

Disclaimer

Lhasa Khaches or the Tibetan Muslims of Kashmiri-Ladakhi origin once lived in Lhasa, Shigatse and Tsetang of Tibet till 1959. However, after the Chinese occupation and fearing suppression of religion, most of them migrated to India. The information regarding existence of such a unique community, being Tibetan but following Islam, mongoloid in looks but with Muslim names, however, is not well known to outside world. Hence, the purpose of this portal is to gather as much literary material, including old photographs and disseminate this on a wider platform. To achieve this objective, it was essential to look up at the references in books written on Tibet, mainly by the travellers prior to 1959 as well in books mentioning about this community. It is believed that such a work, even though very basic, will not only help the younger generation of Tibetan Muslims to know about their past in Tibet, but will also help non Tibetan Muslims to know about us.

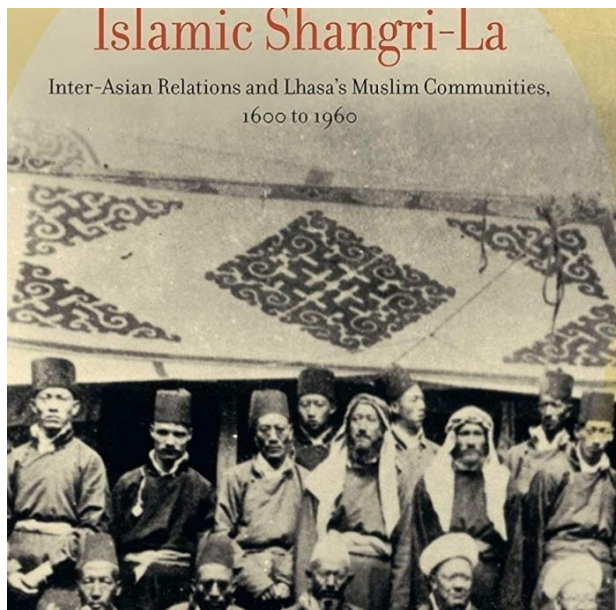
With this in mind, relevant references from the following books have been taken and compiled with the hope the viewers will find interest about Tibetan Muslims and read these books.

All references have been quoted and name of authors and publishing houses mentioned.

It is also important to mention clearly that neither the development of this portal nor quoting references from books is with any commercial intent. Rather, I would be glad, if the viewers purchase these books and read. This is a very personal and individual effort to spread information about the history and culture of our community. It should be made very clear that there has not been nor will there be any funding, institutional or individual from outside.

Suggestions and contributions to this website from Viewers are most welcome!!!

1. Islamic Shangri-la: Inter-Asian Relations and Lhasa's Muslim Communities, 1600-1960". David G Atwill-Published 2018



Page 3: "The impromptu soccer league presents an enthralling snapshot of the rarely scrutinized divisions within twentieth-century Lhasa society: the Kudraks,

young lay Tibetan officials, demonstrating a keen interest in a foreign sport introduced by the British to the Lhasa valley; and the Lhasa United team, composed of unambiguously “foreign residents” but “united” and familiar enough to be welcomed into the league. Yet it is the final team, the Lhasa Mohammedans, that is perhaps the most beguiling. Considered neither foreign residents, like the Ladakhi Muslims, nor nominal British subjects, like the Sikkimese, the Lhasa Mohammedan team was composed of Tibetan subjects who were almost certainly not foreign. The creation of the soccer league offers a valuable corrective to the frequency with which one encounters descriptions of Tibet as singularly Buddhist, isolated, and impervious to external influences. The organic manner in which the Lhasa Muslims and Ladakhi Muslims played on separate teams—one foreign and one Tibetan—also raises the question of how a Tibetan Muslim community thrived in a land so often portrayed as monolithically Buddhist”.

Page 3: “The Tibetan Muslim community, called Khache (Tib. khaché), reflects a paradox of indigeneity. It comprises a people who indisputably originated outside of Tibet but who swiftly embraced Tibetan culture, excelled linguistically, artistically, and commercially as Tibetans, who settled in central Tibet and, from the seventeenth century on, were accepted as Tibetan. It is a community that has its origins in the disparate cultural traditions of South, Central, and East Asia, yet remains undeniably Tibetan; that was renowned among the Tibetan elite for its mastery of the elaborate honorific-laden Tibetan language, yet consistently classified as non-Tibetan in foreign descriptions of Tibet. And finally, it is a community that strikes at the heart of most popular definitions of Tibetans as exclusively Buddhist.”

Page 5: “A central obstacle to understanding the widespread presence of the Khache across Tibet has been the lack of clarity in previous studies between Tibetan Muslim permanent residents and Muslim sojourner communities within Tibet. As early as the eighth century, Islamic historians and geographers recorded numerous Muslim travellers, caravaneers, and merchants, even a mosque. While there is virtually no sustained documentary evidence—in Tibetan, Chinese, or any other language— that traces the presence of the Muslim community prior to 1900, the fragmentary details that do survive suggest that until the late sixteenth century few Muslims resided in Tibet permanently”.

Page 6: “By the fifteenth century, the Kashmiri were the first long-term Muslim residents in central Tibet. The Nepalese chronicle Vamshavalis notes that the first Kashmiri settlers in the Kathmandu valley were Muslim Kashmiris travelling between Kashmir and Lhasa. They were known as Khache, a term soon adopted by Tibetans to refer to any Tibetanized Muslim who resided within Tibet. Over time, this term widened even further semantically to include other Muslims who traced their origins to China and Central Asia”.

Page 6: “The confusion over the Khache typically falls into two categories. First,

outsiders tended to adopt external, non-native terminologies that treated the Khache as foreign. Matters were further confused when foreign observers used such terms more or less interchangeably, sometimes calling the entire community “Ladakhi,” at other times “Kashmiri,” and, in Chinese, glossing any Muslim in Tibet as “Hui”—a blunder that few Tibetans would make. Representative of just such a proclivity, the Indian government in 1959 in negotiating with the People’s Republic of China could not even settle on a single term for the Khache, sometimes referring to “Ladakhi and Kashmiri Moslems,” then just simply “Kashmiri Moslems,” and later “Kajis.” The Chinese for their part tended to simply call them Hui, a highly ambiguous term that, depending on the context, could mean Chinese Muslim, any Muslim, or members of the state-defined nationality (Ch. minzu).”

Page 6: “Second, attempting to gloss the Khache unequivocally as Tibetan Muslim is hindered by the fact that there exists no single Tibetan word in the pre-modern era that is equivalent to the modern word böpa (Tib. bod pa) used in Tibetan to refer to “Tibetan.” To confuse the picture even further, in Tibetan a considerable amount of slippage existed between the religious and ethnic registers. In this way, in Tibetan, Khache could, and sometimes did, simply mean someone who practiced Islam. In other contexts, Khache acquired a more ethnic (or ethnoreligious) connotation, referring to those Muslims who had lived in central Tibet for generations, were native speakers of Tibetan, and, in many cases, had intermarried with local Tibetans. Finally, there remained a presumption among many non-Tibetans that, even in the mid-twentieth century, the Khache were some sort of perpetual non-native”.

Page 7: “It is often assumed that to be Tibetan is to be Buddhist and, axiomatically, that to be Muslim precludes one from being Tibetan. Yet from a Tibetan perspective, particularly in central Tibet, a Tibetan Muslim’s non-Buddhist religious beliefs did not preclude him from being considered active and full participants in local Tibetan society. Nor were Tibetan Muslims a small or insignificant part of that society. By 1950, about 10 percent of Lhasa’s roughly 30,000 lay inhabitants were Muslim. Lhasa alone had four mosques and two Muslim cemeteries, and by the early twentieth century mosques were present in every large central Tibetan city, including Shigatse, Gyantse, and Tsetang. During the Great Prayer Festival (Tib. smon lam) held at the start of the lunar new year, Khache were exempted from the strict rules governing the eating of meat imposed by the Buddhist monks who ruled Lhasa during the holiday. Similarly, Tibetan residents were tolerant of the early morning calls to prayer during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan”.

Page 7: “Despite the characterization of the Khache as perpetual non-natives in many foreign accounts of Lhasa, Tibetan Muslims lived as Tibetans among Tibetans by the early seventeenth century. Most historical records point to the earliest permanent Khache community as being established no later than the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82), when Tibet emerged as a major political force in Asia.

The noted Tibet scholar José Cabezón suggests a strong linkage between the appearance of this Muslim community and the Fifth Dalai Lama's "invitation of the *nonTibetan+ peoples" as "part of a larger policy of encouraging ethnic, cultural and economic diversity in Tibet." Given the Fifth Dalai Lama's leading role in establishing the Ganden Podrang, the political administration of central Tibet, and his interest in attracting a diverse array of artistic, intellectual, and religious influences to Tibet, it is not surprising that his rise to power marks the first period in which we see sustained evidence of a permanent Khache community. The vibrancy and political stability of the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign enabled the Khache to habituate themselves to Tibet and its culture in ways that transformed them from a simple immigrant community to one deeply integrated in Tibetan society".

Page 7: "Khache can be found in almost every segment of Tibetan life. They were acknowledged as among the most literate and multilingual lay segment of the society. Tibetans, including the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, often praise the Khache for their linguistic abilities, particularly their mastering of the elaborate Lhasa dialect (Tib. zhe sa). They were also renowned for their multilingualism, with many Tibetan Muslims speaking Chinese, Hindi, Urdu, and Arabic, fostered by their prominent role in Tibet's trade with their Himalayan neighbors. What many regard as the most important secular Tibetan literary work ever written, the Khache Phalu's Advice on the Art of Living (Tib. Kha che pha lu'i 'jig rten las 'bras rtsis lugs kyi bslab bya), was penned by a Tibetan Muslim. As a result of these skills, Khache served as advisers to a succession of Dalai Lamas and operated as key brokers promoting Tibet's inter-Asian ties".

Page 8: "By the twentieth century, central questions about the Khache's precise history, their position in Tibetan society, and their transnational identity remained obscured, ambiguous, and largely undocumented in Chinese, Indian, and Western sources as a result of external political claims on Tibet. The extended post-independence /post-liberation diplomatic tension between China and India usefully illustrates what Akhil Gupta has noted are the limits of modern concepts of citizenship to define those people who occupy "diversely spatialized, partially overlapping or non-overlapping collectivities". A history of the Tibetan Muslims highlights these early twentieth-century concerns while starkly demarcating the limits of the nonaligned, anti-imperialist, and pro-Asian solidarity movements of the 1950s. These movements defined the euphoric post-independence/post-liberation period of India and China. The nature of Khache integration into Tibetan society also speaks to the large inter-Asian diasporic communities and to the strong financial and political ties these communities had to their ancestral countries of origin, primarily India and China".

Page 11: "To appreciate the complexities of the Khache past we need, on the one hand, to pay attention to the processes that reterritorialized, relabeled, and renationalized the Khache as "Kashmiri Muslims." On the other hand, we must examine the manner by which the Khache had, in time, space, and memory, become incontrovertibly Tibetan. The history and memory of the Khaches' past have interacted in unusual ways with mainstream Tibetan and Asian historiography, making it a particularly elusive narrative to reconstruct".

Page 11: “Even the briefest introduction to the Khache demonstrates that to grasp their complex position is to grapple with multiple overlapping misconceptions. Just as “Kashmiri” was an imperfect term to refer to the Khache living in Tibet, across Asia questions were being asked about the status of the resident “Indian” or “Chinese” populations who had resided outside their country of origin, in many cases for generations”.

