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The main emphasis of the work of St Antony's College, Oxford, since its foundation in 1950 has been in the fields of modern history and international affairs. The College organizes a number of regular Seminars at which are read papers produced by its members in the course of their research or by visiting experts from other institutions. The College further sponsors the delivery of lectures in Oxford by scholars of international reputation in their respective fields.

An appreciable volume of contribution to scholarship is thus being produced under the auspices of St Antony's and the present series has been started in order to preserve and present a selection of this work. The series is not, however, confined to this material alone and includes contributions from other places.

Three numbers a year are issued and each number is devoted to a particular topic or a particular part of the world.
A GLANCE at the map of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as it was on the 15th of August 1947 will show that, geographically, it was divisible into three main parts. The division into three parts is made by two roughly parallel mountain ranges running north-west to south-east, the Great Himalaya Range in the south, and the Karakoram in the north.

South of the Himalayas and north of its offshoot, the Pir Panjal Range, at an average altitude of 6,000 feet above sea-level, lies the Valley of Kashmir. Before the nineteenth century, the term "Kashmir" meant, exclusively, the Valley of Kashmir.

North of the Himalayas and south of the Karakoram, proceeding from north-west to south-east, lie the three territories of Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh. Both racially and linguistically, the Baltis and Ladakhis are of Tibetan stock. The main difference between the two peoples is that the Baltis are predominantly Muslims, the Ladakhis predominantly Lamaistic Buddhists.

The main geographical feature of the area north of the Himalayas and south of the Karakoram is, of course, the River Indus, as it flows out of Tibet north-westward towards Gilgit, where it turns south to flow to the Arabian Sea, through what is now West Pakistan. On the left bank of the Indus, immediately after it leaves Tibet, lies the territory of Rupshu, with its "capital" at Han-le. The lowest elevation of Rupshu is 13,500 feet above sea-level. Further down, a little to the west of Leh (11,500 feet), the Indus receives a tributary on its left bank, the Zaskar (Zaṅs-dkar) River, which drains the area known as Zaskar. Moving downstream along the left bank of the Indus, we find the Dras River draining into the Indus. Along the valley of the Dras lies the main line of communication between the Valley of Kashmir and Ladakh, across the Zoji La Pass (11,300 feet). The area watered by the Suru River — a right-bank tributary of the Dras — is known as Purig.
Frontier claimed by India

Frontier claimed by China

Sinkiang - Tibet Highway

0 20 40 60 80 100 Kms.
0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
Farther down the Indus, the Shyok River meets the Indus, on its right bank, at Kiris. Three left-bank tributaries of the Shyok are the Chip Chap, the Galwan and the Chang Chen-mo rivers. A right-bank tributary is the Nubra. The area through which the Nubra flows is known as Nubra or Ldum-ra.

From Yasin, in the Gilgit Agency, one can proceed northwards through the Darkot Pass to the valley of the Yarkhun River in Chitral; thence through the Baroghil Pass to Wakhan, in Afghanistan. An alternative route runs from Gilgit to Hunza; thence through the Irshad Pass to Wakhan.

Wakhan itself lies between the Pamir Range in the north and the Hindukush in the south. The Wakhan Range, which runs from west to east, roughly equidistant from, and parallel to, the Pamir and the Hindukush ranges, cuts the territory into two parts. North of the Wakhan Range lies the Great Pamir, south—or, more accurately, south-east—of it, the Little Pamir. Through the Wakhjir Pass in the east one descends into the Taghdumbash Pamir, which is part of the area known as Sarik-kol, in Chinese Turkistan.

To return to Jammu and Kashmir. The third geographical part of the State lay north of the Karakoram and south of the Kun-lun Mountains. As has been said before, the Chip Chap, Galwan and Chang Chen-mo rivers are left-bank tributaries of the Shyok River and, therefore, part of the Indus system. But the Qara-qash River flows north into Chinese Turkistan, and the Soda Plains, the salt lakes of the Aksai Chin, the Ling-zi Plains and the basin of the Sarigh Jilghanang Lake, seem to belong, geographically, to the system of upland lakes and plateaux, which is characteristic of northern Tibet.

Here is a description of the Depsang Plains—south of the Chip Chap River—from F. E. Younghusband's *The Heart of a Continent* (London, John Murray, 1896), page 225:

The Depsang Plains are more than seventeen thousand feet above sea level, and are of gravel, as bare as a gravel walk to a suburban villa. . . . Before us was nothing but gravel plains and great gravel mounds, terribly desolate and depressing. Across the plains blew blinding squalls of snow, and at night, though it was now the middle of summer, there were several degrees of frost.

1 The word "Pamir" means an elevated, partially glaciated, plateau. Taghdumbash (Turki) means "head of a mountain". The Persian name for the Taghdumbash Pamir is Sar-i-koh ("head of a mountain"). Sarigh-kol (Turki) means "Yellow Lake".
Let us return to Wakhan. To the Chinese, in the time of the T'ang emperors of China (A.D. 618–907), Wakhan was known as Hu-mi. The New T'ang History (c. A.D. 1050), chüan 221–b, pages 11b–12a,² says:

(Le pays de) Hou-mi est aussi appelé Ta-mo-si-t’ie-ti, ou encore Ho-k’an; c’est le pays qu’on appelait Po-ho sous les Yuen Wei. Il fait aussi partie de l’ancien territoire du T’ou-ho-lo (Tokharestan).³ Dans le direction du sud-est, il est à plus de neuf mille li en droite ligne de la capitale; il a mille six cents li de l’est à l’ouest; du nord au sud, il est resserré et n’a que quatre à cinq li. Le roi réside dans la ville de Han (ou Sai?) kia chen; au nord, (ce pays) est voisin du fleuve Ou-han (Oxus). Le sol y est gelé par le froid; des élévations de terrain y font des sinuosités; le sable et les pierres le remplissent partout. (Ce pays) a des haricots et du blé; il est favorable aux arbres et aux fruits; il produit d’excellents chevaux. Les habitants ont (des yeux dont) l’iris est verdâtre. Pendant la période hien-king (656–660), on fit de ce pays l’arrondissement de Niao-fei, et le roi Cha-po-lo hie-li-fa en fut nommé prefet. Ce territoire est sur la route qui mène des Quatre Garnisons (le Turkestan oriental) dans le T’ou-ho-lo (Tokharestan). Autrefois, il dépendait des T’ou-po (Tibétains).⁴

The Old T'ang History (c. A.D. 950), Biographies (Liec ch’uan), chüan 146a, pages 2a–b,⁵ and the New T’ang History (c. A.D. 1050), Biographies, chüan 141a, pages 3a–b,⁶ translated by S. W. Bushell in “The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources”, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Volume 12, 1880, pages 443–4, make possible the conclusions that before the eighth year of chén-kuan (634), Sron btsan sgam-po (c. 600–50), the first historical king of Tibet, had conquered “the neighbouring country, the Yang-t’ung, and all the

³ Tokharistan = Afghan Turkistan, Afghanistan north of the Hindukush.
⁶ The reference to the New T’ang History is, as has been said before, to a Ming dynasty reprint of the 1304 edition. Bodleian Library, Oxford, catalogue No. Backhouse 388/11.
Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes”. This, apparently, brought him to the notice of the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung (626–49), who sent an envoy to him. When the Chinese envoy returned, the Tibetan king sent a mission to accompany him to China. This Tibetan mission arrived in 634.

Bushell, in note 9, of page 527 of his work, points out that the Yang-t'ung inhabited the plateau south of Khotan, i.e. the northern slopes of the Kun-lun Mountains.

The hypotheses are here put forward: (1) that, at the time that Sron btsan sgam-po subdued the Yang-t'ung, he also annexed Wakhan; and (2) that, if he annexed Wakhan, he must also, at the same time, have annexed Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit and Chitral — territories which lie along the more feasible line of advance from Tibet to Wakhan. Of course, the line of advance could have lain across the northern plateau of Tibet, through the Yang-t'ung country, thence through Sarik-kol and the Taghdumbash Pamir, and over the Wakhjir Pass. But the Ladakh route seems the more probable.

To the presence of the Tibetans in Ladakh before 660 we have, perhaps, one reference (at least) in the Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet, edited and translated by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas and C. Toussaint:

656. Le roi résidant à Mer-ke, le premier ministre (mGar) Sron rtsan (yul bzun) fit une grande chasse à Mar du gisam. 8

Mar is the Tibetan name for Ladakh.

III

In 657–59 the Chinese subdued the Western Turks. Two (Sub-)Protectorates were established among them: (1) the (Sub-)Protectorate of Kun ling over the five tribes of the Western Turks — collectively known as the Tulu tribes — who lived to the east of the Ili River; and (2) the (Sub-)Protectorate of Meng ch’ih over the five tribes of the Western Turks — the Nu-shih-pi tribes — who lived to the west of the River Ili. The (Sub-)Protectorate of Kun ling, together with 17 other

7 Old T’ang History. His neighbouring country, the Yang-t’ung and all the Ch’iang tribes submitted to him. New T’ang History. All the countries of the western region were subject to him.

8 J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, C. Toussaint: Documents de Touen houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet (Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940), p. 31. The king referred to is Mañ sroñ mañ btsan, King of Tibet, 650–79. The Chinese version of mGar Sroñ rtsan yul bzun’s name is Lu tung tsan. He died in 667.
Governments (tu tu), was placed under the Protectorates (tu hu fu) of Pei-ting (Bish-balik). Similarly, the (Sub-)Protectorate of Meng ch’ih was placed under the Protectorate of An-hsi, which had been established in 640 at Turfan. The four Garrisons of Kucha, Kashgar, Khotan and Tokmak were under the Protector of An-hsi even before 657-59. In 658 the Protectorate of An-hsi was moved from Turfan to Kucha. Among the Governments under the Protectorate of An-hsi, in c. 660, were those of (a) the Yueh chih at O-huan (War waliz = Kunduz); (b) Huo lu (Ghour?); (c) Ho ta lo chih (Arokhaj); (d) Kao fu (Kabul); (e) Chi pin (Kāpiša, the district of Kabul); (f) Fan yen (Bamyan); (g) Ta mo (Tirmidh); (h) Chii nli (Karateghin); and (i) the former Tibetan territory of Hu-mi (Wakhan).

