

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA  
LI

THE KINGDOM OF LADAKH  
C. 950-1842 A. D.

BY  
LUCIANO PETECH



ROMA  
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE  
1977

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**TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI**  
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*To my guru and friend  
Professor Giuseppe Tucci*



## P R E F A C E

At the beginning of my scientific career, nearly forty years ago, I published "A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh", Calcutta 1939. As it turned out, that little unpretentious work seemed to fill a real need, and continued to render service for several years. I kept up my interest in that subject for some time, then dropped it for other pursuits. When a couple of years ago I came back to Ladakhi studies, I found that my first effort was hopelessly obsolete; there was no sense in trying to revise and implement it for a second edition. Accordingly, I started from scratch and from a different angle. Soon I found out that a good deal of new material had become available in the meantime, so that the harvest justified my writing a completely new book.

The present study, presenting the results of two years of research in Italy, Ladakh, India and Japan, deals mainly with political history, with due regard to institutions and religious conditions. Cultural history has been excluded on purpose, as I was aware that Professor D. Snellgrove was preparing a thorough study on this subject, and I wanted to avoid duplications<sup>1</sup>. Such as it is, my book aims at giving a connected account of the history of the kingdom of Ladakh from its origins to its downfall. The sources utilized are of course much more numerous than the single (but still fundamental) *La-dvags rgyal-rabs*, upon which A. H. Francke based his pioneer work seventy years ago.

Whether I have succeeded in my endeavour, scholars working in the field of Tibetan and allied studies will judge by themselves; criticism is heartily invited and will be gratefully received.

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<sup>1</sup> This study is now available: D. L. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, *The cultural heritage of Ladakh*, I, Warminster 1977. Another essay, which has some bearing on the earliest history of Western Tibet, is Z. Yamaguchi, "The name T'u-fan and the location of the Yang-t'ung; a study of *Fu-kuo-chuan* and the Greater and Lesser Yang-t'ung", in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, 58 (1977), 313-353. I regret that both came too late for being taken into account in my book.



The reader may feel some discomfort in remarking the disproportionate number of personal names with which the book teems, even where they seem to be neither important nor particularly relevant. I followed this course purposely, in order to facilitate checking and cross-references, should new sources turn up in subsequent times, as it is to be hoped and expected: I am thinking above all of inscriptions and documents, which may yet bring us some surprises.

It is my pleasant duty to express my thanks to the institutions and scholars who supported my work and aided me in many ways. The Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Italian National Council of Research) financed a five-weeks trip to India and Ladakh in 1975. The Gakujutsu Shinkokai (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) kindly invited me to Japan for a research period of four months (winter 1976–1977), which was mainly devoted to other studies, but during which I also gathered some materials on Ladakh. My *guru* and friend Professor G. Tucci allowed me to utilize epigraphical material he had collected in Ladakh nearly half-a-century ago; he also kindly accepted my work for publication in the Serie Orientale Roma. Professor K. Enoki, besides sponsoring my invitation to Japan, acted as a friendly and always helpful host at the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo. Professor Z. Yamaguchi opened to me the facilities of the University of Tokyo, and so did Professor H. Sato for the University of Kyoto. Professor D. Snellgrove of London supplied me with some items of information, chiefly on epigraphical matters. Mr E. Gene Smith drew my attention to several Tibetan texts and kindly loaned some of them during my stay in Delhi. Last but not least, I am greatly indebted to C'os-dpal Bla-ma, the *gzims-dpon* (chamberlain) of the 12th 'Brug-c'en Rin-po-c'e, who facilitated in every possible way my contacts with the monasteries of Ladakh, where I was always received with unflinching kindness and helpfulness. On the same account I express here my thanks to the T'ogs-ldan Rin-po-c'e of sGañ-sñon and to the T'ug-sras Rin-po-c'e, the *yons-'dzin* (tutor) of the 'Brug-c'en Rin-po-c'e.

*Rome, September 1977*

LUCIANO PETECH

## CHAPTER I

### THE SOURCES

The main source for Ladakhi history is, and always will be, the *La-dvags rgyal-rabs*, compiled probably in the 17th century, but continued later till the end of the kingdom and beyond.

Seven manuscripts of this work are known to exist, or to have existed.

1. – Ms.S. Bodleian Library in Oxford, Ms.Tibet, C.7. Copied in 1856 from an original belonging to the former king of Ladakh. It was published by Emil von Schlagintveit more than a century ago<sup>1</sup>. The original has disappeared, as it is not found in the library of the former royal family in the sTog palace.

2. – Ms.A. Stops with the reign of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. It was partly published and translated by K. Marx<sup>2</sup>. No longer available.

3. – Ms.B. Consisting of four leafs only and dealing with the second dynasty down to the Dogra conquest. No longer available.

4. – Ms.C. Compiled at the end of the 19th century by Munshi dPal-rgyas, who added to it three appendixes dealing with the Dogra conquest. No longer available.

5. – Ms.L. British Museum, Oriental Collection 6683. It carries the tale to the reign of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, with the addition of a bare list of the later kings down to the Dogra conquest.

All these manuscripts were utilized by A. H. Francke in preparing his standard edition (*LDGR*), revised by F. W. Thomas. It was not a critical edition, and its main drawback is that the differences between

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<sup>1</sup> E. v. Schlagintveit, "Die Könige von Tibet", in *Abhandlungen der kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 10 (1866), III Abt., 793–879.

<sup>2</sup> K. Marx, "Three documents relating to the history of Ladakh", in *JASB*, 60 (1891), 97–135; 63 (1894), 94–107; 71 (1902), 21–34.

the single manuscripts are insufficiently marked. Francke's translation<sup>1</sup> is a pioneer effort and was highly meritorious for its time; however, it leaves scope for improvement on several points. Accordingly, I prefer to quote directly from the Tibetan text (*LDGR*), by page and line, and to translate it afresh whenever necessary.

6. — Ms.Cunningham. During his stay in Ladakh in 1847, Alexander Cunningham caused a manuscript of the Chronicle to be translated for him into Urdu; a partial English version of it was incorporated in his work<sup>2</sup>. The manuscript (or the Urdu translation) starts with Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (16th century); the English version stops with bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal (end of the 17th century), since Cunningham deemed the rest of the story unimportant. Neither the manuscript nor its Urdu version are available now.

7. — Ms.Sonam. In the private possession of dGe-rgan bSod-nams, a 'Bri-guñ-pa monk from Lamayuru monastery. It consists of about forty leaves (I could not see the last few ones) and carries the tale down to the Dogra conquest inclusively. It was published with only slight changes by its owner (*Sonam*). This manuscript is closely related with Ms. C, of which, down to c.1825, it represents a shortened, modernized and simplified version; the value of this portion is small. But for the later years it supplies a surprisingly full account of the Central Asian refugees and their delivery into Chinese hands in 1828, which is missing in all the other manuscripts but is fully confirmed by the Chinese documents. Also its narrative of the Ladakhi revolt in 1841/2 and of the final Dogra conquest is more diffuse and complete than the three versions of Ms. C published by Francke. The editor of the manuscript added some appendices not found in it, viz. a genealogy of the royal house in the 19th and 20th centuries, a list of the rTogs-ldan *sprul-sku* of sGañ-sñon and of the He-mis *sprul-sku*, and lastly a biography of the present Bakula Rin-po-c'e, head of the dGe-lugs-pa sect in Ladakh and member of the Indian Lok Sabha.

It should be pointed out that the first half of the *LDGR*, as edited by Francke, has nothing to do with our subject, but is a history of the Tibetan monarchy, on the lines of the standard Central Tibetan chro-

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<sup>1</sup> Francke 1926, 63-148.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, 318-331.

nicles like the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loñ*<sup>1</sup>. The second half deals with Ladakh, and down to the 15th century it is almost our sole source; with a single exception, this section cannot be checked with other texts. But generally speaking, the more we study the Chronicle in comparison with other texts (this becomes possible after the 15th century), the more we come to realize that it is marred by omissions and mistakes and cannot be trusted beyond a certain point.

The only other literary source from Ladakh is the biography of sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa (*TTRP*), compiled in 1663. It is on the pattern of the traditional *rnam-t'ar*, but with a heavier emphasis than usual on secular matters, which renders it particularly useful.

Ladakhi inscriptions are usually on stone, sometimes on paper pasted on the walls. Several of them were edited by Francke in articles published in 1906 and 1907<sup>2</sup>, and these, with many more, were also printed in the same years at Leh in a mimeographed edition of 40 copies only (*F*); it represents now a bibliographical rarity. Some more (*F*.146–211) were collected later, and I was able to consult Francke's unpublished copies. The degree of reliability of this material is not high. Most inscriptions were taken down by eye-copy, some by Francke himself and some more by his local assistants, all too often in a hurry. We have even a case of an obliterated inscription, which was "copied" by writing down the oral explanation supplied by some cultivators who claimed to have read it before. A few inscriptions could be checked either on photos taken by Professor Tucci in 1928–31 or by me directly on the spot in 1975; this check showed that they were not always correctly copied by Francke or his assistants. Still, we must be glad to have them, as no one after Francke tried to collect or study Ladakhi epigraphy. As to the value of epigraphical material for our purpose, it is to be rated rather low. Its contents are usually religious, dealing mostly with dedications of images, *mani*-walls, and the like. It is of little help from the point of view of social, economic and even political history.

A much better source is represented by the paper documents; but here we are handicapped by the paucity of the published material.

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<sup>1</sup> On this point see Petech 1939, 87–95; E. Haarh, *The Yar-luñ dynasty*, Copenhagen 1969, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Francke 1906a, 1906b, 1907a, 1907b.

Francke's Ladakhi assistant Joseph Gergan (dGe-rgan bSod-nams-ts'e-brtan) collected several paper documents. Of these, three were added to Francke's edition of the Chronicle<sup>1</sup>. But many more remain unpublished. They are listed and utilized in Joseph Gergan's posthumous work, revised and edited by his son sKyabs-ldan dGe-rgan under the title *Bla-dvags rgyal-rabs 'c'i-med gter*, New Delhi 1976. Besides documents, this work, although not coming up to modern scientific standards, contains a good deal of traditional evidence, for which it may rank as an original source. Some further documents were recently published by D. Schuh, but they still await a proper critical study. This is a promising field for further research; this source has only just been tapped, and many more documents should be made available (first of all those listed by Gergan), before this kind of material becomes of real utility.

Copious collateral evidence is supplied by Central Tibetan texts (chiefly the biographies of the Dalai-Lamas, of the Paṅ-c'en Lamas, of the 'Brug-c'en and of the bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or Yoñs-'dzin), by the standard Moghul histories, by Chinese documents found in the *Ta Ch'ing Shih-lu*, and by the accounts of European travellers, such as Azevedo (1615), Desideri (1715), Moorcroft (1820-1822) and Vigne (1838).

Lastly, a remark on chronology. Tibetan dates have been converted into Western ones according to the tables of D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Wiesbaden 1973, which for the first time supply the equivalents not only for the years, but also for months and days.

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<sup>1</sup> Francke 1926, 228-244.

## CHAPTER II

### EARLIEST HISTORY

Information on Ladakh before the birth of the kingdom (10th century) is scarce. The following is an attempt to digest the existing datas, without losing time in refuting unfounded theories that have been exploded long ago <sup>1</sup>.

The earliest layer in the population of Ladakh, as far as we can see, was composed of the Dardis, of whom some remnants are still found in the country <sup>2</sup>. This is revealed both by the ethnical substratum and by the toponymy, in which Dardi elements are outstanding. Thus we may infer that any reference to the Dards in the earliest period stands a good chance of covering Ladakh as well.

Herodotus mentions twice a people called Dadikai, first (III, 91) along with the Gandarioi in the list of Persian provinces, and again (VII, 66) in the catalogue of king Xerxes's army invading Greece, where they are brigaded once more with the Gandarioi under the same command. We may have here the first mention of the Dards, at least of those dwelling to the north and north-west of Gandhara; but this is anything but certain <sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> We may quote here some examples. The equation of Ptolemy's Dabasai with dBus (Central Tibet) and of the Byltai with the Baltis is both philologically and historically impossible; see Petech 1948, 214. Francke's theory of a Mon layer antecedent to the Dardi immigration in Ladakh is lacking any sound basis; Petech 1939, 99. The journey of the Chinese pilgrim Chi-yeh (about 966) from Magadha to Mo-yü-li and over the Himalaya to the San-yeh monastery and Central Asia was not through Ladakh, but by the way of the monastery of bSam-yas (San-yeh) in Central Tibet; Petech 1948, 217.

<sup>2</sup> A small Dardi-speaking enclave is still found in Lower Ladakh between Hanu and Morol, with the main centre at mDa' (Da); they call themselves Maknopa. Biasutti-Dainelli, 33-37. Cf. A. H. Francke, *The Dards of Khalatse*, MASI 1 (1906), n. 19.

<sup>3</sup> In spite of the similarity of name, the Dadikai cannot be identical with the Datikhai, whom Ptolemy (VII, 1, 51) situates on the upper reaches of the Ganges.

Again in Herodotus (III, 102) we find the first instance of the famous tale of the gold-digging ants in Innermost Asia, a legend that has been the subject of many discussions. The next mention is by Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great (ap. Strab. XV, p. 705). Twenty years later Megasthenes (*fragm.* XXXIX, 1, ap. Strab. XV, p. 706) connects this gold-winning with the Dardai. In the 1st century A.D. Pliny repeats that the Dards are great producers of gold (*Nat. Hist.* VI, 67: *fertilissimi sunt auri Dardae*). The most detailed treatment of the question is still that by Herrmann, who brings arguments to show that the tale ultimately goes back to a hazy knowledge of the gold-washings in Ladakh and Baltistan, and chiefly at Karguil<sup>1</sup>. Without mentioning gold, in the 2nd century A.D. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 41) situates the Daradrai near the source, i.e. on the upper reaches, of the Indus; and somewhat later we find the name Darada in the geographical lists of the *Purāṇas*<sup>2</sup>.

From another angle, anthropometrical measurements confirm the present-day Ladakhis to be a mixed race, the chief elements of which are the Dardic (Indo-Iranian) and the Tibetan (Mongoloid)<sup>3</sup>. The folklore of the Dards too preserves the tradition that the whole of Ladakh was originally occupied by them<sup>4</sup>.

The first glimpse of political history is afforded by the famous Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Uvima Kavthisa (Wima Kadphises) found near the K'a-la-rtse bridge on the Indus; it is dated in the year 184 or 187 of an unknown era<sup>5</sup>. This involves the vexata quaestio of Kushana chronology, which cannot be discussed here. In any case, the

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<sup>1</sup> A. Herrmann, *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*, Leipzig 1938, 10-16.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Text of the Puranic list of peoples", in *IHQ* 21 (1945), 303 (= *Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India*, Calcutta 1960, 25).

<sup>3</sup> Biasutti-Dainelli, 262. In Biasutti's opinion (*ibid.*, 259-262) the Mongolian element is prevailing. Dainelli (*ibid.*, 44) maintains that it is quite secondary and that the main stock of the Ladakhis is Aryan. The first opinion is of course the correct one.

<sup>4</sup> For local tradition on Dardi chiefs in Ladakh see Francke 1907c, 48.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by S. Konow, *The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions* (CII, II, 1), Calcutta 1929, 79-81. Cf. his "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology", in *JIH* 12 (1933), 36-37. A better photo, taken in 1928, was published by G. Tucci, "Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat", in *East and West*, 9 (1958), 294, fig. 8.

inscription proves that in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. Lower Ladakh was included in the Kushana empire.

A few other Brahmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, consisting mostly of a few words only, have been found in Ladakh; but we are still confined to the short and unscholarly notice published by A. H. Francke seventy years ago<sup>1</sup>. They give evidence of some cultural intercourse with India, apparently through Kashmir.

The Chinese pilgrims contribute little to our subject. Fa-hsien did not pass through Ladakh, nor even in its vicinity. Hsüan-tsang, copied by the *Shih-chia fang-chih* and the *T'ang-shu*, describes by hearsay the journey from Ch'ü-lu-to (Kulūta, Kulu) to Lo-hu-lo (Lahul), then goes on saying that "from there to the north, for over 2000 *li*, the road is very difficult, with cold wind and flying snow; thus one arrives in the kingdom of Mo-lo-so 秣羅娑"; an original note to the text remarks: "[Mo-lo-so] is also called San-po-ho 三波訶". Elsewhere he tells us that Suvarṇagotra borders on the West on San-po-ho<sup>2</sup>. Geographically speaking, the region thus indicated is unmistakably Ladakh. But the names offer serious philological difficulties, and a short discussion will not be out of place.

The ancient (7th century) pronunciation of Mo-lo-so is *muât-lâ-sâ*. Francke suggested long ago that the name may stand for Tibetan Mar-sa, "Low Country", synonymous with Mar-yul, a common name for Ladakh<sup>3</sup>. Pelliot accepted the equivalence, but offered as alternatives \*Mrāsa and \*Marāsa<sup>4</sup>. In my opinion, Tibetan Mar-sa is quite impossible. First of all, such a name would imply that the language spoken in Ladakh in the early 7th century was Tibetan, which is in a high degree unlikely, not to say impossible. Secondly, Hsüan-tsang's phonetical system is a very strict and rational one, and for him *lo* (*lâ*) 羅 stands for *-la-* or *-ra-* and nothing else; in the whole of his book there is no example of *lo* (*lâ*) standing for *-r-*, with the single

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<sup>1</sup> Francke 1907b, 592-596.

<sup>2</sup> *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü-chi*, Taishō edition, LI, 890a.9 and 892b.12-13; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels*, I, 299 and 330.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Francke, "Note on Mo-lo-so", in *JRAS* 1908, 188-189. Tucci 1956, 94n, would prefer a reading Mo-lo-p'o corresponding to Mālava, the Mālavas being recorded as Himalayan tribes by the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā* and the *Rāmāyana*.

<sup>4</sup> P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, Paris 1963, 706-707.



exception of Ka-lo(*lā*)-na-su-fa-lo(*lāt*)-na for Karṇasuvarṇa, which seems to be an anomalous transcription. His usual transcription for -r- is lo 𑖀| (ancient *lāt*) as e.g. in Po-lo(*lāt*)-na = Pūrṇa. On original \*Marāsa would be possible, since the initial *mo* (ancient *muât*) is used by Hsüan-tsang in Mo(*muât*)-lo-ku-ch'a = Malakuṭa and in Mo-lo-yeh = Malaya. Therefore, I suggest a choice between \*Malasa, \*Marāsa, \*Mrāsa.

San-po-ho (ancient *sām-puâ-χa*), transcribing \*Saṃpāha, remains unaccounted for <sup>1</sup>.

Hsüan-tsang's Suvarṇagotra, elsewhere Suvarṇabhūmi, is identical with the well-known Kingdom of Women (Skr. Strīrājya). The question is highly controversial. We may agree with Tucci, who, after a careful comparison of the elements supplied by Hsüan-tsang, by the *Vimalaprabhā-paripṛccha* etc., concludes that in the early 7th century the Indians (followed by the Chinese pilgrims in India) knew by this name the Žaṅ-žuṅ kingdom, or at least its southern districts <sup>2</sup>.

This opens another line of research, which, however, leads us into slippery terrain. The *Annals* of Tun-huang inform us that in 719 the Tibetan government "carried out a census of Žaṅ-žuṅ and Mar(d)" <sup>3</sup>. The Bon-po texts frequently use the expression Žaṅ-žuṅ sMar <sup>4</sup>, identical with sMra Žaṅ-žuṅ found twice in the Chronicle. It has been shown that this sMar has nothing to do with the Tibetan word *mar*, "low", but is a proper name and an epitheton of Žaṅ-žuṅ <sup>5</sup>. It may be a sheer coincidence, but *mar* in the Žaṅ-žuṅ language means "gold" <sup>6</sup>, which seems to explain the Mar(d) of the Tun-huang *Annals*: Mar, the land of gold, i.e. Suvarṇabhūmi, was a

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<sup>1</sup> Pelliot's suggestion that San-po-ho would be the Kulu name for Ladakh, while Mo-lo-so was the form used in Kashmir, seems not supported by the text of Hsüan-tsang.

<sup>2</sup> Tucci 1956, 92-105.

<sup>3</sup> *DTH*, 22, 1.13.

<sup>4</sup> E. Haahr, *The Žaṅ-žuṅ language* (Acta Jutlandica, XL, 1), Copenhagen 1968, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *LDGR*, 20.30 and 21.21. See the illuminating discussion by R. A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, Paris 1959, 51-54.

<sup>6</sup> E. Haahr, op. cit., 38. One should be careful in utilizing the Žaṅ-žuṅ materials published in India, as they appear to be, to a large extent, a recent reconstruction of a language long since dead, based on elements from Western as well as from Eastern Himalayan dialects. See R. A. Stein, "La langue Žaṅ-žuṅ du Bon organisé", in *BEFEO*, 58 (1971), 231-254. But *mar* seems to be a genuine Žaṅ-žuṅ word.

part of Žañ-žui; of course the *Annals* are inaccurate in listing Žañ-žui and Mar as different countries.

At this point one would be justified in remarking that there is some resemblance between sMar, Mar on the one side, and \*Marasa, \*Mrāsa, i.e. Ladakh, on the other side. But this may be due to a coincidence. Anyhow, I felt bound to introduce these new elements, even if they do not help us overmuch in clarifying the problem.

In the 8th century Ladakh was involved in the clash between Tibetan expansion pressing forward from the East, and Chinese influence exerted from Central Asia southward through the passes. The Tibetan urge westward began already in 634/5, when for the first time Žañ-žui acknowledged Tibetan suzerainty; in 653 a Tibetan commissioner (*mñan*) was appointed there. Regular administration was introduced in 662, and a rebellion in 677 apparently met with no success. In 719 a census was taken and in 724 the administration was re-organized<sup>1</sup>. It is a plain geographical fact that the annexation of Žañ-žui was a necessary pre-requisite for any further progress westward.

In the same period the valley of the upper Indus had undergone some measure of Chinese political influence, because in 696 the king of Great P'o-lü (Baltistan) sent a messenger to pay homage to the Chinese court. In 717 the king received a Chinese brevet, and in 719 he sent an embassy to China to convey his tanks. In 720 his successor received in his turn the imperial investiture<sup>2</sup>. Incidentally, let us remark that the names of the two kings are Indian; this implies that Baltistan was at that time under strong cultural influence from India, either through Gilgit or through Kashmir or both.

Soon after, the ruler of Baltistan changed sides. The date of this event can be determined with some precision. While no further embassies reached China after 720, we read that in 721 the Tibetan king received envoys from the Upper Regions (*stod-p'yogs*), a general term for what is now Western Tibet<sup>3</sup>. In 722 the Chinese sent help to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Annals* of Tun-huang, under those years. The text is published in *DTH*, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23. The translation should be corrected according to the recent studies by Bogoslovskij, A. Macdonald, Róna-Tas, Uray etc.

<sup>2</sup> *T'ang-shu* (Po-na-pên edition), 221B.5b; *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, 964.12a-b, 964.14b, 971.4a, translated in Chavannes 1903, 150 and 199-200, and Chavannes 1904, 33, 41-42, 44.

<sup>3</sup> *DTH*, 22.

king of Little P'o-lü (Gilgit), who was threatened by the Tibetans<sup>1</sup>; this means that Great P'o-lü had already passed under Tibetan sway. Thus we may date the event to 720/1. At that time Great P'o-lü may have included the whole or part of Ladakh; if it did not extend so far, still we are bound to suppose that the submission of Ladakh preceded that of Baltistan by a short time.

A fairly clear picture of the situation about that time is supplied by Hui-ch'ao, a Chinese pilgrim who travelled back from India to Central Asia in 727. He seems to have a hazy knowledge of Ladakh, perhaps included in Great P'o-lü (Baltistan). "To the north-east of Kashmir, separated from it by fifteen days of march through the mountains, lies the kingdoms of Great P'o-lü, Yang-t'ung (= Žaň-žun ?) and So-po-tz'u (?). Those three kingdoms are under the suzerainty of the Tibetans. The clothing, language and customs are completely different ... The country is narrow and small, and the mountains and valleys very rugged. There are monasteries and monks and the people venerate faithfully the Three Jewels. As to the kingdom of Tibet to the East, there are no monasteries at all and Buddha's teaching is unknown; but in the [three above mentioned] countries the population consists of Hu 胡, therefore they are believers"<sup>2</sup>.

From this tale we can elicit three facts. 1) In 727 Ladakh, if and as far as included in Great P'o-lü, was under Tibetan suzerainty. 2) Buddhism was flourishing in the country. 3) Its inhabitants were Hu. In the 8th century the term Hu applied to the Iranians of Central Asia<sup>3</sup>; but its use was rather loose, and it appears that for Hui-ch'ao it applied generally to the Iranian populations, which would fit perfectly well with the Dards of Ladakh (but not with the people of Žaň-žun). All the three items of information agree with the independent evidence sketched above.

From their base in Baltistan, the Tibetans in 737 launched an attack against the king of Bru-ža (Gilgit, Little P'o-lü); the king

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<sup>1</sup> *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* (Peking edition of 1957), ch.212, 6752; *T'ang-shu*, 216A, 8b-9a (translated by Pelliot, 99), and 221B, 5b (translated by Chavannes 1903, 150-151 and n.5).

<sup>2</sup> The best edition of Hui-ch'ao's *Wang-wu-T'ien-chu-kuo ch'uan* is by Haneda Tōru, *Recueil des oeuvres posthumes*, I, Kyoto 1957, 610-629; this passage on p. 618.

<sup>3</sup> See E. G. Pulleyblank, "A Sogdian colony in Inner Mongolia", in *T'oung Pao*, 41 (1952), 318.

applied for Chinese help, and this was granted in the forms of an offensive in the Kukunor region. But the diversion, although successful, did not save the king, who was defeated and compelled to pay homage to Tibet<sup>1</sup>.

The hold of the Tibetans on their Far-Western territories was imperiled but not broken by the daring campaign of general Kao Hsien-chih in Little P'o-lü, which purposed and achieved the re-opening of direct communications between Chinese Central Asia and Kashmir, at that time an ally of China (747). Baltistan was not directly involved, because the main route led straight from Gilgit to the Kishenganga valley and to Kashmir. But the Chinese did not overlook the longer route via the Zoji-la: Kao Hsien-chih explained to the king of Little P'o-lü that he did not aim at conquering the country, but was merely asking for free passage toward Great P'o-lü. However, although the opposition of the king was battered down by force of arms, the Chinese general did not march into Baltistan<sup>2</sup>.

The problem remained open, and in 749 the *yabghu* of Tokharestan suggested to the Chinese court an expedition to Great P'o-lü to open that route; the proposal was agreed to<sup>3</sup>, but not carried out immediately. It was only in 753 that Fêng Ch'ang-ch'ing, the successor of Kao Hsien-chih as Chinese governor-general of An-hsi (Central Asia), led an expedition against Great P'o-lü and took by assault its capital Ho-sa-lao<sup>4</sup>. We do not know whether this Chinese campaign affected Ladakh too. In any case, it was the last appearance of imperial forces in that region. After Kao Hsien-chih's disastrous defeat against the Qarluqs and Arabs on the Talas river (751), China was barely holding her own; and in the course of the following forty years it gradually lost the whole of her Central Asian possessions. Thus in 760 we read again of an envoy from the Upper Regions paying homage to

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<sup>1</sup> *DTH*, 25; *Chiu T'ang-shu* (Po-na-pên edition), 196A.10a (translated by Pelliot, 23); *T'ang-shu*, 216A.10a (transl. Pelliot, 103); *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien*, ch.214, 6287 (transl. Chavannes 1903, 151n.). For a Bon-po tradition on this campaign see H. Hoffmann, "An account of the Bon religion in Gilgit", in *CAJ*, 13 (1969), 137-145.

<sup>2</sup> *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 104.1a-2a; *T'ang-shu*, 135.4b (transl. Chavannes 1903, 152-153n.); *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien*, ch.215, 6884-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, 999.19a-b (transl. Chavannes 1903, 214-215); *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien*, ch.216, 6897.

<sup>4</sup> *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 128.1a; *T'ang-shu*, 153.1a; *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien*, ch.216, 6920-21. Cf. Chavannes 1904, 88n.

the Tibetan king<sup>1</sup>. Also, the Chinese envoy (and later monk) Wu-k'ung, who stayed in Gandhara from 759 to 764, says that from Kashmir one route to the east led to Tibet and another to the north to P'o-lü<sup>2</sup>. The eastern route cannot be any else but the Zoji-la, and this shows that the country beyond it (Purig and Ladakh) was then Tibetan territory.

During the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century Ladakh must have remained under the loose suzerainty of Tibet. This seems to be the situation depicted in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, a geographical treatise composed in 982/3, but based (for Central Asia) mostly on 9th century sources. It mentions a Bolorian Tibet (apparently Baltistan; Bolor = P'o-lü), where the people were chiefly merchants and lived in tents and felt-huts<sup>3</sup>. That trade always played the greatest role in Ladakhi economy, is a well-established fact. To the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* we may add the evidence supplied by the Nestorian crosses found carved on boulders at Drangtse, a few miles to the west of the Panggong lake and apparently due to Sogdian Christian merchants. At the same spot a short Sogdian inscription was found; it is badly preserved and of no great interest. We can only gather that it was carved by a merchant coming from Samarkand in the year 210 (?) of an unknown era<sup>4</sup>. At any rate, it supplies a welcome confirmation of the brisk trade in that outlying area during the 9th and 10th centuries.

The main cultural component in Ladakhi life of that period must have come from Kashmir. Kashmiri Buddhism had penetrated deep beyond the Zoji-la, as shown by the Śārada inscriptions at Dras and Chigtan which seem to go back to a period c.700–1200 A.D.<sup>5</sup>. The sculptures and the inscription at Dras are particularly important; but they have never been properly treated<sup>6</sup>.

After the collapse of the Tibetan monarchy, i.e. after 842, Tibetan

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<sup>1</sup> *DTH*, 58.

<sup>2</sup> E. Chavannes, "L'itinéraire de Ou-k'ong", in *J.As.* 1895, 2, 356.

<sup>3</sup> *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, transl. V. Minorsky, London 1937, 93 and 258.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. Francke, "Felseninschriften in Ladakh", in *SPAW* 1925, 366–370; F. W. K. Müller, "Eine soghdische Inschrift in Ladakh", *ibid.*, 371–372; E. Benveniste. "Notes sogdiennes", in *BSOAS*, 9 (1937/9), 502–505. A short inscription of a few words only in "Tokharian" (Kucha dialect) was found on the same spot, but apparently was never published.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned by J. Ph. Vogel, in *ASI Report* for 1906, 32.

<sup>6</sup> We still have only the bad eye-copy in Cunningham, 381.

suzerainty must have vanished fairly soon. As far as we can see, about 900 Ladakh, still inhabited by a Dardi-speaking population, was no longer connected politically with Tibet; at the utmost, it maintained trade relations with it. The Tibetanization of Ladakh started after that time, as the work of a ruling class migrating from Central Tibet under the leadership of a branch of the old royal dynasty, as we are going to see presently.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FIRST DYNASTY

The origin of the Ladakhi kingdom is connected with the decline and fall of the Tibetan monarchy. After the murder of king Glañ-dar-ma (842), the whole structure of the state collapsed and the old aristocracy launched into a scramble for power, employing the scions of the old royal house as figureheads.

The succession of Glañ-dar-ma was disputed, and the picture is by no means clear. According to a recent study by Richardson, we may distinguish two lines of tradition. An earlier one is represented by the Sa-skyā-pa authors Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (1147-1216) and 'P'ags-pa (1235-1280); they know only one, posthumous, son of the murdered king, by name 'Od-sruñs. Almost the whole of the later tradition accepted 'Od-sruñs, but opposed to him an adopted son with the nickname Yum-brtan ("supported by his mother"), who perhaps has no historical existence<sup>1</sup>. For our purposes, we are concerned only with 'Od-sruñs, for whom we are confronted with two sets of dates. The earlier (Sa-skyā-pa) tradition gives 843-905<sup>2</sup>. Of the later authors, only one supplies dates, viz. 847-885; this is the great historian dPa'-bo gTsub-lag (1504-1566), whose work has preserved much material from ancient sources going back to the times of the monarchy<sup>3</sup>. We shall not discuss here the events connected with 'Od-sruñs, as they concern Central and Eastern Tibet only.

'Od-sruñs's son was dPal-'k'or-btsan, for whom likewise two sets of dates are extant: 893-923 and 865-895. He seems to have main-

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<sup>1</sup> H. E. Richardson, "Who was Yum-brtan?", in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris 1971, 433-439.

<sup>2</sup> Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an, *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs*; text in G. Tucci, *Deb-t'er-dmar-po gsar-ma*, I, Rome 1971, 131-132; translation in Tucci 1947, 314 (= Tucci 1971, 457); also *Nor*, 126a.

<sup>3</sup> *PBTL*, 141a-b.

tained his hold over most or part of Central Tibet; but he is also credited with having built eight monasteries in Western Tibet (sTod mÑa'ris) <sup>1</sup>.

He had two sons, whom the Sa-skyapa tradition calls bKra-sis-brtsegs-brtsan and K'ri-kyi-ldiñ <sup>2</sup>; the later tradition, including the Ladakh Chronicle, gives to K'ri-kyi-ldiñ the name sKyid-lde Ńi-ma-mgon and makes him the first-born <sup>3</sup>. sKyid-lde Ńi-ma-mgon migrated to the West as the consequence of events which again are variously related: according to the Sa-skyapa, in 929 there was a rebellion, after which the royal dominions were divided between the two brothers <sup>4</sup>; for the later historians the secession seems to have taken place peacefully <sup>5</sup>. At present we cannot find any particular reason in favour of either version and sets of dates, as I do not think the earlier Sa-skyapa tradition can claim a serious presumption in its favour on this account. So it is safer to avoid making a choice.

So much is certain, Ńi-ma-mgon alias K'ri-kyi-ldiñ migrated to sTod mÑa'ris. In this connection the Chronicle relates a popular tale intended to explain why a certain giant napkin was used ever since by the kings of Ladakh. It also informs us that he built Ra-la mK'ar-dmar in the Ra-la region. He married 'K'or-skyoñ of the 'Bro family, given to him by dGe-bśes bKra-sis-btsan of sPu-rañ <sup>6</sup>. The 'Bro family belonged to the highest Tibetan nobility <sup>7</sup>. The mother of the last two kings of Tibet was née 'Bro, and a minister from this family, the Shang Pi-pi of the Chinese texts, played a conspicuous role in the struggle which followed the murder of Glañ-dar-ma, until in 849 he had to take refuge in Chinese territory. According to the Chinese texts, the 'Bro clan was original of the old kingdom of Yang-t'ung <sup>8</sup>, which (at least in part) corresponds to Žaň-žuiñ in its widest sense

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<sup>1</sup> Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an, text p. 132, translation in Tucci 1947, 314 (= Tucci 1971, 458); *Nor*, 126a; *PBTL*, 141b; *LDGR*, 35.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an, loc. cit. The form K'ris-kyi-liñ occurs also in a text of c.1000 A.D. from Tun-huang; J. Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain*, Paris 1924, 36. But this text does not mention his brother.

<sup>3</sup> *PBTL*, 141b; *LDGR*, 35.3.

<sup>4</sup> Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> *PBTL*, 141b; *Nor*, 126a.

<sup>6</sup> *LDGR*, 35.3-11.

<sup>7</sup> On the 'Bro see P. Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, I, Paris 1952, 25-30n.

<sup>8</sup> *T'ang-shu*, 216B.7a; transl. Pelliot, 134-135.



(West and North Tibet)<sup>1</sup>; and presumably they owned estates there. This tantalizingly short piece of information by the Chronicle could be taken as implying that the 'Bro family had maintained its hold in Žaṅ-žuṅ and now tried to bolster up its position by setting up a scion of the old revered dynasty as titular ruler. But this is highly hypothetical.

The account of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag is somewhat different. According to him, two ministers called Žaṅ Pa-ts'ab Rin-c'en-sde and Cog-ro Legs-sgra-lha-legs accompanied the king as far as the Bye-ma-g.yuṅ-druṅ river<sup>2</sup>, where he was proclaimed ruler of mNa'-ris sKor-gsum. He founded the castle of Ņi-bzuṅs in sPu-raṅ and, as agreed beforehand, the two ministers sent him their daughters as wives<sup>3</sup>. Be it remarked that, as far as we know, neither the Pa-ts'ab nor the Cog-ro had any particular connection with Western Tibet.

A part from differences in the names, the two accounts substantially agree. 'Bro, Pa-ts'ab and Cog-ro are among the foremost noble families of ancient Tibet; they belonged to the highest peerage and had supplied queens and ministers to the old kings<sup>4</sup>. The new state was the creation of one or two noble houses, as a political act in the struggle going on within the Tibetan aristocracy. But then the old nobility vanished from the picture and perhaps died out<sup>5</sup>; and what remained was the undisputed legitimacy of the royal dynasty, which local tradition, as voiced by the Chronicle and even more by the Ladakhi epigraphy, recognized as a true uninterrupted continuation of the monarchy of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po.

The new state in Western Tibet, thus founded in the early 10th century, occupied the territories which three centuries before had formed the nucleus of the old Žaṅ-žuṅ kingdom, annexed to Tibet in 653. It did not yet include Ladakh, which at that time (according to the Chronicle) was held by the descendants of Ge-sar, the hero of the Tibe-

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<sup>1</sup> Tucci 1956, 104.

<sup>2</sup> This river is one of the sources which flow to form the gTsaṅ-po. See S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, I, Stockholm 1917, 117 *et passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *PBTL*, 141b.

<sup>4</sup> We may add that the chiefs of Sa-bu claimed to be descended from a Mi-flag clan, which points to a North-Eastern origin. See later, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> For a last mention of the 'Bro family see below, p. 166.

tan epic, while Lower Ladakh was divided into small independent chiefships<sup>1</sup>.

According to the Central Tibetan texts, the Cog-ro lady gave to sKyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon three sons: dPal-gyi-lde Rig-pa-mgon, bKra-sis-mgon, lDe-gtsug-mgon; they are called collectively the Three sTod-mgon, from their name ending, which seems to have been characteristic of the first dynasty<sup>2</sup>. The second and third sons divided between themselves the paternal territory, giving origin to the kingdoms of Gu-ge and of sPu-rañ. The first-born, usually called dPal-gyi-mgon, took Ladakh; it seems that his father bequeathed him a theoretical right of sovereignty, but the actual conquest was effected by dPal-gyi-mgon himself<sup>3</sup>. He was the real founder and organizer of the Ladakhi kingdom, and the Chronicle gives a sketchy description of its boundaries<sup>4</sup>.

The Chronicle lists dPal-gyi-mgon's successors as follows, the succession being always from father to son:

dPal-gyi-mgon

'Gro-mgon

*lha-c'en*<sup>5</sup> Grags-pa-lde

*lha-c'en* Byañ-c'ub-sems-dpa'

*lha-c'en* rGyal-po

*lha-c'en* Utpala

*lha-c'en* Nag-lug

*lha-c'en* dGe-bhe; he had a brother called dGe[-ba]-'bum

*lha-c'en* Jo-lдор

bKra-sis-mgon

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 35.9-10. *Contra* Francke's opinion, the connection of Ladakh with the great Ge-sar saga, of typically north-eastern origin, is quite secondary. See R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Paris 1959, 108.

<sup>2</sup> PBT, 141b; *Nor*, 126a. The same three names are found in J. Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain*, 36. Another early text, the *bTsun-mo bka'-t'añ*, apparently gives the title mGon-gsum-stod to bKra-sis-mgon alone; B. Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig 1911, 106.2-3 (the translation on p. 224 does not recognize the proper name). But the names of the other two brothers must be implied.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 35.13-14.

<sup>4</sup> LDGR, 35.14-17. For an improved translation of this passage see Ahmad 1968, 340.

<sup>5</sup> *Lha-c'en* was the title of the kings of Ladakh in the early period. In the inscriptions it was occasionally used as late as the 17th century.

Lha-rgyal (in Ms. S only)

*lha-c'en* Jo-dpal

*lha-c'en* dÑos-grub

All these kings are mere names to us, and we have no possibility of checking their chronology.

As to the events the Chronicle attributes to them, the harvest is very scanty. *Lha-c'en* rGyal-po, which is no name at all but a double title, is credited with the foundation of the Klu-'k'yil monastery at Li-kyir, connected in some way with the hermits living in the region of the Kailāsa<sup>1</sup>. I wonder if there is any relation with a piece of information supplied by a late text: 'Od-lde, king of Gu-ge, founded dPe-t'ub (Spituk) in a Mouse year, which may be 1042 or 1054; later the monastery fell into decay<sup>2</sup>. This foundation by a Gu-ge king in the centre of Ladakh might indicate a period of Gu-ge paramountcy. Anyhow, the two foundations belong roughly to the same period.

*Lha-c'en* Utpala is said to have invaded Ņuñ-ti (Kulu) at the head of the united forces of Upper and Lower Ladakh, and to have extorted from its king a treaty by which Kulu was bound to pay tribute forever. "He subjected also [the country] from Blo-bo and Pu-hrañs downwards; in the south the country of Bre-sprañ to C'u-la-me'-bar; in the west, from Ra-gan-'greñ-žin and sTag K'u-ts'ur upwards; in the north from Ka-śus (or Ka-brus) upwards. They paid an annual tribute and attended court"<sup>3</sup>. Some of these names can be identified. Blo-bo or Glo-bo (Mustang, now in Nepal) and sPu-rañ are well known. C'u-la-me'-bar is probably C'u-bar, the place where Mi-la-ras-pa died<sup>4</sup>. sTag and K'u-ts'ur are two villages in Baltistan, in a side-valley west of Skardo<sup>5</sup>. This geographical horizon reveals a temporary paramountcy over most of Western Tibet (probably including Gu-ge) and almost the whole of Baltistan. If there is any historical foundation to this text, Ladakh was for a short time the greatest power in the Western Himalayas.

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 35.22-24, supported by the great Li-kyir inscription (F.182), on which see Francke 1914, 87.

<sup>2</sup> VS, 224a (225); translated in Tucci 1971, 484.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 35.25-30.

<sup>4</sup> Wylie, 65 and n.139.

<sup>5</sup> Francke 1926, 96.

It will be remarked that, while the first names of our royal list are purely Tibetan, Utpala, who appears as a forceful ruler and a conqueror, bears a Sanskrit name; moreover, those of his first two successors Nag-lug and dGe-bhe have a foreign look, even if superficially clothed in Tibetan garb. After dGe-bhe, we meet again with purely Tibetan names only. We have no means to ascertain the rough dates of this group of three rulers, but as a guess I would place them between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. An explanation for this foreign-looking intrusion can be tentatively offered. As already suggested by Tucci, there is the likelihood that Utpala belonged to the same group of Aryan-speaking clans which in about the same period broke into Western Tibet, founding new dynasties in Gu-ge and sPu-rañ. "We do not know whether this family adapted itself to the new surroundings so as to be completely Tibetanized (as the invaders of Gu-ge seem to have done) or if after Utpala the old rulers of Ladakh ousted the newcomers"<sup>1</sup>. I quite agree with this theory, extending it, however, to Utpala's immediate successors. But of course more solid evidence is needed before we can raise this interesting hypothesis to the level of historical fact.

*Lha-c'en* Nag-lug is credited with building the palace at Waṃ-le in the Tiger year and the palace of K'a-la-rtse in the Dragon year<sup>2</sup>. Of course not the slightest element is available for determining these dates.

The first secure chronological cross-check belongs to the reign of *lha-c'en* dÑos-grub. Besides restoring the temples built by his ancestors, he also acted as patron to C'os-kyi-rje 'Jig-rten-gsum-gyi-mgon-po<sup>3</sup>. This is C'os-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, alias Dharmasvāmin or Rin-c'en-dpal (1143-1217), the founder of the monastery of 'Bri-guñ and of the sect of that name. When he was 73, i.e. in 1215, he sent Ghu-ya-sgañ-pa to the Kailasa, to build a monastery there. His patrons (*dānapati*) on that occasion were the kings K'ri-bkra-śis-lde-btsan of Gu-ge, *lha-c'en* dÑos-grub-mgon of Mañ-yul (Ladakh) and *bla-c'en* sTag-ts'a-k'ri-'bar and his son gNam-mgon-lde of sPu-

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<sup>1</sup> Tucci 1956, 109.

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 36.1-2.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 36.9-12. The name is not recognized as such in Francke's translation.

rañ<sup>1</sup>. The diffusion of the 'Bri-guñ-pa sect in the Kailasa-Manasarovar region is also witnessed by rGod-tś'añ-pa (1189–1258), who was travelling in that region in those very years (exactly 1213–1217)<sup>2</sup>.

Coming back to dynastic history, the date of 1215 for *lha-c'en* dÑos-grub allows us to make a guess about the average length of reign in Ladakh. In the 380 years or so between the death of Glañ-dar-ma (842) and the reign of dÑos-grub, the Chronicle lists 16 kings, which gives an average of 23.7 years. Of course this number has little significance, firstly because the list of kings is anything but reliable, and secondly because the succession cannot have been always from father to son, as the Chronicle would make us believe; and a succession from brother to brother implies a presumption of shorter reigns. Leaving generations aside and reckoning by reigns only, we get about the same result for the last (and best known) period of Ladakhi history. From c.1616 (accession of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal) to 1837 (deposition of Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal), i.e. during 221 years, nine kings reigned, which gives an average of 24.4 years. Thus I think we may accept, for whatever it is worth (and this is very little), a medium length of reign of 24, or roundly of 25 years.

According to the Chronicle, the following kings reigned after dÑos-grub:

*Lha-c'en* rGyal-bu Rin-c'en  
*Lha-c'en* Śes-rab  
*Lha-c'en* K'ri-gtsug-lde  
*Lha-c'en* Grags-'bum-lde

Thus we are expected to believe that only three kings reigned between dÑos-grub (alive in 1215) and Grags-'bum-lde, a contemporary of Tsoñ-k'a-pa (beginning of the 15th century). This is by all counts too little, as it would give an average of fifty years for each king; and

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<sup>1</sup> *Ti-se*, 27a–29a. In the parallel passage in the Guide of Khojarnath, 12a, K'ri-bkra-śis-lde-btsan and dÑos-grub-mgon are telescoped together into a K'ri bKra-śis-dños-grub-mgon, king of Gu-ge; see Tucci 1956, 62. The incorrect form Mañ-yul for Mar-yul (Ladakh) is quite common in Tibetan texts of all periods.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of rGod-tś'añ-pa*, Tucci Ms., 36a–38b, 53b. On his journey see Tucci 1940, 15–26 (= Tucci 1971, 376–382). For the dates of his life and of his travels see BA, 680–686, 700.

it goes to show that the list is unreliable and that some names (possibly about four) have dropped from it.

The *rgyal-bu* (“king’s son”) Rin-c’en of the Chronicle presents the problem of his identification with Riñcana Bhoṭṭa of Jonarāja’s *Rājataranṅiṇī*, vv.157–254, a Tibetan who usurped the throne of Kashmir and reigned there about 1320–1323. The identity has been generally accepted<sup>1</sup>, and hardly any doubt is possible from the philological point of view. However, Rin-c’en as the immediate successor of dÑos-grub, who was on the throne in 1215, raises an insuperable chronological objection. Of course we could suppose that three or four kings have been dropped from the list between the two. But actually this name of *rgyal-bu* Rin-c’en has every mark of being an interpolation. Firstly, a Rin-c’en king of Ladakh does not fit in the information supplied by the *Rājataranṅiṇī*, which pictures him as a prince fleeing from his country as a result of his bloody vengeance on his father’s murderers<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, the very title attributed to him by the Chronicle betrays the interpolation, because no Ladakhi would ever dream to call a reigning king *rgyal-bu*; this must be simply a translation of the *rājaputra* of the *Rājataranṅiṇī*. Thus we may assume that the name of prince Rin-c’en was inserted here by the compilers of the Chronicle in order to enhance the importance of the Ladakhi kings in the eyes of the Kashmiris, with whom Ladakh had close commercial ties at all times. In this way the kings of Ladakh could boast of having ruled Kashmir in ancient times. Actually, the *Rājataranṅiṇī* does not specify the Tibetan country from which Riñcana Bhoṭṭa came: it may have been Baltistan or Gu-ge as well.

Concerning the remaining two kings, we know only that Śes-rab built the hamlet of Señ-ge-sgañ on the top of the Hañ-rtse-mo in Sa-bu, and K’ri-gtsug-lde built some *mc’od-rten* at Leh and Sa-bu<sup>3</sup>. Otherwise these two centuries are absolute darkness for us. It is almost certain that out-of-the-way Ladakh was not included in the Mongol

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<sup>1</sup> It was first propounded by D. R. Sahni and A. H. Francke in 1908. This led to a good deal of speculation, and the last (and worst) instance in the case is the fanciful account of Ladakh under Rin-c’en in R. K. Parmu, *A history of Muslim rule in Kashmir*, Delhi 1969, in which not a single statement is substantiated by the Tibetan sources.

<sup>2</sup> The killers are called *Kālamānya*, a name which reminds us of the *bsKal-Mon* of the Gu-ge legends; Petech 1939, 112.

<sup>3</sup> *LDGR*, 36.14–17.

empire, although some official letters from the Imperial Teachers (*ti-shih*) found by Tucci in the Ža-lu monastery in Central Tibet and belonging to the early 14th century claim suzerainty over mŃa'-ris sKor-gsum, including perhaps Ladakh<sup>1</sup>. But mŃa'-ris was outside the territory under the direct administration of the Sa-skya abbots as representatives of the Mongol emperors of China; and indeed it was not subjected to the two censuses carried out by the Mongols in Tibet in 1268 and 1288<sup>2</sup>.

The fog begins to lift with Grags-'bum-lde, who was a great builder of temples and images, thus heralding a religious revival in his country. He received an envoy from the reformer Tsoñ-k'apa (1357-1419), and in order to commemorate the event he is said to have built the monastery of dPe-t'ub for the dGe-lugs-pa sect<sup>3</sup>. This piece of information allows us to conclude that Grags-'bum-lde lived at the beginning of the 15th century. As a tentative dating we may suggest c.1410-1435. For the first time some documents of his reign seem to be preserved. A colophon mentions king Grags-pa-'bum-lde, his wife *rgyal-mo* Jo-bo K'yab-'p'ags and their Lama Blo-bzañ-dpal<sup>4</sup>. A king 'Bum-lde of a Mulbhe inscription<sup>5</sup> may be the same as Grags-'bum-lde; but the possibility cannot be ruled out that he was a local chief.

In the meantime the conversion of Kashmir to Islam brought a new element of instability to the Western Himalayas, because of the imperialistic trends of some of the Kashmiri Sultans, under the mantle of the Holy War (*jihād*) against the infidels. Their first target was Baltistan, which the Kashmiris (and after them all the Muslim historians of India) called Little Tibet, while Ladakh was called Great Tibet. The first Muslim force from Kashmir to cross the Zoji-la and to invade the country beyond the pass was led by Rai Madari, in the reign of Sikandar (1394-1416). He conquered Baltistan, then rebelled against his suzerain and marched into Kashmir, but was defeated and taken prisoner<sup>6</sup>. Ladakh escaped invasion, but found now itself confronted

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<sup>1</sup> Tucci 1949, 671-672.

<sup>2</sup> Tucci 1949, 252. On the censuses see *ibid.*, 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> *LDGR*, 37.1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Gergan, *List of Mañi and Books*, n.2.

<sup>5</sup> F.36; also in Francke 1906a, 75-77.

<sup>6</sup> *TF*, 340 (transl. Briggs, 459); *TA*, III, 645.

with a hostile power and a hostile religion at its door; at an unknown date (probably much later) and under unknown circumstances Baltistan and Purig were converted to Islam.

Immediately after his accession, Sultan Zain ul-Abidin (1420–1470) led personally an expedition against Tibet “and plundered the country and massacred the people”; on this occasion Ladakh too was invaded, as the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* tells us that the king marched as far as Gu-ge (Goggadeśa). It seems that Sheh was sacked in the course of the invasion, as the king saved a golden statue of the Buddha from the hands of his soldiers in Śayadeśa<sup>1</sup>. This name may stand for the district of Sheh as well as for the whole of Ladakh, of which Sheh was the capital in olden times. Of course Zain ul-Abidin intended no permanent conquest; it was merely one of the customary raids aimed at collecting plunder and extorting tribute. In this connection we are also informed of a tribute of rare birds sent from lake Manasarovar by the Raja of Tibet to the king of Kashmir<sup>2</sup>; it is impossible to say whether the tributary ruler was the king of Gu-ge or the king of Ladakh. I guess Zain ul-Abidin’s invasion happened during the reign of Grags-’bum-lde; but the Chronicle never mentions this or any later Kashmiri inroad into Ladakh.