Page 12: “It is in this awkward space—never entirely ignored but never fully integrated— that the Khache have persisted in the historical narrative for over three centuries. Virtually every Western visitor who passed through Tibet, from the earliest Jesuits to Heinrich Harrier, Lhasa’s most famous foreign resident, noted in some manner the presence of the Khache. Chinese sources follow a similar pattern, recording the size and number of mosques in Lhasa, describing Khache routes, and enumerating the Khache communities across Tibet. To grasp the complex nature of the Tibetan Muslim community, one must first address the means by which the Khache so successfully integrated themselves into Tibetan society. How they retained the hybrid influences of Tibet’s external neighbors—South Asia, Central Asia, and China—as well as Tibet’s complex internal intricacies is part of this history. While the Tibetan Muslim communities across the eastern Tibetan regions of Amdo and Kham shared many qualities with those described below, above all else, this study seeks to provide an alternative history of Himalayan Asia that is positioned in and around the experiences of the Lhasa Khache”.

Page 17: “The Tibetan capital has been home to four mosques for well over a century and Tibetan Muslims have been prominent there for well over three centuries. Positioned in and around Lhasa, the mosques not only were highly visible, but played an integral role in Lhasa’s social life.

“Lhasa’s first mosque, typically referred to by Tibetans as the Khache Lingka (Tib. kha che gling kha), traditionally dated to 1650, is situated in the Garden of the Far-reaching Arrow (Tib. rgyang mda’ khan) several miles west of Lhasa, just north of the Dalai Lama’s Summer Palace (Tib. nor bu gling kha). This small compound was a prominent feature in Lhasa’s religious and social sphere. As the Khache community grew, a second, larger mosque was erected just opposite the original mosque to accommodate the larger number of Khaches during religious holidays”.

“The most prominent mosque in Lhasa is the Grand Mosque. Built no later than the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is situated at the southeastern edge of the city in the Wapaling neighborhood (Tib. wa pa gling). Over the centuries, the Grand Mosque has been known by several names. Today in Lhasa, the most common designation is Grand Mosque (Tib. lha khang chen) or simply the Chinese Mosque (Tib. rgya kha che lha khang). Less frequently, particularly prior to 1959, it adopted the name of the neighborhood in which it was located, the Wapaling Mosque (Tib. wa pa gling kha che lha khang)”.

“Located several miles across the valley north of Lhasa, the Dokdé Mosque (Tib. dog sde lha khang) lay adjacent to the Muslim cemetery. It is the least welldocumented of the four mosques. The Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri, in the early eighteenth century, remarked that the Wapaling Khache previously “had a small field close to

Lhasa for burying their dead,” but the Tibetan government “forced *the Wapaling Khache] to vacate [their cemetery] and relocate it farther out in the uninhabited countryside.” The Dokdé valley, more isolated and less likely to draw attention to the Muslim custom of burying bodies, also became home to a small mosque that was attached to the cemetery. Some date this mosque to 1716, the year of Desideri’s arrival in Lhasa, which might explain his unusually detailed mention of the Tibetan government’s request to have the Muslims build a cemetery away from the city”.

“In the early twentieth century, the fourth and final mosque was built in the Barkor neighborhood just within the southern edge of Lhasa’s sacred Lingkor pilgrimage circuit. The mosque is most commonly referred to today in Tibetan as simply the Small Mosque (Tib. lha khang chung) but was also colloquially known to many Lhasa residents as the Barkor or Rapsel Alley Mosque (Tib. rap sel lha khang). While its exact date of construction remains debated, it likely was built in the early years of the twentieth century”.

Page 18: “Aside from Lhasa, numerous other cities contained smaller though not insignificant Khache populations. Shigatse, in many ways the only city rivaling Lhasa in terms of religious, political, and military prestige, by the early twentieth century was home to well over a hundred Khache households. Although some suggest the Shigatse mosque was originally constructed in 1443 (with some even suggesting as early as 1343), it seems more likely that it was built around the same time as the early Lhasa mosques and certainly no later than the late seventeenth century.

“Outside the larger urban centers of Shigatse and Lhasa, the Khache communities tended to be composed of a handful of families. The one exception to this appears to be the Tibetan Muslims in Tsetang, the former pre-Buddhist Tibetan capital southeast of Lhasa near where the American crew crashed. Home to several dozen Khache households, the Tsetang Tibetan Muslim community remained highly active into the 1950s. Permanent Khache communities, almost all having a mosque, existed across central Tibet, including Gyantse, Kuti, Lhatse, and Drigung”.

“As the widespread presence of mosques suggest, Khache communities were common, integrated, and accepted elements of Tibetan society. Their communities also buttress claims of Tibet as multicentered, multiethnic, and multilingual. Given the complexity of Tibet’s political, ethnic, and linguistic makeup, it is prudent to begin by addressing exactly what we mean when we use the terms “Tibet” and “Tibetan.”

TO BE KHACHE AND TIBETAN

Page 21: “Most narratives of Tibet’s past begin with one man, the Fifth Dalai Lama, in the early seventeenth century. With the military support of the Mongol leader Gushri Khan, the Fifth Dalai Lama not only unified Tibet, but became the irrefutable spiritual as well as a secular leader of Tibet. In the histories of Tibetan Muslims, as in the histories of their Buddhist Tibetan brethren, the “Great Fifth” Dalai Lama holds a

central place in the mythos surrounding the Tibetan Muslims' arrival and inclusion in the cosmopolitan world of seventeenth-century Tibet".

"Tibetan Muslim foundation myths tend to be gently elaborated versions of more or less orthodox Tibetan history. A common chronicle told by Tibetan Muslims plays off the well-documented policy of the Fifth Dalai Lama to encourage foreign artisans, scholars, and traders to come to Tibet. When interviewed today, Tibetan Muslims generally all point to arriving under the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In a common telling, nearly fifty men and boys, sometimes more according to the teller, traveled to Lhasa as merchants. Upon demonstrating their skills, they were invited by the Fifth Dalai Lama to stay in Tibet and to receive a stipend to cover their expenses".

Page 22: "These Khache oral histories neatly parallel the documented efforts of the Fifth Dalai Lama to recruit foreigners to come to seventeenth-century Lhasa. All extant historical sources point to the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign as being the period when the earliest permanent Muslim settlements emerged across central Tibet. It is these Khaches who established a permanent community that has survived from that point in time in a direct line to the present who we can properly refer to as "Tibetan Muslims."

"From the seventeenth until the twentieth century, the Khache consistently appear in foreign accounts of Tibet. During a multiyear sojourn in Lhasa, from 1686 to 1691, the Armenian merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi listed numerous Khaches among his important clients. In 1775, when the British emissary George Bogle arrived in the court of the Panchen Lama in Shigatse, he remarked that the Khache had "been long settled in this country" and were "mostly the offspring of Tibetans." Songyun, a mid-eighteenth-century Manchu official appointed to Tibet, commented on the large Khache community, specifically pointing out that they "had taken up residence in Tibet making a living as traders many years ago." Chinese gazetteers not only noted the presence of Khache but also included the Khache Garden Mosque on maps of significant landmarks in and around Lhasa".

"Tibetan Muslims appear with less frequency in Tibetan accounts, but in part that is due to the fact that most of the extant sources are religious, or religiously oriented (e.g., written by elite Buddhists). Regardless, few Tibetans or Tibetan documents dispute their presence. The Khache's linguistic facility made them highly sought after within the lay community, and it is not surprising that one of the greatest secular Tibetan works is *Advice on the Art of Living*. Almost certainly written by an eighteenth-century Tibetan Muslim by the name of Faizullah under the sobriquet Khache Phalu, it is among the most popular and classic Tibetan texts, remaining popular even today among Tibetans".

'From the sparse details known about his life, Khache Phalu worked for the Seventh Panchen Lama (1782–1853), likely as the official in charge of the lama's stable of horses (Tib. *chibs dpon*). The relatively short volume, consisting of eleven short chapters and roughly fifty-five pages, emulates the philosophical aphorisms of the Buddhist "Elegant Sayings" (Tib. *legs bsha*) literary tradition. Written in nine-syllable lines, it captures a quintessentially Tibetan view of the world, yet the author never seeks to conceal his Islamic beliefs. Unrivalled in its ability to create a hybrid of

Islamic and Tibetan literary culture, it reflects the unique place that the Khache held in the Lhasa community, emulating but never becoming a lesser facsimile of high Tibetan culture. In *Advice on the Art of Living*, Khache Phalu deftly adopts metaphors and language that could as easily allude to Buddhist teachings as they do Islamic ones”.

“Referencing central Tibetan tropes like joke telling, local gossip, and even stories of immoral monks, it quickly became one of the most popular secular works in Tibet for well over a century. In several instances when the author emphasizes his monotheism or invokes Allah, the tone of the text beautifully utilizes Tibetan patterns and allusions to make whatever might possibly be perceived as “un-Tibetan” into something undeniably Tibetan. His commentary on Buddhist ideals is often sharp, but similar in tone to denunciations that Tibetans themselves made, as when he laments at one point, “There are many who talk about the pursuit of right actions, but true followers are as scarce as gold” (Tib. kha che pha’i sing gnam bshad yod do / nya na dang mi nyan so so’i bsam blo re). Nor do his Islamic beliefs prevent him from exhorting his readers, by appropriating language generally understood to be Buddhist, to “pray with your body, speech and mind or to rely on the ‘Three Precious Jewels’ *the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha+.” More intriguing is when Khache Phalu seems to be defying both Buddhist and Muslim traditions. At one point he cautions against “eating the dirty food of the wicked butcher” (Tib. las ngan shan pa’i dreg khu bza’ ba la), which could narrowly be read as only eating meat properly butchered (halal), but the term “wicked” (Tib. las ngan) here has the Buddhist connotation of “bad karma” commonly associated with being a butcher. Given that butchers were almost exclusively Khaches, most Tibetans (or Tibetan Muslims) would see this as a veiled reference to the Khache”.

Page 23: “The very ability of Khache Phalu to capture such a Tibetan voice caused many to doubt his Islamic identity and speculate that he was actually a highly placed official or even the Seventh Panchen Lama himself. The enduring incredulity that a Muslim could write such a quintessentially Tibetan text remained in place well into the modern era, with one commentator insinuating, as late as 1981, that the work was the product of the Seventh Panchen Lama:

“The Panchen Lama had good relations with the Tibetan Muslims of Shigatse and since the Muslims had a very sweet style of speech that appealed to the masses, the Seventh Panchen Lama under the Muslim pseudonym deliberately wrote the book in their style of speech”.

“The book’s persistent popularity among Tibetans unsettled the Twelfth Dalai Lama (1857–75) enough that he ordered that all lines directly invoking Islamic beliefs be expurgated. Such hearsay aside, the recognized literary prowess of Khache Phalu denotes a broader recognition of the Khaches’ literary skill”.

“Perhaps not unsurprisingly, even today the most common attribute ascribed to the Khache by Tibetans is their facility with the Tibetan language. The noted Tibetologist Charles Ramble elegantly alludes to the subtle ways in which Tibetan Buddhists routinely would invoke the Khaches’ Tibetan fluency as proof positive of their Tibetan identity, despite their religious differences:

“Adherence to Buddhism (or Bon) is generally regarded as being an integral element of Tibetan identity, although an exception is made for the Muslim minority. (The rather touching cliché that is commonly cited, apparently as a formula of acceptance, is that the Muslims “speak the best Tibetan,” as if this linguistic excellence were satisfactory compensation for a religious deficiency)”.