It was this extension of Chinese influence in the western regions, consequent on the destruction of the empire of the Western Turks, more particularly, the occupation of the former Tibetan territory of Hu-mi, which sparked off the Sino-Tibetan conflict of the seventh and eighth centuries in the western regions. With the details of the struggle we are not here concerned. Suffice it to note a few points, bearing in mind primarily the western regions:

670. The Chinese were compelled to withdraw from the four Garrisons.
692. The Chinese inflicted a great defeat on the Tibetans and recaptured the four Garrisons.
696. The Tibetans proposed a partition of Central Asia, but the Tibetan claim – the ten Tribes of the Western Turks and the four Garrisons – proved unacceptable to the Chinese.

699. mGar Khri ’Brin btsan brod (Chinese Chin ling), the Tibetan Minister-General who had conducted the negotiations of 696, and his entire family, fell from royal favour.11
709. Khri lde gtsug btsan (Chinese Ch’i li so tsan), otherwise known as Meš-ag-tshoms, King of Tibet (704–55), married the Princess Chin Cheng, adopted daughter of the Emperor Chung Tsung (684, 705–10). Campaigns of Qutaybah ibn Muslim, Governor of Khorasan.12

In 708/9 he attacked Bukhara. Takhon, King of Soghd, submitted to

10 For the four Garrisons, see Chavannes, op. cit., p. 45, footnote 4; p. 68, footnote 2 B; p. 113, footnote 2.
11 mGar Khri ’Brin btsan brod was the son of the mGar Stoṅ rtsan yul bzuṅ (Chinese Lu tung tsan) whom we met in Ladakh in 656.
12 “To the Arabs the limits of Khorasan were described by, in the east, Sijistan and India (including Wakhan); in the west, by the deserts of Ghazz and Jurjan; in the north, by Transoxiana (ma’ warā’ ul-nahr, that which is beyond the river); and in the south(-west), by the desert of Persia and the canton of Qumiss.” Encyclopaedia of Islam, No. 33 (1927), p. 966.
him; whereupon the people of Bukhara elected Ghourek (Chinese Wu-le-chia), King of Samarkand, as their king. In 711/12 Qutaybah reduced Samarkand, in 712/13 Ferghānah and Shāsh (Tash-kend).18
711 and the following years. The Western Turks fell under the domination of the Northern Turks.14

714. A-shih-na Hsien, whom the Chinese placed in charge of the five Tulu tribes, won a great victory at Tokmak over Tu-tan, the chief of one of the Nu-shih-pi tribes, presumably the dominant one. Re-establishment of Chinese influence in the western regions.16

715. The Chinese defeated the Arab-Tibetan nominee to the throne of Ferghanah.16

At the beginning of the period kai-yuan (713-41), Mo-chin-mang, King of Little P'o-lo-lu (Gilgit), came to do homage to the Chinese Emperor Hsüan Tsung (713-56).

717. The Emperor Hsüan Tsung conferred the title of King on Su fu she li chi li ni, King of Great P'o-lo-lu (Baltistan).17
716 and the following years. Sulu, chief of the Turgash, one of the five Tulu tribes, established his overlordship over the Western Turks.

717. Sulu invited the Arabs and the Tibetans to attack the four Garrisons.18
719. The Chinese Emperor received letters from Tu-sa-po-ti, King of Bukhara; Wu-le-chia (Ghourek), King of Samarkand; and Nārāyana, King of Chūmi (Karateghin), requesting help against the Arabs.19

720. The Emperor Hsüan Tsung conferred titles on the rulers of Wu-chang (Udyana = Swat); Ku-tu (Khottal); and Chū-wei (Mastuj and the Yarkhun Valley in Chitral).20 Also on Sulin-t'o-i-chih (Surendrditya), King of Great P'o-lo-lu (Baltistan); Lo-lu-i-t'o Ku-tu-lu (Kutluq) to-p'i-le-mo-ho-ta-mo-sa-erh, King of Hu-mi (Wakhan); and Chen-to-lo-pi-li (Chandrapidi, 713-21), King of Kashmir.

720-21 (?). The Tibetans attacked Little P'o-lu (Gilgit) and captured nine towns.

722. Chang ssu-li, the Chinese officer at Kashgar, invaded Little P'o-lu (Gilgit) and drove out the Tibetans.
727. Sulu, allied with the Tibetans, attacked the four Garrisons.21
730. Peace of Ch'ih ling (the Red Hills).

14 Chavannes, op. cit., p. 44, pp. 80-81.
15 ibid., p. 41, p. 77, pp. 283-4.
16 ibid., p. 148, footnote 3.
17 For Great and Little P'o-lo-lu, see Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 149-54.
18 Chavannes, op. cit., p. 284, footnote 2.
19 ibid., pp. 203-5.
21 Chavannes, Documents, p. 83, footnote 2.
731. The Chinese Emperor conferred the title of King on Nan-ni, the son and successor of Mo-chin-mang, King of Little P'o-lu (Gilgit).

732. Hu-chen-tan named King of Hu-mi (Wakhan) in succession to Lo-lu-i-t'o Ku-tu-lu (Kutluq) to-p'i-le-mo-ho-ta-mo-sa-erh.

733. Mu-to-pi (Lalitätitya Muktāpida, King of Kashmir, 725-53) named King of Kashmir by the Chinese.


736. The Tibetans attacked little P'o-lu (Gilgit). Année 88 (737). Le roi étant à Man-ste-lun du palais de Dron, le ministre Skyes bzañ ldoñ fut appelé au pays Bru-ža (Gilgit). En hiver, le roi étant au palais de Brad-dmar, le roi de Bru-ža, vaincu, presenta hommage. L'envoyé chinois, Van'-do-si, ayant présenté hommage, les Chinois détruisirent le royaume.

738. Sulu assassinated.

740. A Tibetan princess given in marriage to (Su-shih-li-chih?) of Bru-ža (Gilgit).

741. Nan-ni, King of Little P'o-lu (Gilgit), having died, the Emperor of China named Ma-lai-hsi or Ma-ha~lai, King of Little P'o-lu (Gilgit). He reigned for a very short period of time, and was succeeded by Su-shih-li-chih.

741-42 (?). More than twenty kingdoms of the north-west of Tibet subjugated by the Tibetans.

747. Kao Hsien-chih, Deputy Protector of An-hsi, invaded Little P'o-lu (Gilgit), through Sarik-kol, the Alichur Pamir, Hu-mi (Wakhan) and the Baroghil and Darkot passes; and defeated the pro-Tibetan King of Little P'o-lu (Gilgit).

748-49. The Tibetans won over the kingdom of Chieh-shih (Chitral?). Tibetan soldiers entered Chitral (?) — presumably, through Udyāna (Swat) — and threatened to attack Little P'o-lu (Gilgit).


23 Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, op. cit., p. 50. Vañ'-do-si is a Tibetan transcription of Wang Tu-hsi. The form of the name as given in Old T'ang History, Biographies, chüan 146a, p. 10b, is Tu Hsi-wang.

24 Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, op. cit., p. 51: "Annee 91 (740). En été, le roi étant à l'Ile des Oies de Mchar bu sña, la princesse Khri ma lod fut donnée en mariage au chef de Bru-ža."

25 Chavannes, Documents, p. 151.

26 Ibid., p. 211.

27 The name is variously spelt as Chieh-shih (Chavannes, Documents, p. 158, line 5), Chieh (ibid., p. 159, line 10), Chieh-shih (ibid., p. 159, footnote 3) and Chieh-shuai (ibid., p. 214). Stein, Ancient Khotan, Vol. 1, pp. 13 ff., identifies it with Chitral.
750. The ruler of Tokharistan entered Chitral (?), where he met Chinese forces from An-hsi. The joint Sino-Tokharian force dislodged the Tibetans from Chitral (?) and, passing through Little P'o-lu (Gilgit), captured Great P'o-lu (Baltistan).

750. Foundation of the Abbaside dynasty. Abu Muslim, Governor of Khorasan (to 754/55).

750. Kao Hsien-chih put to death the ruler of Tashkend. The brother of the ruler fled to Abu Muslim, who sent Ziyād ibn Sāliḥ al-Khuzai against Kao Hsien-chih. A five-days’ battle was fought at Atlash, on the bank of the River Talas, in Dhū-‘l-hijja, 133 A.H. (July 751), in which the Chinese were totally defeated. “Le désastre éprouvé par Kao Sien-tche sur les bords de la rivière Talas marque la fin de la puissance des Chinois dans les pays d’Occident”.\(^{28}\)

It is remarkable that in the Chinese accounts, among all the principalities of the west, there is no mention of Ladakh. The reason, it seems, is that Ladakh was then regarded, simply, as an integral part of Tibet. This is apparent from the description of Great P'o-lu (Baltistan) given in the New T'ang History, chūan 221b, page 8a:

Le grand Pou-lu (Baltistan) est aussi appelé Pou-lu; il est droit à l’ouest des T’ou-po (Tibetains); il touche au petit Pou-lu; à l’ouest, il est voisin du territoire d’Ou-tch’ang (Oudyana) de l’Inde du nord. Il produit (des plantes) \(yu-\text{kin}\). Il est assujetti aux T’ou-po (Tibetains).\(^{29}\)

Directly to the east of Baltistan is Ladakh, which is here described as Tibet. Hence, Ladakh, in T’ang times, was regarded as a part of Tibet.

More, Ladakh probably served as the Tibetan base for operations in the western regions. Certainly the kings and ministers of Tibet were in Ladakh at this time.


