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- NO. 1 SOVIET AFFAIRS: ONE
- NO. 2 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS: ONE
- NO. 3 THE ITALIAN LOCAL ELECTIONS 1956
- NO. 4 MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS: ONE
- NO. 5 THE DECLINE OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC
- NO. 6 SOVIET AFFAIRS: TWO
- NO. 7 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS: TWO
- NO. 8 SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS: ONE
- NO. 9 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM
- NO. 10 AFRICAN AFFAIRS: ONE
- NO. 11 MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS: TWO
- NO. 12 SOVIET AFFAIRS: THREE
- NO. 13 THE RIGHT IN FRANCE 1890-1919

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CONTENTS

1	The Aksai Chin <i>by</i> G. F. HUDSON	<i>page</i> 9
2	Tibet and Ladakh: A History <i>by</i> ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD	23
3	The Chinese Communes <i>by</i> EVAN LUARD	59
4	Interviews with Indonesian Communist Leaders <i>by</i> G. GÖMÖRI	80
5	Marx and "the Asiatic Mode of Production" <i>by</i> GEORGE LICHTHEIM	86
6	Britain and Satsuma in the Nineteenth Century <i>by</i> HARUHIKO NISHI	113
7	Baba Tatsui: An early Japanese liberal <i>by</i> N. HAGIHARA	121
	Notes on Authors	144

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.

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Three numbers a year are issued and each number is devoted to a particular topic or a particular part of the world.

