

KATHOG RIGZIN TSEWANG NORBU'S *(Kah-thog-rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu)* **diplomatic mission to Ladakh** **in the 18th century**

Peter Schwieger

Im Kleefeld 16, 53639 Königswinter,
GERMANY

Summary

In 1734 the kingdom of Purig was separated from the kingdom of Ladakh. The relations between the two kingdoms became more and more strained. When there was already the danger of war the opponents turned to the seventh Dalai Lama to send a mediator to solve the conflict. Therefore in 1752 Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, a lama from Kah-thog monastery in East Tibet, was sent to Ladakh. In 1753, at the end of extensive negotiations, the conflict was solved by the settlement of a detailed treaty between the two kingdoms.

In 1734 the kingdom of Purig was separated from the kingdom of Ladakh due to the influence of Zi-zi Khatun, the second wife of king Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal (r. 1694-1729). She succeeded in her efforts to give her own son bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal a separate kingdom. bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal, the first born son of Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal and his first wife, was given the Ladakhi kingdom up to the Po-to-la (Fatu-la). bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal died a few years later in 1739 and his son Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal followed him on the throne. The relations between uncle and nephew became more and more strained. In the end the opponents turned to the seventh Dalai Lama to send a mediator to solve the conflict. Therefore the Dalai Lama sent letters to the famous Tibetan Lama Tshe-dbang-nor-bu from Kah-thog-monastery in East Tibet urging him to accept the diplomatic mission. Tshe-dbang-nor-bu was at that time in Nepal to organize the restoration of the Svayambhūnāth-Stūpa. In May 1752 Tshe-dbang-nor-bu started together with his companions his journey to Ladakh. He crossed the Tibetan-Ladakhi border in the beginning of September and travelled only a little bit further to the monastery of Vam-le (Hanle) which should be - according to his decision - the place for the negotiations.

The knowledge we had about this subject up to now we owe to the basic works of Francke (1926), Gergen (1976), Petech (1977) and Tashi Rabgias (1984). Microfilms of copies of the whole and very long

treaty, by which the conflict was settled in the middle of the 18th century allow us to take a much more detailed look at what happened in Ladakh during those troublesome years. The copies are from the collection of Reverend Gergan and from Lo Mustang in Nepal.

The mission of Tshe-dbang-nor-bu turned out to be a very difficult task. In spite of his hopes to solve the problems within three months the mission lasted until July 1753. Although both kings were informed about his coming in advance, he had to wait for the arrival of all participants until the second half of February 1753. I don't want to confuse you with all the ups and downs of the negotiations, which weren't always in proper order. I intend to give you a summary of what were the particular points in dispute and how they were settled in the end. A detailed study including an edition and translation of the treaty into German will be published soon.

Internal Tensions in the Kingdom of Ladakh

Kah-thog-pa Tshe-dbang-nor-bu was first confronted with problems among the leading persons of the Ladakhi kingdom itself. The main cause was the poor mental health of king Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal. It is said that he was a clever boy in his childhood but then his mental health became worse and worse. And now the people were talking about him as someone who is crazy for weapons, whose actions are those of an empty brain and who is not able to forget his nurse. His nurse was indeed not only his permanent companion she was also pregnant during the negotiations in Vam-le. The king lost his interest in government affairs. They were now managed by his mother, the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che and queen Kun-'dzoms.

The rGyal-sras-rin-po-che, also known under his prince-name Sa-skyong-rnam-rgyal and his monk-name Mi-pham 'Jam-dpal-rdo-rje, was the eldest son of king bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal and the halfbrother of king Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal. According to custom he should have become king of Ladakh. But he neither got the kingship nor any property. Instead he was made a bla-ma in Hemis monastery. The chronicle says that this is attributed to the influence of Bu-khrid-dbang-mo, the mother of his halfbrother Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal. But in the treaty the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che himself sees the responsibility on the side of the Zi-zi Khatun, the mother of his uncle bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal and second wife of his grandfather king Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal. As he tells us he was already sent away when he was still the only son in the castle. And Bu-khrid-dbang-mo is not at all characterized as a tricky person. Just the opposite she is shown as quite simple. You could make her believe that east is west and west is east because of her bodhisattva-disposition.

