

Mughal Invasion in Ladakh (17th Century)

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Abstract

The second half of the 15th century, when the Nam-gyal dynasty came into power, The chronicles of Ladakh become the some historical value because early history of Ladakh is shrouded in darkness. In the 17th century, the Ladakh kingdom came into direct contact with the expanding Mughal empire, whose emperors themselves came to India from central Asia. Mughal emperors tried to bring the kingdom of Ladakh under their control which consequently led to sending many campaign in this kingdom by the imperial authority. *This research paper aim to analyse the relation between the Mughal and Ladakh rulers during the Mughal invasion in 17th century.*

The historical sources, the Mughal invasion played the very important role in Ladakh history. Though some Ladakhi kings were very powerful in his kingdom. They continued extend the boundaries of his kingdom and these kings wanted the total peace to ass. So, these Ladakhi kings applied this concept in his kingdom. Hussain Mir and other Muslim minister presented in Jam-wang Nam-gyal's government. Some Ladakhi Kings embraced the Muslim religion and married the daughter later called Gyal Khatun or Balti princess of the Kashmir Sultan Ali Mir Sher Khan. This episode was good example of dynastic marriage politics. Jam-gyal Nam-gyal and his Muslim wife's son Sen-ge Nam-gyal became the most powerful Ladakhi king in the Ladakh history. These powerful Ladakhi kings founded many Buddhist monasteries including the world famous Himis monastery. The powerful Ladakhi kings liked the imperialism as Mughal emperors of India. Both dynasty's rulers extended the boundaries of his empire. Under Sen-ge Nam-gyal and his succeed De-den Nam-gyal, Ladakh reached the pinnacle of the Ladakh kingdom, while the emperor Aurangzeb's empire reached the pinnacle in the Mughal history. They wanted to enhance the economic resources. This factor played the very significant role to conflict the both dynasty's rulers. So, their invasion started against the each-other. Consequently, crushed completely Ladakhi kings's power and reduced their kingdom during the end of the 17th century. Though, their invasions provided the import platform: Traffic from Hindustan to Central Asia shifted to Patna-Nepal and Lhasa route and economically of Ladakh was depended by the carrying traffic.

The Mughal invasions played a significant and balancing role between Baltistan and Ladakh during the 17th Century. The Mughal emperors wanted an uninterrupted how of Pashmina Shawl to Kashmir, where fine shawls were woolen from it. Only the emperor Aurangzeb wanted to see the propagation of the Islam in Ladakh. The Mughal emperors sent decrees to Ladakhi kings to be loyal and conferred the robe of honour and title. The cordial relation between the both dynasty's rulers paved the way for the peace and economic prosperity in the Ladakh region. As consequence the Ladakhi kingdom reached its zenith in the political term by the end of 17th Century. Besides, Muslim

replaces specially the merchants from Kashmir established a whole system of caravan routes and settled in different area in Ladakh region.

The Ladakh Chronicles¹ and the Mughal sources² provide fairly adequate information about the medieval history of Ladakh.³ The second half of the 15th century, when the Nam-gyal⁴ dynasty came into power, The chronicles of Ladakh become the some historical value because early history of Ladakh is shrouded in darkness. In the 17th century, the Ladakh kingdom came into direct contact with the expanding Mughal empire, whose emperors themselves came to India from central Asia. Mughal emperors tried to bring the kingdom of Ladakh under their control which consequently led to sending many campaign in this kingdom by the imperial authority. This paper aim to analyse the relation between the Mughal and Ladakh rulers during the Mughal invasion in 17th century. The rulers of Nam-gyal dynasty⁵ were ruling in Ladakh during the 17th century and beginning of this century, Sen-ge Nam-gyal (1600-1645 AD) the 'Lion like king' succeeded his father Jam-gyal Nam-gyal, who died towards the close of the 16th century. Sen-ge Nam-gyal was a devout Buddhist, despite his Muslim mother (Gyal Khatun),⁶ In this time, Ladakh kingdom reached the pinnacle of the short-lived greater Ladakhi empire. During the reign of this Ladakhi king, Shahajahan (1628-58 AD) was the Mughal emperor. So, he decided to assert his sovereignty in Ladakh kingdom.