TIBET AND LADAKH: A HISTORY

By Zahiruddin Ahmad

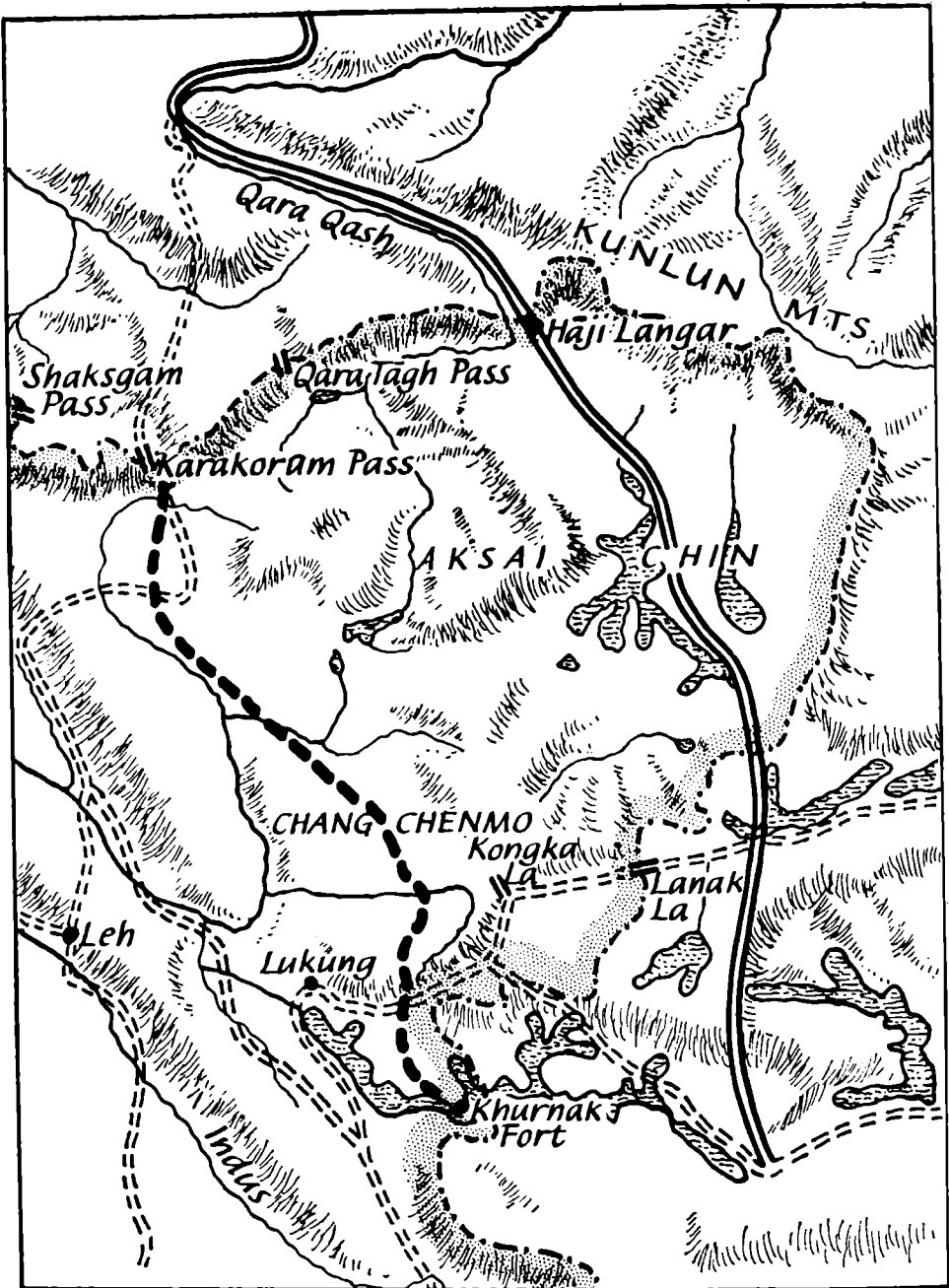
I

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.

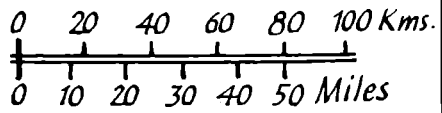
South of the Himalayas and north of its offshoot, the Pir Panjal Range, at an average altitude of 6,000 feet above sea-level, lies the Valley of Kashmir. Before the nineteenth century, the term "Kashmir" meant, exclusively, the Valley of Kashmir.

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



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.¹

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".

II

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 préfet. 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 (Lieh 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 *chên-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

² The reference here is to a Ming dynasty reprint of the 1304 edition. Bodleian Library, Oxford, catalogue No. Backhouse 388/12.

³ Tokharistan = Afghan Turkistan, Afghanistan north of the Hindukush.

⁴ E. Chavannes: *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. Présenté à l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg le 23 Août 1900. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, pp. 164-5.

⁵ The reference to the Old T'ang History is to an edition dated Soochow, 17th year of Chia ching (1538). Bodleian Library, Oxford, catalogue No. Backhouse 540/6.

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".⁷ 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 Sroñ 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*) *Stoñ rtsan* (*yul bzun*) fit une grande chasse à *Mar* du *gtsam*.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 Stoñ 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.⁹ The four Garrisons¹⁰ 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 (Kāpiśā, the district of Kabul); (f) Fan yen (Bamyan); (g) Ta mo (Tirmidh); (h) Chü mi (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 'Briñ 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 Meś-ag-tshoms, King of Tibet (704-55), married the Princess Chin Cheng, adopted daughter of the Emperor Chung Tsung (684, 705-10).
 705-714/15. Campaigns of Qutaybah ibn Muslim, Governor of Khorasan.¹²
 In 708/9 he attacked Bukhara. Takhon, King of Soghd, submitted to

⁹ Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 67-71.

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 'Briñ btsan brod was the son of the mGar Stoñ rtsan yul bzuiñ (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 (*mā 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).¹³

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.¹⁵

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-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-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 Nārāyaṇa, King of Chü-mi (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 Chü-wei (Mastuj and the Yarkhun Valley in Chitral).²⁰ Also on Sulin-t'o-i-chih (Surendrāditya), King of Great P'o-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 (Chandrapidā, 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).

¹³ H. Zotenberg: *Chronique de... Tabari, traduite sur la version persane* (4 vols., Paris, 1867-74), Vol. 4, p. 173, pp. 177-80, 183-4.

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-lu, see Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 149-54.

¹⁸ Chavannes, op. cit., p. 284, footnote 2. ¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 203-5.