Grags-’bum-lde’s successor Blo-gros-mc’og-lدان sent presents to the first rGyal-ba (Dalai-Lama) dGe-’dun-grub (1391–1474). He also patronized the dGe-lugs-pa scholar gSañ-p’u-ba Lha-dbañ-blo-gros, a pupil of mK’as-grub-rje (1385–1438)<sup>3</sup>. Accordingly, he may be placed about the middle of the 15th century, and as his fictitious dates we may take c.1435–1460. The Chronicle relates his

<sup>1</sup> *TF*, 342 (transl. Briggs, 469): *TA*, III, 652; Jonarāja’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vv.1106–1109 (= Sahni-Francke, 188). For further details see the Muslim chronicles of Kashmir quoted by R. K. Parmu, *op. cit.*, 140.

<sup>2</sup> *TF*, 344 (transl. Briggs, 470); *TA*, III, 660.

<sup>3</sup> *VS*, 223b (226). An inscription from Kunawar (F.166) praises rGyal-ba Tsoñ-k’a-pa, mK’as-grub C’os-rje and Lha-dbañ-blo-gros. Another (F.167) praises mK’as-grub-rje, Lha-dbañ-blo-gros and Pañ-c’en dGe-’dun-grub (the First Dalai-Lama). His spiritual descentance is thus assured. The more peculiar is the fact that he appears in none of the extant lists of mK’as-grub-rje’s disciples (e.g. *KDSN*, 37 ff.; *VS*, 67; Kloñ-rdol, vol. *Za*, 287). Positive evidence of mK’as-grub-rje’s relations with mNa’-ris is supplied by his letters to the Gu-ge queen K’ri-lcam and to the Gu-ge king (*mña’-bdag*) K’ri-nam-mk’a’i-dbañ-po P’un-ts’ogs-sde (*sic* for -lde), in mK’as-grub-rje’s *gsuñ-’bum*, vol. *Ta*, 18b–20b, 86a–87b, 87b–89a (Tōh. 5500/12, 36, 37).



conquest of mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum, from where he brought to Ladakh a set of precious coats of mail, swords, knives, turquoises, saddles, horses etc. <sup>1</sup>. This looks like a raid against Gu-ge, then already detached from the enfeebled Malla kingdom of Senja. About this time, in 1451, Baltistan was hit by another raid from Kashmir, led by Zain ul-Abidin's eldest son Adham Khan <sup>2</sup>; as far as we know, Ladakh was not affected.

Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan's reign ended disastrously. He was deposed and imprisoned by a prince descending from a side-branch of the family, and with him ended the first Ladakhi dynasty.

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<sup>1</sup> *LDGR*, 37.3-8.

<sup>2</sup> *TF*, 345 (transl. Briggs, 471); *TA*, III, 663; Śrīvara's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, 51 (= Sahnī-Francke, 189).

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EARLY RULERS OF THE SECOND DYNASTY

The account of the change of dynasty (or rather, of the shift to another branch within the same dynasty) found in the Chronicle is straightforward and apparently trustworthy. Grags-'bum-lde's younger brother Grags-pa-'bum had been allotted an estate including Ba-ngo and lTe-ba; he built gTin-mo-sgan as his capital. He was succeeded by his son Bhara, about whom the Chronicle has nothing to say. Bhara's son, the warlike Bhagan, formed an alliance with the people of Śel and dethroned king Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan along with his brothers *druñ-pa* A-li and Slab-bstan-dar-rgyas<sup>1</sup>.

But at this point the chronological frame once more raises difficulties. Beyond any reasonable doubt, Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan lived in the middle of the 15th century (c.1435–1460); thus Bhagan would be his junior contemporary. But bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, who according to the Chronicle was Bhagan's son, certainly belongs to the third quarter of the 16th century, as we are going to see. Thus there is a large gap of 90–100 years, which cannot be bridged; we are compelled to admit that some names have dropped out of the Chronicle, in spite of the agreement of all its manuscripts on this point. According to our calculation of the average length of reign in Ladakh, theoretically we would expect the gap to be filled by four rulers, Bhagan included. I know this is methodically unsafe; but since no other evidence is forthcoming, we are again reduced to working by hypotheses. So with all due caution I would suggest a reign c.1460–1485 for Bhagan, and I would insert after him an unnamed king (c.1485–1510).

As to the Indian character of the two names Bhara and Bhagan, it is unsafe to hazard any guess in our present state of knowledge; but

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 37.9–14. *Druñ-pa* in Western Tibet is an ecclesiastical title. This proves that A-li was not a Muslim (as supposed by Francke).

the possibility of foreign invasion and short-lived alien rule cannot be ruled out.

In this period another invasion from Kashmir took place. In 1483 Sultān Hasan Shāh (1472–1484) sent Jahāngīr Magre and Sayyid Hasan to invade Little and Great Tibet. Because of their disaccord, they proceeded by different routes. Sayyid Hasan reduced Baltistan and came back to Srinagar in triumph. Jahāngīr entered Ladakh, but was defeated and lost all his army, escaping with his bare life<sup>1</sup>. The Chronicle as usual passes the event under silence.

In order to work our way farther, we must take into account the elements supplied by the memoirs of the famous Central Asian adventurer Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt, who invaded Ladakh in 1532. He mentions one Bāghān as headman (*chui*, Ladakhi *jo*) of a Ladakhi district. The leader of a party sent by Mīrzā Haidar against Suru (Upper Purig) attacked him, but was overwhelmed and killed; Bāghān in his turn was mortally wounded and handed over to the [local?] Muslims [as a slave?], while the remnants of the Turki war party proceeded to Yarkand<sup>2</sup>. This passage of the Memoirs seems to be corrupted and, as the original text was never published, it is difficult to check the translation. Of course the name Bāghān is practically identical with the Bha-gan of the Chronicle. But neither time nor rank nor place agree; Bāghān was a petty local chief (*jo*) and not a king, and he held sway in Purig, not in Ladakh. An identification seems to be out of question.

Talking of the general political situation in Ladakh, Mīrzā Haidar informs us that “there are two rulers, by name one Tashikun and the other Lātā Jughdān”<sup>3</sup>. When in 1535 a rebellion broke out in Nubra, Tashikun failed to support Mīrzā Haidar’s officers and was put to death for this<sup>4</sup>. The name clearly transcribes bKra-śis-mgon. It is not found in the list of the Ladakhi kings for this period, but we may hazard a guess. An unpublished inscription found at Ņar-ma near K’rig-se praises a *mna’-bdag c’en-po* bKra-śis-mgon<sup>5</sup>. Another, found on a

<sup>1</sup> Śrīvara’s *Rājatarāṅgini*, III, 440–444. Cf. M. Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Calcutta 1959, 104.

<sup>2</sup> N. Elias and E. Denison Ross (transl.), *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London 1895, 408 and 460.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., 463.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., 423.

<sup>5</sup> *C’ab-srid yan-pa’i Ņer-ma Lha-mts’o ’dir* | ... *mna’-bdag c’en-po bKra-śis-mgon la stod* | Eye-copy by Professor Tucci.

*maṅ-gdoñ* in front of the rGyam-be spring at Ma-spro, also gives the name of king bKra-śis-mgon<sup>1</sup>. This was apparently a local ruler, but the title *mñā'-bdag* seems to imply an independent status. Thus we may surmise that at that time Upper Ladakh had broken away from the old kingdom, at least for a short time. But I would not insist on a guess based on such slender foundations.

Lātā Jughdān reminds us of Blo-gros-mc'og-lDan, although *lātā* bears only a vague resemblance with *blo-gros*. But even if we accept the equivalence, an identification with the king Blo-gros-mc'og-lDan of the 15th century is definitely out of question. Tentatively, we may accept "Lātā Jughdān" as king of the main portion of Ladakh and place him in c.1510–1535. Apparently, he managed to maintain friendly relations with the invaders occupying his country. After some time Mīrzā Haidar invaded Tibet and advanced meeting with practically no resistance. But the climate and the terrific difficulties of the terrain and of supply stood against the invaders as a barrier more formidable than any Tibetan army; and the Mīrzā had to turn back when he was at eight days' march from Ursang (Lhasa). He reached safely Ladakh, although with serious losses, and retired to Sheh, where he stayed for two years more, till at last in 1536 he departed for Badakhshan.

Once more we have to hazard a guess about the next ruler. We know the name of a king *lha-c'en* Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, mentioned in the Taru inscriptions (F.102) together with a minister P'yag-rdor Jo, who was active also in the reign of bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal (c.1555–1575). So as a working hypothesis I would insert Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal between "Lātā Jughdān" and bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal and would allow him a reign c.1535–1555. After this time the dynasty employed constantly the name-ending rNam-rgyal, which was maintained till the present times.

Whoever ruled in this period, Ladakh was not allowed to enjoy a long peace. Mīrzā Haidar, who had become ruler of Kashmir, did not forget the theatre of his earlier venture. In 1545 he invaded Ladakh. This was a raid of no lasting consequence. But in 1548 he launched a large-scale operation, conquering and annexing Little Tibet and Great Tibet. He even appointed governors for his new dominions, Mullah

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<sup>1</sup> Gergan, List of Maṅi and Books, n.l. It is a pity that Gergan does not give the title of the king.

Qasim for Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Mullah Hasan for Great Tibet (Ladakh)<sup>1</sup>. Probably their rule was merely nominal; in any case, every trace of it vanished with the death of their master in 1551. Another invasion from Kashmir, a mere retaliation for Tibetan raids, was led against Great Tibet (Ladakh) in 1553 by the noblemen Daulat Chak, Sankar Chak, Ibrahim Chak, Haidar Chak and others<sup>2</sup>, again with no lasting consequences.

Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (?) may be the Mar-yul-smad-pa (ruler of lower Ladakh) to whom the 2nd Dalai-Lama dGe-'dun-rgya-mts'o sent a letter; it is attached to a series of seven addressed to the Gu-ge *bdag-po*, one of which at least is dated in the *kun-ldan* year (1540)<sup>3</sup>. The title Mar-yul-smad-pa seems to imply that Ladakh was still divided into two states, as in the time of Mirza Haidar.

This king (Bhagan for the Chronicle) had two sons, Lha-dban-rnam-rgyal and bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal, with whom we reach again firm terrain. After their father's death, the younger son caused his brother to be blinded and usurped the throne. But, being himself childless, he settled his victim at Liñ-sñed, an out-of-the-way nest on the border of Zañ-dkar, and allowed him to marry, in order to secure the survival of the dynasty<sup>4</sup>.

Whatever his moral qualities, bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal turned out as a very energetic ruler. He conquered all the country from Purig upwards and from Gro-śod downwards; and since Gro-śod, or Dro-śod, is the region on the upper gTsañ-po from the Mar-yum pass east of Lake Manasarowar down to where the Tsa-chu enters the gTsañ-po<sup>5</sup>, this implies a temporary imposition of Ladakhi suzerainty over the kingdom of Gu-ge. He built the castle (now in ruins) on the top of the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill behind Leh and the mGon-k'añ below it, i.e. the chapel housing the protecting deity in its terrific aspect. He protected the clergy and sent precious gifts to the monasteries of 'Bri-guñ, Sa-skya, dGa'-ldan, Lhasa and bSam-yas<sup>6</sup>. This

<sup>1</sup> *TF*, 355-356; *TA*, III, 710 and 712.

<sup>2</sup> *TF*, 359; *TA*, III, 727-728.

<sup>3</sup> It is found in the *gsuñ-'bum* of dGe-'dun-rgya-mts'o, vol. R1, 24b-25a.

<sup>4</sup> *LDGR*, 37.15-17.

<sup>5</sup> Wylie, 124 n.83.

<sup>6</sup> *LDGR*, 37.23-25, 35.26, 36.3-5.

list seems to betray a catholic taste and equal patronage of many sects. Actually his preference went to the 'Bri-guñ-pa, and to this we owe a most welcome chronological check.

“ In the time of rGyal-dbañ Ratna, the *rdor-'dzin-pa* lDan-ma Kun-dga'-grags-pa came to the Kailasa. His patrons, the king of Gu-ge 'Jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug and the Pu-rañ *sde-pa* bSod-nams-rab-brtan, took him as their fundamental teacher (*rtsa-ba'i-bla-ma*, Skr. *mūlaguru*). He obtained the restitution of several religious estates and emplacements... The same holy man, in the second part of his life (*rje ñid sku ts'e'i smad la*) was invited by the kings of Ladakh bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal and Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal with the latter's brothers. He came to Mañ-yul and acted as *mūlaguru* of the king; he founded the sGañ-sñon monastery”<sup>1</sup>. rGyal-dbañ Ratna is the 17th 'Bri-guñ *gdan-rabs* Rin-c'en-p'un-ts'ogs (1509-1557, on the see 1529-1534[?])<sup>2</sup>. The *rdo-rje-'dzin-pa* (i.e. head of the 'Bri-guñ-pa hermitages in the Kailasa-Manasarovar region) lDan-ma is the same as the C'os-rje lDan-ma of a partly parallel passage in the Chronicle<sup>3</sup>. He is also the same as the 'Dan-ma C'os-rje, *rdor-'dzin* of the three shrines (*gnas-gsum*), who was a pupil of the 18th *gdan-rabs* Rin-c'en-rnam-rgyal (1507-1564; on the see since 1535[?])<sup>4</sup>. King 'Jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug of Gu-ge is known to have been on the throne in 1540 and in 1555<sup>5</sup>. Piecing together all these data we may conclude that lDan-ma came to Ladakh in the late fifties of the century, to become the *mūlaguru* of the Ladakhi king and to found the sGañ-sñon bKra-śis-c'os-rdzoñ monastery at P'yi-dbañ (Phyang), which, together with the much older Lamayuru, is now the only 'Bri-guñ-pa centre in Ladakh; it is a pity that no biography of lDan-ma is available, and indeed never was written, as I was informed by the present rTogs-lDan Rin-po-c'e

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<sup>1</sup> *Ti-se*, 33a-b.

<sup>2</sup> The identity is guaranteed by *KCRC*, 22a, and by the *History of Tibet* of the 5th Dalai-Lama, Varanasi 1967, 149. For the list of the 'Bri-guñ *gdan-rabs* till 1529 see H. Sato, “Lineage of the 'Bri-guñ-pa in Tibet during the Ming period” (in Japanese), in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, 45 (1962/63), 434-452. The list can be carried down to c.1620 on the basis of *KCRC*. Rin-c'en-p'un-ts'ogs met the Dalai-Lama in 1556; *DL3*, 49a.

<sup>3</sup> *LDGR*, 37.26-38.3.

<sup>4</sup> *KCRC*, 26a.

<sup>5</sup> For the first date see *VS*, 160b (165) and a letter addressed to the king in that year by the 2nd Dalai-Lama, in his *gsuñ-'bum*, vol. *RI*, 23b-24a. For the second date see *DL3*, 40a, and *VS*, 219a (221), noticed by Tucci 1949, 254, and Tucci 1971, 480.

of sGañ-sñon. Thus the reign of bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal marked a partial renewal of 'Bri-guñ-pa influence.

For a last time the kings of Kashmir tried to invade Ladakh. In 1562 king Ghazi Chak sent an expedition under the command of his son Ahmad Khan and of Fath Chak. The latter raided the enemy capital, but retired upon a promise of tribute. Then the vainglorious Ahmad Khan tried to repeat this exploit, but was surrounded and owed his life to the timely succour of Fath Khan, who, however, was slain <sup>1</sup>.

An inroad from another quarter was also repelled; the king fought against an invading force of Hor (i.e. probably Turks from Yarkand or Kashgar) and killed many of them; their corpses were laid under the feet of the images of the mGon-po in the mGon-k'añ at Leh <sup>2</sup>.

As was to be expected, an inscription of bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal is found in the mGon-k'añ (F.179). It confirms his building activities and the images erected by him at gTiñ-mo-sgañ, Rab-brtan-lha-rtse monastery (near Ba-sgo) and Ble-c'en sPañ-gañ (Leh) as a funeral offering for the C'os-rje Bla-ma, i.e. for the *rdor-'dzin-pa* lDan-ma. The inscription mentions also the heroic and able P'yag-rdor Jo, "who was clever in performing the service of the late religious king" (*c'os-rgyal goñ ma'i žabs tog bsgrub [m]k'as pa | dpa' mdzañs 'p'rul ldan P'yag-rdor dañ jo ni*). We recall that the Taru inscriptions (F.102) mention the *blon-c'en* P'yag-rdor Jo and also the *lha-c'en* Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal; and this led us to surmise that Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal was the father, or in any case the predecessor, of bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal.

Another inscription (F.185) commemorates repairs carried out by bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal at A-lci and records victories against the Mon (perhaps the people of Kulu or Chamba), the Hor etc., and conquests in Rut'og and Spiti below, Suru and Hem-babs (Dras) above, as far as Bal-tistan, Nubra and Zañs-dkar, all these countries becoming his subjects.

Having regard to the approximate date supplied by the tale of C'os-rje lDan-ma, we can provisionally assign to bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal a reign c.1555-1575.

A member of the royal family had a distinguished religious career in the Yellow Church during this period. This was a *dbon-brgyud* of Blo-gros-mc'og-lDan. The term is rather vague and may mean a

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<sup>1</sup> TF, 362; TA, III, 738-739.

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 37.25-26.

grand-nephew, or more generally a descendent of a nephew. It is difficult to say whether he descended from a brother of Blo-gros-mc'ogldan and thus was one of the last scions of the first dynasty, or he was a grand-nephew of "Lātā Jughdān". He became a monk at dPe-t'ub, then he went to Central Tibet, studied at Tashilhunpo and afterwards headed a school (*grva-skor*) for the *rab-'byams-pa* degree at rTses-t'añ<sup>1</sup>. His full name was *lha-btsun* bSod-nams-mi-'gyur-rab-brtan dpal-bzañ-po. In 1558 he taught the 3rd Dalai-Lama the astrological calculations of the Kālacakra. He met him again in 1559, and acted as *dus-sgo-ba* when the Dalai-Lama took the vows as a fully ordained monk (*dge-slon*)<sup>2</sup>. In 1566, while at 'Bras-spuñs, he convinced Padma-dkar-po to compose some books<sup>3</sup>. He appears for the last time in 1578<sup>4</sup>.

The blinded Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal had three sturdy sons: Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, rNam-rgyal-mgon-po and 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal<sup>5</sup>. An inscription from gTiñ-mo-sgañ (F.38) gives to the old man the title "father-king" (*yab-c'en rgyal-po*), and to his eldest son that of "great ruler" (*sa-skyoñ c'en-po*). This seems to imply that the usurper was dead, but as the blind father was unfit to rule, he did not assume the royal style while his eldest son acted as regent. However, the royal title was granted him posthumously, because a single leaf containing the colophon of a lost *Padma-t'añ-yig*, which I saw at sGañ-sñon, mentions king Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and the funeral offerings for him. It contains also the names of the chief minister (*c'os-blon c'en-po*) Ga-ga C'os-rgyal-lde and of the queen (*lha-lcam*) bsTan-'dzin *rgyal-mo*.

Anyhow, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal ascended the throne and proved one of the most warlike and successful rulers of Ladakh. While quite a young man, he waged war against the west, conquering the country from Byañ Nam-riñs to the Ladakhi border, including Glo-

<sup>1</sup> VS, 224a. Lokesh Chandra's edition, 226, wrongly writes *dbon* for *dbon-brgyud* and omits the title T'ams cad-mk'yen-pa before bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o. A very short biography is included in *YSGT*, Ca, 351b-352a.

<sup>2</sup> DL3, 60b, 64b, 73b. Cf. VS, 100b, 101a (107).

<sup>3</sup> Autobiography of Padma-dkar-po, 99b.

<sup>4</sup> DL3, 92a; *YSGT*, Ca, 39a.

<sup>5</sup> LDGR, 37.17-22.



bo, Pu-hrañs, Gu-ge etc. South of the Himalayan crest he conquered 'Dzum-lañ (Jumla) and Ñuñ-ti (Kulu); on the west, Śi-dkar in Baltistan and K'ab-gar (?). He wanted also to attack the Turks (Hor) of the North, i.e. the Khan of Yarkand, but wisely listened to the entreaties of the Nubra people and desisted from such a foolhardy enterprise; it would have seriously damaged the trade through the passes, which was of vital importance to Nubra. He kept under strict control his vassals, whom he brought to his capital as hostages placing instead his own officials in their castles. Gu-ge remained a separate kingdom, but had to pay a heavy tribute; so had Ru-t'og<sup>1</sup>.

His single inscription (F.77e) mentions his minister Bum-bha-lde, apparently the same as Ga-ga 'Bum-lde of the inscription of the *yab-c'en rgyal-po* Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (F.38). A colophon found by Professor Tucci at Brañ-mk'ar (Spiti) also mentions king Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and his minister Ga-ga 'Bum-pa-lde.

No chronological element is available, and we may tentatively allow him the dates c. 1575–1595. If this is correct, then we may say that his reign was marked by a continuance of 'Bri-guñ-pa influence. In 1593 the 21st 'Bri-guñ *gdan-rabs* P'un-ts'ogs-bkra-śis (1547–1602; on the see since 1582/3) sent to the Manasarovar a new *rdor-'dzin*, by name Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, and according to custom he sent official letters to the kings of Mañ-yul (Ladakh), Gu-ge and sPu-rañs<sup>2</sup>.

Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's second son rNam-rgyal-mgon-po does not appear as king in the Chronicle. But an inscription from mDo-mk'ar (F.103) gives him the full royal title (*c'os-rgyal c'en-po*), together with his brother 'Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal. Apparently the two were colleagues for a short time; and we might allow to rNam-rgyal-mgon-po a brief nominal reign, c. 1595–1600.

In this connection we must take into account a statement by the Jesuit brother Bento de Goes contained in a letter written from Yarkand on the 2nd February, 1604; he found at Yarkand "a captive king of Tabete, who had been captured by a trick and brought here three years previously [i.e. c. 1600–01]. His name was Gombuna Miguel"<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 38.6–13.

<sup>2</sup> PTKS, 311a. Cf. *Ti-se*, 33b.

<sup>3</sup> Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam annual* etc. (for the years 1606 and 1607), Lisbon 1609, 167b. Translated in C. H. Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, London 1930, 148.

This name, more correctly read Gombu Namiguel, corresponds to mGon-po-rnam-rgyal. The most likely identification would be with the prince (*lha-sras*) mGon-po-rnam-rgyal, son of a local ruler of Nubra called *c'os-rgyal c'en-po* Ts'e-dbañ-brtan-pa, mentioned in an undated inscription from Hun-dar in Nubra (F.40). Less probably, this may be the rNam-rgyal-mgon-po of the Chronicle. I shall only remark that, apart the closer resemblance of the name, a Yarkandi foray is more likely to have struck Nubra, immediately on the other side of the passes, than Ladakh farther away.

Under circumstances which we are unable even to guess, the third brother 'J a m - d b y a ñ s - r n a m - r g y a l remained the sole incumbent of the throne. He found himself confronted with a difficult situation. After the death of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal "all the vassal princes in one place after another rose"<sup>1</sup>. The new king tried to re-establish his prestige intervening in a conflict between Ts'e-riñ Malik of Cig-tan and another chief of Purig<sup>2</sup>. The outcome was a complete disaster. His attack provoked the intervention of Ali Mir (or Ali Khan), chief (*dmag-dpon*)<sup>3</sup> of Skardo, the foremost personality in the history of Baltistan. Ali Mir had come to the fore in 1591, when his importance was already such, that he was conceded the honour of giving a daughter in marriage to prince Salim, the heir-apparent of the Moghul empire<sup>4</sup>; and he appears again in the Moghul texts in 1603<sup>5</sup>. "Now the time had come when the period of decay should set in, the period when the royal law should be destroyed. [The king] collided with the army of Ali Mir, *dmag-dpon* of Nañ-goñ (Baltistan), which appeared on the scene. [Ali Mir] made use of stratagems until all passes and valleys were choked by snow, and the king and his army were prevented from retreating anywhere. All Ladakh was overrun by the Baltis, who burnt all the religious books with fire, threw some in the water,

<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 38.17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Ts'e-riñ is known also from the Cig-tan chronicle (Francke 1926, 173-174) and from two folk songs edited by A. H. Francke, "Ten historical songs from Western Tibet", in *Ind. Ant.* 38 (1909), 64-66.

<sup>3</sup> The local title of the Balti rulers was Makpon (*dmag-dpon*, literally "army leader", "general"); Biasutti-Dainelli, 172-173.

<sup>4</sup> al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab ut-Tevārikh*, transl. W. H. Lowe, II, Calcutta 1924, 388. Cf. Petech 1939, 138.

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, transl. H. Blochmann, I, Calcutta 1939, 529.

destroyed all the temples, whereupon they returned to their own country”<sup>1</sup>. What followed is best told in the words of Sonam’s version of the Chronicle: “The king and his nobility surrendered to the Baltis and all were carried to Skardo. The king of Skardo placed the king of Ladakh ’Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal in honourable confinement; the others too were singly thrown into prison. The daughter of the king of Skardo herself, by name rGyal Khatun, was placed in continuous attendance to king ’Jam-dbyañs-rnam-rgyal. Later the princess and the king exchanged solemn vows [of marriage] and she became pregnant. One day her father saw in a vision a lion issuing from an ocean of fire and entering into the womb of his daughter. As he entertained suspicions, he had his daughter examined; and seeing the damage that had been done, he gave his daughter to the king and allowed him to return to Ladakh together with his nobles; and the king with his retinue happily went to Ladakh”<sup>2</sup>. Whatever the truth of this romantic story, Ali Mir chose to grant peace on easy terms to his vanquished foe, together with the hand of his daughter, who in Ladakh was believed to be an incarnation of the white Tārā. In all likelihood the restoration implied not only the loss of Purig, but also some measure of Balti paramountcy. However, the suzerainty of Skardo over Ladakh was lost under Ali Mir’s successor Ahmad Khan, as recorded in Balti traditions<sup>3</sup>.

After the catastrophe the Ladakhi king, thoroughly disgusted with politics, turned toward religion, sending large presents to various monasteries and sects of Central Tibet. The objects of his generosity were the cathedral of Lhasa (Jo-bo-k’añ), the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of ’Bras-spuñs (at that time the seat of the Dalai-Lama), and for the first time the ’Brug-pa monastery of Ra-luñ. He even sent messengers to invite the 4th ’Brug-c’en *sprul-sku* dPag-bsam-dbañ-po (1593-1641) to come to Ladakh; but as far as we know the incarnate never actually undertook the journey<sup>4</sup>. The king was also benefactor of the K’ru-ngo hermitage near the Manasarovar lake, belonging to the ’Bri-guñ-pa<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 38.20-23.

<sup>2</sup> Sonam, 23-25 (Ms. Sonam, 13a-b); LDGR, 38.23-39.8.

<sup>3</sup> Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh etc.*, II, 253.

<sup>4</sup> LDGR, 39.14-16. Nothing about this is found in the biography of dPag-bsam-dbañ-po.

<sup>5</sup> *Ti-se*, 33b.

Much more important was the first contact with a monk who was to impress a permanent stamp on the religious life of the country. This was sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa Ñag-dbañ-rgya-mts'o (1574-1651). He was a scion of the 'K'on family, i.e. of the house of the Sa-skya prince-abbots, and an outstanding member of the 'Brug-pa sect<sup>1</sup>. He became a devoted pupil of Lha-rtse-ba Ñag-dbañ-bzañ-po (1546-1615), the first Yoñs-'dzin incarnate of the bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or monastery near Goñ-dkar-rdzoñ in Central Tibet, who took a keen interest in Western Tibet and whose successors became hereditary preceptors (*dbu-bla*) to the Ladakhi kings<sup>2</sup>. Lha-rtse-ba laid upon him the task of spreading the 'Brug-pa persuasion in Western Tibet; and he remembered and observed this command during the whole of his life. sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa travelled widely in Central and Eastern Tibet, as far as the sacred Wu-tai-shan mountain in China. Then in 1613 he started upon his great journey to Uḍḍiyāna (modern Swat); the account he wrote of his travels has been translated by G. Tucci<sup>3</sup>. On his way out he visited Zañs-dkar upon the invitation of bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o, a famous *siddha* belonging to the Southern (Bhutanese) branch of the 'Brug-pa and founder (in 1618) of 'Bar-gdan, the main monastery of Zañs-dkar<sup>4</sup>. There he received messengers sent by 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, king of Mañ-yul (Ladakh), who in a rather abrupt manner summoned him to Ladakh. This gained them a rebuke by sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa, and he turned down the invitation for the moment being, as he had not yet accomplished the journey to Uḍḍiyāna enjoined upon him by his master. And on the 8.X (28th November), 1615, he departed on his adventure<sup>5</sup>.

Besides his religious interests, the king tried to heal the wounds

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<sup>1</sup> In the conflict which rent asunder the community after the death of the 3rd 'Brug-c'en, the famous scholar Padma-dkar-po (1527-1592), he supported dPag-bsam-dbañ-po against the claims of Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (1594-1651?); as it is well known, the latter was worsted and took refuge in Bhutan, where he founded both church and state. E. G. Smith, *Foreword* to Lokesh Chandra's edition of the *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, New Delhi 1968, 4; M. Aris, "The admonition of the thunderbolt cannon-ball and its place in the Bhutanese New Year's festival", in *BSOAS*, 39 (1976), 611.

<sup>2</sup> On bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or see A. Ferrari, *Mk'yen-brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958, 55 and n.346.

<sup>3</sup> Tucci 1940, 65-83 (= Tucci 1971, 406-417).

<sup>4</sup> Gergan, 310, 493.

<sup>5</sup> *TTRP*, 24b-25a. On his cordial relations with bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o see also sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa's *Collected Songs (gur-'bum)*, 18a-b.

inflicted by the Balti invasion. He wanted to lighten the burden imposed on the people, and we are informed that he equalized three times rich and poor<sup>1</sup>. This bears all the marks of a legend, being copied from the same tale attributed to the Tibetan king Mu-ne-btsan-po (797-799); its historical nucleus may have been a sweeping reform of the taxation system.

Documents of this reign are rare. A colophon from Sa-bu mentions king 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, his queen rGyal Khatun, the *blon-po* No-ba Lhañ-kan-mo and No-ba Ts'e-brtan, and the minister Śākya-rgya-mts'o who carried on the government<sup>2</sup>. The latter belonged to the noble Sa-bu family, which played a certain role during the following reigns. A Mulbhe inscription (F.43) praises 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal and his wife Co Mir 'K'a-dum (Jo Mir Khatun), and mentions a Muslim minister (*lhon-po*) Hu-sen (Husain) Mir. Another (F.103), without giving the name of the ruling king, refers to a funeral offering for the deceased kings rNam-rgyal-mgon-po and 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal made by the patron (*sbyin-bdag, dānapati*) bKra-sis-rgyal-mts'an, apparently a Lama.

'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's Balti wife rGyal Khatun bore him two sons, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal. Before he married rGyal Khatun, his wife was Ts'e-riñ *rgyal-mo*, a daughter of 'Jig-med-dbañ-p'yug. This 'Jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug cannot have been the king of Gu-ge of this name, who is known to have been on the throne between 1540 and 1555<sup>3</sup>, because the chronological gap is too wide and because Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's father-in-law is given no royal title. He seems to have been a *bka'-blon* of Sa-bu<sup>4</sup>. Ts'e-riñ *rgyal-mo* bore him two sons, Naḡ-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and bsTan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal, who were excluded from the succession.

It was probably under this reign that the first European came to Ladakh. This was the Portuguese merchant Diogo d'Almeida, who stayed in the country for about two years. This happened shortly before 1603, in which year he gave a sworn account of the region to the Archbishop of Goa. Ladakh impressed him as a rich country.

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 39.10-12.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, List of Mañi and Books, n.8.

<sup>3</sup> See back, p. 29 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Gergan, 356, without quoting his authority.

Its capital was Ba-sgo. He gives the name of the king as Tammi-guia, an evident misprint, perhaps for Jammiguia, i.e. [’Jam-]dbyaṅs-[rnam-]rgyal. He also speaks of the great veneration in which they held their bishop, whom they called Lama. “The one they have now is believed to be a saint, and they narrate many miracles in connection with him”<sup>1</sup>. During the first part of the king’s life his *dbu-bla* (religious teacher) was the Sa-skyapa head (*drun-pa*) of the Ma-spro monastery, who was holding this position during the king’s disastrous campaign in Baltistan<sup>2</sup>. And this must be the man alluded to by the Portuguese traveller.

The presence of this isolated Western merchant is explained by the fact that trade through Ladakh to Central Asia was very lively; a detailed but confused description of the route was given in 1613 by Manuel Godinho de Eredia, after a first mention in 1611<sup>3</sup>.

’Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal did not reign for long after his return to Leh. As the Chronicle says, “his life being short, he went to heaven”<sup>4</sup>. It appears that he died soon after his exchange of messages with sTag-tsaṅ-ras-pa; and thus we may determine his regnal years as c. 1595–1616. This must be correct, because his successor Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, who died in 1642, is said to have reigned for 26 years<sup>5</sup>, and thus his accession was reckoned from 1616.

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<sup>1</sup> A. de Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa etc.*, Coimbra 1606, 3a. Reprinted and translated in Petech 1939, 172–175.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 358.

<sup>3</sup> M. G. de Eredia, *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay*, ed. L. Janssen, Bruxelles 1882, 65. Cf. Petech 1948, 232–234.

<sup>4</sup> *LDGR*, 39.18–19. An unpublished inscription from gTiṅ-mo-sgaṅ (F.208) refers to the funeral rites for ’Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal and rGyal Khatun performed by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal.

<sup>5</sup> Gergan, 396.

## CHAPTER V

### SEÑ-GE-RNAM-RGYAL AND LADAKHI PARAMOUNTCY IN WESTERN HIMALAYA

The death of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal was followed by an interregnum, during which it seems that the rGyal Khatun carried on the government on behalf of her elder son *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*, apparently still a minor. At least this is the situation which sTag-tsaṅ-ras-pa found during his first visit to Ladakh. On his way back from Uḍḍiyāna/Swat (probably late in 1616) he passed through Kashmir to Zaṅs-dkar and thence to Ladakh. At first he settled at rGya in Upper Ladakh, as the guest of the local chiefs (*jo-bo*), who were supporters of the 'Brug-pa sect; one of the family, *druṅ-pa* bDe-ba, had been a pupil of Padma-dkar-po. As his fame spread, he was invited to K'rig-se and to Śel. 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal was certainly not alive, otherwise he would have been mentioned in this connection; the members of the royal family who acted as hosts to the holy man at Śel were the secondary queen Ts'e-riṅ with her sons. From there he went on to Ba-sgo, where he was honoured by rGyal Khatun and the *mi-dbañ* (this is not usually the royal title) *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*. Then he retraced his steps and settled at rGya and He-mis, where he stayed for about three years, till in 1620 he left for Central Tibet at the head of some twenty disciples <sup>1</sup>. It was during this period, and probably upon his prompting, that Ladakh made a first contact with the Yoṅs-'dzin of bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or in 1618 <sup>2</sup>.

During the same period another holy man reached Western Tibet. This was the first Paṅ-c'en Blo-bzañ C'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an, who in the summer of 1618 made a pilgrimage to the Kailasa and lake Manasarovar, upon the invitation of the king of Gu-ge. At Śaṅ-rtse in

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 26a-27a.

<sup>2</sup> *YD2*, 13a.

Gu-ge he received envoys of the king of Mañ-yul inviting him to come to Ladakh; but he turned down the invitation, although he met several people from that country. The Paṅ-c'en left Gu-ge on 13.IX (= 2nd October), 1618<sup>1</sup>. It is a pity that he does not mention the name of the Ladakhi king then ruling. This journey, in the course of which the Paṅ-c'en was formally enthroned on the abbatial seat of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po at mT'o-lidñ, certainly resulted in stronger ties with Ladakh's neighbours, not only with Gu-ge, but even more with Zañs-dkar. The latter country gave to the Paṅ-c'en a remarkable group of pupils and collaborators. The first of them was *druñ-pa rgyal-tś'ab* (Blo-bzañ) brTson-'grus-rgyal-mts'an, son of bKra-śis-dpal-lde, king of bZañ-la (or Zañs-la), a secondary principality in Zañs-dkar. He offered a firm front to the king of Ladakh, when the latter attacked and overwhelmed bZañ-la; the name of the king is not given, but he was almost certainly 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, because the events happened earlier than 1618. The king, admiring the fearless behaviour of the young prince (then 25 years of age), spared him and his country and allowed him to depart for Central Tibet, as it has been his earnest wish for a long time; there he became one of the most prominent pupils of the Paṅ-c'en and later headed the Dvags-po *grva-tś'an* college<sup>2</sup>.

The second was rTa-p'uḡ-pa Blo-bzañ-dam-c'os-rgyal-mts'an, son of the Zañs-la king mGon-dpal-lde and a nephew of brTson-'grus-rgyal-mts'an. He was born in the Goat year (1595?), became a novice at the age of 16, and later his teacher gave him his religious name on the occasion of the visit of the Paṅ-c'en, who had tremendously impressed him. Then at the age of 25 he went to bKra-śis-lhun-po and was in close attendance on the Paṅ-c'en<sup>3</sup>.

A third man from Zañs-la, a commoner this time, was rJe-sGrub-k'añ-pa dGe-legs-rgya-mts'o (1641-1712/3). He belonged to a later generation and was a pupil of brTson-'grus-rgyal-mts'an in the Dvags-po *grva-tś'an*<sup>4</sup>.

Thus there was a group or clique of scholars from Zañs-dkar,

<sup>1</sup> *PCI*, 64a-65a; *YSGT*, Ca, 90b-91b.

<sup>2</sup> *YSGT*, Ca, 118a-121b. Cf. Francke 1926, 163.

<sup>3</sup> *YSGT*, Ca, 205a-217a. Cf. Francke 1926, 163.

<sup>4</sup> *YSGT*, Ca, 217a-231b.



who about the middle of the 17th century wielded great influence in the circle around the old revered Paṅ-c'en; but neither they nor their master exerted an appreciable political action.

The case with sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa was quite different. In 1622 he returned to Ladakh, passing through Gu-ge, where, as we are going to see presently, he acted as peacemaker and where the queen P'un-ts'ogs had advised him to exert his powers of mediation in the royal family of Ladakh as well<sup>1</sup>. He reached rGya, where he was again received with the utmost respect by the local chief, and went on to Ba-sgo. Once arrived there, he came to know that the late king 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal had undertaken to erect a large statue of Maitreya, but was not able to carry out his purpose "on account of rebellions and troubles". sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa convinced the royal family to carry out the intentions of the dead ruler as a funeral offering (*dgoṅs-rdzogs*). The work began on the 19th October, 1622, the dowager queen Khatun supplying for this purpose more than 500 ounces (*žo*) of gold and gems of lesser value; it was inaugurated on 12th June, 1623<sup>2</sup>. The Byams-pa (Maitreya) monastery at Ba-sgo still encloses the statue, made of clay, copper and gilt, "as big as he (Maitreya) would be in his eighth year", but actually three stories high<sup>3</sup>.

In the meantime sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa had placed at the service of the state his noteworthy abilities as mediator. In a tantalizingly short sentence we are informed that he arranged peace with Gu-ge and Ru-t'og, with Purig and Zaṅs-dkar, and with Nañ-goṅ (Skardo)<sup>4</sup>. Then he turned to the internal situation.

It is absolutely certain that in the year of his arrival in Ladakh Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was king, because he is mentioned as such in an inscription dated Water-Dog 1622 (F.55). But there were, as said above, "rebellion and troubles", that is, there was a sharp conflict between the king and his younger brother (*rgyal-po mc'ed-gñis*). Apparently Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was worsted, at least for the time being; and an agreement arranged by sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa resulted in the younger brother Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal being placed on the throne. Señ-

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 30a.

<sup>2</sup> *TTRP*, 30a-b; sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa's *gur-'bum*, 34a; *LDGR*, 39.26-27.

<sup>3</sup> Francke 1907c, 99-100.

<sup>4</sup> *TTRP*, 31a.

ge-rnam-rgyal, who had expressed a wish to dedicate himself to religious pursuits (as usual in such cases), was allotted Ba-sgo and other places. In 1624 he built as his residence the imposing bDe-c'en-rnam-rgyal monastery at Waṃ-le (badly damaged by earthquake in 1974); he was requested, i.e. ordered, to reside there, and promised to comply. But "by the wily arts of some ministers dissension was sown between the two brothers; Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal went to the sphere of non-compound ('*dus[-ma]-byas*; in other words he died); and *mi-dbañ* Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal ascended the throne". He summoned sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa to preside over the funeral ceremonies for his dead brother<sup>1</sup>.

These short and guarded expressions are all we know about the quarrel, its settlement and the coup d'état which consigned the younger prince to an early grave; the Chronicle is even more prudent and completely ignores these events. The fact remains that Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal reigned, albeit for a short time (c. 1623-1624).

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, whatever his share in the death of his brother, looms large against the rather dull background of Ladakhi history; he was beyond doubt the greatest of the Ladakhi kings.

The main problem of his first years of reign, and the one whose solution won him his greatest success, was the conflict with Gu-ge. It had started immediately after the death of his father. We get some information on this subject from the letters of the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio de Andrade<sup>2</sup>. He completed his first journey to Tsaparang (rTsa-brañ), the capital of Gu-ge, in 1624 and was favourably received by the king (Chodakpo, *jo-bo bdag-po*), whose name he never mentions, but whom we know to have been K'ri bKra-śis-grags-pa-lde. He went there again in 1625 and established a mission which lasted with some success for several years, but received a mortal blow by the Ladakhi conquest and had to be abandoned in 1635. A letter written by Andrade in 1633 tells us that eighteen years before (i.e. apparently in 1615) the king of Gu-ge had a son born to him, but at his birth the queen had lost her reason, "so that she is still ailing". When after two years all efforts to cure her proved useless, the king resolved to contract a fresh

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 31a. The foundation of the Waṃ-le monastery is briefly mentioned in *LDGR*, 40.7.

<sup>2</sup> On the two journeys of Andrade see F. M. Esteves Pereira, *O descobrimento do Tibet pelo P. Antonio de Andrade*, Coimbra 1921; Wessels; Toscano.

marriage. The new bride was a sister of the king of Ladakh. The marriage-contract was made by proxy, but when the new queen, on her way to her husband, was at a two days' distance from Tsaparang, the king suddenly forbade her to proceed and ordered her to go back to Ladakh. At once the Ladakhi king declared war; it continued for eighteen years, impoverishing the country by rendering impossible tilling the fields and working the gold mines <sup>1</sup>.

The bride may have been Nor-'dzin dbaṅ-mo, mentioned in two inscriptions (F.51 and 54) as Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's elder sister.

Of course we should not think of this conflict as an actual war, but as a state of permanent tension, with military actions interrupted by more or less lasting truces. The biography of sTag-ts'aṅ-ras-pa is illuminating on this subject. During his journey to Central Tibet he had paid a visit to the 5th 'Brug-c'en dPag-bsam-dbaṅ-po, who advised him to go back to sTod (Western Tibet in general), where the king and his brother were at loggerheads, and to remain there for the good of the religion. In 1622 he started on his journey with some sixty pupils, intending to perform the Kailasa-Manasarovar pilgrimage. Upon his arrival in that region, he came to know that a war was going on between Gu-ge and Ladakh, and that the abbot sMu-rdziṅ-pa <sup>2</sup> had arranged a truce between the three kings of Gu-ge and Maṅ-yul (i.e. the *jo-bo bdag-po* and the two Ladakhi brothers). sMu-rdziṅ-pa who was staying in Gu-ge, invited sTag-ts'aṅ-ras-pa to his residence and apprised him of the situation. Gu-ge and Maṅ-yul had concluded a three-years truce; now sTag-ts'aṅ-ras-pa should try to bring about a permanent settlement. However, the attempt was not even made. sTag-ts'aṅ-ras-pa, acting on the orders of the 'Brug-c'en, suggested that first of all the shrines built by Padmasambhava around the Kailasa and on the shore of the Manasarovar should be restored, the work to be under the blessing of the 'Brug-c'en. But the Gu-ge ruler K'ri Grags-pa-bkra-śis <sup>3</sup>, who was a follower of the dGe-lugs-pa sect, relied on the earlier forms of prayer (*smon-lam*) and

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<sup>1</sup> Wessels, 75-76.

<sup>2</sup> sMu-rdziṅ-pa, belonging to the Southern branch of the 'Brug-pa, was the abbot (and probably the founder) of sTag-sna monastery; Gergan, 295.

<sup>3</sup> This is the spelling in *TTRP* and *Ti-se*. As we know from inscriptions, the proper name was K'ri bKra-śis-grags-pa-lde.

did not approve of the project. Thus sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa stayed in Tšaparang for five days only and then departed for Ladakh<sup>1</sup>.

The rift between the *jo-bo bdag-po* and the 'Brug-pa deepened when in 1624 the 'Brug-pa sGar-pa monks<sup>2</sup> issuing from their monastery of Myañ-po-ri-rdzoñ near the Kailāsa<sup>3</sup>, started looting in Gu-ge territory. After the death of C'os-rje sMu-rdziñ-pa, who represented a restraining influence, the king of Gu-ge lost patience and in 1627 his troops took Myañ-po-ri-rdzoñ; some of the sGar-pa were killed and about eighty with their leader were thrown into prison<sup>4</sup>. When sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa heard of the event, he approached the Zañs-dkar *grub-r'ob* bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o, 'Gro-mgon rGya-mts'o-bkra-śis of Lahul (Ga[r]-śa) and the C'os-rje of Ño-ma (between Lahul and Rupshu), to concert an intervention and to collect means for a ransom; but he got no reply. Undaunted, he sent to Myañ-po-ri-rdzoñ the *dbu-mdzad* bsTan-pa-dar-rgyas and then he himself laid the question before king Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. He suggested either to conclude an one-year's truce with Gu-ge, so that the men might be liberated; or to supply the sum needed for their ransom. The king preferred the first alternative, and sTag-tś'añ actually concluded the armistice, obtaining the liberation of the sGar-pa and the restitution of the goods looted at Myañ-po-ri-rdzoñ; he himself assumed a guarantee for the future behaviour of the sGar-pa<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 29b-30a.

<sup>2</sup> The *sgar* was the military camp and court of the high Kar-ma-pa and 'Brug-pa Lamas; R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, 118. The 'Brug-sgar is mentioned also in *TTRP*, 35b and 36a. As I am informed by the 'Brug *gzims-dpon* C'os-dpal Lama, the name refers to the Byar gSañ-sñags-c'os-gliñ monastery north of rTa-dbañ, the seat of the 'Brug-c'en. Of course it has nothing to do with the sGar-pa Lamas belonging to the Karma-pa sect, who played a great role in the revolts against Guśri Khan and the Dalai-Lama after 1642; Tucci 1949, 67-68.

<sup>3</sup> According to Tucci 1940, 65 (= Tucci 1971, 406), Myañ-po-ri-rdzoñ is in the neighbourhood of Dulchu-gompa on the upper Sotlej. But it seems that Myañ-po-ri-rdzoñ should be identified with Ñan-po-ri-rdzoñ, usually shortened as Ñan-ri, the Nyandi-gompa of Sven Hedin, on the Lha-c'u to the north-west of the Kailasa; it is described in *Ti-se*, 42a-43b. The identity is proved by another, anonymous, guide of the Kailasa (*gNas Ti-se dan mts'o Ma-p'am bcas kyī gnas yig*, found in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, (n. 378-2672), which (f. 15b) spells the name as Myañ-po-ri. The same form is found in *ŽD8*, 200a, and Si-tu, 66a.

<sup>4</sup> According to *Ti-se*, 42b, when the Gu-ge king K'ri Grags-pa-bkra-śis and his troops took Myañ-po-ri-rdzoñ, they tried to carry away its miraculous central image; but in spite of their utmost efforts they did not succeed in moving it.

<sup>5</sup> *TTRP*, 31b-32a.

But trouble came to Gu-ge from every side. The *žabs-druñ* of Bhutan (Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, 1594–1651?) too was incensed against the Gu-ge ruler. He sent the *rdor-'dzin* bSam-gtan-rab-rgyas, who came into the country from the south (?) and raided and looted in the P'yi-'brog (Outer Pastures) of Gu-ge<sup>1</sup>. In retaliation, the Gu-ge troops carried out a repressive action in which some mountain hermits (*ri-pa*) were killed and about eighty were imprisoned. The *rdor-'dzin* and the Blo-bo *c'os-mdzad* escaped and took refuge with sTag-ts'añ, then at Waṃ-le, who sent messengers to intercede with the Gu-ge commanders. The latter replied that in the preceeding year the sGar-pa had acted shamelessly and had been let off only on the intercession of sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa; further raiding activity could not be tolerated any longer and the recent deeds would meet with condign punishment. Upon this, sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa proposed an exchange of the men detained in Ladakh with those imprisoned in Gu-ge and Ru-t'ogs. This was agreed to; besides that, eighty-eight men imprisoned by the C'umurti-pa were freed<sup>2</sup>.

All these were bickerings of small account. But the end of the Gu-ge kingdom was at hand. According to a letter of Father de Andrade dated 4th February, 1633, things came to a head in 1630, when the king was seriously ill. Some influential military commanders rose in revolt, called in the king of Ladakh and offered him the crown of Gu-ge. With their help Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal laid siege to Tsaparang. The city was virtually impregnable, but the Chief Lama, who was the king's brother, advised the *jo-bo bdag-po* to tender his submission, on the condition of keeping his kingdom as a tributary state. When the siege had lasted a month, the treacherous advice was accepted, with the result that the king and his family were taken prisoners and carried off to Leh. The same happened to his great-uncle Blo-bzañ-ye-śes-'od, abbot of mT'o-ldiñ (Toling) since 1618<sup>3</sup>. A portion of the garrison, which still offered resistance, was granted free departure for Central Tibet<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> P'yi-'brog is the desolated region between the Kailasa and Gartok, around Misser.

<sup>2</sup> *TTRP*, 32a–b. The C'umurti-pa was the governor of Chumurti, the north-western part of Gu-ge to the north of the Satlej.

<sup>3</sup> *VS*, 219a (221); transl. Tucci 1971, 479, 480.

<sup>4</sup> Wessels, 76–77. The Jesuits had tried to help their patron without exposing themselves, by the gift of some firearms, as earnestly requested by him. Letter of Fr-

The terse account in sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa's biography confirms the narrative of the Jesuit Father point by point. In 1630 the C'umurti-pa rose in revolt and consigned the whole of the Gu-ge Bod-'brog to king Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal<sup>1</sup>. The Ladakhi troops marched into Gu-ge and laid siege to the castle of Tsaparang. sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa was summoned in order to negotiate the capitulation, and came to the place with some of his disciples. The *jo-bo bdag-po* had already consented to surrender on the advice of *c'os-rje A-ne*<sup>2</sup>, while P'a-ri-c'uñ (?), who had previously rebelled against Ladakh, and the Nagarkot (Kangra) merchants residing at Tsaparang still held out in the castle. However, their position was hopeless and they asked sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa for protection. This was granted and they were escorted to sPu-rañ without damage to persons or goods. All the inhabitants of Gu-ge were maintained in their previous status. The *jo-bo bdag-po* and his son requested permission to go to Central Tibet. They paid homage to the Ladakhi king, who received them graciously but did not allow them to depart. They were sent to Ladakh with a suite of about twenty men and with all their belongings, and were granted a spacious and comfortable residence, where the king and his brother lived till the end of their life and were given state funerals. Later (1647) the prince of Gu-ge was given as wife a sister of the Ladakhi queen<sup>3</sup>.

We may add that the last scion of the Gu-ge dynasty, Blo-bzañ-padma-bkra-śis-lde (1676-1743), came to Central Tibet in 1692 and lived in Lhasa as a respected nobleman till his death. He had no male issue. His younger daughter married a king of Ladakh, to whom she gave two sons<sup>4</sup>. His elder daughter may be the dByañs-can-dpal-mo, who died in 1745<sup>5</sup>.

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Alano dos Anjos dated 10th November 1627, published by H. Hosten, "A letter of Father Francisco Godinho S. J. from Western Tibet", in *JPASB* 1925, 54.

<sup>1</sup> Bod-'brog seems to indicate villages and pastures.

<sup>2</sup> This could be the A-ni *c'os-rje*, abbot of Do-śañ and member of the royal family, mentioned in *VS*, 221a (223); transl. Tucci 1971, 481.

<sup>3</sup> *TTRP*, 33a. Cf. *LDGR*, 40.28-29, where *los-loñ*, as aptly remarked by Tucci, is a misspelling for mT'o-ldiñ.

<sup>4</sup> *BJ*, 19b; *DL5a*, C'a, 69b-70a, 78b et seqq.; cf. Petech 1972, 82.

<sup>5</sup> *DL7* 332b.

The subordinate chief of Ru-t'og was also deposed and his country was annexed to Ladakh<sup>1</sup>.

The conquest of Gu-ge brought Ladakh into direct contact with Central Tibet, ruled at that time by the *sde-pa* gTsañ-pa Karma-bstan-skyoñ (1621-1642). There has been some misunderstanding about these relations, and the alleged war between Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and the *sde-pa* gTsañ-pa, said to have taken place in 1641/2, must disappear from sober history. The mistake was due to the fact, not hitherto realized, that the apparently parallel accounts in Mss. *B* and *L* of the Chronicle (*LDGR*, 40.19-23 and 40.30-41.1) really refer to two different events.