We get to know that the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che had on the one hand not the best relationship to his brother but that he had on the other so close connections with his brother's wife, queen Kun-'dzoms, that there were gossip about it in Mulbekh, the capital of Purig. By this he was very much offended.

The Conflict between Purig and Ladakh

The main conflict Tshe-dbang-nor-bu had to deal with was the one between the two kingdoms. Looking for its reasons we first of all have to talk about the Zi-zi Khatun whom we already mentioned. King Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal had married her after the death of his first wife. She bore him a son named bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal and a daughter named bKra-shis-dbang-mo. The chronicle explains that due to her influence on the first born bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal for whom she also had taken great care, her own son received the whole area of Purig as his kingdom.

In the treaty bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal tells us that at the time when the ruler of Kha-pu-lu in Baltistan sent his daughter Zi-zi Khatun to king Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal as a bride it was promised that if she would give birth to a son he should receive the rule in the upper castle which implies the rule of the Ladakhi kingdom. bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal was not able to prove this by showing a document and the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che doubted it very much. As bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal explained it was because of the opposition of the Ladakhi people that his brother was given the rule over Ladakh and he himself received the rule over Purig. Anyhow both parties agreed on the fact that the division of the kingdom is to be traced back to the influence of the Zi-zi Khatun. But especially the Ladakhi party of the conflict blamed her also for other problems in the country while the king of Purig tried to justify her. It seems that one or two years after the Zi-zi rgyal-mo had come to Ladakh she had gained great personal power. And this power she had used especially in favour of her two children.

Bkra-shis-rnam-rgyal and the Kings of Zangs-dkar and He-na-ku

The next point we have to look at for an understanding of the whole conflict is the indistinct position of king bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal in relationship to the king of Ladakh and to the kings of Zangs-dkar and He-na-ku.

bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal saw himself not on the same level as the kings of Zangs-dkar and He-na-ku but more or less on the same as the king of Ladakh. The kingdoms of Zangs-dkar and He-na-ku were also separated from the kingdom of Ladakh but remained under Ladakhi sovereignty. The rGyal-sras-rin-po-che asked therefore who else than

again the Zi-zi Khatun should be responsible for this claim of his uncle and what proof is the uncle able to show for the legality of his claim. But as in all the other cases bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal had no document to show. He even didn't present a witness. He just talked in general that there are still people who could prove his claim. He started to argue by relating stories from the time when the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che and Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal were still children, for example that his elder brother had charged him just before he died with the care for his children. This would clearly demonstrate that he was from the beginning on a higher position than the kings of Zangs-dkar and He-na-ku.

The rGyal-sras-rin-po-che on the other hand laid stress on the fact that up to bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal the kings and ministers of the Ladakhi kingdom always were in a position of higher rank compared to the kingdoms which were split off due to a partition of the inheritance.

As we see from the treaty of 1753 this claim of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal brought him not only into conflict with the king of Ladakh but also with his small neighbour, the king of He-na-ku.

The Claim to the Areas of sPi-ti and mKhar-bu

Another problem which put tensions on the relationship between Purig and Ladakh were the Ladakhi claims to the areas of sPi-ti and mKhar-bu, nowadays Bod Karbu. They were under the power of king bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal but the Ladakhis doubted the rightfulness of this possession.

The dispute about sPi-ti and mKhar-bu started after the enthronement of Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal. Obviously during the time of Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal and bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's possession of sPi-ti and mKhar-bu was no question at issue. Afterwards the Ladakhis enforced claims. But even most of the Ladakhi ministers thought that it would be better first to ask for mKhar-bu alone because for this demand they had the better arguments.

Of course bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal was not willing to cede the two areas. He said that they were given to him by his father and the fact that his brother didn't express any doubts would show his acceptance. But the Ladakhis answered him that bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal died only four months after his father. Therefore no time was left for a demand.