²⁰ Chavannes, op. cit., p. 129, footnote 2: Chü-wei = Yasin. Chavannes, *Notes Additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (T'oung Pao, 1904), p. 43, footnote 1: Chü-wei = Mastuj. Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1907), Vol. 1, p. 15: Chü-wei = Mastuj and the Yarkhun valley.

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 (Lalitāditya Mukṭāpidā, King of Kashmir, 725-53) named King of Kashmir by the Chinese.
734. Marriage alliance between Sulu and the Tibetans.
Annee 85 (734). Le je-ba 'Dron-ma-lod fut envoyée comme fiancée au Khagan des Durgyis (Turki).²²
736. The Tibetans attacked little P'o-lu (Gilgit).
Année 88 (737). Le roi étant à Mañ-ste-luñ du palais de Dron, le ministre Skyes bzañ ldoñ fut appelé au pays Bru-ža (Gilgit). En hiver, le roi étant au palais de Brag-dmar, le roi de Bru-ža, vaincu, presenta hommage. L'envoyé chinois, Vañ-'do-si, ayant présenté hommage, les Chinois détruisirent le royaume.²³
738. Sulu assassinated.
740. A Tibetan princess given in marriage to (Su-shih-li-chih?) of Bru-ža (Gilgit).²⁴
741. Nan-ni, King of Little P'o-lu (Gilgit), having died, the Emperor of China named Ma-lai-hsi²⁵ or Ma-hao-lai,²⁶ 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?).²⁷ Tibetan soldiers entered Chitral (?) - presumably, through Udyāna (Swat) ? - and threatened to attack Little P'o-lu (Gilgit).

²² Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, op. cit., pp. 49-50. Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 83.

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: "Année 91 (740). En été, le roi étant à l'île 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 Sālih 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, chüan 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-kin*. Il est assujéti 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.

75 (724). Année du rat. En été, le prince, résidant à Spel, partit pour chasser dans le nord. A Kho-ñe-du-ru, il chassa et captura des yacks sauvages. Le premier ministre, Khri-sum-rje, réunit le conseil d'été à Lči'u-luñ de Dbu-ru-śod. Le ministre, Sta-gu-ri-cab, le réunit à Čhos-goñ de Pa-noñ. Il fit l'inspection de Žaň-žuñ. En hiver, le roi étant à Brag-dmar, le premier ministre, Khri-sum-rje, réunit le conseil d'hiver à Lhas-gaň-cal. Le ministre, Khri-gzigs-gnaň-koñ, réunit le conseil en vallée basse à Rgyod. Une année.³⁰

"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-śod" is Rup-shu; "Žaň-žun" 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 btasn, otherwise known as Meś-ag-tshoms (705-55), lived "in the palace of Mañ-ste-luñ in Dron".³¹ "Mañ-ste-luñ" may be dMar-rtse-lañ, near Hemis dGon-pa in Ladakh. As we have seen, it was from here that the minister, Skyes bzañ ldon, went to attack Gilgit in 737.

Under the year 761 we are told that the Tibetan Councillor, Stonrtsan, reduced Zoñ-cu and Zais-dkar.³² Zais-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 sroñ lde btsan (755-97), "sBal-ti [Baltistan] and 'Bru-śal (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, Hārūn 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-sroñ-lde-btsan's grandson, Sad-na-legs (804-17, Petech), is credited with having built the temple of *Skar-chuñ rDo-dbyiñs* ("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,

³¹ Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, op. cit., pp. 49-50. See above, p. 6.

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 [].

³⁴ L. Petech: *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet)* (Calcutta Oriental Press, 1939), p. 65.

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-śal (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 [Jambudvīpa = India].³⁶

Ral-pa-chan's successor, his brother gLañ-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-ñi-ma-mgon (c. 900-30), begins the separate history of Western Tibet or mÑa'-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 Señge-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

³⁶ *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 Ladakhis 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-lDan 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-lDan 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).

(4) The L(ondon) 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 Señge rNam-rgyal. Leaves 70–72 are additions, and give a bare list of the kings after Señge.