The first contacts were cordial. In 1632 the Ladakhi king sent envoys to the 'Brug-c'en and to the abbots of bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or and rGyal-byed-ts'al; along with them he dispatched also Ga-ga Näg-dbañ-don-grub on a complimentary mission to the gTsañ *sde-srid*. As a reply, in 1634 the gTsañ ruler sent to Ladakh one sKyid-stod-nas<sup>2</sup>.

In 1638 the Mongol chief C'o-kur Bla-ma-skyabs<sup>3</sup> made a raid into the P'yi-'brog of Dro-śod and Gu-ge. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal led out his army to repel him and marched as far as Śi-ri sKyar-skya. This expedition developed into a running race with the Mongols, who had taken fright and were scurrying away. The king took some prisoners; of these, Nor-bu-rin-c'en was left free and the rest were put into pri-

<sup>1</sup> *LDGR*, 40.29-30. But later Ru-t'og was given back to its chief, because in 1656 the Ru-t'og *dbañ-po* P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal had an exchange of letters with the Dalai-Lama; he showed such a proficiency in *sūtra* and *tantra*, that the Dalai-Lama considered him to be a Pandit. He is mentioned again in 1663 and 1664 and his funeral rites were performed in 1670. Another Ru-t'og *dbañ-po* is mentioned in 1675. *DLS*, Ka, 253a, 332a, 345b; K'a, 97a, 267a.

<sup>2</sup> *TTRP*, 36a. On the sKyid-stod see Petech 1973, 91-92.

<sup>3</sup> This throws an interesting sidelight on the movements of the Mongol tribes before and during the intervention of the Qosots in Tibet. The name Čoqur (C'o-kur) indicates that Bla-ma-skyabs was a descendant of Altan Khan. We are informed that in 1632 "the king of the Chahar (Ligdan) pushed back to the Tsaidam region four chiefs of the Jüngšiyebü tribe. One of them, Bla-ma-skyabs Čoqur, who was a patron of the sTag-luñ-pa sect, went to 'Dam (to the south of the Tengri-nor). This gave occasion to a meeting at 'Bras-spuñs [concerning their religious position]"; *DLS*, Ka, 69b. On the partition of the Mongol tribes after Altan Khan's death and especially on the Asut-Jüngšiyebü see S. Wada, "Mongol chiefs of the Right Wing" (in Japanese), reprinted in his *Studies on the History of the Far East (Mongolia)*, Tokyo 1959, chiefly 669-677.

son; Nor-bu-rin-c'en was a Gu-ge chief who apparently opposed Ladakhi rule and had thrown in his lot with the Mongols. This success frightened the nobles of Western gTsañ (*gTsañ-stod kyi sde-dpon rnams*), who sent by various routes messengers to Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, apparently to pay their respects. The king led back his troops, and on his way subjugated all the ecclesiastical fiefs and herdsmen communities through Blo-bo and Gro-śod, granting their requests of immunity<sup>1</sup>. As can be seen, there was no war against the *sde-pa* gTsañ-pa.

In 1639 the Mongol C'o-kur (i.e. Bla-ma-skyabs) begged sTag-tsañ-ras-pa to arrange for peace between him and the king of Ladakh. This was done, the fault of the conflict being laid at the door of Nor-bu-rin-c'en, who, however, was apparently included in the agreement<sup>2</sup>.

In 1640 the gTsañ *sde-srid* sent the Brag-gdoñ-ba of rGyal-rtse as his envoy<sup>3</sup>. An this was the last of the relations between Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and Karma-bstan-skyoñ.

In 1642 the kingdom of gTsañ was conquered by the Qośot chief Guśri Khan. During this campaign Nor-bu-rin-c'en left the Kailasa region and went to rDzoñ-dkar; then he continued his journey, by order of the "king of Mongolia and of the Tibetans" with an escort supplied by all the district headmen<sup>4</sup>. Later in the same year 500 Mongol soldiers joined Nor-bu-rin-c'en, watching an occasion [for invading Ladakh]. The king, upon hearing of this, collected the forces of Upper and Lower Ladakh, Zañs-dkar, Ru-t'og and sPu-rañ, passed through Waṃ-le (where sTag-tsañ-ras-pa was staying) and took up his residence in Gu-ge. The Mongol unit accompanied by Nor-bu-rin-c'en at once withdrew. After about a month the Ladakhi army was disbanded and the king returned to Waṃ-le, where he died

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 36b. The same events are narrated by Ms. *L* of the Chronicle: "He made war towards dBus-gTsañ, and Śi-ri and Kyar-kyar were made tributary. *sDe-pa* gTsañ-pa, ruler of dBus-gTsañ, presented many mule-loads of gold, silver and tea; and [the king], being satisfied, went home with the army of Ladakh. He also brought Lho Mo-sdañ into his power"; *LDGR*, 40.30-41.2. sKyar-skya (Kyarkya of the maps) is a valley and a deserted place with the ruins of a *rdzoñ* and of a nunnery not far from the confluence of the Chaktak-tsangpo with the Tsangpo, about 85°22'W, 29°20'N. S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, III, 305. Śi-ri is the Sheri mountain in the neighbourhood of sKyar-skya.

<sup>2</sup> *TTRP*, 38a.

<sup>3</sup> *TTRP*, 38b.

<sup>4</sup> *TTRP*, 39a.



in November of the same year <sup>1</sup>. Ms. *B* of the Chronicle confirms the account and adds the information that there was a formal treaty with the Central Tibetan Government, by which the existing frontier was recognized <sup>2</sup>.

We may now discuss relations with the other neighbouring countries. *Zaṅs-dkar* was at that time ruler by king *Seṅ-ge-lde*, also called *Dzo-ki*; but at first his father *Ts'e-rin-dpal-lde* actually governed the country in his name <sup>3</sup>. Somewhat later the widely revered *grub-c'en* *bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o* wielded some political influence; we have already encountered his name <sup>4</sup>. In 1632 the *Zaṅs-dkar* king and the *grub-c'en* sent presents to the *bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or* abbot <sup>5</sup>. *Dzo-ki* had married *Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's* elder sister *rGyal-'dzom* and this contributed to maintain cordial relations between the two courts. But in 1638 husband and wife quarrelled and the king and *bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o* retired to *'Bar-gdan*, the chief monastery of the valley (a *'Brug-pa* foundation, now under *sTag-sna*). They summoned troops from the *Chamba* state, in order to seize the queen. She shut herself in the castle of *dPal-ldum*, the capital of *Zaṅs-dkar*, and the opportunity was missed. Fearing the arrival of the *Ladakhi* troops, *Dzo-ki* fled to *Mon-yul* (perhaps *Chamba*) and *bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o* to Central Tibet. The abbot of *'Bar-gdan* was caught unaware by their flight, and the *Ladakhi* forces occupied the monastery, where they installed as chief Lama the *Zaṅs-dkar* *Ras-c'en*. Later the *grub-c'en* and *Dzo-ki* visited *sTag-ts'an-ras-pa* to ask for mercy. *bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o* was assigned a residence at *'Brog rDor-glin*; but soon he returned to Central Tibet, where he died in 1640 <sup>6</sup>. The king met with a human reception and was given some presents of horses and gold; but *Zaṅs-dkar* was

<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 40a.

<sup>2</sup> The king "again went to war as far as *Byaṅ Nam-rin*s. He stopped at *Śi-ri dKar-mo*. Upon this an ambassador from Tibet arrived, and it was agreed that the frontier should remain as before and that his dominions should include all the country up to Central Tibet. On his return journey he died at *Waṃ-le*"; *LDGR*, 40.21-22.

<sup>3</sup> *NBTR*, 5b. Cf. Francke 1926, 160.

<sup>4</sup> *bDe-ba-rgya-mts'o* displayed a great activity in *Lahul*. He brought over the monasteries of *Shasur* at *Kyelang* and of *Gandhola* to the *Bhutanese* branch of the *'Brug-pa*, to which he himself belonged. "His image is venerated as that of the second founder of those monasteries"; *Hutchison-Vogel*, 480.

<sup>5</sup> *YD2*, 41b. Cf. *NBTR*, 6a.

<sup>6</sup> *YD2*, 76b.

annexed to Ladakh<sup>1</sup>. Queen rGyal-'dzom returned to her native country, and during the reign of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's successor she is mentioned in two inscriptions (F.59 and 62) as aunt (*a-ne*) rGyal-'dzom, acting as queen (*rgyal-mo'i ts'ul 'dzin ma*); perhaps she was the first lady of the realm while the king was a widower. She may be also the same as the rGyal-skyid *rgyal-mo* mentioned in 1649<sup>2</sup>.

Internal evidence shows that about the same time Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal got hold of Upper Lahul, as no inscription of the Kulu Rajas are found in that region after Prithi Singh (1608–1635) and before Bidhi Singh (1672–1688)<sup>3</sup>. A passage of the chronicle of Kolong apparently referring to the same period states that "the Raja of Tibet (i.e. Ladakh) got possession of Lahul"<sup>4</sup>.

A particularly tender spot was Purig. 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's disastrous intervention at Cig-tan was still in the memory of everybody. Possibly in order to re-establish Ladakhi prestige in that quarter, soon after his accession Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal sent some troops to invade Cig-tan (spelt as sPyi-btan), but again without success; Ga-ga bTsan-pa, the Ladakhi leader, was taken prisoner with about eighty men. On the other side the nephew and niece of the chief of Cig-tan were detained in Ladakh. Thus in c. 1625 the chief sent messengers to sTag-ts'aṅ-ras-pa, begging him to intervene; the Ga-ga and his men were exchanged with the Cig-tan family and a truce for one year was concluded<sup>5</sup>. Apparently it was tacitly renewed, because we hear nothing further of hostilities in the following years.

Cig-tan, like most of Purig, had become by then a Muslim chiefship, as shown by its local genealogical tradition<sup>6</sup>; and this entailed the per-

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 37b–38a. The annexion of Zaṅs-dkar by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal is confirmed by the Kanika *c'e-brjod* (on which see later, p. 109, n. 2); Gergan, 245.

<sup>2</sup> *TTRP*, 47b.

<sup>3</sup> Hutchison-Vogel, 479; H. Goetz, "History of Chamba State in the later middle ages", in *JIH*, 30 (1952), 307. In 1640 Prithvi Singh of Chamba (1641–1664) passed through Lahul on his march to Chamba to liberate his home country from Nurpur domination; H. Goetz, loc. cit., and "History of Chamba State in Mughal and Sikh times", in *JIH*, 31 (1953), 137. But this was a mere passing raid and did not result in the annexation of Lahul to Chamba. The account of events in Lahul in *JIH*, 31 (1953), 139, is completely wrong as far as Ladakh is concerned.

<sup>4</sup> Francke 1926, 202.

<sup>5</sup> *TTRP*, 31a–b.

<sup>6</sup> Francke 1926, 172–175.

manent possibility of an intervention of the Moghul governor of Kashmir in its support. This possibility became more actual when Baltistan fell under Moghul suzerainty. After an abortive expedition during the last years of Jahangir (1605–1627), the new Moghul emperor Shah Jahan (1627–1658), taking advantage of the dissensions between Ali Mir's sons Abdal and Adam Khan, sent a force which on 28th August 1638 entered Skardo and installed as chief Adam Khan under the suzerainty of the emperor<sup>1</sup>. In the following year Adam Khan of Skardo “wrote to Ali Mardan Khan, the new governor of Kashmir, informing him that Sangi Bamkhal (Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal), the ruler of Great Tibet (Ladakh) had occupied Purig, which is one of the dependencies of Little Tibet (Baltistan; an obsolete claim going back to Ali Mir), with a large army of horse and foot. The above-mentioned Khan sent Husain Beg, a relation of his, with a commando (*fauji*) of horse and foot, *taqang-çī* and bowmen, drawn from the imperial slaves forming the garrison of Kashmir or belonging to the chiefs of the above-mentioned country. On the 14th Safar 1049 A.H. (16th June, 1639), Husain Beg set forth on his expedition, via the Dacchan-pāra district (i.e. by the Zoji-la route). After some time Adam Khan joined him with a contingent of Tibetan soldiers; on 24th Rabī' II (25th August) they met Sangi Bamkhal in the neighbourhood of Karpū (mK'ar-bu). Bamkhal joined battle, but was defeated, fled and shut himself in the fort of Karpū. Then he discovered that before he could reach a safe place, he would be killed or captured. Therefore he very humbly sent a messenger to Husain Beg and opened negotiations. He promised that, if guarantees of safety and security were held out to him, upon his return to his country he would send suitable tribute to the imperial court. Then Husain Beg returned to Kashmir, where he arrived on 22nd Jumāda ul-Ākhira (20th September)”<sup>2</sup>.

In 1663 the French traveller François Bernier gathered in Kashmir some information about this little war. His account is similar to the official version given above, but adds some interesting details. “The army, after a difficult march of sixteen days through the mountains, besieged and took a fortress (mK'ar-bu), which threw the inhabitants

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<sup>1</sup> Abdul-Hamid Lahori, *Badshāh-nāma*, I, 2 (Calcutta 1866), 29 and 282–284. Also Bernier, 421. Cf. Petech 1939, 142–143.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul-Hamid Lahori, *Badshāh-nāma*, II, Calcutta 1868, 159–160.

into such consternation that the conquest of the kingdom would no doubt have been completed if the army had immediately crossed a certain celebrated and rapid river (the Indus), and marched boldly to the capital city. The season, however, was advanced and the Moghul commander, apprehending he might be overtaken by the snow, determined to retreat. He placed a garrison in the fortress just captured, intending to resume the invasion of the country early in spring; but that garrison most strangely and unexpectedly evacuated the castle, either through fear of the enemy, or from want of provisions, and Great Tibet escaped the meditated attack that had been deferred to the next spring”<sup>1</sup>.

The two accounts complement each other. On the other side, the version of the Chronicle is totally different: “Adam Khan, the king of Balti, having brought in the army of Pad-ca Śa-’jan (*padshāh Shāh Jahān*), they fought many battles at mK’ar-bu and, many Hor (Moghuls) being killed, a complete victory was gained over the enemy”<sup>2</sup>. But the complete silence of sTag-tś’añ-ras-pa’s biography about the war shows that the account of the Chronicle is mere boasting. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was well and truly beaten and saved himself only by a promise of tribute, which of course was never kept<sup>3</sup>.

The conflict had a serious consequence in the commercial field. As an economic reprisal against the Moghuls, the king prohibited the passage of caravans through Ladakh and even forbade any person from Kashmir to enter his dominions. As a result, traffic from India to Central Tibet shifted to the Patna-Nepal-Lhasa route, while the trade of Kashmir with Central Asia had to take the rather devious route via Skardo and Shigar to Kashgar. In 1663, after twenty-four years, the passage was still blocked<sup>4</sup>. This foolish measure must have provoked a real disaster to the economy of Ladakh, which then as always depended above all on the transit trade. It is possible that the noticeable weakening of the strength of the kingdom after the death of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was due for the greater part to this severe self-inflicted blow to its economy.

The religious life of Ladakh, after the final return of sTag-tś’añ-

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<sup>1</sup> Bernier, 422.

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 40.27-28.

<sup>3</sup> That the tribute was never paid is vouched for by Bernier, 424.

<sup>4</sup> Bernier, 425-427.

ras-pa from Tibet, was dominated by his forceful personality<sup>1</sup>. He achieved the gradual conversion of the royal house to the Ra-luñ branch of the 'Brug-pa sect. The final turn came in 1630, in the same year as the conquest of Gu-ge, perhaps at the result of a definite political choice. In that year not only the king donated to sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa and his sect the estates of He-mis, Ma-gro (or Ma-spro), Nañ-c'u-'bab, the Bod-'brog across the Roñ-c'u river, P'ug-rtse and Śa-ños<sup>2</sup>; but he even expressed the intention of taking away K'rig-se from the dGe-lugs-pa and handing it over to the 'Brug-pa. At the bottom of this generosity there was a personal grudge; during the conflict with his brother, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal has sought refuge in K'rig-se, but the monks had shut the gates on his face. To his credit, sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa persuaded the king to give up his project; he would have none of what amounted to religious persecution<sup>3</sup>.

sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa's building activity was also noteworthy. We have already spoken of the foundation of the bDe-c'en-rnam-rgyal monastery at Waṃ-le (1624). The pet project of sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa was the construction of the Byañ-c'ub-bsam-gliñ convent at He-mis, which became and remained the royal monastery of Ladakh. At first there was a simple hermitage. Then work began: in 1630 the main temple (*gtsug-lag-k'añ*) was built; in 1638 he was able to consecrate the great assembly hall (*'du-k'añ*), decorated with paintings<sup>4</sup>.

The influence of sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa on the king must have cost rather dearly to the Ladakhi taxpayers. Apart from the expensive building activity, to which we must add a long series of statues, manuscripts and *mani*-walls listed in the Chronicle, the king on his advice sent frequent missions with expensive presents to the bKa'-brgyud-pa and other religious establishments in Central Tibet. Limi-

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<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle dedicates a large space to sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa; *LDGR*, 39.24-40.13.

<sup>2</sup> He-mis and Ma-spro are well known. Nañ-c'u-'bab (''mouth of the river of Nañ'') may be near Nañ in *Zañs-dkar*. Roñ-c'u is the upper Indus valley above Ño-ma (Francke 1926, Index). P'ug-rtse and Śar-ños are mentioned in a legal document dated 1822 (Schuh, LIII); but this does not help us in locating them.

<sup>3</sup> *TTRP*, 33b-34b.

<sup>4</sup> *TTRP*, 33b, 37a. It is generally believed that the dates found in the great He-mis inscription published by Schlagintweit belong to the reign of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. But the inscription is mainly a tale of the activity of Mi-p'am Ts'e-dbañ-'p'rin-las, the 3rd He-mis *sprul-sku*, who was living between 1755 and 1808; see later, p. 120. Thus all the dates in that inscription belong to the second half of the 18th century.

ting ourselves to the reign of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the following list can be dressed; with the exception of the first and last items, it is drawn from the entries in *TTRP*.

- 1624 – to bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or (mission led by the Me-me c'os-mdzad)<sup>1</sup>.
- 1626 – to the 'Brug-c'en incarnate and to the monasteries of rNam-rgyal-lhun-po and Ri-bo-rtse-brgyad (on the Manasarovar).
- 1628 – to the 'Brug-c'en and to bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or.
- 1629 – to the 'Brug-c'en, the Žva-dmar-pa incarnate and bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or.
- 1630 – to the 'Brug-c'en (mission headed by the king's brother 'Dzam-gliñ-grags-pa).
- 1632 – to the 'Brug-c'en and to bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or and rGyal-byed-ts'al.
- 1633 – to 'Brug sGar, Bde-c'en-c'os-'k'or and Tsari.
- 1634 – to the 'Brug-c'en and to bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or.
- 1641 – special mission upon the death of the 'Brug-c'en, with generous donations to Ra-luñ, bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or and many other monasteries of various sects.
- unspecified date – mission to the First Pañ-c'en Rin-po-c'e, carrying funeral offerings for the king's mother<sup>2</sup>.

Each of these mission carried several hundreds of ounces of gold, many more of silver, besides turquoises and costly shawls. We may add that the king was also a patron of K'ru-sgo, the 'Bri-guñ-pa monastery on the shore of the Manasarovar; but in his time the 'Bri-guñ-pa of that zone fell into serious decay and their hermitages were almost deserted<sup>3</sup>.

Lastly, we must also take into account the secular buildings, and foremost among them the Slep-c'en dPal-mk'ar, i.e. the nine-storeyed royal palace towering over Leh<sup>4</sup>. It seems that, in spite of the addition of new territories, the king strained overmuch the economic and financial strength of his country.

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<sup>1</sup> *YD2*, 21a.

<sup>2</sup> *LDGR*, 39.30–40.3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ti-se*, 33b–34a.

<sup>4</sup> *LDGR*, 40.13.

In 1631 Ladakh was visited by the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco de Azevedo; the purpose of his journey was to obtain from the king toleration for the small Christian community in Tsaparang, sorely tried by the war, by a partial deportation and by the hostility of the governor. He passed through Alner (Wam-le), “ where lives the Pope of the Lamas ” (i.e. sTag-ts’añ-ras-pa), then through Guiar (rGya), which was governed by a ruler “ whom the king of Ladakh had deprived of the kingdom of Mariul <sup>1</sup>. He is very friendly with us, as he proved before, when he received Father Andrade ”. On 25th October, 1631, Azevedo entered Leh and was received at once by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal; he gives a curious description of the physical appearance of the king (“ resembling a Javanese ”) and of queen bsKal-bzañ. After some negotiations he obtained a document ensuring freedom of preaching the Gospel, and on the 7th November he left Leh, returning to India by the Lahul route <sup>2</sup>.

It is peculiar that almost nothing is known of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's chief ministers. Neither the Chronicle nor *TTRP* mention them in his lifetime; it may be that the king, like Louis XIV of France, preferred to rule personally. We get the mention of two officials (ministers?) called dPal-grub and Śes-rab-blo-gros, as sponsors (*žu-ba-po*) of a document granted to Nam-mk'a'-dpal-mgon, which we shall discuss presently. A minister (*c'os-blon*) Ga-ga P'el-p'el is mentioned in a badly spelt inscription from Liñs-sñed (F.52) <sup>3</sup>. But the only man to bear the full title of chief minister (*c'os-blon c'en-po*) was

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<sup>1</sup> Mar-yul (Mariul) cannot be here, as is usually the case, another name for Ladakh. Nor can it apply to Ru-t'ogs, whose chief was deposed by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal in the preceding year, because Father Andrade in a letter of 14th August, 1626, lists the Tibetan countries as follows: Cogue (Gu-ge), Ladac, Mariul, Rudoc (Ru-t'ogs), Utsang (dBus-gTsañ) and two others more eastward; Wessels, 70-71. Until more information is forthcoming, I think that the Mariul of the Jesuits corresponds more or less to parts of Upper Ladakh and to Rupshu; cf. Toscano, 104n. It seems that the power of the feudatory chief (*jo*) of rGya had been substantially curtailed by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. As to the visit of Andrade to this chief, there is no mention of it in the Jesuit sources; probably it is a slip of the memory by Azevedo.

<sup>2</sup> Wessels, 94-119; Portuguese text *ibid.*, 282-313. The Bible printed at Rome in 1598, which Moorcroft (II, 22-23) found in 1821 at Pa-skyum, may have been left in Ladakh by Azevedo. Cf. Toscano, 249-250n.

<sup>3</sup> Francke 1907b, 657-658.

A-gu (or A-k'u) 'Gar-mo, and he was in charge only during the very last years of the reign <sup>1</sup>.

One of the foremost noblemen of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's time was the lord of Sa-bu, Nam-mk'a'-dpal-mgon of the Mi-ñag family, who served four generations of Ladakhi kings. In the Pig year (almost certainly 1635) the king entrusted him with the supervision of the copying of several texts (bKa'-'gyur, *Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā*, biography of Padmasambhava, life and songs of sTag-ts'añ Ras-c'en), for which he was duly rewarded <sup>2</sup>.

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's family was rather numerous. We have already dealt with his younger brother Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal and his tragic end. Of his two half-brothers, nothing is known about bsTan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal <sup>3</sup>. Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal entered holy orders in 1630, taking the religious name 'Dzam-gliñ-grags-pa. In the same year he left for Central Tibet at the head of one of the usual religious missions <sup>4</sup>, and never returned home. He stayed at bKra-śis-lhun-po and 'Bras-spuñs under his former name Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and in 1634 he assisted at the ceremonies for the coming of age of the bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or Yoñs-'dzin. He died in 1644, and the *p'yag-mdzod* No-no C'os-'dzin and the monk-prince (*lha-btsun*) mT'u-stobs were sent to bring the funeral offerings <sup>5</sup>. Local tradition credits him with the foundation of the Ñod monastery and with building (rather: restoring) sTag-sna <sup>6</sup>.

The king married a lady (*bdag-mo*) from Ru-śod (Rupshu) called

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<sup>1</sup> F.54, 57, 209; also an unpublished inscription on the road from ICe-'bre to dByi-gu. He is mentioned in the colophon of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* written by (or for) Nam-mk'a'-dpal-mgon; Gergan, pp. 392-394.

<sup>2</sup> The document (Gergan Doc. 1) is published in Gergan, 395-396. This "life" may have been a short popular account or else a first draft; sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa died in 1651 only and his biography, as we have it, was not compiled until 1663. Nam-mk'a'-dpal-mgon was the donor of the *t'añ-ka* n. 21 in Tucci 1949, 365-367.

<sup>3</sup> There was at this time one Ga-ga bsTan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal, *mk'ar-dpon* of Grañ-mk'ar in Spiti, mentioned in the Sa-bu colophon (see above n. 1) and in a Spiti inscription (F.173). The title *ga-ga* belongs indeed to the highest nobility; but a royal prince would be expected to be called *rgyal-sras*, not only *ga-ga*.

<sup>4</sup> *TTRP*, 33b-34a; *LDGR*, 39.13-14.

<sup>5</sup> *YD2*, 23a-b, 58b, 85a, 86b.

<sup>6</sup> Francke 1914, 60, 67.



bsKal-bzañ sGrol-ma, who usually appears on the inscriptions along with her husband and seems to have played a certain political role<sup>1</sup>. She bore him three sons: bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, another whose lay name is unknown, and bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal; she gave birth also to a daughter called Nor-'dzin rgyal-mo<sup>2</sup>. In 1630 the second son became a monk with the name Indrabodhi (Tibetan: dBañ-po'i-byañ-c'ub), but busied himself mainly with secular matters<sup>3</sup>. Another son, dPal-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal, perhaps by a secondary wife, died before his father in 1638<sup>4</sup>.

We have also some information about the family of the queen. Her brother T'ub-bstan-rgya-mts'o (probably a Lama) died in 1627 and her mother and the sister of the king died in 1640<sup>5</sup>.

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal died at Waṃ-le on the first day of the *lha-bab* festival (22nd) in the 9th month of the Water-Horse year, i.e. on the 27th November, 1642<sup>6</sup>. He was less than fifty years old<sup>7</sup>. His body was brought to Leh, where the solemn funeral rites were performed.

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<sup>1</sup> A small Maitreya image set up near the gSer-zañs temple at Ba-sgo bears an inscription stating that the image was set up by bsKal-bzañ sGrol-ma on 25.II Water-Horse year (15th April, 1642). I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. D. Snellgrove (letter of 10th May, 1976).

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 41.4-5; F.51 and 54.

<sup>3</sup> TTRP, 33b. Indrabodhi had been accepted as novice long before 1630 by C'os-rje sMu-rdziñ of the sTag-sna monastery. Later he became the most prominent among the disciples of sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa; LDGR, 41.6-7.

<sup>4</sup> TTRP, 37a-b.

<sup>5</sup> TTRP, 32b-33a, 38b. A brass plate in the gSer-gduñ mc'od-rtēn at Sheh bears an inscription (F.209; also in Gergan, 381) dated 1641, attesting that this reliquary (*sku-gduñ*) was set up by Bla-ma sTag-ts'añ, king Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and queen bsKal-bzañ for the mother of the queen. Among the people who contributed copper and gold we find the *guñ-blon* A-gu 'Gar-mo.

<sup>6</sup> TTRP, 40a. Cf. YD2, 82a.

<sup>7</sup> Gergan, 397.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE COLLAPSE OF LADAKHI POWER

The problem of the succession of *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* was not settled at once, and it appears that during some years the dowager queen *bsKal-bzañ* acted as a sort of regent for her three sons; she is given once the title *sa-skyoñ-ba'i dbañ-mo*<sup>1</sup>, something like Lady Protector. We find also the expression *rgyal-mo sras blon bcas*, "the queen together with her sons and the ministers". Also we meet rather suddenly with the old minister *A-gu 'Gar-mo*, till then mentioned only by the inscriptions. The Biography constantly spells his name as *A-k'u 'Gar-mo rje-blon*, which might imply that he was an uncle (*a-k'u*) of the queen.

One of the first actions undertaken was the building of a new monastery as a funeral act of merit (*dgoñs-rdzogs*) for the late king. The choice of the site was a matter of serious deliberation. After excluding for various reasons *Leh*, *Ba-sgo* and *sTag-sna*, the decision fell in favor of *Chimri* (*lCe-'bre* in the Chronicle, *Ce-k'ri* in *TTRP*); and in March 1644 *sTag-ts'an-ras-pa* laid the foundations of the main temple (*gtsug-lag-k'an*). It was finished on the 30th March 1645 or 18th April 1646<sup>2</sup>.

Also in other fields *sTag-ts'an-ras-pa*'s activity and unrivalled influence continued unabated in spite of advancing age. This was reflected in the continuance of the expensive missions to Central Tibet. In 1643 he sent one to *bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or*<sup>3</sup>. In 1645 a much larger mission was despatched, headed by *'Brug-pa-rdo-rje* on behalf of the *He-mis* monastery and by *T'ub-bstan-lha-dbañ* and *A-k'u dKon-*

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 42b.

<sup>2</sup> *LDGR*, 40.7; *TTRP*, 41a-b, 42b (where the date is somewhat doubtful). The full name of the *Chimri* monastery is *T'eg-mc'og bde-c'en gliñ*.

<sup>3</sup> *YD2*, 82b.

mc'og on behalf of the Ladakhi court<sup>1</sup>. It was this mission which arranged for the funeral rites for Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal to be performed, rather belatedly, at Lhasa during the *smon-lam* (New Year's) festival of 1646<sup>2</sup>.

Upon the request of the queen-regent, in February 1647 sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa laid the foundations of the main temple in the Śel-dkar (Sheh) palace<sup>3</sup>.

Later in the same year 1647 Ladakh suffered a raid by Turki (Hor) forces from Kashgaria. They reached rGya and had a brush of little consequence with Ladakhi soldiers in the U-śi defilee. Led by Babak Beg and Sara Beg (Bha-bag-bhi, Sa-ra-bhi), they reached C'u-śod-gžun, where another fight took place, with many casualties and a good deal of damage. On the request of the Ladakhi princes, sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa sent envoys to the Turki camp, and they returned with two enemy officers, who had a talk with the abbot. They stated that the foray was intended to avenge an insult offered to their minister (*blon-ci*) Zandaq Khan (Zañ-dags K'an). A negotiation followed, of which the Biography presents a lively picture; the Turks called the Lama by the Muslim title *pir*. Their ruler was the Khan of Yarkand (Yar-kyen K'an). Eventually they received a so-called present of fifteen horses and decamped<sup>4</sup>.

By now it was high time that the dynastic problem be solved. This was done in the course of a solemn assembly of all the nobles and officials of the realm, convened on 15th February 1647. All the three brothers were consecrated as kings, but with the eldest as paramount ruler. The kingdom was divided between them. Indrabodhi, also called Indra-rnam-rgyal, received Gu-ge Bod-'brog-roñ-gsum<sup>5</sup>; bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal obtained Zañs-dkar and Spiti; the dowager queen was given Ma-spro, dByi-gu and Pu-rañs as her personal estate.

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 43a-b; *YD2*, 87a.

<sup>2</sup> *DL5*, Ka, 132a; Tucci 1949, 256. Cf. Ahmad 1970, 130n.

<sup>3</sup> *TTRP*, 44b; *LDGR*, 40.16.

<sup>4</sup> *TTRP*, 44b. U-śi or 'Ub-śi (Upshi of the maps) is on the confluence of the rGya river with the Indus. C'u-śod (Chushot of the maps) is on the left bank of the Indus nearly opposite K'rig-se.

<sup>5</sup> This threefold partition of Gu-ge refers to the towns and villages (*bod*), the pastures (*'brog*) and the cultivated valleys (*roñ*). R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris 1962, 83-84.

All the rest of mÑa'-ris-skor-gsum, in the main Upper and Lower Ladakh, was assigned to bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal<sup>1</sup>.

After this settlement sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa devoted himself to the completion of the Lha-c'en *gtsug-lag-k'añ* at Śel-dkar (Sheh), which was carried out with the support of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal and Indra-rnam-rgyal and was duly inaugurated<sup>2</sup>. In 1649 he was invited by Indra-rnam-rgyal to Gu-ge, where he visited the monastery of mT'o-ldiñ. At that time the country was again threatened by Hor (Turki? Moghul?) troops, and he received there two Hor envoys. Upon his return to He-mis he was visited by bKra-sis-mt'on-smon-pa (perhaps a Lama) and by a Mongol *jaisang* sent by Guśri Khan, the Qośot ruler of Tibet; as a result, a good understanding was reached between the two governments<sup>3</sup>.

The old queen bsKal-bzañ seems to have become very active during her last years. In 1649 she sent to Central Tibet a mission headed by T'ub-bstan-lha-dbañ, A-k'u bZañ-dga' and bKra-sis-rdo-rje on behalf of the court and by Rin-c'en-dpal-'byor and Śākya-zla-'od on behalf of He-mis monastery. They carried with them the funeral offerings for A-k'u 'Gar-mo, who had died in 1646<sup>4</sup>. In 1650 the queen undertook a journey to the Kailasa, against the advice of her revered teacher; and indeed, she fell ill in Zañ-dkar and breathed her last at bZañ-la. Her corpse was brought to Sheh, where the funeral rites were performed<sup>5</sup>.

Also in 1650, sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa sent a final mission, headed by O-lo Ñag-dbañ-bde-legs, to the Dalai-Lama, the Pañ-c'en, the 'Brug-c'en and to bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or. It settled the details of the annual despatch of a group of novices to Central Tibet, about which a dispute had arisen between the Lhasa government and the 'Brug-pa<sup>6</sup>.

sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa was now over 76 and his health was failing fast. He himself gave the necessary instructions for his funerals, and on the 29th of January, 1651, he passed away at He-mis<sup>7</sup>. The death rites

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<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 45a; *LDGR*, 41.4-9.

<sup>2</sup> *TTRP*, 46b; *LDGR*, 41.12-14.

<sup>3</sup> *TTRP*, 47b.

<sup>4</sup> *YD2*, 99a-b.

<sup>5</sup> *TTRP*, 48b. A long *mañi*-wall was erected to her memory; *LDGR*, 41.14-15.

<sup>6</sup> *TTRP*, 49a; *YD2*, 100a-102a.

<sup>7</sup> *TTRP*, 51b.

were performed on a magnificent scale and five monks were appointed permanently to read holy texts near his relics <sup>1</sup>. In 1655 a grand ceremony of remembrance was held in the presence of the king and his brother(s) <sup>2</sup>. And in June 1663 sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa's biography, composed by the monk Ñag-dbañ Kun-dga'-lhun-grub T'ub-bstan-dge-legs-'byuñ-gnas bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an dpal-bzañ-po on the request of king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, was completed <sup>3</sup>.

The death of sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa left a gap which it was difficult to fill. In due time, his incarnation Ñag-dbañ mTs'o-skyes-rdo-rje was found in the regions south of Ladakh <sup>4</sup>; but he never exerted any substantial influence, and his name does not occur at all in the Chronicle. The only occasion on which he played a (quite subordinate) role was at the time of the treaty with Tibet in 1684, as we shall see presently. But for the moment he was a mere child, and the position as religious teacher (*dbu-bla*) of the king was vacant. Indeed, one of the instructions issued by sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa on the eve of his death was to request dGar (or sGar) <sup>5</sup> and bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or to send to Ladakh the bDag-po Bla-ma (?) and the mTs'o-sna *c'os-rje* <sup>6</sup>. As a matter of fact the mission of 1650 had already sounded the two 'Brug-pa centres about the matter <sup>7</sup>.

But things were not quite smooth. The relations with the Yellow Church, which had been fairly cordial in the lifetime of sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa, tended to deteriorate, ushering in a serious political problem. It concerned the treatment of the dGe-lugs-pa in Ladakh and Gu-ge, and of the 'Brug-pa in the dominions of the Dalai-Lama, both communities feeling themselves discriminated against by the ruling power. So this question too had to be discussed. In 1652 or soon after, the dGar sent the *nañ-so* Lha-dbañ[-dbañ]-p'yug, and bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or sent the joint steward (*gñer-zla*) Śākya-rdzu-'p'rul to study the

<sup>1</sup> *TTRP*, 53b.

<sup>2</sup> *TTRP*, 53b-54a.

<sup>3</sup> *TTRP*, 56b.

<sup>4</sup> On the search for sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa's rebirth see *TTRP*, 53a-b, and *YD2*, 102b. About 1666 king bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal invited him to Zañs-dkar; *NBTR*, 12b. Otherwise he is only mentioned in some *gsoł-'debs* of He-mis.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 43, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *TTRP*, 51b.

<sup>7</sup> *YD2*, 101a.

situation<sup>1</sup>. At this point the king wrote to the 'Brug-c'en and to the Dalai-Lama in order to obtain a 'Brug-pa scholar of great prestige as his religious teacher; as to the position of the dGe-lugs-pa in his realm, the king proposed equal treatment for both sects, as the surest means for the welfare of the religion on both sides<sup>2</sup>. The *nan-so* had found out that the *c'os-mdzad* O-lo Ņag-dbañ-bde-legs, after his return from Tibet in 1651, was strongly agitating in favour of dGar, and so did the He-mis officials, thus creating some tension. Anyhow, he wrote to Lhasa, advising to grant the request of the king<sup>3</sup>.

In the meantime the Dalai-Lama had left for China (April 1652), seen off by the bDe-c'en-c'os-k'or Yoñs-'dzin, who had come to Lhasa for that purpose. The letter of the *nan-so* was handed over to the regent bSod-nams-rab-brtan, who passed it on to the Yoñs-'dzin; also the dGar *p'yag-mdzod* Grub-cog came to Lhasa to discuss the matter. In the end Grub-cog was sent to Ladakh together with Śaṅs bKra-śis-rtse-pa representing the government. They requested the king to grant a fortress and an adequate estate to the Gu-ge *bdag-po* (i.e. to the old royal house) and other estates to support the dGe-lugs-pa sect. These requests were met (at least partly) and thus upon the return of the mission (in 1654) the Yoñs-'dzin proposed to send to the king as teacher the Grub-dbañ Rin-po-c'e; it was not a choice conforming to the desire of the late sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa, and an abbot remarked wryly that the Grub-dbañ cared too much for gold and his monks for beer<sup>4</sup>. It is difficult to identify this person, as Grub-dbañ is a fairly common title among the bKa'-brgyud-pa<sup>5</sup>.

Thus in 1655 the *dpon-slob* Grub-dbañ Rin-po-c'e, a pupil of the 5th 'Brug-c'en dPag-bsam-dbañ-po, was sent to Ladakh, the Tibetan government supplying all the necessaries for his journey. The Dalai-Lama himself, by now back in Lhasa, granted an audience to the 'Brug-c'en and to the Yoñs-'dzin, and on the same occasion bestowed mystical

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<sup>1</sup> YD2, 101b.

<sup>2</sup> BC6, 65b-66a.

<sup>3</sup> YD2, 102a.

<sup>4</sup> YD2, 102a-103a.

<sup>5</sup> sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa had sent him some presents; TTRP, 47a, 49a. At a much later date, NBTR, 102b may perhaps allude to him as Koñ-po'i *sku-skyes sprul-sku* 'Byor-ts'e-riñ, *dbu-bla* of king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal.

powers upon the Grub-dbañ, who at once set out on his journey<sup>1</sup>. The incident shows that, inspite of petty quarrels, in this instance as in many others the 'Brug-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa were acting in concert. Indeed in that period the 'Brug-c'en and the Yoñs-'dzin attended the *smon-lam* festival in Lhasa almost every year.

Also, this increased cordiality toward the 'Brug-pa may have something to do with the renewal and confirmation by the king of all the privileges, immunities and estates (at the Kailasa, in Gu-ge, Zañs-dkar, Lahul etc.) granted to the sTag-sna monastery in the times of *c'os-rje* sMu-rdziñ-pa and king Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal; the document of confirmation is dated in the 8th month of 1661<sup>2</sup>.

However, the activity of the Grub-dbañ Rin-po-c'e in Ladakh was rather short. Already at the end of 1661 the king of Ladakh sent the *gñer-pa* Groñ-'ts'o-ba to bring to Lhasa funeral offerings for the deceased Grub-dbañ. The *gñer-pa* was accompanied by the *blon-po* A-jo K'yi-gu and by Don-grub-'p'el<sup>3</sup>, charged with a political mission. They were to remind the Lhasa government that, when Śañs bKra-sis-rtse-pa had visited Ladakh, the king had promised him a fair deal for the dGe-lugs-pa in mÑa'-ris, and since then he had held his word. But if there were no reciprocity, if the same good treatment was not meted out to the 'Brug-pa in Central Tibet, serious consequences might be expected. The question was submitted to the government, and it decided to send a mission to Ladakh, composed of Sa-nam *dge-slon* for the government, the rGyal-byed-tsal *dkon-gñer* 'Jam-dbyañs-rgyal-mts'an for the 'Brug-c'en, and a lay official for the Yoñs-'dzin; they were to assure bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal that all the 'Brug-pa of Central Tibet were treated with the utmost consideration by the Lhasa authorities<sup>4</sup>.

In the following years there were frictions even between Ladakh and the 'Brug-pa of Central Tibet. An unruly monk from He-mis, coming back from Tsari, stopped en route in the Kailasa region, where he called on the local ascetics (Gañs-ri-ras-pa); they exchanged insulting remarks on the 'Brug-pa clergy of Ladakh. The He-mis *bla-ma*

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<sup>1</sup> BC6, 66b-67a; DL5, Ka, 242b-243a. Cf. PCI, 150a.

<sup>2</sup> Listed by Gergan, Doc. 2/K'a.

<sup>3</sup> YD2, 109b; DL5, Ka, 313b, 314a, 315a.

<sup>4</sup> BC6, 75a-b.

K'ams-pa sent a letter to the king relating the incident. It was forwarded to the Lhasa regent, who put it to dGar and the Yoñs-'dzin to take a decision in the matter. The gSer-gliñ *bla-ma* was sent, attended by the *dkon-gñer* 'Jam-dbyañs-rgyal-mts'an and *gñer-pa* rDo-rje-c'os-bzañ from dGar, to interrogate the ascetics. They came back with the impression that the whole amounted to "slander for us and diffuse fog for the king" <sup>1</sup>.

In 1664 the king sent again A-k'u K'yi-gu to Lhasa to straighten up the matter. The report of 'Jam-dbyañs-rgyal-mts'an had not been very satisfactory and the Yoñs-'dzin insisted on the necessity of concord and good will between the 'Brug-pas of Central and Western Tibet. In the end the Tibetan government appointed the mTs'o-sna-gdoñ *c'os-mdzad*, along with bsTan-'dzin-'brug-rgyas and 'P'rin-las rab-rgyas from dGar, to follow A-k'u K'yi-gu (to Ladakh?) and to find an honorable solution. From the Ladakhi side they were met by T'ub-bstan-'p'rin-las from He-mis, to whom the Central Tibetan envoys presented the printed text of the songs of sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa and the volumes of the complete works of Padma-dkar-po; and the quarrel was brought amicably to an end <sup>2</sup>.

As a matter of fact at that time bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal had a much more serious question to worry about than these monkish squabbles. As said above, after the battle of mK'ar-bu king Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal had promised tribute to the Moghuls; this tribute was never paid and Ladakh remained for all purposes an independent state. But when in 1663 the new emperor Aurangzeb made his first and only journey to Kashmir <sup>3</sup>, the Ladakhi king, perhaps feeling uneasy about the presence on the border of a ruler who nursed a rightful grievance against Ladakh and had the means to enforce redress of the same, sent him an embassy. The envoys were received by the emperor and repeated to him the king's pledge of loyalty and tribute and promised that a mosque would be built, the *khutba* recited and coins struck in the name of the emperor. The French traveller François Bernier, then at the Moghul

<sup>1</sup> YD2, 112b-113a.

<sup>2</sup> DL5, Ka, 349b; YD2, 113b-114a; BC6, 86a. But the sequence of the events is neither clear nor certain.

<sup>3</sup> Bernier's date of 1665 is wrong. See J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 14 and V, 420.



court, saw the envoys and spoke with them; and it is to him that we owe the only available piece of information on this event. It should be noted that the embassy was not a spontaneous gesture, but was the result of heavy pressure, because Bernier states that the Ladakhi king yielded only to a definite threat of invasion <sup>1</sup>.

When Aurangzeb left Kashmir, bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal apparently thought himself justified in copying the behaviour of his father after 1639 and ignoring once more the Moghul claims. But Aurangzeb was not to be trifled with and, chiefly in matters concerning religion, was made of a much sterner stuff than the easy-going Shah Jahan. Two years later Saif Khan, the governor of Kashmir, sent an envoy to the king of Ladakh, who is given the title of *zamīndār* of Great Tibet and the name Daldan Namjal, a very good transcription of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. The envoy, Muhammad Shafi, was the bearer of an imperial *farmān*, enjoining on the Ladakhi king the acceptance of Moghul suzerainty and of Islam and threatening him with an invasion by the imperial army in case of refusal. Resistance was clearly out of question, so bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal submitted with good grace to the inevitable. Muhammad Shafi was met six miles outside Leh by the king and the great officials. They accepted with reverence the imperial document and complied forthwith with all its requests. Accordingly, the *khutba* was read in the name of Aurangzeb, the foundations of a mosque were laid, and the Ladakhi government undertook to diffuse the religion of Islam among the people. The envoy was sent back to Kashmir with great honours and with a tribute of 1000 *ashrafīs*, 2000 rupees and many other precious objects. The news of the settlement of the Ladakhi question reached the imperial court on the 11th Jumāda ul-Ākhira, 8th year of the reign of Aurangzeb, i.e. 19th December (New Style) 1665 <sup>2</sup>.

Although none of our sources speaks of it, we may suppose that on this occasion the king lifted the ruinous blockade of the Kashmir

<sup>1</sup> Bernier, 422-424.

<sup>2</sup> *Ālamgir-nāma*, Calcutta 1868, 923; *Ma'āsir ul-Umarā*, II, Calcutta 1890, 482-483; J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 18. In the same work, V, 421, the date is wrongly given ad 1666. But the regnal years of Aurangzeb began with the first day of Ramazān, and thus the 8th year corresponds to 1075-6 A.H., i.e. from March 1665 to March 1666.

trade, which was lasting since 1639 and must have dealt a serious blow to the commercial interests of the country.

The success of Muhammad Shafi's mission was due largely to an adequate military backing. A later, but well-informed author, Muhammad Azam, speaks even of a "conquest of Great Tibet" <sup>1</sup>. This is of course mere bombast. But Aurangzeb's *farmān* was given due emphasis probably by a display of force on the Kashmir border, and certainly by the diplomatic and military support of the chiefs of Skardo. Since 1637 they were the loyal subjects of the emperor, keeping watch over the unbelievers of Ladakh, with whom they were always on bad terms. In this period the prince of Skardo was Murad Khan, son of Rafi Khan and grandson of Muhammad Murad who had helped the Moghuls in 1637 <sup>2</sup>. The '*Ālamgīr-nāma* tells us that he was rewarded for his good services on this occasion by the grant of a *khil'at*. Balti tradition even pretends that Ladakh, lost to the Baltis under the weak successors of Ali Mir, was recovered by Murad Khan <sup>3</sup>. Perhaps he was entrusted with the representation of imperial interests and rights in Ladakh.

The acceptance of the submission of Ladakh was intimated by a *khariṭa* (official letter) sent by Aurangzeb to "Deldan" (bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal) in the same 8th year (probably early in 1666); it confirmed the three main conditions: reading of the *khutba*, striking coins, erecting a mosque <sup>4</sup>. We do not know whether coins were actually struck at that time; at any rate, none has come down to us. The extant mosque in Leh, an unpretentious building, was erected by Shaikh Muhi ud-din in 1077 A.H. (1666/7) <sup>5</sup>. A message of loyalty was sent to the emperor through Saif Khan, to which Aurangzeb replied by another *khariṭa* and the grant of a *khil'at* (9th year, 1666/7) <sup>6</sup>.

We know nothing of the position of Islam in Ladakh during the preceding period. It is certain that the traders were allowed full reli-

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīrī*, Allahabad Ms., 138a.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, 35. He is several times mentioned in the '*Ālamgīr-nāma* as sending tribute to court.

<sup>3</sup> Vigne, II, 253.

<sup>4</sup> Ahluvalia, 6-7.

<sup>5</sup> This date is contained in a tablet existing on the entrance of the mosque; the Persian text is given by Gergan, 404.

<sup>6</sup> Ahluvalia, 7.

gious liberty. But the tradition in Western Tibet seems to have been one of watchful control, or even of hostility; in 1625 the last king of Gu-ge had a mosque pulled down <sup>1</sup>.

It is possible that the recognition of Moghul suzerainty contributed to impair relations with the Dalai-Lama and his government. In any case, they took a turn for the worse, and were paralleled by a marked coldness between the 'Brug-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa; neither the 'Brug-c'en nor the Yoñs-'dzin Rin-po-c'e visited Lhasa during those years. In 1667 bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, who regretted having charged the ineffectual K'yi-gu with his last mission and still worried about the internal dissensions among the 'Brug-pa, sent to Lhasa the *mc'od-gžis-pa* (administrators?) of K'rig-se and dPe-t'ub. They were received with downright contempt as half-educated rustics. "Although envoys of the king of mŅa'-ris, they resembled in their appearance ordinary pilgrims, and merely humiliated and degraded themselves. One of the envoys was given ordination and the other became a *dge-bsñen*" <sup>2</sup>. No wonder in 1669 bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal found it necessary to send to Lhasa a higher dignitary, the nobleman No-no rGyal. He was to deal with complaints from the dGe-lugs-pa of mŅa'-ris, because the 'Brug-pa had not supplied them with the oil for the sacred lamps, as they appear to have been bound to do; the Dalai-Lama refused to intervene, so the matter was probably settled somehow by No-no rGyal himself. He was accompanied by the *ldin-dpon* dPal-yag, probably a Ladakhi officer, and once more the mŅa'-ris dGe-lugs-pa complained that, although the maintenance of the postal stages in dPal-yag's territory was charged on the dGe-lugs-pa establishments, they were not allowed to travel by the postal route maintained by them. We are not informed how this protest was dealt with <sup>3</sup>.

This mission seems to have been more successful than the preceding one. For the moment no further crisis arose. In 1672 Dar-gyas-rnam-rgyal, abbot of K'rig-se, was received by the Tibetan re-

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<sup>1</sup> H. Hosten, "A letter of Father Francisco Godinho, S.J., from Western Tibet (Tsaparang, August 16, 1626)", in *JPASB* 21 (1925), 70.

<sup>2</sup> *DL5*, K'a, 30b-31a; transl. Ahmad 1968, 342-343.

<sup>3</sup> *DL5*, K'a, 82b; transl. Ahmad 1968, 343-344. The text seems to be truncated at the end. No-no rGyal-lde is known to us also from F.57, one of the earliest inscriptions of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal.

gent, who entrusted him with a letter for king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal<sup>1</sup>.

This short-lived improvement in the relations with Lhasa perhaps encouraged the king to undertake an aggressive politics on his Western frontier, availing himself of the services of general Śākya-rgya-mts'o. This introduces into the scene a man destined to play an important role in the following years. He belonged to the Sa-bu family and was the grandson of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's ministers A-gu 'Gar-mo. When the latter died in 1646, he was succeeded as Sa-bu *bka'-blon* (not as chief minister) by his son C'os-ñid-rdo-rje. King bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal coveted his wife and tried to have him killed by an attendant as he was entering the gate of the palace; he escaped that time, but was murdered by his own steward on his way back to Sa-bu. While the king was preparing the wedding ceremonies, the widow fled to dByi-gu and prevented the marriage by shaving her hair and becoming a nun. The clergy intervened and the king had to give up the project. This caused a great malcontent and he had to offer images and *mañi*-walls to atone for the murder of the innocent minister<sup>2</sup>. The son of the victim, Śākya-rgya-mts'o, was appointed to his father's office (although he was very young) and lived to become chief minister and to hold that charge down to the time of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal. His estate was dByi-gu, and no longer Sa-bu, which, however, remained in the hands of another branch of the family; at a later time we find it owned by Śākya-rgya-mts'o's nephew Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs<sup>3</sup>.

Upon his appointment as commander of the army, in 1673 Śākya-rgya-mts'o invaded the chiefships of Lower Ladakh and Purig. In 1674 Ladakhi activities extended to Baltistan, where K'a-pu-lu and C'or-'bad were seized, the first chiefship being conferred upon Hatim Khan, the second upon Sultan Khan. Of course this forward policy impinged upon the sphere of interests of the Moghuls; and upon the request of the ruler of Skardo the governor of Kashmir sent a small force to Lower Purig; it was checked by the Ladakhi minister 'Brug-rnam-rgyal (otherwise unknown) and was forced to retire<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *DL5*, K'a, 140a. This is probably the same mission which was received by the Yoñs-'dzin in 1673; *YD2a*, 20a-b.

<sup>2</sup> Sa-bu tradition as related by Gergan, 398-400.

<sup>3</sup> Colophons listed by Gergan, *List of Mañi and Books*, 11 and 13.

<sup>4</sup> *LDGR*, 41.19-27; Document of Śākya-rgya-mts'o, in Francke 1926, 243.2-3. No trace of this is found in the Moghul texts.