Page 24: “The formulation of the Khache as Tibetan because they “speak the best Tibetan” remains strong today, even among the Tibetan exile community. In 2014, while visiting Los Angeles, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama mildly rebuked a largely Tibetan audience for not teaching their children to speak Tibetan, noting, “When I recently visited [exiled] Tibetan Muslims in Srinagar, I discovered their young children speak excellent Tibetan with a Lhasa accent. This is not the result of any instruction they receive at school, but of their parents’ and grandparents’ training.”⁵⁴ His praise of the Khaches’ linguistic ability was not simply another manifestation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama’s broad ecumenism but rather a subtle wink to the well-established maxim among Tibetans that Tibetan Muslims have elegant fluency. Emily Yeh similarly suggests that “given the great difficulty many young Tibetans in Lhasa today have speaking Tibetan without code-switching with Mandarin, the Barkor Khache . . . are admired for their ability to speak pure Tibetan.”

FROM KASHMIRI TO KHACHE

“By the sixteenth century, the Kashmiris were an already established presence in the Himalayan range. From Kashmir along the Himalayan front range to Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim in the east, Kashmiri merchant communities dominated trading. A prominent presence in virtually every large Himalayan trading entrepôt, the Kashmiri formed the backbone of trans-Himalayan trade. George Bogle, in describing Himalayan trade networks, referred to the Kashmiri as being “like the Jews in Europe, or the Armenians in the Turkish Empire, scatter[ing] themselves over the eastern kingdoms of Asia, and carry[ing] on an extensive traffic between the distant parts of it, hav[ing] formed establishments at Lhasa and all the principal towns in this country.”

“While it is tempting to believe the Kashmiri traveled by the shortest route between Kashmir and Lhasa, the majority of the Kashmiris almost certainly traveled to Tibet from the key trading centers to the south via Kathmandu, Patna, and even Kolkata. In the minds of the trans-Himalayan peoples and cultures, the term “Kashmiri” had an ethno-religious rather than geographic or political association. That is to say, it is almost certain that the first Kashmiris were not explicitly Kashmiri from Kashmir but rather from Kashmiri communities outside of Kashmir and across the subcontinent”.

“Like many immigrant communities, it is difficult to determine the precise moment when the Kashmiri became Tibetan subjects. It appears most likely that the evolution occurred over a period of several decades in the late fifteenth century, and that evolution remains discernible in the multivalent nature of the term. For the past several centuries, the Tibetan term “Khache” has three broad connotations: it is a geographic marker, it is religious designation, or a specific term to denote a Tibetan Muslim. The meaning of “Khache” followed a terminological evolution that

paralleled Tibet's own chronological interactions with Kashmir and with Islam. In its earliest formulation, the Tibetan word Khache referred narrowly to the Himalayan region of Kashmir or to the Kashmiri people. The second stage began several decades after the first permanent Kashmiri settlement with the arrival of Muslim immigrants from China who were also referred to as Khache. With this arrival of the Chinese Muslims, the dual meaning Kashmiri Muslim and Khache was quickly decoupled, and the term "Khache" evolved to mean all Muslims. The third stage occurred when the Khache communities settled, intermarried, and became Tibetan Muslims. In this final evolution, the term "Khache" came to refer to Tibetans rather than a foreign place or foreign religion. Tibetans have demonstrated little or no consternation over the multiple meanings of "Khache." As is common with ambiguous terminology, Tibetans had an array of terms that allowed one to distinguish between residential Tibetan Muslims and those transient Muslims from neighboring regions".

"From the seventeenth century to 1959, the primary internal division among Tibetan Muslims fell along a South Asian–Chinese divide. The cultural, commercial, and linguistic specializations reflected each group's distinct geographic orientation. Since Muslims from South, Central, and East Asia all intermingled in the main cities of central Tibet, it was when Tibetan Muslims were spoken of in Tibetan that geographic prefixes were often affixed to indicate the communities' external orientation, place of residency, or ancestry (e.g., Chinese Khache [Tib. rgya kha che] or Ladakhi Khache [Tib. la dwags kha che]). As explained in further detail below, these suffixes typically indicated the ancestral ties or cultural orientation, not that they were Chinese Muslim Hui or Ladakhi Muslims".

BARKOR AND WAPALING KHACHE WITHIN LHASA

Page 25: "Within Lhasa the Khache community was divided into two main communities along linguistic and cultural lines, those of South Asian heritage and those of Chinese heritage. This terminology eventually achieved even finer delineation within Lhasa and allowed for considerable specificity, referring to the neighborhoods in which they settled and built their mosques: the Barkor or the Wapaling. By adding these modifiers the two communities were immediately distinguished from the other Khaches (or Kashmiri). The Barkor (South Asian) Khache, predominantly involved in commerce, clustered around the central Barkor market area near the Jokhang Temple. The Wapaling (Chinese) Khache lived along Lhasa's Wapaling neighborhood in the southeastern corner of Lhasa, near the Lhasa River and closer to their fields and the areas in which they were allowed to butcher animals. Tsarong Yangchen Dolkar, in her memoirs, described the Wapaling Khache community as primarily made up of vegetable sellers and butchers but having a good reputation as selling the best quality and widest variety".

"The striking aspect of this heterogeneity of Lhasa's two main groups was how rarely it was remarked on by outsiders. Even Xue Wenbo, a Muslim Chinese intellectual who arrived in Tibet in 1951, noted his initial confusion in attempting to differentiate between the Barkor and the Wapaling Khache:

Page 26: “Just after arriving in Lhasa, I saw many Muslims on the streets, but I could not distinguish which were Wapaling Khache (Ch. Huizu) and which were Barkor Khache (Ch. ka-shi-mi-er ren). This was especially true with women who I could not even differentiate from Tibetan women. After sometime, when I concentrated, I began to see differences in their appearance and complexion, and also that some aspects of their manner of dress were different”.

“If outsiders found it hard to grapple with the internal differences between the Wapaling and Barkor Khache, most struggled to come to grips with the other Khache communities that also flourished in Lhasa and many other central Tibetan towns”.

LADAKHI KHACHE

Page 26: “Of all the Tibetan Muslim communities, the Ladakhi Khache tended to be the most frequently conflated with the local Tibetan Muslims. Although the Ladakhi certainly were prominent traders and had strong ties with the central Tibetan government, by the 1920s it appears that aside from the subsidized triennial Lapchak (Tib. lo phyag) relatively little trade traveled directly between Lhasa and Ladakh. Central Tibetan trade, as British India flourished, oriented itself to the geographically closer and more lucrative India market. As Janet Rizvi pointed out in her study of Ladakhi trade, Ladakh was “at best a staging-post between the Punjab and Sinkiang, and Leh an entrepôt for the exchange of goods produced and consumed hundreds of miles away.”⁶⁸ The Ladakhi did retain an official representative in Lhasa, referred to as a consul in many Anglophone sources. In the eyes of the Tibetan government, those who retained their Ladakhi status were not considered Tibetan and were exempt from some taxes and obligations. Twentiethcentury sources suggest that the community was dwindling in size and influence from several dozen households in the early twentieth century to only a fraction of that by the early 1950s”.

SINGPA KHACHE

Page 26: “The Singpa Khache (Tib. sing pa; Ch. senba) have long existed as an identifiable subgroup of the Barkor Khache, but their name has caused considerable confusion in English, Chinese, and Tibetan. Often misidentified as “Sikh,” the Singpa Khache trace their origins to Muslim soldiers led by Zorawar Singh, who fought for the upstart Dogra state in the Kashmiri-Ladakhi-Jammu region. Having conquered Ladakh, the Dogra ruler in 1841 dispatched Singh to gain control over the trans-Himalayan region by invading Nepal through western Tibet. In an audacious assault, Zorawar Singh led his forces across western Tibet, running up a string of victories and controlling a broad swath of territory from Kashmir up to Confronting the unexpected the Nepalese border near Mount Kailash. But with his supply lines stretched and his campaign being overtaken by winter storms, Zorawar Singh suddenly found himself on the defensive. In a stunning reversal of fortune, Tibetan forces attacked Zorawar Singh’s much larger force in early December 1841, routed the Dogra army, killed the legendary general, and captured nearly a thousand soldiers in the process (all without the support or even tacit approval of Chinese forces)”.

Page 27: “Unsure at first of what to do with such a large number of prisoners, the decision was made by the Tibetan authorities that since “it was not convenient to execute [the captured soldiers], it would be better to show mercy . . . and disperse them to various towns across Tibet.” Their continued presence is confirmed some years later, in the 1856 Nepal Tibet Treaty, where the Nepalese demanded that “the Tibetans are also to give back . . . [t]he [Singpa] prisoners of war who had been captured in 1841 in the war between Bhot *Tibet+ and the Dogra ruler.” Exactly how many prisoners returned (or were returned) is unclear, though the Singpa Khache remained a prominent presence within the Khache community, by one estimate making up as much as 20 percent of the nearly two hundred Barkor Khache families living in Lhasa in the early 1950s”.

SILING KHACHE

Page 27: “While the Barkor Khache likely settled in Lhasa prior to the arrival of their Wapaling counterparts, the Wapaling Khache grew demographically to be roughly as numerous as the Barkor Khache and served as key intermediaries for the Chinese officials serving in Lhasa. As the Qing brought Tibet increasingly into the Qing sphere of influence, Han and Hui Chinese, often first serving as soldiers or civil officials, settled in Lhasa, with the Hui typically marrying Wapaling Khache or Tibetan Buddhist women who converted. The primary exceptions to this were the Siling Khache, who were Tibetanized Hui from Qinghai, tracing their origins to the Amdo city of Siling (Tib. zi ling; Ch. Xining) in Qinghai province. They also tended to remain identifiable within the Lhasa Muslim communities. The Siling Khache aligned generally with the Wapaling Khache, but there were differences that allowed them to retain a separate identity from the other Wapaling Khache. By the twentieth century the Siling were a highly differentiated and identifiable group within the Wapaling Khache”.

GHARIB KHACHE

Page 27: “In addition to the above divisions, largely associated with a group’s origin, a third group called “ghārib” (paupers) appears to have existed only in Lhasa. The nineteenth-century account of Khwajah Gulam Muhammad describes a Muslim pauper’s guild, composed exclusively of Khache, that paralleled (or perhaps was a subset) of the Ragyapa (Tib. rags rgyab pa). The Ragyapa are a Tibetan hereditary class who carried out acts considered unclean or undesirable by Tibetans, such as disposing of corpses and animal remains, and they also served other functions like the guarding and execution of prisoners. Given the difficulty most non-Tibetans had differentiating between Khache and Kashmiri, it is not surprising that few non-Tibetan sources suggest the presence of the Khache Ragyapa.⁷⁹ For this reason Khwajah Gulam Muhammad’s description from the late nineteenth century is invaluable, as it details a highly organized association having its own leaders and police. It is significant that he suggests they were recognized by the Tibetan government and even received a monthly stipend”.

“ The fifteenth of each month, a group of twelve to twenty or twenty-five gharīb present themselves at the Potala Palace, and with all their force howl and shout,

and then receive each month eighteen tanka, that is to say the equivalent of twenty mohors [gold coins]. This is a stipend that they have received since ancient times”.