“Spel” is probably an orthographical mistake for “Slel”, the Tibetan

\(^{28}\) Chavannes, Documents, p. 298. \(^{29}\) ibid., pp. 149-50. \(^{30}\) Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, op. cit., p. 47.
spelling of Leh, the capital of Ladakh. "Ru-sod" is Rup-shu; "Zaṅ-žuṅ" the Tibetan province of Gu-ge (Ru-thog-Garthog). Rgyod is a place in Rup-shu.

Between 733 and 738 the King of Tibet, Khri lde gtsug btsan, otherwise known as Meś-ag-tshom (705–53), lived "in the palace of Maṅ-ste-luṅ in Drön". 31 "Maṅ-ste-luṅ" may be dMar-rtse-laṅ, near Hemis dGon-pa in Ladakh. As we have seen, it was from here that the minister, Skyes bzani ldoṅ, went to attack Gilgit in 737.

Under the year 761 we are told that the Tibetan Councillor, Ston-rtsan, reduced Zoṅ-cu and Zaṅs-dkar. 32 Zaṅs-dkar, as is well known, is an outlying part of Ladakh.

Thus, in the time of the Tibetan kings (c. 600–842), Ladakh was an integral part of the Tibetan kingdom.

The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh inform us that during the reign of Khri sron lde btsan (755–97), "sBal-ti [Baltistan] and 'Bru-sal (Gilgit) in the west, Sa’i-cho 'Odon-kas-dkar of the Turks in the north, were brought under his power". 33 'O-don kas-dkar is, most probably, Urdum Kashgar, better known as, simply, Kashgar. In the south, Bengal, under the Pāla kings Gopāla (c. 750–70) and Dharmapāla (c. 770–810), may have acknowledged his authority. No doubt, his reign "marked the zenith of Tibetan power". 34

That power did not last long. In 791 the King of Nan-chao (Yunnan) made peace with the Chinese and defeated the Tibetan army sent against him. In 798, Hārun al-Rashīd (786–809), the greatest of the Abbaside Caliphs, reversing the policy of alliance with the Tibetans against the Chinese, allied himself with the Chinese. As a result of this alliance, a simultaneous Sino-Arab attack was carried out, with success, on the eastern and western flanks of the Tibetans in Turkistan.

Khri-sron-lde-btsan’s grandson, Sad-na-legs (804–17, Petech), is credited with having built the temple of Skar-chuṅ rDo-dbyinś ("Little stone, flying star"), 35 possibly at Skar-rdo, the capital of Baltistan. In the reign of Ral-pa-chan (804–16, Francke; 816–36, Petech), the son of Sad-na-legs,

32 ibid., p. 65.
33 A. H. Francke: Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II: The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles, Texts and Translations, with notes and maps. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. 50 (Calcutta, 1926), p. 87. In quotations from Francke, his insertions are in small brackets ( ), mine in square brackets [ ].
35 Francke, op. cit., p. 89.
In the south, Blo-bo and Mon (?), India [Bengal?], Li [either Khotan or Kunawar], Za-hor [Mandi] and the lake of Gaṅgā (Gaṅgāsāgara) [Gangotri] . . . were subdued; in the west 'Bru-sal (Gilgit) on the Persian frontier and others were conquered; and in the north, all the provinces of Hor (Turkistan) were subdued. In the south, he reigned over three or two princes of 'Dzam-bu-glin [Jambudvipa = India].

Ral-pa-chan's successor, his brother gLan-dar-ma (816-42, Francke; 836-42, Petech) tried to "submerge" Buddhism, and to restore the old Bon religion. He was assassinated, and his son, 'Od-sruñ (842-70), had to re-establish Buddhism. With 'Od-sruñ's grandson, sKyid-lde-nima-mgon (c. 900-30), begins the separate history of Western Tibet or mNa'-ris-skor-gsum.

IV

The four paragraphs immediately preceding and the greater part of what follows are based, principally, on the Chronicles of Ladakh, which were edited, translated and annotated by A. H. Francke in the Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II: The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. 50 (Calcutta, 1926). It seems appropriate here to give an account of the manuscripts on which Francke's edition was based. These manuscripts have been described by Dr Karl Marx in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 60 (1891), Part I, No. 3, pages 100-1, and by Dr Francke in the Introduction to his above-mentioned work.

(1) "A is a small book in 16mo, bound in leather and well-kept. It contains, in 109 leaves, 1st, a cosmogony and cosmology in outline; 2nd, the genealogy of the Śakyas; 3rd, a history of the Kings of Tibet (Yar-lung); 4th, a history of the Kings of Ladakh down to King Seṅge-nam-gyal (XXII) (c. 1590-1635, Francke; c. 1580/90-1640/41, Petech). Throughout, it is most neatly written with comparatively few mistakes. As it was not originally written for an outsider, but for the private use of its owner, its text may safely be supposed not to have been altered on purpose." The text and translation of the 4th part of this MS were published by Dr Marx in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 60 (1891), Part I, No. 3, pages 103-35.

(2) "B consists of four loose leaves in folio, very old looking, very much worn out at the edges and corners, and torn in some places. It commences with the history of the second (Nam-gyal) dynasty of Ladakhi kings (c. 1470-1835) . . . and gives a comparatively full

98 ibid., p. 90.
account of the history of Ladakh down to the Dogra invasion. This MS is very badly written, so much so, that even Ladakhiis find it difficult to read; still, in point of evidence, it ranks next to A, and the information it contains regarding the decline of the Ladakhi empire (since De-lidan nam-gyal XXIII) (c. 1620-45, Francke; c. 1640-75, Petech) is especially valuable . . ." A translation (only) of the portion of B which deals with the period from the beginning of the reign of bDe-lidan rNam-rGyal to the beginning of the second invasion of Ladakh by the Dogras in 1834, together with a translation of the first page of Cb MS (see below), was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 63 (1894), Part I, No. 2, pages 94-107.

Francke says, in his Introduction (pp. 2-3), that he offered a prize to the person who could find the text of B MS for him. "The prize, amounting to 10 Rs only, was gained by the Christian schoolmaster at Leh, Joseph Tshe-brtan, who found the MS in the possession of Tsandan Munshi at Leh. Of this MS, Joseph Tshe-brtan soon sent me a careful copy."

(3) "C consists of two parts. The first part was specially prepared by command of the Wazir of Ladakh. Consequently, all the vices, inherent in such MSS . . . are manifest in it. It consists of 23 folio leaves. It is very carelessly written, and the text is very incomplete. It is much inferior to either A or B. It is obvious in several places that alterations were introduced on purpose, and the principle underlying this practice can easily be discovered: it is to avoid, in the first place, the miraculous, secondly, anything that might be offensive to the Dogra reader, and thirdly, all that may throw an unfavourable light on the Royal family. Still, there are a few passages preserved in it that are new . . . This MS covers the entire history of the Kings of Tibet (Yar-lung) and of Ladakh to close upon the Dogra invasion . . ."

"The second part of C was prepared for me, at my special request, by the writer of the first part (Munshi dPal-rgyas), who is the head of one of the ancient families that presided over important functions under the old régime. As I am not an official person, I think I need not apprehend that he withheld the truth from me. In this portion, he almost exclusively relates the events of the Dogra wars and the fall of the Ladakhi empire."

The second part of manuscript C exists, in fact, as explained by Francke in the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 64 (1910), Part III, page 539, in three versions, all written by Munshi dPal-rgyas. The text and translation of Ca — specially written for Dr Marx, who had it lithographed for use as a text-book in his missionary
school—were published by Francke in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 71 (1902), Part I, No. 1, pages 21-34. A translation (only) of the first page of Munshi dPal-rgyas’s second attempt (Cb) appeared at the end of the translation of B MS (see above) in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 63 (1894), Part I, No. 2, pages 94-107. Cb MS was withdrawn by the author after Dr Marx’s death (1891). The text and a German translation of Cc MS—specially written for Dr Francke—were published in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 64 (1910), Part III, pages 537-52. This text of Cc MS, together with an English translation, were incorporated in the definitive edition of the *Chronicles of Ladakh* (1926).

The London MS is in the British Museum. It is a book, $23\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ cm., in 72 leaves. Leaves 1-70 deal with the kings of Ladakh down to and including Seinge rNam-rgyal. Leaves 70-72 are additions, and give a bare list of the kings after Seinge.

**V**

Bu-ston, in his *History of Buddhism* (Chos ’byun) (1322), says:

Ñi-ma-mgon having been banished to Na-ri, built in Pu-rañ a castle called Ñi-s’uñ and lived there. He had three sons: the eldest, Pal-gyi-de-rig-pa-gon, ruled the country of Mar; the intermediate, Ta-çi-de-gon, was in possession of Pu-rañ; and the youngest, De-tugs-gon, governed Sh’an-sh’un.37

gŽon-nu-dPal, the author of *The Blue Annals* (*Deb-ther sion-po*) (1476-78), has this to say:

Ral-pa-can. Khri ’U-dum btsan (gLañ-)dar-ma. The latter’s son, gNam-lde ’Od-sruñs. The latter’s son, dPal ’Khor btsan, who was killed by his subjects, and lost control over dBu and gTsañ. He had two sons, Khri bKra-śis rtsegs-pa-dpal and sKyid-lde-Ñi-ma-mgon. Khri bKra-śis rtsegs-pa-dpal stayed in Upper gTsañ, but Ñi-ma-mgon moved to mña’-ris. The latter had three sons: dPal-gyi-mgon, bKra-śis-lde-mgon and lDe-gtugs-mgon. The eldest son ruled in Mar-yul. The middle son ruled in sPu-hrañs. The youngest in Zañ-žuñ, which region forms part of Gu-ge.38

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The Chronicles of Ladakh give the most copious information. We are told that “Tibet being in a state of revolution”, sKyid-lde-Ñi-ma-mgon went to Upper mNa'-ris.