Shortly afterwards bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal sent Śākya-rgya-mts'o to bring help to the king's maternal grandfather and uncle, the rulers of Glo-bo sMan-t'añ (modern Mustang in Nepal); the general subdued sKag-rdzoñ (modern Kagbeni) of Glo-bo and repressed brigandage in the whole of the eastern districts of the kingdom<sup>1</sup>. Then we are informed that "when the Kashmiris under Nawab Ibrahim Khan and Timur Beg with their Hor (Moghul) troops appeared in Purig, Śākya-rgya-mts'o was able through his ingenuity and wise methods to turn them back one after another, so that a period of prosperity ensued"<sup>2</sup>. Unless the dates in the Chronicle are wrong, this campaign cannot be identical with those of 1673 and 1674, because Ibrahim Khan was not then governor of Kashmir. It can hardly refer to his first governorship (1662-1664); so this little war must belong to the first years of his second term (1678-1685).

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal is mentioned in several inscriptions (F.57, 59-65, 106); but nothing of importance can be gleaned from them.

Before his official enthronement, the chief minister was A-gu 'Gar-mo, who had held office under Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal (F.57); but he died already in 1646<sup>3</sup>. He was apparently followed by the *c'os-blon c'en-po* 'Byor-ba-rgya-mts'o, who is mentioned in inscriptions (F.65, 188) and appears as the *žu-ba-po* in a document issued by the king in 1658 to Don-grub-'p'el of Ba-sgo, to reward him for horses and men supplied during journeys to K'a-pu-lu and mK'ar-bu<sup>4</sup>. 'Byor-ba-rgya-mts'o was still alive and in charge at the time of the Mongolo-Tibetan attack in 1679<sup>5</sup>. Śākya-rgya-mts'o was not yet chief minister in 1673 and 1674, but his appointment may have occur-

<sup>1</sup> Document of Śākya-rgya-mts'o, in Francke 1926, 243.3-4. Francke's translation of this passage is incorrect. The meaning is: "He brought low sKag-rdzoñ in Glo-bo; he rendered service to both the maternal grandfather and uncle (*mes-žani*) of Glo-bo. After he had crushed Da-liñ(?), no robber bands (read *jag-ts'o* for *byag-ts'om*) were left in the Gañs-ri (Kailasa) zone". On Glo-bo or Blo-bo (Mustang) see Tucci 1965, 8-19; D. Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, Oxford 1970, I, 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> Document of Śākya-rgya-mts'o, in Francke 1926, 243.4-6.

<sup>3</sup> *TTRP*, 44a.

<sup>4</sup> Gergan, Doc. 2/Ka. This is apparently the Don-grub-'p'el who in 1661 accompanied *blon-po* A-jo K'yi-gu to Lhasa. See back p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> *MBTJ*, 16a.

red soon after. Another high dignitary was the *nañ-blon* Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an<sup>1</sup>.

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal had three wives. First he married Kun-'dzom, mentioned in F.65 and still alive in the times of bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal<sup>2</sup>. The second queen was dPal-mdzes, who too was still alive in the times of bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal and who in 1696 visited bKra-śis-lhun-po, to ask the Paṅ-c'en for tuition<sup>3</sup>. After his submission to the Moghuls (1665) the king married Bu-k'rid *rgyal-mo*<sup>4</sup>. All the three queens together are mentioned in a colophon<sup>5</sup>.

The eldest son of the king was bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, who was born in 1650 and, at the request of his father, was given his name by sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa himself<sup>6</sup>. Rather oddly, most of the manuscripts of the Chronicle, as well as all the inscriptions, contain his name only. But it is a fact that a lesser queen (*yum c'ui-ba*; apparently Bu-k'rid) later bore to the king three other sons: Nag-dbañ-p'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal, 'Jig-bral-rnam-rgyal and T'ub-bstan-rnam-rgyal<sup>7</sup>; these princes must have been 15-20 years younger than their half-brother bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal. The first of them played a great role in church politics as head of the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries in Ladakh, as we shall see later. The second 'Jig-bral-rnam-rgyal was sent to Kashmir in 1683 as an hostage. Of the third nothing is known.

About 1675/78 the king entrusted the affairs of state to his eldest son, though remaining the titular ruler<sup>8</sup>. He lived to a ripe old age and died about 1694, because his demise seems to be alluded to in a verse reported under the date of 28.IV (21th June), 1694<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, a *khariṭa* of Aurangzeb, dated 3rd Jumāda ul-Ākhira, 39th year of reign (9th January, 1696), says that "having been apprised of the death

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<sup>1</sup> He appears in the already cited colophon n.10.

<sup>2</sup> She appears in an inscription of that king (F.107).

<sup>3</sup> She is mentioned in a colophon from Sa-bu; Gergan, List of Mani and Books, n.11. The visit to the Paṅ-c'en is mentioned in PC2, 154b.

<sup>4</sup> NBTR, 28b; Gergan, 405.

<sup>5</sup> Already cited colophon in Gergan, List of Mani and Books, n.10.

<sup>6</sup> TTRP, 48a.

<sup>7</sup> Gergan, 405; Cunningham, 330, spells these names as Banchak, Jigbal and Thuptan.

<sup>8</sup> According to Cunningham, 330, bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal abdicated in favour of his son and retired to the castle of "Stuklakte" (sTag-rtse, on which see Francke 1914, 99).

<sup>9</sup> *Mañ yul sa la spyod pa'i c'os rgyal gduñ*; DL5a, C'a, 179b.

of Rāja 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān grandfather of Rāja Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal (bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal's son and successor), His Majesty is pleased to confer upon the latter a *khil'at* and a *mansab* " 1. Thus king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal outlived his son by about three years.

Serious doubts may be entertained whether bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal was ever a full king. The Chronicle apparently does not give him the royal title, nor do the inscriptions known at present; he is always a prince, associated with his father 2. Moreover, the Moghul and Central Tibetan texts ignore him consistently and mention bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal alone in connection with the Gu-ge war. This seems to afford conclusive evidence that he was carrying on the state business as delegate or associate of his father, not in his own right.

The decisive event of his rule was the three-cornered conflict between Ladakh, Tibet and the Moghul empire, which brought to an end the short-lived paramountcy of Ladakh in the Western Himalayas and reduced it to its present boundaries. At it has been dealt with very fully in two papers 3, I shall limit myself to giving an outline of the conflict and of the treaties which brought it to a close, adding some snippets of information that have escaped notice.

From the Tibetan point of view the causes of the war were the increasing hostility of the Ladakhi kings towards the dGe-lugs-pa sect and the raids carried out by the people of Glo-bo and Ru-t'og against the Tibetan districts of Sa-dga' and Gro-śod 4. In the preceding pages we have shown how uneasy were Ladakh's relations with Lhasa; another text informs us that, while Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal had protected impartially all sects and had avoided interference with the dGe-lugs-pa in his newly-acquired territories of Gu-ge, bDe-ldan-

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<sup>1</sup> Persian text in Gergan, 454-455. Moorcroft's English translation was published by Ahluvalia, 7-8. 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān was the title assumed by bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal as a consequence of the treaty with the Moghuls (1683).

<sup>2</sup> F.60, 61, 65, 107; also an unpublished inscription at rGya, which was noticed by Francke 1914, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Petech 1947 and Ahmad 1968. Our sources for the war are: *LDGR*, the Śākya-rgya-mts'o document and Cunningham for Ladakh; *DLS* and *MBTJ* for Tibet; the so-called Namgya document for Bashahr; the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Muhammad Azam for the Moghul; and a very brief mention in *TSM* for Bhutan.

<sup>4</sup> *MBTJ*, 11a-b.

nam-rgyal instead had limited the mT'o-ldiñ congregation to thirty monks only<sup>1</sup>. The occasional cause of the war was supplied by Lho 'Brug (Bhutan), which had a quarrel with Lhasa; the king of Ladakh, as a supporter of any branch of the 'Brug-pa sect, "sent a letter to Tibet saying that he would help [the 'Brug-pa ruler of Bhutan]"<sup>2</sup>. This refers to the war which the Dalai-Lama's government had started in 1676; the Tibetan troops met with a serious reverse, and peace was concluded in 1678 thanks to the mediation of the Sa-skya abbot and of the treasurer of the Pañ-c'en<sup>3</sup>. The inept Ladakhi attempt at interference apparently took place in 1677 and may have hastened the conclusion of a peace which allowed Tibet to turn its full force against Ladakh.

The decision for war was taken by the Dalai-Lama himself, without the concurrence of the Qośot Khan, his patron and protector, although the latter was responsible for the defence of the realm. The conduct of the war was entrusted to a Lama from bKra-śis-lhun-po called dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ-dpal-bzañ, born as a Dsungar prince from the Hungtaiji family. He had a brilliant monastic career and at the time of the death of the First Pañ-c'en in 1662 he was responsible for maintaining order in the mart there, a task which he carried out with ruthless energy<sup>4</sup>. On 8. VIII (23rd September) 1678 he was in Lhasa, where he obtained from the Dalai-Lama prayers and offerings to the local gods (*yul-lha gži-bdag*) of the North, above all of the T'añ-lha and of the gNam-mts'o (Tengri-nor). On 14.VIII (29th September) he brought presents to the Dalai-Lama in audience. Another audience was granted on 20.VIII (5th October). On 25.VIII (10th October) he left for 'Dam<sup>5</sup>. In 1679 he was again in Lhasa, where he pleaded the urgency of an intervention against Ladakh, to redress the situation of the Yellow Church in Western Tibet. The regent (*sde-srid*) Blo-bzañ-sbyin-pa was opposed to the proposal and succeeded in blocking it for the time being. But upon his dismissal, and shortly before his successor Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o took office, the

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<sup>1</sup> VS, 366b (376).

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 42.1-2; new translation by Ahmad 1968, 351-352.

<sup>3</sup> TSM, 98b-104a. Cf. L. Petech, "The rulers of Bhutan c.1650-1750", in *Oriens Extremus*, 19 (1972), 208.

<sup>4</sup> MBTJ, 12a-13a; BC6, 115a.

<sup>5</sup> DL5, Ga, 91a-93b.



Dalai-Lama decided for war, and on 28.V (7th July) 1679 dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ was given his marching orders<sup>1</sup>.

At first his forces consisted only of 250 men, mostly Mongol horsemen; but he got plentiful supplies, equipment and reinforcements from K'ro-bo-dkar-po and A-gsum, the governors of the Sa-dga' district<sup>2</sup>. Upon his arrival in the Kailasa-Manasarovar region he obtained, by a personal interview, the armed help of Kehari Singh, Raja of Bashahr, in exchange for trade facilities<sup>3</sup>.

In the meantime Śākya-rgya-mts'o, commanding the Ladakhi forces, had advanced eastward<sup>4</sup>. The two armies joined battle at a place called Ra-la mK'ar-dmar, Rala-jung of the maps, on the desert plain at the junction of the two source streams of the Indus above bKra-śis-sgañ, about 79°45' long., 32°27' lat.<sup>5</sup>. The Ladakhis were soundly beaten and pursued as far as Lungkhung on the modern Ladakhi-Tibetan border, where they rallied and held the Tibetans at bay. Another portion of the defeated army took refuge in the fortresses of sTag-la-mk'ar (Taklakoth), rTsa-brañ (Tsaparang) and bKra-śis-sgañ (Tashigang). These events took place in the autumn of 1679, because the news reached Lhasa before 1.XII (2nd January, 1680)<sup>6</sup>.

The battle was by no means decisive. Both forces were small, hardly more than vanguards; besides, the fortresses could stand a siege, taking into account the notorious inefficiency of the Mongols against walled places. But at this moment the Lhasa government sent substantial reinforcements, i.e. about 5000 men in all. This brought the Tibetan army up to an overwhelming force; and the Ladakhi garrisons of the Gu-ge fortresses surrendered without awaiting attack<sup>7</sup>. Probably it was this success which was announced by the messengers of dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ who reached Lhasa on 23.III (22nd April) 1680<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *DL5*, Ga, 131a; transl. Ahmad 1968, 345. Cf. *MBTJ*, 13b-14a. According to Cunningham, his fellow-commander was one Blo-bzañ-śes-rab.

<sup>2</sup> *MBTJ*, 15a-16a. A-gsum was the grandfather of P'o-lha-nas bSod-nams-stob-rgyas, the future "king" of Tibet.

<sup>3</sup> Petech 1947, 175-176.

<sup>4</sup> *LDGR*, 42.16-17.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, 326-327. The place is called Ra-la dPal-rgyas by the Document of Śākya-rgya-mts'o, in Francke 1926, 243.6; and Žva-dmar-ldiñ by the *LDGR*, 42.5.

<sup>6</sup> *DL5*, Ga, 168b; transl. Ahmad 1968, 346.

<sup>7</sup> *MBTJ*, 18a-19a.

<sup>8</sup> *DL5*, Ga, 181a.

After his check on the direct route along the Indus, Dga'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ preferred to make a detour by way of Ru-t'og. There he met the main Ladakhi army, drawn up before the Byañ-la (Changla) pass. For some reason the Mongol general entrusted the command in the field to the minister (*mdun-na-'don*) Bu-c'uñ, to Padma-rgyal-po, to Rog-ts'o Rig-'dzin and to a Mongol officer called Namtar. The battle ended with the full victory of the Tibetans, and the Ladakhi king and his general Śākya-rgya-mts'o fled from the field<sup>1</sup>. Once more we may surmise that the messengers of dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ who reached Lhasa on 15.VII (8th September), and the rites performed on 25.VII (17th September) 1680 during which the presents sent by him were offered, refer to this victory<sup>2</sup>.

dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ advanced and occupied the capital Leh without encountering resistance<sup>3</sup>. The remnants of the Ladakhi army entrenched themselves in or near Ba-ngo, probably on the mountain spur which partially bars the Indus valley to the south-east of the little town, and the Tibetan faced them there. Desultory and inconclusive fighting lasted for three years (1681-1683). In the meantime the king and government resided at gTiñ-mo-sgañ.

Warfare was not limited to Ladakh proper. In autumn 1682 some Lamas of the dKar-śa monastery brought the Mongol troops into Zañs-dkar. The defence of the country was entrusted to king Inṭabhoṭi (Indrabodhi), who apparently had directed the first resistance in Gu-ge and after the final defeat of the Ladakhis had retreated into the mountains south of Ladakh. He encamped at T'ar-la. In order to reinforce his small army he called in Mon troops from Ņuñ-ti (Kulu), who threw themselves between the opposite forces and started looting the country on their own account, taking prisoner monks and laymen and seizing Indrabodhi's herds of goats and yaks. Eventually the king of Zañs-dkar and the Lamas of dKar-śa drew together and took the offensive against the Mon, who withdrew. As to the Mongols, they do not seem to have been very active in this quarter<sup>4</sup>. We know,

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<sup>1</sup> Petech 1947, 180-181, and the sources there quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *DLS*, Ga, 199a, 203a.

<sup>3</sup> We may suppose that the event was celebrated with the gifts he sent to Lhasa, where they were received on 20.IV (6th June) 1681.

<sup>4</sup> *NBTR*, 36a-37b. Information about Indrabodhi is scarce. In 1655 he was still ruling in Gu-ge; *YD2*, 103a. The events of 1682 are his last mention and he may have died soon after.

however, that they attacked P'ug-dal monastery, without being able to take it <sup>1</sup>.

The stalemate at Ba-sgo was eventually broken by the Ladakhi king, who, despairing of repelling the invaders by his own unaided forces, asked for and obtained the intervention of Ibrahim Khan, the Moghul governor of Kashmir (1678-1685). A small army under Fidai Khan crossed the Zoji-la, entered Purig <sup>2</sup>, where it was reinforced by troops from Baltistan and by the Lower Ladakhi levies. It met the Tibeto-Mongols on the Bya-rgyal plain between Ba-sgo and sÑe-mo; the Tibetans were defeated and fled as far as bKra-sis-sgañ, beyond the present border. As to the Mongol unit in Zañs-dkar, it made a last raid in the country <sup>3</sup>, then apparently withdrew.

To the months of the Moghul intervention, which terminated for the king this anxious period of half-exile, belong two documents concerning rewards to men who had distinguished themselves. The first, dated 13.IV (= 7th June), 1683, was issued at gTiñ-mo-sgañ to one dKon-c'og-ts'e-riñ on the request of Śākya-rgya-mts'o <sup>4</sup>; it is in a fragmentary condition, and because of this the name of the king is missing and the contents are not quite clear. The other was also issued from gTiñ-mo-sgañ on 18.V (= 11th July), 1683, by king bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal (?), on the request of *bka'-blon* Śākya-rgya-mts'o, to rGyal-mts'an-don-grub of Leh in favour of four very poor people (*du-bag*) who had rendered service when Śañ-rtse was surrounded by the Mongol army <sup>5</sup>.

The retreat of the Mongolo-Tibetan army ended the campaign as far as the Moghuls were concerned, and Fidai Khan presented his bill for the help tendered. Conditions were rather heavy. The tribute, theoretically due since 1664 but apparently never paid, was exactly settled in kind and quantity; it had to be sent to Kashmir every three years and consisted of 18 piebald horses, 18 pods of musk and 18 white yak-tails. In exchange, the king was to receive yearly 500 (or 300)

<sup>1</sup> Schuh, 53.

<sup>2</sup> NBTR, 38b.

<sup>3</sup> NBTR, 40b.

<sup>4</sup> Schuh, LXXX.

<sup>5</sup> Gergan, Doc. 3 K'a. We may as well mention here a later document (3 Ka), issued from Ba-sgo in the 7th month of 1690 by bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, exempting the Leh *do-ga-c'e* Ts'e-riñ-lhun-grub from taxation as a reward for satisfactory service.

bags of rice, being the revenue accruing from the *jāgīr* of Naushahr <sup>1</sup>, apparently granted to him at the time of his submission in 1665. bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal himself had to accept Islam, which he did under the name of 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khan. He promised to strike coins in the name of the emperor <sup>2</sup>, to keep in good repair the mosque at Leh and to send his younger son 'Jigs-'bral-rnam-rgyal as a hostage to Kashmir. Most important was the concession to Kashmir of the monopoly of the wool export and transit trade, which was essential for the shawl industry, the main produce of Kashmir along with saffron. The territorial status underwent only a minor change, the village of Nabsat (? spelling doubtful and locality unknown; perhaps in Dras) being ceded to Kashmir. The treaty was concluded in the twenty-sixth year of Aurangzeb, which began in Ramazān 1094 A.H., i.e. in August 1683 <sup>3</sup>. The exact date cannot be ascertained, but was almost certainly in the autumn of 1683 <sup>4</sup>. All the conditions stipulated lapsed in the run of time, but the governors of Kashmir (first Moghul, then Afghan, then Sikh) clung steadfastly and successfully to the monopoly of the wool trade; this was still the position when Mir Izzet-Ullah and Moorcroft visited Ladakh in 1812 and 1820-22 <sup>5</sup>.

As a secondary consequence of the treaty Upper Lahul, which in 1682 had been occupied by Raja Bidhi Singh of Kulu (1672-1688), remained in his hands <sup>6</sup>. The Purig and Baltistan tracts acquired in 1673 and 1674 were restored to their former independence.

According to Cunningham, who is our sole authority on this point, after the departure of the Moghuls dGa`-ldan-ts'e-dbañ launched another offensive, in the course of which he destroyed the fort of Leh <sup>7</sup>. Something is true about this, because we are told that "Bośogtu Khan

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<sup>1</sup> *LDGR*, 43.6-10; new translation by Ahmad 1968, 355-356.

<sup>2</sup> The Ladakhi coins were mostly (not all) struck in Kashmir; but actually none earlier than 1771 is known. See Panish, 185-188; but the historical setting of this paper is almost completely wrong.

<sup>3</sup> *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, 147a; *Maāsir-i-Ālamgīri*, 236.

<sup>4</sup> On the Moghul treaty see Petech 1947, 192-193. During his campaign Fiday Khan, in the name of the emperor, granted a document to the monks of Lamayuru, prohibiting to molest them in their religious observances and to encroach upon their lands; Moorcroft, II, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Izzet-Ullah*, 288; Moorcroft, I, 347.

<sup>6</sup> *Hutchison-Vogel*, II, 462.

<sup>7</sup> *Cunningham*, 328.

(i.e. the Dsungar ruler Galdan) having given auxiliary troops to reinforce the army of dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ, the king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal and his son, being unable to withstand the coming up [of these troops to] Ladakh, submitted together with mÑa'-ris to our allegiance and did whatever they were required to do" <sup>1</sup>.

And indeed, it was clear that further hostilities were useless. After the king's submission to the Moghuls, the Tibetan regent Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, who ruled the country after the death of the 5th Dalai-Lama, was seriously concerned with the real danger for the Buddhist religion represented by the king's conversion to Islam. In the autumn of 1683 he discussed the matter with the 6th 'Brug-c'en Mi-p'am-dbañ-po (1641-1717), who had come to Lhasa. Since he, as the head of the 'Brug-pa sect, presumably wielded great influence on the Ladakhi royal house, the regent asked him to travel to Ladakh, even promising him a fair reward from the booty made in Leh by dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ. The 'Brug-c'en accepted the proposal <sup>2</sup>.

The exact date of his journey is not clearly given, but apparently he started in the winter of 1683-84. At dByi-goñ sGar-sa (Gargunsa?) he met dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ, who was encamped there with his army, and who agreed that the 'Brug-c'en should negotiate a treaty of peace implying the re-conversion of the kings of Ladakh to Buddhism. The He-mis *sprul-sku* Nag-dbañ mTs'o-skyes-rdo-rje too visited the incarnate and informed him of the situation. Then the 'Brug-c'en travelled to gTiñ-'bur-sgañ (Tingmosgang) and pleaded with the two kings the case of Buddhism in general and of the 'Brug-pa and dGe-lugs-pa sects in particular; he aptly reminded them of the self-sacrifice of the Gu-ge ruler Bla-ma Ye-śes-'od, who in the 11th century had fallen in the hands of the Qarluq and had renounced his freedom and life, ordering his nephews to employ in the furtherance of the true religion the gold collected for his ransom. He entreated them to abandon Islam, as that tenet would cause the ruin of them and their subjects. He met with full success, and the kings and ministers declared their return to Buddhism (although we know that the fiction of Islam was upheld in front of the Kashmir authorities). Thereupon the 'Brug-

<sup>1</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 73b-74a; transl. by Ahmad 1968, 346-347. Although this piece of information is given under the date of 20th November, 1684, it really refers to events of the year before.

<sup>2</sup> *BC6*, 109b-110b.

c'en returned to Central Tibet, probably in the spring or summer of 1684<sup>1</sup>.

The mission of the 6th 'Brug-c'en possibly saved the religion and culture of Ladakh from a serious danger; accordingly, his name is recorded with respect and gratitude in the inscriptions. The He-mis incarnate too shared to a certain extent in his glory<sup>2</sup>. But mTs'o-skyes-rdo-rje remained a pale figure, or at least he always kept himself outside the political sphere; and it is clear from the following events that the dynasty leaned again toward the dGe-lugs-pa sect, at least for a time.

The biography of the 6th 'Brug-c'en wants us to believe that he confined himself strictly to the religious aspects of his mission. But other texts give us full particulars on the treaty he concluded on behalf of the Lhasa government. Its stipulations may be summarized as follows. After an introduction which recalled the territorial subdivision made by sKyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon in the 10th century, it was formally declared that Tibet was a Buddhist country and Kashmir a non-Buddhist country, the two religions being incompatible with each other; the quarrel between Ladakh and Tibet should be considered things of the past and the king, in order to guard the frontier between non-Buddhist and Buddhist countries, promises not to call in again foreign armies. As for trade, the goat-wool of mNa'-ris-skor-gsum must not be sold to any other country but Kashmir, the price being fixed as two *diul-dmar-zog* ("red silver goods") or one *rin-diul* (price-silver; a rupee) for eighty *ñags* (one *ñags* = 4 1/4 oz.) of long-haired wool. The court merchants (of Ladakh) were not to be admitted to Ru-t'og. For the purposes of the wool trade, four Kashmiri merchants should reside at dPe-t'ub and trade with Kashmir. No merchant from Kashmir to be allowed to enter Byañ-t'añ (i.e. Western Tibet) except in transit for Kashmir. Kashmiri residents of Ladakh travelling to Byañ-t'añ not to be allowed to bring themselves their wool to Kashmir. Ac-

<sup>1</sup> BC6, 114b-117b.

<sup>2</sup> Homage to the 'Brug-c'en is paid in F.108. Both he and Nag-dbañ mTs'o-skyes-rdo-rje are praised in an unpublished inscription on a great *mani*-wall before Chimri and in another on two stones on a *mani*-wall in rGya. The latter is described by Francke 1914, 63-64, as two inscriptions on two different walls. But a photograph kindly lent to me by Professor Tucci shows it to be one text on two stones, placed one above the other in the same wall.

ording to the regulations laid down by the 'Brug-c'en concerning the expenses for the sacred lamps and for the Lhasa *smon-lam*, the enclave of Men-ser in the Manasarovar region was reserved to the Ladakhi king for that purpose (the enclave belonged to Ladakh and Kashmir down to the fifties of the present century). With this exception, the frontier was fixed at the Lha-ri stream near bDe-mc'og. The annual government trade caravan from Lhasa (popularly called *c'a-pa*) should consist of 200 animal-loads of tea and [another quantity of] rectangular tea-bricks; it was to cross the frontier at bDe-mc'og only. The king was to send offerings to Tibet for the *smon-lam* and for the blessing of the Dalai-Lama every third year (this mission was called *lo-p'yag*). Beside an unspecified amount of presents to other Lamas, the triennial mission should bring to the Bla-brañ treasury in Lhasa ten *t'ur-žos* (= *tolas*) of gold, 10 *srañ* (ounces) of perfume, 6 rolls of Hor (Moghul) cloth, one roll of *bab-sta* (?) cloth. It would be given daily rations during its stay in Lhasa. They would be allowed to bring with them 200 loads of goods, 25 riding horses, plus the personnel for the kitchen and camp; horses would be supplied to them as 'u-lag (compulsory labour) transportation. The revenue from the three parts of mŃa'-ris sKor-gsum was reserved to the 'Brug-c'en; but the Lhasa government preferred to keep the country under its own control and granted instead to the 'Brug-c'en the revenue of three estates in Central Tibet. Accordingly, Ru-t'og, Gu-ge etc were annexed to Tibet, ostensibly for the purpose of providing the wherewithal for the sacred lamps and for the *smon-lam* festival in Lhasa <sup>1</sup>.

On 21.IV (23rd May), 1685, the Tibetan regent appointed prefects (*rdzom-sdod*) to the various districts of mŃa'-ris <sup>2</sup>. In 1687 a new monastery was built at sTag-la-mk'ar (Taklakot) and a Tantra school was established at bKra-šis-sgañ. The monastery of mT'o-ldiñ remained the main centre of the dGe-lugs-pa in Western Tibet; it was carefully restored, and its abbot was sent out directly from Lhasa <sup>3</sup>.

The cession of territory included also Spiti, where a *rdzom-sdod*

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 42.13-43.6. I have followed the new translation and interpretation by Ahmad 1968, 352-355. For the grant to the 'Brug-c'en see DL5, Ńa, 295a-b.

<sup>2</sup> DL5, Ca, 104b.

<sup>3</sup> DL5a, Ca, 226a, 231a; also Ńa, 277a-b.

was appointed in 1685 and replaced in 1687<sup>1</sup>. But then the post apparently lapsed, and Spiti soon returned under the loose suzerainty of Ladakh, although Lhasa maintained some influence in the valley.

It was probably at this moment that Upper Kunawar was ceded to the Raja of Bashahr, who had been an ally of the Tibetans in the war. The disruption of the kingdom was thus complete.

As said above, the treaty was concluded in the spring of 1684. Diplomatical relation were renewed at once, and on 13.X (18th November), 1684, No-no ṅag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal presented in Lhasa a petition from the Ladakhi king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal<sup>2</sup>.

As to dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ, the victorious general returned slowly to Central Tibet. On 10.VI (21st July), 1684, he announced officially to the Paṅ-c'en the annexation of mṅa'-ris<sup>3</sup>, and on 11.XI (17th December) he was back in Lhasa, where he was received with great rejoicings by the regent and the Qośot Khan<sup>4</sup>. Then he left, perhaps for Dsungaria. Messengers sent by him were received at Lhasa at the end of 1685<sup>5</sup>. On 29.XII (11th February, 1687) and in the following 2nd month funeral rites were performed for him in the Tibetan capital<sup>6</sup>.

The two treaties crushed completely Ladakhi power and reduced the kingdom, deprived of more than half his territory, to a third-rank state; it never recovered from the blow. The cause of its downfall cannot have been the superior military power of dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ; the force under his command was by no means overwhelming. The real causes must lie in the economic sphere. Ladakh's economy was apparently severely strained by the building activities and the enormous donations to local and Tibetan monasteries made by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and his successor; the long trade prohibition against Kashmir, which lasted from 1639 to 1665, must have completed the financial ruin of the country. Ladakh was too weak to resist either of the two neigh-

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<sup>1</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 104b, 218b.

<sup>2</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 73b-75a, translated in Ahmad 1968, 346-347. ṅag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, more exactly ṅag-dbañ-p'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal, was a son (*bu*; misread as *k'u* by Z. Ahmad) of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. We shall return to him presently.

<sup>3</sup> *PC2*, 89a.

<sup>4</sup> *MBTJ*, 22b-25a; *DL5a*, Ca, 78b, translated by Ahmad 1968, 347.

<sup>5</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 141b.

<sup>6</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 199b, 209b.



bouring powers and was utterly crushed in the clash between the two. Its role as a Himalayan power of some importance was finished once and for all. Later history offers merely a local interest.

Apart from the war, the only other item of information about bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal is his protection to and endowment of the sTag-sna monastery <sup>1</sup>.

The name of bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal's wife is unknown. He had four or five sons, but the various manuscripts of the Chronicle disagree widely about their names. Only the first (Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal) and the second (Nag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal) are beyond dispute. The third is called dBañ-p'yug-rnam-rgyal in Mss. *B*, *C*, *L*, *Sonam*, but is accidentally omitted by Gergan, 442, and is called Dechok or bDe-skyoñ by Cunningham, 330. Here *L* inserts one Don-grub-rnam-rgyal, called by Cunningham Chholtan-grub or Chho-dval-ton-grub, unknown to all other sources. The last one seems certain: his name is dGa'-ldan-rnam-rgyal and according to Gergan he was born after the Mongol war; only Cunningham puts in his place one Chho-rtan. Cunningham seems to have mistakenly inserted here some names belonging to the last kings of the dynasty. If we disregard him completely and omit the Don-grub-rnam-rgyal of Ms. *L*, the remaining four names may be accepted as historical.

bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal died in or before 1691, because on 28.VI (21st August) of that year No-no Lhun-grub came to Lhasa bringing gold, silver, fabrics etc. for the funeral rites of the La-dvags *k'ri-pa* (not king!) bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal. Immediately after, on 3.VII (26th August) he arrived at bKra-sis-lhun-po on the same errand <sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Gergan, 442.

<sup>2</sup> *DL5a*, C'a, 25a; *PC2*, 121a.

## CHAPTER VII

### LADAKH IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal began ruling in 1691 and became titular king about 1694/5.

An uncommonly large number of grants were issued by this king. To facilitate reference, it is worthwhile to give their list. If not differently stated, all of them were issued from Leh.

- 1 Document issued on 17.III (7th May), 1697, at Ba-sgo to the Tog-pa *bka'-blon* bSod-nams-lhun-grub, at the request of Śākya-rgya-mts'o. The grandfather and father of the king had granted to bSod-nams-lhun-grub the estates belonging to C'os-ñid[-rdo-rje], to which he added the estates descended to him from his own grandfather and father; he held them under good management (Gergan, Doc. 4/11).
- 2 Grant of houses and lands to *nañ-so* Ñag-dbañ-bkra-śis, issued in the 6th month of 1698 at the request of Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs and P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal (Gergan, Doc. 4/12).
- 3 Document issued on 10.VI (5th August), 1699. No particulars given (Gergan, Doc. 4/5).
- 4 Document issued on 1.VI (15th July), 1703, to Señ-ge of sÑe-mo, at the request of bSod-nams-lhun-grub, granting tax-exemption as a reward for his services (Gergan, Doc. 4/10).
- 5 Document issued on 25.VIII (27th September), 1704, at the request of bSod-nams-lhun-grub, concerning a dispute between 'Goñ-ba-rgya-mts'o, whose family were hereditary *drag-śos* of K'a-la-rtse, and Don-grub-bsod-nams, the head of the Goñ-ma-pa family (he appears also in a K'a-la-rtse inscription, F.111); published in Francke 1906b, 240-241.
- 6 *bCa'-yig* (rules of behaviour for the monks) addressed to the Ma-spro monastery and dated in the full moon of the 1st month (4th March), 1711 (Schuh, XLVII).
- 7 Document issued on 8.II (27th March), 1711. Particulars not stated (Gergan, Doc. 4/9).
- 8 Document issued in the 6th month of 1712, at the request of bSod-nams-lhun-grub, to rGya-mts'o of Zañs-dkar<sup>1</sup>; rewards for service rendered at the conquest of the castle of Skardo (Gergan, Doc. 4/8).
- 9 Document issued from Ba-sgo on 25.VI (2nd August), 1717, at the request of bSod-nams-lhun-grub, Ts'e-riñ-rab-brtan and rGya-mts'o Malik, to dKon-c'og-ts'e-

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<sup>1</sup> In 1707 rGya-mts'o, then in Ladakh, had quarrelled with his father; he went to Zañs-dkar and settled there. *NBTR*, 82a.

riñ of sKyr-bu-can. During the campaign against Śi-gar and Skardo he fought against the people of Śi-gar near Ri-sna of Sur-mo-'brog; when the Ladakhis were defeated, he did not give up, but fought on although he was left almost alone (Gergan, Doc. 4/6).

- 10 Document issued in 1718 by kings Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal and bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal from Ba-sgo, at the request of Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs and P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal, to bSod-nams-lhun-grub; recognition of his share in the Balti campaigns of 1715 and 1716 (Gergan, Doc. 4/4).
- 11 Document issued in 1722 to bSam-'byor of Tog rewarding him for his work as *gron-dpon* [of Tog] and as *gñer-pa* of bSod-nams-lhun-grub (Gergan, Doc. 4/7).
- 12 Document issued from K'rig-se on 9.VIII (15th September), 1725, to the local monastery granting supplies of food and fodder (Gergan, Doc. 4/3).
- 13 Document issued on 3.VIII. Wood-Hare (19th September, 1735), at the request of bSod-nams-lhun-grub and others, to Śākya-rgya-mts'o(?), giving an account of his services (Gergan, Doc. 4/1)<sup>1</sup>. The central portion was published in Francke 1926, 242-244.
- 14 Document issued on 1.II (13th March), 1736, at the request of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje, 'Brug-bstan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal king of Zañs-dkar and Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs, to rGya-mts'o of Sa-spo-la. When in 1733 the chief (*jo*) of Skardo Muhammad Zafar Khan invaded K'a-pu-lu, rGya-mts'o was appointed *go-ba* and headed the Ladakhi troops. He stormed the castles of Sa-gliñ and of Ts'e-no. Again they besieged the castle of K'a-pu-lu, and the chief Daulat Khan asked [for help]. The king himself marched thither; about 4000 [enemies] were taken, about 200 were wounded and 80 killed, and many horses and weapons were seized. On this occasion rGya-mts'o behaved creditably (Gergan, Doc. 4).
- 15 Document issued on 3.VIII (27th September), 1737, at the request of the prince (*rgyal-sras*) and others, to Śākya-rgya-mts'o, for his services in obtaining the submission of the chiefs of Luñ-gañ (?) of Purig and the chief of K'a-pu-lu (Gergan, Doc. 4/1)<sup>2</sup>.

Some inscriptions of this reign are also preserved (F.66, 67, 69, 70, 112); but as usual they yield little material of historical interest. All of them are undated, with the exception of F.69, composed in 1729 to commemorate some road works between A-ci-na-t'añ and Ha-nu; perhaps they were intended to facilitate military traffic toward the Balti border. In 1933 G. Tucci found a group of inscriptions of this king at mK'ar-rtse (Kaja) in Spiti. A palace of the Ladakhi kings existed

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<sup>1</sup> These details are subject to caution. First of all, the document was granted not to Śākya-rgya-mts'o (who certainly died long before 1735), but to his descendants in the female line, as stated in Francke 1926, 242. Secondly, the date is very late for bSod-nams-lhun-grub acting as *žu-ba-po*, although this is just barely possible. The first part of the date may be wrong (perhaps for Earth-Hare 1699); but we have no sure elements for correcting it.

<sup>2</sup> This document presents the same problems and is open to the same doubts as doc. 13.

there, and Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal caused the Sa-skyapa monastery of mK'ar-rtse to be renovated<sup>1</sup>.

Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal occupies a special place among the kings of Ladakh because of his activity in the field of justice. It seems that he carried out a real re-organization of the judiciary. When delivering judgment personally, he always consulted the state officers. On a lower level, he appointed elders (*rgan-po*) from each district to decide questions. Legal documents (*bka'-śog*) concerning matters of landed property were not issued on a mere request, direct or through intermediaries, but the request was first referred to a tribunal consisting of the three elder officers of the state, and the contending parts were to take oaths on the Three Jewels. The roots of the case were carefully inquired into, so that the judgment could also serve as a precedent for the future. Therefore, his legal documents were better than those of all the other kings. On the whole, this resulted into a sharp decline of crime, such as robbery and theft<sup>2</sup>.

In the cultural field, the king encouraged printing, and printing blocks of some devotional works were carved<sup>3</sup>. As usual, he erected many images, *maṇi*-walls and prayer-wheels.

According to the Chronicle, he was a particularly pious king, who «presented to all the monasteries of Tibet, beginning with Lhasa and bSam-yas, gold water and sacrificial lamps. To all the great Lamas without distinction he made presents, whilst the brotherhoods were invited to tea-generals”<sup>4</sup>. This statement has deeper implications. It means that the religious and partly political supremacy of the Yellow Church, imposed (ironically) by the 'Brug-c'en in 1684, was very real. It was exercised by the Lhasa government, i.e. by the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o in an efficient manner.

It seems that at first he found a tool in No-no Ts'e-riñ-bsam-grub, who on 17th December, 1684, arrived in Lhasa in the train of the victorious general dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ<sup>5</sup>; he left for home on 4.XII (8th January, 1685)<sup>6</sup>. Later, on 12.X (16th November), 1687,

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<sup>1</sup> G. Tucci and E. Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, London-Glasgow 1935, 41n and 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> *LDGR*, 43.25-28 and 44.18-19.

<sup>3</sup> List, with titles very much abridged, in *LDGR*, 44.15-17.

<sup>4</sup> *LDGR*, 44.12-13.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> *DL5*, Ca, 88b-89a; translated in Ahmad 1968, 347-348.

he was granted the title and seal of Uicing Noyon and a substantial allowance, as a reward for services rendered to the government<sup>1</sup>. He is still mentioned in 1694 and his funeral rites were performed in 1699<sup>2</sup>. But at that time he was no longer in the service of the Lhasa government.

After this interlude, the regent preferred to play the card of religion. Already at the end of 1691 the new abbot of K'rig-se was not appointed locally, but was sent out directly from Lhasa<sup>3</sup>. But this was not enough, and the policy of the regent culminated with an attempt to create in Ladakh a supreme religious authority, with general control not only on the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries, but also on those of the other sects. This task was entrusted to a member of the royal family, bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal's much younger brother Ñag-dbañ-p'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal, shortened in *DL5a* as Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, which lends itself easily to confusion. As we have seen, he had arrived in Lhasa on 18th November, 1684, upon the conclusion of the peace treaty<sup>4</sup>; it was dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ himself who had requested his presence in Central Tibet, partly as a hostage<sup>5</sup>. Soon after, on 16.XII (21st January, 1685), he together with forty-seven attendants had his head shaved and became a novice, being given the religious name Blo-bzañ-ñag-dbañ-p'un-ts'ogs, by which he was known henceforward. He was entrusted to the P'a-boñ-k'a *žal-sña-nas* for tuition and was given an allowance (*dge-bed*) for his upkeep<sup>6</sup>. Some months later this arrangement was modified and placed on a permanent basis. On 29.IX (27th October), 1685, king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal solemnly reaffirmed his adherence to the dGe-lugs-pa sect (*riñ-lugs*) and begged the Lhasa government to grant an estate for the support of his second son (*bu-'briñ-pa*) Blo-bzañ-ñag-dbañ-p'un-ts'ogs in his studies at the monastic university of 'Bras-spuñs. The allowance was granted, being clearly defined in its several items<sup>7</sup>. The prince made a rapid career in the dGe-lugs-

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<sup>1</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 227b.

<sup>2</sup> *DL5a*, C'a, 178b, 179b; *DL6*, 374b.

<sup>3</sup> *DL5a*, C'a, 35a.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Gergan, 434; Cunningham, 330.

<sup>6</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 90a.

<sup>7</sup> *DL5a*, Ca, 124a-125a; translated by Ahmad 1968, 367-360. Also *DL5a*, Ña, 294b-295a.

pa hierarchy. After about nine years of study in the Blo-gsal-gliñ college at 'Bras-spuñs, he obtained the high degree of *dge-bśes rab-'byams-pa*. On 28.IV (1st June), 1694, he was appointed abbot of the dPal-'k'or-c'os-sde monastery at Gyantse<sup>1</sup>. This was apparently meant to confer him greater prestige, because another task was in store for him.

On 8.VII (28th August), 1694, the regent, on behalf of the Dalai-Lama, issued to him a most interesting document. It stated that, while Ladakh followed earlier the 'Brug-pa sect, now, after the conquest by dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbañ its de-facto ruler (*srid-skyoñ*) Ńi-ma-rnam-rgyal showed himself obsequent to the Yellow Church. Therefore, the dGe-lug-pa convents of K'ri-rtse, dPe-t'ub, Klu-skyil (Li-kyir), bDe-skyid, and the monasteries of the other sects, such as lCe-'dre, Añ-le (Waṃ-le), Par-brtan ('Bar-gdan in Zañs-dkar), Ma-gro (Ma-spro), Gri-gu (?), sGañ-sñon, Brag-ltag, K'yuañ-ru (?), sTag-sna ecc., all of them were under the authority of 'Bras-spuñs, chief convent of the dGe-lugs-pa school. And Blo-bzañ-ñag-dbañ-p'un-ts'ogs was appointed its representative in Ladakh<sup>2</sup>. As such, the prince became the abbot of K'rig-se and head of the seven Ser-po-dgon (dGe-lugs-pa monasteries)<sup>3</sup>, to which Lhasa issued a set of rules of behaviour (*bca'-yig*)<sup>4</sup>. The monasteries of the other sects were expected to be subject to this new authority, although this did not actually happen. Also, the college for higher religious studies, which he proposed to set up in Ladakh, never materialized. In the long run, what remained of this ambitious scheme was the succession by reincarnation of the K'rig-se abbots and their supremacy over the other dGe-lug-pa convents in Ladakh; and even that ceased, when at an unknown date a royal prince became abbot of dPe-t'ub and made that monastery independent of K'rig-se<sup>5</sup>.

On the occasion of his appointment, Blo-bzañ-ñag-dbañ-p'un-

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<sup>1</sup> *DL5a*, C'a, 179b.

<sup>2</sup> The document, summarized in *DL5a*, C'a, 184b-185a, was published by Gergan, 435-438.

<sup>3</sup> They were: Lha-k'añ dBu-ma on the rTse-mo hill at Leh, K'rig-se, dPe-t'ub, Klu-'k'yil, bDe-skyid, bDe-skyid of Nubra, dKar-śa in Zañs-dkar. To these bSam-dkar near Leh was added later.

<sup>4</sup> *DL5a*, C'a, 198b.

<sup>5</sup> Gergan, 438-439.

ts'ogs paid his respects to the Paṅ-c'en<sup>1</sup>; then he left for Ladakh. His stay there, however, was not long, because in 1697 he was again in Lhasa<sup>2</sup>. Whether this indicated a failure of his mission, is more than our sources allow us to infer. I shall only point out that he was sent out soon after the news of the death of his father reached Lhasa. Perhaps he found his nephew Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal already too strongly established in his position to allow him to play the intended political role. In any case, after 1697 Blo-bzañ-ñag-dbañ-p'un-ts'ogs slowly fades out of the picture.

He was replaced by another royal prince, this time a younger brother of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, who on 5.XI (18th December), 1697, had an audience with the Dalai-Lama<sup>3</sup>. This is almost certainly the Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal of the genealogies. He too became a monk, because we are told that in 1698 the *c'os-mdzad* Ñag-dbañ-blo-bzañ-bstan-'dzin, younger brother of mÑa'-ris Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, came to bKra-śis-lhun-po and Lhasa<sup>4</sup>. In 1699 the two Ladakhi princes were still (or again?) in Lhasa<sup>5</sup>. One of them (probably Ñag-dbañ-blo-bzañ-bstan-'dzin), called simply the prince (*rgyal-sras*) without any ecclesiastical title and usually mentioned together with a prince of Zañs-dkar, stayed on in Lhasa till at least 1702<sup>6</sup>.

Direct contacts between the two governments were not lacking during this period. On 1.VII (10th August), 1695, envoys of the Ladakhi king arrived in Lhasa<sup>7</sup>. One such envoy was probably No-no Blo-bzañ-don-grub, who in the 7th month of 1697 came to bKra-śis-lhun-po<sup>8</sup>. He is apparently the same as the No-no Blo-bzañ who in 1698 accompanied Ñag-dbañ-blo-bzañ-bstan-'dzin and per-

<sup>1</sup> PC2, 142b.

<sup>2</sup> DL6, 195b.

<sup>3</sup> DL6, 215a.

<sup>4</sup> DL6, 308b, 310a, 318a; PC2, 190b-191a.

<sup>5</sup> DL6, 329a.

<sup>6</sup> DL6, 342a, 375a, 382a, 389b, 395a, 458b, 501b, 504b This prince of Zañs-dkar was Blo-bzañ-bkra-śis-rgya-mts'o, son of king bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal and thus a grandson of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. In the 10th month of 1686 the Lhasa government made a grant to support his studies at 'Bras-spuñs; DL5a, Ca, 196b, and Ña, 295b. He is mentioned again in 1695 (DL5a, C'a, 264b) and then often during the following few years.

<sup>7</sup> DL5a, C'a, 275a.

<sup>8</sup> PC2, 159b.

haps also the mÑa'-ris No-no Bla-ma who was initiated in 1699<sup>1</sup>.

So close was the subordination of Ladakh to Lhasa at the end of the 17th century, that the Tibetan texts speak even of tax-bearers (*k'ral-'bul-ba*) sent by the king to Lhasa<sup>2</sup>, as if Ladakh were under the sovereignty of the Dalai-Lama.

But after this period of lively intercourse, the dGe-lugs-pa texts leave us in the lurch and we know nothing of Ladakh-Lhasa relations for several years. This may be due to simple lack of information, but there is also the possibility that the religious-political pressure from the Tibetan government vanished after the tragic end of the regent Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o and during the rule of Lajang Khan (1705-1717). The more so, as relations with the 'Brug-pa revived for a time. A *blon-po* of the king of Ladakh, by name bKra-śis-'jig-rten, came in 1702 to gSañ-sñags-c'os-gliñ and entered monkhood there<sup>3</sup>. In 1710 the king sent envoys with compliments to the 'Brug-c'en<sup>4</sup>.

Even closer were in this period the relations with the 'Brug-pa of Bhutan. A small beginning had been made already in 1683, when the chamberlain (*gsol-dpon*) Ga-ga [of Ladakh] sent one mÑa'-ris La-dvags-pa Naḡ-dbañ-dpal-'byor to the service of the temporal ruler (*rgyal-ts'ab*) of Bhutan, who appointed him governor (*spyi-bla*) of sPa-gro; he is still mentioned as such in 1687<sup>5</sup>.

But the climax of these exchanges was represented by the visit of Se'u-la Byams-mgon Naḡ-dbañ-rgyal-mts'an (1647-1732), a great Bhutanese scholar. Early in the 18th century he arrived in Ladakh, where he became the court chaplain (*dbu-bla*) of Ńi-ma-rnam-rgyal. Then he returned to Bhutan, where he was first governor (*dpon-slob* or *spyi-bla*) of sPa-gro and then chaplain of the Bhutanese rulers<sup>6</sup>.

While in Ladakh, he had become the teacher of a prince bsTan-'dzin-nor-bu, who is variously described as the son of the king of Ladakh

<sup>1</sup> DL6, 390b.

<sup>2</sup> DL6, 234b, 388b, 438b.

<sup>3</sup> BC6, 149a.

<sup>4</sup> BC6, 156b.

<sup>5</sup> TMS, 163a, 191b. On the first *rgyal-ts'ab* Naḡ-dbañ-bstan-'dzin-rab-rgyas (1638-1696) see L. Petech, "The rulers of Bhutan c.1650-1750", in OE, 19 (1972), 205-206.

<sup>6</sup> LCB, 68a, 72b-74a; TMS, 368b.



and a descendant (*dbon-brgyud*; grand-nephew?) of *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*; he was born in the Snake year 1689. *Ñag-dbañ-rgyal-mts'an* administered to him the initiation and then brought him (or summoned him later) to Bhutan, where he was for a short time a pupil of the second *rgyal-ts'ab* *Ñag-dbañ-kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an* (1689-1713). He became first a *gzims-dpon* and then was appointed *'dzin-bdag* of the capital *bKra-śis-c'os-rdzoñ*. His career culminated with his appointment as the 8th *gnas-brtan* or *rje mk'an-po* (chief authority of the Bhutanese clergy, usually holding office for seven years). He retired in 1743 and died at the age of 58, i.e. in 1746<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately no trace of him is found in the Ladakhi sources.

After the fall of Lajang Khan in 1717 relations with Lhasa were resumed, but now without any element of subordination. A beginning must have been made in 1717, because in the following year *Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal* issued a document thanking *Bañ-k'a-pa P'un-ts'ogs*, who has given him 3000 pieces of silver, to offer tea-generals and funeral gifts to the great monasteries of Central Tibet<sup>2</sup>. The Dalai-Lama's temporal power was suffering a complete eclipse, and, after the short-lived Dsungar occupation (1717-1720), Tibet was ruled by lay noblemen under Chinese protection (1721-1750). Ladakh had to take into account this changed state of affairs. During (or soon after) the Chinese-Dsungar struggle for Lhasa the Ladakhi king apparently tried to assess the chances of the two contendants. One or two years before 1722 he sent to the Dsungar territory (Sog-yul) a mission headed by *No-no Blo-bzañ-ñi-ma*<sup>3</sup>. Apparently the information gathered there did not impress the king, who preferred to enter into relations with the winning side in order to have security from that quarter. In 1723 an envoy of *Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal* visited Lhasa; he was on his way to Peking, where his arrival is duly registered in the Chinese documents under the date of the 11th August 1724<sup>4</sup>. The Chinese text of the reply of the emperor is missing, but its Tibetan translation is still extant. It

<sup>1</sup> *LCB*, 63a, 83b.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 448. This *No-no P'un-ts'ogs* may be either *Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs* or *P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal*. On these two ministers see later, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> The only information we have about this mission is supplied by a document issued in 1722 by the co-regent *bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal* to *bKra-śis-rab-brtan* of *Tog*, who had accompanied the envoy; Gergan, Doc. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *DL7*, 97b; *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, 21.19b; Petech 1948, 222.

is dated on an auspicious day of the first month of the 4th year of Yung-chêng (February 1726); it merely gives a short account of the Chinese conquest of Tibet and conveys the imperial thanks to the king<sup>1</sup>.

To complete the information connected with Central Tibet, we may mention one La-dvags *rgyal-po* (or *dpon*) bSod-nams-rnam-rgyal, whom the 8th *Žva-dmar-pa* and the Si-tu Paṅ-c'en met in 1724, while travelling in the Manasarovar region<sup>2</sup>; this is a puzzling item of information, because no king or prince of that name existed in Ladakh at that time, as far as we know.

The old dynastic ties with the principality of Glo-bo were particularly close. In 1723 the minister Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje saved the principality from absorption by the king of Jumla. The passage of Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje's document, to which we owe our knowledge of the facts<sup>3</sup>, was partly misunderstood by Francke, and it is worthwhile to translate it anew.

“ In 1723, when the daughter (*gces-ma*) Nor-'dzin dbaṅ-mo went away [to marry] the chief (*sde-pa*) of Glo-bo, Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje was sent to accompany her. The father chief of Glo-bo had a quarrel with Jumla because of an unfair action. The chieftain himself and the *a-pi* Nor-'dzin dbaṅ-mo with a following of forty *žal-ño*, *dpon* and *blon* were shut into the prison of the Mon<sup>4</sup> [chief] at sKag (Kagbeni in Nepal). At this time, when in Glo-bo [the people] suffered fear and danger from the Mon, Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje went to Gro-śod and cleverly contrived to obtain the assistance of lord Daicing Batur<sup>5</sup>; and together with an escort of 100 Mongol horsemen and about 70 Ladakhis he exhorted the troops of Glo-bo and led his force against the castle of sKag. From the castle the fiercest among the fighting Mons came out, and when they pressed near a battle ensued. One of the *rgyal-ba* of the Mons was shot and killed by Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje; they were driven back and many Mons died of their wounds. After this, siege-lines (*'dzin-ra*) were

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<sup>1</sup> Published in Gergan, 455-457.