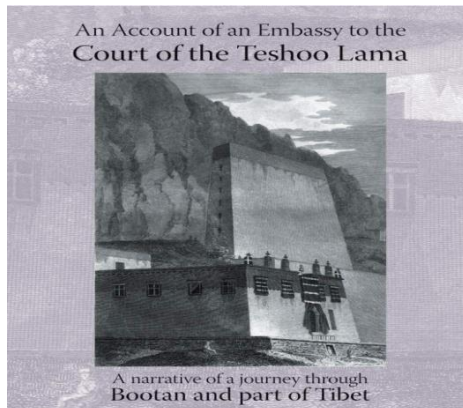
Page 28: “More recently, Tsarong Yangchen Dolkar has recounted that one of Lhasa’s most famous beggars was a man call “Khache Powo” who used to beg by singing the lines, “happier than us is not even the gods of heaven.” The most recent indication of Ghārīb Khache comes from Gaborieau, who while interviewing Tibetan Muslim refugees to India in 1961 confirmed the existence of such a class of Muslims and was told that a dozen or so of those families had fled from Tibet to India”.

“The occupational definition of Gharīb Khache—butchers, waste collectors, and, in general, a surveillance force—was not unique among the Khache. While rarely as strongly enforced in the manner of the hereditary tasks assigned to the Gharīb Khache, each of the Khache groups tended to be defined, if only by reputation, by specific professions. The occupational orientation shaped where the various Khache communities congregated within Lhasa”.

“The numerous subgroups within the Khache community suggest that the Khache presence was not transient, ephemeral, or brief but that they were an integral and active element of Lhasa and Tibetan society. This historical commentary demonstrates that Tibetans across central Tibet were aware of the distinctions among the Khache and perceived them as being Tibetan. This awareness arose in part as a result of the Khache community’s presence in commercial, social, and political fields pivotal to the functioning of Tibetan society. A clear definition of who the Khache are is inherently tied to a clear understanding of what it means to be Tibetan or even what we mean when we talk of Tibet”.

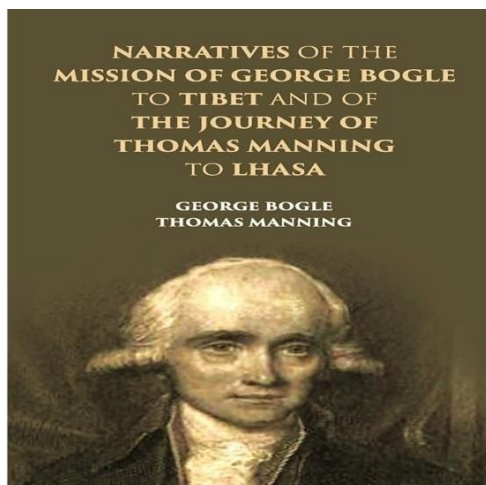
Page 33: “The dilemma of trying to speak monolithically of “Tibetan Muslims” lies largely in the geographic positioning of Tibet. Almost all of the Tibetan Muslim communities that thrived within Tibet originally emigrated from non-Tibetan lands, most often as traders. As a result, unlike the Ladakhi, the Nepalese, and even the Chinese, the Khache considered themselves, and were treated as, fully Tibetan within decades after their arrival in central Tibet. In certain circles, many today seek to position the Muslim Tibetans as vital indicators of Tibet’s internal and external relations. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama, for example, often cites the centuries-long cordial relationship between Tibetan Buddhists and Tibetan Muslims as a model for interreligious understanding. Conversely, an emerging number of scholars are suggesting that the friction between “Tibetans and Muslims,” said to have existed for centuries, is rarely historically accurate. More appropriate would be to note that the interethnic violence occurred in very specific periods of time and geographically delimited places, namely, in the eastern Tibetan Amdo region and during the violent warlord period. Yet as the world began to increasingly encroach on Tibet’s autonomy, it would challenge the multiple identities that the outside world read into the Tibetan Muslim communities”.

2. An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet. Samuel Turner. First published in 1800 London



Page 430: Persian translators in the court of Tashi Lama, Shigatse. Who were these Persian translators in the court of Panchen Lama?)

3. Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. By Clements R Markham. First Published in 1876, London.



Page liv: "The Kashmiri merchants carried their goods by Ladak to Kuti, at the head of the pass, to procure wool; and their manufactures went thence partly for use in Tibet partly to China by Sining, and partly to Patna by the valley of Nepal. Tibet merchants brought woollen cloths, ponies, shawl goats, yaks, sheep, musk, salt, borax, gold, silver, and paper to Kathmandu, the lamas sent much bullion to the Nepal mints. From India came cotton cloth, cutlery, glassware, coral, pearls, spices, camphor, betel, and hardware, which were passed on, from Nepal, over the passes to Tibet".

Page Iv: ".... the commercial enterprise of the Newars and Kashmiris brought the land of the peace-loving Lamas into friendly intercourse with peoples whose countries extend from the frontiers of Siberia to the shores of the Bay of Bengal."

Page cx: "On the 2nd of September the Pundit reached the banks of the Tsanpu, and crossed to the Tedum monastery, on the orth shore, 14,200 feet above the sea. Here he learnt that once in two years the Maharajah of Kashmir sent a merchant to Lhasa with a great quantity of goods, who is call "Lopchak"; and that once a year the Government of Lhasa sent a merchant, called "Jang Chogpon," to Ladak. The Pundit joined the Kashmiri merchant's head man, named ChiringNurpal, who passed through Tadum with seventy laden yaks, and they set out together for Lhasa on the 3rd of October".

Page cxi: "From Janglache to the town of Shigatze goods and men are transported on the river, which is wide and navigable, in boasts covered with hides. Here they were joined by the second part of the Kashmiri merchant's caravan, consisting of 105 laden yaks; and on the 29th they reached Shigatze, 11,800 feet above the sea".

Page cxii: "The city of Lhasa has a circumference of two and half miles, and in the centre stands a large temple containing images richly inlaid with gold and precious stones, and surrounded by bazaars with shops kept by Tibetan, Kashmiri, Ladaki and Nepalese merchants, many of whom are Muhammadans, Chinese tradesmen are also numerous".

Page cxiii: "The Pundit went with the Kashmiri merchant (Lopchak), to pay his respects to the Dalai Lama, who was a fair and handsome boy about thirteen years old...'

Page cxvii: "The Pundit says that traders bring their merchandise to Lhasa in December from far and near: from China and Mongolia, Kam and Szechuen, up the passes from Bhutan and Sikkim and Nepal, and from Kashmir and Ladak..... from Ladak and Kashmir saffron and Indian commodities."

Page 12: "I have been told that a large river forms a boundary between China and Tibet and that Tibet received European commodities by the valley of Kashmir."

Page 44: "Reports to Warren Hastings: Some days before I reached Tassiudon a messenger from Teshu Lama arrived, and delivering a Persian letter, informed me that he had charge of another from his master to you, and of some presents which would arrive in the evening".

Page 48: "The trade between Lhasa and the low country is, as I am informed, principally carried on by the way of Patna and Nepal through the means of Moghuls and Kashmiris," Page 65: "Proceeding up the Pachu, we arrived at Rinjipu, the capital of the province, on the 16th October. I was lodged in a long hall adjoining the temple. The palace is a miniature of Tassisudon. The valley is large, well cultivated, and filled with detached villages. In one of these there is a bazaar, the only one I believe in the country, and two Kashmiri houses; but there is no calling it a town".

Page 86: "Mirza Settar, the Kashmiri who accompanied me, was lodged outside the palace. A fakir had arrived from Lhasa, and having brought him tidings of his brother, the Kashmiri could not do less than give him a share of his quarters".

Page 87: "Among the other good qualities which Teshu Lama possess is that of charity, and he has plenty of opportunities of exercising it. The country swarms with beggars who follow this profession from generation to generation, and the Lama entertains besides a number of fakirs who resort hither from India. As he speaks their language tolerably well, he every day converses with them from his windows, and picks up by his means knowledge of the different countries and governments of Hindustan".

Page 94: "We did not stop till we arrived on the bank of the Tsanpu. About two thousand people were assembled to see and prostrate themselves before his Holiness. The river was covered with shoals of floating ice. On the opposite bank the Kashmiri merchants and great crowds of Tibetans waited".

Page 124: "The genius of this Government, like that of most of the ancient kingdoms in Hindustan, is favourable to commerce. No duties are levied on goods, and trade is protected and free from exactions. Many foreign merchants, encouraged by these indulgences or allured by the prospect of gain, have settled in Tibet. The natives of Kashmir, who, like the Jews in Europe, or the Armenians in the Turkish empire, scatter themselves over the eastern kingdoms of Asia, and carry on an extensive traffic between the distant parts of it, have formed establishments at Lhasa, and all the principal towns in this country".

Page 125: "The most considerable branch of commerce is with China. It is carried on by the natives of that kingdom, by Kashmiris, and by the Lama's agents, who proceed to Seling, and sometimes even to Peking. The Kashmiris naturally engross the trade with their country".

Page 127: "The Gosains, who had formerly very extensive establishments in Nepal, having incurred the Gorkha Rajah's resentment by the assistance which they afforded his adversaries, were driven out of the kingdom; and many of the most wealthy inhabitants being stripped of their possessions, or exposed to the exactions of a conqueror, likewise deserted it. Only two Kashmiri houses remain, and the Rajah, afraid of their also abandoning him, obliges them to give security for the return of such agents as they have occasion to send beyond the boundaries of his dominions".

"The trade between Bengal and Tibet, through the Deb Rajah's country, used formerly to be engrossed wholly by the Bhutanese. Two of the Kashmiri house, however, who fled from Nepal being unwilling to forego the gainful coercion in which they had hitherto been concerned, settled at Lhasa, and having obtained permission from the Deb Rajah to transport their goods through his territories, established agents in Bengal".

Page 132: "Teshu Lama is generous and charitable, and is universally beloved and venerated by the Tibetans, by the Kalmuks, and by a great part of the Chinese. The character I give of him may appear partial; but I received it in much stronger colours from his own subjects, from the Kashmiris, and from the fakirs..."

"In consequence of my representing to him your wish to open a free communication of trade between the inhabitants of Bengal and Tibet, he wrote to Gesub Rimboche on the subject. He wrote also to the principal merchants, Kashmiris as well as natives. Many of them, either in person or by their agents, came afterwards to visit me. The Tibetans excused themselves from sending gumashtas into Bengal, on account of the heat and unhealthiest of that country. Several of the principal Kashmiri house, who had been forced by the Gorkha

Rajah's oppressions to abandon this trade, assure me that they would send their agents to

Calcutta as soon as the rains are over, and the Lama engaged to procure them a passage through the Deb Raja's territories".

Page 136: "Tibet is a Persian word. The Indian name for the country is Bhot",

Page 159: "The Lama further told me that the report of Gorkha Rajah's death was confirmed and that he had received letters from Lhasa giving an account of it, which was corroborated by the advices of Gossains and Kashmiris.... "

Page 160: "On the 27th of March, some Kashmiri merchants came to me, and after presenting silk handkerchiefs, according to the custom of the country, informed me that they waited upon me in consequence of the Lama's orders; that he had written to their constituents at Lhasa acquainting them that the Governor's desire of opening the commerce between Tibet and Bengal, so that merchants might freely trade between the one kingdom and the other; that the trade which was formerly carried on through Nepal by the many Kashmiri houses settled there had been greatly obstructed by the oppression of the Gorkha Rajah....."

Page 163: "They (Tibetan merchants) said that being born in a cold country they were afraid of going into a hot one; that their people would die in Bengal; that they had it from tradition that about eight hundred years ago the people of this country used to travel into Bengal, but that eight out of ten died before their return; that the Kashmiris and Gossains travelled into different countries, but that they could not. I replied, that if they were afraid of sending their servants thither, the Kashmiris and Gossains would supply them with what they wanted, and it was the same thing to Bengal and to the inhabitants of Tibet".