Also in this case it was difficult for Tshe-dbang-nor-bu to examine the rightfulness of either bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's possession or the Ladakhi's claim because again no document was shown to him. The only argument in favour of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal was the lack of a public discussion during the time of Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal and bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal. This argument was sufficient for him to refuse the claims of Ladakh as unjustified.

The Disputed Tribute of the Nobles in Purig

The next point in dispute which the Ladakhis started to talk about was the tribute of the five jo-bo, the five leading noble families or dukes, of Purig. It was the custom that every new year those five nobles had to come personally to the big castle in Leh to deliver their tribute. The material value of this tribute obviously was of no great importance but it was considered as a proof of loyalty. As stressed by the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che this ceremony was the uninterrupted custom since king Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal (r. 1616-1642) and was stopped in the times of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal. But bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's point of view was that already king Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal gave up the custom and instead only the royal castle of Mulbekh had to deliver the annual tribute in Leh. And this the king of Purig was willing to do.

After a long discussion when bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal couldn't refuse any more a new regulation regarding the tribute, he still was not able to accept the personal appearance of the nobles in Leh. He based it on the unreliability of the nobles. The amount of the tribute was no real subject of the discussion. bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal even offered to give more than demanded. The Ladakhis should only give up the claim that the nobles have to appear personally in Leh.

The refusal of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal sounds more reasonable when we hear that those nobles became the lords over many thousands of soldiers. Therefore it just seemed impossible to force them to a formal gesture of subordination. But in the opinion of Tshe-dbang-nor-bu the kingdom of Ladakh still had the power for a strong army even without the safe loyalty of the nobles from Purig. On the other hand the king of Purig had to rely on his nobles; otherwise he would be totally without an army. So in the end Tshe-dbang-nor-bu had sympathy for his position.

The Trouble about the Cattle from Purig

In Vam-le the Ladakhis presented a whole list of complaints to discuss. One point in this list was the cattle which belonged to the king of Purig but for which he claimed the right to graze it on the pasture ground of Ladakh. The Ladakhis said that there were more than thousand animals. Undisputed among the opponents was the number of 22 herds of horses which were hended by bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's herdsmen in Ladakh.

All this had its origin in a small herd of horses which were introduced by bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, the first wife of king Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal. At the end of the life of Ņi-ma-rnam-rgyal this herd was once again renewed. Obviously afterwards this herd of horses became the share of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal. The number of horses was increased and also other kinds of cattle were added, but still he used the

pastures in Ladakh. The Ladakhis of course felt it more and more as a burden. Furthermore they claimed the herds for themselves saying that bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's possession was not according to the law. So they wanted him to drive his herdsmen back to Purig and to deliver the animals. What made a solution in this point more difficult was that bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal considered the number of the horses as a part of his reputation and that a reduction would be a humiliation.

The Fall of Minister Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje

One of the main troubles which arose during the reign of king Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal was the fall of the prime minister Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje. His fall also brought a lot of tensions in the relationship of the two kingdoms.

Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje stood in the succession of the nobles from rGya called the rGya-pa-jo-bo. How the trouble about Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje and his family arose is related in the treaty in detail from the Ladakhi point of view. According to them there was already in earlier times a saying in the royal family of Ladakh not to put someone of the rGya-pa-jo-bo in high offices of the government, because he would bridle the king and the whole country and ride on them. Then during the times of Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal this advice was ignored. At that time bSod-nams-lhun-grub, the younger son of the rGya-pa-jo-bo, first had entered a monastery according to the traditional custom of hereditary succession. But then he gave up the life of a monk and became an official. Soon he was already appointed prime minister (bka'-blon). After that he only tried to grasp as much as possible from the king's power for himself and his sons. He and his son Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje were accused of having illegally taken possession of more than a third of all the land of the royal castle. It is told that at the end the family's possession of arable land was more than the double of the royal possessions.

