalik to Ak-tagh is 419,726 paces or a little less than 210 miles. And from the same Karghalik the distance to Akhtak by the route of Sanju and Shahidulla is 401,085 paces or $200\frac{1}{2}$ miles. That means, as compared to the Kugiar route the Sanju route is shorter by $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles. But compared to the Sanju route, the Kugiar route is much better and easier. Only between Ak-tagh and Kulunaldi and Mazarkhoja and Chiklik one has to often wade through the river. It is easily feasible to make a track along the bank of the river.

On the 22nd we travelled for 31,760 paces or a little more than $15\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Ak-tagh *talla* (lower) and camped at Dakdong or Wahab Jilga. That night four inches of snow fell. The weather became very cold. On 23rd day after travelling for 27,600 paces or a little more than $13\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Wahab Jilga we arrived at Brangsa or Balti Dansa. This night also three inches of snow fell. On 24th day we halted at Brangsa. On this day at 6 o'clock in the evening the thermometer was at 15°F. It was extremely cold.

4. Nain Singh forced to return because of heavy snow condition (26 April, 1874 – while taking bearing with compass)

On 25th day we arrived at Forsyth Yug or Taslaganja after travelling for 14,389 paces or a little less than 7 miles. Up to this location from Brangsa, not so much was there. But onwards from here the layer of snow was quite thick. The hired horses were sinking into the snow. All the followers refused to proceed further and started unloading their horses. Consequently my companion Jasmal and Tara Singh along with 10 to 12 persons riding on the best horses went across the Karakoram pass to examine the route. They returned to the camp in the evening. All of them were highly disheartened. At long last it was unanimously decided to return. I was sick and in that condition also I took north and south observations of the stars at Forsyth Yug or Taslaganja.

On the 26th day of April we returned to Wahab Jilga from Forsyth Yug or Taslaganja. A few hired persons and I stayed back at this camp while Tara Singh rode on toward Ak-tagh. On the 27th I arrived at the Sahibs camp (the site where Yarkand mission officers had camped previously) at Ak-tagh at 12 o'clock and took a meridian altitude of Ak-tagh. But since it was very windy at the time, I have doubts about the accuracy of that altitude reading. That day we camped at lower Ak-tagh in a cave. On the 28th, as per the directions of Tara Singh, all the hired men went back towards Kugiar and Yarkand. I hired one of the returning horses belonging to Moosa Akhoon from Karakoram and sent Jasmal and Angchung to carry out a survey of Khufelong River.

I heard that explorer Kaliyan Singh who was despatched toward Sanju and Shahidulla, had sent back 2 horses from Brangsa camp to Shahidulla since they could not proceed further because of snow and he himself had gone to Ladakh. And for informing about these horses and obtaining fodder for the sheep of Forsyth Sahib, he had gone to Suved. I halted at Chhipra in the evening. I had a Muslim servant and as such had to cook food myself.

On 29th I found two horses at Varma Nubra on the bank of Suved stream. But both the horses were injured on the back. For one week I remained at Suved and kept treating the horses. On the 5th of May, some people of Nubra who had gone for transportation

of the goods of the trader named Jwala Shah, arrived back. They informed that the Karakoram pass route had been opened by them.

I had two horses and hired 2 more horses of Varma. Two persons, that is Chhang Dup and Chhiring Tashi, who had been sent by Mr. Johanson Sahib with a message for me and Tara Singh, met us. And on the 6th of May, accompanied by them, we arrived at Ak-tagh from Suved. Meanwhile Jasmal and Angchyung also arrived at Ak-tagh having completed the survey of the catchment of Khufelong River.

From Forsyth Yug or Taslaganja the baggage and ration of Jasmal were transported on the hired horses up to Khufelong. But the owner of the hired horses went back to Kugiar from there. Jasmal and Angchyung had to accomplish the job of survey of Khufelong River while carrying their baggage on backpacks themselves. Jasmal informed that from Khufelong, travelling along the bank of the river, they could reach a place twenty to twenty five miles upstream. At that place Jasmals porter Angchyung felt pain in his knee. On this account they had to return from there. He also found that the Khufelong River is fed, to some extent, by waters from the snow-covered range, but mainly from the springs. Many large springs originate here and there on the bank of the river. Firewood and fodder are plentiful there and he saw a large number of wild horses and wild yak (*kotaas*). He also saw at many places old cooking hearths and many caves below the mountain side on the banks of the river. At a few places he saw abandoned old broken saddles of horses and even brought back to me an iron piece of the saddle.

On 7th May we started a route survey from Ak-tagh and travelling for 31,761 paces or a little less than 16 miles camped at Wahab Gilga or Dakdong. At this camp we took latitude observations. On 8th May, 1874, we travelled for 27,600 paces or 13³/₄ miles from Wahab Gilga and camped at Brangsa. At this camp Kaliyan Singh had abandoned his ration, animal feed and grass and his old used clothes with a servant along with a tent. I also could not manage to carry these items and so distributed old clothes and things among the Bhotia people⁸⁹ of Varma.

On the 9th I carried out a survey on the way and camped at Forsyth Yug or Taslaganja situated on that side of Karakoram from where

⁸⁹ probably Tibetan immigrants.

we had returned earlier leaving the baggage of Sahibs. I again took latitude observations at this place. On this stage we travelled for 7 miles. On the 10th, crossing over the Karakoram pass we camped at Baltipulu after travelling for 14¼ miles. On the Karakoram pass the snow was waist deep. At this Pulu I took latitude observations.

On the 11th day we surveyed the route and camped near the huge boulder at a place named Kizlaya within Gyapsen area. That day we met Moti Jamdar⁹⁰ and Gunjara, the official of Nubra village, accompanied by 3 to 4 hundred men despatched by Johanson Sahib for portorage of the baggage of the Sahibs. These people gave me fodder and animal feed. I took latitude and boiling point observations and an elevation of Gyapsen peak at Kizlaya.

On the 12th we arrived at Khomdan. At this location I also took observations of stars. On the 13th we started off from Khomdan where water was frozen. Wherever the frozen ice over the river had melted it became difficult to make the horses wade through the water. This caused a delay of 3 hours. I managed the task of route survey somehow and we arrived at Saser Pulu in the evening. There I came across 6 to 7 hundred porters despatched by Johanson Sahib. I learned that there was still very heavy snow on Saser Mountain and it would not be possible for the horses to cross it. I dispatched Jasmal with the 2 departmental horses of Kaliyan Singh and one that was his own, by the route of Shayak accompanied by two Bhotia porters. We halted at Saser on the 14th and took latitude observations. With 5 to 6 porters we came to Totiya Lak on the 15th day and took observations of the stars at this place too.

5. On foot survey by Nain Singh to correct the mistakes of assistants (20 April, 1874 – Chnglung to Yarkand)

On the 16th day we arrived at Changlung. Exalted (*Janab*) Johanson Sahib *Bahader* was very kind to us. He gave us ration, nutrients and sheep (*for mutton*). On the 17th and 18th we rested at Changlung. My body was totally exhausted because I never rode a horse on the way. Exalted (*Janab*) Capt. Trotter Sahib had written to me at Kashgar

⁹⁰ The head of a road maintenance team seasonally recruited in the hills during British regime.

that there appeared to be errors in the survey work accomplished previously by me. The fact is, on the northward journey from Ladakh, I travelled riding a horse. The measurements by paces were taken by the servants. Therefore on the return journey from Yarkand, I sent my riding horse to carry the baggage of Kaliyan Singh by the route of Sanju and walked continuously. While climbing the hills I had to breathe very heavily. But there was no respite and I had to keep going.

At Changlung, Johanson Sahib directed that Kaliyan Singh would proceed to Lhasa by the route of Rudok. The order of Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Walker Sahib *Bahader* had been received and Kaliyan Singh had arrived at Digar. A message in writing for him had been dispatched. I had gathered that Kaliyan Singh had fallen ill. For accomplishing the job assigned by the government, the orders of Col. Sahib *Bahader* had to be complied with. Pondering over the matter and considering that I was growing weaker physically day by day, if some fresh creditable work could be accomplished by me, it would give me satisfaction when I become incapable in the old age.

I therefore put up a written request to Exalted (*Janab*) Col. Walker Sahib *Bahader*, through Exalted (*Janab*) Johanson Sahib *Bahader*, submitting that since Kaliyan Singh was sick at the moment, if permitted I would undertake the journey to Lhasa by the route of Rudok through Tingri Nor and Nam Cho. And from there I would travel for few days along the Brahamaputra River down to Samye, Tsetang and Mon before entering into Tawang and Bhutan and end up at Kathiyawada or Golghata in India.⁹¹ That application of mine was forwarded by Exalted (*Janab*) Johanson Sahib to Col. Walker Sahib *Bahader* with a recommendatory letter.

On the 19th day after travelling for 21,830 paces or a little less than 11 miles from Changlung we arrived at Panamik. On 20th day after travelling for 25,700 paces or 12³/₄ miles from Panamik we arrived at Tughar village. On 21st day after travelling for 16,300 paces or 8¹/₄ miles from Tughar we arrived at Tirit village. On the 22nd after travelling for 16,413 paces or 8¹/₄ miles from Tirit we arrived at Satigaon. Here I came across groups of horses and muleteers descending from Shyok.

⁹¹ The word used is Hindustan.

6. Nain Singh back at Leh (26 May, 1874)

On the 23rd, after travelling for 33,560 paces or 16¾ miles we arrived at Digar village. On 24th day after travelling for 11,474 paces or 5¾ miles we arrived at Digar Pulu. On 25th day after travelling for 26,210 paces or 13 miles, we arrived at Sabugaon. On the 26th day of May 1874, after travelling for 11,360 paces or 5¾ miles we arrived back at Leh.

Stray thoughts

(At one place Nain Singh has written)

Yagyavalkya said to his wife Maitreyee:-

अथ श्रुतिः श्रूयते आत्मवारे दृष्टव्यः, *atha shrutih shrooyate atmavare drishtavyah,*

श्रोतव्योमन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः इति । *shrotavyomantavyo nididhyasitayah iti.*

'O Maitreyee! Listen to the sound of your spirit, ponder over it, adopting a detached posture obtain his essential nature.'

Saint Yagyavalkya was the disciple of Lord Shiva. The wife of the saint desired to have audience with Shiva. The saint uttered the above Shloka and forbade his wife to have audience with Shiva and Parvati (consort of Shiva).

Ubhat has given a comment in 'Nyayatarangini' that Saint Yagyavalkya used to customarily visit all the countries in his routine and knowing the corrupt practices of land of Lord (Shiva), forbade his wife Maiteyee from having audience or have contact with Shiva and Satee (his other consort). It is a fact that corrupt customs prevail in Tibet. It appears that the Guru of Yagyavalka who was famed as Mahadeo Shiv was a Lama residing in Kailas region. As Ubhat was resident of Tibetan region close to Kailas and that the behavioural character of Mahadeo was well known to him.