<sup>2</sup> *ŽD8*, 200b; Si-tu, 66b.

<sup>3</sup> Francke 1926, 230-11-24. The text in Gergan, 471-473, is different.

<sup>4</sup> In the Dol-po and Mustang regions the name Mon (usually a general term for the peoples on the southern slopes of the Himalaya) indicates Jumla. D. Snellgrove. *Four Lamas of Dol-po*, I, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Daicing Batur was the title of K'aṅ-c'en-nas, head of the Tibetan government from 1721 to his murder in 1727.

thrown up and a swift messenger was sent to the king of Gru<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon one thousand Mons from Gru arrived and the castle of sKag was surrounded in a tight manner. After the fighting had lasted for eighteen days and nights, the king of the Mons in his turn came down (i.e. surrendered). He was granted pardon, and the father ruler and the *a-pi* Nor-'dzin with their retinue of forty *žal-no*, *dpon* and *blon* were handed over to us. A meeting with the Mons was arranged and an oath was written, to the effect that both sides were to live according to the rules [laid down] at the time of the son of Bhi-k'ra and of bSam-grub-dpal-'bar (?). The stone image of the mGon-po of sKag-rdzoñ, made of black stone, and the king's own rosaries of iron were both put forward as witnesses; the agreement having been concluded, they came to pay homage».

A few words may be added in the way of explanation. When early in 1724 the 8th Žva-dmar-pa and the Si-tu Pañ-c'en passed through Glo-bo en route to the Kailāsa, they were received by the chief or king bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal and his wife, as well as by the chief's father and mother<sup>2</sup>. Apparently the old chief, i.e. the man who had been made prisoner by the Mon, had abdicated in favour of his son. His wife was the elder (*a-pi*, literally grandmother) Nor-'dzin-dbañ-mo; at that time there were two Ladakhi princesses of the same name, who had married in the Glo-bo family. Upon their return from the Kailāsa, the Žva-dmar-pa and the Si-tu met again chief bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal as well as the *rje-btsun-ma* (his widowed mother?) and the La-dvags-pa (?)<sup>3</sup>.

King Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal, following the example of his father and grandfather, maintained good relations with the Moghul emperors, to whom he sent envoys. The *khariṭa* received from Aurangzeb on the occasion of his formal accession has been noticed above<sup>4</sup>. Of course the security of the Kashmir trade route was of paramount importance for Ladakh; only twice it was menaced during this reign. In 1715 Hor-jo, chief of Pa-skyum, rebelled; the Ladakhi kings had to raise

<sup>1</sup> I cannot localize Gru, apparently a minor Himalayan chiefship. A Gru *dpon* Grags-pa-bstan-'dzin is mentioned in ŽD8, 202a.

<sup>2</sup> ŽD8, 200a; Si-tu, 65a.

<sup>3</sup> ŽD8, 201a; Si-tu, 66b-67a. In 1726 bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal was received in audience by the Dalai-Lama: DL7, 115a.

<sup>4</sup> See back, p. 69.

an army and entrusted its command to minister bSod-nams-lhun-grub, who besieged Pa-skyum and compelled it to surrender. Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje, then a junior officer, distinguished himself during a nightly sortie of the besieged<sup>1</sup>. In 1720 the chiefs of bSod and of dKar-rtse combined and attacked their neighbours. General Rab-brtan was sent against dKar-rtse and Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje against bSod. The latter won a battle, surrounded the castle and after seven days obtained the submission of its chief Bahram Beg<sup>2</sup>.

Apart from these small affairs, traffic on the Kashmir route went on unimpeded. This is witnessed by the Jesuits Manoel Freyre and Ippolito Desideri, who in 1715 entered Ladakh from the Zoji-la and were well received at the court of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal; Desideri gives a graphic account of the country, of the court and of the Lamas<sup>3</sup>.

Relations with the Balti chiefships were more of a problem, although a dynastic tie with the chiefs of K'a-pu-lu<sup>4</sup> came into being when Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal married a lady from that family, the Zi-zi Khatun. This relationship gave him a base of a sort on that turbulent frontier; but it also exposed K'a-pu-lu to the enmity of the other chiefs and compelled Ladakh to shoulder a heavy military responsibility. At some time before 1715 some military transactions, about which the text is reticent, involved Baba ("grandfather") Hatim Khan of K'a-pu-lu<sup>5</sup>. Trouble broke out again in 1716, when Hatim Khan's son-in-law Daulat Khan revolted. Forces from Śi-sgar and Skardo came to his support and seized the castle of Sa-gliñ. Hatim Khan asked for help,

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<sup>1</sup> Document n.10 (see above p. 82), published by Gergan, 444-447 (the passage in question at p. 445); Document of Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 228.6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Document of Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 229.8-14. In 1752 Bahram Beg was among the signatories of the Wam-le Award; Gergan 467.

<sup>3</sup> Desideri's account of Ladakh is printed in *MITN*, V, 22-32; English translation by F. De Filippi, *An account of Tibet*, London 1937, 79-82, and by H. Hosten "Letters and other papers of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., a missionary in Tibet", in *JASB*, Letters, 4 (1938), 625-638. The account of Freyre is found in *MITN*, VII, 194-199; English translation by De Filippi, *op. cit.*, 353-355.

<sup>4</sup> See the list of the K'a-pu-lu chiefs in Cunningham, 30; but the dates are unreliable.

<sup>5</sup> Document of Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 228.2-5. Although mentioned only once in Cunningham's list, Hatim Khan is a name which occurs repeatedly among the chiefs of K'a-pu-lu. One was installed by the Ladakhis in 1674; see above, p. 67. Another was ruling in c.1715. A third lived at the end of the 19th century; J. E. Duncan, *A summer ride through Western Tibet*, London 1906, 208.

and bSod-nams-lhun-grub was sent out again, with Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje as his second in command. At first the Ladakhis suffered a reverse near Ri-sna of Sur-mo-'brog, notwithstanding the sturdy defence of some officers. Eventually bSod-nams-lhun-grub defeated the Śi-sgar and Skardo forces and attacked Sa-glin with gunfire. Daulat Khan escaped with his life, the rest of his followers surrendered, and the matter was brought to a quick end <sup>1</sup>.

Gradually Ladakhi involvements stretched farther. In 1719 the duke of Skardo applied to Ladakh for help against an attack threatened by the chief of Śi-sgar; a force was sent to Ha-nu and this show of force, coupled with diplomacy, succeeded in restraining the Śi-sgar chief <sup>2</sup>.

The respite was only momentary. In 1722 Azam Khan, the enterprising chief of Śi-sgar, extended his rule to Skardo and to the whole of Baltistan, including Rongdo as far as Gilgit. Hatim Khan, fearing a surprise attack, once more asked for help. In deep winter general Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje set out by the Nubra route. He appeased the dissensions within Hatim Khan's family; then, passing by sKye-ris (Keris), he seized the castle of Ku-res. At this moment the frontier Balti chiefs, who at first had supported him, grew uneasy of such an alliance with the Lamaist infidels. With infinite tact Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje surmounted this serious difficulty; then he renewed operations, surrounded the castle of sKye-ris and compelled its chief Mahmud Khan to submit <sup>3</sup>. A large force from Śi-sgar, Skardo, Rongdo and Gilgit, coming to the rescue, arrived just too late; on the next day it was met in the open field and utterly routed. It was a great victory and the crowning feat in the career of the Ladakhi general. The ill-knit kingdom of Azam Khan fell to pieces. He fled to Rongdo, and the Ladakhis installed Ali Khan as the new chief of Śi-sgar, and Mahmud Zafar Khan as duke of Skardo. Most of the Balti chiefs paid homage to the victor and several Buddhist relics found in Muslim Śi-sgar were

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<sup>1</sup> Documents n.9 and 10 (see above p. 81, and Gergan, 446); Document of Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje, in Francke 1926, 229.1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Document of Ts'ul-k'rim-s-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 229.4-7. For a list of the chiefs of Śi-sgar or Śi-dkar see Cunningham, 33.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of the chiefs of sKye-ris see Cunningham, 31. But Mahmud Khan is not included therein.

brought to Ladakh, together with plentiful booty <sup>1</sup>. Of course Ladakhi paramountcy over Baltistan was well-nigh impossible to maintain, and indeed vanished soon; but at least this success secured peace on the Balti frontier for the rest of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal's reign.

These military events help us to place in proper focus the foremost leaders of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal's reign.

The most evident feature was the increase in the hereditary character of the highest offices of the state. There was first of all the branch of the Sa-bu family that had shifted to dByi-gu, and for which about this time the name Bañ-k'a-pa was coming into use. Its head was the old minister Śākya-rgya-mts'o; he was still in office in 1697, when he acted as promoter (*žu-ba-po*) of document n. 1 (see above, p. 81). But he seems to have retired or died soon after, without leaving male issue.

His succession was taken up by his two nephews Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs and P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal. They appear together as the *žu-ba-po* in a document of 1698, and in another of 1719; also in a colophon belonging to the reign of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal <sup>2</sup>. But by far the more influent of the two was Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs. He was prominent as early as the reign of bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, being mentioned in a colophon together with queen dPal-mdzes <sup>3</sup>. Then, after the disappearance of his brother, we find him in a document of 1731, in one of 1736 and in a colophon of the period of the joint rule of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal and bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal (c.1730) <sup>4</sup>. As we shall see later, he remained in office also during the following reigns, for a total of about fifty years. But it is difficult to gauge even approximately his actual political influence, as we know next to nothing of his activity.

The other outstanding family was that of the chiefs (*jo*) of rGya, the only autonomous feudatory in Ladakh proper. The family entered government service, ascending at once to the highest rank, with bSod-nams-lhun-grub. He first appears as No-no (not yet as *c'os-blon*) in the unpublished rGya inscription of king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal and

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<sup>1</sup> Document of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 229.15-29. Azam Khan and Ali Khan are duly listed in that order by Cunningham; of course his dates must be disregarded.

<sup>2</sup> Documents n. 9 and 10 (see above, p. 82); Gergan, List of Mañi and Books, n.12.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, List of Mañi and Books, n.11.

<sup>4</sup> Gergan, Doc.5/1 (of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal); document n.14 (see above, p. 82).

prince bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal. In 1697 he was *bka'-blon* of Tog, and had received at least some of the estates confiscated by bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal and bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal to the heirs of the murdered C'os-ñid-rdo-rje (Document n. 1)<sup>1</sup>. In 1698 he (No-no bSod-nams) visited the 6th Dalai-Lama<sup>2</sup>. Then he took charge as chief minister. His military activity was not very imposing, being restricted to the command of the campaigns in Purig and in Baltistan in 1715 and 1716. He appears as the *žu-ba-po* of several documents: n. 4 (1703), 5 (1704), 8 (1712), 9 (1717), 11 (1722); he is mentioned also in two inscriptions of this reign (F. 70 and 112). In 1724 he (No-no bSod-nams) met the *Žva-dmar-pa* and the *Si-tu Paṅ-c'en* in Western Tibet<sup>3</sup>. In 1726/7 he went again to Central Tibet to visit both the Dalai-Lama and the *Paṅ-c'en*<sup>4</sup>. His tenure of office seems to have covered the whole of the reign of *Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal*, as we find him mentioned in F.111 and in an unpublished inscription from *ICe-'bre*, both belonging to the joint rule of king *Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal* and prince *bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal*.

The extent of bSod-nams-lhun-grub's power and wealth is revealed by a later document, the *Waṃ-le Award* of 1752, which shortens his name as minister bSod. He was the younger brother of 'Brug-grags, he head of the rGya family, and at first was a monk. Then he left clerical status and became an official (*druñ-'k'or*) of king *Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal*. Later he was appointed prime minister and in the end he was the real master in the land. He exploited his position for increasing the estates of his family and was even suspected of aiming at the throne<sup>5</sup>. There may be a good deal of exaggeration in this, but the fact remains that his figure looms large in the sources of this period.

As soon as possible bSod-nams-lhun-grub associated his son Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje in his work, in order to train him as his successor. His career is fairly well known, thanks to a lengthy document granted to him by king *bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal* of Purig<sup>6</sup>. At the age of sixteen

<sup>1</sup> It is rather odd that this document should be issued at the request of *Śākya-rgya-mts'o*, the son of the victim.

<sup>2</sup> *DL6*, 248a, 262a.

<sup>3</sup> *ŽD8*, 200a, and *Si-tu*, 66a.

<sup>4</sup> *DL7*, 119b; *PC2*, 356a.

<sup>5</sup> Extract from the *Waṃ-le Award* in Francke 1926, 225.4-19.

<sup>6</sup> The main portion was published in Francke 1926, 228-235. Francke wrongly attributed the document to *bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal*. But on p. 230, 1.3 from below,

he already served under his father in the first K'a-pu-lu campaign, and later in the second one. He was in command during the Purig expeditions of 1715 and 1720 and in the Balti campaigns of 1719 and 1722. Then in 1723 he undertook his adventurous mission to Blo-bo, which has been related above. His activity continued during the following reign.

Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal was very keen on having as his queen a woman belonging to a noble family of Central Tibet; and on 7.V (29th June), 1694, the lady bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o of Bhruṃ, the premier family of Dvags-po, came to Lhasa, where she was richly endowed by the government and then set forth for Ladakh, being escorted by two Tibetan and two Ladakhi nobles<sup>1</sup>. This is probably the K'ri rGyal-mo mentioned in documents<sup>2</sup>. But this first wife died after giving birth to a son, bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal. Then the king took as second wife Zi-zi Khatun, grand-daughter of Hatim Khan and niece of Daulat Khan of K'a-pu-lu, who bore him a son, bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, and a daughter, bKra-śis-dbañ-mo<sup>3</sup>.

About 1725 Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal associated his first-born bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal to the throne<sup>4</sup>, and in 1729 he finally abdicated<sup>5</sup>, although maintaining royal status<sup>6</sup> and occasionally issuing documents in the common interest of the two parts of the country<sup>7</sup>.

Later (after 1734) a family quarrel arose on the question of the marriage of princess bKra-śis dbañ-mo with the king of Kashtwar; we shall return to it presently. As a result, the ex-king broke completely completely with bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal and joined his second son bKra-

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the ruler gives to himself the curious title "Brahma of the earth" (*sa yi Ts'ais-pa*), which belongs exclusively to bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, as shown by his charter of 1750 published by Gergan, 471.

<sup>1</sup> DL5a, C'a, 180b-181a.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, Doc.4/13 and 4/14; also List of Mani and Books, n.12. Probably the *lha-lcam* of the inscription F.71.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 44.19-21. Wam-le Award quoted in Francke 1926, 190.

<sup>4</sup> This is the situation in the inscriptions F.68 and 70 and in document n.10 (see above, p. 82).

<sup>5</sup> In the first month of 1729 Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal was still king (F.69). Later in that year bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal bore already the royal title (see later). Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal received as "estate for maintenance" (*gsol-skal*) gSer-k'ri and Tog; Wam-le Award, quoted by Gergan, 444 and 447.

<sup>6</sup> This is what LDGR, 44.26 implies by the expression *c'os-rgyal du soñ*.

<sup>7</sup> Document n.14 of 1736 (see above, p. 82).



śis-rnam-rgyal at Mulbhe. There he died on 11.X (21st November), 1738 <sup>1</sup>.

The name of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal as “ young prince ” (*lha-sras gžon-nu*) appears in two inscriptions (F.67 and 111). He was apparently destined to succeed his father, with whom he was associated about 1725. But at that moment (or even earlier) his half-brother bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, or rather his mother, put forward claims to the kingdom. The aims of that lady went very high: the Wam-le Award contains a statement of hers to the effect that when she married the king (Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal) it was stipulated that, should she give birth to a son, he was to be given the “ upper castle ” (*steñ-mk'ar*) <sup>2</sup>, this term probably meaning “ the supreme government ”. However, this clashed against the wishes of the nobles and elders, who requested peremptorily that bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal be ordained as a monk or relegated in the castle of gTiñ-mo-sgañ. Then Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal abdicated, and in 1729 bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal was king: in that year his wife Ñi-zla dbañ-mo, when received by the Pañ-c'en at bKra-śis-lhun-po, is styled “ wife of the king of Ladakh ” <sup>3</sup>. But Zi-zi Khatun did not abandon her struggle, and after some time <sup>4</sup> obtained at least a partial success, mainly because bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal, whose mother had died quite early, had been brought up by the Zi-zi Khatun, whom he loved dearly and to whom he could refuse nothing. Thus at her request bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal was given, as a separate kingdom, Purig from the Photu pass westward, with the capital Mulbhe <sup>5</sup>. He was formally installed as such in 1734 <sup>6</sup>.

Of course his new status devolved upon him the duty of ensuring the defence of the frontier toward Baltistan. He was at once involved in hostilities with Mahmud Zafar Khan, the chief whom the Ladakhi themselves had helped in 1722 to become ruler of Skardo; in 1733 he

<sup>1</sup> Wam-le Award, quoted by Gergan, 451.

<sup>2</sup> Francke 1926, 190.

<sup>3</sup> PC2, 376b.

<sup>4</sup> To this period (after the death of Ñi-zla dbañ-mo) belongs an inscription (F.73) with the names of king bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal, prince bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, K'ri Khatun (the queen mother) and the new wife of the king, Bu-k'rid dbañ-mo.

<sup>5</sup> LDGR, 44.26-28.

<sup>6</sup> Document of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 230.28.

attacked K'a-pu-lu. The Ladakhi government sent rGya-mts'o of Sa-spo-la with a force; he took the castles of Sa-glin and Ts'e-no. The Skardo army apparently retired, but in the following year came forward again and besieged the castle of K'a-pu-lu; its chief Daulat Khan once more turned to Ladakh for help. bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal took the field, but had to stay in the rear to take care of the organization of his newly-backed kingdom. He sent ahead the uncle (*a-k'u*) 'Brug-bstan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal, king of Zans-dkar, and minister Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje, seconded by rGya-mts'o, with a flying column. They defeated the Baltis, claiming to have inflicted upon them a loss of 300 killed and 3500 prisoners (80 and 4000 according to another source). Some villages were handed over to the "Baba" (uncle; Daulat Khan), a new chief was installed at sKye-ris and Ku-res, and a formal pledge of loyalty was exacted from Skardo<sup>1</sup>. This re-assertion of Ladakhi supremacy on the Balti frontier had of course a mere passing effect.

Not much can be said about the short rule of bDe-skyon-rnam-rgyal. He continued the policy of his father toward India and China. He received a *kharīṭa* of the Moghul emperor Muhammad Shah, dated in his 18th regnal year (1736/7), bestowing a *khil'at* upon Rāja 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān, the usual style of the Ladakhi kings<sup>2</sup>; this was apparently done (belatedly) on occasion of the abdication of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal. Earlier bDe-skyon-rnam-rgyal had sent a communication to the Chinese court through the Tibetan authorities in Lhasa. He was collecting information for China about the movements of the Dsungars in the Yarkand region. The emperor sent him a gracious reply, dated 16th April, 1732<sup>3</sup>. Another mission was sent six years later, bearing information about the Dsungars and some presents; it is recorded in the Chinese documents under the date of 27th January, 1738<sup>4</sup>. This particular attention to China was probably due to the prestige gained by the Chinese protegee, the Tibetan ruler P'o-lha-nas (1728-1747).

<sup>1</sup> Document of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 230.29-231.16; Document n.14 of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal (see above, p. 82).

<sup>2</sup> Ahluvalia, 7 (wrongly attributed to Aurangzeb by Datta, 60-61).

<sup>3</sup> *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, 116.14a-b; translated in Petech 1948, 223-224. The Tibetan translation, dated 20th May, 1732 is found in Gergan, 460-462.

<sup>4</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 62.4b-5a. The Tibetan translation of the imperial rescript, dated 16th May, 1738, is found in Gergan, 458-459.

One of the most vexing problems of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal's reign was a family quarrel. The old king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal and the Zi-zi Khatun had decided to give their daughter bKra-śis dbañ-mo in marriage to the king of Kashtwar. bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal and his ministers were sharply against the project, and Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal went to Leh to try and convince them. Although he failed, the old couple overruled the objections of the new king ("A child's rulers are father and mother") and the wedding took place. However, the princess was not happy in her new surroundings. Grown up to the free life of Tibetan girls, she could not get accustomed to the seclusion in *parda*, to which her husband compelled her (the Kashtwar family had been converted to Islam in 1687). So the queen recalled her daughter to Ladakh. Her husband claimed her and started on his way to get her. At this point the Zi-zi Khatun, being afraid that his arrival might represent a menace to bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal's rule over Purig, caused him to be murdered, a servant of her pushing him into the river from a bridge marking the frontier between Kashtwar and Paidar. It was intended to pass this as an accident, but the real truth leaked out at once and the prestige of the Ladakhi house suffered heavily from it. The mother of the victim complained to the Moghul emperor and asked for troops to chastise Ladakh. Moghul intervention was avoided by bribing the imperial court. Then the Kashtwar queen caused Indian Brahmans to curse the Ladakhi dynasty, and to these curses all the subsequent troubles in the family, early deaths etc., were attributed. bKra-śis-dbañ-mo was expected to join her aunt Nor-'dzin dbañ-mo in Glo-bo, but instead was married to the Muslim chief of K'a-pu-lu. These unsavourable proceedings created a deep rift between the two half-brothers. As for Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, he joined bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal at Mulbhe and died there, as said above <sup>1</sup>.

During the thirties of the 18th century the chief ministers were still Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje and Kun-dga'-p'un-tso'ogs, whom we find acting

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<sup>1</sup> Wam-le Award, in Gergan, 449-453; LDGR, 44.29-45.6. The account in the Chronicle is much abridged. The tale is hard to reconcile with the contemporary history of Kashtwar. The rulers of that period were Kirat Singh (1681-1728), who in his old age was murdered by one Krishna Padhiar, and Amluk Singh (1728-1771); Hutchison-Vogel, 654-656. Possibly the "*rgyal-po* of Kashtwar" of the Ladakhi sources was a junior prince of the family.

together in at least two instances<sup>1</sup>. In 1729 Ts'ul-k'rimś-rdo-rje obtained from Gu-ge a bride (probably for the heir-apparent of Ladakh), after several requests had been turned down<sup>2</sup>; she may have been the second daughter of the Gu-ge prince Blo-bzañ-padma-bkra-sis (1676-1743)<sup>3</sup>. In 1734 he took part, as we have seen, in the victorious campaign against Skardo. In 1737 he sent to bKra-sis-lhun-po presents for the funeral rites of the Pañ-c'en<sup>4</sup>. Kun-dga'-p'un-ts'ogs seems to have been more specially the minister of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal<sup>5</sup>. Another minister of this king was P'un-ts'ogs-bstan-'dzin<sup>6</sup>.

bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal's first wife was Ņi-zla-dbañ-mo, a princess from Glo sMon-t'añ; this renewed an alliance that had become traditional. She bore him a son, Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal; but soon « they separated on account of disagreement of temper, and the queen returned » to Glo-bo. Then he married Bu-k'rid dbañ-mo from bDe-skyid in Nubra, who gave birth to P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal<sup>7</sup>. She is mentioned in F.73 and in a colophon from Sa-bu<sup>8</sup>, and perhaps also in F.68. In 1737 she sent gifts for the funeral ceremonies of the Pañ-c'en<sup>9</sup>. She survived her husband and was the real power behind the scenes during the next reign<sup>10</sup>. The king is also said to have taken as wife bsTan-'dzin dbañ-mo, a princess of Zañś-dkar, hitherto a nun. But he sent her back to rule Zañś-dkar, and this marriage may have had a purely formal value<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Inscription F.72 and Document n.14 of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal.

<sup>2</sup> Document of Ts'ul-k'rimś-rdo-rje in Francke 1926, 230.25-27. The translation on p. 234 should be amended as follows: "In the year 1729, as messengers had been sent with questions and answers concerning a bride (read 'dun-ma for 'dun-ma-pa) coming here from Gu-ge, no result had appeared. Ts'ul-k'rimś-rdo-rje was sent once more and brought her hither".

<sup>3</sup> BJ, 19b; see also above, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> PC2b, 106b.

<sup>5</sup> Gergan, Doc. 5/1 (of 1731); List of Mañi and Books, n.13.

<sup>6</sup> Gergan, Doc. 5/2 (of 1734).

<sup>7</sup> LDGR, 44.22-23.

<sup>8</sup> Gergan, List of Mañi and Books, n.13.

<sup>9</sup> PC2b, 106b.

<sup>10</sup> Wañ-le Award cited in Gergan, 467.

<sup>11</sup> C'e-brjod of the Kanika chapel in the Sa-ni monastery in Zañś-dkar (F. 149b). bsTan-'dzin dbañ-mo was a daughter of king dBañ-p'yug-rnam-rgyal, son of bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal and grandson of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Her name appears also in an unpublished dedication sheet in a copy of the *bsKal-pa-bzañ-po* in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, mentioned in passing by Francke 1926, 162.

The king died on 11.II (20th March), 1739, a bare four months after his father <sup>1</sup>. In the second half of that year queen Bu-k'rid-rgyal-mo sent to the Dalai-Lama funeral offerings for her deceased husband bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal; they were brought to Lhasa by No-no rGya-mts'o. Early in 1740 the Dalai-Lama returned a courteous reply, referring to the funeral rites «for the two kings of Ladakh father and son» <sup>2</sup>, i.e. Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal and bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal.

According to the Chronicle, «then, although bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal and the elder son Sa-skyoñ[-rnam-rgyal] were entitled to be made lord of the castle (i.e. of the realm), because of their reciprocal misunderstandings (read *ma-go* for *ma-sgo*) the mother of the younger brother P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal carried out a trick and made [Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal] a Lama at He-mis» <sup>3</sup>. P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal became king.

Under the twin reigns of bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal and P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal contacts with Central Tibet and China continued to be lively. In 1740 envoys of the La-dvags *rgyal-po* bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal were in Lhasa <sup>4</sup>. Early in 1743 “the *blon-po* Kun-dga’, sent as envoy by the king of Ladakh, presented [to the Dalai-Lama] letters from his king”. On 1.VI (22nd July) of that year he was received by the Pañ-c'en at bKra-sis-lhun-po <sup>5</sup>.

We must also remark that trade connections with Kashgaria, then under Dsungar rule, were close and frequent. We read in a Chinese document that in 1743 the Dsungar ruler Galdan Cering had obtained from the Ladakhis full information about the conditions of the Buddhist church in Tibet; this knowledge contributed to his decision to send a half-religious and half-commercial mission to Lhasa <sup>6</sup>.

In 1745 the ruler of Ladakh sent a letter to the Lhasa government

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<sup>1</sup> Wam-le Award, cited in Gergan, 451 and 460.

<sup>2</sup> DL7, 259a, 267a.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 45.6-7. But the text seems corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> DL7, 267a. From this entry we gather that the king held his title from Ladakh and not from Purig, at least in the eyes of foreign powers.

<sup>5</sup> DL7, 291b-292i; PC3, 47a.

<sup>6</sup> Kao-tsung *Shih-lu*, 208.11b-13b. On the Dsungar mission to Lhasa in 1743 see Petech 1972, 184-186. On the trade relations between Ladakh and Kashgaria see also a document of 1751 in *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 407.12a-15a (chiefly 14b).

giving details about the trade between Ladakh and Yarkand; this letter was forwarded to Peking, where it was dealt with on 30th November 1745. The name of the ruler is given as “ the Khan of Ladakh Ts’ê-pu-têng-na-mu-cha-êrh (Ts’e-brtan-rnam-rgyal) ”<sup>1</sup>. This raises a serious problem, as there was no king of that name in Ladakh during this period. P’un-ts’ogs-rnam-rgyal’s second son was indeed called (according to Ms. S) [Mi-’jigs-] Ts’e-brtan-rnam-rgyal; he inherited the kingdom of Zans-dkar. But chronology seems to stand in the way of an identification. No explanation can be offered at present.

Anyhow, Ladakh’s function as watch over the north-western approaches of Tibet continued to be performed in the following years. In 1747 a complimentary mission from Ladakh was present in Lhasa<sup>2</sup>. On 4th March, 1752, news reached Peking that, according to a letter of the king of Ladakh (no name given) received in Lhasa, Dsungar merchants arriving in Ladakh from Yarkand were making enquiries about conditions in Tibet<sup>3</sup>. On the 29th September of the same year the king of Ladakh (again unnamed) reported that he had received Dsungar envoys, who once more questioned him about the situation in Tibet<sup>4</sup>.

This period saw a revival of ’Brug-pa influence. The surest sign of it was a visit by the 7th ’Brug-c’en dKar-brgyud-’p’rin-las-ñin-rta (1718–1766); from an incidental mention in another text we gather that it took place in 1747/8<sup>5</sup>. The biography of this hierarch is not yet available and so we have no details about his stay in the country, except that he interceded in favour of the minister Ts’ul-k’rims-rdo-rje and his family, who had been disgraced.

This step was the starting point of an unfortunate quarrel, which was to keep Ladakh in turmoil for several years. Ts’ul-k’rims-rdo-rje had remained prime minister under the new king, at first together with Kun-dga’-p’un-ts’ogs<sup>6</sup>, then alone, as shown by some inscrip-

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<sup>1</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 252.18a–20b. The information about one Ts’e-brtan being massacred by the Dsungars in 1747, supplied and rejected in Petech 1948, 227, is due to a mistake and does not exist; Petech 1956, 293.

<sup>2</sup> *DL7*, 340a.

<sup>3</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 382.9a–10a.

<sup>4</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 402.12a–b.

<sup>5</sup> Ka-t’og, 130a–b. The ’Brug-pa incarnate passed through Lhasa en route for Ladakh in 1747; *DL7*, 340b.

<sup>6</sup> Gergan, *List of Mani and Books*, n.14.

tions<sup>1</sup>. He was still in office in 1747, when he sponsored a document granting tax-exemption to a man from Nubra<sup>2</sup>. At that time he was the greatest landowner in Ladakh. His estates, unlawfully acquired, extended not only to Ladakh, but to Purig as well, and he obtained from them the enormous revenue of 31,000 *k'al* of barley yearly. His influence and his riches excited the jealousy and suspicion of P'un-tš'ogs-rnam-rgyal and his mother and brought about his sudden fall. He was "suppressed", i.e. divested of his landed property and condemned, probably to death<sup>3</sup>. He and his family took refuge with the rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e (on whom see later), who on the intercession of the 'Brug-c'en conceded them asylum in He-mis. But once in safety there, they "acted against the teaching of the monastery", and when the rGyal-sras decided to make an example of them, they escaped to Purig<sup>4</sup>. According to another version, they preferred to leave the monastery when they were informed that further protection was conditional on their entering monkhood<sup>5</sup>. Once at Mulbhe, they could feel safe, because king bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal had married Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje's daughter. The old minister apparently died about 1749 or 1750, but his son and heir Ts'e-brtan-dbañ-rgyal, usually called simply dBañ-rgyal, intrigued against the king of Leh, envenoming the relations between uncle and nephew and harping upon motives of resentment already existing.

According to the Upper Ladakhi view of the matter, bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal tried to seize exclusive control of the lucrative Kashmir trade and to encroach with fair or foul means on Ladakh proper<sup>6</sup>. On the other side, the king of Mulbhe complained that, although he

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<sup>1</sup> F113 and 114; perhaps also the fragmentary F.75.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, Doc.8. In 1750 bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal issued to his son a document (Gergan, Doc.6) which recounted the services of the old minister; it has been published in Gergan, 471-474.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 617.

<sup>4</sup> Wam-le Award, in Francke 1926, 225.19-226.3. Francke's translation needs revision. The text employs extreme abbreviations, such as *blon* bSod and *blon* Ts'ul for the names of bSod-nams-lhun-grub and Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje. The "punishment" (*c'ad-pa p'og*) of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdorje had far reaching effects from the political and economic point of view. Documents as late as 1762 and 1780 (Gergan, Doc.9/15 and 9/5) refer to matter of landed titles consequent to the "punishment" of the minister.

<sup>5</sup> Ka-t'og, 178a-b.

<sup>6</sup> LDGR, 45.8-9.

had not provoked attack, the Ladakhi king in alliance with the ruler of Skardo had seized the castle of Śi-sgar, as a preliminary move for the conquest of Purig<sup>1</sup>. Whatever the merits of the case, the conflict became more and more embittered, to the point of endangering the commercial interests of Central Tibet; and the Lhasa government had to take notice of it. At first the issue seemed to be one between P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal and dBañ-rgyal; therefore, in 1751 the Dalai-Lama sent to both a rescript inviting them to keep the peace<sup>2</sup>. But by then the rift had widened and had already reached the level of the two kings.

Some months later it even transpired that both uncle and nephew had addressed themselves to the governor of Kashmir, who of course had a direct interest in unimpeded trade with Ladakh. As one source says, "P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal, king of Upper Ladakh, sent a request to the Moghul (sTod-hor) Nawab of Kashmir<sup>3</sup>, who supplied him with about 100,000 soldiers. The Lower Ladakhi [king] too applied to the Moghuls"<sup>4</sup>. This portended a situation similar to that of 1683/4, fraught with similar dangers. So the Dalai-Lama must have been glad when both parties (or some nobles from both sides) sent him envoys begging him to nominate a mediator for Ladakh; they suggested a choice between the 'Brug-c'en and the Ka'-t'og Rig-'dzin<sup>5</sup>.

Ka'-t'og Rig-'dzin Ts'e-dbañ-nor-bu (1698-1755)<sup>6</sup> was a rÑiñ-ma-pa incarnate from K'ams, who had travelled widely in Central Tibet, Dol-po and Nepal. In 1751 he had gone again to Nepal to carry out repairs in the Tibetan shrines of the valley. Thus he was at hand and ready to travel, and this is probably the reason why the Dalai-Lama chose him for the task and sent him repeated and pressing letters,

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<sup>1</sup> Wam-le Award, in Francke 1926, 193.

<sup>2</sup> DL7, 396b.

<sup>3</sup> sTod Hor means Upper Turks. The Moghul deputy-governor of Kashmir in those years was Abul-Qasim. But already in 1753 the country passed under the sway of Ahmad Shah Durrani of Afghanistan.

<sup>4</sup> BL, 336a.

<sup>5</sup> DL7, 404a. Cf. LDGR, 45.10-13. The Ladakhi envoys were still in (or came again to) Lhasa in the middle of 1752; DL7, 409a, 410b.

<sup>6</sup> Ka'-t'og is a rÑiñ-ma-pa monastery some forty miles south-east of sDe-dge (Derge). On the literary activities of this incarnate see H. E. Richardson, "A Tibetan antiquarian of the XVIIIth century", in *Bulletin of Tibetology*, IV, 3 (1967), 5-8.



asking him to accept the mission and to start at once. He complied and left Nepal for Ladakh on 26.III (11th May) 1752<sup>1</sup>.

For once, we are fully informed on his mission. It required delicate and careful diplomatic preparations. For example, both kings expressed the wish to despatch to the Manasarovar region welcoming parties, composed of 600 men for Ladakh and 400 for Purig. It was of course a matter of prestige, and the Ka'-t'og had to insist on a reduction to 100 and 80 men respectively. He also refused to take up his residence in Leh, which could be interpreted as a preference for P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal, and decided to stay at Waṃ-le<sup>2</sup>. The meeting with the welcoming parties took place at Gartok in the presence of the two commissioners (*sgar-dpon*) of Western Tibet, who appointed two officers to accompany the incarnate. The latter summoned both kings to meet him at Waṃ-le in the 8th month (August) at the latest<sup>3</sup>.

The Ka'-t'og arrived at Waṃ-le and performed the first propitiatory rites there on 10. *k'rum* (18th September) 1752<sup>4</sup>. At this point the first hitch arose, as the king of Purig refused to come personally and wanted to send a minister in his stead; he was offended because he had intercepted Ladakhi envoys bearing a letter from the Kashmir Nawab, who suggested joint action by Kashmiri and Ladakhi troops against Purig during the king's absence. The Ka'-t'og had to write to bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal as well as to Kashmir, requesting the Nawab to send an envoy to take part in the negotiations. After all, he was fully aware that after the invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani and the destruction of the Moghul army at Manupur (1748) Northern India was in a complete turmoil and the Moghul governor of Kashmir was not in a condition to launch an invasion<sup>5</sup>.

Slowly things cleared up. P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal had already come to Waṃ-le. There the queen-mother and the rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e (on whom see later) joined him. Eventually the king of Purig, subjected to magic-religious pressure, yielded and came personally to the meeting<sup>1</sup>. The real negotiations could now start in earnest; they

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<sup>1</sup> Ka'-t'og 167b-168b. Cf. *LDGR*, 45.10-11.

<sup>2</sup> Ka'-t'og 169b.

<sup>3</sup> Ka'-t'og 173b-174a; *LDGR*, 45.14.

<sup>4</sup> Ka-t'og 175a.

<sup>5</sup> Ka-t'og 176b-179b. Cf. *LDGR*, 45.15-17.

<sup>6</sup> Ka-t'og, 180b-182a.

were concluded on the *dga'-ba* 3rd day of the second half of *smin-drug*, i.e. on the 1st December 1752<sup>1</sup>.

The dynastic quarrel was settled by a simple recognition of the existing situation. "Whatever the number of sons born at the castle of Ladakh may be, the eldest only shall reign. The younger ones shall become Lamas at dPe-t'ub, K'rig-se etc., but there shall not be two kings. The king of Zañs-dkar bsTan-sruñ-rnam-rgyal, having his dominion at the Indian frontier, shall remain king as before. The He-nas-sku ruler, obviously being of royal descent and his kingdom of little importance, shall also remain<sup>2</sup>. With these two exceptions, it shall not be permitted that in one kingdom exist two kings". "King bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal should remain ruler of Purig as long as he lives; afterwards it should be reunited with Ladakh"<sup>3</sup>. This meant practically the introduction of primogeniture, whereby Ladakh was saved from further partitions. Lastly, dBañ-rgyal and bsTan-'p'el were granted full amnesty. The text of the agreement, called *La dvags kyi 'c'in yig*, was very detailed, as it reproduced the statements of the contending parties on each single subject. It was included in the complete works (*gsuñ-'bum*) of Ka-'t'og, but has disappeared from the copy of the *gsuñ-'bum* preserved in the sTog palace and has not been included in the *Selected works of Ka-'tog Rig-'dzin*, published at Leh in 1973<sup>4</sup>. It was, however, available to A. H. Francke and to Joseph Gergan, who included some portions in their works. The list of the signatories of the agreement (Gergan, 466-470) represents an almost complete "Peerage of Ladakh" as it was in 1753.

But before the agreement was formally signed, the situation in Upper Ladakh underwent a change. For a long time the mental health of P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal had been deteriorating. "As a boy he

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<sup>1</sup> Ka-'t'og, 183a. A list of the grievances and of their redress is found in Gergan, 464-465.

<sup>2</sup> The petty chiefship of He-nas-sku, created by a grant made in the times of Ņi-ma[-rnam-rgyal], was re-absorbed into Ladakh soon after, because Document n. 6 of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (see later, p. 111), dated 1761, shows He-na-sku as governed by a Ladakhi official.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 45.18-21, 45.27-28; Ka-'t'og, 184a. The name of the "king of He-na-sku" is given in the Wam-le Award as dKon-cog-grub; Gergan, 467.

<sup>4</sup> It remains to be seen whether it will be included in *Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin-c'en-po's collected works*, in progress of printing at Delhi since 1976; vols. III and IV, the only ones that had appeared by April 1977, do not contain it.

was intelligent, but now his intellect was unsound”<sup>1</sup>. In practice, state affairs were managed by his mother. But this could not last, and the only way out was the abdication of the king in favour of his son Ts’e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, still a minor. The ceremony took place at Waṃ-le on 19.III of the Water-Bird year, corresponding to Hijri 1177, i.e. on 23rd April, 1753, “with the concurrence of the two kings uncle and nephew and in the presence of the Ka’-t’og; the rGyal-sras Rin-po-c’e was presiding”<sup>2</sup>.

This introduces on the scene a personage hitherto unknown to all the modern studies on Ladakhi history: the rGyal-sras Rin-po-c’e. The tale apparently starts with prince Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal, who, after being cheated out of his heritage by the queen-mother (1739), had become first a Lama and then a simple *rig-dzin* at He-mis<sup>3</sup>; as I was informed locally, the title *rig-dzin* means in Ladakh a layman who practises austerities and follows religious pursuits without being ordained as a monk. Perhaps (but this is by no means certain) he could be identified with the prince whose religious name is found in the great He-mis inscription: Lord Protector Precious Father (*skyabs-rje yab rin-po-c’e*) Mi-p’am ’Jam-dpal-mt’u-stobs-rdo-rje<sup>4</sup>. In a slightly different form, his name occurs also in an inscription (F.113) as “Mi-p’am mT’u-stobs-’jam-dpal, in the descent (*gdun-brgyud*) of the *c’os-rgyal* Ņi-ma[-rnam-rgyal], wearing the monastic robes (read *c’os-gos* for *c’os-dkos*)”. The biography of Ka’-t’og goes one step further and, besides calling him Precious Prince (*rgyal-sras rin-po-c’e*) makes him an incarnate (He-mi *sprul-sku*) and once gives his full name as *rgyal-sras sprul-sku* Mi-p’am ’Jam-dpal-rdo-rje<sup>5</sup>. His identification with Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal is supported by the mention in Gergan, 489, of “Mi-p’am Ts’e-

<sup>1</sup> Ka-t’og, 176b.

<sup>2</sup> *rGyal-sras Rin-po-c’e k’rir bžugs*; Waṃ-le Award cited by Gergan, 474. Elsewhere (Gergan, 464-5) the date of the enthronement is given as 19.III Water-Monkey (1752); but this is clearly a mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan lists two documents of Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal. The first (Doc.7) is dated Wood-Monkey (1764); Gergan equates it wrongly with 1753. It is addressed to dBañ-rgyal and recognizes the services of his father Ts’ul-k’rims-rdo-rje during his mission to Blo sMon-t’añ. The second (Doc. 7/1) was issued in Fire-Hare (1772) to a man from Nubra, concerning a case at law. Both dates are open to suspicion.

<sup>5</sup> On the great He-mis inscription see later, p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> Ka-t’og, 180a.

dbañ (this is Mi-p'am 'Jam-dpal-rdo-rje's son), son of Sa-skyoñ [-rnam-rgyal]". He is repeatedly mentioned in Central Tibetan sources. Thus, he is the He-mis *sprul-sku*, son of the king of Ladakh, who in the last days of the Earth-Goat year, i.e. in January 1740, came to Lhasa<sup>1</sup>. Shortly after he arrived at bKra-sis-lhun-po, where he was recognized as a younger brother of the Pañ-c'en<sup>2</sup>, a rather odd piece of information. In 1745 he visited again the Tibetan capital<sup>3</sup>, and is probably the "son of the Ladakhi ruler" who in the same year came to bKra-sis-lhun-po<sup>4</sup>, although the latter is given no ecclesiastical title. In his time He-mis was visited by the 7th 'Brug-c'en, as stated in the great He-mis inscription. In 1752 he was acting as a sort of minister and took part in the negotiations at Waṃ-le<sup>5</sup>. After the enthronement of the young king he may have acted for a time as regent. The fact is not mentioned in the Chronicle, but can be corroborated from other sources. An inscription (F. 108) seems to allude to him by the title Regent (*rgyal-ts'ab*) Mi-p'am dGon (*sic* for mGon). In 1754 the Mi-p'am 'Jam-dpal-mt'u-stobs-rdo-rje and prince (*lha-sras*) Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal with his mother issued a document to Rab-brtan-rgya-mts'o of sTog, confirming a grant of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal<sup>6</sup>. I think this is sufficient evidence for a regency of the rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e.

The former king P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal and his mother partaged with the new rulers the movable property in the Leh palace, and then moved to gSer-k'ri (near K'rig-se? or Sakti?), which was granted to them as estate together with sTog and Sa-bu<sup>7</sup>.

Only after the new king had been installed, the Ka'-t'og accepted to travel to Central Ladakh for the formal drawing-up of the award. After having passed the winter at He-mis, he arrived at Śel (Sheh), where the agreement was published, ratified, blessed and sworn between the 29th June and the 16th July 1753<sup>8</sup>. The agreement with the Kash-

<sup>1</sup> DL7, 265a.

<sup>2</sup> PC3, 21b.

<sup>3</sup> "Attendant (*ñe-ltos*) to the Ladakhi king, spiritual son Mi-p'am"; DL7, 322b.

"La-dvags He-mis *sprul-sku*"; DL7, 323a.

<sup>4</sup> PC3, 59a.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. Ka'-t'og, 183a.

<sup>6</sup> Gergan, Doc.9/17.

<sup>7</sup> LDGR, 45.14-25; Gergan, 465.

<sup>8</sup> Ka'-t'og, 183b-185b. Cf. LDGR, 45.29.

miris on unimpeded commercial traffic between the two countries and on the custom duties was inscribed on copper plates in five copies, of which four were deposited at Leh, Mulbhe, Zañs-dkar and He-mis respectively; the fifth was probably sent to Kashmir<sup>1</sup>. According to the Chronicle, the Kashmiri envoys were overawed by a miracle worked by the Ka'-t'og during his stay at Leh<sup>2</sup>.

After having carried out his mission with full success, at the end of 1753 the Ka'-t'og departed for sKyid-groñ. In 1755 he went to Nepal to arrange a peace between the kings of Gorkha and of Kathmandu. He also directed restoration works at Svayambhūnāth, where he met the 7th 'Brug-c'en. And there he died in the same year<sup>3</sup>.

The family circumstances of P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal are not very clear. His chief queen was apparently Kun-'dzom Ņi-zla dbañ-mo, who appears among the signatories of the Wañ-le Award<sup>4</sup> and also in the He-mis *mañ-gdoñ* inscription. But Ms. B of the Chronicle mentions Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal becoming a *rig-'dzin* and goes on telling us that queen Kun-'dzom had two sons, the sKyabs-mgon *rgyal-sras* Mi-p'am, to whom we shall return later, and another, whose name is not given; both entered monkhood<sup>5</sup>. Possibly she was the wife of both P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal and Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal; it would be a normal case of polyandry. The status of Sa-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal would not stand in the way, because a *sprul-sku* to be also a *rig-'dzin*, and thus allowed to marry, is not exceptional among the 'Brug-pa<sup>6</sup>. This lady is almost certainly the queen mother (*rgyal-yum*) Ņi-zla dbañ-mo, whom the Si-tu Pañ-c'en met in 1762<sup>7</sup>, and the queen mother (*a-yum rgyal-mo*) of Ladakh, who in 1764 gratulated the 8th Dalai-Lama upon his accession to the see<sup>8</sup>. In the Mouse and Ox years (1780 and 1781?) Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal caused a great *mañ-gdoñ* to be erected as a funeral offering for the *a-yum* Kun-'dzom Ņi-zla-dbañ<sup>9</sup>. It is not at

<sup>1</sup> Ka-t'og, 184b; BL, 336a; LDGR, 46.2.

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 45.29-46.2.

<sup>3</sup> Ka-t'og, 194a, 206a.

<sup>4</sup> Gergan, 467.

<sup>5</sup> LDGR, 45.25-27.

<sup>6</sup> The 11th 'Brug-c'en (d.1960) was married, and his son is the present T'ug-sras Rin-po-c'e, the tutor of the 12th 'Brug-c'en.

<sup>7</sup> Si-tu, 220b.

<sup>8</sup> DL8, 36a.

<sup>9</sup> Unpublished inscription on the great *mañ-gdoñ* at He-mis.

all clear whether Kun-'dzom was the mother of king Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. Mss. *C* and *Sonam* of the Chronicle say that she was; but they confuse matters by connecting the lady with bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal and maintaining that after the departure of that king's first wife (Ñi-zla dbañ-mo), Kun-'dzom was asked to become queen, and a son Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal was born to them<sup>1</sup>. Anyhow, it is difficult to tell who was actually the mother of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal.

Another doubtful piece of information is supplied by Ms. *S* of the Chronicle, according to which P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal had two sons: Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and Mi-'jigs Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal; the latter inherited the kingdom of Zañs-dkar. First of all, this prince is utterly unknown to any other source. Secondly, there is not much room for him in the little known history of Zañs-dkar. The events in that little secluded country are very obscure and cannot be dealt here in detail. What we know about them during the 17th and 18th century amounts to this. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal gave it to his youngest son bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal. The latter had four sons. The eldest, Ñag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal-lde, succeeded to the throne, married a Ladakhi princess called bsTan-'dzin dbañ-mo, but died childless. He was succeeded by his younger brother dBañ-p'yug-rnam-rgyal, whom king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal induced to marry first the younger and then the elder daughter of Śākya-rgya-mts'o; from his father-in-law he inherited the dByi-gu (Igu) estate in Ladakh. He had four daughters; the eldest bsTan-'dzin dbañ-mo, at first a nun, married later king bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal and perhaps ruled for while in Zañs-dkar. dBañ-p'yug-rnam-rgyal had also three sons: 'Brug-bstan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal (born in Earth-Mouse 1708), Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal (born in Earth[sic for Iron]-Hare 1711) and later bSod-nams-rnam-rgyal. The eldest, a cultured and accomplished man, ruled over Zañs-dkar and dByi-gu; the second became a monk; the third was given the estate of bZañ-la in Zañs-dkar<sup>2</sup>. 'Brug-bstan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal was king of Zañs-dkar in 1735<sup>3</sup>. In 1745 a son of the ruler (*sa-skyoñ*) of Zañs-dkar visited the Pañ-c'en<sup>4</sup>. This was perhaps bsTan-sruñ-rnam-rgyal, who was king in

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 44.23-24.

<sup>2</sup> Eulogy (*c'e-brjod*) of the Ka-ni-ka chapel of Sa-ni monastery in Zañs-dkar. Published in Gergan, 225-254.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, Doc.4.

<sup>4</sup> PC3, 60a.

1752 when the independence of Zañs-dkar was formally recognized<sup>1</sup>. During the New Year's festival of 1754 an envoy of both the king of Ladakh and of the king of Mulbhe were in Lhasa, and the funeral rites for the deceased father of the Ladakh Zañs-dkar king were performed<sup>2</sup>; which means that 'Brug-bstan-'dzin-rnam-rgyal had died about 1753. How the second son of P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal (if he ever existed) could have inherited the kingdom of Zañs-dkar, is difficult to tell.

The ex-king P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal appears for the last time when in the 7th month of 1756 his envoys were received at bKra-śis-lhun-po; his name is mentioned, but without the royal title<sup>3</sup>. He may have died soon after. His mother may have been still alive in 1757, if she is to be identified with the Bu-k'rid dpal-'dzom, "wife (*btsun-mo*) of the La-dvags ruler (*sa-skyoñ*)", who in the 3rd month of that year sent envoys to bKra-śis-lhun-po<sup>4</sup>.

As to bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, in 1754 he sent his minister Ga-ga bsTan-'dzin on mission to the Dalai-Lama and the Pañ-c'en<sup>5</sup>. He had married Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje's daughter bsTan-'dzin Bu-k'rid and had a son called Ñag-dbañ-rgyal-mts'an, who predeceased him. He died in 1758, and no issue being left, his kingdom was re-united with Ladakh<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Gergan, 467.

<sup>2</sup> *DL7*, 436a-b, 438b. The envoys were received in audience at bKra-śis-lhun-po on 11.X (6th December), 1753, and on 8.I (3rd March), 1754; *PC3*, 118a, 119b.

<sup>3</sup> *PC3*, 128b.

<sup>4</sup> *PC3*, 135b.

<sup>5</sup> *DL7*, 434b, 436a; *PC3*, 119b-120a. Ga-ga bsTan-'dzin was one of the signatories of the Wam-le Award; Gergan, 468.

<sup>6</sup> *LDGR*, 44.28-29 and 45.27-28; Ka-t'og, 178a. The date of his death is given by Gergan, 474, without authority quoted.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE TWILIGHT OF THE LADAKHI KINGDOM

At first Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal maintained the title of prince, by which he is called in the 1754 document of rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e<sup>1</sup> and in an inscription (F.79). Then the regent rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e retired or died and Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal became full king; the date is unknown, but was probably in the late fifties of the 18th century.

Many documents of this king are extant and, as in the case of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, it is convenient to give their list.