In 1637 AD, Shahajahan ordered Zafar Khan , the Mughal subedar (governor) of Kashmir) to conquered the little Tibet or Baltistan.⁷ Inayat Khan, the writer of Shahajahan Nama gives a detailed account of this campaign. Zafar Khan availed himself of the services of a number of army commanders such as Kunwar Sing (The Raja of Kashmir), Muhammad Zaman, Farhad Beg Baluch, Husain Naik, Sadman Palki and Adham Khan Tibati with 2 thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Zafar Khan followed the difficult Gurach route and reached a village named "SADPARA" where the local people used a Guge for defense purpose. Baltistan local king (Zamindar) Abdal gave tough resistance to the Mughal force. However, the soldiery and peasantry of Baltistan were dissatisfied with Abdal's rule and Zafar Khan was able to exploit this situation to capture Abdal and install his brother Adam Khan as a ruler of Baltistan.⁸ The writer of Shahajahan Nama, Inayat Khan writes that some local people were recruited into the Mughal army, and gives a long description of the battle between the Mughal and Balti force.⁹ After a big battle, the Mughal force defeated Abdal and deposed him from the throne of Baltistan.¹⁰ Mughal emperor commander Zafar Khan restored the sovereignty of emperor Shahajahan in Baltistan and the Khutba was read on the name of the Mughal emperor.¹¹ Initially, the Baltistan power was handed over to Abdal's wakil and brother Adham Khan was gave a mansab of 500 zat and 200 sawar.¹² In 1638 AD, The emperor of India assigned Skardu to him as a Jagir. In this time, his mansab was increased to 1,000 zat and 400 sawar. According to Franch traveller Fracois Bernier, the ruler of Baltistan promised to pay an annual tribute in the form of crystal, musk and wool.¹³

In 1639 AD, Ali Mardan Khan became the new Mughal governor of Khasmir, sent a military expedition to Ladakh led by his relative Husain Beg,¹⁴ because Adam Khan, the ruler of Skardu requested Ali Mardan Khan's help against an onslaught by powerful king Sen-ge Nam-gyal of Ladakh, who had occupied Purig.¹⁵ Purig was a part of Skardu. So, Purig (Key district) was main root of this conflict. Mughal force fought a battle with powerful Ladakhi king Sen-ge Nam-gyal's force, near Karbu, or Kharbu.¹⁶ In this battle, Hussain Beg (commander of the Mughal force) defeated the Ladakhi King and

compelled him to accept Mughal sovereignty, Sen-ge Nam-gyal promised to remain loyal and send to annual tribute regularly.¹⁷ This Ladakhi king also promised renounce his claim over Purig, but never actually did so.¹⁸ As the cold season had advanced, the Mughal after stationing a small garrison a Karbu (Kharbu) withdrew to Kashmir. The Ladakhis, finding the Mughal garrison, due to the closure of Zoji La bu heavy snowfall, was not in a position to get any succor from Kashmir, attacked and repulsed it, But Ladakhi king Sen-ge Nam-gyal did not occupy this district. Thus it appears there was no recurrence of hostilities and things remained for many years. King Sen-ge Nam-gyal's promise to pay tribute was not serious and he never honored it, Nor did Mughals enforce it at that time.¹⁹

De-den Nam-gyal (1645-75AD), the eldest son of Sen-ge Nam-gyal ascended the Ladakh throne in 1645 AD. After consolidating his power, he conquered Purig, Sod and other small principalities in Lower Ladakh. In the early sixties of the 17th century, Ladakhi forces invaded Baltistan and conquered Khapalu and Chorbad in the lower Shyok valley assigned these land to the loyal muslim Chief.²⁰ But the king of Skardo, who had been the loyal subjects of Mughal since 1637, begged help from their suzerain, After some time, this Lakakhi king faced the major problem because Aurangzeb throne of India in (1658-1707), the 3rd son of Shahajahan ascended the throne of India in 1558-59AD and Ladakh as tributaries of the Mughal empire. The new Mughal emperor Aurangzeb continued his predecessors policy keeping both Baltistan Ladakh. In 1663 AD, Mughal emperor Aurangzeb visited the Kashmir and threatened Ladakh with war.²¹ De-den Nam-gyal seeing the impossible task of fighting with mighty Mughal. So, he immediately submitted and recognized Mughal suzerainty. Besides, De-den Nam-gyal promised regular payment of tribute and sent an imbassy to Kashmir with typical Tibetan presents such as crystal, musk, jade and yak tail. At the same time his Ladakhi king further promised to abide by certain conditions such as construction of Jama Musjid at Leh²² and imperial coins in this kingdom and reading the khutwa in the name of emperor Aurangzeb.²³ In 1664 AD, when Aurangzeb left the Kashmir, local Mughal governor Saif Khan seeing De-den Nam-gyal avoiding the payment of tribute and ignoring other conditions laid down by treaty forced. After this, De-den Nam-gyal to obey and complied with all requirements with the Aurangzeb acknowledged in the following words.