V

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

Ñi-ma-mgon having been banished to Ña-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-tsug-gon, governed Sh'an-sh'un.³⁷

gŽon-nu-dPal, the author of *The Blue Annals* (*Deb-ther sñon-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 dBus 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-gtsugs-mgon. The eldest son ruled in Mar-yul. The middle son ruled in sPu-hrañs. The youngest in Žañ-žuñ, which region forms part of Gu-ge.³⁸

³⁷ Bu-ston: *A History of Buddhism* (Chos 'byuñ). Translated by E. Obermiller in *Materiellen zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, Vols. 18–19. Heidelberg (in Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig), 1931–32, Vol. 2, p. 200.

³⁸ gŽon-nu-dpal: *The Blue Annals* (*Deb-ther sñon-po*). Translated by N. Roerich, 2 vols. (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1949, 1953), Vol. 1, p. 37.

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-śis-sgañ and Dakmaru] in the Horse year, Rtse-śo-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-bśes-btsan invited him to Pu-hrañs, and offered him 'Bro-za 'Khor-skyoñ to be his wife, and he married her. She bore him three sons. He now built the palace of Ñi-zuñs (in Pu-hrañs) and erected a capital. Then he conquered mNa'-ris-sKor-gsum completely, and ruled in accordance with the faith.³⁹

Sras.gsum.ni./Lha.chen.dpal.gyi.mgon./Bar.pa.bkra.śis.mgon./Chuñ.ba.lde.gtsug.mgon.dañ.gsum.mo./De.nas.sras.gsum.la.mña'.ris.so.sor.gñañ.ste./Chc.ba.dpal.gyi.mgon.la./mña'.ris.mar.yul./'bañs.gžu.nag.can./Śar.ru.thogs.dañ./Gser.kha.'gog.lad.kyi.lde.mchog.dkar.po./Mtshams.kyi.ra.ba.dmar.po./Wam.le.yi.mig.gi.pha.boñ.la.mgo.bar./
(L MS gyag.lder.) nub.kha.che'i.la.rtsa./Rdo.bug.pa.can.yan.chad./Byañ.gser.kha.(L MS mgon.po.)'gog.po.tshun.chad.kyi.sa.rgya.la.gtogs.pa.rnams.yin.no./Bar.pa.bkra.śis.mgon.la./Gu.ge.Pu.hrañs./Rtse.dañ.bcas.pa.la.mña'.mdzad./Chuñ.ba.lde.gtsug.mgon.la./Zañs.dkar.sgo.gsum./Spi.ti./Spi.lcogs.dañ.bcas.pa.la.mña'.mdzad./⁴⁰

His three sons were Lha-chen-Dpal-gyi-mgon (c. A.D. 930-60); Bkra-śis-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.

- [e] Wam-le [Hanle], to the top of the Yi-mig rock [Imis Pass] (L MS: Gyag-lder);
 [f] (A MS:) to the west, to the foot of the Kashmir pass [Zoji La], from the cavernous stone upwards hither;
 [g] to the north, to the gold mine of 'Gog (L MS of Mgon-po);
 [h] all the places belonging to rGya [in Rupshu].
 bKra-śis-mgon, the second, he made ruler over Gu-ge with Puhrañs, Rtse, etc. Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, he made ruler over Zañs-dkar-sgo-gsum; with Spi-ti, Spi-lcogs [Lahul?], etc.⁴¹

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'." ⁴² In the *Tunhuang 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.⁴³

This is a reference to Kao Hsien-chih's invasion of Gilgit in 747.⁴⁴ "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 sroñ lde btsan, 755-97) resided at Zuñ-ka(r). The winter conference having been assembled by Skyes-bzañ-rgyal-koñ and Rgyal-ta-khri-goñ, these two, in Phyi-ts(h)al of Skyi, envoys from Stod-phyogs, the Black Ban-'jag, and the Gog and the Śig-nig, paid homage.⁴⁵

"Śig-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 kān (a true mine), a name which was probably

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴² *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

⁴³ J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, C. Toussaint: *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940), pp. 62-63.