- 1 Document issued in 1755 to dGa'-p'el-le, warden of the timbermen working as 'u-lag (Gergan, Doc. 9/16).
- 2 Copy, dated 8.V (14th June), 1758, of a ruined document granting rights of grazing to some people from Rupshu (Gergan, Doc. 9).
- 3 Document issued in 1760, at the request of minister Kun-k'yab-dpal-'p'el, to Rab-brtan of Tog, who in 1715 had gone to the Mongol country (Sog-yul) (Gergan, Doc. 9/10).
- 4 Document issued in 1760 to Ts'e-riñ of Tog, who had tendered help to No-no dBañ-rgyal and Nag-dbañ, commanders of the forces at the time of the rebellion of the Skardo ruler in 1759 (Gergan, Doc. 9/11).
- 5 Document issued on 19.II (4th April), 1760, to 'Gañ-ba-p'un-ts'ogs of gTiñ-mo-sgañ, for having performed all his duty against the ruler of Skardo in 1759 (Gergan, Doc. 9/12).
- 6 Document issued on 8.III (12th April), 1761, at the request of Kun-skyab, to bKra-śis-rgyal-mts'an, *blon-po* of He-na-sku, for having acted as general (*dmag-dpon*) in the relief expedition to the region of bSod, and for repeated missions to Kashmir (Gergan, Doc. 9/1).
- 7 Document issued in the 8th month of 1762 to No-no bKra-śis, who had received a supernumerary field at the time of the punishment of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje (Gergan, Doc. 9/15).
- 8 Document issued on 8.VI (28th July), 1762, to *nan-so* bKra-śis of Bya-ra-sa in Nubra, for services performed in 1762 as general (*dmag-dpon*) of Nubra, when he took prisoner Wazir K'yi of Kar-tag-śa mK'ar-mañ with 20 men, conquered the fort of Nar-sa-ser and took prisoner its ruler with 18 men (Gergan, Doc. 9/3).

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 107.



- 9 Document issued in the 5th month of 1765 to *bka'-blon* dBañ-rgyal, who was sent as companion to the grandfather (*me-me*), the king of Mulbhe (Gergan, Doc. 9/9).
- 10 Document issued on 13.XII. Wood-Horse (14th January, 1775), at the request of the joint treasurer (*bka'-p'yag*) No-no Ts'e-dbañ-dpal-'bar, to Blo-bzañ, headman (*gron-dpon*) of Sheh, who had given good advice to the retinue of the king, whereby they were able to arrive safely at the castle (Gergan, Doc. 9/2).
- 11 Privilege granted in 1775 to K'rig-se monastery. "When in 1773 I [the king] was deposed from the throne and was completely powerless and harried, nobody was more kind to me than the abbot, teachers and community of K'rig-se. Having now arrived at the present status, I place the bDe-skyid monastery of Nubra under K'rig-se" (Gergan, Doc. 9/8).
- 12 Document issued on 8.II (27th March), 1776, to Ts'e-riñ of Sheh, who in 1759 during the expedition to Baltistan sent soldiers to the ruler of K'a-pu-lu (Gergan, Doc. 9/14).
- 13 Document issued in 1777 to Ts'e-riñ-'byor-ba of gTiñ-mo-sgañ for services tendered to the king (Gergan, Doc. 9/6).
- 14 Documents issued in 1777 to Näg-dbañ-rgya-mts'o of Zañs-dkar. No details given (Gergan, Doc. 9/7).
- 15 Document issued in the 3rd month of 1779 to the headman (*'go-pa*) of Mon-ts'er (Menser or Miser, the Ladakhi enclave in Western Tibet), who had mistreated the destitute inhabitants by arbitrarily consuming the pastures (Gergan, Doc. 9/4).
- 16 Document issued in 1779 to the mNa'-ris *sprul-sku* Blo-bzañ-dge-legs-ye-ses-grags-pa, giving him possession of the monasteries of dKar-c'a, P'ug-t'al, Kluk'yil and Mulbhe and of the region of Rañ-'dum in Zañs-dkar, granting also tax exemption in the territories thus assigned (Schuh, LXXXI).
- 17 Contract for the adoption of a child, approved in 1780 for one bSod-nams-lhun-grub. It concerns also the punishment of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje (Gergan, Doc. 9/5).
- 18 Document issued on 26.IV (17th June), 1781, to the goldsmith Ismail, a worker in silver who had struck the coins (*ja'u*) of the king (Gergan, Doc. 9/13).

During the first years of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal government affairs were entrusted to the minister Kun-skyoñ-dpal-'p'el, usually called Kun-skyob or Kun-skyab. He was in office even before Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal assumed the royal title and continued as minister till after 1761<sup>1</sup>. He is mentioned in several inscriptions (F.80, 115, 182), of which the last (the so-called Li-kyir *māhātmya*) is the most important. It commemorates the reconstruction of that monastery, which had collapsed on the same day of the death of the 7th Dalai-Lama, i.e. on 4.I, 1757<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Doc.6.

<sup>2</sup> Actually the Dalai-Lama died on 3.II (22nd March, 1757); so there is a mistake here, or else a difference in the calendar. In the same year the king of Ladakh sent a condoling mission to Lhasa; DL7, 544a.

The period of office of Kun-skyob is marked by a revival of relations with Tibet and China, caused by the Chinese final victory over the Dsungars and the ensuing conquest of Central Asia. The empire became thus a neighbour of Ladakh on the Northern frontier too, and controlled the trade routes over the Karakorum. Actually, Ladakh barely escaped being involved in the events leading to the Chinese conquest of Kashgar and Yarkand. The two cities were then ruled by the Khojas, two Muslim families claiming descent from the Prophet. The downfall of the Dsungars, whose suzerainty they acknowledged, left them exposed to the invasion of the victorious imperial army. The resistance was led by the two brothers Burhan ed-din and Khoja Jihan; its main episode was the long and stubborn defence of Yarkand, where the army of marshal Chao-hui was itself besieged in its camp during some months (from November 1758 to February 1759) and was compelled to withdraw. A second campaign led to the fall of Kashgar and Yarkand in July 1759<sup>1</sup>. During the long winter siege the main concern of the imperial Ambans in Lhasa, responsible for the relations with Ladakh, was to prevent the rebel leaders from escaping to neighbouring countries, from which they could molest the new imperial dominions. One possible haven of refuge was Ladakh, and the Ambans Wu-mi-t'ai and Kuan-pao prepared to despatch a small force to mNa'-ris to cooperate with the army of Chao-hui to intercept Khoja Jihan, should he attempt to fly to Ladakh. But the lCañ-skya Qutuqtu, a high incarnate from Peking who enjoyed the confidence of the emperor and had been sent to Tibet to supervise the search for the new Dalai-Lama, objected and took upon himself the responsibility of countermanding the move; in his opinion, the rumour was probably false, and in any case the Ladakhi ruler, who had always shown himself submissive and ready to collaborate, had been already requested to arrest and hand over any refugee. The emperor concurred and even reprimanded the two Ambans (26th January, 1759)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Courant, *L'Asie Centrale aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Lyon-Paris 1912, 116-118 (based on the *Tung-hua-lu*); W. Eichhorn, "Kolonialkämpfe der Chinesen in Turkestan während der Periode Ch'ien-lung", in *ZDMG* 1942, 282-287 (translated from the *Shêng-wu-chi*; an earlier translation by A. Vissière, in *Revue du Mond Musulman*, 11, 1910, 378-386); Saguchi Toru, "The genealogy of the house Khwaja of Kashgar after the Manchurian conquest", in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, 42 (1959/60), 375-376.

<sup>2</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 577.30a-b.

Shortly after the “Khan of Ladakh” informed Lhasa of the fall of Yarkand and of the escape of Khoja Jihan to Hsi-tê-sha-kan (?). The information was incorrect and premature; but the Ladakhi ruler, afraid of Chinese intervention, confirmed his peaceful disposition and begged that Chao-hui should be given orders not to march into Ladakh. His fears were of course groundless, but in any case the emperor sent suitable instructions to Chao-hui (3rd February, 1759)<sup>1</sup>. It is well known that Burhan ed-din and Khoja Jihan escaped to Badakhshan, only to be killed there<sup>2</sup>. The lCañ-skya Qutuqtu was ordered (3rd September and 12th December, 1759) to inform the governors of mNa'-ris and the ruler of Ladakh of the flight of the “rebels” and of their death<sup>3</sup>.

The Ladakhi concern about trade relations with Central Asia led to the despatch of another diplomatic mission to Tibet. Envoys of the La-dvags *sa-skyon* were received at bKra-śis-lhun-po on the 2nd February, 1760<sup>4</sup>. Before that, they had gone of course to Lhasa; but the Dalai-Lama see was still vacant, and thus the biography of the 8th Dalai-Lama can give us no information on the subject. However, interesting confirmation is supplied by a Chinese document. It is a report by the Manchu commander in Yarkand, received in Peking on 12th March, 1760, concerning the arrival in the Sanju region of a Ladakhi envoy by name bKra-śis-rgya-mts'o, en route to Tibet. He was the bearer of a letter from the Ladakh Khan, who offered his congratulations for the conquest of Kashgaria and begged that trade should continue unimpeded as usual. The Manchu commander had him brought to his presence and questioned him, after which he gave him some presents and allowed him to proceed on his journey<sup>5</sup>. Unfortunately the name of the Ladakhi ruler is not given.

After this, political relations with the Lhasa government remained dormant. Except for the novices going to study in the Tibetan

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<sup>1</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 578.9a-10a.

<sup>2</sup> M. Courant, *op. cit.*, 119-121; W. Eichhorn, *op. cit.*, 313-314. Three mandates of the Ch'ien-lung emperor on this subject were translated by A. Vissière, *op. cit.*, 387-389.

<sup>3</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 592.19b, 599.26a-28a.

<sup>4</sup> *PC3*, 178a, 179a.

<sup>5</sup> *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, 602.10a-b.

monasteries, the texts limit themselves to registering occasionally the arrival of the triennial trade mission (*lo-p'yag*) from Ladakh.

On the Balti frontier a single incident of some importance occurred in 1759, when the Śi-sgar *jo*, Husain Khan<sup>1</sup> was taken prisoner by the ruler of Skardo, Muhammad Zafar Khan<sup>2</sup>, who also obtained the support of Mir Beg of Keris<sup>3</sup>, conquered Ku-res and made preparations to attack K'a-pu-lu. The chief of K'a-pu-lu, Mahmud Ali Khan<sup>4</sup>, as usual applied for help to his Ladakhi overlord. The Ladakhi army took the field under the command of No-no dBañ-rgyal (the former prime minister of Purig) and No-no Ñag-dbañ. The Skardo forces were thrown back, Husain Khan was liberated and returned to Śi-sgar, and Mir Beg submitted<sup>5</sup>: After this, peace reigned on the Balti frontier for many years.

The internal situation was much less tranquil. The king was an easily influenced man, inefficient but with tyrannical tendencies. Very soon the nobles had to assemble an armed force in order to compel him to take an oath to protect his subjects and not to oppress them. For some years things went fairly well and the king allowed minister Kun-skyob to govern the country to the best of his ability<sup>6</sup>. Then, under the influence of a Muslim (a trader?) called Mirza Malik he took a fancy for the high-bred Central Asian horses (*ti-pi-cag*, from the Turkish *tobcaq*), which grew almost into an insane love. In the end, he possessed about 500 of them, tended by a host of grooms; for this expensive whim he had to squeeze the people hard<sup>7</sup>. His

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, 33; list of the Śi-sgar chief, n.24, with wrong dates

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, 35; list of the Skardo rulers, n.6.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, 31; list of the chiefs of Ke-ris, n.7. But perhaps the Ladakhi text mistakes Mir Beg for his successor Mirza Beg, n.8.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, 31; list of the K'a-pu-lu chiefs, n.65, with date wrong by half a century.

<sup>5</sup> The only account of this campaign is found in Gergan, 475-476. It is supported by documents 4, 5, 12 (see above, p. 111).

<sup>6</sup> Gergan, 476, basing himself on a document of which nothing is said, but which is mentioned in Francke 1926, 123. Perhaps it is the agreement (*bcad-k'ra*) listed without explanations in Gergan, List of Mani and Books, n.16.

<sup>7</sup> LDGR, 46.5-9. Francke's translation on p. 122 should be corrected as follows: "His doings were unprecedented, unusual and strange. He had five hundred *ti-pi-cag* horses and for each of them [one] groom and lamp. In [order to perfect] their ambling gait, all the feet of the *ti-pi-cag*, their food (read *bsan* for *gsan*) etc. were paid much attention to".

friends were mostly Muslims, and he gradually became estranged to Buddhism, ceased to follow the local customs and leaned heavily toward Islam; the entreaties of his officials were of no avail. Worse than that, he fell under the spell of a Muslim girl of the lowest class (Bhegar), usually called the Bibi. She came to Leh with her brothers Nasib Ali and Rahim from dKar-rtse in Purig. The king fell deeply in love with her and pandered to her smallest whim. His first wife quitted him and returned to bZaṅ-la, her home, whereupon he married the Bibi; the people called her, half in derision, the Bhe-mo rGyal. The officials tried to oppose the marriage and asked for an explanation, whereupon the king, on the advice of his new wife, undertook to crush the opposition by terror; the minister Kun-skyob and the village headman (*gron-dpon*) of gTiñ-mo-sgañ were put to death, several nobles were clapped into prison with irons on their feet. To increase his income, the king made taxes payable three times in the year. Conditions became nearly unbearable, the country was exploited and sucked dry by and for the family of the Bibi; Nasib Ali was even appointed acting prime minister. This lasted for some time. At last the nobles and the people, driven to desperation, rose in arms and stormed the palace of Leh. The king was not bodily harmed; but the Bibi was nailed to the gate of the bazar and flogged to death<sup>1</sup>. The fate of her brothers is unknown.

This tragedy seems to have had a sobering effect. The nobles and officials again swore fealty to the king. The latter in his turn married the daughter of the chief of bSod, who gave him two sons. He also looked for a new prime minister.

In the meantime bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal of Purig had died (1758) and his kingdom has been annexed to Ladakh. His widow bsTan-'dzin bu-k'rid remained in Mulbhe, under the protection of her brother, the former minister dBaṅ-rgyal, who had been appointed fortress commandant of Hem-babs (Dras). He acquitted himself well, for which he was thanked both by the lady and by the king (1764 and 1765)<sup>2</sup>. Then he accompanied her, who by now had become a nun, in her pil-

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<sup>1</sup> Gergan, 477-478. According to *LDGR*, 46.9 she was simply deposed and imprisoned.

<sup>2</sup> Document issued in 1764 by bsTan-'dzin-bu-k'rid dbaṅ-mo from Mulbhe to *bka'-blon* dBaṅ-rgyal (Gergan, Doc.6/1); document n.8 of Ts'e-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (see above, p. 111).

grimage to Lhasa, where in the second half of 1768 they paid their respects to the Dalai-Lama <sup>1</sup>. At that time Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal had already chosen him as his new prime minister.

The choice was again unlucky; dBañ-rgyal, a grasping man, subjected the people to even heavier taxation, and behaved with a good deal of arrogance <sup>2</sup>. But the Ladakhi officials had learned how to deal with their lord and master. In 1773 they gathered again, compelled him to abdicate and relegated him to the monastery of K'rig-se; dBañ-rgyal was exiled to Western Tibet (or put into a bland prison, according to a variant). Perhaps the rebels could not agree between themselves, or a reaction took place. The fact is that after 4-5 months the king was reinstated and dBañ-rgyal was recalled <sup>3</sup>.

During the last period of his reign the king, perhaps under the influence of his third wife, inclined more and more to the Shia form of Islam, revived the old title 'Āqibat Mahmud Khan and for three years abstained from maintaining the customary ceremonial lamps in Leh, devoting the equivalent to the upkeep of his horses. His craze for horses increased, if possible, and this cost to the state great sums. A large portion of them was embezzled by dBañ-rgyal, who laid the fault at the door of the innocent beasts <sup>4</sup>.

It was perhaps in order to obtain the cash needed to cover these great expenses that the king resumed (or rather started) the Ladakhi coinage of Muslim type, which had been agreed to but never actually carried out by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal. In 1781 a Muslim goldsmith of Leh was hired to strike the new Ladakhi coins (*ja'u*) <sup>5</sup>. Some specimens of this coinage are still extant, but the only readable portion of the legend is *zarb-i-Butān* (struck in Ladakh) <sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> DL8, 59a.

<sup>2</sup> One inscription (F.78) praises the *c'os-blon* Ts'e-brtan-dbañ-rgyal, "who is hotter than a fire burning out his enemies and is more than a kind father and mother to the subjects".

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 479. There is some confusion and repetition in the text. The king expressed his gratitude to the abbot of K'rig-se, who had befriended him during his half-imprisonment, by the grant of a privilege; Document 11 of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (see above, p. 112).

<sup>4</sup> Gergan, 481.

<sup>5</sup> Document 18 of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (see above, p. 112).

<sup>6</sup> Panish, 185-186.

To complete the tale of this period, it should be recalled that another European, the first after Desideri and Freyre, passed through Ladakh. This was the Russian subaltern Efremov, who had been taken prisoner by the Kirghiz, and after eight years of captivity made his escape in a southern direction. He reached Kokand and then Yarkand, where he remained a whole month. Then he continued his journey through the mountains in the company of some merchants, and in 1781 or 1782 reached Leh, where he stayed for about 25 days. He went on to Kashmir and to Calcutta, whence he returned to Russia by sea <sup>1</sup>.

This disastrous reign, which apparently taxed severely the economic strength of the country, ended with another revolution (1782). The rebels occupied Leh and the king and the minister took refuge at He-mis under the protection of the Mi-p'am (on whom see later). There the king, despairing of ever recovering his throne, abdicated on a promise of safety for him and for dBaṅ-rgyal, whom the people wanted to kill. The king received as usual the estates of gSer-k'ri and Sa-bu for his maintenance, plus some meadows at Ma-spro for the upkeep of his beloved horses <sup>2</sup>. He died at Ma-spro at an unknown date.

Ts'e-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal married first a lady of the bZaṅ-la family from Zaṅs-dkar, called (as it seems) Kun-'dzom dbaṅ-mo. When he married the Bibi or Bhe-mo rGyal, the bZaṅ-la lady returned home and later became the wife of the king of Zaṅs-dkar <sup>3</sup>. After the tragic end of the Bibi, the king married Bhe-kim (Begum) dbaṅ-mo of bSod in Purig, once more a Muslim. She bore him two sons: *lha-c'en* Mi-gyur Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal and Ts'e-dpal-mi-'gyur-don-grub-rnam-rgyal; they were mere boys when their father abdicated. His secondary wife Khatun Ts'e-riṅ bore one son, called 'Jigs-med-rnam-rgyal <sup>4</sup>.

The foremost member of his family was the son of the rGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e, the sKyabs-mgon *rgyal-sras* Mi-p'am Ts'e-dbaṅ-'p'rin-

<sup>1</sup> As I was kindly informed by Professor Kuznetsov of Leningrad, Efremov's account was published at St. Petersburg in 1786, and was reedited in *Ruskaja Starina*, 7 (1893), 125-149. Neither edition is available to me and I had access only to the second-hand information in S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, VII, Leipzig 1922, 107-109.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 488-489.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 46.3-5.

<sup>4</sup> LDGR, 46.8-13.

las-bstan-'dzin Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje, born probably in the forties of the century. He was blessed, consecrated (*dban-bskur*) and given his ecclesiastical name by the Ka-'t'og Rig-'dzin in 1753<sup>1</sup>, and became head (*k'ri-pa*) of He-mis monastery. He and his brother are probably the *sku-mc'ed* or *rgyal-sras* of Ladakh whom the Si-tu Paṅ-c'en-c'en met in Lhasa in 1762<sup>2</sup>. On 15.VII (10th September), 1764, the two arrived at bKra-śis-lhun-po, and on 1.IX *rtin* (26th October) the elder brother Mi-p'am left for Bya-yul<sup>3</sup>. On 5.X (26th November), 1767, he came again to bKra-śis-lhun-po, bringing with him thirty novices from He-mis, who were given their vows in a solemn congregation on 12.II (29th March), 1768<sup>4</sup>; that a 'Brug-pa abbot should seek ordination for his disciples in that great dGe-lugs-pa centre, is rather remarkable. In the same year the administrator (*mdzod-pa*) of He-mis visited Lhasa, probably on his order<sup>5</sup>. Once again on 19.X (17th November), 1769, the Mi-p'am came to bKra-śis-lhun-po, and during the New Year's festival of 1770 he was ordained together with thirty Ladakhi novices<sup>6</sup>. At the moment of his departure the Paṅ-c'en, who considered him as his nephew<sup>7</sup>, advised him that "should internal disputes occur [in Ladakh] and should the present ruler (*sa-skyon*) die, there will be a great insistence in order to put you in the place of the ruler; however, it would not be well to listen to such a proposal; so keep this in mind"<sup>8</sup>. The obvious inference is that in 1770 the rebellion of 1773 was already in the air and that there was a party which wished to put the abbot on the throne. But he reserved himself for the future. The Mi-p'am is mentioned again in 1781, being listed among the ecclesiastical dignitaries who contributed funds for the tomb of the Paṅ-c'en<sup>9</sup>. And in 1782 he had actual power in his hands for a period, as we are going to see.

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<sup>1</sup> Great Hemis inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Si-tu, 220b, 369b.

<sup>3</sup> PC3, 226a, 227a-b. On the Bya-yul region and the monastery of that name see Wylie, p. 174, n.554.

<sup>4</sup> PC3, 269b, 273a.

<sup>5</sup> DL8, 56b.

<sup>6</sup> PC3, 286b, 288b.

<sup>7</sup> In 1740 his father was reckoned as the [spiritual] younger brother of the Paṅ-c'en; PC3, 21b.

<sup>8</sup> PC3, 291a-b.

<sup>9</sup> PC3b, 74a.



The Mi-p'am was the author of two great inscriptions at He-mis, already utilized in the preceding pages. The first, found on a great *mani*-wall (*mañ-gdoñ*) and still unpublished, supplies a chronological element, which, however, is insufficiently determined: while the Mi-p'am was on the abbatial see, king Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and his sons erected the *mani*-wall as a funeral offering for the queen-mother (*a-yum*) Kun-'dzom Ñi-zla-dbañ in the Mouse and Ox years, corresponding almost certainly to 1780 and 1781. Equally imprecise in its dating, but this time because of a palpable mistake, is the second inscription, to which we had already occasion to refer and which was published by E.v. Schlagintveit more than a century ago<sup>1</sup>; he wrongly took it as commemorating the foundation of He-mis by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. It was set up by the Mi-p'am in order to record the beginning of the construction of the He-mis *gtsug-lag-k'añ* in the Water-Tiger year 1782 and its completion in the Water-Horse year; this date corresponds either to 1762 or to 1822 and its first element is clearly wrong; we would expect Fire-Horse 1786. The long *mani*-wall at the head of which the inscription stands was erected in the Iron-Dog year 1790.

At least three images of the Mi-p'am are found at He-mis, all of them unusually lively portraits, characterized by a white pointed beard and a half-benign and half-ironical smile. He was a patron of art; several *t'añ-ka* in the 'Ts'am-k'añ and a great gilt *mc'od-rten* in the Bar-pa Lba-k'añ at He-mis were made upon his order. He introduced the famous Ten Day's festival at He-mis, and under him the monastery grew very rich. He died on 18.IX (7th November), 1808, and his funeral ceremonies were performed at Lhasa in 1810<sup>2</sup>.

We may as well discuss here the succession to the see of He-mis. The date of death of the second *sprul-sku* Ñag-dbañ mTs'o-skyes-rdo-rje is unknown, but may be placed within the first twenty years of the 18th century. The local tradition gives as his successor a *rgyal-*

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<sup>1</sup> E. v. Schlagintveit, "Tibetische Inschrift aus dem Kloster He-mis in Ladakh", in *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1864, II, 305-318; previously he had published the text only in his *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig-Longon 1863, between pp. 188-189. I checked the inscription on the spot and found that Schlagintveit's text is on the whole correct; but the translation is not quite reliable and some personal names are not recognized as such. For the other inscription I utilized an eye-copy made by Professor Tucci in 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 489; *DL9*, 107b.

*sras sprul-sku*. A short *Sāmonātha-gsol-'debs*, compiled by the order of the bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or Yoñs-'dzin about 1814–1817 and found at He-mis, calls him bsTan-'dzin Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje, a form almost identical with the Ts'e-dbañ-'p'rin-las-bstan-'dzin Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje of the great He-mis inscription. The only puzzling fact is that the biography of Ka-'t'og, supported by Central Tibetan sources, gives repeatedly the title of He-mis *sprul-sku* to his father 'Jam-dpal-mt'u-stobs, although there is no room for two *rgyal-sras* in the traditional list <sup>1</sup>.

Other members of the family are known. When in 1769–1770 the Mi-p'am went to bKra-śis-lhun-po, he was joined there by his brother, a Lama called Blo-bzañ-'p'rin-las-rgyal-mts'an, who was granted mystical powers <sup>2</sup>; this may be the son of queen Kun-'dzom who, according to the Chronicle, "was very clever in medicine and went to Lhasa" <sup>3</sup>. He is not the same as the brother of Mi-p'am who came to bKra-śis-lhun-po with him in 1764, because he was tonsured there, being given the ecclesiastical name Blo-bzañ-bkra-śis; in 1766 he was ordained as a full monk <sup>4</sup>. Blo-bzañ-bkra-śis went there again in 1774, and in the 9th month of 1775 the Pañ-c'en granted him mystical powers <sup>5</sup>. He stayed on at bKra-śis-lhun-po, and in 1781 No-no *dka'-c'en* Blo-bzañ-bkra-śis contributed to the expenses for the tomb of the 3rd Pañ-c'en <sup>6</sup>. Lastly, we may mention the visit to bKra-śis-lhun-po of dBu-rgyan, treasurer (*p'yag-mdzod*) of He-mis, in 1776 <sup>7</sup>.

After the abdication of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, on 5.V (17th June), 1782, his eldest son Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal was enthroned at Waṃ-le <sup>8</sup>. This act was preceded by a formal agreement (*bcad-*

<sup>1</sup> The present incarnate of He-mis is the sixth of the series. As this implies an impossibly high average of life, we have to reckon with one or more long vacancies between successive rebirths.

<sup>2</sup> PC3, 290a.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 45.26–27.

<sup>4</sup> PC3, 227b, 249a.

<sup>5</sup> PC3, 352a, 363b. The La-dvags No-no who shortly before was awaiting the imposition of his ecclesiastical name (PC3, 361b–362a) must be another person.

<sup>6</sup> PC3b, 63a. He may be the *dge-bskas c'en-mo dka'-c'en* Blo-bzañ-bkra-śis occurring in 1788; PC4, 51b.

<sup>7</sup> PC3, 372a.

<sup>8</sup> Gergan, 483.

*k'ra*), containing an introduction and 14 paragraphs, which settled the position and the living means of the deposed king and laid down rules to prevent future abuses; it was signed and sealed by the Mi-p'am, Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal, the treasurer (*p'yag-mdzod*) Ts'e-rin-dpal-'byor, the minister Nag-dbañ and prominent men of Ladakh, Purig, Nubra and 'C'or-'bad<sup>1</sup>.

At the beginning of the new reign rights and privileges granted by the former king were confirmed, either in the form of certified copies or as new documents<sup>2</sup>. It is doubtful whether this was a special case or a normal practice at each change of ruler.

Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal was still a boy, being probably born about 1779. Till at least 1794 he did not bear the royal title, but was styled *lha-sras*<sup>3</sup>.

During this period there was the usual trouble with the Balti chiefs. In 1785 Śi-sgar and Skardo declared war to Ladakh; they put a large force in the field and built a fortress at Balaghar (Brag-dkar). They took the castles of Kye-ris and Ku-re and prepared to attack the chief of K'a-pu-lu. According to the usual pattern, the K'a-pu-lu chief Mahmud Ali Khan<sup>4</sup> and his son applied to Ladakh for immediate help. Ladakhi intervention this time was launched through Nubra. No-no bSod-nams-nor-bu and the "little No-no" of Nubra advanced on both banks of the Nubra river, collecting also the troops of 'C'or-'bad. They marched to 'Dre-go-ni (Dowani, NW of K'a-pu-lu), met the enemy there, defeated them and took the castle with 80 men<sup>5</sup>. We may suppose that after that the Balti retired.

In 1792 A'zam Khan, chief of Śi-sgar<sup>6</sup>, turned to the king of Ladakh for help against the *wazir* Ma-ma Sultan. The king sent the *bka'i-guñ-blon* Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub with a force, which was joined by the

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<sup>1</sup> Gergan, 483-488; List of Mañi and Books, n.16.

<sup>2</sup> Three such documents are known, all of them issued in 1783. 1) Confirmation of precedent grants to K'rig-se monastery (Gergan. Doc. 10/2); 2) Edict to K'rig-se monastery, abolishing unjustified tax claims by the feudal landowners on cultivators and monasteries (Schuh, LIV); 3) Certification of the copy of the grant made in 1779 to the mNa'-ris *sprul-sku* (document n.16 of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal; see above, p. 112).

<sup>3</sup> This is shown by a document (Schuh, LXXIX) and an inscription (F.18).

<sup>4</sup> List of the K'a-pu-lu chiefs in Cunningham, 30, n.65, with wrong dates.

<sup>5</sup> Gergan, 490-491, and Doc.10/5.

<sup>6</sup> List of the Śi-sgar chiefs in Cunningham, 33, n.22, with wrong dates.

troops of Purig. But the advance was postponed on account of the hot season and of high water, and in the meantime No-no bsTan-'dzin-lhun-grub and two lesser officials tried negotiations and succeeded, not without difficulty, in patching up an agreement <sup>1</sup>.

According to the eulogy (*c'e-brjod*) of Mu-ne monastery, during this reign troops from Kulu invaded Zañs-dkar and destroyed some temples <sup>2</sup>.

A few years later Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal assumed the royal title. According to the Chronicle, "after the death of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, the He-mis sKyabs-mgon rGyal-sras (Mi-p'am) and the nobles held a conference. They requested prince Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal to take a wife from Pa-skyum in Bu-rig <sup>3</sup> and invested him with the sovereignty" <sup>4</sup>. His brother Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal became a monk at He-mis and their half-brother 'Jigs-med-rnam-rgyal took holy orders at K'rig-se <sup>5</sup>. Of his three half-sisters, one was given in marriage to the chief of Pa-skyum, another to No-no Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub, and the third retired to a cell and died there <sup>6</sup>.

The young king had a careful education; he became proficient in the martial arts as well as in literature and above all in calligraphy. He lightened the tax burden on the people and was much beloved <sup>7</sup>.

Official relations with Lhasa continued, although the Central Tibetan texts are very sparing in information about it. Thus in 1784 a mission of about twenty persons, led by the mNa'-ris 'go-pa bSam-'p'el-can was received in the Tibetan capital <sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Document of bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin, in Francke 1926, 236.1-11. bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin is probably the "little No-no" of 1785.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 492-493.

<sup>3</sup> According to Gergan, 490, her name was dPal-mdzes dbañ-mo.

<sup>4</sup> LDGR, 46.13-16. Curiously, a document issued soon after his death gives his full name, but with the simple title Ga-ga; Document n.1 of Ts'e-dpal-don-grub-rnam-rgyal (see above, p. 111).

<sup>5</sup> During the reign of Ts'e-dpal-don-grub-rnam-rgyal (1802-1837) this prince lived at dPe-'tub, as it appears from an inscription (F.86). In 1840 he performed the funeral rites for his brother; Gergan, 550.

<sup>6</sup> LDGR, 46.19-22; Francke's translation of the last sentence is incorrect. On the double relationship between Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal (and his brother) and the Pa-skyum chief Muhammad Ali Khan see Izzet-Ullah, 287.

<sup>7</sup> LDGR, 46.22-30.

<sup>8</sup> DL8, 139a.

Much more important was the invitation tendered to the 8th 'Brug-c'en Kun-gzigs-c'os-kyi-snañ-ba (1768-1822) <sup>1</sup>. Already in 1797 the triennial mission brought to the 'Brug-c'en letters from the king, his Lama brother and No-no dPal-rgyas (apparently an official) <sup>2</sup>. Then in 1799 the king sent a personal envoy, P'yag-rdor-ts'e-riñ, whose request was approved and supported by the Dalai-Lama. The 'Brug-c'en was ready to start, when the 14th Karma-pa advised against immediate departure <sup>3</sup>. Eventually he set out on his journey in the 5th month of 1801, visiting the Kailasa en route. There he was met by the He-mis treasurer (*p'yag-mdzod*) bKra-śis and the royal official No-no P'un-ts'ogs-rab-brtan <sup>4</sup>. At K'a-sbyor (near Waṃ-le ?) he encountered the king's brother, i.e. Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal. On 3.IX 10th October), 1801, he was at He-mis, where he was received by the king and the *bka'-blon*, and from where he proceeded to Leh <sup>5</sup>. The reception he found in Ladakh was lavish, and both the king and the nobility vied in bestowing upon him precious gifts, of which the Chronicle gives a list <sup>6</sup>. But at that very time a smallpox epidemy broke, out, to which the young king fell a victim. The 'Brug-c'en performed the funeral rites in a grand style, in the 1st or 2nd month of 1802, and left for Tibet soon after <sup>7</sup>.

Let us note in passing that the 'Brug-c'en took care of the spiritual needs of his Ladakhi disciples. In vol. K'a of his collected works there are fourteen short *bla-ma'i-rnal-'byor*. One, dated 1796, was addressed to No-no Mi-dbañ-bsam-gtan; another to the Ladakhi envoy P'yag-rdor-ts'e-riñ; and a third to the Ladakhi queen-regent (*sa-skyoñ-rgyal-mo*) Ts'e-dbañ-rig-'dzin-sgrol-ma, which seems to be another (initiativ?) name for the widow of Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal.

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<sup>1</sup> The sequence of Francke's compound text of the Chronicle concerning the visit of the 'Brug-c'en, and generally the reign of Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal, is out of order, and the portions belonging severally to Ms. B and C should be re-arranged as follows: 46.15, 46.19-29, 46.1-19, 46.29-47.2.

<sup>2</sup> BC8, 401; YD5, 8b-9a, 10b.

<sup>3</sup> BC8, 41b-42a; YD5, 301-b.

<sup>4</sup> bKra-śis held office already at the time of the agreement of 1782; Gergan, 488. P'un-ts'ogs-rab-brtan will be met with again later.

<sup>5</sup> BC8, 45a-47a.

<sup>6</sup> LDGR, 46.15-19.

<sup>7</sup> LDGR, 46.30-47.2; BC8, 47a.

There were two prime ministers during this reign. At first the office was held by *Nāg-dbañ* (a shortened form; the full name is found nowhere). He first appears on the scene as one of the leaders of the army sent against the Baltis in 1759; at that time he was a simple *No-no*<sup>1</sup>. At the time of the revolution and of the covenant of 1782 he was already in office. He was one of the sponsors of a document (Schuh, LXXIX) dated 15.II (16th March), 1794. A Nubra inscription (F.83) calls him *c'os-blon c'en-po Ga-ga Nāg-dbañ*, with *Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal* bearing the full royal title; this means that his tenure of office lasted till after 1794.

The other was *Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub*, who was destined to a long career. His father was *Ts'e-dbañ-dpal-'bar*<sup>2</sup>, who is mentioned in a marginal note (*logs-bris*) of a book of the times of *Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal* and minister *Kun-skyob*, c. 1760<sup>3</sup>; in 1775 he was joint treasurer<sup>4</sup>. *Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub* appears first in an unpublished inscription at *Byams-pa* near *Leh* (F.211), where *bka'-blon Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub* and his mother *Padma-g.yu-sgrom* caused several images to be made as funeral offerings for *bka'-blon Ts'e-dbañ-mgon-po*, who may have been a brother or another name for *Ts'e-dbañ-dpal-'bar*. In 1792, at the time of the campaign in *Baltistan*, he was still a *bka'-blon*, and even in 1794, being another sponsor of the above-cited document (Schuh, LXXIX), he is only given the title *No-no*. Then toward the end of the century he married the half-sister of the king and became prime minister; as such he appears in two inscriptions (F.82 and the posthumous F.117). But almost all of his activity belongs to the following reign.

As said above, *Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal* died at the beginning of 1802, leaving a posthumous daughter but no sons; he was barely 24 years old<sup>5</sup>.

After the death of the young king, his even younger brother *Ts'e-dpal-mi-'gyur-don-grub-rnam-rgyal* " was made

<sup>1</sup> Document n.4 of *Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal*. See above, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Gergan*, 490.

<sup>3</sup> *Gergan*, List of Mani and Books, n.15.

<sup>4</sup> Document n.10 of *Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal*. See above, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> *LDGR*, 47.1. According to *Gergan*, 491, he was 33 at the time of his death, which is less plausible.

to abandon monk [status] and was invested with royal power”<sup>1</sup>. His full name is usually shortened either as Ts’e-dpal-rnam-rgyal or (chiefly in non-Ladakhi texts) as Don-grub-rnam-rgyal.

In this case too it is advisable to give first a list of his numerous documents.

- 1 Document issued on 15.XI (29th December), 1803, at the request of *dguñ-blon* Ts’e-dbañ-don-grub to the foster-brother (*‘o-ma gcig-pa*) g.Yul-rgyal-bsod-nams-bstan-’dzin for having engraved a series of Om-maṇi-padme-huṃ formulae in the Lantsha characters for Ga-ga Ts’e-brtan-rnam-rgyal-rdo-rje-mi-’gyur-dbañ-gi-sde (Gergan, Doc. 11/6).
- 2 Document issued on 1.XI (3rd December), 1804, apparently to the same person, who in 1803 had been sent as envoy to Kashmir and had brought back to the king the produce(?) of a *jāgīr* worth one thousand *k’al-c’en* (Gergan, Doc. 11/7).
- 3 Document issued in 1809 granting a field in exchange to the Leh *blon-po* rTa-mgrin-rnam-rgyal (Gergan, Doc. 11/1).
- 4 Document issued in 1810 from K’a-la-rtse, at the request of *bka’i-dguñ-blon* Ts’e-dbañ-don-grub, to the K’a-la-rtse *drag-sos* Kun-dga’, granting privileges concerning the water supply for irrigation, as a reward for his services when Śi-sgar was besieged by Ahmad Shah of Skardo (published by Francke 1907b, 609-611).
- 5 Document issued in 1810 to the sToñ-sde monastery in Zañs-dkar, granting exemption from taxation (Schuh, LXXXVIII).
- 6 Document granted on 4.VII (23rd August), 1811, to the sToñ-sde monastery, confirming the above and forbidding tax collection from it (Schuh, LXXXIX).
- 7 Document issued in 1812 to the sGañ-sñon monastery, approving the gift of the A-ci-na-t’añ-sgañ estate made by the *bka’-mdzod* Ts’e-dbañ-don-grub (Gergan, 11/4).
- 8 Document issued in 1817 to the A-lci *blon-po*, confirming judgments delivered before (Gergan, Doc.11).
- 9 Document issued in the 5th month of 1817, at the request of Ts’e-dbañ-don-grub, to the Hun-dar *nañ-so* No-no bSod-nams-bstan-’dzin, rewarding him for services rendered during the Balti wars (Gergan, Doc.11/9; the main portion published in Francke 1926, 236-241).
- 10 Document issued on 6.XII. Fire-Ox (12th January, 1818) to the Sheh *nañ-so* Ts’e-riñ in recognition of the official work of him and his father (dGe-rgan, Doc. 11/2).
- 11 Document issued on 20.III (25th April), 1819, to the Rum-bag *lcañ-sruñ-ba* for his service in forest conservancy (Gergan, Doc. 11/3).
- 12 Document issued on 5.II (27th March) 1822, approving of an arbitration by the elders of Ladakh in the litigation between three parties called Śar-ra, Śar-nos and P’ug-rtse (Schuh, LIII).
- 13 Document issued in 1823 to the C’or-’bad carpenter Muhammad concerning the control of a bridge made by Ali Singh of C’or-’bad and sundry other services (Gergan, Doc. 11/5).
- 14 Document issued in 1825 to the foster-brother Don-grub-ts’e-riñ, granting a field

<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 47.3.

in exchange for another that had been resumed for the construction of the great So-ma *man-gdon* near Leh (Gergan, Doc. 11/8).

- 15 Document issued in 1827, forbidding the noble house of dByi-gu to claim taxes upon Glañ-'k'or-ba, a servant of the K'rig-se monastery (Schuh, LII).
- 16 Document issued on 25.VIII (31st September), 1832, to the monasteries of Sheh and K'rig-se, confirming earlier privileges (Schuh, LI).
- 17 Document issued in the 8th month of 1840 endorsing a promise by the Śel gzim-k'añ family to give a daughter in marriage into the K'añ-gsar-k'añ family of dKar-ža (Schuh, LXXVI).

The chief figure during the greater part of the reign of Ts'e-dpal-nam-rgyal continued to be his brother-in-law and prime minister Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub, who "like a mother brought the kingdom to prosperity and merit" <sup>1</sup>. He also assumed concurrently the office of treasurer (*p'yag-mdzod*) <sup>2</sup>, which gave him the economic control of the country. An independent source confirms that about 1812 the *bka'-blon* "was perfect master of the supreme authority and the Raja took no part in the affairs of State" <sup>3</sup>.

External relations were as usual characterized by clashes with the Baltis. In 1804 Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub held overall command in an expedition against Muhammad Sultan <sup>4</sup>, who with the Balti forces had seized Śi-dkar. After a combat victorious for the Ladakhi arms, No-no bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin conducted skillful negotiations, as the result of which in the following year Śi-dkar was opened to the Ladakhis and the Wazir paid homage <sup>5</sup>. In 1806 Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub with No-

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 46.6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 490. He bears this title also in Document n.7 of 1812 (see above) and in an inscription (F.88).

<sup>3</sup> Izzet-Ullah, 288, where the name of the king is given as Chhatendruj, i.e. Ts'e[-dbañ]-don-grub, by confusion with the minister.

<sup>4</sup> List of the Śi-sgar chiefs in Cunningham, 34, n.25.

<sup>5</sup> Doc.9, in Francke 1926, 236.12-237.13. The translation must be amended on the following points. 236.13-15: "Once, while the *bka'-mdzod* was waiting at Ha-nu, Ga-ga rDo-rje together with No-no bsTan-'dzin, in order to relate (confront ?) Ma-ma Sul-dad (Sultan) with the circumstances of the case, sent him the following message: Looking back to your [position], you have quitted your own chieftain and you have' been so impudent as to bring here the people of Skardo as an army. It cannot be right etc." 237.3-5: "Then Ga-ga rDo-rje and No-no bsTan-'dzin together with our host went on like a conquering (read *žom* ?) falcon, and while the scarlet-red Skardo people held fast (?), they drove back the P'ur-bcags Skardo people". - 237.6: "Then it became appropriate to take action in order to secure supplies according to the season; No-no bsTan-'dzin" etc. - 237.8-10: "and after he had sent a present consisting of gold,



no dBañ-drag besieged the Nar castle near Śi-dkar, occupied by a Balti garrison. Once more bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin took the matter in hand and by clever diplomacy succeeded in obtaining the surrender of Nar from Ahmad Shah, ruler of Skardo, and from the Wazir of Śi-dkar<sup>1</sup>.

In 1810 a document issued by the king at K'a-la-rtse refers to a siege of Śi-dkar by Ahmad Shah; it was raised by the *drag-śos* Kun-dga'<sup>2</sup>.

In 1811 there was again a Balti attack, and No-no dBañ-drag and dPal-rgyas led the Ladakhi troops to K'a-pu-lu; the campaign was successfully terminated by bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin, who received homage from the Wali of Ku-ro<sup>3</sup>. But this success did not secure peace on the Balti frontier. In 1812 trouble arose in the chiefship of K'a-pu-lu, where the chief Yahya Khan had died and his minor son Daulat Ali Khan was opposed by the A-rgon, i.e. his half-brothers, born from a Lamaist woman<sup>4</sup>. No-no rTa-mgrin-bkra-śis-bdud-'joms and bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin were sent to divide them; eventually they settled the Argons on a piece of land and extracted a bond of loyalty from Daulat Ali Khan<sup>5</sup>.

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muskets and horses with Abdullah his son, together with the minister of Daru he was sent to Ga-ga rDo-rje to pay homage. No-no bsTan-'dzin himself sat there as mediator, and the Wazir and the *nan-gros* took a pledge in clear words".

<sup>1</sup> Doc.9, in Francke 1926, 237.14-18. The translation of lines 15-16 must be read as follows: "Ahmad Shah, the *jo* of Skardo, together with the Wazir chief (*jo*) of Śi-dkar, who earlier had been hostile [to Ladakh], now have up their enmity, respected their pledges and paid homage to the *bka'-mdzod*".

<sup>2</sup> Document n.4; see above, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Doc.9, in Francke 1926, 237.19-22; the last sentence must be translated as follows: "The Wali of Ku-ro was summoned and performed service". This is possibly identical with the disastrous raid by about 300 Dardis, who in 1811 laid waste the whole country from Dras to Matayan, carrying away 250 persons who were sold as slaves; Izzet-Ullah, 286.

<sup>4</sup> "In Baltistan the children of a person (male or female) belonging to one of the families of the local Rajas, and of a person belonging to a family of cultivators, are called Argon"; Biasutti-Dainelli, 140. In Ladakh the term means a son of a Muslim trader and a local woman; cf. B. Laufer, "Loan-words in Tipetan", in *T'oung Pao* 17 (1916), 492-493, n.173.

<sup>5</sup> Doc. 9, in Francke 1926, 237.23-30. Lines 23-27 should be translated as follows: "In the Water-Monkey year (1812), as the *jo* Yahya Khan had died and Daulat Ali Khan was still very young, his *argon* gave rise to many dissensions. They (or he ?) arrived at a place inside K'a-pu-lu. From here (i.e. from Leh) we sent No-no rTa-mgrin-bkra-śis-bdud-'joms and No-no bsTan-'dzin in order to settle their rank (?).

In 1815 a conflict broke out with Ahmad Shah over the castle of sKye-ris. No-no rTa-mgrin-rnam-rgyal, the *blon-po* of Sheh, was put in command of the Ladakhi army. The Baltis were defeated by No-no bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin commanding the vanguard, and Ahmad Shah made peace. He broke it soon after and took prisoner about one hundred Ladakhis; bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin obtained their release after three months of negotiations<sup>1</sup>. This incident became in the Balti version a capture of the entire Ladakhi army<sup>2</sup>; as usual, truth may lie half-way.

From the account of these events we can infer that Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub kept political power in his hands, but after 1806 ceased to command the army in the field. That task was normally entrusted to bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin, usually called No-no bsTan-'dzin, who was an able negotiator more than a successful general. As it appears from the document concerning him, he was the *nañ-so* of IDum-ra (Nubra); he is called [m]k'ar-[d]pon bsTan-'dzin in an inscription from Hundar in Nubra (F.85); and he is the Khaga Tanzin known to Moorcroft as the brother-in-law of Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub and the greatest landholder in Nubra<sup>3</sup>, and the Ga-ga bsTan-'dzin of Nubra mentioned in Ts'e-

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They exchanged (*res-bžag*) [negotiations ?] at sKye-ris. They placed Daulat Ali Khan in the mT'o-rtse castle and [told him]: 'Take the rank (?) of the *jo* Wazir. [We] gather together the *argon* and the nobility of the twelve Pā (?), and after we have arranged for them to settle down happily in the future, henceforth they (?) will remain bound to the orders of the king of Ladakh without any rebellion'. [This information] was conveyed to Daulat Ali Khan and he, having heard what he was told, took an oath not only to serve [Ladakh] but also never to show any sign of rebellion. A firm guarantee was taken and he carried out dirty and clean tasks [imposed upon him by] the outer and inner edicts (*la-rgya*), thus giving [us] success (*rgyal-k'a*)". About 1820/22 K'a-pu-lu was again under the sway of Ahmad Shah of Skardo; Moorcroft, II, 264-265. Cf. Vigne, II, 292, 317-318.

<sup>1</sup> Doc.9, in Francke 1926, 238.1-14.

<sup>2</sup> Vigne, II, 251. I wonder whether there was any connection with an apparent revival of Kashmiri suzerainty: in 1813 or soon after coins were struck in Kashmir for Ladakh, bearing the name of the Afghan king Mahmud Shah; Panish, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Moorcroft, I, 230. A similar information is found in Izzet-Ullah, 295; according to him the Ga-ga was the father-in-law of the minister. This was hardly the case, because bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin was of the same age as Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub. - J. D. Cunningham, "Notes on Moorcroft's travels in Ladakh", in *JASB*, 13,1 (1844), 245, commenting upon Moorcroft, I, 334-335, quite wrongly identifies bsTan-'dzin with the Bañ-k'a-pa who was master of the horse in Moorcroft's times (Bañ-k'a is the district around lCe-'bre).

brtan's account of the Dogra war <sup>1</sup>. He was a prominent official, but he never became minister.

Relations with the Muslim chieftains to the north-west were then influenced by an event which conditioned the economic, and later also the political life of Ladakh: in 1819 Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir. The new expanding Sikh state was a much more dangerous neighbour than the easy-going Afghans. Immediately after the annexation Ranjit Singh sent envoys to Ladakh, demanding the tribute and customary presents which had been hitherto paid to the Afghan governors; and the king complied without demur. In October 1820 the Maharaja's envoys again visited Ladakh and realized the sums due. It appears that the tribute was more or less regularly paid to the Sikh governor of Kashmir till 1834 <sup>2</sup>.

The change wrought by the new relationship became at once evident when in June 1821 a Balti inroad caused military preparations by Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub <sup>3</sup>. Although the matter seems to have been of little consequence, later in that year or early in 1822 the Prime Minister informed the Sikh governor of Kashmir that Ladakh was being invaded by Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Skardo, and that if the necessity arose he would apply for assistance <sup>4</sup>. Apparently no invasion took place and the danger passed away; but Ladakhi self-defence was now to some extent subordinate to Sikh approval and assistance. That was perhaps the reason why, when about 1825 Ahmad Shah conquered Śi-sgar, sKye-ris, and above all Ladakh's old ally K'a-pu-lu <sup>5</sup>, no reaction from Ladakh materialized, as far as we know.

Thus Ladakh entered into the political orbit of the Sikh kingdom. Ranjit Singh was not keen to annex such a poor country; but he watched jealously against any interference from other quarters. This was particularly the case when William Moorcroft, who reached Leh in 1820, tried to coax Ladakh under British influence. Without authority from the Calcutta government, he offered to the king British protection, and even prepared a draft of agreement to this effect. On 30th

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<sup>1</sup> Francke 1926, 245.11.

<sup>2</sup> Datta, 81-82.

<sup>3</sup> Moorcroft, I, 412; Datta, 70n.

<sup>4</sup> Datta, 82.

<sup>5</sup> Vigne, II, 292 and 317-318.

July, 1821, the king (styled as usual 'Āqibat Mahmūd Khān) actually sent a tender of allegiance in the shape of a memorial accompanied by the draft agreement. But in the meantime Ranjit Singh had lodged a protest with the British Indian government against Moorcroft's activities; and the governor-general, who did not wish to offend the Sikh ruler, rejected the offer and disavowed Moorcroft<sup>1</sup>. However, this did not spoil the relations, on the whole cordial, of the English traveller with the king and the prime minister.

Another visit, devoid of political implications but destined to have cultural consequences of great import, was that of the founder of modern Tibetology, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (Kőrösi Csoma Sándor). No account of his journey is extant. Only from his letter to the Government of Bengal dated Sabathu, 28th January, 1825, we gather the following facts. On 9th June, 1822, he arrived at Leh, where he stayed for 25 days. Then he started back for Kashmir, but on the 16th July he met Moorcroft at Dras and agreed to return with him to Leh, where he arrived on the 26th August. Upon the Englishman's departure, he stayed on with Trebeck at Leh, in order to study the language. During the following winter both retired to Kashmir. Then, furnished with recommendations from Moorcroft, he returned to Leh (1st June, 1823), where the prime minister received him well and recommended him to the Lama of bZaṅ-la in Zaṅs-dkar. He left at once for that place and stayed in Zaṅs-dkar from the 20th June, 1823, to the 22nd October, 1824<sup>2</sup>.

If the Balti frontier was on the main quiescent, plenty of trouble arose to the south. In 1822 armed parties from Kulu, as a result of a long-standing commercial dispute, invaded Spiti and ravaged it; the local people clamoured for retaliation, but the king was unable, and even peevishly unwilling, to help his unfortunate subjects<sup>3</sup>. Then again forces from Kulu, Kunawar and Lahul raided and sacked Zaṅs-dkar<sup>4</sup>. About 1825 Ratan Sher Khan (Ratanu), governor of Padar

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 47.17-25. In line 24, *dbyar-dgun t'og-gñis* does not mean "both summer and winter", but "two summer-and-winters", i.e. two years. Cf. Moorcroft, I, 418-422; Datta, 93-102. Text of the memorial and of the draft of agreement in Ahluvalia, 3-6.

<sup>2</sup> T. Duka, *Life and works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, London 1885, 28-29.

<sup>3</sup> Moorcroft, I, 456-457, and II, 62-66; LDGR, 47.25-26.

<sup>4</sup> LDGR, 47.26-28.

for the Raja of Chamba, invaded Zañs-dkar and levied tribute from the valley; once more the king refused help and laid the fault at the door of the local authorities<sup>1</sup>. Lastly, a force from Mandi and Wardwan entered Zañs-dkar and sacked it thoroughly<sup>2</sup>.

All this unrest was partly originated by the commotion caused in the hill states, first by the restless activities of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra, then by the Gorkha invasion and lastly by the conquests of Ranjit Singh. But it also bore evidence of the increasing weakness of the Ladakhi state.

