

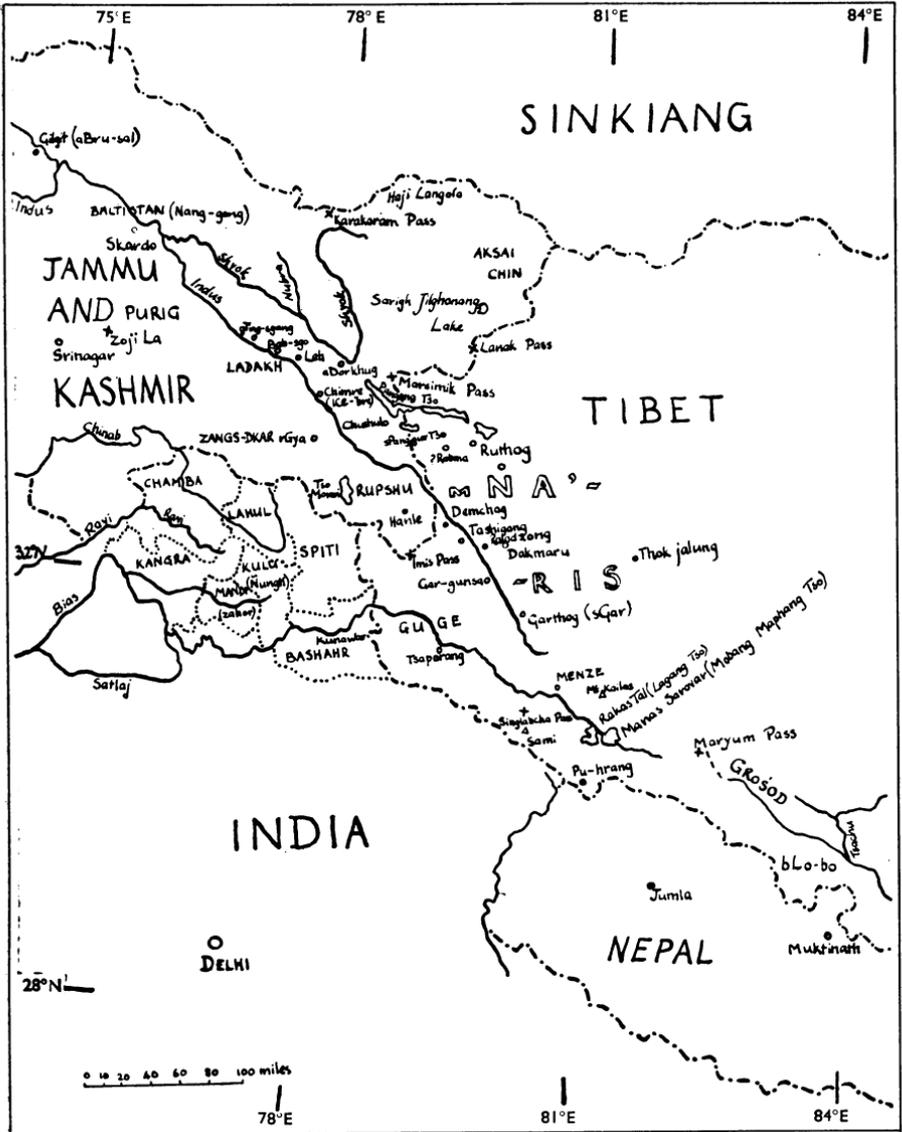
accept on the ground that the offer was inadequate if the Government were to be styled a national union. In view of its strength inside and outside the Assembly its decision is probably justified. However, there is much to be said for maintaining a strong, uncommitted Opposition, whose criticisms of Government policies have been very constructive on the whole. The evidence of successful radical pressure within the Assembly must continue to sap the strength of the violent Opposition. And the inclusion in the Cabinet of Moumié's former associate, André Mbida, will certainly strengthen the constitutionalists. Terrorism continues, but the framework has been established for political action without which military force cannot succeed in restoring peace in the Cameroun.

MARGARET ROBERTS

## *The Ancient Frontier of Ladakh*

TIBETAN history knows of a Julian the Apostate—Lang-dar-ma (c. 836–42), who tried to 'submerge' Buddhism and to re-establish the old Bon religion. He was assassinated, and his son, 'Od-srung (c. 842–70) was obliged to reinstate the Buddhist faith. In about the year 900, 'Tibet being in a state of revolution', 'Od-srung's grandson, Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon (c. 900–30) migrated to Western Tibet. At first, he established himself at 'mKhar-dmar of Ra-la' (either Kharmar, near Ru-thog, or Ra-la Dzong, between Tashigong and Dakmaru). Later, he married the daughter of the chieftain of Pu-hrang, and moved his capital to his wife's country. 'Then he conquered mÑa'-ris-skor-gsum completely and ruled in accordance with the faith.'<sup>1</sup> Note that the term 'mÑa'-ris-skor-gsum' included, at this time, not only (a) Ru-thog and Demchog, and (b) Gu-ge, Gar-thog, and Tsaparang, and (c) Pu-hrang but also Mar-yul or Ladakh. Before his death, Ñi-ma-mgon divided his kingdom among his three sons. To the eldest, Pal-gyi-lde, also known as Rig-pa-mgon, he gave