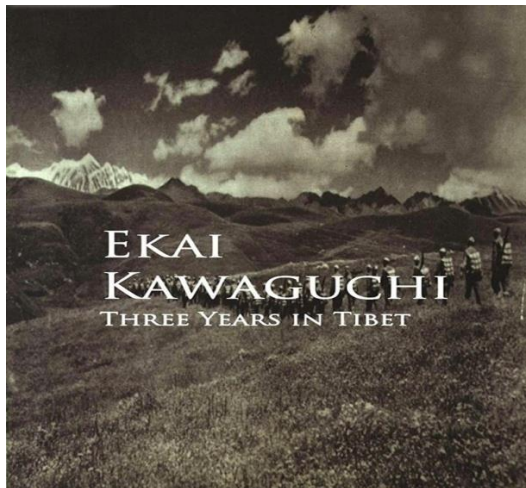
Page 164: "The Lama then gave me a Persian paper containing some memoranda, which he said he wished me to keep in mind".

Page 198: "The Lama wrote also to the merchants at Lhasa and TeshuLumbo, the two principal towns in Tibet. He informed them of the security and protection which merchants enjoy at Bengal, and advised them to send gumashtas (Agents) thither. The Kashmiri and Gosain merchants afterwards assured me, that in consequence of the encouragement and assistance which the Lama had offered them, and the promises which I gave them of freedom and security in Bengal, they proposed, in case they could obtain leave from the Deb Rajash, to pass through his country, to send gumashtas to Calcutta to purchase goods, as soon as the rains were over..."

Page 204: "The most eligible and effectual way in my opinion of extending the sale of British broadcloth in opposition to that of France, of increasing the sale of those goods which have usually been exported to Tibet, and of opening a mart for new articles of commerce, is to encourage the resort of Kashmiris, Gosains, Bhutanese, and Tibetans to Calcutta during the winter time".

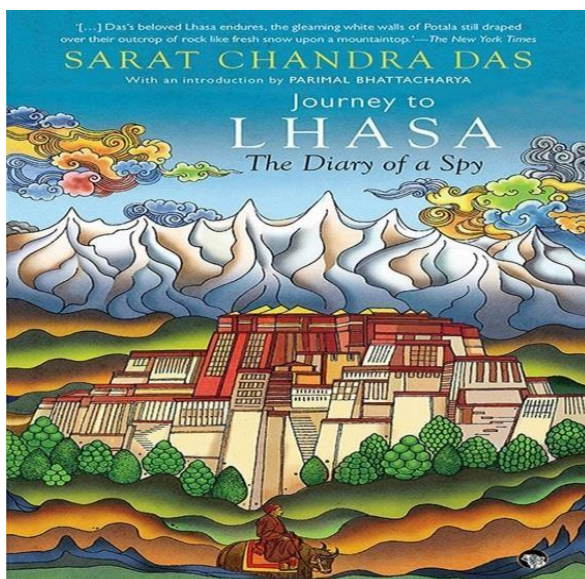
Page 205: "The Kashmiri and Gossain merchants who propose to come to Calcutta during the next winter will, when furnished with Teshu Lama's passports, find no difficulty in travelling through Tibet...."

4. Three Years in Tibet. By Ekai Kawaguchi.



Page 562: "One of the things which most struck me was that Muhammadanism is found in Tibet, mostly among the Chinese and the descendants of the immigrants from Kashmir. They number about three hundred in Lhasa and Shigatze, cling pertinaciously to their doctrines, and have two temples in the suburbs of Lhasa, with two cemeteries on the side of a distant mountain. One of the temples is for the Musalmans from Kashmir, and the other for the Chinese. It is rather strange to see the calm existence of Muhammadanism in a country where Buddhism is so predominant. One thing that the Musalmans in Tibet say is very striking".

5. MY JOURNEY TO LHASA. By Sarat Chandra Das. First published in 1902 Published in 2017 by Speaking Tigers Books LLP



Page 53: "December 13 (1881)-- Today some 15,000 persons assembled at noon in the marketplace to see the arrival of the Kashmir Envoy with his guards and escort in military dress. all the alleys of Shigatse, the courtyard of Kesar Lha-

khang, and the adjacent gardens were filled with people all eagerly waiting for the temo (sight). there was the Envoy of the Maharaja with some fifty sawars, all in uniform, besides a hundred mounted followers of various nationalities, some Sikhs, some Mohammedans with flowing beards and white turans, Ladakis in clumsy lambskin dressed, Murmis from Nepal, Dokpas from Chang, a few Nepalese, and some Tibetans from Kirong.

There were also with the Envoy a number of merchants dressed in princely style, and attended by servants in liveries of silk and broadcloth. Some of their ponies were also richly caparisoned with ornaments of silver and brocade of gold. The Kashmir Government, I learnt, sends an envoy to Lhasa every three years with presents (called tribute) to the Grand Lama. The Tibetan Government, on receiving notice of the proposed setting out of the mission, has relays (ta u) of ponies and mules about 500 head, and also coolies, prepared at all the towns and post-stations along the road from the Ladak frontier to Lhasa. Although so large a number of ponies and men is hardly necessary for the Envoy, who brings presents of precious things of little bulk, the party avails itself of the privilege for the carriage of personal property and merchandise to and from Lhasa.

As the mission passed by, we heard the people remark that all this splendour and ostentation was at the expense of the Government of Lhasa, and to the ruin of the poor people of Tibet".

Page 54: "The origin of this tribute from Kashmir to Lhasa is as follows:

"After the conquest of Ladak, Balti, and Skardo, Zorawar Sing, the famous Sikh general of Maharaja Golab Sing, turned his arms against the Rudok and Gar in the year 18640-41. These two provinces, which produce the finest wool of Tibet, and contain the wealthiest and most sacred of its monasteries, were held by the great Buddhist ruler of Tibet as his most valued possessions, and the Sikh general, by attempting their conquest, excited the wrath of the Lhasa Government, who, applying to their suzerain, the Emperor of China, was able to put more than 10,000 men in the field. Zorawar Sing, with some 5,000 men, invaded these two provinces, and the governor fled to the Chang-tang, leaving the fort and the whole country at the mercy of the enemy. The general established himself near the sacred lake Mapham (Manasarowar), and sent detachments all over the country to pillage and spread desecration in the holiest of Buddhist sanctuaries at Mapham and Kailas: and one body of troops he posted at Puran, near the Nepal frontier, to watch the Lhasa forces. The combined forces of Lhasa and China now marched on Rudok under the leadership of one of the Shape: and Zorawar Sing, whose contempt for the Tibetan soldiery was great, and who underrated the strength of the forces opposed to him, sent some small detachments of his troops to oppose their advance. These were cut to pieces, when he himself, at the head of his troops, advanced to encounter the Lhasa forces. The two armies fought for two days and nights without any decisive result, but on the third day the Sikh general fell, and victory declared itself for the lamas. The defeat was complete, and the number of slain on both sides immense. The victorious troops now threatened Ladak, and the Maharaja sued for peace. A treaty was concluded by the agent of Golab sing with the government of Lhasa, of which one of the terms was the payment of a triennial tribute. "

Page 155, "Having shaved and donned my lama costume and goggles, we started for Bangye-shag, which was about a mile from our lodgings. Most of the shops we saw were kept by Kashmiris, Nepalese, or Chinese; the Tibetan ones were few and poorly supplied".

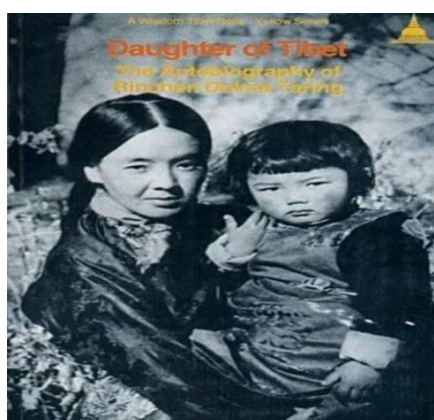
Page 168: "At present, the chief of the nagyabaas is a man of about fifty years, called Abula; he wears a red serge gown and a yellow turban. Cursed is the lot of the nagyabas, and twice cursed is Abula, if a day passes without a corpse being brought to the cemetery; for people believe that if a day passes without a death it portends evil to Lhasa".

Page 196: "If a merchant convicted be a Tibetan subject, all his goods are confiscated, and he is sentenced to penal servitude for a certain number of years. if he be a subject of some foreign Government, such as China, Mongolia, Kashmir; or Nepal, such fine, as is prescribed by law, is exacted from him, his goods are seized, examined, taken stock of, after being securely packed are sent with the owner in charge of the police to his own Government, together with a document complaining of his conduct, and stating the amount of the fine exacted from him".

Page 230-231: "Passing through the village of Khyngar we entered Tse-tang the capital of Yarlung, and formerly a place of great importance. Our guide procured lodgings for us in the house of a woman whose husband, a Kashmiri, had died a year or so before and who was now living alone with her husband's son. The Kache (Kashmiri) received us very kindly, but after a short conversation with me he became alarmly suspicious of my true character, and kept continually turning the conversation to the Shaheb-logs (Englishmen) he had known at Kathmandu, and the greatness of the Engrez Maharani (Queen of England). As often as he spoke of these subjects, so often did I rejoin some enquiry about Buddhism or lamasery I wished to visit".

Page 231: "There are four lamaseries around Tse-tang, and in the town are some fifteen Nepalese, twenty Chinese and ten Kashmiri shops, besides native traders from all parts of Tibet".

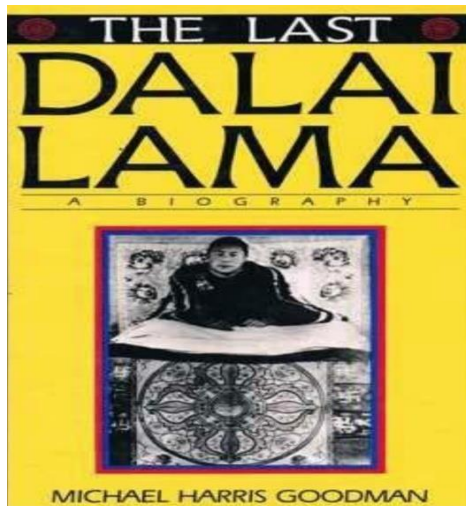
6. Daughter of Tibet: An Autobiography of Rinchen Dolma Taring. Published 1970. London.



Page 177: "In Lhasa we had more than a thousand Tibetan Muslims who originally came from Kashmir. Their wives were mostly Tibetans who had been converted to Islam, and there were no objections to those conversions; but we never saw a Muslim becoming a Buddhist because Tibetans respected all religions equally and made no effort to convert.

The Muslims do not believe in rebirth and they carried out their practices of fasting, and taking no interest on money lent, very strictly”.

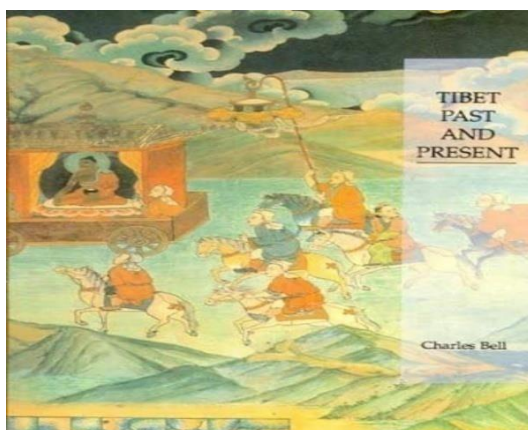
7. The Last Dalai Lama” A Biography. By Michael Harris Goodman. Published 1986 London.