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 sKyid-lde-Ñi-ma-mgon drew the frontier between Ladakh and Tibet.

In this manner, King sKyid-lde-Ñi-ma-mgon established the kingdom of mÑa'-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. *mÑa'* is a respectful form of the word *dBañ* and means "might, power, potency, dominion or sway"; *ris* means, among other things, "part, region, or quarter". Hence *mÑa'-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 *mÑa'-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-hrañs. Later, in the seventeenth century, when Ladakh was "separated from" *mÑa'-ris-sKor-gsum*, the term *mÑa'-ris-sKor-gsum* - usually shortened into *mÑa'-ris* - came to be applied (somewhat illogically) to Gu-ge and Pu-hrañs only.⁴⁷

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

⁴⁶ F. E. Younghusband: *The Heart of a Continent* (London, John Murray, 1896), pp. 180-1.

⁴⁷ Under Tibetan rule, in our own times, the province of *mÑa'-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 rDzoñ-ons, one for Ruthog, Demchog and bKra-sis-sgañ (Tashigong), the second for rTsa-brañ (Tsaparang), the third for Daba, south of mTho-gliñ, and the fourth for Pu-hrañs.

passage from the *Chronicles of Ladakh* where the partition of sKyid-lde-Ñi-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.mña'.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-lde-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-lde-Ngeema-gon dominion, and Maryul at that time was a small state, and not an independent kingdom.⁵⁰

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".⁵¹

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, *Ngaitse*, 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.⁵²

VI

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

⁴⁸ *Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question* (Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, MEA 29, February 1961), Indian Report, p. 42.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, Chinese Report, p. CR-56.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, Chinese Report, pp. CR-13/CR-14.

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-hrañs downwards hither”.⁵³ 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,⁵⁴ is usually identified with the Riñcana Bhoṭṭa of Yonarāja’s Rājatarāṅginī (*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-dīn, and thus became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.⁵⁵

On the death of Sadr-ud-dīn there was a reversion to Hinduism under his widow, Koṭa Rāñi, which ended when her Wazīr (Minister), Shāh Mīr (1339–42), established the first Muslim dynasty of Kashmir (1339–1555).⁵⁶

Shāh Mīr’s successor, Shihāb-ud-dīn (1354–73), is reputed to have conquered Baltistan and Ladakh,⁵⁷ but the conquest was transitory, as was also the conquest of Baltistan by Sultan Sikandar (1389–1413).⁵⁸

Ladakh, in the meantime, under the reign of Grags-’bum-lde (c. 1400–40), adopted the reformed religion of Tsoñ-kha-pa.⁵⁹ It was also, probably, during this reign, that Zain-ul-Ābidīn, Sultan of Kashmir (1420–70), invaded Ladakh, penetrated into “Gogga-deśa” (Gu-ge), and annexed Kulu to his kingdom.⁶⁰

In the reign of bLo-gros-mcog-ldan (c. 1440–70), Ādam Khān, the eldest son of Zain-ul-Ābidīn, 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?).⁶¹

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).

⁵³ Francke, op. cit., p. 96.

⁵⁴ Petech: op. cit., pp. 112–13.

⁵⁵ Daya Ram Sahni and A. H. Francke: References to the Bhoṭṭas or Bhaṭṭas in the Rājatarāṅginī of Kashmir, *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay), Vol. 37 (1908), pp. 182–7.

⁵⁶ G. M. D. Sufi: *Kashir, being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, 2 vols. (University of the Panjab Lahore, 1949), Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 144; Petech, op. cit., p. 115.

⁵⁹ Francke: *Chronicles*, pp. 99–100.

⁶⁰ Sahni and Francke, op. cit., pp. 188–9; Petech, pp. 115–16; Sufi, p. 170.

⁶¹ Sahni and Francke, p. 189; Francke, *Chronicles*, p. 101; Petech, p. 116; Sufi, pp. 179–80.