Eventually, he arrived at Ra-la'i-rgyud [the steppe district beyond Ru-thogs]. He built mKhar-dmar of Ra-la [mKhar-mar, near Ru-thogs, or Ra-la rDzoñ between bKra-sis-sgañ and Dakmaru] in the Horse year, Rtse-so-rgya-ri [?] in the Sheep year. He thought of causing many villages and hamlets (towns) to be built throughout the broad valleys of Dam and Lag [Upper Satlaj valley?]. Mar-yul he left undisturbed. At that time, Upper [South-eastern] Ladakh of Mar-yul was held by the descendants of Gesar, whilst Lower [North-western] Ladakh was split up into small independent principalities. At that time, Dge-bbes-btsan invited him to Pu-hrans, and offered him 'Bro-za Khor-skyyoil to be his wife, and he married her. She bore him three sons. He now built the palace of Ri-zuns (in Pu-hrans) and erected a capital. Then he conquered mNa'-ris-sKor-gsum completely, and ruled in accordance with the faith.39

His three sons were Lha-chen-Dpal-gyi-mgon (c. A.D. 930–60); Bkra-sis-mgon, the middle one; and Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, these three. He gave to each of these three sons a separate kingdom, viz. to the eldest, Dpal-gyi-mgon,

[a] Mar-yul (Ladakh) of mNa'-ris, the inhabitants using black bows;
[b] Ru-thogs of the east and the gold-mine of 'Gog;
[c] nearer this way, lDe-mchog-dkar-po [Demchog];
[d] at the frontier, Ra-ba-dmar-po;

39 Francke, op. cit., p. 93. 40 ibid., p. 35.
Let us now try to identify 'Gog and Ra-ba-dmar-po. With regard to 'Gog, Francke reminds us, first, of Thok jalung, a well-known gold-field in the Northern Plateau of Tibet. He then says: “Possibly, 'Gog is not a local name, but the ordinary word 'gog, meaning ‘pledge’, 'deposit'. 'He received the gold-mines as a pledge'.”

In the Tun-huang Documents, edited and translated by Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, we read, on pages 62–63,

(A.D. 747) ... In Kog-yul, the Chinese Byim-po appeared, and the Bru-śa (Gilgit) and Gog people fled.

This is a reference to Kao Hsien-chih's invasion of Gilgit in 747. “Byim” is the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese word “ping”, meaning “soldier(s)”. Under year 756, in the same Documents, we are told:

In the winter, the bTsan-po (Khri sroṅ lde btsan, 755–97) resided at Zui-ka(r). The winter conference having been assembled by Skyes-bzañ-rgyal-koṅ and Rgyal-ta-khrī-goṅ, these two, in Phyī-ts(h)al of Skyi, envoys from Stod-phyogs, the Black Ban-jag, and the Gog and the Sīg-nig, paid homage.

“Sīg-nig” is clearly Cighnan in the Alichur Pamir. 'Gog, therefore, must be in the region of Cighnan and Gilgit.

Here is a quotation from Younghusband's The Heart of a Continent. He is describing the upper valley of the Raskam Darya.

Proceeding down the Yarkand River, we reached, the next day, the ruins of half a dozen huts and a smelting furnace on a plain called Karash-tarim... The district is known as Raskam, which, I was told, is a corruption of Rāst kāṅ (a true mine), a name which was probably

41 ibid., p. 94.  
42 ibid., pp. 94–95.  
44 See above, p. 30.  
45 ibid., p. 63.
given it on account of the existence of mineral deposits there. Both on this journey, and another which I made down this valley in 1889, I found the remains of old smelting furnaces in several places, and was informed that copper was the mineral extracted. In the Bazar-darra valley, on the right bank of the Yarkand River, there are said to be traces of gold.46

In fact, the Persian name for the Raskam Darya is Zarafshān, “gold-scattering”. 'Gog, therefore, may be identified with the upper valley of the Yarkand River.

As regards Ra-ba-dmar-po, let us note that in the “Map of the Punjab, Western Himalaya and adjoining parts of Tibet”, compiled by John Walker, Geographer to the East India Company, to accompany Alexander Cunningham’s Ladak (London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1854), there is a place called Rabma, between Ru-thogs and Tso-rul (Spang-gur Tso). Perhaps Walker’s Rabma represents the Ra-ba-dmar-po where sKyd-lde-Ni-ma-mgon drew the frontier between Ladakh and Tibet.

In this manner, King sKyd-lde-Ni-ma-mgon established the kingdom of mNa’-ris-sKor-gsum, divided it into three parts for his three sons, and set the frontier between Ladakh and Gu-ge (in Tibet) at Ra-dmar-po, Demchog and the Imis Pass. mNa’ is a respectful form of the word dBai and means “might, power, potency, dominion or sway”; ris means, among other things, “part, region, or quarter”. Hence mNa’-ris means “the region over which dominion is exercised”. sKor means (again, among other things) “section or division”; and gsum means “three”. Hence, the term mNa’-ris-sKor-gsum may be translated as “the three parts of the region over which dominion is exercised”. These three parts were (1) Ladakh, (2) Gu-ge and (3) Pu-hraňs. Later, in the seventeenth century, when Ladakh was “separated from” mNa’-ris-sKor-gsum, the term mNa’-ris-sKor-gsum – usually shortened into mNa’-ris – came to be applied (somewhat illogically) to Gu-ge and Pu-hraňs only.47

In the recent Sino-Indian border dispute, the Indians have quoted the


47 Under Tibetan rule, in our own times, the province of mNa’-ris was ruled by two joint-Governors who lived in sGar dbyar-ka (summer sGar), better known as Garthog, in summer, and in sGar dgun-ka (winter sGar) in winter. sGar means “encampment”. Under them were four rDzoň-ons, one for Ru-thog, Demchog and bKra-sis-sgani (Tashigong), the second for rTsa-braň (Tsaparang), the third for Daba, south of mTho-gliň, and the fourth for Pu-hraňs.
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passage from the Chronicles of Ladakh where the partition of Skyid-Ide-Ni-ma-mgon’s kingdom is described, and have drawn the conclusion: “So, even in the tenth century the boundary alignment of Ladakh was, in this sector, where it was now”.48 The Chinese claim that the sentence De.nas.sras.gsum.la.mna’.ris.so.sor.gnañ.ste. means “He conferred on each of his three princes vassals”,49 and go on to say:

The Indian side’s interpretation of the word “Ngai-Ris” in this sentence into “kingdom” is obviously erroneous. “Ngai-Ris” in Tibetan can only mean “vassals” or “area under jurisdiction”, but cannot be given the far-fetched interpretation of “kingdom”.49

On pages CR-13/CR-14 of the same Report, the Chinese write:

... the fact that Skyid-Ida-Ngeema-gon conferred fiefs on each of his three sons only reflected a change in the ownership of manorial estates among the feudal lords of Tibet at that time. The three sons of the prince each took his share of fiefs from the unified Skyid-Ida-Ngeema-gon dominion, and Maryul at that time was a small state, and not an independent kingdom.60

To this the Indians reply by insisting that the word mNa’-ris means “area under dominion or rule, that is, equivalent to a kingdom and not a vassal estate”.61

This meaning of Ngairi (mNa’-ris) is confirmed by the following sentences in the chronicle which list the areas given to the three sons and say that they have been given Ngaiste (mNa’.mDzad). This word, Ngaiste, has only one meaning – sovereign authority, absolute rule or control. So it is clear that the three sons were given independent kingdoms in the 10th century, and after the partition they were not under any central authority.62

VI

With the independent history of Ladakh, from the time of the setting-up of the kingdom by Skyid-Ide-Ni-ma-mgon (c. 900-30) to the fourteenth century, we are not here concerned. Suffice it to note that

51 ibid., Indian Report, p. 57.
52 ibid., Indian Report, p. 57.
King Utpala (c. 1080–1110) is reputed to have "subjected bLo-bo (and the country) from Pu-hraṇs downwards hither". With the coming of the fourteenth century, the history of Ladakh becomes inextricably linked with that of her southern neighbour, Kashmir. rGyal-bu Rin-chen (Prince Rin-chen) (c. 1320–50), whether he was a reigning King of Ladakh or not, is usually identified with the Riṅcana Bhōṭṭa of Yonarāja’s Rājataraṅgīnī (Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir, 1150–1459), who invaded Kashmir, overthrew the Hindu King, Sahadeva, became a convert to Islam, adopted the name of Sadr-ud-din, and thus became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

On the death of Sadr-ud-din there was a reversion to Hinduism under his widow, Koṭa Rāṇi, which ended when her Wazir (Minister), Shāh Mir (1339–42), established the first Muslim dynasty of Kashmir (1339–1555). Shāh Mir’s successor, Shihāb-ud-din (1354–73), is reputed to have conquered Baltistan and Ladakh, but the conquest was transitory, as was also the conquest of Baltistan by Sultan Sikandar (1389–1413).

Ladakh, in the meantime, under the reign of Grags-bum-lde (c. 1400–40), adopted the reformed religion of Tson-kha-pa. It was also, probably, during this reign, that Zain-ul-Ābidin, Sultan of Kashmir (1420–70), invaded Ladakh, penetrated into "Gogga-deśa" (Gu-ge), and annexed Kulu to his kingdom.

In the reign of bLo-gros-mcog-ldan (c. 1440–70), Ādam Khān, the eldest son of Zain-ul-Ābidin, invaded Gu-ge. It is possible that bLo-gros was compelled to take the side of the Kashmiris in this expedition. The booty mentioned in the Chronicles of Ladakh might have been taken on this occasion (1451?).

With bLo-gros-mcog-ldan, the First (or Lha-chen) Dynasty of Kings of Ladakh came to an end. A cousin, Lha-chen Bha-gan (c. 1470–1500), established the Second (or rNam-rGyal) Dynasty of Ladakh (c. 1470–1835).

