The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

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THE HISTORICAL AND SYMBOLICAL ORIGIN OF THE CHORTEN

—Lama Anagarika Govinda

The mysteries of life and death were always the greatest agents of religious ritual and speculation. Through the experience of death man becomes conscious of life. Thus the cult of the dead stimulated primitive man to build the first great monuments (tumuli), while the other side of religious activity, which was concerned with the living and the mundane aspects of life, found expression in the simpler forms of tree- and fire-worship. The tumuli originating from the burial mound, were massive structures of stone, tending the forms of hemispheres, cones, pyramids and similar plain geometrical bodies containing small cells which preserved the bodily remains and other relics of heroes, saints, kings and similar great personalities. In India, as in many other parts of Asia, the hemispheric form seems to have been the prevalent type of such monuments. According to the oldest tradition they were erected for great rulers (cakravartin), as the Buddha himself mentions in his conversation with Ananda (DhyānaNātaka XVI, 5).

While the tumuli and the cult of the dead had their place outside the village, the sanctuary of the life-giving and life-preserving forces (personified in the sun-god) had its place in the centre of the village. It consisted of a simple altar (a sanctified form of the domestic hearth, the fire of which was always regarded sacred as a symbol of family life) or a small shrine (an idealized form of the village hut) which stood in the shadow of the sacred tree (the Tree of Life) and was surrounded by a fence as a demarcation of the sacred place.

The Buddhist cups combined the elements of the village sanctuary with the monumental dome of the ancient tumulus (outset), thus uniting the two oldest traditions of humanity, as expressed in the lunar and solar cult, fusing them into one universal symbol which recognized formally for the first time that life and death are only two sides of the same reality, complementing and conditioning each other. To think of them as separate is illusion, and only as long as the veil of Maya has not been lifted, the worship of these two forces proceeds separately, sometimes even as two separate forms of religion. But since it has been understood that there is no life without transformation, and that the power of transformation is the essence of life — then the great synthesis takes place and the foundation of a world-religion is established.
The Buddhistupa originally consisted of an almost hemispherical turbanus and an altar-like structure (harinna) on its top, surmounted by one or several superimposed lotus-like umbrellas. The flattened hemisphere was compared to an egg and therefore called "anda", a term which did not only allude to the shape (which was also compared to a water-bubble) but to its deeper significance, namely, as a symbol of latent creative power, while the quadrangular harinna on the summit of the capul symbolized the sanctity enthroned above the world (anda was also a synonym of the universe in the oldest Indian mythology) beyond death and rebirth. A similar parallelism exists between the harinna in the shade of the sacred tree, because the Holy One, whose ashes were enshrined in the altar-like sanctuary of the harinna, instead of sacrificing other beings, had sacrificed himself for the welfare of all living beings. According to the Buddha there is only one sacrifice which is of real value, the sacrifice of the self, desires, and won 'self'. The ultimate form of such a sacrifice is that of a Bodhisattva, who renounces even the ultimate peace of final nirvana (nirvisena) until he has helped his fellow-beings to find the path of liberation.

The honorific umbrella finally, as an abstract representation of the shade-giving tree, in this case the sacred Tree of Life - is one of the chief solar symbols, and in Buddhism that of Enlightenment (sanyah-sambhuli). The importance of this symbol becomes clear from the Buddhist Scriptures, describing the struggle of the Buddha and Mara, the Evil One, for the place under the Bodhi Tree, the hollow spot in the world, later known as the Diamond Throne (vajra-cana, Tib. dverge galam).

It must have been an old custom that the head of the community had his seat of honour under the sacred tree in the centre of the settlement where public meetings used to take place on religious and other important occasions. Conspicuously the umbrella, which replaced the tree when the head of the community moved about or presided over similar functions in other places, later on became one of the insignia of royalty. In order to mark the distinction in rank the ceremonial umbrella was doubled or tripled, or increased by even greater numbers of umbrellas, which were fixed one above the other, thus transforming the umbrella back again to the original tree-shape with its numerous layers of branches spreading around the stem and gradually getting shorter towards the top.