Page 30 Notes: “Tibetans call their country Bod and themselves Bod-pa. “Tibet” is adapted from the Kashmiri Tibbat, a corruption of the word for upper Tibet, or To-bod, the part of Tibet adjoining Kashmir and Ladakh”.

Page 324: “Life in the settlements is not easy. The hours are long, the work hard, the earnings low. Yet the settlers persevere, and a few prosper. Whether Mahayana Buddhists in Mysore, Bon practitioners in the Punjab, or Muslims in Kashmir, all remain, first and foremost, Tibetans”.

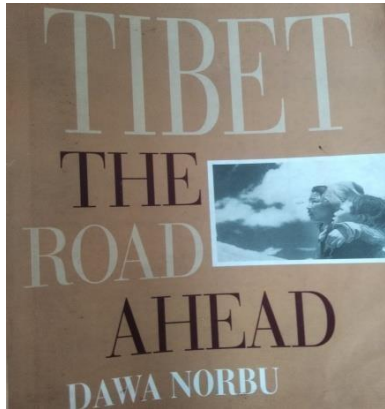
8. Tibet, Past and Present. By Charles Bell. Published First Indian Edition 1992.



Page 180: “The representative of the Ladakhi community in Lhasa met me at Chu-shur with a scarf of welcome. These people from Ladakh number several hundred souls, all Mohamedans, who have been settled in Lhasa for many decades and earn their livelihood by trade. It is believed that the settlement had its origin in the prisoners

captured by the Tibetans from the Dogra Army, under Zorawar Singh, that attacked western Tibet unsuccessfully in 1841”.

9. Tibet: The Road Ahead. By Dawa Norbu. Published 1997



Page 21: “In Sakya, out of a total of thirteen trading families, only three, of which our family was one, were Tibetan nationals. They majority were Nepali Buddhists and Kashmiri Muslims, who constituted the richest and most progressive section of our society”.

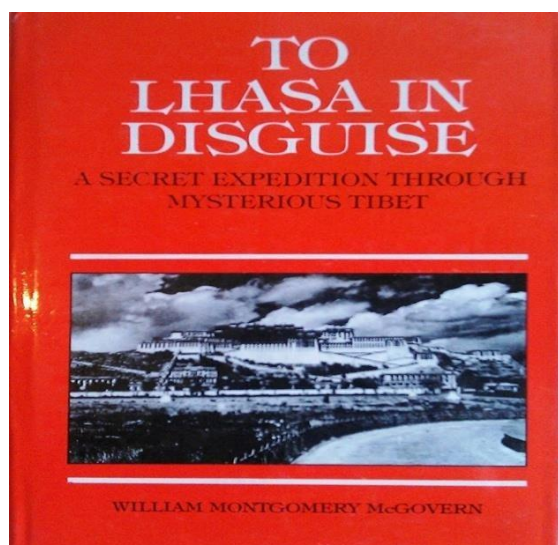
Page 77: “However, the same just law did not apply to the two foreign communities in Tibet, the Nepalese and the Kashmiri Muslims”.

Page 78, 79: “The second foreign community in Tibet consisted of the Muslims. In Sakya there were no permanent Muslims, but many Muslim tradesmen used to visit Sakya annually during the Dochen festival. In Kalimpong I have met a few Tibetan Muslims known as Khache. They have impressed me with their love for Tibet; and even more with their remarkable ability to preserve their communal identity, and at the same time to absorb Tibetan social and cultural customs. The Khaches had close social relations with the aristocracy. In Tibet, Buddhists and Muslims lived peacefully together, with no religious conflict. The Khache mosque was built right inside the Buddhist consecrated area of Lhasa. There were Muslim schools where Urdu and Tibetan were taught and the Koran was studied. Khache Phalu, a Tibetan Muslim, is a great Tibetan literary figure, author of a widely-read philosophical treatise based on the common ideals of Buddhism and Islam. Khaches wore Tibetan dress, spoke perfect Tibetan and ate Tibetan food. Some of their men married Tibetan women, who were invariably converted to the Muslim faith”.

“On the basis of their Kashmiri ancestry, the Tibetan Muslims considered themselves Indian nations. In 1961, about fifteen hundred Tibetan Muslims were transferred from Lhasa, Shigatse and Tsethang to the hill stations of India. A Khache whom I met in Kalimpong-an old man with a long silvery beard- was full of nostalgic memories of heavenly Tibet. He told me: “We can’t be more free even in India than we were in Tibet. Our only obligation was that some of our elders would attend the New Year celebrations and do the obeisance to the Dalai Lama. We owe him and his government

immense gratitude. Son, you will never have the happiness and freedom that we enjoyed in Tibet”.

10.To Lhasa in Disguise: A Secret Expedition Through Mysterious Tibet. By William Montgomery McGovern. First Published 1924.



Page 444, 445,446,447: “One of the most interesting visitors was the head of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Lhasa. Although Lhasa is the centre of the intolerant Tibetan Buddhist monks, there are two mosques or Mohammedan places of worship in the city, although both of them are exclusively for the use of the few foreigners who are allowed to enter the city. One of them is the Chinese mosque, for a considerable number of the Chinese merchants who used to have the privilege of coming to Lhasa were followers of Islam; but since 1912 this congregation has fallen on evil days”.

“The other mosque used by the Mohammedan traders from far-away Kashmir and Ladakh in the West is still in a flourishing condition and has, so may visitor told me, about two hundred members. These Moslems are all Indians, and though the Koran is read aloud in the original Arabic at the Friday services, this is practically unintelligible to most of the auditors, and so there follows a commentary in Urdu, the language spoken by most Indian Moslems. My visitor added sadly that many of the congregation were very slack and paid only scanty attention to the Islamic rules of diet and prescribed times of prayer, and that there was but little real learning in the Prophet’s lore among his Lhasa followers”.

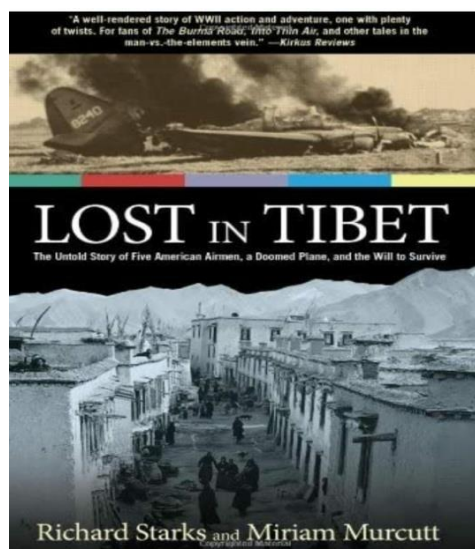
“I was much interested to learn something of the status of these Mohammedans and the other foreigners who are permitted to reside in Lhasa. Tibet has always been very erratic and inconsistent in her long-contrived policy of exclusion. In spite of her vindictive refusal to allow strangers to pollute her soil, a certain number of foreigners have always found entry. Quite naturally the Sikkimese and Bhutanese have generally been permitted to go and come at will, for these people are really Tibetan living on the south side of the Himalayas. Mongolians (i.e., inhabitants of Mongolia) have entry Also, for the religion and institutions of Mongolia are the same as those to Tibet. But in

addition of these a limited number of Chinese, Nepalese and Kashmiris escaped the ban of exclusion”.

“The Kashmiri Mohammedans constitute the only other group of foreigners in Lhasa. What is so strange is that though these Kashmiris by long-established custom are permitted to come to the Sacred City, other Indians, whether Hindu or Mohammedans are not. A man from Kashmir is permitted to go from Lhasa to Darjeeling and return, but he is not allowed to bring back with him a cousin who may live in Darjeeling”.

“The Kashmiris are British subjects and my visitor, the leading man of the community, had been given the title of khan bahadur by the Indian government; and as no European is permitted to reside in Lhasa, he is more or less the unofficial representative of the Indian government there, Diplomatic negotiations, however, do not pass through his hands but are conducted either by correspondence or through meetings of the kenchung and the British trade-agent or the political officer of Sikkim at Gyantse”.

11. Lost in Tibet: The Untold Story of Five American Airmen, a Doomed Plane, and the Will to Survive. By Richard Starks and Miriam Murcutt. Published 2004(The man who rescued the airmen is spelled in this book as, “Sana Ullah. His real name was, “Ataullah”. I had occasion to interview his grandson, Ghulam Nabi Goona in 2000. Ghulam Nabi was a teenager then and vividly remembered the details.)



Page 42: “They lined up again, facing the villagers. The crowd slowed, and the babble of voices died away. After a brief moment of silence, a man in a heavy fur coat, with long sleeves that fell over his hands, pushed his way forward and advanced towards them. McCallum held his gun by his side. The man stopped few feet away, put his hands together and raised them to his forehead. He did not look Indian--- nor did he appear to be Chinese”.

“Asalaamalaikum,” the man said. McCallum recognised the greeting---“Peace be with you”—from the Hindustani he had learned, and immediately responded, “Alaikum as salaam”. And peace be with you”.

"The man bowed and in halting Hindustani asked McCallum where he was from. McCallum told him. He and his two companions meant no harm, he said; they were airmen who had crashed their plane, and now they were in need of food, shelter and warmth".

"Ask him if this is India," Crozier said.

McCallum did, and the man shook his head. He pointed to the ground. "Tibet".

"Tibet"? Spencer said. "Did he say "Tibet"?"

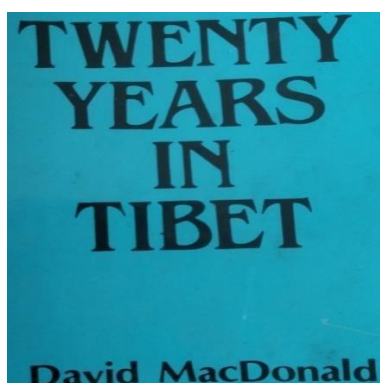
McCallum nodded.

"Oh, my bare bottom," Spencer said, "Tibet".

"THE MAN SAID HIS NAME WAS SANA ULLAH, and that he was a trader who had been several times to India. He had seen English people there, so he did not find Westerners as alien as the other villagers did. The people here were friendly. They had not meant to scare the three airmen. They were merely curious, never having seen Westerners before".

"Ullah invited the airmen back to the village. They could stay in his house, he said, where they would be given food as well as a place to rest. McCallum bowed in acknowledgment, but as the three airmen trailed after Ullah, the crowd again gathered around, the villagers gazing up into their faces, reaching out to grab their arms and rug at their clothes".

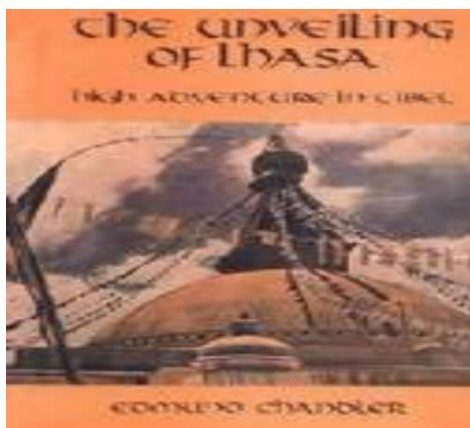
12.TWENTY YEARS IN TIBET. By David MacDonald. Published 1932.