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57 ibid., p. 137.  58 ibid., p. 144; Petech, op. cit., p. 115.
60 Sahni and Francke, op. cit., pp. 188–9; Petech, pp. 115–16; Sufi, p. 170.
During Lha-chen Bha-gan's reign, two Muslim invasions of Ladakh took place – one from Kashmir, the other from Kashgar. The Kashmiri invasion, in the reign of Hasan Khán (1472-84), was defeated.63 Regarding the invasion by Mir Vali, one of the generals of Abu Bakr, Khan of Kashgar, who is said to have subdued Balor (Gilgit) and "Tibet" (Ladakh), Professor Petech says that "it is very doubtful that Ladakh was reached by this first invasion, which probably stopped at Skardo or Nubra".63

bKra-sis rNam-rGyal (c. 1500-35) is credited with having conquered "(all the country) from Pu-rig upwards, and from Gro-sod (a district about the 25th stage from Leh to Lhasa, between Maryum La and the Cha-chu sang-po) upwards hither".64 This statement shows that, as a result of the invasions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Kings of Ladakh had lost control over western Ladakh, so that bKra-sis rNam-rGyal had to reconquer Pu-rig. But Ladakh had no respite from foreign invasions. In c. 1517, Mir Muzid, one of the Amirs who had rebelled against Bābur, invaded Ladakh, was defeated and killed.65 The reference in the Chronicles of Ladakh that "he fought against an invading force of Turks (Hor) and killed many Turks",66 probably refers to this invasion by Mir Muzid.

In 1532, Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, the general of Sultāns Sa'īd Khán (d. 1533) and Rashid Khán of Kashgar – and the author of the Tārikh-i-Rashidi – invaded Ladakh.67 In the winter of 1532-3 he raided Kashmir,68 and in 1533 he led an expedition into Tibet and advanced to within eight days' march of Lhasa. But the climate proved too difficult for him, and he withdrew to Ladakh, where he wintered (1533-4) and remained for two further years. "Probably during this period",69 a rebellion took place in Nubra, which bKra-sis rNam-rGyal supported, and for which he was decapitated (1535). In 1536 Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat returned to Badakshan, via Kabul. He then abandoned the service of the Khāns of Kashgar, and entered that of the Mughal viceroy of the Panjab, Kamrān, the brother of the

62 Sahni and Francke, pp. 190-1; Francke, Chronicles, p. 102; Sufi, Vol. 1, pp. 179-80. 63 Petech, p. 120.
64 Francke, Chronicles, p. 103.
66 Francke, Chronicles, p. 103.
68 Sufi, Vol. 1, pp. 197-8. Sufi gives the date of the raid as 1531 (p. 201). This is probably wrong. 69 Petech, p. 124.
Emperor Humāyūn (1530–40, 1555–6). In 1540 Mirza Muhammad Haidar invaded Kashmir, then ruled by Sultan Ibrāhīm Shāh II (1539–1540), and established himself as the de facto ruler of that country (1540–1551).

Having established himself in Kashmir, Mirza Muhammad Haidar sent two expeditions across the Zoji La.\(^7^0\) In 1545 he attacked Tibet and conquered the Lu-sur district (?). In 1548 he conquered and annexed Baltistan and Ladakh, and even appointed his own governors there. After the death of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat in 1551 there were two further raids on Ladakh in 1553 and 1562 respectively, the second of which, after an initial success, ended in disaster for the Kashmiris.

VII

Tshe-dbaṅ rNam-rGyal, c. 1535–75

In the Chronicles of Ladakh there is no mention of these invasions from Kashgar and Kashmir. The passage dealing with Tshe-dbaṅ rNam-rGyal (c. 1535–75 Petech) reads as follows:

Then the incarnate king, Tshe-dbaṅ rNam-rGyal (c. A.D. 1532–60) was invited to assume the royal functions. Going to war while yet a young man, he conquered (all the country) from Nam-rins [on the road from Lhasa to Ladakh, 21 marches from this side of Lhasa] in the east, downwards hither, (viz.) Blo-bo, Pu-hraṅs, Gu-ge, etc.; to the south, 'Dzum-laṅ [Jumla in Nepal?] and Nuṅ-ti [Kulu], both; in the west, as far as Śi-dkar [Shigar in Baltistan] and Kha-dkar [Chitrāl]. He also said that he would make war against the Turkomans (Hor) north (of Ladakh); but the people of Nubra petitioned him, and he desisted. He brought the chiefs of all these districts . . . as hostages, and placed his own representatives in (their) castles. All Mar-yul [Ladakh] grew much in extent and flourished. Gu-ge had to pay as tribute and dues 30 ぞ of gold, silver, 100 3-years’ old sheep, one horse. Ru-thogs had to pay 260 ぞ of gold in addition to 100 3-years’ old sheep, 1 riding horse, 10 tanned skin bags, and (the proceeds from the royal domains) of 'Khar-'o-Idoṅ and Žiṅ-dar-chen-dar-chuṅ (two estates near Ru-thogs?); (indeed) from all sides they brought in tribute and dues in inconceivable quantities.\(^7^1\)

\(^7^0\) Petech, p. 128. Sufi, Vol. 1, p. 205, merely says that Mirza Haidar added Little Tibet (Baltistan), Pakhli (Hazara), Rajauri and Kishwar to the kingdom of Kashmir.

\(^7^1\) Francke, Chronicles, p. 105.
The "going to war while yet a young man" and the advance to Jam-rins was, probably, undertaken in the company of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat in 1533. The other conquests and acquisitions were, almost certainly, accomplished after the death of Mirza Haidar in 1551.

On the death of Tshe-dbaṅ rNam-rGyal and the accession of 'Jam-dbyaṅs rNam-rGyal (c. 1560-90, Francke; c. 1580-90, Petech), "all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads". While assisting the Pu-rig Sultan, Tshe-rin ma-lig, of Cigtan against the Khri-Sultan of dKar-rtse, the King was attacked in the rear by Ali Mir Sher Khān, the Chief of Baltistan, and defeated. Ali Mir, however, gave his daughter in marriage to 'Jam-dbyaṅs, and of this marriage the issue was Seṅ-ge rNam-rGyal (c. 1590-1635, Francke; c. 1580-1640-41, Petech).

**Seṅ-ge rNam-rGyal**

Seṅ-ge rNam-rGyal first turned his attention towards Tibet. Already in his youth he had carried out a raid on "the back-steppes of Gu-ge", that is, at the border, towards Misser (Menze) between Garthog and Mount Kailāsa. In 1630, a sixteen years' war against Tsaparang was brought to a close by the annexation of that country. The ruler of Tsaparang had been favourably disposed towards Christianity - probably to offset the influence of the lamaseries - and had permitted the establishment of a Jesuit mission (1624-35), led by Antonio de Andrade, at Tsaparang. Possibly, it was this act which had earned him the nickname of Los-loṅ ("the really blind one") from the lamas. The Chronicles of Ladakh say that

An army being sent against Gu-ge, its chief and owner was deposed, and rTsa-braṅ [Tsaparang] of Gu-ge, as well as (the) Los-loṅ were seized. The An-pa (chief?) of Ru-thogs was also deposed, and Ru-thogs was seized.

Let us now turn again to Baltistan. On the death of Ali Mir Sher Khān, a war of succession broke out between his sons Abdal and Ādam. Abdal won the first round, and Ādam fled to the court of Zafar Khān,

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72 ibid., p. 106.
73 c. 1590-1620, Cunningham; c. 1550-80, Francke (in Sahni and Francke, p. 62); c. 1591-1603, Petech.
74 Francke, Chronicles, p. 108.
75 Petech, p. 139, footnote 6.
76 Francke, Chronicles, p. 110.
the Mughal governor of Kashmir. With the latter’s help, Adam invaded his brother’s dominions in 1637, captured Abdul Khan and sent him as a prisoner to Kashmir. After a short reign by Muhammad Murad (1637–38), the son of Ali Mir Sher Khan’s eldest son Ahmad Khan, Adam Khan became ruler of Baltistan.

In 1639, Adam Khan “wrote to Ali Mardan Khan, the new (Mughal) governor of Kashmir, informing him that Sangi Bamkhal (or Namkhal) (Señ-ge rNam-rGyal), the holder of Great Tibet (Ladakh) . . . had seized upon Pu-rig in Little Tibet (Baltistan) and meditated further aggression. Ali Mardan Khan sent a force against him under the command of Husain Beg . . . On the meeting of the two forces, Sangi’s men were put to flight . . . He then sued for forgiveness, and offered to pay tribute”.

This is the official Mughal version of the event. The Chronicles of Ladakh tell us that

During the time of this king [Señ-ge rNam-rGyal], Adam mKhan, the King of sBal-ti, having brought in the army of Pad-cha Ša’-jan [Pādīshāh Shāhjahan, Emperor of India 1627–58], they fought many battles at mKhar-bu and, many Hor [Mughals] being killed, a complete victory was gained over the enemy.

Professor Petech reconciles the two accounts by suggesting an initial Mughal victory, the withdrawal of the main Mughal army, and Señ-ge rNam-rGyal’s victory over the Mughal garrison at mKhar-bu. The last activity of Señ-ge rNam-rGyal was a war against Tibet. The Chronicles of Ladakh say that

. . . he [Señ-ge] again went to war (and came) as far as Nam-riñis of the north [or Northern Nam-riñis]. At Ši-ri-dkar-mo [a small lamasery on the right bank of the Charta Tsang-po], he stopped (or, he was routed at Ši-ri-dkar-mo). Upon this, there arrived an ambassador from Tibet, and it was agreed that the frontier should remain as before, and that his dominions should include all the country up to dBu(s)-gTsafi [the two central provinces of Tibet of which the capitals are Lhasa and Shigatse respectively]. On his return journey he died at Wam-le [Hanle].