In order to understand the transformation of the ancient religious-tumulus into the universal conception of the Capul, from which
later the Tibetan Chorten (χo-thun-po) developed, we must have a
look at the earliest known Buddhist Stupa at Sanchi. The great Sanchi
Stupa was crowned by a threefold honorific umbrella and the altar-
shrine on top of the hemispherical main structure was surrounded by
a railing (vedika), exactly as in the case of the village sanctuary. Similar
railings were repeated at the foot of the stupa and on the lower circular-
terrace upon which the fluted hemispheric rested. The lowest
railing was provided with four gateways (torana) which opened towards
the east, the south, the west & the north, emphasizing the universal characer
of Buddhism which is open to all the four quarters of the universe and
invites all mankind with the call "Come and see!" and which exhorts
its followers to open their hearts to all that lives, while radiating love,
compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity towards the whole world.
The inner space between the stone railing and the stupa, as well as the
circular terrace (nadi) at the base of the cupola were used as pratishtha patha has ritual circumambulation in the direction of the sun’s course. The
orientation of the gates equally corresponds to the sun’s course: to
sunrise, zenith, sunset, nadir. Just as the sun illuminates the physical
world, so does the Buddha, the Enlightened One, illuminate the spiritual
world. The eastern gateway represents his birth, the southern (which
was regarded as the most important and therefore built first) his enlighten-
ment, the western his “setting in motion the Wheel of the Law” (dharma castra pravaranam); the proclamation of his doctrine, and the northern his
final liberation (parinirvana).

This universal attitude and orientation remained one of the
characteristics of the stupas, especially in the northern countries of
Buddhism, like Tibet, even after railings and gateways had disappeared.
In the course of time all these details were fused into a quadrangular
substructure, which finally took the form of four terraces (sometimes
furnished with four staircases, if the size of the monument permitted or
required them) upon which the hemispheric was raised.

As the layers of superimposed umbrellas became more numerous
they were transformed into the more architectural slope of a solid
cone with a corresponding number of horizontal notches, which finally
amounted to thirteen. With this transformation the original idea
of the Tree of Life and Enlightenment was visibly restored and steadi-
ly gained in importance. That the conical spire was no more regarded
as a set of umbrellas, can be seen from the fact that later on an honorific
umbrella was again fixed on top of the cone.
The different strata of the cone (separated by horizontal notches) are now explained to correspond to certain psychic faculties or stages of consciousness on the way to enlightenment and to their respective world-planes. Thus the spiritual rebirth of the world starts in the mind of man, and the Tree of Life grows out of his own heart, the centre of his world, and spreads into ever new infinities, into ever higher and purer realms, until it has turned into a Tree of Enlightenment.

"Verily, I tell you", the Buddha once addressed his disciples, "the world is within this six feet high body!" And on another occasion he defined the world in these words: "That in the world through which one, perceiving the world, attains at his conception of the world, that in the Order of the Blessed One is called "the world"." (Sthavira Nikaya IV, 35, 166).

In other words, the universe, according to the Buddha's definition, is the universe of our conscious experience. The symbolism of the stupa, therefore, can be read in the cosmic as well as in the psychic sense; its synthesis is the psycho-cosmic image of Man, in which the physical elements and laws of nature and their spiritual counterparts, the different world-planes and their corresponding stages of consciousness, as well as that which transcends them, have their place. That such ideas go back to the earliest periods of Indian history can be seen from representations of the ancient Jain world system in the shape of a human figure.

Nepalese stupas, which in many respects have preserved archaic features, decorate the kumba (the cubic structure above the cupola) with painted human eyes, thus suggesting a human figure in the posture of meditation hidden in the stupa: the crossed legs is the base, the body up to the shoulders is the hemisphere, the head in the kumba. This also corresponds to the psycho-physical doctrine of the centre of psychic force (akasha) which are located one above the other in the human body, and through which consciousness develops in its ascending order: from the experience of material sense-objects through that of the immaterial worlds of pure mental objects, up to the supermundane consciousness of enlightenment, which has its base in the crown-cakra or the had (takatara). This cakra is symbolized by a dome-shaped or flower-like pestle-blume on the head of the Buddha, and by the cone-shaped Tree of Enlightenment which forms the spine of the stupa or the Charter, or its various equivalents, like the dagoba (chaukottha) of Ceylon or the pagoda (a reversal of the word dagoba) in Burma, Thailand and Indo-China.
The cakra itself is a sun symbol. It was one of the attributes of the sun-god, either in the form of a discus or in the form of the wheel, representing the rolling sun-chariot. The solar origin is testified by the description of the emanating and radiating wheel which appears in the sky with its thousand spokes (rays) when a virtuous ruler has established a reign of righteousness and has attained the spiritual power which entitles and enables him to extend the Good Law (dharma) over the whole world and to become a world-ruler (cakravartin). Similarly, the 'turning of the Wheel of the Good Law' has become a synonym for the Buddha's first proclamation of his doctrine (dharma-chakra-pravartana-sutra), by which the thousand-spoked sun-wheel of the universal law was set in motion, radiating its light throughout the world.