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 Khān (1472–84), was defeated.⁶² Regarding the invasion by Mir Valī, 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-śis rNam-rGyal (c. 1500–35) is credited with having conquered “(all the country) from Pu-rig upwards, and from Gro-śod (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-śis rNam-rGyal had to reconquer Pu-rig. But Ladakh had no respite from foreign invasions. In c. 1517, Mīr Muzīd, 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 Mīr Muzīd.

In 1532, Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, the general of Sultāns Sa'īd Khān (d. 1533) and Rashīd Khān of Kashgar – and the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* – 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-śis 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.

⁶⁵ N. Elias and E. D. Ross: *The Tarikh-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* (London, Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1895), p. 403, footnote 1.

⁶⁶ Francke, *Chronicles*, p. 103.

⁶⁷ Elias and Ross, pp. 404 ff., esp. pp. 454–8.

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 Sultān 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.⁷⁰ 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-dban 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-dban rNam-rGyal (c. 1535-75 Petech) reads as follows:

Then the incarnate king, Tshe-dban 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-riñs [on the road from Lhasa to Ladakh, 21 marches from this side of Lhasa] in the east, downwards hither, (viz.) Blo-bo, Pu-hrañs, Gu-ge, etc.; to the south, 'Dzum-lañ [Jumla in Nepal?] and Ñuñ-ti [Kulu], both; in the west, as far as Si-dkar [Shigar in Baltistan] and Kha-dkar [Chitral]. 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 žo of gold, silver, 100 3-years' old sheep, one horse. Ru-thogs had to pay 260 žo 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-ldoñ and Žiñ-dar-chen-dar-chuñ (two estates near Ru-thogs?); (indeed) from all sides they brought in tribute and dues in inconceivable quantities.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Petech, p. 128. Sufi, Vol. 1, p. 205, merely says that Mirza Haidar added Little Tibet (Baltistan), Pakhli (Hazara), Rajauri and Kishtwar to the kingdom of Kashmir.

⁷¹ Francke, *Chronicles*, p. 105.

The "going to war while yet a young man" and the advance to Nam-riñs 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-dbañ rNam-rGyal and the accession of 'Jam-dbyañs rNam-rGyal (c. 1560-90, Francke; c. 1580-90, Petech), "all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads".⁷² While assisting the Pu-rig Sultan, Tshe-riñ 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,⁷³ and defeated. Ali Mir, however, gave his daughter in marriage to 'Jam-dbyañs, and of this marriage the issue was Señ-ge rNam-rGyal (c. 1590-1635, Francke; c. 1580/1590-1640-41, Petech).

Señ-ge rNam-rGyal

Señ-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",⁷⁴ that is, at the border, towards Misser (Menze) between Garthog and Mount Kailāsa.⁷⁵ 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-loñ* ("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-brañ [Tsaparang] of Gu-ge, as well as (the) *Los-loñ* were seized. The Añ-pa (chief?) of Ru-thogs was also deposed, and Ru-thogs was seized.⁷⁶

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,

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, Ādam invaded his brother's dominions in 1637, captured Abdal Khān and sent him as a prisoner to Kashmir. After a short reign by Muhammad Murād (1637–38), the son of Alī Mīr Sher Khān's eldest son Ahmad Khān, Ādam Khān became ruler of Baltistan.

In 1639, Ādam Khān "wrote to Ali Mardān Khān, 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 Mardān Khān 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".⁷⁷

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 Śa-'jan [Pādīshah Shāhjahān, 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.⁷⁸

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.⁷⁹

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-riñs of the north [or Northern Nam-riñs]. At Śi-ri-dkar-mo [a small lamasery on the right bank of the Charta Tsang-po], he stopped (or, he was routed at Śi-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)-gTsañ [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].⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī (d. 1654): *Pādīshāh-nāmāh (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 dBus-gTsañ and Śi-r-[-dkar-mo] as well as Kyar-kyar [?] were made tributary. The King of dBus-gTsañ, sDe-pa gTsañ-pa,⁸¹ presented many mule-loads of gold, silver and tea; and after (Señ-ge rNam-rGyal) had paid his respects (?), he went home together with the army of Ladakh. He also brought Lho-mo-sdañ [in Nepal] into his power. He reigned from Bu-[h]rañ[s], Gu-ge, Zañs-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.⁸²