77 Abdul Hamid Lāhori (d. 1654): Pādīshāh-nāmah (History of the Reign of Shahjahan), quoted in Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its Own Historians, Vol. 7 (Trubner & Co., London, 1877), p. 67.
78 Francke, Chronicles, p. 110.
79 Petech, p. 145.
80 Francke, Chronicles, p. 109.
The London MS gives further information:

War was made against dBu-gTsān and Śi-r[-dkar-mo] as well as Kyar-kyar (?) were made tributary. The King of dBu-gTsān, sDe-pa gTsān-pa,\(^1\) presented many mule-loads of gold, silver and tea; and after (Seṅ-ge rNam-rGyal) had paid his respects (?), he went home together with the army of Ladakh. He also brought Lho-mo-sdaṅ [in Nepal] into his power. He reigned from Bu-[h]raṅ[s], Gu-ge, Zaṅs-dkar, Spy-ti and Bu-rig, as far as the Mar-yum Pass in the east. Ru-thog and the districts as far as the gold mines were brought under his sway, and La-dvags [Ladakh] spread and flourished.\(^2\)

**Mughal Suzerainty, 1664**

In the reign of bDe-ldan rNam-rGyal (c. 1620–45, Francke; c. 1640–75, Petech) a partition of the Ladakh kingdom came into force. bDe-ldan ruled over Ladakh, his brother Indrabhuti over Gu-ge, and bDe-mcog, the next brother, over Spiti and Zaṅs-dkar. The Chronicles of Ladakh say of bDe-ldan that

He united under his sway (all the country) from Bu-rig to Mar-yul (London MS: to the Maryum Pass). He united under his sway mNa’-ris-sKor-gsum, Ku-ge, Ru-thog, Man-yul, Spyi-ti, Zaṅs-dkar, Bu-rig(s), Hem-bab [Dras], Skar-rdo, Śi-gar, Bhal-ti, all these countries.\(^3\)

However, it was in the reign of bDe-ldan rNam-rGyal that Ladakh became definitely a tributary state of the Mughal Empire. In 1664, Saif Khān, the Mughal governor of Kashmir, sent an ambassador to bDe-ldan rNam-rGyal enjoining on the latter the acceptance of Mughal suzerainty and of Islam. Both were accepted. A tribute of 1,000 ashrāfis, 2,000 rupees and many other precious gifts was sent to the Mughals; the building of a mosque was commenced at Leh; and the khutbah (sermon) was read in Aurangzib’s name. In 1665, Aurangzib

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\(^1\) Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal, sDe-srid (or sDe-pa) of gTsān, overthrew the Phag-mo-du or Sītya dynasty of bTsan-pos (or Kings) of Tibet, at Lhasa, in 1630, and thus became King of dBu-gTsān. In 1641, immediately after Seṅ-ge rNam-rGyal’s invasion, Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal was overthrown by Gushi Khan, the Khan of the Kalmuk (or Olöt) Mongols of the Koko-Nor area, otherwise known as the Khoshotes. See S. C. Das: “The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lamas (1406–1745)”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 73 (1904), Part I, Extra Numbers, pp. 85–86.

\(^2\) Francke, *Chronicles*, p. 110.

\(^3\) ibid., p. 113.
himself received a tribute-bearing Ladakhi embassy in Kashmir, and the mosque was completed, according to a Persian inscription on its wall, in 1077 A.H. (1666-7).  

VIII

Tibetan Invasion (1680-3) and the Treaty of gTin-sgañ (1684)

Mughal suzerainty did not, apparently, debar the ruler of Ladakh from waging war against, and making peace with, foreign powers. In the reign of bDe-legs rNams-rGyal (c. 1645-80, Francke; c. 1675-1705, Petech), "the people of Lho-'Brug (Bhutan) and the Tibetans had a dispute. Now, (the head Lama of) Lho-'Brug was the patron lama of the King of Ladakh. The latter sent a letter to Tibet, saying that he was prepared to take up his quarrel". Tibet was now under the regency of Sān̄s-rgyas rGya-mtsho (c. 1680-1705), the illegitimate son of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, bLo-bzañ rGya-mtsho (1615-80), but the military force was still the Kalmuk (Olöt or Khoshote) army brought in by Gushi Khan in 1641. In 1680 the Kalmuks invaded Ladakh, defeated the Ladakhis at Žva-dmar-lun in Gu-ge [half-way between bKra-Sis-sgan (Tashigong) and sGar dgun-ka (Gar-guns)] and, entering Ladakh proper, laid siege to the fortress of Bab-sgo. After three years of siege the Ladakhis appealed to the Mughal governor of Kash-mir (Ibrāhim Khān, the son of Ali Mardān Khān) for help. A Mughal army was sent under FidZi Khan (the son of Ibrāhim Khān) and the Kalmuks were routed. They were then pursued to bKra-sis-sgañ, where they shut themselves up in the fort. Upon this, the Lhasa Government desired the 'Brug-pa (Bhutanese) head lama, Mi-pham dban-po, to go and negotiate for peace. The Treaty of gTin-sgañ, which was arrived at, laid down as follows:

(C MS:) As in the beginning King sKyid-lde-Ñi-ma-mgon gave a separate kingdom to each of his sons, the same delimitation to hold good.

(B MS:) The Tibetans have come to consider that, since Tibet is a Buddhist, and Kha-chul (Kashmir) is a non-Buddhist country, and since Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions have nothing in common
and are hostile to each other, if at the frontier the King of Ladakh does not prosper, Tibet also cannot enjoy prosperity. (This being so), the occurrences of the recent war should be considered things of the past. The King [of Ladakh], (on the other hand,) shall in future keep watch at the frontier of Buddhist and non-Buddhist peoples and, out of regard for the doctrine of the Buddha, must not allow an army from India to proceed to an attack (upon Tibet).

As to the privileges of Kha-chul (Kashmir) . . . [Here follow regulations dealing with the trade between Kashmir and Tibet]. Regarding mNa'-ris-sKor-gsum, Mi'-pham dbañ-po's stipulations were to this effect: It shall be set apart [from Ladakh] to meet the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers (offered) at Lhasa; but at Men-ser (C MS: sMon-tsher) (Menze, near Mt. Kailasa), the King [of Ladakh] shall be his own master, so that the Kings of La-dvags [Ladakh] may have wherewithal to pay for lamps and other sacrifices at the Gañs-tsho (lake); it shall be his private domain. With this exception, the boundary shall be fixed at the Lha-ri stream at bDe-mchog . . .

The King of La-dvags [Ladakh] . . . shall, on the occasion of the Lo-phyag (bi-ennial embassy), offer presents to the clergy. (C MS:) This embassy has to be sent with presents from La-dvags [Ladakh] to Tibet every third year . . . [Here follows a list of presents and the privileges of the embassy.]

(B MS:) It had also been stipulated that with every mission (Lo-phyag) one of the three (provinces of) mNa'-ris-sKor-gsum should be made over to (C MS:) Mi'-pham dbañ-po; (B MS:) but the King [of Ladakh] entered the request with the sDe-pa-gžuñ [Lhasa government] that he, begging to differ from Mi'-pham dbañ-po's decisions, would prefer that they should give three districts in Tibet proper to Mi'-pham dbañ-po, instead of mNa'-ris-sKor-gsum. Thereby a provocation to mNa'-ris-(sKor-gsum) might be avoided. Accordingly, the sDe-pa-gžuñ [Lhasa government] made over to Mi'-pham dbañ-po three estates.

Gu-ge, Ru-thog, etc., were annexed to Lhasa, in order to defray (from the revenue derived from these districts) the expenses of sacrificial lamps and (the reading of) prayers.87

In the recent Sino-Indian border dispute, the passage in the above treaty which upholds sKyid-Idé-Ñi-ma-mgon's delimitations was

87 Francke, Chronicles, pp. 115-17.
quoted by the Prime Minister of India in his letter to the Prime Minister of China dated 26 September 1959. Mr Chou En-lai, in his reply dated 17 December 1959, and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in its Note dated 26 December 1960, did not question the validity of the Treaty of 1684. However, at the meeting of the commission of Chinese and Indian officials in Peking on 22 July 1960 the Chinese cast doubts on the existence of such a treaty.

Who after all are the contracting parties that concluded this treaty? Who were the representatives who signed it? When and where was it signed? Nothing has been said about all this and, moreover, not a word defining the boundary can be found in the articles of the so-called treaty. Can such fragmentary accounts without a proper beginning and end be regarded as a treaty? There cannot be such a strange treaty in the world.88

Francke’s account of the treaty, the Chinese stated, was “only something patched up out of the material of some manuscripts which are not so reliable, and even Francke himself did not arbitrarily call these mutually unrelated sentences a treaty”.89 Further, the Chinese pointed out that there was no mention of the treaty in either the Biography of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, bLo-bzaṅ rGya-mtsho (1615–80) by Sāngs-rgyas rGya-mtsho (regent of Tibet, c. 1680–1705),90 or the Biography of bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of Pho-lha (ruler of Tibet, 1728–47) written in 1733 by Tshe-rin dbaṅ-rgyal of mDo-mkhar.91 The only passage in the Biography of bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of Pho-lha which the Chinese found relevant to the matter was as follows:

At that time, at the request of (the) Living Buddha, Thamjam-khenpa of the Bgah-brgyud Sect, Gadantsewang received the Head of Ladakh, Seṅ-ge rnam-rgyal, Bde-ldan rnam-rgyal, and their sons and grandsons. Since the Wise Man was wholeheartedly devoted to the religion and the people and also had compassion for these enemy

chieftains, he gave them Leh, Bitu, Chishe, etc., altogether 7 forts, together with the estates, the subjects and the riches..."

It is quite evident [wrote the Chinese officials] that this account can only show that the Tibetan side bestowed on Ladakh seven forts and estates. How can it be inferred from this that an agreement for the formal delimitation of the boundaries was reached and the so-called 1684 treaty was concluded between the two sides?

To this the Indians replied by pointing out that the passage of the Biography of bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of Pho-la quoted by the Chinese refers, "although in its own involved way to the peace that had been concluded in 1684". [It should be noted here, however, that according to both Francke's and Petech's chronology, both Sen-ge rNam-rGyal (c. 1590-1635, Francke; c. 1580/90-1640/41, Petech) and bDe-ladan rNam-rGyal (c. 1620-45, Francke; c. 1640-75, Petech) died before the events of 1680-4.] Further, the Indians brought to the notice of the Chinese that certain provisions of the 1684 Treaty - e.g. the sending of the Lo-phyag missions, and the administration of Menze first by the Ladakhi authorities, then by the State of Jammu and Kashmir - were being carried on down to our own times. This proved, according to the Indians, the authenticity of the Treaty of 1684.