Thus the Buddha himself was a cakravartin, though not in the ordinary sense, but as one who has conquered the world within himself by realizing the highest faculties of his mind in the thousand-fold cakra of his spiritual centre (cakravat-cakra). The Buddha, therefore, rightly demanded that the remains of the Enlightened Ones and their true disciples should be treated with the same respect and veneration as those of a cakravartin.

"As they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ananda, should they treat the remains of a Tathagata. At the four crossroads a cairn should be erected to the Tathagata. And whoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paints, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calls in heart, that shall long be to them for a profit and joy." (Digha Nikaya, VI, 1).

The cakras as radiating centres of psychic force gave a new insight to the interpretation of the human body as a cosmic manifestation. Not only was the spinal column compared to Mount Meru, the axis of the universe, and therefore called ‘men-danda’ but the whole psyche-physical organism was explained in terms of solar and lunar forces, which through five channels, the so-called pada, moved up and down between the seven cakras, which in their turn represented the elementary qualities of which the universe is built and of which the material elements are only the visible reflexes.

The unity of body and mind, and consequently the inclusion of the body into the spiritual training, so that the body actually participates in the highest experiences and achievements, has always been a characteristic feature of Buddhist psychology and meditative practice. While describing the four states of deep absorption (in Pali: jhana, and often,
though incorrectly, translated as "trance"), the Buddha in the 7th
discourse of the Majjhima Nikaya, for instance, adds to the explanation
of each of these fundamental stages of meditation: "And he (who has
attained the first, second or third degree of absorption) penetrates and
permeates, fills and saturates his body with the bliss of unification and
serenity, so that not even the smallest particle of his body remains unsaturat-
ted by this blissful experience."

Thus, in early Buddhism as well as in the later Tibetan yoga
and Tantric practice, bodily harmony was both the effect and the
condition sine qua non of all higher spiritual attainments. In Tantric
terminology: liberation and enlightenment are attained by the reconcilia-
tion of solar and lunar forces which on the physical plane are the two
kinds of vital energy, on the psychic plane the intellectual and the emotional
consciousness, and on the spiritual, i.e. most sublime plane, wisdom
(prajna) and compassion (karuna).

On the basis of this profound parallelism transcendent ideas
and psychic processes could be expressed by material equivalents, either
in terms of the human body (as in cakras, nadis, nadas, annas) or in
terms of colours, elements and architectural forms. Thus, the Buddha,
when speaking about the four great elements (mahabhutas) or states of
aggregation, distinguished in each case between a subjective and an
objective aspect, namely, the elementary qualities of matter in their
vital forms, as represented by the organs and functions of the human
body* and in their fundamental or abstract forms, as the solid, the fluid,
the fiery and the gaseous state of inorganic matter. The realization of
the fundamental laws of the universe and of one's own nature through the
observation of bodily functions plays an important role in the Buddhist
system of meditation and is one of the four pillars of insight
(Satipatthana).

*The following passage from Majjhima Nikaya 28, may serve as an example:
"What is the 'heating element' (tejadhuta)? — The heating element may
be subjective or it may be objective. And what is the subjective heating
element? The dependent properties which on one's own person and
body are heating and radiating, as that whereby one is heated, consumed,
scorched, whereby that which has been eaten, drunk, chewed or tasted,
is fully digested, or whatever other dependent properties which on one's
own person and body are heating and radiating—this is the subjective
heating element."
By carrying on this tradition, the same parallelism was established with respect to the psychic organism whose vital centres (cañas) were found to correspond to the elementary qualities of matter; the basic vital centre or "root support" (mañḍhara-caña) situated in the perineum at the base of the spinal column, (which latter represents the Tree of Life**) and corresponding to the element Earth, the solid state; the naval-centre (manipura-caña) to the element Water, the fluid state; the heart-centre (anjana-caña) to the element Fire, the heating, incandescent or radiating state; the throat-centre (svadhisthana-caña) to the element Air, the gaseous state; and the centre on the crown of the head (sadānāra-caña) to the element Ether (or in its passive aspect; Space), the state of vibration.