Distances between destinations

(At end on the page pasted on the cover)

Karghalik to Ak-tagh by the route of Kugiar	- 4,19,726 = 210 miles
A – by the route of Sanju	- 4,01,095 = 200½ miles
Ak-tagh to Saser by the route of Gyapsene	- 1,71,077 = 85 ½ miles
Saser to Digar by the route of Changlung	- 1,65,363 = 82¾ miles
A – by the route of Shayok	- 2,34,735 = 117½ miles
Digar to Leh by the route of Saibu	<u>- 48,344 = 44¼ miles</u>
	14,40,340
Ak-tagh to Saser by the route of Murche Murgi	- 1,79,959 = 90
Yarkand to Karghalik	84,141 = 42¼

From Yarkand to Leh via Karghalik, Kugiar, Ak-tagh and then by the route of Daulatbegi, Gyapsen, Saser, Chyang Lung, Digar – 8,88,651 paces = 444¼ miles.

(On the other cover)

Kana i.e. tax on crops, on every crops, on every 100th share of the property inherited – Rs 2½

Kara Khatai, Maju Khatai, Solon Khatai, Chhyapan Khatai, Kalmak, Tungani

Manju Khatai ruling class, Kara Khatai Khan Amban tittle holders, Solon etc soldiers of king of China.

Chhyapan soldiers eat all the animals including horses and donkeys. Facial appearance – low feature, stature – small, Tunganis are Muslims.

Jajiya tax imposed on Hindus was collected by the king thus: from poor persons Rs ¼ to 1 and from rich (*fortunate*) Rs 2 per month

Some of the old Hindustani/Urdu words used by Nain Singh

(Words used little differently by Nain Singh have been given in inner bracket e.g. {दस्तखान})

aab joo (आब जो) = *streamlet, runnel*

aash (आष / {आश्खाना}) = *liquid food, soup {where soup is served free}*

aftab (आफताव) = *sun*

aftab gharoop hona (आफताव गरूप होना) = *become very hot*

ahad nama (अहदनामा) = *written agreement, contract*

ahwal (अहवाल) = *report of state or condition or affairs*

alang (अलंग) = *side, direction*

algaraj (अलगरज) = *the essence is, in short, finally*

amaldari (अमलदारी) = *rule, governance, administration*

arkan (अर्कान {अर्गोन}) = *tower, pillar*

auliya (औलिया) = *benevolent saint, sage, hermit*

ayyam (आयाम) = *days, time, period, duration*

baham/bahamh (बाहम/बाहमः) = *together, collectively*

bajid (बजिद {वजित}) = *one who is stubborn, argumentative*

bakhtawar (बख्तावर{वखताव,}) = *fortunate (rich)*

bakshi (बक्शी) = *bursar, paymaster*

banat (बनात) = *broad cloth*

bar-bardar(बार-बरदार) = *beast of burden, porters, carriers*

beg/veg (बेग/वेग {वेगा,}) = *leader, chief of Yort (prefecture), head of community*

bood-o-bash (बूदो वासा) = *residence, existence*

buland (बुलंद) = *high, lofty*

butkhanah (बुतखाना) = *idol-temple, place with bevy of beauties*

butparasht (बुतपरशत) = *idol worshipper*

chapkan (चपकन {चपन}) = *long coat (achkan)*

chashm (चश्म) = *spring (of water)*

dad khwah (दादख्वाह) = *one who delivers/desires justice*

dakh (दाख) = *dried grape, raisin*

dam iqba lahoo (दाम इकबालहू) = *may this star continue to be in the ascendant*

darusaltanat (दारुसलतनत) = *capital, abode of government*

dastarkhan (दस्तरखान {दस्तखान,}) = *piece of cloth spread for serving meals*

deen musulmani (दीन मुसलमानी) = *faith/religion of Islam*

durra (दुर्रा) = *whip, scourge*

- fajir* (फजिर) = *day break, dawn, morning*
faragdash (फरागदस्त) = *liberal, considerate*
farmavardaree (फर्माबरदारी) = *compliance of order/directions*
farsh (फर्श {फरश फर्श,}) = *carpeting, floor cloth*
gazi (गाजी) = *conqueror, victor*
gharat (गारत) = *robbery, plunder, pillage, ravage, ruin*
gharatgari (गारतगरी) = *devastation, plundering, robbing.*
gharatgar (गारतगर) = *raider, robber, plunderer*
gird-o-navah (गिरदनवहा) = *vicinity*
giza (गिजा) = *religious battle, struggle for religious honour*
hakim (हाकिम) = *ruler, governor*
hamilah (हामिला: {हमल}) = *pregnant*
harf (हर्फ {हरूफ}) = *word, alphabet*
hasbul hukam (हस्बुल हुक्म) = *on the orders of, as directed by*
iltimas (इल्तिमस {इल्तिमास}) = *request, petition*
iltizam (इल्तिजाम) = *taking up on one self, making concomitance*
inam-ikram (इनाम-इकराम) = *reward & honour/remuneration, gratuity*
irshad (इरशाद) = *behest, command, guidance, desire, dictate, direction*
janab (जनाब) = *exalted (person)*
janab e ali (जनाब ए अली {आली}) = *highly exalted (person)*
janib (जानिव) = *towards, in the direction of*
janoob (जनूब) = *south*
jar (जर) = *gold, wealth*
jebaeesh (जेबाइश {जेआयश}) = *decoration, ornamentation*
jer (जेर) = *under, subordination*
jerbar (जेरबार) = *burden of indebtedness, liability of repayment of loan*
jerbari (जेरबारी) = *indebtedness*
jiyarat (जियारत) = *visit to a shrine, pilgrimage*
josh karma/dena (जोश करना / देना) = *cause to boil, boil*
jummal (जुमल {जुम्मा}) = *system of reckoning according to Arabic alphabetical order (abjad) in which every succeeding letter is assigned ascending value*
kadar (कदर) = *value set, estimation*
kadeem (कदीम) = *old, ancient*
kafir (काफिर) = *kafir, an unbeliever, infidel*
kaji (काजी) = *magistrate*
kamchi (कमची) = *whip*
kangrud (कांगरूद) = *snow bridge*

- karjak* (करजाक) = *village*
keena (कीन: {कीना}) = *malice, enmity kept at heart*
keena khoon (कीना खून) = *enmity caused by murder*
khalaik (खालैक {खलकत}) = *citizen, people in general*
khalkat (*khalak*) (खलकत) = *people in general, citizen*
khairkhwah (खैरखाः) = *well wishing, well wisher*
khanak (खनक {खनकनषीन}) = *strangulation, suffocation*
khasusan (खसूसन) = *especially, specifically*
khatir jama rakhna (खातिर जमा रखना) = *be rest assured, be calm and collected*
khatir khwah/khah (खातिर खाह) = *satisfactory, to one's entire satisfaction, as per one's choice*
khatir tawajjo (खातिर तव्वजू) = *hospitality*
khataee (खताई) = *Chinese* (*khat* = *Chinese province*)
khiraj (खिराज) = *land revenue, tax, tribute*
khilat (खिलत {खिलत}) = *a robe of honour (presented to office bearers or as a mark of distinction)*
khwah (खाह) = *one who desires, one which is liked, may be (this or that)*
kismat (किस्मत) = *division (territorial)*
koh (कोह) = *mountain, hill*
kutas (कुतास {कोताज}) = *hill cow, female yak*
lajeej (लजीज) = *delicious*
lao-zimat (लाव-जिमत) = *party with followers*
lahurah (लहूर: {लहुरा}) = *division, part there of (of heart)*
maghrib (मगरिब) = *west, sundown*
mahsool (महशूल) = *duty, tax, revenue, cess, toll*
mamdooh (ममदूह) = *aforsaid, praiseworthy, venerable, laudable personality*
mansookh (मनसूख) = *cancelled*
marooz (मारूज) = *prayer, application, request*
mashrik (मशरिक {मशरक}) = *east*
maukoof (मौकूफ) = *dismiss, remove from post/responsibility, adjourn*
mausoof (मौसूफ) = *commendable, praiseworthy, celebrity*
mayassar (मयस्सर) = *available*
mazkoor (मज्कूर) = *mentioned, related*
mekh (मेख) = *nail, rod*
miras (मिरास) = *ancestral property, hereditary estate, legacy*
miskal (मिसकाल) = *a measurement equal to one and three seventh of a drachmas (ancient Greek measurement) or 4.5 masha (माशा)*

- muaddi* (मुअद्दी {मुअतिमत}) = *sender, one who causes to deliver*
- mudarish* (मुदरिश्) = *teacher, school teacher*
- mudarishi* (मुदरिशी) = *job of teacher, school teacher*
- muddalaya* (मुद्दालैह / मुदाले) = *plaintiff, respondent, loanee*
- mukabbar* (मुकब्बर / मुकब्बिर) = *high stage built within a mosque for reading Holy Quran loudly*
- mufeed* (मुफीद) = *suitable, congenial, comfortable*
- mulamma* (मुलम्मा) = *gilding, plating, made to glitter*
- mumaniyat* (मुमानियत) = *prohibition, restriction*
- murabba* (मुरब्बा) = *square*
- muraf* (मुराफ / मुराफः) = *appeal, petition for rehearing of plaint*
- murghabi* (मुरगाबी) = *wild duck, water bird*
- musamma* (मुसम्मा) = *word added before a name of man, Mister*
- mushk nafah* (मुश्क नफा) = *musk bag*
- mutasil* (मुतसिल) = *adjoining, contiguous, contiguously near*
- mursid* (मुरसिद) = *physical punishment*
- muyassar* (मुयस्सर) = *obtainable, available*
- muzayaqah* (मुजायका) = *harm (in doing something)*
- muzayaqah nahi* (मुजयका नही) = *it is of no consequence, no harm done*
- na-agah* (नागहा) = *unawares, without prior notice/information*
- najor* (नाजोर) = *weak, feeble*
- namvar* (नामवर) = *well known, famous*
- namavari* (नामावरी) = *fame, reputation*
- natuwani* (नातुवानी {नातावानी}) = *devoid of energy, physically incapable*
- nigehban* (निगेहबान {निगैमान}) = *guards, one who keeps watch*
- pakeeja* (पाकीजा {पाकीज}) = *pure, chaste, delicate, lovely*
- panj shamba* (पंज शंबा) = *Wednesday*
- panah* (पनाह) = *protection, shelter*
- payab* (पायाब) = *shallow, not deep*
- payam* (पयाम) = *message*
- post* (पोस्त {पोष्तीन}) = *skin, hide, fur*
- pursish* (पुर्सिष) = *enquiry, welcome*
- qasd* (कस्द) = *resolve, intention*
- raje hayat* (राजे हयात {राजे हाय}) = *secret of life, essential truth*
- raunak afaroj* (रौनक अफरोज {रौनक अफरोज}) = *gracing a place by visiting*
- roo* (रू) = *a proceeding, an order, record, warrant*
- sa-adatmand* (सआदतमंद) = *glorious, fortunate*
- sabik* (साबिक) = *preceding, former time*