Page 247,248: "Domiciled in Lhasa is a small community of Mussulmans, the descendants of immigrant traders from Ladakh and Kashmir. They are known as Ladakhis. Their forefathers have been trading in Tibet for hundreds of years, and for the past two centuries they have had a permanent settlement in Lhasa. they are a prosperous people, and are well treated by the Tibetan Government, to whose jurisdiction they are entirely amenable, possessing no extra-territorial rights. The late headman of the community, Ghulam Mohammed---for whom I obtained the honorary title of Khan Sahib from the Government of India, in consideration of the assistance given by him from time to time--- and his son, Faizulla, were always

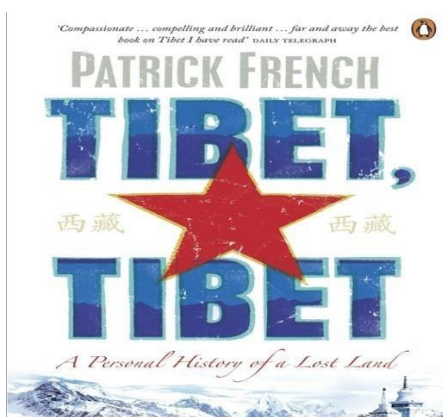
friends of mine. I was able to assist them and members of their community in many matters, such as permitting them to occupy our dak-bungalows when travelling between Gyantse and India, giving them cheques on Indian banks in exchange for cash which is difficult to carry in large quantities in Tibet, and in arranging their transport and supplies. In former times their headman was elected by the community, but recently he has been selected and appointed by the Tibetan Government. The Ladakhis are a law-abiding people, and shrewd business men, dealing principally in wool and furs. They also export Chinese brick-tea to Ladakh. For some years past they have claimed rights as British subjects, but without success. This cannot be so long as they are domiciled in Lhasa and Shigatse, in which latter city a few of them reside”.

**13.THE UNVEILING OF LHASA: HIGH ADVENTURE IN Tibet. By Edmund Chandler.
First Published 1905**



Page 273: “The Cashmiri shopkeepers are turbaned, and wear a cloak of butchers’ blue. They and the Nuwaris and the Chinese seem to monopolize the trade of the city”.

**14.TIBET, TIBET: A PERSONAL HISTORY OF A LOST LAND: By PATRICK FRENCH. First
Published 2003.**



Page 92: "By the late seventh century, Tibet dominated a wide swathe of territory, and had effective control over the trade routes of Central Asia, leaving China's Tang dynasty in a vulnerable position. The Arab caliphate was the only power capable of challenging the Tibetans at this time, but as often happens at a moment of glory, Tibet became weakened by internal feuding. The country's powerful families came into conflict, and the boundaries of the empire receded. In 715 the Tibetans allied with Arab forces against the Central Asian kingdom of Ferghana, but were routed the same year by Tang troops, with the Chinese commander decapitating the losers".

Page 107: "Each year, on the penultimate day of the Monlam Chenmo, the Great Prayer Festival, a military review was held at Drabchi".

"This was Tibet, alone, reliving its glorious past".

"Symbolically, it was the days of empire that counted. During the Monlam Chenmo, a pair of Tibetan aristocrats would be temporarily awarded the Mongol title of Yaso, making them commanders of the two wings of the ancient army. Dressed in stupendous brocade robes trimmed with fur, supported by noble attendants, in the decade in which Salvador Dalí gave a lecture in a diving-suit in London, they would watch the cavalry turn out in scraps of ancient chain-mail and peacock feathers, each horseman carrying a quiver of five plumed arrows. At their head rode two standard bearers holding tall lances and painted banners, wearing cherished helmets, possibly dating to the eighth century, with the name of Allah inscribed on the front in gold filigree".

"The Arab influence from the days long before Tibet became the forbidden land of European invention, was not forgotten by Tibetans. The past lived. During the ninth century, soldiers of the Tibetan Empire had harassed Muslim forces in Central Asia, and laid siege to Samarkand. Correspondingly, Arab troops, stirred by the spread of Islam, had captured parts of Kashmir and Wakhan, and taken the Tibetan general ('the commander of the cavalry of al-Tubbat', they recorded) and his horsemen back to Baghdad where they could be paraded in triumph, like downed airmen during the Gulf War".

Page 161: "At first, the idea of a Tibetan Muslim had surprised me; a Tibetan seemed, almost by definition, to be a Buddhist, a follower of the Dharma, although on consideration the notion was no odder than a Tibetan being a Christian, which had happened, or an Italian being a Buddhist, a prevalent conversion. The Habaling Khache were part of traditional Lhasa society and the economic life of the city, a minority in an outwardly uniform land. According to one writer, 'Unmolested by natives to initiate whatever trade they desired, and inspired by incentive, the Muslims became commonplace features in the major cities of Lhasa, Shigatse, Gyansse and Tsethang'. They were renowned for speaking in chaste, courtly Lhasa dialect, even if they did sometimes eat dishes from Central Asia, which gave rise to the Tibetan warning not to be taken in by sweet words: 'Do not listen to a Muslim's vice, look at what he is eating'".

"Most of the Habaling Khache were indistinguishable, physically from other Tibetans. Only the names were different: Hamid, Abu Bakr, Salima, Fatima. In the past, most of them were merchants but some had been given posts in the Dalai Lama's government as writers or translators, and been allowed to wear a special court uniform".

“A second group of Lhasa Muslims lived beyond the Potala, having been given a plot of land by the Fifth Dalai Lama. Their imam, Abdul Ghalib, told me that most of his small community had fled in the 1950s, and there were now only a few dozen of them left. Abdul Ghalib, with his Central Asian face, lived by an orchard with chickens and cows and apple trees and an old water-pump. It was an idyll, but he knew his world would soon disappear”.

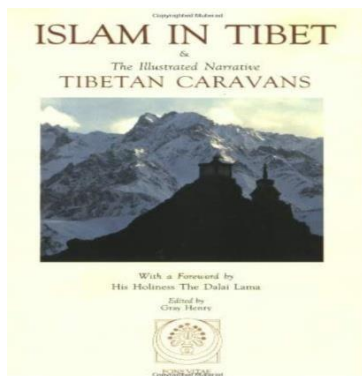
“Mariam’s uncle, the imam of the Habaling Khache, had known the history. He was responsible for the documents, going back to the twelfth century, which recorded the important marriages in their community, how the traditions had begun, what lands and privileges were granted to them in Lhasa by previous Dalai Lamas, and how their ancestors, merchants and traders, had made their way up from coastal China through the mountains to Tibet. There were about two thousand indigenous Tibetan Muslims left in Lhasa now, trying to preserve something that had been nearly washed away, their position undermined by the arrival of ambitious new Hui and Chinese Muslims from the east”.

“When the Red Guards--- all of them Tibetan---came to purge Lhasa’s main Muslim quarter, Thelpung Khang, in 1969, there was a moment of bafflement. The Habaling Khache, being Muslims, had no idols or states that could be smashed, no painted frescoes that could be defaced, no sacred pictures that could be ripped. There was nothing to destroy. So, after retreating to discuss this problem, the Red Guards sought out the ledgers, the old legal papers, the name-books, the dustar or ceremonial prayer caps, the maps, an ancient decree granting Muslims an exclusive graveyard on the edge of the city, and every copy of the Holy Quran, including the imam’s own, which was several centuries old, and made them into a great bonfire in the courtyard in front of the mosque. The history of the Habaling Khache went up in flames”.

“The mosque was made into a cinema, for the watching of propaganda films; famers and their animals were sent to live the precincts and in the madrasa. The imam, Yahya, aged about eighty, was paraded through the streets to the east of the Barkhor wearing a conical white paper hat, with the word ‘ghost’ written across it. Later he was slapped and pushed and told that he was an exploiter of the people”.

“But he was a purely religious man,’ Mariam kept repeating, tugging at the straps of her black lac headdress, ‘ a purely religious man.’ He died soon afterwards, she said, of grief”.

15.ISLAM IN TIBET. Edited by Gray Henry. Published 1997.



(i) A FORWARD BY HIS HOLINESS DALAI LAMA IN THE BOOK, “ISLAM IN Tibet”.

“In the natural course of things the older generation gives way to the younger generation. And yet the spirit of one is passed on to the other. The younger generation in Tibet is just as determined to maintain their identity and to struggle for justice and freedom in their own land as those who remember life before the Chinese occupation. Similarly, our Muslim brothers and sisters retain the spirit of their forefathers in being proud to assert their identities as Tibetans, specifically as Tibetan Muslims. Their solidarity is precious source of encouragement for us all”.

“I recently had the pleasure of meeting a group of Tibetan Muslims in Dharamsala who had attended the first Conference of Tibetan Muslims. Like a dream, meeting them reminded me of the days of my youth in Lhasa. When we think back on those times and image of our Kashmiri merchants peacefully conducting their business and engaging in animated conversation in the market often comes to mind. They were an established part of Tibetan life. Similarly, our Muslim brother and sisters from Ladakh, while observing their own religion, seemed in every other respect to be following the Tibetan way of life. This is why I have noted that although Tibetan culture has been strongly influenced by Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan culture are two different things”.

(ii) Islam in the Tibetan Cultural Sphere. By Jose Ignacio Cabezon.

Page 13, 14, 15: “It was during a visit to Lhasa in 1991 that I saw my first Tibetan Mosque. Of course, Tibetologists like myself are not unaware of the fact that Muslims exist and that they play an important function in Tibetan society, but being concerned principally with Buddhism, we unconsciously, work under the presupposition that Tibetan culture is monolithically Buddhist. We glean how unfounded that presupposition really is only when confronted by something that challenges that stereotype: a mosque in the heart of Lhasa, a walk through its Muslim quarter, a conversation with a man who looks more Kashmiri than Tibetan”.

“Islam spread to Tibet from two directions. Moving from Arabia through Persia and Afghanistan, it reached China through the ancient silk routes in Central Asia. From Ningxia and other points in China it moved into eastern Tibet (Amdo). Chinese Muslims, known as Huis, eventually settled in Siling, and the KoKo Nor region generally, and from

there carried on trade with central Tibet. Though many of these merchants remained permanently in eastern Tibet, where large pockets are still to be found, some, like their brethren from the west, eventually moved to Lhasa, where they preserved their religion and customs in a small and tightly knit community to the present day. The Lhasa Muslim community is composed of Chinese, Kashmiris, Nepalese, Ladakhis, and Sikh converts to Islam (the latter being descendants from prisoners taken during the Dogra Wars). They are divided into two quite distinct sub-communities: those of the Chota Masjid, who are principally of Kashmiri origin (those of Nepalese, Ladakhi and Sikh origin are also affiliated with this group), and the Bara (Large) Masjid, who are primarily Chinese. Each group had its own ruling council and leader, with administrative ties to different Ministries of the Tibetan Government”.

“Islam also spread from the West: from Turkistan, Baltistan and Kashmir into Ladakh and principally through Ladakh to Western Tibet and Lhasa. Unlike Ladakh, the area we consider to be Tibet today experienced neither Muslim conquest nor forced conversion to Islam. A variety of Tibetan sources attest to the fact that Tibetan rulers conquered large portions of Central Asia up to Persia. There are also reports of Muslims ruling (and even founding!) Tibet, but all of these accounts must be taken in context. During the 8th and 9th centuries, Persians, Uighurs, Turks and Tibetans vied with one another for control of portions of Central Asia”.