Each of these elements is symbolized by a sound (śiśa-mantra, a mystic syllable of creative power), a colour and a basic form. The latter two are of special interest to us, as they have been directly applied to the architecture of the mChod-rim. Earth is represented by a yellow cube, Water by a white sphere or a white round pot, Fire by a triangular body of either round or square base, i.e. a cone or, less frequently, a pyramid. Air is represented two dimensionally as a semi-circular bow-shaped form of green colour, three dimensionally as a hemisphere with the base upwards, like a cup. Ether is graphically represented by a

**Mount Meru and the Tree of Life have become identical in the course of time, in fact the whole Meru was imagined to have the form of a mighty tree, composed of many storeys of circular terraces, comparable to the rings of a maple's conical spire. (The horizontal layers of Mount Kailas, the terrestrial replica of Meru, give further emphasis to this conception and its symbolism.) In the Tibetan treatise on the Yoga of Psychic Heat (gTum-mo) we are told that the "median nerve" (sunma Til; dlu-ma sTaa) in its perpendicular straightness symbolizes the trunk of the Tree of Life from which the various cañas branch out and open up like lotus blossoms. Form each caña a great number of subsidiary psychic nerves radiate upwards and downwards, "appearing like the ribs of a parasol or like the spokes in the wheel of a chariot". This passage again shows the close symbolic relationship between parasol, wheel, lotus (padma is another name applied to psychic centre, which are generally represented as lotus blossoms) and tree, all of which are related to the sun. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Buddhist interpretation of the cañas differs from that of the Hindu tradition, as demonstrated in my "FOUNDERATION OF TIBETAN MYSTICISM". (Ibid, London)
small acuminate circle or blue dot (binda) and appears in three-
dimensional form as a multi-coloured flaming jewel, i.e., a small sphere
from which a flame emerges.

If we put all these elements together in due order, namely, the
sphere upon the cube, a cone or a pyramid upon the sphere, and upon the
cone or pyramid a cup-like bowl-shaped which carries a flaming drop
on its plane surface, then we get the ideal figure or the abstract stereometri-
cal form which represents the basic principles of stupa-architecture,
as preserved in the Tibetan Chorten as well as in the Japanese Shōryū.
In the Chorten the central cupola of the Indian rupa has been reversed
into a vase- or pot-shaped vessel (Tib.: bsum-pa) which rests on a cubic
substrate and is crowned by a tall cone, owing in a small upturned
hemispheres, which carries on its plane surface a crescent, a sun-disc
and the ‘flaming jewel’, i.e., upon the other.

In addition to this, the main parts of the Chorten are generally
given the colours of the 'great elements' (mahabhūta): the cubical
substructure yellow (earth), the pot-shaped central part white (Water),
the conical spine red (Fire), while the fourth element (Air)
which should show a green surface, is generally hidden under the
hemispheric umbrella, a symbol which, especially in its
Tibetan form, is closely connected with the concept of Air. Without
taking into account its tree-origin and its natural relationship to
sun, air and sky, it may be mentioned that according to the later Indian and
Tibetan tradition hemispheric umbrellas were supposed to appear in the
sky, when a saint had realised certain magic-powers. Between the umbrella
and the flaming drop (Tib.: rig-lha), the respective symbols of Air and
Earth, there is a white crescent, in whose inner curve rests a red sun-
disc. They repeat the colours of the two main elements of the Chorten,
namely that of the moon-related, waterpot-shaped central part and that of
the sun related conical spine. The meaning of this repetition becomes
evident if we remember the role of the lunar and solar forces moving
through the main channels or naṣīs of the psycho-physical organism of
man. The most important one runs through the spinal column and
is called umama (da-ma-ma) in Tibetan, while sa (Tib.: dpal-ma ma)
and pingula (Tib.: ro-ma ma) coil round the central channel in opposite
directions, the pale white-coloured sa starting from the left (or, according
to Tibetan tradition, controlling the left side of the human body),
the red-coloured pingula from the right (or controlling the right side),
ida is the conductor of the lunar or ‘moon-like’ (dadma-pa)
forces, which have the regenerative properties and the unity of undifferen-
tiated subconscious life, as represented by the latent creativeness of
seed, egg and semen, in which all chronic-teleistic cults are centred. Pingala is the vehicle of solar forces (nurya-nurupa), which have the properties of intellectual activity, representing the conscious, differentiated individualized life. Individualization, however, if separating itself from its origin, is as death-spelling as knowledge severed from the sources of life. This is why wisdom and compassion (prajna and karuna) must be united for the attainment of liberation. And for the same reason pingala, the solar energy, without the regenerating influence of iia, the lunar energy, acts like a poison, while even the elixir of immortality (amrita), to which the regenerating lunar energy is compared, has no value without the light of knowledge.