“His Majesty, having learnt form Saif Khan, Nazim of the Soobah (Suba) of Cashmeer (Kashmir), that Raja Dilden Nam-gyal (De-den Nam-gyal) from attachment to the Mughal court, had tendered his allegiance and submission in token of wich he is ready to cause the koothbah (khutwa) to be read and the imperial coin to be struck on this country of Little Tibet and will also erect Musjood (Masjid)²⁴ and fulfill other engagements made with the Khan herewith, inverts the Raja with the Khilat of the Tibet Raj let the Raja in, question considering this as a special mark of favour, continue to evince the almost fidelity that he may thereby entitle himself to a continuance of the Royal Favour.”²⁵

Hereby, De-den Nam-gyal throughout his life seems to have remained a faithful feudatory of the Mughal. This is proved by the issuance of the firman at Mughal court acknowledging the fealty of this Ladakhi king in the 9th and 15th years of the Aurangzeb's reign.²⁶ Though, this Ladakhi King was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal, he successfully administered the land conquered by his great father. At the end of his reign on 1675 AD, the Ladakhi kingdom attained its largest extent, it included

Ladakh and its dependencies of Nubra, Drad, Purig, the lower Shyok valley, Guge, Purang, Rudok, Spiti upper Kinnaur, Lahual and Zasker.²⁷

De-ge Nam-gyal (1675-1700 AD), succeeded his father as the King of the Ladakh. Shortly after his succession he faced the challenges from the Tibetan ruler, who wanted to expand his influence in the Ladakh kingdom. Ibrahim Khan, the new Mughal governor of Kashmir perceiving that the Tibetan possession of Ladakh will adversely affect of how of showl, wool into Kashmir, with wick deeply connected the economy of valley, took up the Ladakhi cause with the emperor. In addition, the Mughal were also bound in honour to protect their vassal from falling into the clutches of power, which on the religious plane, this would be an important consideration with a ruler like Aurangzeb was fundamentally hostile to them.

In this time, emperor Aurangzeb despite his being busy in the Duccan, approved of the proposal of his governor Ibrahim Khan to actively assist the Ladakhi King. Soon an expeditionary army of 6,000 soldiers, partly raised in Kashmir and partly called from Kabul, under the command of Fidai Khan, the son of Mughal governor Ibrahim Khan of Kashmir, marched into Ladakh. The Mughal army crossed the Indus river at Kalatse on one rope and two wooden bridge and advanced to Basgo. The Mughal army left the fortress and arranged itself in battle order on the Jargyal plain between Basgo and Nyemo.²⁸ A. H. Francke writes about the battle, "There a battle ensued. The Mongol army was routed, they left behind their a large quantity of armour, bows and arrows and their rout continued until they reached Spitug. Even there they did not make a long halt, but continued their fight until they came to Tashigong beyond the Pangong lake. Unfortunately for De-ge Namgyal, they did not flee any farther. But at Tashigong they built a fort, shut it in with a wall and surrounded it with water."²⁹