- sadir* (सादिर) = *issued, passed, arrived, proceeding/emanating (from)*
safeer (सफ़ीर) = *envoy, ambassador, counsel*
saliha (सालिहा) = *annually, every year*
sanad (सनद) = *degree, certificate, testimony, credential, deed, grant*
sankhiya (संखिया) = *poison, arsenic*
saranjam (सरंजाम) = *bring to completion, arrangement, organization*
sarma (सर्मा) = *winter*
shai (शै) = *product, goods, item*
shamvah (शंब: {शम्वा}) = *day of the week, Saturday*
shano shaukat (शानो शौकत) = *splendour, comfort, pomp and show*
singh shamvah (सिंह शंब: {शम्वा}) = *Tuesday*
suhbat (सुहबत) = *conjugal relation, copulation, company*
sutash (sutoodah) (सूतास {सुतूद:}) = *appreciation*
sutoon (सतून) = *tower, pillar*
tadbeer (तदबीर) = *prudence, forethought, plan, device*
tafseel (तफसील) = *particulars, details, analysis*
taham (ताहम) = *despite, even then*
tajeem (ताजीम) = *honour, respect*
takmeena (तकमीना) = *division*
takseem (तकसीम) = *division, distribution*
talemand (तालेमंद) = *fortunate, wealthy*
tamassukh (तमस्सुख {तमसुख}) = *bond, security for loan, debenture*
tarikah/tarikan (तरीक: / तिरकन {त्रिकाने}) = *share in the property on inheritance*
tasdiyah (तस्दीय: {तस्दीया}) = *trouble, harassment, frighten*
tashkhis (तशखीस) = *diagnosis, evaluation, appraisal, assessment*
tasneeph (तस्नीफ {तसनीफ}) = *write a book, compose articles, book of verse*
tazeem (ताजीम) = *respect, welcome, honour*
tari (तरी) = *boat, wetness, humidity*
tumra (तूमरा) = *grove of trees*
ul (उल) = *dust of borax*
ummat (उम्मत) = *faith, disciples, follower*
veg (वेग / बेग) = *leader, head of the group, prefect*
wali (वली) = *sage, hermit, friend*
wajoo (वजू) = *cleansing hands with water before performing holly rites*
waseela (वसीला) = *means, cause, support, prop, help*
yakh (यख) = *ice, very cold*

Some of the Turkish words used by Nain Singh

aache (आचे) = *deodar tree*

aat (आत) = *horse*

aagji (आगजी) = *mouth*

aak (आक) = *white*

buran (बुरान) = *dusty storm causing rain of soil*

chyakman (च्याकमान) = *carpet*

chark (चार्क) = *coin equivalent of 0.25 rupee*

daakh (दाख) = *raisin (dried grapes)*

dariyay (दरियाय) = *silk cloth*

diwan (दिवान) = *mountain, hill, pass*

durai (दर्रा) = *pass*

eegar (इगार) = *horse saddle*

essak (इस्सक) = *donkey*

kashlak (कशलाक) = *village with scattered houses*

karjak (करजाक) = *village*

kolan (कोलान) = *wild horse (kyang in Tibetan)*

kotaas (कोतास) = *wild yak*

khut (खुत) = *worm, (resham khut = silk worm)*

kulunaldi (कुलूनल्दी) = *dead wild horse*

mutsid (मुतसिद) = *executer of physical punishment*

namda (नमदा) = *thick woollen rug*

salde (सालदे) = *extinguished, lost, dropped down*

shamal (शमाल) = *strong storm*

saman (समन) = *husk*

singmed (सिमेद) = *lower Indus (River)*

singtod (सिंतोद) = *upper Indus (River)*

tanga (तंगा) = *local currency, coin (worth half a rupee)*

tass (तास) = *unit of measurement of distance equal to 5 miles*

thanap (थानप) = *area measurement equal to 900 square yards*

thupa (थुपा) = *mountain, pass*

thushaktas (थुशुकतास) = *porous rock/bolder*

tirkanai (तिरकाने) = *tax on the share of a deceased person*

ulak (उलाक) = *currency equivalent of two Rupees*

ulde (उलदे) = *dead*

ushtang (उश्तांग) = *stream, nala*

yort (योर्त) = *sub-division of territorial circle, unit of administration immediately above village*

Yodangja (योदांगजा) = *the house maintained by a family for the travellers*

zilga (जिल्गा) = *pass*

NAIN SINGH'S LAST EXPEDITION (ALONG MOUNTAIN RANGE NAMED NAIN SINGH RANGE')

Leh (15 Jul 1874) → Along northern bank of Pangong Lake to Noh (Mid Sep) → Thok Daurokpa gold field of Changthang plain → north east corner of Tengri Nor Lake (Mid Oct) → Lhasa (18-20 Nov 1874) {dispatched survey records to Leh through two helpers which were received by Capt Trotter in Jan 1875} → {on the bank Brahamaputra} Samye Gompa (27/28 Nov) → cross Brahamaputra by boat at Chetang {Yarlung region} → cross Karkang pass → Tawang (24 Dec 1874 – 17 Feb 1875) → Udalguri - Assam (1 Mar 1875)

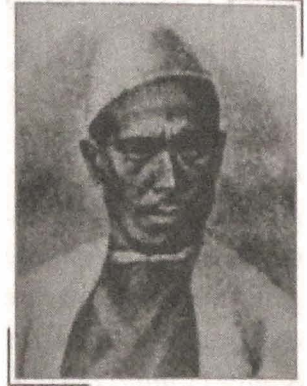
(<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tibet/ascend/singh.html>)

The Singh family had made very substantial contributions to the exploration of Tibet between 1865 and 1872. The journeys of Nain, Mani and Kalian had crisscrossed much of the South-western corner of the country, while Nain had mapped southern Tibet along the Tsangpo and north of the river to Lhasa. Kishen had carried a route survey north of Lhasa for over a hundred miles to Tengri Nor and the Bul Lake. But most of Tibet still remained unvisited and unmapped. Between Tengri Nor and the Nganglaring Tso of Kalian Singh stretched over four hundred miles of virgin territory, quite unvisited, as were the further reaches of northern Tibet. In 1874 came the opportunity to penetrate this area, to map fresh territory, and to provide a new link between Lhasa and the surveys already conducted in South-western Tibet.

Nain Singh, together with Kishen and Kalian Singh, had been attached to the second Forsyth Mission to Yarkand, which left India in 1873. For reasons beyond his control, Nain Singh had not been able to break much new ground while attached to the Mission. But when the Mission returned to Leh in the summer of 1874, Captain Trotter, who had succeeded Montgomerie on the latter's departure from India in 1873, dispatched Nain Singh by a northerly route across

Tibet to Lhasa. The exploration was undertaken on the instructions of General Walker, superintendent of the GTS. It was initially intended that the Pundit should be accompanied by Kishen Singh, but Kishen was suffering from exposure, incurred on a journey from Khotan.

There is evidence that Nain Singh was worn out after nearly two decades of the rigors of travelling under difficult and dangerous circumstances. In a letter to General Walker discussing the pundit's participation in the second Forsyth Mission, Montgomerie wrote that "I do not think he was greatly taken with the idea of going North and East of Ladak, though he would not have minded anything to the South East." Montgomerie continued: "he may make one grand push if he fully understands that it is likely to be his last, and that he will get some position given him, or a pension. He does not at all fancy having much more of actual exploration." According to Trotter, "on the return of the mission to Ladakh, being anxious to have an opportunity of gathering fresh laurels, he (Nain Singh) volunteered to proceed on a fresh exploration." This was to be his last "grand push," and he may have volunteered with the promise of a pension or other inducement, particularly since the journey involved the relatively level plains of Tibet rather than the rugged passes over the Karakorum and the Kunlun.



The objectives of this last journey were to survey a route from Leh to Lhasa by a much more northerly path than the one he had taken in 1865. From Lhasa he was to try to join the caravan to Peking, which the Survey of India had heard left from Lhasa every three years. Should this not prove possible, his instructions were to return to India by an unexplored route, either down the course of the Tsangpo Brahmaputra, or through the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan.

This was the pundit's third clandestine penetration of Tibet. Officials on the frontier would have been on the lookout for him. He had also been in Leh on numerous prior occasions and was known to be in the service of the Indian government. Accordingly, more elaborate precautions than usual were needed in order to ensure his safe passage in disguise across the border. The frontier crossing was the

key to everything. Once into Tibet, Nain Singh would be relatively safe, since he would be passing through thinly populated areas.

The deception involved a rather complex scheme in which William Johnson (famous for his visit to Khotan in 1864), now wazir of Ladakh in the service of the maharaja of Kashmir, was to conspire with the headman of the village of Tankse, near the Tibetan border. The headman was to collect a number of sheep for the Pundit, giving the impression to the Ladakhis that the sheep were to be used as baggage animals to carry the Pundit's merchandise on the road to Yarkand. This was quite plausible. The sheep were indeed to be used as baggage animals, and Tankse was on the Changchenmo route to Chinese Turkestan. The Pundit, however, was not going to Chinese Turkestan, but to Tibet.

Another problem which Trotter had to address was the question of how to provide security for the funds the Pundit would need to reach Lhasa and then continue to Peking and home to India. For the first stage of the journey, as far as Lhasa, the pundit carried sufficient cash with him. But to carry more, even in the form of merchandise, through areas infested by robbers was to Trotter's mind to risk the life of his explorer. As it happened, the triennial Lopchak mission from Ladakh to Lhasa was about to leave Leh. Nain Singh had travelled with this caravan before, and Johnson got the Lopchak to agree to take money to Lhasa for Nain Singh, who would collect it personally when he arrived. Since the caravan was a large one and travelled along a well-known road, it was felt that this arrangement would provide ample security.

For the final section of his journey, from Peking back to Calcutta by sea, Trotter provided the Pundit with a letter of introduction to the British Minister in Peking. The minister was to arrange transportation for the Pundit once the letter was presented.

Nain Singh's party included four attendants. One of these was his servant Chumbel, two were Tibetans who had also accompanied him in the past, and the fourth was a local man, loaned by the headman of Tankse. They set out from Leh on 15 July 1874, Nain Singh leaving behind the impression that he was returning to Yarkand.

Nine days later they reached the last village before the Tibetan border, and under cover of darkness the pundit and his companions dressed in

the priests' robes which had been tailored secretly for them in Leh. At first they did follow the Changchenmo road north, but after two days turned east. Slow progress was made, the pace determined by the speed of the sheep. Crossing the "frontier" was something of an anticlimax, just one hut with a small guard, which they passed without incident. The party was now in Tibet, on the north bank of Lake Pangong, and proceeding in a generally southeast direction, parallel to the Tsangpo but at distances varying from one hundred to two hundred miles north of the course of the river. The villager from Tankse had gone ahead of them and by using his good offices had obtained from the local officials the permission needed to proceed into the heart of Tibet. The pundit continued past Lake Pangong and was able to fix the location of its eastern extremity. Godwin-Austen and others had mapped the western parts of this elongated lake, but the easternmost point, well into Tibet, had now been located for the first time.

Nain Singh's route now took him on to the great lacustrine plain of central Tibet. Most of the lakes were salt, but some were fresh water and the travellers were able to fill their waterskins, made of sheep stomachs. For the first ten days the road was not far to the north of the route taken by Kalian Singh while on his way from Rudok to the gold mines of Thok Jalung.

For security, Nain Singh had secreted his Indian rupees in a number of hiding places, the main one being in a wom pad on the back of an old donkey. This animal was dubbed the "Government Treasurer." Occasionally, they would deliberately camp well off the road, to avoid robbers whose favourite trick was to cut the tent ropes at night and plunder the camp while the sleepers were trying to extricate themselves.

The altitude was, on average, a little over fourteen thousand feet. A few shepherds were seen, but the paucity of human population was more than made up for by an abundance of animal life.