According to the old customs of Ladakh and out of economic reasons up to that time, the elder son always inherited from the father the castle of the rGya-pa-jo-bo and the younger sons entered a monastery. Therefore always only one family of the rGya-pa-jo-bo developed. But when under Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal the minister could dispose of the royal land at will, not even one of bSod-nams-lhun-grub's sons entered a monastery. Generously their father distributed the royal land to them. And it is said that he sent his daughters instead of the princesses to the jo-bo as brides. Even lies were spread that there existed an agreement according to which the power in the royal castle had been divided.

And in addition the Ladakhis blamed Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje for having been so cunning as to get bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal under his

influence. During a drinking-bout Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje arranged a marriage between his daughter and the king of Purig. A promise was even made that this marriage would be insoluble. After that, king bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal sacrificed his nephews Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal and rGyal-sras-rin-po-che and the reputation of the Ladakhi kingdom to the interests of the minister, because he had no thoughts for anyone but his wife.

It is reported that finally, on the 15th of September 1750, the minister Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was put on trial and found guilty. His two sons escaped to Hemis monastery where the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che granted them refuge. Because they didn't wish to lead a religious life they escaped again - this time to king bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal and her sister in Mulbekh. After that they were the source of quarrels.

What happened to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje himself when he had been found guilty? As is clearly shown by the treaty he was not with the refugees in Hemis and Mulbekh. Although the treaty doesn't express it explicitly, it seems that he actually was put to death. And in his place his sons took over his interests and fought for them.

Of course bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal had another opinion about Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje and his family. For him the actions of the Ladakhis showed a lack of gratitude for the service which the rGya-pa-jo-bo had done for the kingdom of Ladakh. And he tried hard to present his marriage with Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje's daughter in another light, especially that the story of the drinking-bout was a total lie of the Ladakhis.

When the two sons of the minister fled from Hemis the Ladakhis tried to catch them by sending soldiers on the roads to Purig and Zangs-dkar. Then the Ladakhis tried to force their surrender from Mulbekh. Thanks to the bla-ma from Lamayuru who functioned as mediator and the objection of the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che, a war between Purig and Ladakh was prevented and the sons of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje could stay in Mulbekh where they felt safe. But the trouble didn't stop. The Ladakhis considered their stay in Mulbekh as a danger. Therefore they were ordered to come to the castle in Leh at the 22nd of May 1752. As soon as they should see the castle they should proceed by successive prostrations. Of course they didn't obey and preferred to live without risking their lives. But the Ladakhis now refused to give them back their paternal land and property. The fear of the minister's sons was still there when the negotiations in Vam-le were arranged. King bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal asked for a guarantee for himself and for Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje's sons before they were willing to come to Vam-le. For sure they were a part of the reasons why Tshe-dbang-nor-bu had to wait such a long time for bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal to come.

The Involvement of Kashmir

Now let us try to reconstruct the events which led to the involving of Kashmir in the Purig-Ladakh conflict. We have to go back to the escape of the sons of minister Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje to Mulbekh and their pursuit by the Ladakhi soldiers.

Through these soldiers bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal saw a serious danger for his kingdom. He was afraid of an invasion. Regarding this the amount of soldiers must have been quite large. According to his statements in October 1750, less than a month after the fall of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, two armies marched towards Purig with the obvious intention to conquer mKhar-bu. Because bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal was informed just in time he was able to summon his fellowmen from mKhar-bu and about twenty additional men for the protection of the fort. Therefore the Ladakhi troops retired. But again new troops were summoned. As a reaction also in Purig the king called about 300 men for the protection of mKhar-bu and again 500 for Mulbekh itself. At that time the bla-ma from Lamayuru offered his service as mediator. The Ladakhi ordered the surrender of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje's sons but bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal refused. Because the common people and the rgan-po wished good relationships between the two kingdoms the soldiers were withdrawn.

The Ladakhi denied that their soldiers retired because of being afraid of the few people in the fort of mKhar-bu. They said it would have been easy for them to conquer mKhar-bu if they really intended to do so. Their soldiers just wanted to catch the sons of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje. Although some people on Ladakhi side pleaded for a conquest of Mulbekh the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che refused.