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 Zañs-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, Mañ-yul, Spyi-ti, Zañs-dkar, Bu-rig(s), Hem-bab [Dras], Skar-rdo, Śi-gar, Bhal-ti, all these countries.⁸³

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 *ashrafis*, 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

⁸¹ Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal, sDe-srid (or sDe-pa) of gTsañ, overthrew the Phag-mo-du or Sitya dynasty of bTsan-pos (or Kings) of Tibet, at Lhasa, in 1630, and thus became King of dBus-gTsañ. In 1641, immediately after Señ-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.

⁸² Francke, *Chronicles*, p. 110.

⁸³ *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).⁸⁴

VIII

Tibetan Invasion (1680-3) and the Treaty of gTñ-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 rNam-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".⁸⁵ Tibet was now under the regency of Sañs-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,⁸⁶ defeated the Ladakhis at Žva-dmar-luñ in Gu-ge [half-way between bKra-sis-sgañ (Tashigong) and sGar dgun-ka (Gar-gunsa)] 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 Kashmir (Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Alī Mardān Khān) for help. A Mughal army was sent under Fidāi Khān (the son of Ibrāhīm 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 dbañ-po, to go and negotiate for peace. The Treaty of gTñ-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

⁸⁴ Petech, p. 152, Aurangzib, Emperor of India, 1659-1707.

⁸⁵ Francke, *Chronicles*, p. 115.

⁸⁶ Francke, p. 115; Petech, p. 157; Sufi, I, pp. 277-8. See also H. H. Wilson: *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces . . . by William Moorcroft and George Trebeck*, 2 vols. (John Murray, London, 1841), Vol. I, p. 336.

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 mÑa'-ris-sKor-gsum, Mi'-pham dbaṅ-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) mÑa'-ris-sKor-gsum should be made over to (C MS:) Mi'-pham dbaṅ-po; (B MS:) but the King [of Ladakh] entered the request with the sDe-pa-gžüñ [Lhasa government] that he, begging to differ from Mi'-pham dbaṅ-po's decisions, would prefer that they should give three districts in Tibet proper to Mi'-pham dbaṅ-po, instead of mÑa'-ris-sKor-gsum. Thereby a provocation to mÑa'-ris-(sKor-gsum) might be avoided. Accordingly, the sDe-pa-gžüñ [Lhasa government] made over to Mi'-pham dbaṅ-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-lde-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-bzañ rGya-mtsho (1615-80)* by Sañs-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-riñ dbañ-rgyal of mDo-mkhar.⁹¹ The only passage in the *Biography of bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of Pho-la* 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, Señ-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

⁸⁸ *Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question* (Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, MEA 29, February 1961), Chinese Report, p. CR-12.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, Chinese Report, p. CR-12.

⁹⁰ For an account of this work, see G. Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), Vol. I, pp. 164-5.

⁹¹ Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 169. Petech: *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century* (Monographies du T'oung Pao, Leiden, 1950), pp. 3-4.

chieftains, he gave them Leh, Bitu, Chishe, etc., altogether 7 forts, together with the estates, the subjects and the riches. . . ." ⁹²

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? ⁹²

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". ⁹³ [It should be noted here, however, that according to both Francke's and Petech's chronology, both Señ-ge rNam-rGyal (c. 1590-1635, Francke; c. 1580/90-1640/41, Petech) and bDe-ldan 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. ⁹⁴

Thirty-one years after the Treaty of gTiñ-sgañ (1684), in 1715, when Ñi-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-śis-sgañ, Tashigong) - whether by usage or otherwise - marked the frontier between Ladakh and Tibet. ⁹⁵

IX

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 "Choṭa 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.

⁹² *Report of the Officials . . .*, Chinese Report, p. CR-13.

⁹³ *ibid.*, Indian Report, p. 51.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, Indian Report, pp. 52, 61

⁹⁵ Filippo de Filippi: *An Account of Tibet, The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-27.* (Geo. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London, 1937), p. 81. Desideri called Ladakh or "Lhata-yul" Second Tibet, the First being Lesser Tibet or Baltistan, the Third Central Tibet or dBus-gTsañ.