About one-third of the way between Lake Pangong and Tengri Nor, Nain Singh entered an area inhabited by Khampas, who said that they had migrated there from Kham (north and east of Lhasa) twenty-five years earlier. Accomplished horsemen and sportsmen, they tended herds of horses, sheep, and goats. They also had a bad reputation for plundering caravans. However, because one of his servants had

befriended one of the Khampas in Ladakh some years before, the pundit was able to join a small group of them going in the same direction, and which afforded some protection for a while. Then, taking a devious route to minimize the risk of being robbed, they arrived in the gold-mining area of central Tibet.

The pundit's account of the mines of the Thok Daurakpa area led Trotter to downgrade the importance which had been attached to the Tibetan gold fields as a result of his earlier report of 1867. The mining area through which Nain Singh was now passing did produce gold of a higher quality than that found in Thok Jalung to the west. But the gold of Thok Daurakpa was embedded in rock, rather than soil, and the water for washing the pulverized rock had to be carted in skins on the backs of donkeys from a stream over a mile away. The amount of gold produced was so small that the local shepherds were wealthier than the gold diggers. Furthermore, said the Pundit, he believed that only two other mines in northern Tibet were being worked, and both were even smaller than Thok Daurakpa.

Pausing for just one day at the gold mines, Nain Singh and his companions, now halfway to Tengri Nor, continued across the Chang Tang. Their altitude was now sixteen thousand feet, but the sun was warm, grass grew underfoot, and herds of antelope grazed nearby. On his route from Lake Pangong, the pundit had been marching parallel to a snowy range lying just to the south, a chain of mountains now known as the **Nain Singh Range**. The extension of this range continued up to a point south of Tengri Nor.

Nain Singh struck the northwest corner of Tengri Nor (the easternmost point of which is about eighty miles due north of Lhasa), after a journey of sixty-four marches from Noh, near Lake Pangong. He had mapped a chain of lakes across central Tibet, none of which had been seen before. Only Tengri Nor itself had been visited before by a trans-Himalayan explorer, in 1872, when Kishen Singh made a complete tour around it.

Nain Singh followed the path of Kishen Singh along the northern shore of Tengri Nor for fifty miles and then, like his predecessor, turned to the south in the direction of Lhasa. After some ten to twenty miles, he struck off by a different and less direct route to the Tibetan capital.

The pundit and his party entered Lhasa on 18 November 1874. They had started from Leh on 15 July, averaging less than ten miles per day over the 1,095 miles from Leh to Lhasa. But the sheep purchased in Ladakh, although slow movers, had more than proved their worth. Of the twenty-six that started out on the journey, four or five covered the entire distance. Others were eaten or had been taken sick. All carried twenty to twenty-five pounds of baggage on their backs and foraged for whatever food they could get.

Nain Singh was anticipating small luxuries such as fresh vegetables, beer, and a more comfortable accommodation in Lhasa. Unfortunately, this was not to be. Just before reaching the city, he heard a rumour that the Chinese were aware that a British agent was approaching Lhasa from India. The pundit sent one of his servants ahead of him to see if the Lopchak mission had arrived with the remainder of his funds. The response was negative; in fact, the head of the mission had died on the way to Lhasa. Now Nain Singh's penury was to force the curtailment of his expedition.

But there was a more present danger. On reaching Lhasa, Nain Singh had the bad luck to bump into a merchant from Leh who knew his identity and true occupation. The pundit feared betrayal and made plans to leave Lhasa immediately, rather than wait in the hope that the Lopchak mission might appear. Had he been able to delay his departure, he might have been able to retrieve his funds from the mission, even in the absence of the Lopchak himself.

Instead, the pundit sent two of his men back to Leh. They carried details of all his astronomical observations and route survey, and they reached Trotter safely in January 1875. Trotter now feared for the safety of his agent, who had in fact left Lhasa abruptly with his two remaining servants only two days after arriving. The psychological strain of possible discovery (followed by the inevitable imprisonment and probable death) must have told on the pundit, particularly as he had had to start off again from Lhasa with no chance to recuperate from a four-month march across the Chang Tang.

To return to India via Peking was clearly out of the question. The remaining funds were pitifully small. The best route to take home was the shortest and quickest, not northeast through China, but south into India.

In order not to arouse suspicion, and to throw pursuers off the track should he be betrayed, Nain Singh left his bulky inessentials behind with his landlord, saying that he would collect them in a month's time after returning from a pilgrimage to a monastery north of Lhasa. The small party duly left Lhasa for the north, but as soon as darkness fell made a 180-degree turn toward India. This fall-back strategy was in accordance with his original instructions received from Walker and Trotter.

A week after leaving Lhasa, the pundit came to the Samye Gompa, an ancient and famous monastery just two miles from the northern bank of the Tsangpo. He admired its high circular walls, which he estimated to be one and a half miles in circumference, and counted 1,030 *chortens* (funeral monuments) on top of it.

Nain Singh followed the course of the Tsangpo downstream for two days and then crossed it by boat. The river was sluggish, and the pundit was able to estimate its rate of flow as two-thirds of a mile per hour by throwing in a piece of wood and timing it over a fixed distance. Measuring the poles used to punt the ferry across the river gave it a depth of between eighteen and twenty feet. The river was about five hundred yards wide.

The point where the river was crossed was near the town of Chetang, and here Nain Singh left the Tsangpo. The information he was able to give about the river was valuable. He had followed it for thirty miles along a part of its course that had hitherto been unexplored. Chetang was fifty miles beyond the lowest point at which the river had been mapped to date, and from the town the pundit was able to approximate its course for a further one hundred miles by taking bearings of distant peaks, the Tsangpo being reputed to pass to one side of them.

Following the road south away from the Tsangpo, and up the valley of the Yarlung, one of its tributaries, Nain Singh crossed the main Himalayan chain by the Karkang pass, at a height of over sixteen thousand feet. He was travelling toward Tawang, accompanied by a man of some importance in that district. Tawang was a small area to the east of Bhutan and north of the Assamese plains, loosely owing an allegiance to Lhasa, and situated on a traditional trade route

between India and Tibet. The merchants of Tawang were suffering at the hands of those in Lhasa and so were preventing any merchants from Tibet from proceeding onward to the Indian border, in order to retain the bulk of the trade for themselves. Because of this, the pundit, who had arrived in Tawang on 24 December, was detained there until 17 February, and not even his influential friend could prize him free before that time. Eventually, by depositing almost all of his remaining goods and by claiming that he would return for them after a pilgrimage just across the border, the pundit reached Udalguri in British territory on 1 March 1875. There he presented himself to the local assistant commander, who telegraphed Trotter to announce the safe arrival of his explorer. The assistant commander also made the travel arrangements for the pundit to proceed to Gauhati, where he once again met up with the Tsangpo, now known as the Brahmaputra, and took a steamer to Calcutta.

The expedition had achieved important results, even though the pundit had been unable to reach his far-flung goal of Peking.

Nain Singh had travelled 1,405 miles between Leh and Udalguri. His survey had started at Noh, a village whose position had also been fixed by the pundit Kishen Singh on his return from Khotan. It terminated at Udalguri, the position of which was known very accurately from measurements made by the Indian Revenue Survey Department. Between these two points stretched 1,319 miles of virtually unknown country, of which 1,200 miles was completely unexplored. Prior to Nain Singh, only the small section around Tengri Nor had been surveyed, by Kishen Singh in 1872.

The pundit had located the eastern extremity of Lake Pangong, provided additional details of the Tibetan goldfields, mapped a large number of new lakes and rivers, and confirmed the existence of a chain of snow peaks to the north of the Tsangpo. More information on the course of this river through Tibet had been discovered. The route through Tawang to British India had been charted for the first time.

Nain Singh also took a large number of sextant observations, as well as pacing his route, taking compass bearings and measuring for altitude by observing the boiling point of water. All had to be made in conditions of complete secrecy. Based on the pundit's earlier

observations at Lhasa, Montgomerie had concluded that Lhasa lay at longitude 90 59' 30". All the measurements, said Trotter, showed the pundit to be "a skilful and accurate observer."

No Europeans were successful in reaching Tengri Nor until Bonvalot and Prince Henri of Orleans in 1890. A British expedition to the west of Tengri Nor almost half a century after Nain Singh (in 1922) commented that most of the information they had on the area was still derived from his expedition and that of Kishen Singh. They also verified the accuracy of the two pundits' observations.

This was Nain Singh's final foray beyond the frontiers. The stress of this journey and prolonged exposure to the elements had taken their toll on his health, and his eyesight in particular had been affected by continuous observations taken at very high altitudes. But although he retired from exploration, he continued to serve the Indian government with the training of younger explorers.

Within a year of his retirement, Walker was able to write that "he is an admirable trainer and has managed to collect several young men around him and taught them all that is necessary for work of this nature, so that they are now ready for further explorations." The work of teaching new recruits the fine art of secret exploration continued at least up until 1879, when "S.C.D." (Sarat Chandra Das) was given a course in surveying and observing by Nain Singh.

The pundit's name was now made public and was announced in the *Geographical Magazine* in 1876. Members of the GTS, including Walker and Montgomerie, urged that Nain Singh, in addition to his pension, should receive further monetary compensation from the government, as well as recognition from the Royal Geographical Society.

Montgomerie wrote to the India Office in March of 1877 from his home in Bath, pressing for a grant of land to be made to Nain Singh. Unknown to Montgomerie, this had already been done. On the recommendation of Walker, the Indian government had proposed to London on 15 December 1876 that the pundit be given the grant of a village in Rohilkand together with a *jumma* (or revenue assessment from land) of Rs. 1,000. These proposals were enthusiastically

endorsed by the secretary of State for India in Council, who spoke of the "high value" of the pundit's achievements. The secretary of state also expressed "warm approval of the energy and discretion shown by Colonel Walker and Colonel Montgomerie in the gradual elaboration of a system which has produced, at a minimum of cost, results of real importance, which are seldom attained elsewhere without some considerable sacrifice of resources, if not of life."

The Paris Geographical Society had given Montgomerie gold watch for him to send on to Nain Singh. Montgomerie did so, noting in a letter to Walker that "it is not a very handsome watch but the Society is not rich and they meant to pay N.S. a high compliment." The award of this watch came in the same year as the award of a gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society. It was the latter award, however, which occasioned considerable dissension in the highest councils of the "Geographical."

The question at issue was who was the most meritorious - Nain Singh for his feats of exploration, or Trotter for planning the expedition and interpreting and writing up the results? Clearly each accomplishment depended upon the other, but who should achieve recognition first?

On the one side was the former president of the RGS, Sir Henry Rawlinson, who proposed that Trotter should have the Patron's Medal for 1876 because of his "having conducted the Survey operations of the late Mission to eastern Turkistan under Sir Douglas Forsyth." This view was opposed by Colonel Henry Yule, whose views as a scholar carried much greater weight than those of Rawlinson. Yule wrote to Sir Rutherford Alcock at the Society, calling Nain Singh "**the Pundit of Pundits**," and comparing him with such giants of exploration as Livingstone and Grant. It was his "strong opinion," said Yule, "that his (Nain Singh's) great merits cannot be fully recognised by anything short of one of the Society's gold medals." Yule continued that "*either* of his great journeys in Tibet would have brought this reward to any European explorer; to have made two such journeys adding so enormously to accurate knowledge . . . is what no European but the first rank of travellers like Livingstone or Grant have done." Yule had been in touch with Walker, who was on leave in England at the time. Walker agreed with Yule and wrote that "I shall be very glad

if you can get him the gold medal of the R. G. S., or any other suitable mark of distinction, in acknowledgement of his excellent services to geographical science." The letter, which did not mention Trotter, was sent along to the RGS by Yule.