The next step in the conflict was the appearance of envoys from Kashmir about one month after these events. The Ladakhis maintained that bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal had called them but he himself affirmed that they were sent by the governor of Kashmir through his own decision. Anyhow the main reason for them to come was the fear of a threat for the trade-road through Purig and Ladakh. They first came to Mulbekh and by saying that they in any case have to listen to both sides they travelled further to Leh. In Leh they compiled a written agreement to settle the conflict between Purig and Ladakh and urged the Ladakhis to accept it already before it was presented to the king of Purig. Then they returned to Mulbekh in company with a representative of the dGe-lugs-pa-monasteries, a representative of the 'Brug-pa bka'-brgyud-pa and the phyag-mdzod of the royal castle as the representative of the rgan-gtso and the common people. They asked for good relationships and according to bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's words also for sympathy for the young leading personalities in Ladakh who would not always make sound

decisions. But the uncle was a mature person with patience and generosity. Therefore he should grant good and firm relationships between their kingdoms and put his seal on the agreement.

bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal first refused saying that a written agreement was not necessary because he never had the intention to damage the reputation of Ladakh. But in the end he signed the agreement after adding some modification to it regarding his rejection of the deliverance of the tribute by the jo-bo in Leh and his non-acceptance of a surrender of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje's sons. Now he urged the Ladakhis once more to sign the agreement in the modified version.

The Ladakhis considered the envoys from Kashmir responsible for the modification because they had changed their mind in Mulbekh. In general they described the people from Kashmir as tricky by telling each party different words and versions.

Anyhow the agreement was not stable. Each side had its own justifications and blamed the opponents. According to the Ladakhis the reason was that the king of Ladakh was respected by the people from Kashmir as the actual king while bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal was treated as a minor king. For bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal the reason was some military actions of the Ladakhis in Baltistan where the fort of Shi-sgar was conquered which he explained as a preliminary action for the invasion of Purig. As a result bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal blocked the road to Kashmir pretending he was doing it because there would be the danger of the spread of epidemic diseases to his kingdom.

Danger of War

During the negotiations in Vam-le, again and again speculations were discussed about the danger that soldiers would be sent from Kashmir as a support of one or the other party in the conflict. There was shown a letter from Kashmir addressed to the Ladakhis which bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal got in his hands by stopping the messenger in Purig. This letter said that two armies would arrive in September to beat Mulbekh and that therefore the Ladakhis also should summon their troops. As it turned out this letter was the answer to a message the Ladakhis had sent to Kashmir before they were informed about the coming of Kah-thog-pa Tshe-dbang-nor-bu as the mediator. Afterwards such things didn't happen anymore. This was affirmed by the minister from Purig.

Whether the governor of Kashmir really intended to send troops to Purig or Ladakh is more than questionable, because of the weak state of the Moghul rule in Northern India in those times. Tshe-dbang-nor-bu was aware of this, but he was not totally sure about this question. Therefore he urged both kings to send letters to Kashmir telling that

there is no need to send an army or any other people. Tshe-dbang-nor-bu also insisted on the opening of the Kashmir-Ladakh road as he didn't want to risk any provocation of Kashmir.

The Results of the Negotiations in Vam-le

The Abdication Of Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal

Now let us take a look at the results of the negotiations in Vam-le.

First of all the abdication of king Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal was confirmed. This had happened already on the first of December 1750 before the arrival of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal. Instead of Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal his son Tshe-dbang-rnam-rgyal was enthroned. During his minority the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che was to function as regent.

bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal delayed his arrival in Vam-le until the 22nd of February 1753, pretending always to have new reasons not to come. When he finally arrived Tshe-dbang-nor-bu had already waited for him more than five months. According to his statements this was a hard exercise of patience even for a yogin.

The Agreement with the Sons of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje

An agreement with the two sons of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was also settled in Vam-le and its points are stated in the treaty, although there existed a separate document compiled by Tshe-dbang-nor-bu and handed to the rGya-pa telling in detail what was granted to them by the Ladakhis.