Less distressing were the relations with Tibet and China. The bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or Yoñs-'dzin Ye-śes-grub-pa (1781-1845) accepted the invitation of the king and undertook the voyage to Ladakh; this happened in 1814, because in that year the Dalai-Lama wished a good journey to the bDe-'c'en-c'os-'k'or *sprul-sku*, to the envoys of the king of Ladakh and to the administrator (*mdzod-pa*; probably the mGon-po whom we shall meet with later) of the chief teacher (*slob-dpon c'en-po*) of He-mis<sup>3</sup>. The Yoñs-'dzin was received with great rejoicings; king, ministers and subjects vied in heaping upon him costly presents, of which a list was prepared by one rJe-btsun Tā-re. He even succeeded in converting some Kashmiri Muslims to Lamaism. After a stay of about three years, he returned to Tibet<sup>4</sup>.

A second invitation to the 8th 'Brug-c'en was brought in 1817 by the *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po of He-mis; it was turned down, no reasons being offered for the refusal<sup>5</sup>. In 1831 a lesser incarnate, the Bya-yul sNags-grwa *sprul-sku* returned to Lhasa from Ladakh<sup>6</sup>.

In the 8th month of 1826 *blon-po* bSod-nams-don-grub from Ladakh visited Lhasa<sup>7</sup>. Another special envoy of the Ladakhi king came to the Tibetan capital in 1827 with a suite of 17 men; his name is given as Ahmad Khan<sup>8</sup>. Probably he was one of the Muslim traders which by this time monopolized the *lo-p'yag* missions.

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 47.28-30; Hutchison-Vogel, 323; H. Goetz, "History of Chamba state in Mughal and Sikh times", in *JIH*, 31 (1953), 153.

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 47.30-48.1.

<sup>3</sup> DL9, 159a.

<sup>4</sup> YD5, 11a-b.

<sup>5</sup> BC8, 71a; BC8a, 3a; Gergan, 504.

<sup>6</sup> DL10, 257b. On the Bya-yul incarnates and monastery see Wylie, 174 n.554.

<sup>7</sup> DL10, 175a.

<sup>8</sup> DL10, 193a.

This renewal of diplomatic intercourse was connected with the contemporary events in Central Asia, which caused Ladakh to be drawn for the last time in the range of Chinese politics. In 1826 Jehangir, a scion of the Khoja family exiled to Khokand, attempted to regain his ancestral domains in Kashgaria. His first try met with a fleeting success; the second ended with his falling in the hands of the Chinese (14th February, 1828)<sup>1</sup>. Some of his followers, about 1000 men with 700 horses led by the Khokand prince Abdus-Sattar, fled toward Ladakh (1828). After a terrible journey over the passes, which lasted four and a half months, they arrived in the Shayok valley; by then, they were reduced to 300 men and 2-300 horses, completely destitute. They received help locally, to the amount of one rupee per man. The king wrote to bSod-nams-dar-rgyas, commander (*mk'ar-dpon*) of Brañ-rtse (Tankse), ordering him to send them on. After eleven days they arrived in Leh, where they were given food and fodder. The king received their chiefs with the honours due to foreign rulers. They expressed the wish to leave for the pilgrimage to Mecca, or to stay where the king wished. Abdus-Sattar was housed in the He-mis Bla-brañ, i.e. the Leh residence of the abbot of He-mis<sup>2</sup>.

Almost at once this led to political difficulties. Ladakh had to avoid hurting Chinese feelings, because the transit trade with Turkestan and Tibet was vital for the economy of the country. After the Chinese had retaken Yarkand, upon the advice of our old acquaintance Ga-ga bsTan-'dzin, *blon-po* of Nubra, the king sent letters to the imperial commanders, congratulating them for the success and apprising them of the presence of the refugees. After three and a half months a reply was received, requesting the king to hand them over. And one and a half month later two Beks, sent by the Yarkand Ambans, visited Leh, where they stayed for some days as guests of the king. Then, for some unknown reason, the handling of the matter was transferred to the Ambans of Lhasa, who in the 3rd month of 1828 sent to Ladakh the *bka'-blon* bŚad-sgra Don-grub-rdo-rje, to arrange for the extradition of the rebels. Abdus-Sattar and his men were arrested, chained

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<sup>1</sup> On the revolt of Jehangir see Wei Yüan's *Shêng-wu-chi*, as translated by C. Imbault-Huart, *Recueil de documents sur l'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1881, 12-53. Also A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, Washington 1943-1944, 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Sonam*, 38-41; Gergan, 501-502.

and handed over. They were carried to Tibet, and soon word came from Ru-t'og-mk'ar that those luckless men had been done to death by the Chinese, before the Dalai-Lama could know about the matter <sup>1</sup>. Actually there was some discussion between China and Ladakh about the real number; out of about one hundred arrested (the rest apparently had been quietly allowed to disappear), 45 escaped, 19 died of illness, 24 were handed over at once, and a further batch of 14 was delivered later. The king was rewarded by the grant of the 5th-rank button with the peacock feather, and the lesser Ladakhi chief Sa-mo (?) was given the gold button. bŚad-sgra returned to Tibet in the 10th month after having successfully accomplished his task <sup>2</sup>.

These unsavoury proceedings left an uneasy feeling with the king, mainly because at the moment of their arrest the refugees in their anguish had uttered threats and curses against the king and his son, wishing them to die of the smallpox. So the king averted the omen by offering alms (15 rupees on the 15th and 30th day of every month to Muslim paupers) and by having prayers and formulas against evil recited by the Dalai-Lama <sup>3</sup>.

To crown the whole, early in 1829 Ladakh sent envoys with some modest presents to Lhasa, to be forwarded to Peking. This caused bureaucratic difficulties, because Ladakh was not enrolled among the imperial tributaries; but the presents were accepted as a special case <sup>4</sup>.

At this time Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub was almost certainly dead, because he is not mentioned in connection with the affair of the Turki refugees, as he certainly would if he had been alive. As a guess, I would place his death about 1825. He was 54 at the time of his death <sup>5</sup> and had governed Ladakh during a whole generation. As our sources stand, it is difficult to gain an impression of his qualities as a statesman. Moorcroft thought him to be of sound judgment, but easily influenced

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<sup>1</sup> *Sonam*, 41-43; *Gergan*, 502-503. For the mission of *bka'-blon* bŚad-sgra, see Petech 1973, 162-163.

<sup>2</sup> *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, 141.6b-7b, 148.11a-b; *DL10*, 194b, 201a; *PC4*, 223b; Petech 1973, 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Sonam*, 43-44; *Gergan*, 503-504.

<sup>4</sup> *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, 154.4b-5b.

<sup>5</sup> *Gergan*, 498. But according to Moorcroft, I, 249, in 1821 "he appeared to be about sixty".

by the people about him<sup>1</sup>. But in any case “the administration of affairs was wholly in the hands of the Prime Minister, the king being little more than a cipher in the state”<sup>2</sup>.

The demise of Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub was followed by a sharp change, and “there was great confusion in the affairs of the state”<sup>3</sup>. The king apparently rejoiced in finding himself at last free after so many years of lack of power. But his reaction was extremely unfortunate and seems to reveal in his character a streak of heredity from his father Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. He became self-opinionated, corrupt and tyrannical. “With the men in charge before, he could not agree. The seal of Prime Minister [was taken] by the king himself and he consulted men of a new type, such as the 'go-pa mGon-po etc. The noble families he did not attend to. The king of Zañs-dkar, the *bka'-blon* of Purig and others were kept in Ladakh imprisoned. The new officials that stood before him were appointed district commanders (*mk'ar-dpon*), and everywhere the good old customs were destroyed”<sup>4</sup>. Apart from the general oppression, inefficiency, and disregard for the old nobility, the main feature of the new situation was the abolition or suspension of the premiership. The king wanted to be the Prime Minister of himself, and indeed the office remained vacant till the end of the kingdom. This could hardly make for efficient administration.

Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal married apparently only one wife, the Pa-skyum lady who was the widow of his brother Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal<sup>5</sup>; she is called Zi-zi Khatun in the Chronicle. She bore him a daughter, Bhil-c'un, and then (about 1810) a son called Ts'e-dbañ-rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal<sup>6</sup>. The information concerning this prince is dispersed in

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<sup>1</sup> Moorcroft, I, 249-250, 335. His name is spelt as Kalon Chuhwan Tundi in the draft of agreement with the British-Indian government, and as Tsiva Tandu in Moorcroft, I, 249.

<sup>2</sup> Moorcroft, I, 255, 334.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 499.

<sup>4</sup> LDGR, 47.7-17. Francke's translation of lines 10-11 ought to be corrected as follows: “The private servants in the palace were not allowed to sleep or lie down at night, as they had to sign a written pledge to consider [the night] as a day”. The text of the Chronicle is once more out of order; this passage, placed before the visit of Moorcroft when Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub was still alive, clearly belongs after it. — Cf. Datta, 70-72.

<sup>5</sup> Moorcroft, I, 333.

<sup>6</sup> LDGR, 47.5-6. The date is inferred from the fact that he was about 10-11 years old in 1820-21; Moorcroft, I, 395. Cunningham, 350, makes him twenty-one years old at the time of his death in 1839, which is of course impossible.



the Chronicle in a way which offers insuperable difficulties to coordination. The text is quite certainly out of order, and I have re-arranged its elements according to their logical sequence.

At first the prince lived a quiet and secluded life at court <sup>1</sup>. Then we are informed that in the Wood-Ox year the 5th Yoñs-'dzin Ye-śes-grub-pa wrote a letter declaring the prince to be an incarnation of the He-mis *sku-žabs* Bhil-ba-rdo-rje <sup>2</sup>. The Wood-Ox year would be 1805, which is impossible, as the prince was not an incarnate in the times of Moorcroft. It should be corrected into Earth-Ox 1829. In spite of his reluctance, his mother tried to arrange a marriage with a girl from the Lha-rgya-ri family of south-eastern Central Tibet, descended from the old kings and one of the five noblest houses (*sde-dpon*) of Tibet. For this purpose the *nañ-blon* No-no P'un-ts'ogs-rab-brtan went to Lhasa with the *lo-p'yag*; but the negotiations fell through and the minister died in Tibet <sup>3</sup>.

The prince was now known by the title mC'og-sprul (High Incarnate) and had his official residences at He-mis and ICe-'bre; in reality, he preferred touring the country with his mother, who had fallen under the influence of the treasurer (*p'yag-mdzod*) bSod-nams-dbañ-p'yug. But the question of the succession to the throne was becoming urgent, as he was the last scion of the dynasty. Being a *rig-'dzin*, i.e. a layman leading a religious life, he was not obliged to celibacy. Thus the *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po went to Tibet to enlist the help of the 'Brug-c'en, and the advice of the latter, coupled with the insinstances of the king, the ministers and of Ācārya, the 4th incarnate of He-mis <sup>4</sup>, succeeded in convincing him to marry. In about 1830 <sup>5</sup> he took as wife the younger daughter of the late Prime Minister Ts'e-dbañ-don-grub, by name bsKal-bzañ sGrol-ma, who on 15.IX (5th November), 1835 bore him a son, called 'Jigs-med-c'os-kyi-señ-ge Mi-'gyur Kun-dga'-rnam-

<sup>1</sup> Moorcroft, I, 334.

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 48.10-11. Bhir-ba-rdo-rje was *rtsa-ba'i-bla-ma* (of the king?) in the times of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, as shown by an inscription from the (no longer existing) bKra-śis-duñ-dkar monastery near P'o-t'og-sa (F.76; published in Francke 1906a, 647-648); he was the incarnation of the mind (*t'ugs*) of sTag-ts'añ-ras-pa; Gergan, 500.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 48.3-6; Gergan, 501. On the Lha-rgya-ri family see Petech 1973, 50.

<sup>4</sup> The name was not recognized as such by Francke. The Tibetan name of the Atsarya *sprul-sku* is found nowhere and apparently has been forgotten.

<sup>5</sup> This date is given by Gergan, 504. The Ms. B of the Chronicle gives Water-Horse 1822, which is by all counts impossible.

rgyal. In the same year the mC'og-sprul married also *btsun-mo* bSod-nams-dpal-skyid of Pa-skyum in Purig, and Zo-ra Khatun, a Muslim girl. One of the two, called by the title Zi-zi Khatun, gave birth to another son called bsTan-sruñ-g.yul-rgyal<sup>1</sup>.

This change in the status of the prince, as well as a growing estrangement between son and father, led to a political change. According to Gergan, 505, in 1830 Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal abdicated in favour of his son. No authority is quoted and the Chronicle is silent on the subject. However, it is a fact that in the early thirties of the century the mC'og-sprul bore the royal title, even in front of the British authorities.

The long reign of Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal portended a last glow of royal patronage to religious art. The king embarked upon ambitious and expensive enterprises, such as the new palace of sTog, a great image of Vajrapāṇi whose head was made of gold and copper, a silver *mc'od-rten* with a golden finial, etc. In the Water-Tiger year he set up in the T'eg-c'en-goñ-ma hall at Leh an image of Padma-'od-'bar made out of 13 bars (*rdo-ts'ad*: ca. 1,6 kg) of silver. Other images of solid silver were set up at Sheh and in the sTog palace<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 48.10-19, 50.5-6; *Sonam*, 45; Gergan, 504 and 35b.

<sup>2</sup> LDGR, 48.2-9. The Water-Tiger year corresponds to either 1782 or 1842; both dates are impossible. Gergan, 498, gives Iron-Tiger 1830.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE DOGRA CONQUEST

The sleepy life of the small Himalayan kingdom was brusquely interrupted by the brutal invasion of the Dogra army of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu.

Our sources on the events of 1834–1842 are the following. 1) The Chronicle, which for this period is limited to Ms. C, in three versions (*Ca*, *Cb*, *Cc*) corresponding to three subsequent elaborations by its compiler, Munshi Ts'e-riñ-dpal-rgyas; to these we can add Ms. *Sonam*, which represents a fourth, fuller version of Ms. C. 2) The reminiscences of Ts'e-brtan, an old man of K'a-la-rtse, who in his younger days had done military service in the Dogra wars; published and translated in Francke 1926. 3) The account of Basti Ram, a high Dogra officer and one of the early wazirs of Ladakh, written (possibly in Urdu) at the request of Cunningham, who included an English version of it in his book; it stops with the reinstatement of the old king in 1839, and the rest of the narrative down to the final Dogra conquest is told according to an unspecified source, which Cunningham calls "other information". To these, Gergan adds three more. 4) An account added to the series of the descendants of Padma-dkar-po. 5) An account of the mishaps and destructions undergone by the Lamayuru monastery during the war, compiled in 1862 by its *bla-zur* dKon-mc'og-rañ-grol (of little importance). 6) Oral account of the personal experiences of a *drun-yig* of king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal<sup>1</sup>. These three sources are not available to me, and I know them only through the quotations made by Gergan.

On the basis of the sources 1–3 (with the exclusion of Ms. *Sonam*) the tale of the fall of the Ladakhi kingdom was pieced together by Francke and, more recently and better informed, by Datta; the detailed account of the latter is supplemented by interesting collateral evi-

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<sup>1</sup> See the list in Gergan, 511.

dence supplied by the reports of British officers on the border, who watched as interested spectators the extinction of the small mountain kingdom. As to the Chinese documents, they are relevant only for Zorawar Singh's campaign in Western Tibet. It is worthwhile to recount the story once more, if nothing else because the Ms. *Sonam*, now available, supplies some details not found elsewhere, being particularly useful for the events that followed Zorawar Singh's tragic end. Besides, the chronology of the events needs revision in some cases.

The twenties of the 19th century saw the slow, but continuous rise of Gulab Singh (1792–1857), first as a factor in the political life of the Sikh kingdom of the Panjab, then as the ruler of Jammu under Sikh suzerainty. Ably supported by his brothers, in the course of about fifteen years he built up a solid centre of power in the hills bordering the plains of the Panjab. In 1834 he turned his eyes toward Ladakh; he gathered a force of about 5000 men and placed it under the command of his best lieutenant, Zorawar Singh Kahluria (1786–1841), entrusting him with the task of conquering Ladakh and perhaps Baltistan as well. In July 1834 Zorawar Singh set out from Kashtwar, of which country he was the governor, crossed the Bhot Khol pass and entered Purig.

The Ladakhis were taken by surprise. The young king mC'og-sprul was preparing to leave for a pilgrimage to the Kailasa; and although he had heard of threatening Dogra movements, he would not postpone his journey; on 4.VI (21st July) he started with a slender attendance<sup>1</sup>. Practically this spelt the end of his four-years rule, because during his absence the task to cope with the emergency fell upon the shoulders of his father. The latter assembled a scratch force, with which on the 16th August the sTog *blon-po* rDo-rje-rnam-rgyal gave battle to the invaders at Sañ-k'u; he lost, but the defeat was by no means decisive. The Dogras slowly advanced to Suru and then to Pa-skyum, where they halted during the winter. Prince mC'og-sprul returned home in the 11th month (January 1835), but even after he acted only as the junior colleague of his father; and indeed about this time the Chronicle speaks of the kings Ts'e[-dbañ-rab]-brtan-rnam-rgyal and [Ts'e-dpal-]Don-grub-rnam-rgyal<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gergan, 508, 511.

<sup>2</sup> Sonam, 50. LDGR, 49.6, has *rgyal-po dan Ts'e-brtan* etc.; the conjunction *dan* is redundant and must be deleted.

During this lull the sTog-po *blon-po* tried to negotiate. The Ladakhis availed themselves also of the presence of an Englishman, Dr. Henderson, who had arrived at Leh and was prevented from departing; they tried to give the impression that he was there because charged of a mission by the British government. But an enquiry through Ranjit Singh elicited the fact that he had entered Ladakh against the positive orders of his government. So the Dogra refused to be intimidated and in the end Henderson was allowed to depart, via Baltistan; he arrived in Kashmir in November 1835<sup>1</sup>. At that moment Zorawar Singh would have been content to retire in consideration of a tribute of 15,000 rupees. The king and his son would have agreed to this, thus saving their country from invasion (at least for the time being); but the queen succeeded in vetoing the arrangement. Substantial reinforcements were set in march for Purig under the command of the Leh *blon-po* dÑos-grub-bstan-'dzin and of the Nubra *blon-po* rDo-rje-bstan-'dzin<sup>2</sup>. Early in April 1835<sup>3</sup> a picked battle was fought at Lan-mk'ar-tse and ended with the utter defeat of the Ladakhis. The sTog *blon-po* rDo-rje-rnam-rgyal, a mere boy of 15 years, was killed; dÑos-grub-bstan-'dzin was wounded and taken prisoner. This battle was decisive; although the Bañ-k'a *bka'-blon* of lCe-'bre attacked the rear of the victors and recovered a part of the booty, his was a mere raid, and after this passing success he escaped to Baltistan.

After the battle the main Dogra force advanced without opposition through Mulbhe, mK'ar-bu and Lamayuru, as far as Ba-sgo. No fight was left in the Ladakhis; the king bowed to the inevitable and went to meet Zorawar Singh at Ba-sgo. Then both moved to Leh, where an agreement was negotiated and signed; the prince took no part in this, although later he was induced to pay his homage to Zorawar Singh. Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal was confirmed on his throne, but only as a vassal of Raja Gulab Singh, subjected to an annual tribute of 20,000 rupees and a war indemnity of 50,000 rupees. Munshi Daya Ram was stationed in Leh as representative of the Jammu Raja. After a stay of

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<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, 10-12; Vigne, II, 333-337, 375; B. C. Hügel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, London 1845, 102, 125, 151; A. Lamb, *British and Chinese Central Asia; The road to Lhasa 1767 to 1905*, London 1960, 60-61.

<sup>2</sup> He was the eldest son of Ga-ga bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin of Nubra, Moorcroft, I, 408.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 514, gives the date 3.XII (31st January, 1835), which seems less likely.

four months in Leh, and before the winter closed the passes, in October 1835 Zorawar Singh left Ladakh at the head of his victorious forces <sup>1</sup>.

During the following months the king tried to obtain support elsewhere, in order to limit the Dogra requests upon Ladakh and to safeguard its threatened independence. After the departure of Zorawar Singh he wrote to Claude Wade, the British Agent at Ludhiana, asking for help against the Dogras; but the British, although bringing the point to the attention of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were bound by the treaty of 1809, which forbade them to interfere with the territories beyond the Satej <sup>2</sup>. In 1836 the national party at the Ladakhi court, headed by the Bañ-k'a *bka'-blon* and by *p'yag-mdzod* bSod-nams-dbañ-p'yug, the favourite of the queen, definitely gained the upper hand; even the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who was jealous of the successes of Gulab Singh, incited the king to revolt <sup>3</sup>. In November of that year the king sent a special envoy to the British Political Agent at Subathu, seeking British protection and promising tribute; but in January 1837 the Calcutta government rejected the offer <sup>4</sup>. Once more, in the summer of 1837, the king sent a seven-men embassy to Sir Henry Fane, the British Commander-in-Chief, then at Simla; the envoys contracted smallpox there and all of them died. But already in July the Government had written to the Commander-in-Chief reiterating that "no hope of assistance can be held out to the Raja of Ladakh". On 30th August the Raja of Ladakh again wrote to Sir Henry Fane, requesting him to procure a *parwana* from Maharaja Ranjit Singh and another from his own government, restraining the invaders from further depredations; and once more he got a negative reply <sup>5</sup>. The name of the ruler in the English translation of this letter is given as Jank Raften Numkin, i.e. Ts'añ(=Ts'e-dbañ)-rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal. This implies that at that time the mC'og-sprul was still formally king, although he played second fiddle to his father since 1834.

Thus the insurrection broke out openly, and Munshi Daya Ram was cast into prison. At that time Zorawar Singh was campaigning

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 48.21-49.27; Sonam, 48-53; Ts'e-brtan ap. Francke 1926, 246.8-247.5; Basti Ram ap. Cunningham, 333-339.

<sup>2</sup> Datta, 152.

<sup>3</sup> LDGR, 49.28; Basti Ram ap. Cunningham, 340.

<sup>4</sup> Datta, 152, where "November 1838" is a misprint for "November 1836".

<sup>5</sup> Datta, 152-153.

in Zañs-dkar, where he obtained the submission of the country. Upon hearing of the revolt, he started at once, and by forced marches in a few days reached Leh. The Ladakhis were completely surprised before they had time to organize a resistance. Prince-king mC'og-sprul, who already in 1835 had a personal clash with Zorawar Singh and could not hope for pardon, fled by a roundabout route to Nubra, then to Drañ-rtse (Tankse) where he found his mother, and finally to Spiti; he was hotly pursued, till in October 1837 he reached a haven of refuge in the British-protected state of Bashahr. The British settled him with a small pension at Kotgarh, where he died in 1839, his mother dying soon after. Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal was deposed and given as *jāgir* the village of sTog. The vacant throne was offered first to the *drag-śos* of K'a-la-rtse, who, being loyal to his king, refused, whereupon he was imprisoned and deported to Jammu. Then Zorawar Singh appointed the Leh *bka'-blon* dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin as regent (*rgyal-tś'ab* or *srid-skyon*); he was given the Indian title of Raja, but not the Tibetan title of *rgyal-po*. The Ba-sgo *bka'-blon* Ts'e-dbañ-rab-brtan became premier minister. A fortress (*qila*) was built near Leh and a garrison of 300 men, under the command of Magna *thānādār*, was stationed there <sup>1</sup>. A Ladakhi delegation went to Jammu; it was composed of the son of the new ruler the Leh *blon-po* 'Gyur-med, the rGya chief Ts'e-brtan, Ts'e-dbañ-rab-brtan and others <sup>2</sup>. Actually they were hostages for the good behaviour of dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin <sup>3</sup>.

Of course these arrangements were made in the name of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who became the theoretical overlord of Ladakh. His position as such was acknowledged in a document containing the agreement between the new ruler of Ladakh and the Sikh government;

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 49.30-50.4; Sonam, 54; Ts'e-brtan in Francke 1926, 247.5-16; Basti Ram, in Cunningham, 339-342; Gergan, 600-601. mC'og-sprul's "comptroller of the household" bSod-nams-dpal-'byor, together with Mi-p'am rNam-grol, a member of the royal family and *dbu-bla* of the prince, set out for Lhasa in the spring of 1841, to perform his funeral rites there; Datta, 172n. This may be the same as the *blon-po* bSod-nams-dpal-'byor mentioned in a votive inscription from Sheh (F.121).

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 535, 540.

<sup>3</sup> The chronology here suggested differs from that adopted by Cunningham and Francke and is mainly based on the British documents unearthed by Datta. According to the Chronicle, dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin ruled for five years (four according to Western reckoning; four also according to Gergan). Actually his rule seems to have lasted a little more than two years.

and in the summer of 1838 Ranjit Singh received a tribute of Rs. 30,000 and a variety of presents, brought to Lahore by a mission sent by dÑos-grub-bstan-'dzin <sup>1</sup>.

About that time (1837) Ladakh was visited by the British traveller G. T. Vigne. His account of Ladakh is not very interesting, but it conveys a graphical impression of the utter helplessness of Raja "Marut Tunzin" (dÑos-grub-bstan-'dzin) as a mere puppet in the hands of Gulab Singh and his representatives. The Dogra resident Jnan Singh watched him so jealously, that when Vigne wanted to have an interview with the Raja, he had to crash the gate and to force his way into the Leh palace and to the presence of the ruler. Vigne asked him for assistance in the name of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but in the meantime Jnan Singh had entered in all haste; and the Raja, "who was decidedly alarmed, told me that he was willing to give me the assistance I wanted, but that he was prevented by the fear of Raja Gulab Singh" <sup>2</sup>. It was a typical situation of protectorate, in the technical sense found in British and French colonial administration of the 19th century.

Later, most probably in 1839, a rebellion broke out in Zañs-dkar. It spread also to Purig under the lead of one Sukamir of Hem-babs (Dras). Zorawar Singh, as usual acted with lightning speed. He entered Zañs-dkar, crushed easily the insurrection there, then marched straight to Leh, thus isolating the rebel area in Purig, which collapsed at once. Some of the Purig chiefs escaped to Baltistan; Sukamir surrendered and was publicly executed <sup>3</sup>. dÑos-grub-bstan-'dzin, in arrears with the tribute and suspected of complicity with the rebels, tried to escape via Spiti, but was caught near Tabo, brought back to Leh, deposed and imprisoned. The old king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal was reinstated, upon a guarantee of regular tribute, to which the expenses for the Dogra occupation forces were added. Of course his position was one of dignity without power, actual government being in the hands of the Bañ-k'a *bka'-blon* and of the Ba-sgo *bka'-blon* under

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<sup>1</sup> Datta, 114-115.

<sup>2</sup> Vigne, II, 352-358.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning Ts'e-brtan's account, it should be remarked that the Purig rebellion "after six years of peace", the flight of its leaders to Baltistan and Sukamir's execution, for which events he is the main authority, did not follow the reinstatement of the old king, which Ts'e-brtan does not mention, but preceded it. The memory of the old warrior must have failed him on this particular point.



close Dogra supervision<sup>1</sup>. To this short period belongs the last royal document from Ladakh: an endorsement of a promise of marriage of marriage of a girl of the Śel-gzim-k'añ family with a member of the K'añ-gsar-k'añ family of dKar-žva, dated 1840 (Schuh, LXXVI).

After this new settlement of Ladakhi affairs, Zorawar Singh turned his attention to Baltistan; relations with the Skardo ruler Ahmad Shah had been strained for many years, and a *casus belli* was easily found. The story of the conquest of Baltistan lies outside the limits of the present study and has been fully told elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. I shall limit myself to the Ladakhi part in it. In November 1839 Zorawar Singh summoned the Ladakhi militia for service in the Balti campaign, under the command of Ga-ga Bañ-k'a *bka'-blon* bsTan-'dzin. The old king was to accompany him. The measure was intended above all to prevent a rebellion in Ladakh during the absence of the Dogra forces, the more so as the Bañ-k'a *bka'-blon* had been in 1837 one of the leaders of the opposition party. On the whole the Ladakhi militiamen, whatever their feelings, behaved creditably in the campaign. The Baltis were defeated after having offered a stout resistance. Skardo was stormed, Ahmad Shah was taken prisoner and Baltistan acknowledged the suzerainty of Gulab Singh. The Purig rebels, who had taken refuge in Baltistan, were executed. But on the march back, at K'a-pu-lu smallpox broke out in the army, and both king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal and the Bañ-k'a *bka'-blon* fell victims to the epidemic. Their bodies were cremated at sTog by mGon-po, the He-mis *p'yag-mdzod*. Zorawar Singh installed as tributary ruler of Ladakh the little prince 'Jigs-med-c'os-kyi-señ-ge Mi-'gyur Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, the son of the deceased heir-apparent mC'og-sprul (middle of 1840)<sup>3</sup>.

The success of Zorawar Singh has been thus far uniform and brilliant. No wonder if he sought new fields for his activity and other provinces to add to the dominions of his master. At first he turned his

<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 50.8-12; Sonam, 55-56; Ts'e-brtan ap. Francke 1926, 247.17-29; Basti Ram ap. Cunningham, 343-345; Gergan, 541-542. Basti Ram mentions a stay of a whole year (1838-1839) in Jammu; but he is mistaken in placing this stay after, and not before the deposition of dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin.

<sup>2</sup> Datta, 118-127.

<sup>3</sup> For the death of the old and the enthronement of the new kings see LDGR, 50.12-22; Sonam, 56-57; Ts'e-brtan ap. Francke 1926, 248.18-27; Cunningham, 350; Gergan, 549-553.

eyes to Yarkand, and even summoned the Chinese governor of that town to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sikh government. But then he gave up the project, either because of the inherent difficulties or because of the strongly negative attitude of the British; to these motives we may perhaps add the fear of irreparable damage to the transit trade over the passes <sup>1</sup>.

The other possible alternative was Western Tibet, which the Ladakhi sources of that time, and Moorcroft in agreement with them, call *Byañ-t'añ*; the old rights of the Ladakhi kings on that country could be revived and turned to the use of the conqueror. The project was daring to the point of being foolhardy; not to speak of the logistical difficulties, it violated Chinese territory and clashed against British interests. But the old fox Ranjit Singh had died and the Sikh government was going to pieces under his weak successors; so there was no longer a strong hand to restrain the ambitions of Gulab Singh and Zorawar Singh. Early in 1841 the general sent a peremptory request of tribute to the Tibetan commissioners (*sgar-dpon*) of mÑa'-ris, and upon receiving an unsatisfactory reply, marched into the country.

Once more the tale of this famous campaign, which is known also through Chinese and Central Tibetan sources, is somewhat outside the scope of our research <sup>2</sup>. Zorawar Singh started on his adventure with an army of about 6000 men, half of them Dogra soldiers and the rest being Ladakhis and Baltis, mostly as camp followers; he had also six small guns. He brought with himself, more as hostages than as lieutenants, some prominent dignitaries from Ladakh and Baltistan; they were the deposed Skardo ruler Ahmad Shah, the Ba-sgo *bka'-blon* Ts'e-dbañ-rab-brtan and his brother No-no bSod-nams, the *lha-bdag* Ts'e-rin-stobs-rgyas, the Sa-bu *bka'-blon* and the He-mis *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po, who was in charge of supplies. They were followed later by *dbon-po* Rig-'dzin and Ts'e-dbañ-rdo-rje, acting as paymasters (*p'og-dpon*). The invasion started in April 1841 and met at first

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<sup>1</sup> On the whole episode see Datta, 128-129.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed account may be found in Datta, 131-144, with important sidelights from the British angle; this supersedes the earlier article by the same author, "Zorawar Singh's invasion of Western Tibet", in *JIH*, 44 (1966), 529-536. For the Chinese documents on the campaign see M. W. Fisher, L. E. Rose, R. A. Huttenback, *Himalayan battleground, Sino-Indian rivalry in Ladakh*, London 1963, 154-176. The scanty Tibetan materials were utilized in Petech 1973, 146-148, 167.

with uniform success. The local levies were scattered without difficulty and most of the country was occupied, including the main military posts; the most important, the old royal capital Tsaparang, was entered on 23rd August 1841.

Zorawar Singh's conquest of Western Tibet roused the hopeful expectations of the Nepalese Darbar, and the concern of the British authorities of Kumaon and of the Calcutta government. The British even sent an ultimatum to the Lahore court (December), but in those very days the situation was completely reversed by the catastrophe of Zorawar Singh and his forces. sPel-bži (bŚad-sgra) dBaṅ-p'yug-rgyal-po<sup>1</sup> had been sent to command the local forces, but these were practically non-existent and he evacuated the country. Upon his urgent call for reinforcements, the Lhasa government sent a strong and well-supplied force under the command of Zur-k'aṅ *bka'-blon* Ts'e-brtan-rdo-rje and of mDo-mk'ar (or Rag-k'a-śar) *bka'-blon* 'Gyur-med-ts'e-dbaṅ-dpal-'byor. Several Dogra units were defeated piecemeal, and this was the fate (19th November) of a column under the command of No-no bSod-nams, who was taken prisoner. Zorawar Singh tried to retrieve a hopeless position by a resolute attack. But on the 14th December 1841 (date from Chinese sources) at Do-yo (To-yü of the Chinese), in the neighbourhood of sTag-la-mk'ar (Taklakot, the capital of Pu-raṅs), the main Dogra force was overwhelmed by the Tibetans. Zorawar Singh was hit by a bullet and fell from his horse. He defended himself with his sword, but one Ya-so hit him twice with his lance, then cut his throat with a sword-stroke and decapitated him, carrying his head away as a trophy. The Dogra force was wiped out, most being killed, some being taken prisoners. Ahmad Shah, the Ba-sgo *bka'-blon*, the *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po, the Sa-bu *blon-po* of Sa-spo-la and others were taken prisoners. The garrison of sTag-la-mk'ar, commanded by Basti Ram, escaped to Kumaon, half of it perishing as victim to the climate while crossing the passes. By the end of March 1842 all the military posts of mŅa'-ris had been re-occupied by the Tibetans<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> On bŚad-sgra, an outstanding statesman of the 19th century, see Petech 1973, 165-180. He is the "*mda'-dpon* Pi-śi Śa-kra" of LDGR.

<sup>2</sup> My account down to the defeat of the Dogras follows Datta. For details for the last fight and death of Zorawar Singh see Sonam, 61; Gergan, 564-570.

Of course the disaster of the Dogra army stirred the Ladakhis, who hoped to recover their lost independence. The Tibetan commanders, though not ready to invade Ladakh in force, despatched the Hemis *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po, known to many of them since his visit to Lhasa with the *lo-p'yag* and who had agreed to play their game rousing the people against the Dogras. He addressed a letter to the widow of prince mC'og-sprul at Leh, urging her to summon the militia of Upper and Lower Ladakh. He sent ahead the bSam-pa *dbon-po* Ts'e-dbañ-rab-brtan, then followed himself. Soon the whole of Ladakh revolted and all the Dogra posts either were massacred or managed to take refuge in the fort of Leh (1st month of 1842); that strong position was placed in state of defence by its energetic leaders, the *thānādār* Magna Ram and the Kumedan (commandant) Pehlwan Singh, who sent word of the revolt to Jammu. When mGon-po arrived at Leh, he proclaimed the independence of Ladakh under its boy king Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, with the Leh *blon-po* as regent and himself as Prime Minister; he even revived the old royal court. The winter was spent in preparations, while the revolt spread also to Lower Ladakh, to K'a-pu-lu, and to Baltistan, where the Dogra garrison and the puppet ruler were besieged. All the Ladakhis from the age of 18 to 70 were called to arms and formed in units commanded by the local notables. Even a Balti force came to Leh to cooperate in the siege of the fort. Weapons of all sorts were collected from the old store, although most of them had been emptied by the Dogras, and others were manufactured with crude means in the villages. The insurgents received also support from Tibet: a small force of 100 horse and 500 foot under *mda'-dpon* sPel-bži (bŚad-sgra) entered Ladakh and encamped at lCe-'bre.

But the defence of the Dogra fort at Leh proved insuperable. As the available forces were amply sufficient, the Kumedan Pehlwan Singh, who did not agree overmuch with the *thānādār* Magna Ram, built up a defensive position of his own around the barracks (Tib. *c'a-'gon*, from Hindi *chāñon*) on the outskirts of Leh. A Ladakhi attempt at storming both strongholds failed. As the rebels had no artillery, they tried to manufacture cannon utilizing the iron bars which formed a part of the annual revenue from Spiti, and which were brought to Ladakh via Purig; also, the abbot of K'rig-se was summoned to practise his magical arts against the Dogras. Both endeavours failed, the new can-

non proving as unserviceable as the curses of the abbot. Then the Ladakhi resorted to a regular siege; the *mda'-dpon* with 50 Tibetan soldiers established himself in *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's* palace (April 1842), and the Ladakhi militia surrounded both the fort and the barracks with a parapet. A continuous fire against the Dogra positions was maintained for twelve days. At the end of them a Dogra officier called *Miya Rana* sailed out with thirty men and fell upon a Balti unit which held a part of the siege perimetre; it broke and fled. To follow up this success, *Magna Ram* made a sortie with half a battalion (*paltan*), putting to flight the Ladakhis in front of him. The situation was saved by the *Ga-ga* of Nubra with his countrymen and the Dogras retired to their entrenchments, not without heavy loss. This affair had as a consequence severe reprisals by the villagers of the neighbourhood against the town people of Leh who were suspected of sympathies with the Dogras. They looted the *He-mis Bla-bran*, where the booty from *mÑa'-ris* had been stored by the orders of *Zorawar Singh*. Some merchants were beaten, some were killed. A few notables, and foremost *dbon-po Rig-'dzin*, were imprisoned and handed over to the Tibetans. Desultory fighting continued for six days and nights<sup>1</sup>.

In the meantime, as *Gulab Singh* was engaged on the Afghan frontier, his brother *Dhyan Singh* raised a force of 5000 soldiers, well equipped to endure the cold and also armed with some pieces of artillery. In February 1842 this force marched out of Kashmir under the command of *Dewan Hari Chand* and of *Wazir Ratanu*, the same who as an officer of the *Chamba Raja* had fought the Ladakhis in 1825. Reserve units from *Jammu* and from *Kashmir* were to follow. After a slow and very difficult march, first over the snow of the passes and then through swollen torrents, the army at last arrived at *K'a-la-rtse*. As soon as the news reached Leh, the siege was raised, and the minister, the *lha-bdag Ts'e-riñ-stobs-rgyas*, the boy king and his mother fled by night; they encamped at *Roñ Lig-tse* (*Likchey* of the maps), where they cut the bridge over the *Indus*. The Tibetan force stayed on at *lCe-'bre*, while their main army concentrated at *Kluñ-g.yog-ma* beyond the *Byañ-la*. The situation was very serious, and on 18th April *mGon-po* wrote to *J. D. Cunningham*, a British officer then on the border, to

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<sup>1</sup> *Sonam*, 63-69. Cf. *LDGR*, 51-29-52.13; *Datta*, 142-146; *Gergan*, 571-575, 579-580.

obtain British support against the Dogras. But Cunningham, bound by the orders and general policy of his government, turned down the request (letter of 3rd May, 1842)<sup>1</sup>. Also the near-unanimity till then reigning among the insurgents gave way before the adversities. Rig-'dzin, who was to be handed over to the Tibetans, freed himself by a stratagem and managed to reach the Dogra camp. He was well received and was appointed *bka'-blon*; he summoned the Ladakhis to make their submission, and many followed his call. In the meantime the Dewan had reached Leh (May 1842). After two days he left the town to pursue the retreating enemy, while Magna Ram and the new *bka'-blon* remained at Leh to organize the supplies. About the same time a strong force under Wazir Lakhpat Rai marched to Baltistan, relieved the garrison of Skardo and crushed the rebellion in that quarter<sup>2</sup>.

The new Dogra invasion brought many hardships to Ladakh. All the monasteries from the border to Lamayuru were partly or wholly destroyed. sGañ-sñon was spared, and this was attributed to the virtues and the saintly life of a monk dKon-mc'og-rgyal-mts'an, who did not allow himself to be disturbed in his deep meditation by the invaders; the monks were simply required to furnish food and fuel. At ICe-'bre the Dewan clashed against the 500 Tibetan soldiers posted there; he surrounded them and cut the water supply from the nearby stream. After enduring the thirst for one day, being reduced to drinking the urine of horses and donkeys and all attempts at breaking out having failed, the Tibetans eventually surrendered. This meant the end of hostilities in the main portion of Ladakh, i.e. the Indus valley. The local people made what terms they could. Thus the new He-mis *p'yag-mdzod* bSod-nams-blo-zab went to the Dogra commander and promised to send supplies; in this way he obtained that his monastery was spared, and even that a small guard was posted at the entrance to repel marauders<sup>3</sup>.

Then the Diwan and the Wazir crossed the Byañ-la and sent ahead the Kumedan Maca Singh with 500 men to occupy rDo-k'ug<sup>4</sup>. In

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<sup>1</sup> Datta, 167.

<sup>2</sup> Sonam, 69-72. Cf. *LDGR*, 52.13-16; Ts'e-brtan ap. Francke 1926, 249.13-16; Cunningham, 354; Datta, 146-147; Gergan, 575-576, 580.

<sup>3</sup> Sonam, 72-75; Gergan, 576-577, 581.

<sup>4</sup> Or mDor-'gug, Durgub of the maps, Durgukh of Moorcroft, I, 433; on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Shayok.

the meantime the remnant of the Tibetan troops in Ladakh with the king and his ministers had left Roñ Lig-tse and retreated to Kluñ-g.yog-ma<sup>1</sup>. There they were joined by Zur-k'añ and Rag-k'a-śar with a reinforcement of 5000 men freshly arrived from Lhasa. They sent a corps of 2000 Tibetans accompanied by what was left of the Ladakhi forces against rDo-k'ug. They attacked the village for a whole night, but became disordered, and when their leader A-k'yam was shot and killed, they broke and fled, pursued by the Kumedan. Their flight was stopped at the bridge of K'ra-rug (Taruk of the maps) by the Tibetan *p'yag-mdzod* Mig-dmar, some *ru-dpon*, the Ba-sgo *bka'-blon*, the *lha-bdag* and the Leh *blon-po*, who managed to throw back the pursuers<sup>2</sup>.

After this battle the Dewan with the Dogra main force arrived at rDo-k'ug, while the Tibetans retreated to Kluñ-g.yog-ma, where they threw up some earthworks in the marshy plain. The Dogras occupied three hills dominating the enemy camp. There was desultory fighting for about two months, the Tibetans suffering losses from gunfire (among them the *p'yag-mdzod* Mig-dmar) and the Dogras loosing many men from mountain-sickness, among them the Kumedan Maca Singh; other losses were caused to them by a fire and explosion due to a cook dropping burning coals near a powder-keg. Eventually, on the advice of a local Ladakhi official, the T'añ-pa 'go-pa bSod-nams-'byor-lan, the Dogras dammed up the river in a narrow gorge, so that for three days the water flowed back inundating the valley. The Tibetan camp in the swamps was flooded, powder and equipments became wet, supplies were spoilt. As resistance to an attack had become impossible, the Tibetan leaders bowed to the inevitable and capitulated. It was a complete surrender, and the Dewan and the Wazir returned to Leh in triumph, carrying along as prisoners the two *bka'-blon*, *mda'-dpon* sPel-bži (bŠad-sgra) and fifty officers, while the common soldiers were allowed to return home (September 1842). The *bka'-blon* Rag-k'a-śar could not survive his disgrace, and while passing the Waṃ-le defilee he swallowed a diamond ring and died<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Long Yukma of Moorcroft, I, 446-447; a plain in the valley of the rDo-k'ug river.

<sup>2</sup> Sonam, 75-76.

<sup>3</sup> Sonam, 76-79. Cf. LDGR, 52.21-53.1; Ts'e-brtan ap. Francke 1926, 249.17-26; Cunningham, 354; Datta, 146-149; Gergan, 582-583.

Of course the Dogras were content with having reestablished their dominance in Ladakh and Baltistan and did not think of renewing the exploit of Zorawar Singh. This made it easy to conclude peace on equitable terms. It was done in the form of an exchange of documents executed at Leh on 17th and 20th September 1842, Dewan Hari Chand signing for Raja Gulab Singh, and *bka'-blon* Zur-k'añ and *mda'-dpon* sPel-bži for the Lhasa government. The war was over, and sPel-bži returned to Lhasa, while Zur-k'añ went to Jammu, where he was graciously received by Gulab Singh, and then sent back to Tibet. The agreement confirmed the existing border, allowed the continuation of the *lo-p'yag* and *c'a-pa* missions on a commercial basis without political implications, declared free trade in all commodities and provided for the supply of transportation service (*'u-lag*) for Tibetan traders in Ladakh and for Ladakhi traders in Western Tibet <sup>1</sup>.

The independence of Ladakh was extinguished and the country was merged in the dominions of Gulab Singh, who in 1846 became Maharaja of Kashmir under British protection. The monarchy was abolished and the boy king Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal was deposed; his undisturbed residence in Ladakh was guaranteed by the agreement and he was given as *jāgīr* the sTog estate with the royal palace there; his younger brother bsTan-sruñ-g.yul-rgyal was allotted the Ma-spro estate, which has remained in his family to this day.

The former king Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal died in 1873, aged 38, and was succeeded in the sTog estate by his son bSod-nams-rnam-rgyal (n. 1866, d. 1942), who in his old age became a Lama at He-mis, ceding the estate to his son C'os-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal, born in 1895; he died at an unknown date, apparently before his father. His elder son Kun-bzañ-rnam-rgyal, born in 1926, died in 1974 without issue and was succeeded by his brother, the present Raja 'P'rin-las-rnam-rgyal <sup>2</sup>. The family is now much impoverished.

The old nobility was completely deprived of power, not a single of the nobles being retained in government service; the only exception was *bka'-blon* Rig-'dzin, who changed his name into Govind Ram and

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 53.1-7; Sonam, 79-80; Gergan 584-587; Datta 149-151. On the various texts of the declarations see Petech 1973, 148n. Gergan gives short Tibetan and Persian texts.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 603-604; Sonam, 45-46 (with a mistake in the order of seniority of the last two Rajas).



was the right-hand man of the Dogra regime in its early years. The Leh *blon-po* and former regent dÑos-grub-bstan-'dzin, the rebel minister *a-jo* mGon-po, the *lha-bdag* Ts'e-riñ-stobs-rgyas and others were deported to Jammu. Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratanu returned home. For the moment being, Ladakh proper was left in the charge of the *thānādār* Magna, with the title of Wazir of Leh, seconded by *bka'-blon* Rig-'dzin, while Purig, Nubra etc. were placed under *thānādārs* of their own <sup>1</sup>. Ladakh ceased henceforward to have a separate identity, and therefore a history of its own.

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<sup>1</sup> LDGR, 53.7-15; Sonam, 80-81; Gergan, 590-591.

## CHAPTER X

### GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Sources on the administrative machinery of the kingdom are scarce, being practically reduced to two. One is the chapter on law and government in Gergan, 604–617; although no authorities are quoted<sup>1</sup>, it seems trustworthy. The other is Cunningham, who wrote when the kingdom was no more, although its remembrance was still fresh in the mind of everybody. The Chronicle is almost silent on the subject and not much can be gleaned from the inscriptions. The documents are more helpful, but for a full exploitation we must await the publication of those listed by Gergan.

The government of the kings of Ladakh, ruling a purely Tibetan country, was quite different from that of the Dalai-Lamas of Lhasa.

First of all, it was a lay monarchy, in which the clergy, however respected, never interfered directly with government; this of course did not prevent single revered teachers or monks belonging to the royal family from wielding a widespread influence in their personal capacity. Another difference is the survival of some of the institutions of the ancient Tibetan monarchy. Even in the protocol of the inscriptions some of the old royal formulae were employed down to the 19th century. For example, the phrase “ May the helmet [of the king] be high and may his dominion spread far ” (... *gyi dbu rmog mt'o žiñ c'ab srid rgyas 'gyur cig*), which occurs in many of the official Ladakhi inscriptions, goes back to the epigraphy of the 8th and 9th century<sup>2</sup>. The mention

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<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the “ appendix to the duplicates of the registers of the government food supply in the kingdom of Ladakh, deposited at the time of the *nari-so Blo-bde* ”, quoted in Gergan, 617. At the end of Gergan's book there is a list of naturals delivered as tax and of their recipients in the Sa-bu district, which can give us an idea of the practical working of the revenue machinery on the local level.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. in the inscription at the tomb of king K'ri-lde-sroñ-brtsan, published by G. Tucci, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*, Rome 1950, 91, and by H. E. Richardson, “ The inscription at the tomb of Khri lde srong brtsan ”, in *JRAS* 1969, 31. On the

of the first king of Tibet, gÑa'-k'ri-btsan-po, is as common in the Ladakhi inscriptions as it was in those of the old Tibetan monarchy<sup>1</sup>.

Head of the state was the king, whose official title was "Great king ruling according to the Law" (*c'os-rgyal c'en-po*). He was normally alone on the throne; there were, however, some exceptions. Firstly, it was almost a rule that the king in his old age associated the heir-apparent to the throne, usually without the full royal title. Then there is the special case of the three sons of Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal in the 16th-17th centuries; such an undivided rule of brothers finds its exact counterpart in the Malla kingdom of Nepal about 1400<sup>2</sup>. The position of the king was one of great honour and he was surrounded by a sacral aura. In one instance at least (Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal) he was regarded as an incarnation; but this was quite exceptional. As usual, and again in accordance with the precedents of the old Tibetan monarchy, his actual power was not great and could easily sink so low as to reduce him to the role of a *roi fainéant*<sup>3</sup>. Of course here again there are exceptions; Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal not only reigned, but was the prime minister of himself. The king was the source of all the rights and privileges granted to his subjects; and we have at least one indication that such rights and privileges needed express confirmation by each new king upon his accession<sup>4</sup>.

The king and the royal family were surrounded by a court (*mk'ar*), composed of special officials in direct attendance on the king. They were: the *gzims-dpon* (Master of the Chamber), who acted as the speaker for the king in audience; the *nañ-gñer* (Inner Steward), who presented to the king the petitions of his subjects; the *mk'ar-dpon* (Prefect of the Palace), who was in charge of order and cleanliness inside the residence and who acted as substitute (*sku-ts'ab*) of the king and of the prime minister when they were absent; the *gñer-pa* (Steward), who was in charge of the stores of wheat, barley, fruits and other foodstuffs and kept the accounts of in- and outgoing items; the *šin-dpon* (Master of

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meaning of *dbu-rmog* (symbol of magic power) and of *c'ab-srid* (political authority) see G. Tucci, "The sacral character of the kings of ancient Tibet", in *East and West*, 6 (1955/6), 197-205 (= Tucci 1971, 585-588).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. H. E. Richardson, "A ninth century inscription from rKotñ-po", in *JRAS*, 1954, 159.

<sup>2</sup> L. Petech, *Mediaeval history of Nepal*, Rome 1958, 141-145.

<sup>3</sup> Moorcroft, I, 334.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 122.

Timber), who procured and stored wood and coal from each district, and chiefly from Rum-bag, Rum-c'un<sup>1</sup> and Nubra; the 'degs-dpon or p'yag-bdeg (Master of the Scales), who weighed the incoming commodities; the dkor-dpon (Chief of the Attendants), in charge of the lha-c'un (?) and of sundry religious objects of the court; the yig-dpon (Chief Scribe), who penned the letters<sup>2</sup>. All these palace officers depended directly from the king.

With this exception the body of the officials was divided into two main branches, headed respectively by the Prime Minister and by the Treasurer.

The central figure of the government was the Prime Minister (*bka'-blon* or *guñ-blon*; in the inscriptions *c'os-blon c'en-po*)<sup>3</sup>; his office appears to be descended in direct line from the Great Minister of the old monarchy. His charge was single, and we find no instance of a collegiate body (*lhan-rgyas*, *bka'-śag*), such as it developed in the Lhasa theocracy; ministers or head of departments in our sense did not exist at all.

At the local level, government assumed a semi-feudal character, again in the tradition of the old monarchy. We should distinguish the territory of Ladakh proper from those of the feudatory chiefs in the outlying regions. At the end of the kingdom, there were eight feudatory chiefs, all of them theoretically entitled to be called *rgyal-po*; but in actual practice the royal title was hardly ever employed. They were the four Muslim chiefs of Pa-skyum (in Purig), bSod (in Purig), Suru and Dras; usually they were styled *jo*, a title typical for those regions; then the king of Zañs-dkar, the only one for whom the royal title was normally employed; the No-no of Spiti; the chief of Nubra; and the chief of rGya, who was the only one situated within Ladakh proper<sup>4</sup>. The latter's usual title was *jo*, but, perhaps in remembrance of an earlier independent position, he was sometimes called "king of Upper [Ladakh]" (*stod rgyal-po*)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> To the west of sTog.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 608-609.

<sup>3</sup> What Cunningham, 258-259, has to say on this subject is not quite correct. Also the note by K. Marx in Francke 1926, 122, seems to be due to a misunderstanding.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, 258.