The last words on Nain Singh are best left to Colonel Yule, addressing the Royal Geographic Society at the time of its presentation of the Society's gold medal. Nain Singh, he said, "is not a topographical automaton, or merely one of a great multitude of native employees with an average qualification. His observations have added a larger amount of important knowledge to the map of Asia than those of any other living man."

Nain Singh Rawat

(नैन सिंह रावत)

A Teacher, Trainer and Writer - along with Mirror of Latitudes
(अध्यापक, प्रशिक्षक और लेखक – अक्षांश-दर्पण सहित)

R.S. Tolia

(Johar Sanskritik Sangthan, Lucknow, May 1992)

(A transliteration of the original text which is mainly in Hindi. The excerpts quoted in English by the writer, have been given in italics)

The personality of Nain Singh; who could easily be placed amongst the greatest Indians of 19th century; along with his achievements somehow has not been justifiably evaluated till now. Nain Singh was such an Indian that whole of a mountain range of Western Tibet had been named after him. In fact the very existence of this mountain range was brought to the notice of outside world by Nain Singh himself.⁹²

It's a matter of great surprise that even after independence, the evident documents about his personal life; which include copies of his correspondence relating to Survey of India, personal details, diaries etc; treating them confidential; are being kept inaccessible and beyond the reach of the researcher scholars. Indigenous or foreign investigators remain disheartened and discouraged (on this account).⁹³ (However) all such efforts of (negative elements) preventing information relating to the achievements of multi-dimensional personalities (like him) eventually fails. Some information about the resolute struggle for life lead by Nain Singh, has come to our notice recently through the publication of 'The History of Johar'. This historical document was recorded by Nain Singh himself about hundred years ago.⁹⁴

⁹² Nain Singh Mountain Range : Reades Digest -- World Atlas, 1962 page 24, letter of Mrs Chritine Kailly (given at the end of the booklet).

⁹³ Letters of J.A. Vellor and Padmashri Harish Chandra Singh Rawat (grand son of another great Indian explorer Rai Kishen Singh Milmwal Bahadur) are with the author.

⁹⁴ "Johar ka Itihas : Mool Itihas Rawat Kaum" with comments of S.S. Tolia, Johar Sanskritik Sangthan, Lucknow 1990, Rajdhani Sahkari Press, Lucknow.

A Life full of strife:

From 'The History of Johar', we learn that he was born on 21 October, 1830. His father Amar Singh, popularly addressed as *Lata Burdha*, was 9th son of Dham Singh Rawat, alias *Dhama Burha*. Dham Singh Rawat, grandfather of Nain Singh Rawat, was awarded *jagir* (freehold estate) of Molama and Kotal villages by Kumaon King Deep Chand in 1735 AD. During that period *Dhama Burha* was addressed as *Thokdar Raj Burha* (holder of the royal estate) of *patti* (circle) *talla* (lower) and *bichla* (middle) Johar.⁹⁵

Dhama Burha married three wives. All three wives lived in separate houses. First wife was named Ganguli, from whom three sons; Jaspal, Dolpa, Sarju were born. Second wife was from Tolia family, from whom Kukria and Veer Singh were born. Third wife Dharmi was from Marchha Shaukas, from whom Fateh Singh, Deb Singh, Jhemu, Lata (Amar Singh) and Nagu were born. Lata (Amar Singh) was born in 1785 AD. He, at the age of 24-25 years, committed a social offence; i.e. while he eloped with a married woman during the life time of his living married wife. On this account his four brothers were highly annoyed with him and he was divested from right of inheritance from the ancestral property.⁹⁶ *Lata Burha* migrated across the River Gori and settled in village Bhatkuda with his two wives. He filed his case of inheritance in the court of Divisional commissioner Mr Trail in 1824 AD, but he lost the case. Consequent upon loss of the inheritance

⁹⁵ Details submitted by Rai Kishen Singh Milmlwal Bahadur – XXII Department Political No 1874/XXII, 37, File No 9-, Register – 7421, Office of District Magistrate Almora.

⁹⁶ This reference throws adequate light on the social customs of Johari Shaukas of that time. The time of this incident appears to be of 1700-1800 AD which indicate prevalence of poli-gamy within Shauka community during that period. But it also makes clear as to what extent it was prohibited to keep a married woman as wife, that too from ones own village. From British records about the social customs prevailing in Kumaon and Garhwal during those days, it does not appear to be unusual incident. The Pre-Mutiny records of Garhwal and Kumaon are full of incidents of social injustice meted out to women. Social boycott of Lata Budha (in this manner) is unique evidence of social values of Johari Shauka community. 'An Administrative History of a Non-Regulation Hill Province, by R.S. Tolia may be referred to know more about male attitudes towards women during initial 70 years of British rule in Garwal and Kumaon.

court case, both of his wives jumped into Gori River and committed suicide. Disheartened by such a domestic tragedy, *Lata Burha* began to while away his time with the local landholders. In 1825 *Lata Burha* married third time with a woman from Jumal Rajput family. After (the birth in 1826 of first son) Samlang, Nain Singh was born to her (on 21 October, 1830) and one girl later a child was born (in 1833) and thereafter the youngest son Maga was born.

When Nain Singh was only 8 years old, his mother expired. To look after the kids *Lata Burha* married for the fourth time in 1838. From fourth wife (were born) two sons; Gajraj (in 1838) and Kaliyan (in 1841).⁹⁷ After having lived in Bhatkuda village across Gori River for about 25 years, *Lata Burha* returned with family to Milam in 1847. After one year when Nain Singh was 18 years old, *Lata Burha* also expired.

After demise of *Lata Burha*, cousin brother of Nain Singh; *Mani Burha* attempted at restoration of the inheritance rights to his family, but he was not successful in this. As such he gave them some land from his own share, along with few sheep and goat from his stock for the upkeep of the hapless family. *Mani Burha* was second son of Fateh Singh; the sixth son of *Dhama Burha*. *Mani Burha* was one of the well off Joharis of that time. He had close cordial relations with senior British officers and with Tibetan high-ups as well. He had deep sympathy with the family of Nain Singh and was quite helpful in his advancement.⁹⁸ He used to give financial help to the orphaned family of Nain Singh for their survival from time to time. This was critical time for Nain Singh and his considerably large family. The family was deeply indebted. After some altercation with step mother, Nain Singh left Milam in July 1851 and reached Badrinath via Joshimath.

⁹⁷ Kaliyan Singh Rawat was also sent to Dehradun for training in survey with Nain Singh and he also obtained proficiency in survey techniques. After Forsyth Mission, original proposal for survey of northern plain of Western Tibet was for deputing Kaliyan Singh considering deteriorating health of Nain Singh. However when Nain Singh expressed his willingness to undertake this journey, he was deputed in stead.

⁹⁸ In 1856, he made Mani Patwari to take Nain Singh along with him as one of the helpers with the party of Schlagintweit brothers on their journey to upper Indus valley, and later he visited Tibetan Authorities to persuade them to allow the party of Schlagintweit brothers in Indus basin. – “A Short Account of the Journey from Milam in Johar to Gartok in Upper Indus Valley.” – ‘Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, part – 25, (1856), pages 127-28. Adolphe and Robert Schlagintweit.

At Mana he was married with Umtil (*Omvati*) daughter of deceased Nirola. He was 21 year old at that time. After marriage he lived with (*in-laws*) of Mana for 3 years.

At Mana, Nain Singh lived with Amardeo. Daughter of Amardeo was married to Mani *Burha*. Though Amardeo was a well off person, for a self respecting person like Nain Singh, it was unmanly to just spend time without fulfilling any meaningful purpose. As a result he joined the family of his step mother in Niti (*Johar?*) valley. Here he was happy with his step mother and children. But financial position of the family was deteriorating from bad to worse. There was no regular source of income. In April 1854, he joined the band of Johari Shauka traders to Himanchal Pradesh. Through Chamba (*Himanchal*), he reached Tholing Math in Tibet. Here he once more confronted Amar Singh of Mana village. (Many of the) sheep, goats and *Zhos* purchased with borrowed money, died on the way because of outbreak of epidemic. On account of deteriorating financial position, he had to tolerate sarcastic comments of relatives. The family were rendered incapable to pay back even the interest on the loans.

Realizing that debt amount was compounding on the family, step mother decided to separate with her own sons; Gajraj and Kaliyan. Nain Singh and his real brother and sister, were left with few old utensils and fistful food grain.

Destiny: takes a turn

Nain Singh did not lose his patience and self-esteem even under such adverse conditions. He somehow maintained his family till 1856. And while on his way to Ramnagar looking for alternative job in February 1856, he came to know that German Schlagintweit brothers, Adolphe and Herman were proceeding towards Turkistan and Laddakh on their magnetic survey expedition. Knowing that Mani Patwari is also accompanying them, he was hopeful to get employment with this party. He immediately made a dash back to Milam (*it should be Tejam*). He met Mani Patwari, but he not only declined to take him along but rebuked him with harsh words.

Even this disastrous consequence did not deter him from his objective. He continued to plead to be allowed to be recruited, but Mani Patwari could not be appeased. This was the bitterest experience of life

for Nain Singh. He (*Mani Patwari*) knowing full well; the hapless financial position of his own kith and kin (*Nain Singh*); was not prepared to help in any way.

Nain Singh; desperate as he was; had resolved that he would not allow such an opportunity to slip from his hands. He eventually presented himself before *Mani Burha* and pleaded before him about the pathetic situation he was facing. Looking at the critical condition of Nain Singh, *Mani Burha* summoned *Mani Patwari* and directed him to take Nain Singh along with the party of magnetic survey. *Mani Patwari* consented to take Nain Singh with him only after prolonged persuasion.

Whatever few belongings Nain Singh could collect at home, he wrapped in a buddle and marched on with his cousin *Mani Patwari* on 28 February 1856. On this journey *Mani Patwari* maintained rude and rough behavior towards Nain Singh. On reaching Simla they presented themselves before *Schlagintweit* brothers. Salary fixed for *Mani* was Rs 60 per month and for Nain Singh and *Dolpa Pangtey* Rs 35 each. *Mani* accompanied *Herman* and reached Laddakh via Kanawar (Kinnaur) and Spiti, whereas Nain Singh and *Dolpa Pangtey* went up to Kul (Kullu) and Lahul with *Adolphe* and *Robert*. From there proceeded towards Baltistan. Nain Singh reached at Leh with *Robert*. Nain Singh was instructed to remain at Leh with other followers of the party. From there *Harman* and *Robert Schlagintweit* along with *Mani Patwari*, proceeded towards Punjab after visiting village Musia near Khotan and traversing Kashmir region for many days in October. They returned to Rawalpindi in December 1856.