Thirty-one years after the Treaty of gTiri-sgai (1684), in 1715, when Ni-ma rNam-rGyal (c. 1680-1720, Francke; c. 1705-34, Petech) was King of Ladakh, Father Desideri of the Society of Jesus visited Leh, on his way to Lhasa from Delhi and Kashmir. At that time, the town of "Trescij-khang" (bKra-sis-sgaṅ, Tashigong) - whether by usage or otherwise - marked the frontier between Ladakh and Tibet.

In 1820-2, during the reign of Tshe-dpal-mi-’gyur-don-grub rNam-rGyal (c. 1790-1835 and 1840-1), the "Baḍa Sahib" Moorcroft and the "Chota Sahib" Trebeck visited Ladakh. But by far the most momentous event of the reign was the Dogra invasion of 1834-5. To understand this we must turn to India.

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94 ibid., Indian Report, p. 51.
95 ibid., Indian Report, pp. 52, 61.
97 Desideri called Ladakh or "Lhata-yul" Second Tibet, the First being Lesser Tibet or Baltistan, the Third Central Tibet or dBus-gTsang.
After the invasion of India by Nādir Shāh in 1739, it became impossible to speak of the Mughal Empire in India as an Empire. On the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1747, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (d. 1772) established himself as the independent ruler of Afghanistan. In 1752, Kashmir passed from Mughal into Afghan hands. In 1758, Zamān Shāh (1792–1800), a successor of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, appointed as his Governor of Lahore, the celebrated Sikh, Ranjit Singh (d. 1839). In 1819, Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir from the Afghan governor, and appointed his own governor there. Three years later (1822), he appointed as his Governor of Jammu, another military adventurer of the time, the Dogra Gulāb Singh.

In 1834, Zorāwar Singh Kalhoria, Gulāb Singh’s commander in Kishtwar, invaded Ladakh. After a two-days’ battle, the Dogras captured dKar-rtse. A relieving Ladakhi army, under rDo-rje rNam-rgyal, arrived at Laṅ-mkhar-rtse, and three or four indecisive battles ensued. Zorāwar Singh, however, captured Pas-skyum and Sod, and advanced as far as Mulbhe. Here he proposed to the Ladakhi general that if Ladakh paid a tribute of Rs 1,000/- per annum to the Dogras, he would withdraw. The Ladakhi general recommended this course of action to the King, who agreed; but Queen Zizi (the wife of the heir-apparent, the King’s nephew, Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan rNam-rgyal, otherwise known as mCog-sprul rNam-rgyal) “would not listen”. She sent fresh troops, under Dnos-grub-btsan-’dzin and the minister (governor) of Ldum-ra (Nubra), to renew the war. The Dogras retreated to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse, where two battles were fought, in the second of which the Dogras were successful. The invaders then reconquered Upper Pu-rig (dKar-skyil and Pas-skyum), but the treasure, which Zorāwar had seized, was recovered by a Ladakhi general called Baṅ-kha-pa, who fled with it to Skardo.

Then, in the course of time, the Wazir [Zorāwar Singh] arrived at Bab-sgo. The King of Slel (Leh) went there also, and both met. All went to Slel, the capital, and there remained for several days. The kingdom was returned to the King, who agreed; but Queen Zizi (the wife of the heir-apparent, the King’s nephew, Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan rNam-rgyal, otherwise known as mCog-sprul rNam-rgyal) “would not listen”. She sent fresh troops, under Dnos-grub-btsan-’dzin and the minister (governor) of Ldum-ra (Nubra), to renew the war. The Dogras retreated to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse, where two battles were fought, in the second of which the Dogras were successful. The invaders then reconquered Upper Pu-rig (dKar-skyil and Pas-skyum), but the treasure, which Zorāwar had seized, was recovered by a Ladakhi general called Baṅ-kha-pa, who fled with it to Skardo.

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In this way, Ladakh became a territory dependent on the Dogra Gulāb Singh, while he was yet the Governor of Jammu, under the Sikh Government of the Panjab.

98 Francke, Chronicles, p. 129.
The intrepid Bañ-kha-pa now advised the King to attack Zorāwar Singh, who, after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1835, had retired to Suru. Warned of this by one of his own men, Zorāwar returned to Leh, deposed the King, and set up Dños-grub-btsan-'dzin, the Ladakhi general against whom he had fought at Lañ-nkhar-rtse, as ruler of Ladakh. A Dogra garrison was posted at dGar-ba, and the tribute was raised to 9,000 rupees.

Dños-grub-btsan-'dzin ruled for five years. In the sixth, Zorāwar returned to Zañs-dkar. The old deposed king, Tshe-dpal-mi-'gyur-don-grub rNam-rGyal, met him at Pipitin, and apparently won him over to his side; for, when Dnos-grub-btsan-'dzin came to meet Zorāwar at Pipitin, Zorāwar “would not accept his presents and pretended to be angry”. Arriving at Leh, he deposed Dños-grub, and set up Tshe-dpal-mi-'gyur-don-grub as king for a second time (1840–1). The latter, however, had to accompany Zorāwar on an expedition to Baltistan. The expedition was successful— the castle of Skardo was destroyed and the ruler, Ahmad Khan, deposed— but the King of Ladakh died of smallpox. 'Jigs-med-chos-kyi-Sea-ge-mi-'gyur-kundgah rNam-rGyal-ba (the son of Tshe-dbañ-rab-brtan rNam-rGyal, otherwise known as mCog-sprul rNam-rGyal) was set up as king, and the tribute was raised to 18,000 rupees per annum.

**Dogra Invasion of Tibet (1841–2) and the Treaty of 1842**

Encouraged by the conquest of Ladakh in 1835 and that of Baltistan in 1841, Zorāwar Singh decided to invade Tibet (1841–2). He captured Ru-thogs, Gar-thogs and Pu-hrails, and then withdrew to Gar-thogs to establish his headquarters there. The Tibetans immediately counter-attacked and slew the Dogra garrison at Pu-hrails. Zorāwar advanced to meet the Tibetans, but was defeated and killed. The Tibetans then advanced to Gar-thogs.

On the news of Zorāwar Singh’s death and the advance of the Tibetans, a rebellion broke out in Ladakh and the Dogra garrison at dGar-ba was besieged (spring 1842). The Tibetans now came up to lCe-’bre to aid the Ladakhis. But Dogra reinforcements arrived and the Tibetans were defeated at lCe-’bre and were pursued to ’Dor-khug, where a Tibetan army of 5,000, under Zur-khañ and Ragashar, had arrived. On the advice of a Ladakhi chiefstain, the Dogras dammed up a brook and flooded the Tibetan camp. “Their equipment, the powder,
etc., became wet. As no other course was left, the Tibetans bowed their heads”.  

Ragashar committed suicide on his way to Leh as a prisoner-of-war, but Zur-khaṇ and Piśīśakra (the captain of the archers) were brought to Leh, and peace was concluded with them.

The Chronicles of Ladakh give the terms of the treaty as follows:

The conquered La-dvags [Ladakh], according to the frontiers it had during the times of the (Ladakhi) kings, was annexed by the high [Dogra] government [of Jammu, and, therefore, by the Sikh government of the Panjab]. On the Tibetan side of the frontier, everything remained under Tibet. From Tibet the Tibetan government-traders, and from Ladakh the bi-ennial merchants (Lo-phyag) were allowed to travel according to the former custom. The Ladakhi merchants were allowed to travel to sGar [Gar-thogs], Ru-thogs and wherever they pleased, and the Tibetan merchants of Byaṇ(-thaṇ) [Northern Tibet] were allowed to travel to La-dvags [Ladakh]. Everything was arranged exactly as it had been during the times of the former (Ladakhi) kings and a contract was written.  


These three versions, as given by Panikkar, are as follows:

(1)  

Whereas we the officers of the Lhassa country, viz., firstly, Kalon Sukanwala (Zur-khaṇ) and, secondly, Bakshi Sapju (Piśīśakra), Commander of the Forces of the Empire of China, on the one hand; and Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratanu, on behalf of Rajah

98 Francke, Chronicles, p. 136.  
99 ibid., p. 137.  
100 Panikkar wrongly describes the third treaty as one “on behalf of the (Sikh) Government of Lahore” – the suzerain of the Dogra Government of Jammu – “and the Emperor of China” (the suzerain of Tibet).
Gulab Singh, on the other—agree together and swear before God that the friendship between Rajah Gulab Singh and the Emperor of China and the Lama Guru Sahib Lassawala will be kept and observed till eternity; no disregard will be shown to anything agreed upon in the presence of God; and we will have nothing to do with the countries bordering on the frontier of Ladak. We will carry on the trade in Shawl, Pasham and Tea as before by way of Ladak; and if any one of the Shri Rajah's enemies comes to our territories, and says anything against the Rajah, we will not listen to him, and will not allow him to remain in our country; and whatever traders come from Ladak shall experience no difficulty from our side. We will not act otherwise but in the same manner as it has been prescribed in this meeting regarding the fixing of the Ladak frontier and the keeping open of the road for the traffic in Shawl, Pasham and Tea. We will observe our pledge to God, Gaitri and Pasi. Wazir Mian Khushal Chi is witness. Written on the second day of Assuj, 1899 (about 15th August 1842).