It is for this reason that only when the solar and lunar energies are united in the central channel, the suumna, and carried up from the root-centre (maladharasakha) through all the other centres of psychic power and consciousness until they reach the universal level in the Thousand-Petalled Lotus of the sahasrasakha, that the final integration of these two forces takes place and results in the ultimate state of Illumination (sambodhi). In the spherical and conical parts of the Choden the two currents of psychic energy are represented by their separate and elementary aspects; in the crescent and the sun-disc they are represented in their sublimated or spiritualized form as knowledge (prajna) and compassion (karuna), from the union of which the dazzling Same-jewel of perfect enlightenment is born. This symbol of unity and ultimate reality has its latent counterpart in the form of a blue dot (bindu; Th.: thig-le) or seed (bija), the creative germ or spiritual potentiality, inherent in every sentient being as the potential consciousness of enlightenment (sambhat; Th.: sbying chub-smi). The unfolding of this latent principle is the aim of the spiritual path, which is achieved when all our psychic faculties as embodied in the various centres— are permeated by it. When the mystic union between the sun of knowledge and the moon of compassion has reached its zenith and consummation on the highest spiritual plane, the Thousand-Petalled Lotus, then it comes to pass that the dark seed, containing the essence of the universe and the ever-present reality of the dharma-dharm, breaks open and bursts forth into the dazzling flames of enlightenment, the crowning symbol of the most universal type of the Tibetan Choden.
RGYAN-DRUG MCHO-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1450 A.C.) depicting Buhthu, Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha, and Saksaprabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.

April, 1962.
GILGIT IN ANCIENT TIMES

—Buddha Prakasa

Gilgit is the name given to the western frontier districts of Kashmir which are now under the occupation of Pakistan. It corresponds to the region called Daradistan. Its subdivisions are Astor, Bunji, Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Panial, Yasin and Chitral. Adjacent to it is the territory of Baltistan consisting of the subdivisions of Kharmang, Karo, Shigar, Skardu and Rondu. More strictly Gilgit signifies the lower valley of the Gilgit river joining the Indus at its acute bend north of Nanga Parbat. This whole area is extremely mountainous exceeding 20,000 feet on the north and west, but the lower valley is about 5000 feet and grows maize, millet, temperate cereals and even some cotton and rice. The total area of the region is 12,555 square miles. Along river valleys and mountain passes run routes connecting this region with the outside world. One route passing through the Tragak and Buzil passes joins Gilgit to Shigar 235 miles south of it. Another route connects Gilgit with the Abbottabad frontier of the Punjab along the Bahasar Pass. In the north, narrow sterile mountain valleys, measuring some 100 to 150 miles in width, separate the province from the Chinese frontier beyond the Mantogh and Karakoram ranges.

The region of Gilgit and Baltistan is known as Daradades in old texts (like the Kajeezangini). Its people, the Daradas, are said to have played an important part in the history of Kashmir. According to the Tibetan historian Taranatha, the route between it and Kashmir was opened by Buddhist pilgrims and missionaries who reached Kashmir with the following Maniystika the emissary of Mogallampita Tissa at the time of Asoka. Since then it became a resort of Buddhist monks and preachers who made it an important centre of their religion. Hence, in the beginning of the fifth century, when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien passed through it, he found Buddhism in a flourishing condition there. From Khotan Fa-hien and his party travelled for twenty-five days to reach Tung-boh which Watters identifies with Tasburtang in Shizuk. "Its king was a strenuous follower of our Law and had around him more than a thousand monks, mostly students of Mahayana." Here the travellers stayed for fifteen days. Then they went south for four days and reached Yu-wu-ny, Aktash according to Watters, in the T'ang-ling (Oxion) mountains. There they passed

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their retreat. Then they moved among the hills and, travelling for twenty-five days, reached Kleebch’s which Klapproth and Watters take to be Skadro in Baltistan. It was a great centre of Buddhism. At that time the king was holding the Pancha Parished and had invited monks from all quarters to attend it. The function was marked by great pomp and show and the venue of the assembly was gaily decorated. “Silken streamers and canopies are hung out in it and wide-filier in gold and silver are made and fixed up behind the places where the chiefs of them are to sit.”