Camping at Rawalpindi for many days, *Adolphe Schlagintweit* planned to return to England after surveying areas of Kabul, Bukhara and then through the territory of Russia. *Harman* and *Robert* decided to return to England through different route. *Schlagintweit* brothers were highly impressed by dexterity of Nain Singh. In Laddakh, Nain Singh not only could record observations of magnetic and barometer readings but noted down prismatic readings too. He also taught Tibetan language to *Schlagintweit* brothers to the extent desired by them. *Herman* and *Robert Schlagintweit* brothers proposed to take Nain Singh with them to England and keep him there for 3 years. It

was proposed that Nain Singh would get a salary of Rs 100 per month and an advance payment of Rs 1000 for the up keep of his family.⁹⁹

There remains no doubt that, in the life full of hard struggle of Nain Singh, the opportunity to work with Schlagintweit brothers proved a turning point. It is also proved that it was resolute character of Nain Singh which made it possible for him, not to deter from his objective under critically discouraging situations. As the opportunity came his way, he diligently demonstrated his highest dexterity and impressed upon the team of the only scientific expedition of that time.

With specific efforts of Prussia Monarch Fredrik Willium IV; who was the Patron of Science and Arts; Schlagintweit brothers were permitted to undertake magnetic survey in India by Court of Directors of East India Company. Col Saicus, on behalf of Court of Directors and General Sebayin and Sir Rodric Merchison of Royal Geographic Society, extended great help in making all the official help. Schlagintweit brothers were very keen to complete the magnetic survey initiated by Captain Elliot in 1846. On completion of the magnetic survey, an Atlas with three parts was prepared. In all 80 projections and in every part 20 to 30 maps were included. Besides this, 275 anthropological plastic heads were also presented by the team. The scientific document was published in 88 parts. Beside this one more part (9th) also was added in which natural pictures were shown.¹⁰⁰

Besides this Schlagintweit brothers had published their report in different Research Journals during their stay in India. The journeys (undertaken in)

⁹⁹ “*Johar ka Itihash*” Nain Singh Rawat – page 30.

¹⁰⁰ “Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High Asia”, vol. I, by Herman, Adolphe and Roburt Schlagintweit. The eight volumes are:-

1. Astronomical and Magnetic observations,
2. Hypsometry, Barometrical and trigonometrical observations,
3. Topical Geography, and Route book of the Himalaya and Tibet,
4. Metrology and climate in general,
5. Geology,
6. Botany and Zoology, particularly with reference to geographical distribution,
7. Ethnography, comparative researches based on measurements, casts, and photography,
8. Geographical Aspects of India, the Himalaya, Tibet and Turkistan.

North Western Province, now known by the name of Uttar Pradesh and Western Tibet were reported respectively in Lahore (1856), Agra (1857) and again Lahore (1857). Report on the death of Adolphe Schlagintweit and his last journey was reported in Berlin (1859).

On this expedition Schlagintweit brothers departed from England on 20 September, 1854 and arrived at Bombay (Mumbai) on 26 October 1854. In India they were helped in every respect by civil and army officers. In different lands they had to travel under secret names clad in different dresses. There were many hazards which resulted in brutal murder of Adolphe at Kashgar in August 1857. From Tibet, Herman travelled to Calcutta (Kolikata) and Robert to Bombay and met in Egypt and arrived at Trieste on June 8th. Other members of the party had been permitted to record different readings and collect related material by March 1858 by the authorities of the Company.¹⁰¹

By the time the expedition of Schlagintweit brothers came to a close, military revolt of Meerut had begun and the authority of East India Company had ceased. Consequent upon the prevailing disorder on account of military revolt, scientific explorations and survey excursions received less attention vis-a-vis maintenance of stable administration. Murder of Adolphe by local tribes at Kashgar came face to face as a warning and challenge.

Actually the recognition due to the scientific efforts of Schlagintweit brothers was very adversely affected by the instability in European politics along with tempestuous instability in India. As per Kenneth Meson, giving even a gist of the work accomplished by Schlagintweit brothers in Tibet and India was a Herculean task.

In the report of Schlagintweit brothers', contribution of Mani and Nain Singh has been highlighted:

¹⁰¹ Ibid page 6-7 :

1. *Central India and North West Province*, by Robert, Lahore 1856.
2. *Laddakh and Turkistan*, by Herman and Robert, Agra 1857.
3. *Western Himalaya and Balti* by Adolphe, Lahore 1857.
4. *On the last Journey and death of Adolphe*, by Herman and Robert, Berlin, 1859.
Schlagintweit, *Introductory Report*, Ibid pages 38-39.

INTERPRETERS

“MANI (full name Man Singh) a Bhot-Rajput, the member of an influential and wealthy family from Johar, in northern Kumaon (Himalaya) was charged, during two summers, with the difficult arrangements of our travels in Tibet, during which he proved of the most essential service to us by his excellent behavior. He was the only one of our establishment we trusted sufficiently to take with us to Turkestan. Mani is also well known as a faithful servant to the British Govt., who have made him the patwari, headman of Johar, a district of Kumaon.

“His father Devi Singh, who is still alive, was the companion of Moorcroft in 1812, and he himself has once been engaged by the Stracheys, during their travels in Tibet.

“DOLPA, Mani’s cousin, a subordinate attendant during our travels in gNari Khorsum, was made, by Adolphe, his interpreter and Chief guide for Balti. He was a rather rough kind of man, but full of courage, energy and devotedness.

“NAIN SINGH, another relative of Mani, a well disposed and intelligent native went with us (Herman and Robert) to Laddakh, in 1846. He took great interest in our operations and though at first unacquainted with instruments was soon taught their use, as he showed a very great desire to be able to read off the scales and write the readings in English numbers. He could also read and write Tibetan. During our travels in Turkistan he remained at Leh. Where he acted as assistant to Harkishan.

“We had proposed, and in apparent acquiescence on his part, to take him with us to Europe, but, like all hill men, he was too much attached to his native mountains to bring himself to leave them, and unexpectedly went away from us at Rawalpindi, leaving behind a long letter of apologies.”¹⁰²

It has now become evident from the History of Johar compiled by Nain Singh, that he was willing to go to Europe, but Mani Patwari asked him not to do so. From the track record of Survey of Indian, it

¹⁰² Schlagintweit, Introductory Report, Ibid pages 38-39.

is evident that this intervention (of Mani Patwari) proved a blessing in disguise; otherwise it would have been deprived of the services and contribution of a Surveyor of the caliber of Nain Singh. From the details provided by Schlagintweit brothers we can perceive of the instinctive self confidence, extraordinary brilliance and irrepressible will power to assimilate fresh knowledge of Nain Singh. Mani's coercion to Nain Singh also gives a clear overview of social standard of that period. Nain Singh has mentioned;

“Having decided at heart, in the evening (I) said to Cousin Mani that I am going to England. Mani said that if you go to England, for us you are dead, we shall miss a meal right now. So to say, explaining many aspects, he declined.”¹⁰³

Nain Singh as a Teacher

On returning, after completion of magnetic survey and surviving the attempt of murder by consuming poison (*sankhia*) offered on return journey to Milam, all the savings of Nain Singh was spent on paying the interest on the debt. Financial condition deteriorated from bad to worse. When Nain Singh was on his way with brother Maga towards Bageswar, looking for some employment, at Kapkot he came across Colonel Henri Strachey of Commissariat (*Ghas palta*) in 1858. Nain Singh joined the services under Strachey. On reaching Almora, Strachey recommended his case to Mr. Waibet, the Inspector of Schools and Mr. Calvin, the Senior Assistant Commissioner, Almora and got Nain Singh appointed as teacher in the Vernacular (*Tahseeli*) School, Malla Johar, Milam. The order of appointment was issued in 1859.

Nain Singh's contribution as a teacher has no where been evaluated till now. In this context, it is very important to know the status of evolution of institutional (school) education in Kumaon and Garhwal regions during his time.

Though Kumaon and Garhwal had come under British rule in 1815, the formal education through schools did not begin prior to 1839. Formally the first school was established at Srinagar by the efforts of Captain Hadulston, the then Senior Assistant Commissioner, Garhwal in 1839. The expenses for running this school was borne out from

¹⁰³“*Johar ka Itihas*”, by Nain Singh, and Ibid page 30.

the fund raised by the money left behind by the deceased Badrinath pilgrims. Till 1845 this fund was utilized only on this school. This school was inspected by George Lushington, the Commissioner and Lard Bishop of Calcutta (Kolkata). Taking queue from this school Lard Bishop was requested by people of Almora during his visit in 1840 for opening similar school at Almora. When the proposal of Senior Assistant Commissioner John Helot Batten was forwarded by George Lushington; the Commissioner; to the Head Quarters of North West Provinces, he was advised to forward the recommendation to the Committee of Education, Calcutta, because at that time there was no such proposal under the consideration of North West Provinces, the then name of Uttar Pradesh.¹⁰⁴

Government Assistance for opening one Vernacular School each in Kumaon and Garhwal was granted for the first time 1842. From the correspondence between Commissioner Lushington and Batten and Hadulton, it is revealed that children from higher class families from Srinagar and nearby villages only used to attend school for learning. Children from so called lower classes could not make use of the schools because at that time learning was limited to the lessons of *shastras* and Hindi only. Wealthy families used to arrange education for their children through personal tutors. Trader community of Shauka was not ignorant about the advantages of reading and writing. Hadulton's report reveals that in every Shauka (Bhotia) village, teachers were hired for the imparting education to the kids while the adult male folks were busy in trade in faraway Tibet.¹⁰⁵ The Almora Missionary School was established in 1844. As far as improvement in vernacular schools is concerned, some efforts were made by Batten in 1850. In place of Molavis, two proficient Hindi teachers were appointed, and the number of Hindi teachers rose to four. Books were ordered from *Nagri* (Hindi script *Devnagri*) society. According to Henri Ramjay, for lower rung of the society, existence of these schools had no

¹⁰⁴ Letter of Batten MLR/Div 65 dated 27 February 1840 to Luisington, Hadulton's letter MLR/Div 64 dated 9 May 1840 to Luisington, Letter of Tharnton dated 8 July 1840 to Luisington, Letter of Tharnton MLR/Div 80, dated 27 February 1845 to Luisington.

¹⁰⁵ Hadulton's letter to Luisington, MLR Div 70, dated 6 June 1842, Batten's letter to Luisington, MLR Div 70, dated 11 and 22 July 1842, Luisington's report on Education of Kumaon dated 15 February 1848.

meaning, because admission of their kids in them was impossible. As per the available data regarding government aided Vernacular School Almora, there was only one student from the caste of farmers in 1851.

It is to be noted that when in 1851, just one student from the ordinary class was being educated in the Government Vernacular School Almora, by then Nain Singh from a family of far flung border area; who had attained the age of 21 years; had migrated to Mana after the demise of his father in 1848 AD, where same year he was married to Umti (Omvati).

Apparently whatever education was possible, was imparted to Nain Singh under informal local traditions within the Shauka village at Milam and was the outcome of his own perseverance and keenness. Whatever initial learning he could assimilate, was by self inspiration under financially very trying circumstances. The fact that Nain Singh acquired proficiency in Hindi, Persian, English and Tibetan languages under such bleak circumstances is really astonishing. We casually tend to compare the opportunities and facilities of school education visible all over today with that which prevailed during Nain Singh's time. In the back ground of his personal family conditions; with which we are acquainted, his achievements in the field of education do shine gloriously bright. How strong must have been his inquisitiveness for learning? His constant craving for knowledge and untiring willingness to learn new things, techniques, was in fact the most important aspect of his personality.