The Mughal army assisted by the army of Mangol and defeated the Mangol and pushed them to traditional Lakakhi-the west Tibet border at Tashigong.³⁰ After this, a fresh treaty was concluded in 1683 AD between the Mughal and Ladakhi king. According to the treaty of 1683 AD, De-ge Nam-gyal was to become a Musalman and to accept the new name of 'Akbal' (Akbat) Mahmud Khan.³¹ The Kashmir historians assert that De-ge Nam-gyal fully impressed the Islam and repaired the Jama Masjid at Leh, which was constructed in 1667 AD. Besides, this Ladakhi king and his wife, children (include son Jigpal-a Jigs -dpal and daughters) had to go to Kashmir and stay there as hostages for three years. As far as we know, they never returned to his Ladakh kingdom.³² A small annual tribute was to be sent to Kashmir, consisting of 18 pieblad ponies, 18 ponds of musk and 18 white yak tails (the latter were probably sold to Hindus for their temple ritual). In exchange for these presents, the Mughal governor of Kashmir offered to send up to Ladakh annually 500 bags of rice, which is a delicacy in western Tibet.

The other conditions of this treaty is – the fine wool of Tibet is to be sold to no country but Kashmir.³³ The price shall be about seven batties for two rupee. To make De-ge Namgyal's new name known to all the world, a coin, containing it in its legend was to be struck in Ladakh in Kashmir. This coin was called "JAU".³⁴ The name being taken from a similar central Tibetan coin. This Jau is the first and only coin which the western Tibetan empire has ever had. Trade was mostly carried on by barter only the few coins which were occasionally used coming from the neighboring districts. Kashmir historian Hashmatullah Khan writes in his book 'Tarikh-i-Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Tibet that the Mughal came to De-ge Nam-gyal's assistance, when Tibetan army invaded Ladakh in

1680-83 AD and a combined Ladakhi and Mughal's army defeated the Tibetan's army. Consequently, the Mughal and Ladakhi signed a new treaty. After this the king of Ladakh promised to serve a Jagirdar or vassal of Mughal empire, and he was assigned a mansab of 3,000 zat and 2,000 sawar. In this time, Aurangzeb also assigned him (Ladakhi King) Naushahra in Kashmir as a Jagir.³⁵ The chronicles of Ladakh,³⁶ However make no mention of this and the people of Ladakh stoutly contradict the above assertion.

The Tibet war administered a calamitous blow to Ladakh, and thanks largely to Mughal help, It barely escaped political extinction at the hands of the Tibetan-Mughal army. Consequently, the work of Sen-ge Nam-gyal and his son De-gen Nam-gyal in creating a large kingdom was washed out. The Mughal suzerainty which Ladakh had accept in 1664 AD was further confirmed. It appears that throughout of the reign of Aurangzeb, Ladakh continued to abide by the terms imposed by the Mughal. This is proved by the issuance of Mughal firmans form time to time particularly when a new king came to the throne requiring Mughal confirmation of his authority. Representative of this imperial endorsement is what emperor Aurangzeb wrote to the Ladakhi King in the 39th Year of his reign.³⁷

“Having been apprised of the death of Raja Akibut Muhmood Khan, grand father of Raja Numiya Numjul,³⁸ His Majesty is pleased to confer on the latter a khilat, together with a mansab, zat (Munsub, Zatte) of 1,000 and 1,500 horse, 500 of them double mounted. For this being duly gratified let the Raja so exert himself in the management of the country under his administration in such manner as effectually to prevent the turbulent Kalmaks (Mangols) from making incursions into those parts during the winter. Moreover let him deep the inhabitants of his Raj happy and content with his government and further use his most strenuous exertions for the propagation and extinsion of the Muslim religion which conduct will be for his advantage, both here and there after.”³⁹

Summarizing the historical sources, the Mughal invasion played the very important role in Ladakh history. Though some Ladakhi kings were very powerful in his kingdom. They continued extend the boundaries of his kingdom and these kings wanted the total peace to ass. So, these Ladakhi kings applied this concept in his kingdom. Hussain Mir and other Muslim minister presented in Jam-wang Nam-gyal's government. Some Ladakhi Kings embraced the Muslim religion and married the daughter later called Gyal Khatun or Balti princess of the Kashmir Sultan Ali Mir Sher Khan. This episode was good example of dynastic marriage politics. Jam-gyal Nam-gyal and his Muslim wife's son Sen-ge Nam-gyal became the most powerful Ladakhi king in the Ladakh history. These powerful Ladakhi kings founded many Buddhist monasteries including the world famous Himis monastery. The powerful Ladakhi kings liked the imperialism as Mughal emperors of India. Both dynasty's rulers extended the boundaries of his empire. Under Sen-ge Nam-gyal and his succeed De-den Nam-gyal, Ladakh reached the pinnacle of the Ladakh kingdom, while the emperor Aurangzeb's empire reached the pinnacle in the Mughal history. They wanted to enhance the economic resources. This factor played the very significant role to conflict the both dynasty's rulers. So, their invasion started against the each-other. Consequently, crushed completely Ladakhi kings's power and reduced their kingdom during the end of the 17th century. Though, their invasions provided the import platform: Traffic from Hindustan to Central Asia shifted to Patna-Nepal and Lhasa route and economically of Ladakh was depended by the carrying traffic.