At the conclusion the king and his minions distributed gifts and ca-regies among the monks, uttering vows all the time. A statue of Buddha and also his took was believed to be there. The monks were followers of Hinayana and observed numerous remarkable rules. From there the pilgrims travelled for one month to reach Tse-lak (Darada) where they found many Hinayana monks. There they found a eighty cubits high wooden image of Maitreya which was believed to be a true copy of him as he is on the Tushee heaven. People of the neighbouring countries vied with each other in making offerings to it. From there Fa-hien and his party crossed the Indus. “In former times men had chiselled paths along the rocks and distributed ladders on the face of them, to the number altogether of 530, at the bottom of which there was a suspension bridge of ropes, by which the river was crossed, its banks being there 80 paces apart.” It took the travellers fifteen days to negotiate this difficult and dangerous part. People informed Fa-hien that in old times the Samanas of India had crossed this river carrying with them Sutra and Vinaya scriptures. From that place he and his men reached the kingdom of Woog-chung (Udyana) where the diet, dress and dialect of the people are said to be like those in “Central India”. The region was quaked with nonnaries (stuphas), their number being no less than 300, where the newcomers were provided with all necessities for three days. The Buddha was believed to have visited that region and left his foot imprint there which was highly venerated. Passing through Soo-loo-to (Swatana) the pilgrims reached Gandhara and were at Takhtbadia.

This account of Fa-hien’s itinerary shows that a route lay from Khoten via Taghkurgan, Aktoch, Skadro and Darad (Darasai), across the Indus, to Udyana Swat and Gandhara and that it took one year and a half from Khosten to Udyana. It is also clear from it that this route was made and used by Buddhist pilgrims, monks and missionaries and by it they carried their faith to the Central Asian and eastern world. Darad and Skadro were flourishing Buddhist centres radiating their influence in all directions. Further it is patent that the region to the south of the Oxus Range was
considered part of India, for, as Fa-hsiu says, "when the travellers had got through them (the Kunian Mountains) they were in North India." Sometimes after Fa-hsiu another Chinese monk, Che-mao, crossed the Pamir and travelling through Gilgit, entered into Kashmir, probably through the Buzk F presses route. A little after, the Chinese monk, Fa-yung, took the same route for reaching Kashmir from the Pamirs. In the next century Sung-yun travelled from T'ien-mo (Tash-kurgan), through Fa-ho (Wakhan) to Sue-ei (Chitral), but, instead of advancing through Gilgit on the way to Kashmir, he journeyed on the road to Udyana and thence to Gandhara. In the latter part of the eighth century the pilgrim and monk Wu-lung followed this route of Yashmand Gilgit to reach the Indus region and thence to Udyana and Kapisa. Thus it is clear that the Gilgit route was an important link between India and the coastal areas of the southern part of the Tarim Basin linking the passage to China. The flourishing of Buddhist centres along it invested it with a singular significance in an age when the intensity of faith belittled the difficulties of travelling and eclipsed the risks of life which it presented.

However, the people of Gilgit region, the Doradas, were somewhat different in customs and manners from those of the Kashmir valley. In a verse, found in the Calcutta and Paris manuscripts of the Kajamgiri, there is a reference to their custom of having illicit relations with their daughters-in-law. In another place their custom of continual wine-drinking is pointedly mentioned. They are also said to be adepts in the washing of gold which was found in the beds of rivers like the Kishanganga. According to Jonaraja, Sultan Zain-ul-abedîn (1415-72) imposed a levy of one-sixth of the produce on the gold washed by these people. More than once the rulers of these regions are said to have invaded the Kashmir valley. Similarly the kings of Kashmir are reported to have marched into the Darada country and chastised its people and even converted them to their culture and religion. For example, Mihrikala is said to have "re-established pious observances in this land which, overrun by the impure Daradas, Bhautas and Miechaks, had fallen off from the sacred law (brahmanism)." This shows that at that time the valley was over-run and dominated by the Daradas and others, who had swept down upon it in the confusion caused by Hephthalite invasions, and that Mihrikala put an end to their menace and drove them off and rehabilitated the Aryan there.