<sup>1</sup> Quotations in this article, up to and including that from the Treaty of 1842, are from A. H. Francke's *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II: The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles, Texts, and Translations, with notes and maps*. Archeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. 50, Calcutta 1926. The chronology followed is that of Luciano Petech: *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet)*, Calcutta Oriental Press, 1939.



A tracing from the Times Atlas of the World (1958) Vol. I, Plate 23, with additional information from the Survey of India's Map of the Northern Frontier, July 1905, Reg. No. 285-S.05, Sheet No. 14S.E.; and *ibid.*, August 1905, Reg. No. 310-S.05, Sheet No. 22N.W.

(1) 'Mar-yul (Ladakh) of mÑa'-ris; (2) Ru-thogs of the east and the gold mine of aGog (Thok-jalung?); (3) nearer this way, lDe-mcog-dkar-po (Demchog); (4) at the frontier, Ra-ba-dmar-po; (5) Wam-le (Hanle), to the top of the Yi-mig rock (Imis Pass); (6) to the west, to the foot of the Kashmir Pass (Zoji La) from the cavernous stone upwards hither; (7) to the north, to the gold mine of aGog (or mGon-po); (8) all the places belonging to rGya (in Rupshu)'.

Francke, the editor and translator of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh*, did not identify 'Ra-ba-dmar-po', but in the 'Map of the Punjab, Western Himalaya and the adjoining parts of Tibet', compiled by John Walker, Geographer to the East India Company, to accompany Alexander Cunningham's *Ladak*,<sup>1</sup> we find a place called 'Rabma' between Ru-thog and Tso-rul (Spanggur Tso). Could this have represented the ancient frontier between Ladakh and Tibet? Of the two other sons of Ñi-ma-mgon, the elder obtained 'Gu-ge, with Pu-hrang, rTse (Sami?), etc.', while the younger was given 'Zangs-dkar, Spi-ti, Spi-lcogs (Lahul?), etc.'

The eldest branch prevailed over the others. Thus, Utpala (c. 1080-1110) is said to have conquered Ñung-ti (Kulu), and to have 'subjected bLo-bo (the Tibetan province north of Muktinath in Nepal) (and the country) from Pu-hrang downwards hither'. To Tshewang Nam-gyal (c. 1535-75) is credited the conquest of '(all the country) from Nam-ring in the east, downwards hither (viz.) bLo-bo, Pu-hrang, Gu-ge, etc.; to the south, aDzumlang (Jumla, in Nepal?) and Ñung-ti (Kulu)'. But on the death of Tshewang, 'all the vassal princes, in one place after another, lifted up their heads.' Sengge Namgyal (c. 1580/90-1640/1), in about 1630, annexed Tsa-parang—where a Jesuit mission had been established by Antonio de Andrade in 1625—and Ru-thog to his kingdom. He then tried to retrieve the conquests of Tshewang in the interior of Tibet. At Shiri, on the bank of the Charta Tsaungpo, he stopped, or was stopped. A treaty was concluded between Sengge and 'the King of U-Tsang', by which 'it was agreed that his (Sengge's) dominions should include all the country up to U-Tsang'. U and Tsang are the two central provinces of Tibet, of which the capitals are Lhasa and Shigatse respectively. The 'King of U-Tsang' is the *Desi* (Regent, temporal ruler) of Tsang, who overthrew the Pag-mo-du or Sitya dynasty of 'Kings' (*Tsan-pos*) of Lhasa in 1630, and was himself overthrown, in 1641, by Gushi Khan, the Khan of the Kalmuk (or Olöt) Mongols of the Koko-

<sup>1</sup> *Ladak, physical, statistical, and historical, with notices of the surrounding countries* (W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1854).

Nor area, otherwise known as the Khoshotes. The London Manuscript of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh* says of Sengge that 'he reigned from Pu-(h)rang, Gu-ge, Zangs-dkar, Spyi-ti and Purig, as far as the Maryum Pass in the east.'