To conclude, the Mughal invasions played a significant and balancing role between Baltistan and Ladakh during the 17th Century. The Mughal emperors wanted an uninterrupted flow of Pashmina Shawl to Kashmir, where fine shawls were woven from it. Only the emperor Aurangzeb wanted to see the propagation of the Islam in Ladakh. The Mughal emperors sent decrees to Ladakhi kings to be loyal and conferred the robe of honour and title. The cordial relation between the both dynasty's rulers paved the way for the peace and economic prosperity in the Ladakh region. As consequence the Ladakhi kingdom reached its zenith in the political term by the end of 17th Century. Besides, Muslim replaces specially the merchants from Kashmir established a whole system of caravan routes and settled in different area in Ladakh region

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

1. There are Ladakhi chronicles-

- I. Biographies of Dalai Lama's (Autobiography of Pan-chen Lama) Blobzang-rgya-Mtso(1667-82)
- II. Chinese Documents, Edited by Ch-ing Sheh-Lu
- III. Ladakhi inscriptions are usually on stone, some times on paper pasted on the walls. Several of them was edited by A.H. Francke (A German historian)
- IV. Accounts of European Travelers: such as Azevedo (1615 AD), Desidri (1775 AD), Moorcroft (1820-22 AD) and Vigne (1838 AD). These chronicles of Ladakh trace the origin of the state to divine inter position and are full of tables and myths.

2. There are four Mughal sources provide fairly adequate history of Ladakh kingdom.

- I. Tarikh-i-Rashidi was written in Persian by Mirza Haider Dughlat. It was translated in English by E. Dennison Ross and edited by Ney Elias in 1895.
- II. Ain-i-Akbari (Part of Akbarnama) was written by Abul Fazl. English Translated from the original Persian by H. Blochnmann.
- III. Shahajahan Nama was written in the mid 17th century by Inayat Khan. It was translated in English by A. R. Fuller.
- IV. Travels in the Mughal Empire was written by Francois Bernier (A Frenchman).

3. Kie-Chha is the ancient name of Ladakh. This was called " People of the "Snony Mountain." LEH was the capital of Ladakh kingdom. Ladakh lies between north latitude 32° 45' to 35° 50' and East longitude 75° 45' and 80° 30'. In the area of approx 97,000 sq kms under illegal Chinese occupation. Mar-Yul or Mar Yool, Ngarees or Mangyool is the another name of this region.

- I. Kapur, Teg Bahadur: Ladakh-The Wonderland, Delhi, 1887, p1.
- II. Dutta, C.L: Ladakh and the Western Himalayan Politics (1819-48), New Delhi, 1973, p 1.
- III. Kaul, H.N. Rediscovery of Ladakh, New Delhi, 1988, p1.
- IV. Cunningham: Geographical Notes of Tibet, J.A.S.B.I. 1832, p124.