“Despite the fact that Tibetans and Arabs were in contact even from this relatively early date, it seems that Muslims began settling in the region of Western and Central Tibet consistently only in the twelfth century. Although Muslim traders were already a well-established presence in Lhasa and in other major cities in Tibet considerably before the 17th century, the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82) marks a turning point for Islam in Tibet institutionally. According to oral tradition, a certain Pir of Ahon living in Lhasa in the 17th century used to do his prayers on an isolated hill at the edge of the city. The “Great Fifth Conqueror”, as the Fifth Dalai Lama was known, spotted the man doing “prostrations” every day on the hill and asked that he be brought to him. The Pir explained that he was worshipping according to the precepts of his religion, and that he did so on the hill because no mosque existed in the area. The Dalai Lama then sent a representative to a site near the hill and had him fire arrows in each of the different directions. A house was built at the place from which the arrows were shot. The plot of land within the confines of the arrows was then bequeathed to the Muslim community, and the area came to be known as rGyangmdakhang (The House of the Far-Reaching Arrows). It became the site of the first mosque and cemetery. But the fifth Dalai Lama provided more than land to these Muslims of Kashmiri origin. He is said to have given official patronage to the 14 elders and 30 youths who were the original occupants of this sites. The fifth Dalai Lama’s proactive stance in regard to the Muslims of Lhasa seems to have been part of a larger policy of encouraging ethnic, cultural and economic diversity in the country. Despite the fact that proselytisation was prohibited, the policy otherwise entailed complete freedom of religious practice and exemption from restrictions that were recognised to be grounded in Buddhist morality and customs (e.g., the prohibition against eating meat during the Buddhist holy month of Sa ga za ba, and against covering the head in the presence of the monastic community during the sMon lam festival). In addition, Muslims were given considerable freedom to settle their own legal affairs

internally in accordance with Islamic law (Shari'ah), to open their own shops and to trade freely without having to pay taxes”.

“Traditionally, the Tibetan Muslims have adhered to the dietary laws of Islam: eating only meat that has been slaughtered in the appropriate way (halal). The wealthier members of Lhasa’s Muslim community would make the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lives, and the Kashmiri portion of this community even had agents (associated with the Monnara masjid in Bombay to help them in this regard)”.

“Today the rGyangmdakhang, bequeathed by the fifth Dalai Lama, is also known as the Kha chegling ga (Muslim Park). Since a portion of the land is used as picnic grounds and site for communal functions by the Muslim community of Lhasa. Recently, a traditional Tibetan arch or “gate” has been built to commemorate the spot where the original house stood. Eventually, a mosque was built in the centre of Lhasa (The Chota Masjid). But the mosque at the rGyangmdakhang was originally the only place for prayer and Friday meeting, and it was for this reason that it came to be known as The Friday Masjid. The Muslim men of Lhasa would walk the several kilometres each Friday for the meeting and then share the traditional Friday together. Leftovers would be brought back to Lhasa as “blessed food” to be shared with those who could not come. Although it is the Lhasa Chota Masjid that is the main centre of regular worship today, the rGyangmdakhang mosque has been rebuilt and is occasionally used, especially during festival days. In addition to housing the cemetery and park, the area is also the residence of the Imam of that community”.

“Although Buddhism was known to Muslim historians much earlier, Muslim scholars began writing seriously about Buddhism from about the 11th century. The Tibetan Buddhist intellectual community, on the other hand, probably first began hearing about Islam from the monks of Khotan and other parts of Central Asia as they immigrated east after Muslim incursions into those areas”.

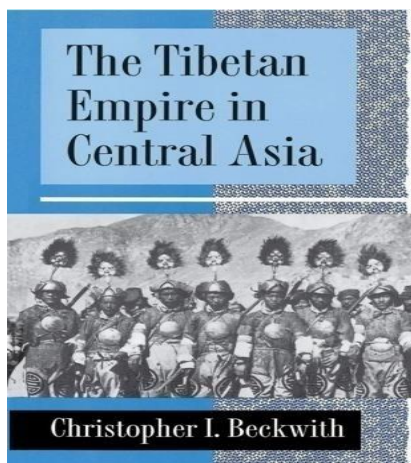
“It was not uncommon for the men of these communities to take Tibetan Buddhist wives (who then converted to Islam). Although they sometimes wore dark head-coverings on special occasions, Tibetan Muslim women were never veiled, and, as is the case with their Buddhist sisters, enjoyed considerable freedom in Tibetan society, having an especially strong say in commercial matters”.

“Of course, Buddhism and Islam mutually influenced each other not only at the political and folk level but in the artistic, scientific and literary spheres as well. The only influence of Islamic art and architecture on their Himalayan counterparts is well known. In the field of music, Butt mentions the popularity of the Nang ma style of classical operatic song, which he says was introduced by Muslims into Tibet at the turn of the century. Muslims also made contributions to the Tibetan medicine, one of the more famous practitioners of this science being kha che pan chenzLabamngondga, the author of several well-known medical treatises in Tibetan. Tibet’s most famous Muslim literary classic, The Autobiography of Kha chePhalu has been translated into English. Written in the genre of “words of advice”, it is particularly interesting for its synthesis of Muslim and Buddhist ideas into a harmonious whole. It is this fact that has made it endearing to—and even claimed by—both Muslims and Buddhists. However, references to Godhar, to the unity of God, and to other tenets of Islam, make it clear that Phalu

(possibly Fazur-allah) was a Muslim. From these examples, it is clear that Muslims have made lasting contributions to the classical arts and sciences of Tibet. In some instances, they have even achieved a kind of synthetic holism in their work that allows the beholder glimpses of two worlds simultaneously: the Muslim and the Buddhist, the Tibetan and Arabic. Apart from some of the cases mentioned above, it seems to me that mosque architecture in Lhasa is another fine example of this phenomenon”.

“Though well integrated into Tibetan society economically, culturally and linguistically, the members of the Lhasa’s Muslim community probably maintained a stronger sense of religious and ethnic self-identity than that found in the border regions. This is to be expected, given their commitment to preserving their religion in the face of the overwhelmingly Buddhist world that surrounded them. But despite their strong identification with Islam, the Muslims of Lhasa considered Tibet their homeland. In 1959 many members of this community pressed for their being considered foreign nationals (that is, citizens of India), but this was seen by them primarily as a politically expedient move”.

16. THE Tibetan EMPIRE IN CENTRAL ASIA. By Christopher I Beckwith. Published 1987.



Page: 37: “The Tibetans had now conquered a fairly large expanse of territory in eastern Central Asia”.

Page 38: “The only other Central Asian power which might have been able to turn back the rising power of Tibet was the Arab Caliphate”.

Page 81: “As relations with China rapidly deteriorated, Tibet again manifested its long-standing interest in strategically located Ferghana. The Tibetans entered a brief, little known alliance with the Arab forces. Together, the Arabs and Tibetans installed Alutar, member of another royal family of Ferghana, as the new king”.

Page 83: "The Arabs from the west, the Chinese from the east, and the Tibetans from the south---- the three greatest expansionistic states of early medieval Asia ---- had converged".

Page 108: "With the aid of their Tibetan allies, the Khursanians and the Turgis drove the Arab forces almost entirely out of Sogdiana".

Page 110: "Thus it would seem that the Tibetan army had joined the Turgis forces for at least the second time in three years. The old alliance between Tibet and the western Turks had been revived, and the Chinese were almost completely unaware of it".

Page 111: "In 732, envoys from both the Arabs and the Turgis arrived at the Tibetan court. Finally, at the end of 734, the Tibetan-Turgis alliance was formally sealed with the marriage of the Tibetan princess Dronmalod to the Turgisqaghan".

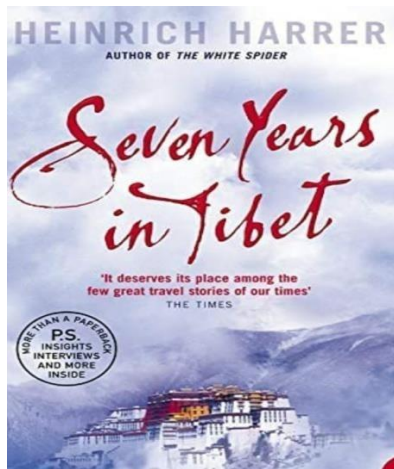
Page 116: "Meanwhile, far to the west, Tibetan-Turgis cooperation proceeded- but against the Arabs, not the Chinese. Later in 737, another Tibetan army, led by Bal Skyesbzandorntsab, entered Little Balur and captured its pro-Tang king. The campaign was clearly undertaken in order to secure Tibetan routes through the Pamirs to the west, and may have been a preliminary step to the Arab expedition. In any event, due to this success, the whole of the Pamir region northwest of Little Belure fell into Tibetan hands: all of its neighbouring countries- over twenty of them- submitted to Tibet. Tribute ceased to arrive in China".

Page 157: "Meanwhile, the Tibetans had become intensely involved in a protracted war with the Arabs in western Central Asia. It is also clear that the Tibetans had been able to expand unassisted into the area of Hindukush, via the Pamirs. The first indication of warfare between the Arabs and Tibetans is in a report on a battle that took place in 801 between the Tibetans on one side and the Chinese and Nan-chao on the other. Fought by the Lu Shui on Tibet's eastern border, the Tibetans were defeated in battle: "The Samarkkandi and the Abbasid Arab troops, and the Tibetan commanders, all surrendered. Twenty thousand suits of armour were captured. It is clear that these soldiers of western Central Asia had been transported east by the Tibetans, perhaps as prisoners of war or hostages".

Page 158: "The next report of Tibetan involvement in the west comes from 808-809 A.D when the rebellion of Rafi b Layth in Samarkand came to a head. Large numbers of Central Asians from many countries, among them "troops of Tibet, joined the side of Rafi".

Page 162, Footnote- 119: "One may also conclude that a major reason for so many Indian Buddhist sages coming to central Tibet from Kashmir, and notably the famous Padmasambhava from Udyana, was the simple fact that Tibet then ruled much of this region".

17. SEVEN YEARS IN TIBET- Heinrich Harrer. Published by HarperCollins Publishers India. First published in London, 1953



Page 157: “In point of numbers the Moslems form an appreciable part of the population of Lhasa. They have a mosque of their own and enjoy full freedom to practise their religion. (One of the best characteristics of the Tibetan people is their complete tolerance of other creeds. Their monastic theocracy has never sought the conversion of infidels.) Most of the Moslems have immigrated from India and have intermingled with the Tibetans. Their religious zeal led them at first to demand that their Tibetan wives should be converted, but here the Tibetan Government stepped in and made it a condition that native women could marry Moslems only if they kept to their own faith. “

18. FRONTIER CALLING - Author P N Kaul, former Indian Consul General, Lhasa, Tibet.

Page 107: “The only Indian community in Lhasa consisted of the Kashmiri Muslims of Ladakhi origin, who had been in Lhasa, Shigatse and other towns for over a century. They were known as Khachis, that is Muslims. They had married Tibetan women and converted them to Islam and they used a dress slightly different from that of the Tibetans. The community, including children, totalled over a thousand people. The majority of these were most anxious to leave Tibet for India and after a series of dialogues and notes most of them were allowed to go. They were paid a nominal compensation for their two mosques and their premises in Lhasa. Few stayed behind of their own accord, and some were not allowed to come out. One Abdul Hamid who had been in Lhasa jail since March 1959 was still there when I left. Abdul Hamid's family came to Nepal at a very late stage but he is believed to be still languishing in Lhasa jail. In my time I also saw a couple of Kashmiri Muslims confined to jail and I understand a few more were imprisoned after my departure but goodness knows for what offence