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 Abdalī (d. 1772) established himself as the independent ruler of Afghanistan. In 1752, Kashmir passed from Mughal into Afghan hands. In 1798, Zamān Shāh (1792–1800), a successor of Ahmad Shāh Abdalī, 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 Lañ-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-dbañ-rab-brtan rNam-rgyal, otherwise known as mCog-sprul rNam-rgyal) "would not listen". She sent fresh troops, under Dños-grub-btsan-'dzin and the minister (governor) of Ldum-ra (Nubra), to renew the war. The Dogras retreated to Lañ-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 Bañ-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, and not a single Si-pa [Dogra] or other man was placed in the fort as a guard. It was arranged that 5000 rupees should be paid uninterruptedly as tribute to the (Jammu) government [April 1835].⁹⁶

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.

⁹⁶ 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-mkhar-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 Pipitiñ, and apparently won him over to his side; for, when Dños-grub-btsan-'dzin came to meet Zorāwar at Pipitin, Zorāwar "would not accept his presents and pretended to be angry".⁹⁷ 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-Señ-ge-mi-'gyur-kund-gah 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-hrañs, and then withdrew to Gar-thogs to establish his headquarters there. The Tibetans immediately counter-attacked and slew the Dogra garrison at Pu-hrañs. 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 chieftain, the Dogras dammed up a brook and flooded the Tibetan camp. "Their equipment, the powder,

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 131.

etc., became wet. As no other course was left, the Tibetans bowed their heads".⁹⁸ Ragashar committed suicide on his way to Leh as a prisoner-of-war, but Zur-khañ and Piśiśakra (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 Byañ(-thañ) [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.⁹⁹

Sardār K. M. Panikkar in *The Founding of the Kashmir State, A Biography of Maharajah Gulab Singh, 1792-1858* (London, Geo. Allen and Unwin, 2nd impression, 1953), pp. 84-89, gives three versions of the treaty of 1842: (1) a translation of a Persian copy (reproduced in Diwān Kirpa Rām's Gulāb-Nāmah, p. 264), embodying an undertaking by the Tibetan Government; (2) a translation of a Tibetan version of the treaty, embodying an undertaking by the Dogra Government of Jammu; and (3) a translation of a Tibetan version of a Treaty embodying the agreement of the Sikh Government of the Panjab to the arrangements arrived at between the Dogra Government of Jammu and the Tibetan Government.¹⁰⁰ These three versions, as given by Panikkar, are as follows:

(1)

Whereas we the officers of the Lhasa country, viz., firstly, Kalon Sukanwala (Zur-khañ) and, secondly, Bakshi Sapju (Piśiśakra), 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).

(2)

Kalon Surkhan and investigating officer Depon Pishi(-śakra) 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. The

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 Lhasa 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 Lhasa, one of the Kalan, Sokan (Zur-khan), and Depon Shabeho Bakshi (Piśiśakra), 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 Sahib¹⁰¹ (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 Lhasa (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 Zadas¹⁰² shall, if they remain faithful, loyal and obedient, receive greater consideration. Traders from Lhasa 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.¹⁰³

(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

¹⁰³ *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”.

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 Gulāb 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 Gulāb Singh.

¹⁰⁷ *Report of the Officials . . .*, Chinese Report, p. CR-15.

¹⁰⁸ C. U. Aitchison: *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. I, p. 51.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 21; Sufi, Vol. 2, pp. 763-4. By an agreement concluded between the Sikh state and Maharaja Gulāb 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,¹¹⁰ 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 *Wazīr 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 *Wazīr Wazārat* was posted to receive the annual tributes of the neighbouring chiefs and principalities. To supervise the activities of the latter *Wazīr 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-Ñi-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 Panjab.

- (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 gTiñ-sgañ, 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”.
- (9) 1846 (16 March). The State of Jammu and Kashmir was created under the Paramountcy of the Crown of England. Ladakh became a part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

This was the position till 15 August 1947.

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