Kalon Surkhan and investigating officer Depon Pishi(-sakra) on behalf of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his officials; and Shri Khalsaji Absarani Shri Maharajah, Lala Golana, the representative of Khashur Shag Golam Mohammad, through an interpreter Amir Shah (on behalf of Gulab Singh) have arrived at Ladakh and discussed the terms of the peace treaty. In the first place, the two contracting parties have decided to sink all past differences and ill-feeling and to consider the friendship and unity between the two kings re-established for ever. This peace treaty between Shri Maharajah Gulab Singh and Shri Guru Lama of Lassa has been restored, and there will be no cause for enmity in future in the two nations regarding their respective frontiers. Shri Maharajah Gulab Singh has declared, invoking God as his witness, that we will not deviate from the terms of this agreement. It is agreed that the two brothers, Kings of Ladak, and the Queen shall remain peacefully in Ladak and shall not indulge in any intrigue, besides trying to promote the friendly relations between the two nations. The Ladakis shall send the annual tribute to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Ministers unfailingly as heretofore, and the Shri Maharajah Sahib will not interfere with this arrangement. No restriction shall be laid on the mutual export and import of commodities—e.g. tea, piece goods, etc., and trading shall be allowed according to the old-established custom.
Ladakis shall supply the Tibetan Government traders with the usual transport animals and arrange for their accommodation as heretofore, and the Tibetans will also do the same to the Ladakis who come to Tibet with the annual tribute. It is agreed that no trouble will be occasioned to the Tibetans by the Ladakis. We invoke God to bear witness to this agreement, whereby the friendly relations between the Shri Maharajah Sahib and the Lhassa officials shall continue as between members of the same family. This is sent on the second day of the month of Assuj, year 1899.

(3)

In these auspicious days, we, the officials of Shri Maharajah Sahib, the Commander-in-Chief of the Western Area in the Court of Shri Rajah Gulab Singh, and we, the trusted and selected and the faithfully loyal Itimad-ud-Dowlah Nizam-ul-Mulk Sheikh Ghulam Mohiyuddin, Subedar (Governor) of Kashmir, met together on the second of Assuj, 1899, the officials of the Lama Guru Sahib of Lhassa, one of the Kalan, Sokan (Zur-khan), and Depon Shabeho Bakshi (Pišísakra), in Ladak, and, having settled differences, a treaty was recorded as in the past (to the following effect):

Now that, in the presence of God, the ill-feeling created by the war which had intervened, has been fully removed from the hearts, and no complaints now remain (on either side), there will never be, on any account, in future, while the world lasts, any deviation even by the hair’s breadth, or any breach in the alliance, friendship, and unity between the King of the World (Sher Singh) Shri Khalsaji Sahib\(^{101}\) (and Gulab Singh) Shri Maharajah Sahib Raj-i-Rajgan Raja Sahib Bahadur (on the one hand), and the Khagan (Emperor) of China and the Lama Guru Sahib of Lhassa (on the other hand). We shall remain in possession of the limits of the boundaries of Ladak and the neighbourhood subordinate to it, in accordance with the old customs, and there shall be no transgression and no interference in the country beyond the old-established frontiers. We shall hold to our own respective frontiers; relations of friendship and the bond of common interests shall grow closer from day to day. There are several kinds of witnesses to this agreement. The Rajah Zadas\(^{102}\) shall, if they remain faithful, loyal and obedient, receive greater consideration. Traders from Lhassa when they come to Ladak shall, as of old, receive considerate treatment and the supply of begar (transport and labour). In case the

\(^{101}\) The Sikh ruler of the Panjab.
\(^{102}\) The princes of Ladakh.
Rajahs of Ladak should (desire to) send their usual presents to the Lama Guru Sahib of Lhassa, this will not concern us and we shall not interfere. From the other side (arrangements) shall continue in accordance with the old custom and the traders who proceed to Jan Than (Chang Thang) country shall receive considerate treatment and a supply of begar in accordance with the old custom and shall not be interfered with. The traders from Ladak shall in no case interfere with the subjects of Jan Than (Chang Thang). Written on the second of the month of Assuj, year 1899.

In the recent Sino-Indian border dispute, the Chinese have quoted two passages from the treaty of 1842, namely:

(1) The territories of Ladakh as they used to be, and the territories of L(h)asa also as they used to be, will be administered by them respectively, without infringing upon each other. 108

(2) Maharaja Shri Gulab Singh and Shri Guru Lama-Ponpo of L(h)asa have been reconciled and become friendly. It is decided that Ladakh and Tibet will each administer its own territories within its own confines, refrain from being hostile to each other and live together in peace. Shri Maharaja Sahib swears by the Kunchok that he will never go against this. 104

- and have argued that this was no more than an agreement for mutual non-aggression. “How can it be insistently explained as having confirmed the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet?” 105

The Indians replied by saying that “Ladakh and Tibet could not have agreed to ‘each administer its own territory within its own compound’ . . . if they did not know how far exactly their territory extended, or what were the limits of their compounds”. 106

108 Report of the Officials . . ., Chinese Report, p. CR-14. This passage is, probably, a variant of the passage in Panikkar’s first treaty which reads: “We will have nothing to do with the countries bordering on the frontier of Ladakh”. The Indian officials translate the passage as: “We shall neither at present nor in the future have anything to do or interfere at all with the boundaries of Ladakh and its surroundings as fixed from ancient times . . .” (Indian Report, p. 53).

104 This is the passage in Panikkar’s second treaty which reads: “This peace treaty between Shri Maharajah Gulab Singh and Shri Guru Lama of Lassa has been restored, and there will be no cause for enmity in future in the two nations regarding their respective frontiers. Shri Maharajah Dulab Singh has declared, invoking God as his witness, that we will not deviate from the terms of this agreement.” 105 Report of the Officials . . ., Chinese Report, p. CR-14.

106 ibid., Indian Report, p. 53. The Chinese Report uses the word “confines” where the Indians ascribe to it the word “compound”.

55
The Chinese then made three points:

First, the treaty did not define any specific location of the boundary . . . Secondly, by adhering each to its confines, it is undoubtedly meant that each side should administer the territory under its own jurisdiction and neither should commit aggression against the other . . . Thirdly, even if the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet was actually confirmed at that time, how could India assert that this line was the boundary line now claimed by it, and not the traditional, customary line maintained by the Chinese side? 107

X

In 1845–6, the First Sikh War was fought between the British and the Sikhs. By Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore (9 March 1846), Maharaja Dalip Singh (1843–9), a son of Ranjit Singh, ceded to the British, as the equivalent of an indemnity of 10 million rupees, “all his forts, rights and interests in the hill countries, which are situated between the river Bias and the Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara”. 108 On 16 March 1846, by the Treaty of Amritsar, the British gave to Maharaja Gulab Singh (who had been appointed Prime Minister of the Sikh state by Maharani Jindan, the mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh, in January 1846), for the sum of 7,500,000 rupees, “all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore state, according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9 March 1846”. 109

In this manner the State of Jammu and Kashmir was created under the Paramountcy of the Crown of England. Ladakh, of course, was a part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article 2 of the Amritsar Treaty laid down that the eastern frontier of Kashmir—the frontier between Ladakh and Tibet—was to be defined by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh.

109 ibid., Vol. XII, p. 21; Sufi, Vol. 2, pp. 763–4. By an agreement concluded between the Sikh state and Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1847, Hazara was transferred by the latter to the former, in exchange for certain lands near Jammu.
The following quotation is from C. U. Aitchison's *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, relating to India and the Neighbouring Countries*, 5th edition (revised and continued up to 1929; Government of India, Calcutta, 1931), Vol. 12, page 5:

As regards the Ladakh-Tibet boundary, the commissioners, owing to Imamuddin's rebellion in Kashmir, were unable to reach the Tibet border. Mr Vans Agnew, one of the commissioners, however, wrote a memorandum in which he pointed out that the line was, as he thought, already sufficiently defined by nature, and recognised by custom, with the exception of its two extremities. On the appointment of the second commission (1847), steps were taken to secure the co-operation of Chinese and Kashmir officials; but no Chinese delegate appeared, and the demarcation of the frontier had to be abandoned.

The northern as well as the eastern, boundary of the Kashmir state is still undefined.

Under the Maharajas of Kashmir, a Wazir Wazārat was posted at Leh for the administration of Ladakh and Baltistan. Associated with him was a Joint Commissioner, appointed by the British Government of India, for the supervision of the Central Asian trade. In Gilgit, where the Maharaja of Kashmir was suzerain, another Wazir Wazārat was posted to receive the annual tributes of the neighbouring chiefs and principalities. To supervise the activities of the latter Wazir Wazārat, the British Government of India posted a Political Agent at Gilgit.

XI

To summarise the historical facts so far:

(1) c. 630 or before. Ladakh became a part of the Tibetan Empire.

(2) In the seventh and eighth centuries, during the contest between the Turks, the Chinese, the Tibetans and the Arabs for supremacy in Central Asia, Ladakh served as a Tibetan base of operations in the western sector.

(3) In the tenth century, King sKyid-lde-Ni-ma-mgon (c. 900–30) set up the kingdom of mNa'-ris-sKor-gsum, and divided it between his three sons, laying down the frontier between Ladakh and Tibet at Ra-ba-dmar-po, lDe-mchog and the Imis Pass.

110 Imamuddin was the last Governor of Kashmir (1845–6) appointed by the Sikh Government of the Panjāb.
(4) c. 1350–1550. Ladakh suffered a number of foreign invasions, as a result of which the authority of the Kings of Ladakh was greatly reduced.

(5) c. 1550–1650. The “Golden Age” of Ladakh. In c. 1640, as a result of a successful war against Tibet, the eastern frontier of Ladakh was fixed at the Mar-yum Pass. In 1664, Ladakh came under the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire in India.

(6) 1684. By the Treaty of gTiṅ-sgaṅ, with the exception of an enclave at Menze, the frontier between Tibet and Ladakh was fixed “at the Lha-ri stream at bDe-mchog”.

(7) 1835. Ladakh became a territory dependent on the Dogra Government of Jammu, under the Sikh Government of the Panjab.

(8) 1842. As a result of a treaty between the Dogra Government of Jammu and the Tibetan Government, Ladakh was annexed by the Dogra Government of Jammu, and “everything was arranged exactly as it had been during the times of the former (Ladakhi) kings”.


This was the position till 15 August 1947.

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