4. Nam-gyal means perfect Victor. (Kaul, H.N Rediscovery of Ladakh, Delhi, 1988,p50)

5. Lha-Chen Ba-gan (1470-1500 AD) was founder of Nam-gyal dynasty. Second Ladakhi dynasty is another name of this dynasty. The Nam-gyal dynasty deals with the period from the latter half of the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century.
6. Gyal Khatun's father name was Ali Mir Sher Khan. He was a sagacious ruler of Baltistan (Balti or Little Tibet). After conquering the Ladakh, Ali Mir Sher Khan plundered the Buddhist monasteries and burnt all religious books. After this, Ali Mir Sher Khan's principle object in marrying Jam-wang Nam-gyal (1580-1600 AD) to his daughter Gyal Khatun was, as I suppose; to draw him quietly over to Mohammadanism and it is very surprising that this did not happen after all.
 - (1. Francke, A. H: Western Tibet (Two parts), Calcutta, 1914-26, p43.
 2. Francke, A. H: History of Ladakh, Sterling Publishers, Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1977, pp110 –11)
7. Recent Research on Ladakh 2007, Edited by John Bray & Nawang Tsering Shaksपो, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages, Leh- Ladakh, 2007, p39.
- 8.(1) Petech, Luciano: The Kingdom of Ladakh (950-1842 AD) Rome, 1977, pp49-50.
(2) Khan, Hashmatullah: History of Baltistan, Islamabad, 1987, 19-23.
9. Khan Inayat: Shahajahan Nama (English translated by A. R. Fuller), Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, pp217-218.
10. Recent Research on Ladakh, 2007: Edited by John Bray & Nawang Tsering Shasपो, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages, Leh-Ladakh, 2007, p36.
11. Ibid
12. Ibid
13. Bernier, Francois: Travels in the Mughal Empire, First Edition, 1891, 421.
14. Petch, L: A Studies on the Chronicles of Ladakh, Indian Tibet, Calcutta, 1939, pp50-51.
15. Dutta, C. L: Ladakh and Western Hiamalayan Politics (1819-48)
Munshiram Manohar Lal Publication Pvt, Ltd, New Delhi, 1973, p58.
16. Presently, Karbo (Kharbu) is the part of Kargil District in Ladakh region.
17. Khan, Inayat: Shahjahan Nama- An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shahajahan, translated by A. R. Fuller, edited by W.E. Begley and Z. A Desai, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, p259.
18. Recent Research on Ladakh, 2007: Edited by John Bray & Nawang Tsering Shasपो, J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages, Leh- Ladakh, 2007, p39.
19. I.H.Q, XV, Supplement, 1939, pp 142-45.
20. Francke, A. H: Antiquities of Indian Tibet, part 2nd, Calcutta, 1926, p112.
21. Bernier, Francois: Travels in the Mughal Empire, First Edition 1891, 422.
22. Francke, A. H: Antiquities of Indian Tibet, part 2nd, Calcutta 1926, 147.
23. Bernier, Francois: Travels in the Mughal Empire, first Edition, 1891 page422.
24. The mosque was constructed at 'Leh' in 1667 AD or AH 1077. The date of erection is contained in an inscription above the door of the mosque (Francke, A. H.: Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part 2nd, Calcutta, 1926, p147.
25. From the Aurangzeb to Raja Dilden Numjul in the 8th year of his Majesty's reign. (English translation of Persian letters received from January to June, 1822, vol 70, print 1st, No 131 (2) A
26. Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission, XXXIII, part-2, p1.
27. Indian History Quarterly XV, Supplement, 1939, pp. 155-156

28. Francke, A. H.: A History of Ladakh, Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1977. p121
29. Ibid
30. Indian History Quarterly, XXIII, 1947, page,183-185.
31. Francke, A. H: A History of Ladakh, Sterling Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1977, p121.
32. Ibid
33. Where Kashmir was a Suba (state) of the Mughal empire and several Mughals Built their beautiful summer residence on the shores of the Kashmiri lakes, great encouragement was given to the Kashmir industry of carpet-weaving. Most of the wool For these carpets came from the higher districts of western Tibet and thus Kashmir industry depended largely on the wool trade with Ladakh.
34. 'JAU' means "A little tea" (Francke, A. H: A History of Ladakh, Sterling Publishers, Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1977, p122.
35. Khan, Hashmatullah: Tharikh-i-Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Tibet, Lucknow, 1939. p311.
36. See Footnote No.1 of this research paper.
37. Foreign Department of Political Proceedings, 20 September, 1822, No.64 and see also English translation of Persian letters received form January to June, 1822, vol 70, print1, No. 130(2) D NAI.
38. This king was probably Ni-ma Nam-gyal (1700-1725 AD).
39. Foreign Department of Political Proceedings, 20September,1822,No64 and see also English translation of Persian letters received from January to June,1822, vol 70, print1, No.130(2) D. NAI