To reach an agreement in this special conflict needed some pressure from Tshe-dbang-nor-bu towards the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che because he was not willing to give back to the rGya-pa any of their old land or property until they returned to the kingdom of Ladakh. But fearing for their lives the two brothers refused to settle in Ladakh. Everything else they agreed to do, like taking pledges of doing no harm to anyone of the royal family in Ladakh or confessing the evil deeds of their ancestors. The pressure was successful and the rGya-pa-brothers got back their paternal estate. Of course they didn't receive all the land and estates which were regarded as unlawfully gained. They took an oath not to do any harm to the people of the royal family of Ladakh. According to their wish the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che and queen Kun-'dzoms promised them that in future they could live in safety.

The Agreement between Purig and Ladakh

To facilitate his task Tshe-dbang-nor-bu at first agreed with both parties to fix an armistice of twelve years. But in the end it was the common wish to change it into a permanent agreement.

Tshe-dbang-nor-bu accepted the wish of both sides that there would be no necessity for new talks and discussions. So only a few supplements were added. The treaty which was fixed at the end of the negotiations contains the detailed record of proceedings based upon notes which Tshe-dbang-nor-bu had made during his time in Vam-le, as well as the list of the single points which were settled.

According to this list, first it was agreed that sPi-ti and mKhar-bu are without any doubts part of the kingdom of Purig, further that the nobles of Purig deliver their annual tribute to the king of Purig who then personally gives every year the amount of eight ngul to the king of Ladakh.

16 of the total of 22 herds of horses of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal shall be given back to the castle in Leh. The other herds he is allowed to graze on the pasture grounds of Ladakh like before.

The rights and the power of the king of He-na-ku are confirmed. And the king from his side promises not to do any harm to the reputation of the royal family of Ladakh.

As long as bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal has no son he shall accept Tshe-dbang-rnam-rgyal as his son. Should he still get a son with good mental health, this son shall become king in Mulbekh and then shall be the ally of Tshe-dbang-rnam-rgyal.

There shall be no difference for messengers from Kashmir and travelling traders regardless from which side they receive a passport. Leading persons shall receive a passport from the castle. Messengers from the king of Ladakh to the governor of Kashmir shall not be stopped in Mulbekh. The king of Purig has the right to send messengers to sPi-ti. If for this reason a passport from the castle in Leh is needed it should be given. The same is applied to messengers from Mulbekh who are sent to Tibet to do virtuous deeds at the holy places.

Disagreements between the two kings shall be settled by confidential talks and by the means of written contacts through messengers.

Ministers and rgan-gtso shall serve the king honestly. This means they also shall say the truth right away if the king is wrong. A wise minister encourages the harmony among the leading persons of the royal family. He isn't open to the influence of relatives and wives and is not motivated by the striving for possessions.

Except for demands for the usual taxes, travelling businessmen shall not be hindered or bothered. The traders from Kashmir had especially asked for such a gurantee. In accordance with this a guarantee for them was written on five copper plates.

In general everything which could harm the Buddhist religion should be avoided.

These are the main points, but some more are added:

1. The rGyal-sras-rin-po-che, his brother and queen Kun-'dzoms together with the king of He-na-ku and their family members shall take an oath to avoid any actions which could harm king bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal. Also the other way round bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal shall take an oath not to harm the lives of the rGyal-sras-rin-po-che, his brother and queen Kun-'dzoms and their family members.

2. The fixed agreement is complete and no open questions are left. No supplementary agreements were made by the kings, the queen or the rgan-gco.

3. The officials shall promote harmony and good relationship. The followers of Islam shall not be bothered. War with other kingdoms must be avoided especially because this threatens the buddhist religion.

4. Affirming this, all the parties concerned have taken an oath.

Apart from this detailed agreement the chronicle mentions only the confirmation of the rights of the kings from Zangs-dkar and He-na-ku. Regarding the king of Purig the result presented in the chronicle is misleading because it just says that there only shall be one king in one kingdom and further down it states that after the death of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal both kingdoms shall be reunited. This is not what is said in the treaty itself. There the reunification is only to take place if bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal has no son who can follow him on the throne. But in the end the difference had not such a great meaning because bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal died without a son and his kingdom again became part of Ladakh.

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