In 1664-5, Ladakh accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor of India (Aurangzib, 1658-1707). In the time of Deleg Namgyal (c. 1675-1705), 'the people of Bhutan and the Tibetans had a dispute. Now, (the head lama of) Bhutan 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 Sanggye Gyatsho (c. 1680-1705), the illegitimate son of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, Lozang Gyatsho (1615-80), but the military force was still the Kalmuk force brought in by Gushi Khan in 1641. In 1680, the Kalmuks invaded Ladakh, defeated the Ladakhis at Zha-mar-lung (half-way between Tashigong and Gar-gunsa) and, entering Ladakh, laid siege to the fortress of Babsgo. After three years of siege, the Ladakhis appealed to the Mughal governor of Kashmir for help. A Mughal army was sent and the Tibetans were defeated. They were then pursued to Tashigong, where they shut themselves up in the fort. Upon this, the Lhasa government sent the Bhutanese head lama to mediate and negotiate for peace. The Treaty of Ting-gang (gTing-sgang) (1683), which was arrived at, laid down as follows:

(1) 'As in the beginning, King Skyid-lde-ni-ma-mgon gave a separate kingdom to each of his sons, the same delimitations to hold good'; (2) The Ladakhis were not to allow an army from India to proceed to an attack upon Tibet, through Ladakh; (3) mÑa'-ris-skor-gsum was 'set apart (from Ladakh) to meet the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers (offered at Lhasa); but at Menser (Menze, near Mount Kailasa), the King (of Ladakh) shall be his own master, so that the Kings of Ladakh may have wherewithal to pay for lamps and other sacrifices at the Gang Tso; it shall be his private domain. With this exception, the boundary shall be fixed at the Lhari stream at Dem-chog.'

The Treaty also regulated, in great detail, the trade between Kashmir and Tibet, and the presents which the King of Ladakh was to send to the clergy of Tibet every third year.

This was the last definition of the Ladakh-Tibet frontier 'at the time of the Ladakhi kings'. In 1715, when Father Desideri of the Society of Jesus passed from Ladakh to Tibet, the town of 'Trescij-khang' (Tashigong)—whether by usage or otherwise—marked the frontier between the two countries. In 1834-5, Ladakh was conquered by Zorawar Singh, the commander in Kishtwar of Gulab

Singh, the celebrated Ranjit Singh's administrator of Jammu. In 1841, Zorawar conquered Baltistan. Flushed by his success, he decided to invade Tibet (1841-2). Having captured Ru-thog, Gar-thog, and Pu-hrang, he withdrew to Gar-thog to establish his headquarters there. The Tibetans immediately counter-attacked, and slew the Dogra garrison at Pu-hrang. Zorawar advanced to meet the Tibetans but was defeated and killed. The Tibetans then moved up to Gar-thog. On this news reaching Ladakh, a rebellion broke out, and the Dogra garrison at Leh was besieged (spring 1842). The Tibetans now came up to Chimre (ICe-'bre) to aid the Ladakhis. But Dogra reinforcements arrived, and the Tibetans were defeated at Chimre and pursued to Dorkhug, where a Tibetan army of 5,000, under Zurkhang and Ragashar, had arrived. On the advice of a Ladakhi chieftain, 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, but Zurkhang and Pishi-shakra (the captain of the archers) were brought to Leh, and peace was concluded with them. 'The conquered Ladakh, according to the frontiers it had during the times of the (Ladakhi) kings, was annexed by the high government (of Jammu and, therefore, by the Sikh government of Lahore). . . Everything was arranged exactly as had been during the times of the former (Ladakhi) kings and a contract was written.'

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) 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 Rivers Bias and the Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara'. On 16 March 1846, by the Treaty of Amritsar, the British gave to Maharaja Gulab Singh, for the sum of 7½ million 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. . .' 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 and by Gulab Singh.

The following quotation from C. U. Aitchison's *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, 1939), Vol. 12, page 5, is relevant here:

'As regards the Ladakh-Tibet boundary, the commissioners, owing to Imamuddin's rebellion in Kashmir—(Imamuddin was the last governor of Kashmir (1845-6) appointed by the Sikh government of Lahore)—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 recognized by custom, with the exception of the 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 Minister (*Wazir Wazarat*) was posted at Leh, for the administration of Ladakh and Baltistan. To assist him in the supervision of the trade with Tibet and Sinkiang, the British Government of India posted a Joint Commissioner at Leh. In 1947 as a result of the events following the partition of India, of the territories of the former Jammu-and-Kashmir State north of the Himalayas, Gilgit and Baltistan came under the effective control of the Government of Pakistan, Ladakh under that of the Government of India. Across the eastern frontier of Ladakh, Tibet came within the control of the People's Republic of China, as a result of the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 23 May 1951.<sup>1</sup>

ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD

<sup>1</sup> See 'Tibet under Communist Occupation', in *The World Today*, July 1957.