The fact that; in the first ever census conducted in Kumaon - Garhwal in 1853; out of a total population of Kumaon – Garhwal of 3,67,000, only 10,207 men and 29 women were found in the category of those who could write, which is a blatant indication of lack of literacy. In 1855, a decision was taken that; like the practice prevalent in the plains from before; in next settlement, a levy of 1% of land revenue would be imposed for meeting the expenditure of *tahseely* school (*madarse*).¹⁰⁶ Next settlement had commenced in 1856 by which time Nain Singh was engaged in the survey work in Laddakh with Schlagintweit brothers.

¹⁰⁶ Letter of Commissioner Batten to Henry Ramsay, Senior Assistant Commissioner, Kumaon, MLR/Div 106 and letter of Watson to Commissioner Batten, Div 104, dated 8 September 1854.

Under this scheme, the *tahseely* school of Malla Johar was opened at Milam, where Nain Singh was appointed the first teacher (*mudarris*) in 1859. The school opened in Darma (Dharchula) too was part of this scheme, foundation of which was laid mainly with the efforts of Nain Singh.

Nain Singh took the responsibility of a teacher with full commitment and keen interest, and his efforts have been loudly appreciated by Mr. Smith; the then Senior Assistant Commissioner (equivalent of present post of *Up-Ayukta*) and Inspector of Schools. Those days these teachers were addressed as '*pundit*'. This title of *pundit* has since been dovetailed with his name, as a pseudonym, since he was functioning as a teacher, i.e. *pundit* when he was called for survey work.

Nain Singh was deputed to Darma by Mr. Smith in 1862 since there was some specific difficulty regarding the dialect of that region. He took Kishen Singh; his cousin; with him to Darma (Dharchula) and taught him at his school there. He had great affection for Kishen Singh.¹⁰⁷

Nain Singh was working as Head Master of Milam Vernacular School from May 1859 to January 1862. During that period Colonel Smith and Deputy Commissioner Colvin inspected his school and took examination of the students on many occasions. Impressed by his progress in teaching he was awarded by them several times. These were the times when vernacular schools were being established in many villages. In the plains these school were opened Tahsilwise, but in Kumaon these were opened in villages also. According to Webber, Colonel Smith was an expert mountaineer and enthusiastic tourist. The names of Nain Singh, Kishen Singh and Kaliyan Singh were recommended to Colonel Walker; the Superintendent of Great Trigonometrically Survey; by Colonel Smith for survey expeditions in areas across the border.¹⁰⁸

Vernacular schools progressed satisfactorily within Johar valley, but on account of difference in local dialect these were not progressing

¹⁰⁷ "*Johari Upkarak*", Part – One, Ram Singh Pangtey, (Published by *Johari Upkarini Mahasabha*, Lakshni Narayan Press, Muradabad, 1913) and 'The Journal of the Royal Geographis Society, London', by John Murry, Alva Merry Street, 1877, page 861.

¹⁰⁸ "The Forest of Upper India Inhabitants", London 1902, page 162-63, by Thomas W Webber.

satisfactorily in *purgana* Darma (Darma, Vyans and Chauhans). The dialect of *shaukas* of this *purgana* differed quite a bit. Difference between their dialect and (*that of Kumaon region*) was so vast that difficulty in arriving at definite conclusion in the law suits in the courts was being felt. The main objective of establishing of school was imparting education to them so as to promote the use of Hindi language as a medium of expression.

Colonel Smith impressed upon Nain Singh that without his taking charge there the school cannot progress effectively in Darma region. So Nain Singh was transferred to Dharchula in Darma *Purgna* where he took charge in January 1863. He began teaching children in a thatch roofed hut. During the first two – three month it became difficult to teach them the basic alphabets. Teaching them the correct pronunciation of *devnagri* alphabets was especially difficult.¹⁰⁹

He (Nain Singh) reached Dharchula (Chaudans) in April 1862 while proceeding to Vyans. He stayed in Chaudans for couple of days. At Garbyang he met Bachhuwa Garbyal, a senior and most honored citizen of that area. With the co-operation of Bachhuwa *Burha* he got a sizable school building constructed without financial allocations from the government. Colonel Smith arrived for conducting examination at his school in September 1862. This proves how keen the local residents were to acquire education during that time. Pleased with the results of five month old school of Nain Singh, Colonel Smith gave away prizes and rewards.

Once the school was established, Nain Singh started to get a salary of Rs 15 and fees of two Annas per student. But it was difficult for Nain Singh to manage his expenses because he was still burdened with the outstanding debt and with whatever he could save, he was not even to pay installment of annual interest on the loan. He was not certain if ever he will be in a position to pay back the total amount of loan. We can easily appreciate his inexhaustible zeal for education, by evaluating his extremely precarious financial conditions before his

¹⁰⁹ Griarson has placed the dialects of Darma, Vyans and Chaudans Shaukas under the category of Barman languages, where as the dialect of Johari Shaukas has been included in the category of Indo-Aryans. – 'Linguistic Survey of India', Part 3, pages 1-9, 248-251, 479-502. And Charle A. Sherring's note on Bhotias of Almora.

joining the services of Survey of India. Had he not been burdened with the debt, he sure would have continued to work as a teacher, since the salary of a teacher of that time was adequate for meeting the expenditure of a family comfortably (*for his assertion, see his diary one*).

Distressed by the burden of loan, Nain Singh requested Colonel Smith to suggest a job which will be helpful for him to get rid of the debt as soon as possible. Impressed by his deep devotion to the job assigned to him, hard work and promptness to his duties, Colonel Smith recommended his name to Great Trigonometrically Survey, Dehradun where he would get a salary of Rs forty.

Within three months, Nain Singh received an official communication to report at Dehradun in December 1862. After handing over the job of teacher to Pundit Shivdutt Bhatt, Nain Singh returned to Milam (*Tejam*). Nain Singh presented himself before Colonel Smith at Bageswar on 12th January. Colonel Smith gave him and Mani (*Patwari*) salary advance of Rs 100 and told him that he would get monthly salary of Rs 40 from the department of Survey. Mani's salary was fixed at Rs 50. Nain Singh, Mani and Kaliyan Singh arrived at Dehradun in February 1863.

Since Colonel Walker was out on tour, they submitted their arrival report to Captain Harsal. Harsal placed these three cousins at the disposal of Johnson for training. After training Nain Singh and Man Singh (Mani) commenced their survey journey across the borders in March 1864.

Survey and Training

The written record of extra ordinary survey travels of Nain Singh is really vast. *Johar Sanskritik Sangthan* has succeeded in serializing the reports published in English and Hindi texts in their publication of History of Johar.¹¹⁰ It is difficult to have any idea about the volume of reported details in numerous booklets, books, journals and magazines in the languages of different countries of the world. But in all these reported texts, basic focus has been only on his achievements of difficult survey expeditions. All these reports do not throw any light on the facts of hard work, sufferings and deprivations faced by Nain Singh in any way.

¹¹⁰“*Johar ka Itihas*”, pages 41 – 44, Johar Sanskritik Sangthan, Lucknow 1991

Besides, two other aspects of his documented literature remain neglected.

Firstly: his original diaries, from which all these facts have been discerned, have not been published till now. Description of his journey published in English is just abstract of the original text. Secondly: the literature documented by him; which was not part of the task assigned to him; has not been critically evaluated so far. Publication of '*Johar ka Itihas*' which basically is the introductory details of his clan and in a way is the history of present day Johari residents of Malla Johar valley; could be possible in 1991. From the published version of this manuscript only, people in general came to know about his life history and became aware of his achievements and super-human personality.

By himself, Nain Singh did not preserve his professional knowledge and experience to himself. He was an ideal teacher and trainer in its true meaning. He, not only scripted in detail the experiences about technical and scientific skills acquired by him during 15 year long period; albeit full of painful hardships; between 1856 to 1871, but got them published himself.

He utilized the opportunity of the three years period for training other Indian surveyors during Kathmandu – Lhasa journey of 1865 – 66, journey to the locations of the origin of Sutlej and Indus Rivers of 1867 – 68 (*by mistake 1886 – 87 has been printed*) and journey with Yarkand Mission headed by Sir Douglas Forsyth of 1873 - 74 (*by mistake 1870 has been printed*). He gave his services to the institution of Great Trigonometrically Survey, as a practical surveyor, along with that in the capacity of a senior and experienced trainer.¹¹¹

His vast practical experience is documented in his book '*Akshyans Darpan*'. Evaluating contents of this book in the context of the modern popular scientific literature, one feels astonished. It is important not only by the fact that it was a well known scientific literature published hundred years earlier, but it also demonstrates how sharp was the observation and accurate was the grasp of Nain Singh. Since it is a book written by a practical surveyor with factual examples at many

¹¹¹ "The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, London", Part – 47 (1877), page 87, by John Murry.

places and full of real incidents faced by the surveyor, it is an ideal book from the angle of comprehension of the subject matter. All this makes it an important text of guidance.

Often the aspect of Nain Singh as a teacher and trainer get prominence and the aspect of his being a writer takes back stage. Clauses like '(it) should be known' (जानना चाहिए), 'should not remain hidden' (छिपा न रहे), even today present a scene of class of a school in progress before our eyes. The type of pupils placed in the charge of Nain Singh for teaching, once became part of normal discussion of Royal Geographical Society after the presentation of survey reports.

In Royal Geographical Society, London, this discussion took place on 8 December 1884, when Rai Kishen Singh Bahadur had completed his greatest journey of four years, and the work of collection and collation etc of the information obtained by him, was in progress at Dehradun and Mussoorie. Meanwhile General J.T. Walker, having retired from the post of Survey General of India, had returned to England. He was the same Walker during whose superintendence, the concept of survey of trans-border region by employing Nain Singh and Kishen Singh etc. was founded. The importance of the information acquired by Kishen Singh was no less important in any way for knowledgeable geographer than scientific information acquired by Nain Singh. General Walker and his old associates were trying for supreme award of the standard medal from Royal Geographic Society; like the one endowed to Montgomery and Trotter; for Walker.

In the discussions ensuing after reading of the new survey results in the Society by General Walker, we easily get the idea of comparative level of the trainees. In the discussion which took place in December 1884, General Walker himself disclosed the mystery –

"I must now explain why, not merely as bearing on his (Kishen Singh Rawat) work, but in order to correct an erroneous impression which has got about, that the Asiatic explorers of the Indian Survey are educated native gentlemen; this is not the case, we have never secured the services of Asiatic who were well educated, and who had possessed the hardihood, and courage, and power of endurance which are required of an explorer. Of course, our employees are bound to be men of intelligence, as well as good physique; and also to have had

some education, but not necessarily much, just sufficient to enable them to acquire the rudimentary elements of surveying, to make the requisite observations and measurements, and to keep up the field books. Thus our first great explorer Nain Singh was, when I enlisted him, the master of a village school in Kumaon hills, and his education and acquirements were much on par with those of the school master of whom Gold Smith sang in years long gone by, before School Boards were invented-

*“The village all declared how much he knew;
It was certain he would write and cipher too!*

“Nain Singh was also regarded as a very learned man by his acquaintances, and given the ordinary designation of pandit, which is usually applied by natives of India to any learned Hindoo; it has thus come to be applied not only to him, but others of the Hindoo explorers of the survey, though of course, not to any of the Mohammedans.