<sup>5</sup> Gergan, 610. The line of the rGya chiefs became extinct before the time of Francke's visit (1909); Francke 1914, 63. As an afterthought, I wonder whether these *stod rgyal-po* of rGya were the descendants of the independent rulers of Upper Ladakh in the 16th century (see above, p. 27).

In the territory under direct royal control the great landholders held their estates under hereditary tenure. Two general courtesy titles were in use for the foremost among them: *ga-ga* (for elder persons) and *no-no* (for juniors), the latter title being also sometimes used for junior members of the royal house. Neither of the two was linked with a particular office. Government servants in general were called *druñ-k'or* or *druñ-yig*.

The territory of Ladakh proper was divided into a certain number of small districts (*yul*), governed by officials usually called *blon-po* or *bka'-blon*<sup>1</sup>. The title was hereditary, but the office was not automatically so. A list of these officials (and thus of the districts) for 1753 is represented by the signatures apposed to the Wam-le Award; at that time they were twenty-seven in Ladakh proper, to whom the two *drag-sos* of K'a-la-rtse and sKyur-bu-can should be added, a hereditary charge<sup>2</sup>. The *blon-po* did not draw a regular salary, but were assigned an estate in usufruct (*bar-lig*), which they managed with the help of a small staff of their own. Among the district *bka'-blon*, three occupied traditionally a more exalted position, viz. those of sTog, of Bañ-ka and of Sa-bu; in times of war these families usually supplied the commanders in the field. But after the Dogra conquest the estates of their retainers slipped from their authority and, having no fields owned and tilled by themselves, they were left wholly destitute. The *blon-po* in actual charge of districts could assemble and act as a sort of advisory council to the government; they also supplied the officers to the army. If not in charge of districts, they held no authority outside their usufructuary estates (*bar-lig*); however, they were entitled, by custom, to receive the offerings of the first crop harvested and of the first beer (*c'anñ*) brewed in their home places. Lastly, there was a class of lesser *blon-po*, called *blon-p'ran*; but they were mere petty local officials, the *blon-po* of A-lci being an instance in the case<sup>3</sup>.

Fortresses were in charge of *mk'ar-dpon*<sup>4</sup>, corresponding to the

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<sup>1</sup> The second title is particularly unfortunate, as it lends itself to a confusion with the Prime Minister. Of course in the case of Ladakh it is utterly improper to translate the term *blon-po* as "minister", which is its usual meaning in Central Tibet.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 467-468. Also inscriptions (F.111, 114, 115, 119).

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 609-611.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, 259, 279. The title is of common occurrence in inscriptions (F.69, 83, 85, 119, 207).

*rdzön-dpon* of Gu-ge and Central Tibet; but it seems that their authority did not stretch beyond the walls of the fort.

The highest official below the *blon-po* was the *nañ-so*, of whom each larger district had one, smaller districts being grouped together for this purpose. His duty was to collect food, fodder and fuel and to convey them to the royal court, wherever it was situated at the moment; the accounts were rendered to the finance department. He ranked below the *blon-po*, but above the *blon-p'ran*<sup>1</sup>.

At the lowest level there were the village headmen, usually called *gron-dpon*, sometimes *'go-pa* or *mi-dpon*. Each headman was assisted by a *do-ga-c'e*, a curious non-Tibetan title, perhaps derived from the old Mongol *darughaci*. In the city of Leh the governor (Slel *blon-po*) was assisted by eight *žal-skyin*, officials of the municipal administration. Other petty officials of undefined functions were the *dbon-po* and the *lha-bdag* (or *lha-rje*)<sup>2</sup>.

Justice was administered on the old patriarchal pattern, there being no distinction between administrative and judicial officers; nor there was any code. Still, there was an embryo of standing judiciary. These were the elders (*rgad-pa* or *rgan-mi*), selected from lists formed in each district; as a rule, sixty of them were in regular service and had to be in attendance at the court of the king. They were divided into two groups, one for Upper and one for Lower Ladakh, each with a chairman (*rgan-rtso*)<sup>3</sup>. As to procedure, anyone with a complaint went to the headman of his village or to the *blon-po* of his district and represented his case. Panels of five or seven local elders were then summoned to hear and decide the complaint. Serious cases went up to the capital. There the case was first presented to the *gśags-dpon* (judge), who then appointed a panel of five or seven of the elders attending court, but added to them two or more permanent magistrates (*k'rimś-dpon*), whose duty was to expound the law of the land (*yul-k'rimś*); the whole body constituted the court of justice (*gśags-k'añ*). No appellation against its judgement was possible. Punishments (*c'ad-pa*) included stripes (*lus-c'ad*), fines (*nor-c'ad*), imprisonment (*btson-c'ad*), and in extreme cases banishment with branding,

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<sup>1</sup> Gergan, 611.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, 271-272; Gergan, 611, 616.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 604-605, 611-612. A document of 1822 deals with a litigation which was decided by the elders of Upper and Lower Ladakh; Schuh, LIII.

and even death. However, the death penalty was seldom awarded and still more rarely executed<sup>1</sup>.

The finance department was under a treasurer (*bka'-mdzod* or *p'yag-mdzod*). He had equal rank with the prime minister. All the accounts presented by the *nan-so*, stewards etc. were controlled by him. Practically, he disposed of the economic resources of the whole country, and this explains the enormous power enjoyed by Ts'e-dban-don-grub, who cumulated in his person the two offices of Prime Minister and Treasurer; but this was quite an exception, and as rule the two offices were kept separate.

The treasurer had a staff of his own, but relied heavily on the collaboration of the *nan-so*, who in their capacity as revenue officers were assisted by the district accountants (*rtsig-dpon*).

The sources of revenue (*t'ob-t'an*) were taxes and custom duties. The most important item of the former was a tax on property (*k'ral, t'an, dpya*), levied as a rule on houses and not on tilled land. Real property was held by royal grant, evidenced by documents (*bka'-sog*) issued by the king. This was the only legal evidence allowed; if the document was lost or destroyed, since there were no copies preserved at the capital, a fresh one had to be applied for, the application being investigated and certified by the elders<sup>2</sup>. The unity of taxation was the house or firehead (*t'ab-k'a*). The tax on houses was collected partly in kind, i.e. in barley (*'bru-k'ral*) and partly in silver, minted or not (*dnul-k'ral*). The local collectors (*dpya-snud-pa-po*) transmitted their quotas at stated periods to the Treasurer at the capital, where they were deposited in the treasury (*gter-mdzod*)<sup>3</sup>. The poorer classes were exempted from the house-tax, but were subjected to labour service (*'u-lag*)<sup>4</sup>.

Other dues were a 10 p.c. tax on cattle (*bcu-k'ag*); a special tax on ironsmiths, belonging to the Mon Bheḍa class and considered an inferior class; and a tax (*ts'on-p'ud*) on the Kashmiri and Balti merchants established in Ladakh, as well as on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants, both

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, 262-263.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 616.

<sup>3</sup> Once we find mention (F.87) of a '*k'or-lo-pa bka'-mdzod*, who seems to be a circuit treasurer.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, 268-269; Gergan, 614.

native and foreign <sup>1</sup>. Before 1683 the king levied also a tax in gold (*gser-k'ral*), amounting to ten goat-loads of gold dust yearly <sup>2</sup>. Spiti and Lahul paid a tribute in iron-bars <sup>3</sup>. And of course there were annual presents, received from the *blon-po*, the *mk'ar-dpon* etc.

In a country in which the transit trade was of paramount importance, customs duties (*šo-gam*), imposed both on imports and exports, represented a large source of revenue. They were paid by the traders, after they loads had been inspected and assessed, either in silver or with a portion of the goods themselves. They were collected at the frontier custom-houses (*šo-gam-gyi-gnas*) by the custom officers (*šo-gam-pa*), who sent the sums and goods realized to the chief custom officer (*šo-gam p'yag-mdzod*). Only the merchants coming over the passes from Central Asia paid the custom duties in Leh <sup>4</sup>.

The gross revenue of the king of Ladakh during the last years of independence is listed by Cunningham as follows:

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Tax on brokers	Rs. 5,700
Presents or fees	Rs. 5,000
Customs	Rs. 18,000

Outside this regular budget remained the revenue from about 4000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and the amount derived from the crown villages (about 2000 houses), set apart for the maintenance of the king, of the queen and of the various members of the royal family. Out of the gross income of the regular budget, one-half of the customs and one-half of the tax on brokers are said to be the perquisites or salary of the Prime Minister; but this seems much exaggerated. The net income of the government was actually larger than specified above, because the king was the chief trader in his dominions; and since all his traffic passed duty-free through Ladakh, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. Besides, the king drew his food from the districts under his direct government, of which Nubra yielded the most, being less riddled with nobility and monasteries. He was supplied with corn, butter, wood and grass

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, 270; Gergan, 613.

<sup>2</sup> Gergan, 614.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 613.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, 269; Gergan, 614.



for four months in the year by Nubra; for two months by Rupshu; and for four months by Tankse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricot, apples and grapes.

The charges defrayed by the state were few in number and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty-free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The only paid officers of the state were the *blon-po* of Leh, the chief judge, the standing magistrates of Leh, the Treasurer, the master of the horse (*ga-ga rta-rdzi*)<sup>1</sup>, and, of course, the Prime Minister.

The armed forces were a sort of national militia. There was no standing army, but every house or family was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier to the government. The *blon-po* and *'go-pa* also furnished quotas from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants collected to oppose Zorawar Singh amounted to 22,000. This was of course a maximum, seldom reached. Also, it stands to reason that the military value of this rabble of untrained rustics was very low. The soldiers (*dmag-mi*) owning horses were enrolled in the cavalry (*rta'i dpuñ*); the rest formed the infantry (*rkañ-t'añ gi dpuñ*). Their arms were swords, matchlocks and bows and arrows. Defensive arms were shields and helmets. The army (*dmag-dpuñ*) was placed under the command of a commander-in-chief (*dmag-'go*)<sup>2</sup>, who was usually a member of the royal family or the Prime Minister or one of the chief *bka'-blon*; he was appointed at the beginning of each campaign and it seems that his charge was temporary. A relic of bygone times were the names of rank of the officers, the same as in Central Tibet: commanders of one-thousand (*ston-dpon*), of one-hundred (*brgya-dpon*), of ten (*bcu-dpon*); they bore no relation with the actual numbers supplied or commanded. The soldiers were obliged to find their own food. Each man was therefore attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Thus in case of a casualty the state had a substitute at hand, while the

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, 271-272.

<sup>2</sup> This was the official style, found in *LDGR*, 41.19, 48.24, and in the various documents in Francke 1926, 229.5, 229.9, 229.17, 237.20, as well as in Izzet-Ullah, 286 (*maggu*). The title *dmag-dpon*, given by Cunningham, 275, and found also in Francke 1926, 236.12 and 238.1, may have been the vulgar form.

family preserved the arms and clothes and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost <sup>1</sup>.

Some words may also be said about the mail service. The *'go-pa* of each village was bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high roads the couriers were all horsemen (*rta-zam-pa*) and the post was carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day, the latter being the express rate for urgent government business. All the officials made use of the village couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; but merchants always sent special couriers of their own <sup>2</sup>. As it can be seen this is a rather crude system, contrasting with the comparatively elaborate and efficient arrangements of the Tibetan post.

In the preceding pages we have repeatedly found occasion to hint at the paramount importance of the transit trade to Kashmir, Central Asia and Western Tibet. For the trade route to Yarkand I have nothing to add to what I wrote nearly thirty years ago <sup>3</sup>. Trade with Western Tibet was subjected to the regulations agreed to in 1683. The official trade mission from Ladakh (*lo-p'yag*) went to Lhasa every third year, headed by an ecclesiastical official, either a Ladakhi or a Tibetan resident in Ladakh; the practical management was left to a Ladakhi Muslim merchant of that class which had by long tradition been permitted to trade in Tibet. The Tibetans regarded it as a tribute-bearing mission, because it carried letters and presents from the king to the Dalai-Lama. The *lo-p'yag* always passed through sGar-t'og (Gartok), which was the chief mart of Western Tibet, visited during the summer months by traders from Eastern and Western Turkestan and even from the Russian dominions. From the other end of the line, the Lhasa government sent an annual mission to Leh; its chief was a government trader (*g'z'uñ-ts'oñ*), who was always a Tibetan official, lay or monk, of some standing. He was popularly called *c'a-pa*, tea-man, as tea made up most of the cargo of his caravan; he held his office for a three years term, during which he visited Leh once. Besides, there were lesser half-private trade caravans. Some Muslim traders enjoyed special privileges in the trade in Chinese brick tea between sGar-t'og and Leh. Border Tibetan

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<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, 275-278.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, 283-284.

<sup>3</sup> Petech 1948, 232-235.

officials often came to Leh to trade. Several of the larger monasteries in Ladakh sent periodically combined religious and trading missions to Central Tibet, and at about ten-years intervals a caravan came to Leh from bKra-śis-lhun-po. All these missions were entitled to use the compulsory carrying service due by the villagers. The main import from Western Tibet was the fine shawl wool (*pashm*), which during the last reign accounted probably for one half of the transit trade; it was a monopoly of the Ladakhi state, which sold the wool to the shawl weavers in Kashmir<sup>1</sup>. It was jealously guarded and only very small quantities of the wool reached the plains of India by any other route. Starting in 1799, the British tried to get direct access to this commodity, with little success. But after 1815 the wool trade slowly developed on a direct route from Western Tibet to Rampur, the capital of the British-protected state of Bashahr, encouraged by the new demand in the plains. The value of this trade increased by leaps and bounds during the years of the Dogra conquest of Ladakh (1834–1840), to drop sharply during their campaign in Western Tibet. When the Ladakhi kingdom was extinguished, its prized trade monopoly of wool was also slowly becoming a thing of the past<sup>2</sup>. As to the Central Asian trade, it carried above all felt, silver, horses, donkeys and some Russian goods<sup>3</sup>.

All this tends to show that Ladakh was a predominantly commercial state. Its agriculture was, and is, limited to the oases formed by the streams tumbling down from the mountains to wind their course to the Indus, and cleverly utilized by an elaborate system of irrigation canals. No town or village of great importance lies directly on the Indus, unless it stands at an easy or obbligate crossing, such as e.g. K'a-la-rtse. The agricultural output is barely sufficient to maintain a scanty population. Thus, beyond a mere subsistence, the economical life of Ladakh was dominated by the carrying traffic. A stranglehold applied on this trade would soon bring the kingdom to its knees. It was sheer luck for Ladakh that its military power was

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<sup>1</sup> How this trade was managed on the Kashmir side, is shown by Moorcroft, II, 165–168.

<sup>2</sup> The best overall account of the trade between Ladakh and Western Tibet in the early years of the 19th century is by A. Lamb, *Britain and Central Asia: the road to Lhasa 1767–1905*, London 1960, 56–66; my sketch is a simple summary of the able description given by Dr. Lamb.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 613.

never so dangerous as to compel the neighbouring states, interested as they were in commerce, and above all in the wool trade, to take recourse to the extreme step of closing the routes, an economic weapon of decisive power. It was left to Ladakh itself to take that fateful step in the 17th century, in the pitiable hope to put in this way pressure on the Moghul empire, then at its zenith. As far as we can see, *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* condemned to death the little mountain empire he himself had built, by committing economic suicide.

## CHAPTER XI

### RELIGIOUS HISTORY

The earliest religious layer in Ladakh is evidenced only by the graffitoes representing an ibex, which are rather common in the country; in later times the outlines of Buddhist *mc'od-rten* were drawn over many of them. This may disclose an early totemistic cult having the ibex as the sacred animal; it left its traces even in popular mythology, as according to a Ladakhi legend one of the incarnations of the Buddha was an ibex. Otherwise there are no traces of the earliest religion of Tibet and of its royal cult as revealed by the documents of the 7th–9th centuries. Nor do we find in Ladakh, as far as I know, traces of the later (so-called “organized”) Bon, although Bon was originated, or rather systematized in Western Tibet<sup>1</sup>.

Buddhism first penetrated into the country from Kashmir. This happened at an unknown date, but possibly as early as Kushana times, as shown by several Indian inscriptions of a religious nature, found chiefly at K'a-la-rtse<sup>2</sup>. In Dras, the westernmost part of Purig, Kashmiri influence lasted longer than in Ladakh, as was to be expected in view of the nearness of the Kashmir border. Its best known evidence is represented by the giant sculputes near Dras, two of them representing Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, and another portraying the donor, as shown by the Śarada inscription on its back. These sculptures are said to date approximately from the 10th century<sup>3</sup>. Farther east, the huge

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<sup>1</sup> Francke 1907b, 583–592, devotes a long paragraph to what he calls the cult sites of the Bon religion near K'a-la-rtse. Actually the short inscriptions he published seem to refer mostly to the Gesar saga, or to old local rites; there is nothing peculiarly Bon-po about them. See the remarks of H. Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*, Wiesbaden 1950, 139n. – Lamayuru was definitely not originally a Bon-po shrine, as maintained by Cunningham, 359, followed by Francke 1914, 67. This was strongly denied to me by the dKa'-c'en Rin-po-c'e, a learned monk of Lamayuru; it is also the opinion of Biasutti-Dainelli, 69, and Tucci 1933a, 67–68.

<sup>2</sup> On these inscriptions see Francke 1907b, 592–593.

<sup>3</sup> Francke 1914, 105–106.

statue of Maitreya at Mulbhe, another monument of Kashmiri influence, may be earlier (8th century?)<sup>1</sup>.

The Tibetan troops who crossed Ladakh en route to Baltistan and Gilgit about the middle of the 8th century cannot be expected to have exerted any religious influence, since Buddhism was only just penetrating their own home country. So we may assume that, with due regard to the Kashmiri influences in Dras, Purig and K'a-la-rtse, Ladakh proper was still virgin land, as far as Buddhism is concerned, till after 1000 A.D.

Lamayuru (recte: g.Yuñ-druñ dgon-pa) claims to be the oldest monastery in Ladakh. Its site is said to have been selected by Nāropā (956-1040)<sup>2</sup>, the famous teacher of Mar-pa, who drained away a lake to make it accessible. The oldest building there, called Señ-ge-sgañ, is attributed by the local tradition either to Lotsawa Rin-c'en-bzañ-po or to one of his disciples<sup>3</sup>.

Indeed, the penetration of Buddhism into Ladakh is closely connected with the famous Lotsawa Rin-c'en-bzañ-po (958-1055)<sup>4</sup>. He founded many temples in Gu-ge and Spiti; also in Ladakh popular tradition attributes to him several shrines, such as a ruined temple near Ba-sgo, the Rag-pa *mc'od-rten* also near Ba-sgo, two ruined *mc'od-rten* near Sa-spo-la, the Mañ-rgyu monastery, a little chapel at Mulbhe<sup>5</sup>. In no case documentary evidence for these attributions is forthcoming. But there is one shrine, for which we have absolute historical proof that it was actually founded by the Lotsawa; this is Myar-ma of the old texts, Ñar-ma of the inscriptions, modern Ñer-ma, now a complete ruin, not far from K'rig-se<sup>6</sup>.

Another very old complex of temples is A-lci. This too is attributed to Rin-c'en-bzañ-po, and one of its chapels, the Lotsawa'i *lha-k'añ*, houses his portrait painting<sup>7</sup>. But the real founder was A-lci-pa bsKal-ldan-śes-rab, of the 'Bro family, as proved by three inscrip-

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<sup>1</sup> Francke 1914, 101-102.

<sup>2</sup> Revised chronology of Nāropā by Bireshvar Prasad Singh, "Nāropā, his life and activities", in *JBRS*, 53 (1967), 117-129.

<sup>3</sup> On this problem see Tucci 1932, 68-69.

<sup>4</sup> On Rin-c'en-bzañ-po see Tucci, 1933a.

<sup>5</sup> Francke 1914, 86, 87, 88, 93, 102.

<sup>6</sup> Tucci 1933a, 64.

<sup>7</sup> Francke 1914, 91.

tions in the assembly hall (*'dus-k'añ*)<sup>1</sup>. A-lci-pa studied at the Ñar-ma monastery, and this shows that he lived later than Rin-c'en-bzañ-po. Another building, the gSum-brtsegs temple, was built by the *yon-bdag slob-dpon* Ts'ul-k'rims-'od, of the 'Bro family, as revealed by an inscription there. This repeated mention of the 'Bro clan is highly interesting; it shows that this old influential family, which had sponsored and supported the migration of sKyid-lde Ñi-ma-mgon to mÑa'-ris, held some estates in Ladakh and played a substantial role in the spread of Buddhism in the country. The 'Bro may also claim a share in the beginnings of figurative arts in Ladakh, as the famous A-lci frescoes go back to about that period (late 11th or early 12th century).

Another early foundation was dPe-t'ub, which was built by king 'Ol-lde of Gu-ge in a Mouse year, which may be 1042 or 1054<sup>2</sup>.

This building activity is to be placed within the frame of the "second spread" (*p'yi-dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet, started by Rin-c'en-bzañ-po and Atiśa and continued by their school, the bKa'-gdams-pa; one of the disciples of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po was a Ladakhi called Mar-yul-pa dKon-mc'og-brtsegs<sup>3</sup>. On the whole, we are justified in speaking of a bKa'-gdams-pa period of Ladakhi religious history.

Another epoch dawned when in 1215 king dÑos-grub-mgon patronized 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, the founder of the 'Bri-guñ-pa sub-sect of the bKa'-brgyud-pa<sup>4</sup>. From that time the kings of Ladakh came under the influence of the 'Bri-guñ-pa. Their main centre in Ladakh is nowadays Lamayuru, although we ignore absolutely when and how that monastery came into their hands.

It was perhaps the missionary zeal of the 'Bri-guñ-pa that persuaded king dÑos-grub-mgon to lay down for the first time the rule that Ladakhi novices should go to dBus and gTsañ for higher studies and ordinations<sup>5</sup>. This rule had a baneful effect in the long run. It meant absolute spiritual dependance from Central Tibet; it hindered the rise of an original philosophic and literary life in Ladakh; it implied the pre-eminence and spiritual overbearing of learned monks from dBus,

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<sup>1</sup> I utilized the photographs of the A-lci inscriptions taken by Professor Tucci in 1930. I owe thanks to Dr. D. Snellgrove for having drawn my attention to their contents.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> BA, 352.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> LDGR, 36.9.

which often clashed (as even today is the case) with the temporal administration of the monasteries, entrusted to Ladakhi stewards (*p'yag-mdzod*). When after 1959 tuition in Central Tibetan monasteries was no longer possible and the cultural source dried up, it tended to cause a lowering of educational level among the Ladakhi monks, and did not favour the establishment of local institutions for upper studies of the clergy.

The 15th century saw the penetration and rapid growth of the influence of the new dGe-lugs-pa school founded by Tson-k'a-pa. King Grags-'bum-lde, having received an envoy from the reformer, caused the monastery of dPe-t'ub to be built for the new sect<sup>1</sup>; but as the monastery had been actually founded by 'Od-lde of Gu-ge in the 11th century, the work of Grags-'bum-lde must have consisted in a thorough restoration and the transference to the Yellow School.

The fortunes of the dGe-lugs-pa in Ladakh are closely connected with the activity of Lha-dbañ-blo-gros. Central Tibetan texts, supported by the local tradition, attribute to him the renovation of dPe-t'ub<sup>2</sup>, which was carried out (as we have seen) under the reign of Grags-'bum-lde. This is unlikely because of chronological reasons and because an earlier and more authoritative source attributes it to Nam-mk'a'-ba, an elder contemporary of Lha-dbañ-blo-gros<sup>3</sup>. We find the same discrepancy in the case of Li-kyir. This old monastery was built, according to the Chronicle, in the 11th century. For the Central Tibetan texts, it was founded (i.e. rebuilt for the dGe-lugs-pa) by Nam-mk'a'-ba, who was succeeded as abbot by Lha-dbañ-blo-gros<sup>4</sup>; and this is supported by the great Li-kyir inscription of the 18th century (F.182). But according to a later source, supported by the local tradition, the founder was Lha-dbañ-blo-gros himself<sup>5</sup>. In the case of Bar-skya or Bar-k'yog, a convent in Ladakh which cannot be identified with certainty<sup>6</sup>, both texts agree in attributing it to Lha-dbañ-blo-gros<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *VS*, 223b (225).

<sup>3</sup> *KDSN*, 98b.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *VS*, 224a (226).

<sup>6</sup> Tucci 1971, 485, suggests Ba-sgo. The congregation of Bar-'k'yogs P'un-t's'ogs-rab-brtan is mentioned among other monasteries of Ladakh and Zañs-dkar in 1781; *PC3b*, 74a.

<sup>7</sup> *VS*, 224a (226); *KDSN*, 98a.



Some other items of information concerning dGe-lugs-pa activities belong to the same period. The old chapel sTag-mo *lha-k'an* to the north of K'rig-se was founded by sTod Śes-rab-bzañ-po, a native of Mar-yul and a disciple of Tsoñ-k'a-pa<sup>1</sup>; this is corroborated by the local tradition. The monastery proper of K'rig-se, at present the main Yellow convent and seat of the Bakula incarnate, was founded by sTod Śes-rab-bzañ-po's nephew dPal Śes-rab-grags-pa<sup>2</sup>. In the forties of the 15th century 'Dul-'dzin Grags-pa-dpal-ldan (1400-1475), the chief disciple of the first Dalai-Lama, visited the Kailasa and went as far as "Mar-yul which is on the border of Kashmir", practising penance in the hermitages of that region. There he met Śes-rab-bzañ-po and heard many sacred texts from him. At the time of the death of another great master, Śes-rab-señ-ge (1445), he was still in mNa'-ris (not necessarily in Ladakh); his stay lasted for six or seven years<sup>3</sup>. Generally speaking, spiritual life in Ladakh must have been rather lively, as Kun-dga'-bzañ-po (1382-1457), the founder of the monastery and of the sect of Nor, met several *dge-bśes* from Mar-yul during his stay in Mustang (1447-48)<sup>4</sup>.

By the second half of the 15th century the dGe-lugs-pa had gained the upper hand in Ladakh, supplanting the decaying 'Bri-guñ-pa; this was to last for more than a century, with the help of close contacts and of active encouragement from the main centres of the sect in Central Tibet<sup>5</sup>. Then there was a 'Bri-guñ-pa revival, brought about as usual by an outstanding personality, C'os-rje lDan-ma; and the sGañ-sñon monastery, founded by him, remained a lively centre of their action to this day. It was in his time, and perhaps on his prompting, that king bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal laid down the rule that every family of more than one male child had to give up one, not the eldest however, to become a Lama<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *VS*, 223a (225), and cf. 366b (376); *KDNT*, II, 308a-b; *KDGP*, 412a; Kloñ-rdol, vol. Za, 284. Śes-rab-bzañ-po brought over to his sect also the monasteries of dKar-ža and P'ug-tal in Zañs-dkar; *VS*, 224a (226).

<sup>2</sup> *VS*, 223a (225); *KDSN*, 97b-98a.

<sup>3</sup> *KDNT*, II, 294a, 295b; also *KDSN*, 76a-b; *KDGP*, 402a.

<sup>4</sup> Life of Kun-dga'-bzañ-po, 39a.

<sup>5</sup> This is exemplified by a *bca'-yig* of the 17th century, sent by the 5th Dalai-Lama to the monks of K'rig-se; Schuh, L.

<sup>6</sup> Francke 1907c, 85; *LDGR*, 37.27-38.1.

Then the wheel revolved and once more a forceful personality brought into play another school, the 'Brug-pa sub-sect of the bKa'-brgyud-pa. Heralded by rMug-rdziñ at the beginning of the 17th century, 'Brug-pa ascendance was fully established by sTag-ts'an-ras-pa; and after him the close connection between the main 'Brug-pa monastery of He-mis and the royal family of Ladakh was never severed. Moreover, the Yoñs-'dzin Rin-po-c'e of the bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or monastery near Goñ-dkar in Central Tibet came to be regarded as the permanent *dbu-bla* of the king, although actual intercourse was less frequent than might be expected. To this extent we may say that the 'Brug-pa became the dominant sect in Ladakh. But the existence of the lay monarchy as an overall authority independent of the church did not allow a complete ascendance by one sect, like in Bhutan. The attempt made by the dGe-lugs-pa in 1694 failed almost at once <sup>1</sup>.

The last quarter of the 18th century saw a passing revival of 'Bri-guñ-pa influence. It was due to the 6th rTogs-ldan Rin-po-c'e bsTan-'dzin-c'os-grags. Born in dBu-ru sTod, he was tonsured by the 28th 'Bri-guñ *gdan-rabs* C'os-kyi-ñi-ma. After having filled for a time the see of Śag-ram dgon-pa in gTsañ, he came to Ladakh and was appointed abbot of sGañ-sñon, bringing this old 'Bri-guñ-pa centre to new life. He wielded great influence, being the *dbu-bla* of both Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and his successor Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal. Then he returned to Central Tibet, was appointed abbot (*mk'an-c'en*) of Yañ-ri-sgar near 'Bri-guñ and acted as regent of the 'Bri-guñ see after the demise of the 29th *gdan-rabs* Padma'i-rgyal-mts'an <sup>2</sup>. His successors settled finally at sGañ-sñon, and the present 10th rTogs-ldan *sprul-sku* is one of the most learned and influential churchmen in Ladakh.

Also the popularity and wealth of the dGe-lugs-pa increased greatly, but this was long after the fall of the monarchy. The present paramount position of the Bakula incarnate in Ladakhi society and politics is quite a recent development; the first Bakula Rin-po-c'e (1860-1917) came from Zañs-dkar only in the late 19th century <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Sonam, 87-88. I am informed by Dr. D. Schuh that a *gdun-rabs* (series of biographies) of the rTogs-ldan *sprul-sku* exists at sGañ-sñon; but I had no access to it.

<sup>3</sup> Gergan, 439.

Summing up, three Lamaist sects played a large role in Ladakhi history; they were, in chronological order, the 'Bri-guñ-pa, the dGe-lugs-pa and the 'Brug-pa. Of the remaining sects, only two were present in Ladakh before the Dogra conquest. The rÑiñ-ma-pa had a small monastery at Brag-stag, c.10 km from lCe-'bre. The Sa-skyapa held the Ma-spro monastery, founded by *druñ-pa* rDo-rje-bzañ-po, and a secondary one called bsKyid-mañs (locality unknown), founded by *mk'an-c'en* C'os-dpal-bzañ-po<sup>1</sup>. Neither the rÑiñ-ma-pa nor the Sa-skyapa ever exerted political influence.

During the last twenty years or so the influx of refugees from Central Tibet led to the building by and for them of some little shrines belonging to the rÑiñ-ma-pa, Karma-pa and Sa-skyapa sects, as I was informed locally.

I subjoin a list of the main monasteries in Ladakh proper, according to their affiliation.

'Bri-guñ-pa: Lamayuru, sGañ-sñon.

dGe-lugs-pa: K'rig-se, Li-kyir, dPe-t'ub, gSañ-mk'ar, A-lci, Bargo, Ri-rdzoñ near Sa-spo-la.

'Brug-pa: sTag-sna, He-mis, lCe-'bre, Śel, Waṃ-le.

rÑiñ-ma-pa: Brag-stag (or Brag-ltag).

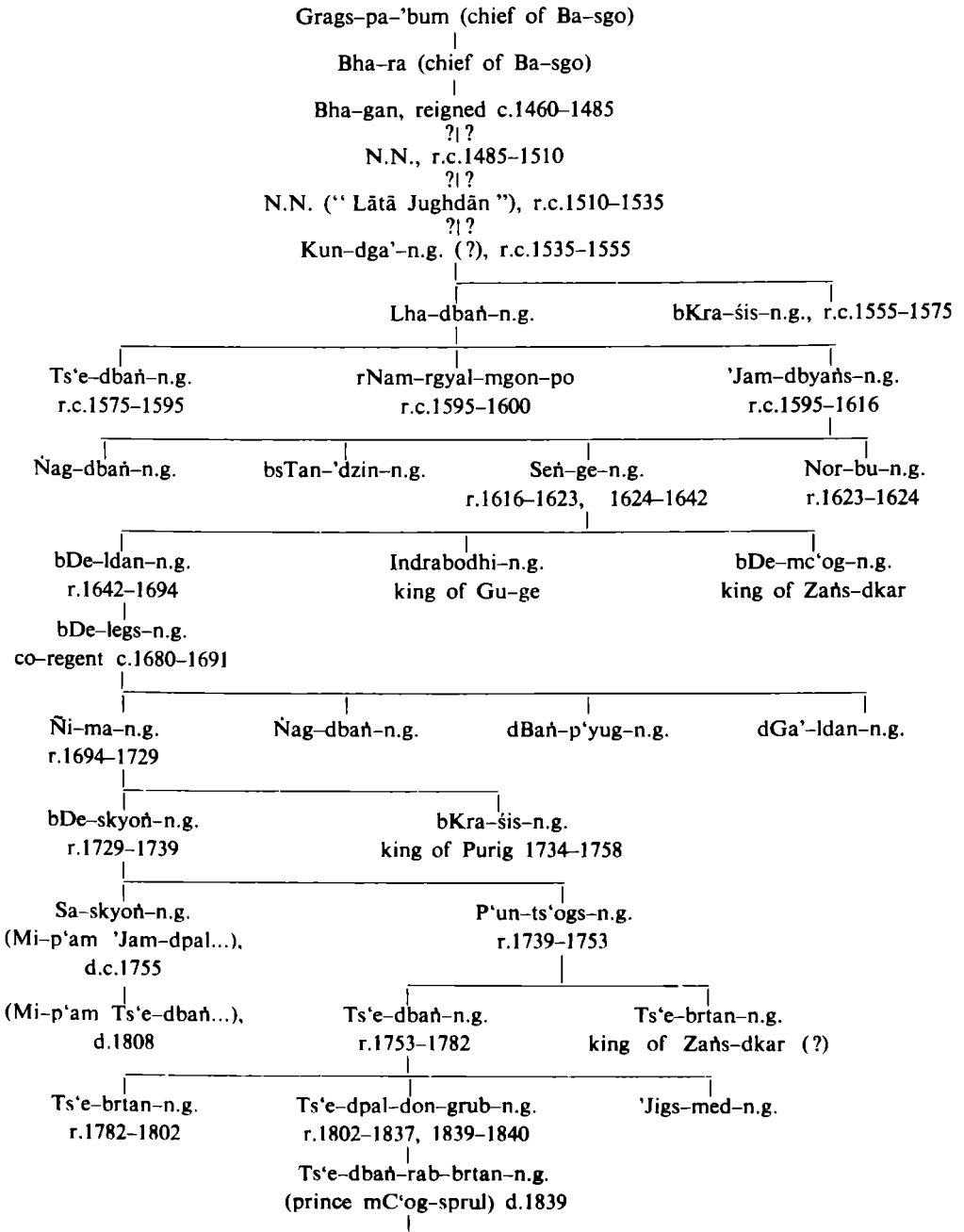
Sa-skyapa: Ma(ñ)-spro.

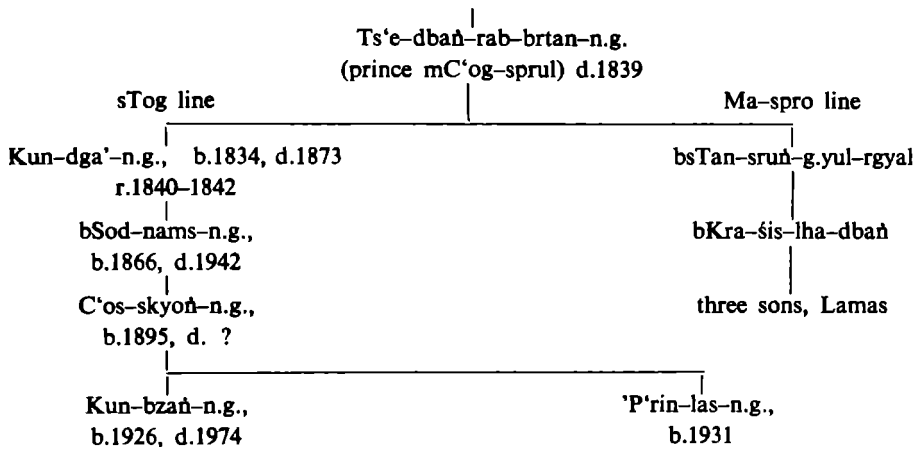
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<sup>1</sup> Information found in a document issued by a monk of the Nor monastery in Central Tibet; Schuh, XLVIII.

GENEALOGY OF THE SECOND DYNASTY OF LADAKH

(n.g. = -rnam-rgyal)





## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

### (A) Tibetan texts

- BA** = G. N. Roerich (transl.), *The Blue Annals*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1949–1953 (translation of the *Deb-t'er-sñon-po* of 'Gos Lotsawa gZhon-nu-dpal).
- BC6** = Life of the 6th 'Brug-c'en Mi-p'am-dbañ-po (1641–1717): *rGyal dbaṅ A dzi tendra'i nram par t'ar pa kun tu bzañ po'i yon tan gyi me loñ*. Reprinted in *Biographies of the successive embodiments of the rGyal dbaṅ 'Brug c'en*, IV, Darjeeling 1974.
- BC8** = Autobiography of the 8th 'Brug-c'en Kun-gzigs-c'os-kyi-snañ-ba (1768–1822): *Mi p'am c'os kyi snañ ba rañ fiid kyi rtogs brjod dran po'i sa bon dam pa'i c'os kyi skal pa ji tsam nod pa'i rim pa dan lhan cig nes par brjod pa rab gsal sñan pa'i rña sgra*. Stops with 1817.
- BC8a** = Continuation of **BC8**, compiled by the 5th Yoñs-'dzin *sprul-sku* of bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or: *rGyal dbaṅ dam c'os ñi ma'i nram t'ar rab gsal sñan pa'i rña sgra'i 'p'ros brjod pa kun nas t'os pa don ldan gyi rim pa*.
- BJ** = Genealogy of the Tibetan kings, compiled by the Ka-'t'og Rig-'dzin Ts'e-dbañ-nor-bu (1698–1755): *Bod rje lha btsan po'i gduñ rabs ts'igs ñuñ don gsal yid kyi me loñ*. Reprinted in *Rare Tibetan historical and literary texts from the library of Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa*, New Delhi 1974.
- BL** = History of the Karma-pa sect, compiled in 1775 by 'Be-lo Ts'e-dbañ-kun-k'yab: *sGrub brgyud karma kaṃ ts'añ brgyud pa rin po c'e'i nram par t'ar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba c'u sel gyi p'reñ ba*. Reprinted in *History of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa sect*, II, New Delhi 1972.
- DL3** = Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o, compiled by the 5th Dalai-Lama: *rJe btsun t'ams cad mk'yen pa bSod nams rgya mts'o'i nram t'ar dños grub rgya mts'o'i siñ-rta*. In the *gsuñ-'bum* of the 5th Dalai-Lama, vol. Ña, 3.
- DL5** = Autobiography of the 5th Dalai-Lama Blo-bzañ-rgya-mts'o (1617–1682), in 3 vols.: *Za hor gyi ban de Ñag dbaṅ blo bzañ rgya mts'o' 'di snañ 'k'rul pa'i rol rtsad rtogs brjod kyi ts'ul du bkod pa Du ku la'i gos bzañ*. In the *gsuñ-'bum* of the 5th Dalai-Lama, vols. Ka, K'a, Ga. Stops with 1681.
- DL5a** = Continuation of **DL5**, compiled by the regent Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, in 3 vols.: *Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ñag dbaṅ blo bzañ rgya mts'o'i t'un moñ p'yi'i nram t'ar Du ku la'i gos bzañ, glegs bam gsuñ pa'i 'p'ros bži ba; id., glegs bam bži pa'i 'p'ros lña pa; id., glegs bam lña pa'i 'p'ros drug pa..* In the *gsuñ 'bum* of the 5th Dalai-Lama, vols. Na, Ca, C'a. Ends with 1695.
- DL6** = Life of the 6th Dalai-Lama Ts'añs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o (1683–1706), compiled by the regent Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o: *T'ams cad mk'yen pa drug pa Blo bzañ rin c'en Ts'añs dbyaṅs rgya mts'o'i t'un moñ p'yi nram par t'ar pa dukula'i 'p'ro 't'ud rab gsal gser gyi sñe mo*. Stops with 1701.

- DL7** = Life of the 7th Dalai-Lama, bsKal-bzañ-rgya-mts'o (1708-1757), compiled by the lCañ-skya Qutuqtu Rol pa'i rdo rje: *rGyal ba'i dbaṅ po t'ams cad mk'yen gzigs rdo rje 'c'añ Blo bzañ bskal bzañ rgya mts'o'i žal śña nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dpag bsam rin po c'e'i śñe ma*. In the *gsuñ-'bum* of the 7th Dalai-Lama, vol. Ka.
- DL8** = Life of the 8th Dalai-Lama 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mts'o (1758-1804), compiled by order of the rTa-ts'ag and then of the De-mo Qutuqtu, regents of Tibet: *rGyal ba'i dbaṅ po t'ams cad mk'yen gzigs c'en po rje btsun Blo bzañ bstan pa'i dbaṅ p'yug 'Jam dpal rgya mts'o dpal bzañ po'i žal śña nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa mdo tsam brjod pa 'dzam gliñ t'a gru yañs pa'i rgyan*.
- DL9** = Life of the 9th Dalai-Lama Luñ-rtogs-rgya-mts'o (1806-1815), compiled by order of the regent De-mo Rin-po-c'e: *rGyal ba'i dbaṅ po t'ams cad mk'yen pa Blo bzañ bstan pa'i 'byuñ gnas ñag dbaṅ Luñ rtogs rgya mts'o dpal bzañ po'i žal śña nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa mdor mts'on pa dad pa'i yid 'p'rog*.
- DL10** = Life of the 10th Dalai-Lama Ts'ul-k'rims-rgya-mts'o (1816-1837), compiled by the order of the regent Rva-sgreñ Rin-po-c'e: *rGyal ba'i dbaṅ po t'ams cad mk'yen gzigs bcu pa c'en po ñag dbaṅ blo bzañ 'jam dpal bstan 'dzin Ts'ul k'rims rgya mts'o dpal bzañ po'i rnam par t'ar pa ño mts'ar nor bu'i 'p'reñ ba*.
- DTH** = Tibetan texts (Annals, Genealogies and Chronicle) edited and translated by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas and Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940 [1947].
- F** = Inscriptions published by A. H. Francke, *First and Second collection of Tibetan historical inscriptions on rock and stone from West Tibet*, Leh 1906 and 1907.
- Gergan** = Joseph Gergan, *Bla-dvags rgyal-rabs 'c'i-med gter*, New Delhi 1976.
- Ka-t'og** = Life of Ka'-t'og Rig-'dzin Ts'e-dbañ-nor-bu (1698-1755): *Dpal Rig 'dzin c'en po rdo rje Ts'e dbaṅ nor bu'i žabs kyi rnam par t'ar pa'i c'a sas brjod pa ño mis'ar dad pa'i rol mts'o*. Manuscript in the library of Burmiok Athing in Gangtok. I utilized a typewritten copy made by E. Gene Smith.
- KCRC** = Genealogy of the 'Bri-guñ-pa hierarchs compiled by dKon-mc'og-rin-c'en (b.1590): *rGyal ba'i dbaṅ po 'Bri guñ pa c'en po'i gduñ dañ gdan rabs byon ts'ul gces bsdud rin po c'e'i p'reñ ba..* Reprinted in *'Bri-guñ-pa texts*, I, Leh 1972.
- KDGP** = A short history of the Karma-pa and dGe-lugs-pa: *bKa'-gdams brgyud pa'i rnam t'ar rin c'en*.
- KDNT** = History of the Karma-pa and dGe-lugs-pa, compiled in 1494 by Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an: *bKa' gdams kyi rnam par t'ar pa bka' gdams c'os 'byuñ gsal ba'i sgron me*. Reprinted from a manuscript, New Delhi 1972.
- KDSN** = History of the Karma-pa and dGe-lugs-pa, compiled in 1529 by bSod-nams-grags-pa: *bKa' gdams gsar rñiñ gi c'os 'byuñ yid kyi mdzes rgyan*.
- LCB** = Early history of Bhutan, written between 1731 and 1759 by the 10th *mk'an-c'en* bsTan-'dzin-c'os-rgyal: *Lho'i c'os 'byuñ bstan pa rin po c'e'i 'p'ro mt'ud 'jam mgon smon mt'a'i 'p'reñ ba*.
- LDGR** = Chronicle of Ladakh: *La dvags rgyal rabs*. Text edited in Francke 1926, 19-59.
- MBTJ** = Life of P'o-lha-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas (1689-1747), written in 1733 by mDo-mk'ar-ba Ts'e-riñ-dbañ-rgyal: *dPal Mi'i dbaṅ po'i rtogs brjod pa 'jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*.
- NBTR** = Life of the Zañs-dkar *siddha* Ñag-dbañ-ts'e-riñ (1657-1732), partly written by himself: *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa 'k'rul žig rin po c'e Ñag dbaṅ ts'e riñ gi rnam t'ar kun tu bzañ po'i zlos gar yid kyi bcud len*. In 1975 in the course of publica-

tion in New Delhi. I owe thanks to Mr E. Gene Smith for having allowed me to read the printing proofs.

*Nor* = The so-called “Nor C’os-byuñ”; begun by the 10th Nor abbot dKon-mc’og-lhun-grub (1497-1557) and completed by the 25th abbot Sañs-rgyas-p’un-tso’gs in 1692: *Dam pa’i c’os kyi byuñ ts’ul legs par bśad pa bstan pa rgya mts’or ’jug pa’i gru c’en źes bya ba rtsom ’pro k’a skon bcas.*

*PBTL* = History of Tibet written in 1565 by dPa’-bo gTsong-lag: *Dam pa’i c’os kyi ’k’or los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byuñ ba gsal bar byed pa mk’as pa’i dga’ ston*, vol. Ja.

*PC1* = Autobiography of the First Pañ-c’en Bla-ma Blo-bzañ-c’os-kyi-rgyal-rmts’an (1570-1662): *C’os smra ba’i dge sloñ Blo bzañ c’os kyi rgyal mts’an gyi spyod ts’ul gsal bar ston pa nor bu’i p’reñ ba.* In the *gsuñ-’bum* of the First Pañ-c’en, vol. Ka. Stops with 1661.

*PC2* = Autobiography of the 2nd Pañ-c’en Blo-bzañ-ye-śes (1663-1737): *Śakya’i dge sloñ Blo bzañ ye śes kyi spyod ts’ul gsal bar byed pa ’od dkar can gyi p’reñ-ba.* In the *gsuñ-’bum* of the 2nd Pañ-c’en, vol. Ka. Stops with 1732.

*PC2a* = Continuation of *PC2*, compiled by the 3rd Pañ-c’en: *rDo rje ’c’añ c’en po pañ c’en t’ams cad mk’yen pa Blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ po’i sku gsuñ t’ugs kyi mdzad pa ma lus pa gsal bar byed pa’i rnam par t’ar pa ’od dkar can gyi p’reñ ba’i smad c’a.* In the *gsuñ-’bum* of the 3rd Pañ-c’en, vol. Ga.

*PC3* = Life of the 3rd Pañ-c’en Blo-bzañ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes (1738-1780), written in 1785-86 by ’Jam-dbyañs-bźad-pa: *rJe bla ma srid źi’i gtsug rgyan pañ c’en t’ams cad mk’yen pa Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzañ po’i źal śña nas kyi rnam par t’ar pa ñi ma’i ’od zer.* In the *gsuñ-’bum* of the 3rd Pañ-c’en, vol. Ka. Stops with 1777.

*PC3a* = Continuation of *PC3*, written by ’Jam-dbyañs-bźad-pa in 1785-86: *rJe bla ma srid źi’i ..... ñi ma’i ’od zer źes bya ba’i smad c’a.*

*PC3b* = List of the donors and their offerings made to the 3rd Pañ-c’en on occasion of his journey to Peking; written by ’Jam-dbyañs-bźad-pa: *rJe bla ma srid źi’i gtsug rgyan pañ c’en t’ams cad mk’yen pa Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzañ po’i źal śña nas kyi rnam par t’ar pa ñi ma’i ’od zer gyi zur ’debs śel dkar me loñ.* In the *gsuñ-’bum* of the 3rd Pañ-c’en, vol. Ka.

*PC4* = Life of the 4th Pañ-c’en Blo-bzañ-dpal-ldan-bstan-pa’i-ñi-ma (1782-1853), compiled in 1883 by Blo-bzañ-sbyin-pa: *Rab ’byams rgyal ba’i spyi gzugs skyabs mgon pañ c’en t’ams cad mk’yen pa rje btsun Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pa’i ñi ma p’yogs las rnam rgyal dpal bzañ po’i źal śña nas kyi sku gsuñ t’ugs kyi rnam par t’ar pa ’dzam gliñ mdzes rgyan.* In the *gsuñ-’bum* of the 4th Pañ-c’en, vol. Ka.

*PTKS* = Life of C’os-rgyal P’un-tso’gs-bkra-śis (1547-1602), abbot of ’Bri-k’uñ. Reprinted in *Miscellaneous writings (bka’ ’bum t’or bu) of ’Bri-guñ Kun-dga’-rin-c’en reproduced from the rare manuscript from the library of Tokden Rinpoche of Gangon, Leh 1972.*

*Si-tu* = Autobiography and diaries of Si-tu Pañ-c’en (1700-1774). Edited and completed by Ba’i-lo Ts’e-dbañ-kun-k’yab: *Ta’i si tur ’bod pa Karma bstan pa’i ñin byed kyi rañ ts’ul drañs por brjod pa dri bral śel gyi me loñ.* Reprinted as *The autobiography and diaries of Si-tu Pañ-chen*, New Delhi 1968.

*Sonam* = dGe-rgan bSod-nams (ed.), *La dvags kyi rgyal rabs blo dman rna ba’i dga’ ston*, Leh 1966 (12th month of śiñ-mo-sbrul).

*Ti-se* = History of the ’Bri-guñ establishments in the Manasarovar-Kailasa region, written in 1896 by the 34th ’Bri-guñ *gdan-rabs* dKon-mc’og-bstan-’dzin-c’os-kyi-blo-gros ’P’rin-las-rnam-rgyal: *Gañs-c’en Ti se dañ mts’o c’en Ma dros pa*



- bcas kyi sñon byuñ gi lo rgyus mdor bsdud su brjod pa'i rab byed śel dkar me loñ.*  
**TSM** = Life of the first *rgyal-tś'ab* of Bhutan *Ñag-dbañ bsTan-'dzin-rab-rgyas* (1638–1696), written in 1720 by the 6th *mk'an-c'en* *Ñag-dbañ-lhun-grub: mTs'uñs med c'os kyi rgyal po rje rin po c'e'i rnam par t'ar pa bskal bzañ legs bris 'dod pa'i re skoñ dpag bsam gyi sñe ma.*
- TTRP** = Life of sTag-tś'añ-ras-pa (1574–1651), written in 1663 by *Ñag-dbañ-kun-dga'-lhun-grub-t'ub-bstan-dge-legs-'byuñ-gnas-bsod-nams-rgyal-mts'an: rNal 'byor gyi dbañ p'yug Auḍiyāna pa Ñag dbañ rgya mts'o'i rnam t'ar legs bris vaiḍūrya dkar po'i rgyud mañ.*
- VS** = *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po*, on the dGe-lugs-pa teachers and monasteries, written in 1698 by the regent Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o: *dPal mñam med ri bo dGa' ldan pa'i bstan pa žva ser cod pan 'c'añ ba'i riñ lugs c'os t'ams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa Vaiḍūrya ser po'i me loñ.* I quote the Tibetan woodprint. The page-numbers between brackets refer to the edition by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1960, which is not quite correct.
- YD2** = Autobiography of the 2nd bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or Yoñs-'dzin Kun-dga'-lhun-grub (1617–1676): *Yoñs 'dzin dam pa'i rtogs brjod dran sroñ dga' ba'i dal gtam.* Reprinted in *The collected works (gsuñ-'bum) of bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or Yoñs-'dzin II Kun dga' lhun grub*, Darjeeling 1973. Stops with 1672.
- YD2a** = Continuation of **YD2**, written by Mi-p'am-sgrub-brgyud Yar-'p'el-dbañ-po: *Yoñs-'dzin dam pa'i ..... dal gtam gyi 'p'ros brjod pa rab bde'i 'bras bu mñon skyed ño mts'ar gru c'ar.* Reprinted as **YD2**.
- YSGT** = Lives of Lamas in the transmission of the *byañ-c'ub-lam-rim*, written by Ye-śes-rgyal-mts'an (1713–1793), abbot of Ts'e-mc'og-gliñ and teacher (*yoñs-'dzin*) of the 8th Dalai-Lama: *Byañ c'ub lam gyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par t'ar pa rgyal bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan mc'og p'ul byuñ nor bu'i p'reñ ba*, vol. Ca of the collected works. Reprinted New Delhi 1969.
- ŽD8** = Life of the 8th *Žva-dmar-pa dPal-c'en C'os-kyi-don-grub* (1695–1732). Included in *BL*, ff. 176a–221a.

(B) *Persian Texts*

- TA** = *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, transl. B. De, 3 vols., Calcutta 1927–1939.
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