“He soon learnt how to make route surveys, and determine heights and astronomical latitudes. And so did our present Pandit (Kishen Singh). But neither of them could have acquired the difficult art of determining absolute longitude, which however even accomplished European travelers do not invariably succeed in mastering. The work most strongly impressed on the Asiatic explorers is to keep up an unbroken pace, record the bearings, and distances on their route from place to place. The distances they obtain by counting the paces; this is a very tiresome thing to do without intermission for any length of time. Our explorers always wear a rosary to help them in counting their paces, and they drop a bead at every hundred paces. Thus the rosary and the prayer barrel are of much practical service as surveying instrument, and there constant use gives the explorers an air of propriety and respectability in the eyes of the mechanically devout Tibetans, and never excites suspicion.

“The field survey work is regarded as by far the most important business of the explorer, he is purposely not taught to reduce his own observations, or to plot the maps of his routes, for the only check on this work lies in having this done by an independent agency, on his return to the headquarter office.

“It will be now readily understood that the explorers, though intelligent and skilful observers, are not capable of writing an

account of their travels, at least, in a form that would be suitable for publication, though sitting by your side they will give you a most interesting narrative of their adventures and journeys, and the people and places they have visited.

“Thus, on their turn they have to be taken in hand and questioned and listened to, and their narrative has to be translated into English and written down; simultaneously their latitudes and height determination are worked out, and their field books are plotted in sections. Finally, a summary and general discussion of the result of exploration is made by the head of the Office to which they are attached. It was in doing this for Nain Singh’s exploration that first Colonel Montgomerie, and afterwards major Trotter, were so successful in producing interesting narratives that the interprising school master came to be regarded as an educated traveler; his designation of Pandit may also have been misleading to those who are not aware that it was simply an equivalent to the Scotch Dominie (Scotish paster/clergyman).

“Our present Pandit (Kishen Singh) was mainly educated by Nain Singh, and in much the same stamp of man, happily, for had he gone through a regular course of study at one of the Indian Universities and been more delicately nurtured, he would scarcely have cared to become a servant to a succession of foreign masters, and to tend camels and horses, in order to acquire the means of carrying on his surveys.”¹¹²

In this discussion experts on Ideology like Sir Henry Ralinson, Colonel Yule, Clement Markham, Sir Recharad Temple took part. The way General Walker tried to belittle not only the achievements of Kishen Singh, but also made a futile attempt to lower down the value of performance of world famous surveyor Nain Singh, and tried to blow up the performance of cozy office bound workers, he got the most pertinent answer from Sir Recharad Temple during the discussion. Expressing pain at the slavery status of Indian surveyors, Sir Temple said:-

“There was yet another moral to be drawn by British people from this remarkable journey, viz, that their native fellow – subjects in the East were after all possessed of qualities which rendered them

¹¹² “Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, and Monthly Record of Geogra phy”, Part 7 (1885), pages 79-80.

worthy citizens of the British Empire. Let them consider the skill, the endurance, the resolution, the patience, the capacity shown by this native gentlemen. Had he been an English-man he would have possessed the stimulus offered by a liberal education, but as we were told, he was a comparatively uneducated man. Had he been an English-man he would have looked forward to returning to his native land, where the applause of the public, the thanks of parliament, the gracious approval even of the sovereign would have awaited him. But what had the poor man to look forward to."¹¹³

Kenneth Mason, who was editor of Himalayan Journal for a long time and thereafter continued as Head of the Faculty of Geography in Oxford University for 20 long years, has clearly indicated about educational and financial status of the trainees of Nain Singh:-

"Men were to be carefully selected and engaged on a salary of, from Rs 16 to Rs 20 per month, and money was to be advanced with which to buy medicines & merchandise. Their subsequent reward was to depend upon the value of the work accomplished."

But for the two previous excursions prior to accompanying Sir Forsyth's on his Yarkand Mission in 1873, Nain Singh was engaged in the job of whole time instructor. During this period his name came under wide discussion and to depute him on any survey excursion was not without hazards. Amongst these surveyor, Nain Singh was the only one who could read and write in English language.¹¹⁴

On his assignment of an instructor during 1865 to 1872; how much innovation based on his experience as teacher, must Nain Singh had applied, for imparting training to the trainees with very elementary level of education; can only be broadly imagined. From the examples he has quoted at many places in '*Akshyans Darpan*', this book becomes a treatise of extremely complex teaching sessions. These sessions were in no way less problematic than the phonetic difficulty in teaching the children of Darma *Purgana*. It would be foolish to deny the contribution of the meaningful training imparted by Nain

¹¹³ Ibid pages 90 – 91.

¹¹⁴ "The Geographical Journal, 1923", London, 'Kishen Singh and the Indian Explorers', pages 429 – 39.

Singh, in the success achieved by Kishen Singh, Kaliyan Singh and many Indian surveyors. To a great extent the credit for success of Kishen Singh and other Indian surveyor goes to the teaching skills and deftness of Nain Singh.

Considering this aspect, *Akshyans Darpan* attains the status of a very important manual of general guidelines for teaching lessons of that time. The real impotence of any book cannot be measured without evaluating its utility and achieved results. The terms and words from different dialects used by Nain Singh in the text of this book must have been his afford to make the complex subject matter easily comprehensible to the trainees. It is just not a piece of literature but is a guide book for practical usage.

Nain Singh's achievements in the field of survey, has been adequately evaluated since last one and half century. This book would through some light on the aspect of his personal efforts in the arena of education, publicity and extension of education of modern science and use of Hindi language in popularization of scientific knowledge. This booklet may be taken as beginning of valuation of his contribution in the field of education.

Akshyans Darpan, published by Nain Singh himself about a century ago, is being enclosed with this book, because it is virtually extinct now. It may be mentioned here that he was encourage to publish this book by Colonel Fisher; the then Senior Assistant Commissioner (Deputy Commissioner of that time) Almora and Major Garden; the then Inspector of Schools. Only 300 copies of this book were printed at Matbah Nurul Elm, Agra in 1871 and it's price was fixed at eight annas.

R,S. Tolia

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2, April 1992

Dear Mr Tolia

Yes indeed, I do remember you coming to the RGS and I recall your work on Nain Singh.

I am sorry but I cannot help over the question of the naming of the mountain range after Nain Singh. The earliest use of the name that we had been able to trace is on a Bartholomew's map of 1935 – it is not present on their 1924 map. It does not appear on recent maps of the area, and it may be that the Permanent Committee of Geographical Names (and therefore the British Government) has used instead the name used by the Chinese for the range. I think that only way to discover how the name came to be placed on the maps of Tibet and then removed, is to write to K L Winch, Librarian, John Bartholomew Ltd., 12 Dunkan Street, Edinburgh EH9 1TA. Their record may show on what authority the name was first used.

As to other commemorative names, we have no record here of such names being listed but the India Office Library and Records, Blackfriars Road London SE1 8NG, might be able to help. Or the Survey of India at Dehradun who are the authority in India.

The naming of places has been somewhat haphazard in the past. The RGS would never place a 'personal' name on maps unless there was clearly no name in use locally (e.g. in the Antarctic). Travellers in newly explored territories would often award names which did not survive subsequent investigation even though some map-

makers would mistakenly continue to use the name (e.g. Mountain Godwin Austen). Since World War 2 there exists an understanding that the State maps and names in its own lands and then the Board of Geographical Names in America confers with local authorities in order to produce what they hope are authoritative gazetteers. The Permanent Committee of Geographical Names which I mentioned earlier acts on behalf of UK.

So, for India the Survey of India is the source for names.

However I cannot give you any source for places in China. It is unlikely that 'personal' or 'historical' names of non-Chinese origin would be retained.

Yours sincerely

Sd
Mrs C Kelly
Archivist



About the Author

Surendra Singh Pangtey IAS (Retired), belongs to Shauka (Bhotia) tribe originally residing in Johar Pargana of Pithoragarh, he was born on 1 January 1940 at Munsyari, he did his graduation from Almora, before migrating to Kalimpong for study of the Tibetan Language in 1960. After the Chinese aggression, he joined the Indian Army as Emergency Commissioned Officer in the 3/3 Gorkha Rifles he was release from the Army services in the year 1968, he qualified & joined the Indian Administrative Services in 1969 and was allotted the Uttar Pradesh Cadre, where he worked on various posts ranging from Sub Divisional Magistrate to Principal Secretary and eventually retired from the post of Administrative Member, Board of Revenue, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh on 31st December 1997. He had also served on deputation between 1975 and 1978 in the newly created State of Sikkim on the job of preparation of the land records.

Post Retirement he has been actively involved in various social & cultural causes, he is President of Ashok Ashram; a Gandian Institute devoted to welfare of tribal women, Member of Maharaja Narendra Shah Trust established by Padma Bhushan Late Rajmata Kamlendumati Shah, he was President of the Winter Games Federation of India (WGFI), a national sports federation from 2006 to 2010. He is also associated with about half a dozen other social organizations.

Tibet and Central Asia attracted adventurers from Europe for its spiritual secrets and hitherto unexplored mineral wealth. Apprehensive of adverse impact on their spiritual way of life, entry of foreigners in Tibet was closed by its authorities since 18th century. Many Europeans failed in their attempts of reconnaissance of forbidden land clandestinely because of their distinct physical features. British survey officer T.G. Montgomerie innovated the idea of using trained native explorers, in disguise as traders. Montgomerie selected two cousins in 1863; Mani Singh and Nain Singh; from border village of Milam of district of Pithoragarh for this purpose. Both were part of Laddakh Expedition of 1856-1857 undertaken by Schlagintweit brothers (Adolphe, Herman and Robert) under the patronage of Prussia Monarch Fredrik Williams IV, supported by Directors of Court of East India Company. During this expedition they learnt the techniques of trigonometrical survey. They were trained in methods of clandestine survey at Dehradun during 1863-64.

Out of the two Nain Singh successfully entered Tibet and brought back valuable trigonometrical data and socio-political information of hitherto unknown region. Besides his trip with Schlagintweit brothers and Yarkand mission, he criss-crossed Tibet three times at great risk to life. He ventured into areas heavily infested by robbers and dacoits like Kirghiz Jungal or Changthang of northern Tibet. He had to pass certain nights without food and drinking water. He fell ill or was over fatigued on many occasions and at times he had close encounter with death. But he did not deter from his objective of route survey including tiresome monotonous job of counting paces in all kinds of terrain, and clandestinely taking stellar observations and the boiling points of water with precision. He recorded details of socio-political conditions of forbidden land of Tibet and Central Asia. He left valuable accounts of his expeditions in the form of diaries and journals, many of which have been printed by various groups. However his narratives are in Hindustani in deonagri script, not easily comprehensible to modern readers. He used words from Urdu, Farsi and other oriental languages, which were in prevalence during his time. The real worth of his work can only be valued if texts recorded by him are reproduced in the language understood by people in general. As such this book; a transliteration of his three available diaries and certain other references; is an attempt to benefit the readers.



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E-mail: bsmps@vsnl.com

Price: ₹ 495.00

ISBN-13 : 978-81-211-0960-4



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