The early history of Gilgit, the Darada country, in relation to the Kashmir valley, consists of the activities of Buddhist monks and missionaries, on the one hand, and the frequent raids and counter-raids, incursions
and heresies, an instance of which at the time of Mihirakula is given above, on the other. Detailed information of this process becomes available from the end of the sixth century onwards when the interplay of tribal movements and imperial adventures determined the trends of history in Asia and affected those regions through which the routes of trade and communication passed.

The Chinese text Pei-shih, based on the accounts of the mission of Sung-yun in 519, notes that the regions of Tuke lin (Konggar), Ko-p’o- lin (Tashkurgan), Po-ku (Wakhan), Po-che (Zhakh), She-ni (Chitar) and Kan-te (Gandhara) formed part of more than thirty kingdoms which were included in the empire of the Hephtalites. This shows that Gilgit, particularly the route between it and Gandhara, on which Sung-yun travelled, was under the Hephtalites. We may equate this fact with the account of the conquest of the Daradus by Mihirakula given in the Sahajangtin, cited above. But in the second half of the sixth century, between 523 and 562, the Khan of the Western Turk’s (Tou-king), Ishan, called the-tu-mi in Chinese texts and Silva-bene or Dilzhume in Byzantine records, with the collaboration of the Sasanid monarch Khusrav Anushirvan, destroyed the Hephtalite empire.

According to Dinnart, Tashkunt and Miskrand, the Sasanids occupied Tukharistan, Zabulistan, Kabilistan and Jagnistan; whereas the Turks wrested the regions of Tashkund, Ferghahan, Samackand Rukbara, Kish and Noor. Tabari, however, states that Khusrav sent an army in Tmoaxiana and encamped at Farghahan and that his authority extended up to Kashmir and Gyzom (Sarrandib). Chavannes thinks that the Oxus was the boundary between the empires of the Sasanids and the Turks with the Iron Gates to the north of that river as the main divide. Thus it appears that, with the dismemberment of the Hephtalite empire, the Sasanids became the overlords of the region up to the Indus including Kashmir.

Soon the aforementioned political pattern changed. The Turks broke off with the Sasanids about the sale of Chinese silk. They began to negotiate with the Byzantines on this subject along the southern route which circumvented the Sasanid empire. In 567 they sent an envoy, named Mamrik, to Constantinople by the route of the Lower Volga and the Caucasus and the emperor, Justinian II, reciprocated the gesture by sending an ambassador, named Zemarchus, to the court of Islam in 568. As a result of these diplomatic exchanges, an alliance was formed between the Turks and the Byzantines against the Sasanids. In accordance with it, the Turk ruler turned the cold shoulder to the envoy of the Sasanids and soon afterwards declared war against them. From the west the Byzantines also marched against Persia. Though,
with the accession of Istam’s son Tardu as the Khan of the western Turks, the relations between him and the Byzantines became strained on the score of the help which the latter extended to the Assan and the Nepthalites, who had taken refuge in South Russia they continued their opposition to the Sassanids and in 588-94 attacked it from the east and the west respectively. Tahrir says that the Turk chief Shiba marched with 300,000 soldiers against the Persians but the general Bahram Shubin defeated him and put an end to his life. It appears that this Turk chief was some feudatory of the Great Khan Tardu. Just after this victory Bahram was sent to fight with the Byzantines but was defeated. This led to his disgrace and eventual death, which resulted in the deposition of Hormuz IV and the accession of Khusrum Parwez. However, Bahram chased him out of Persia and drove him into the arms of the Byzantines. With their support he returned to fight with Bahram and vanquished him. In this battle the Turks also played an important part having sided with Bahram. So, after his defeat, Bahram sought refuge among them but Khusrum encompassed his assassination by suborning the Khattin. About that time the Turks conquered Turkistan and appointed the local Hephthalite and Kushan rulers to administer it, for in 593-98 we find Khusrum Parwez sending his general Samhut Bagratunq to oust them. Yet the authority of the Sassanids could not extend beyond Herat.

At the seventh century dawned, war again flared up between the Sassanids and the Byzantines. The third of these wars lasted till the end of the reign of Khusrum is 628. In those fruitful times the Turks extended their rule to the west and south of the Oxus with the result that by 630, when Huen-tsong toured through that region, the sway of the Turks reached the Indus. Thus the sovereignty of the Sassanids over the region from the Oxus to the Indus was replaced by that of the Tur-khan or the Turks.

Buddhist traditions refer to the rule of the Turkshak-p or Turk over wide regions including Kashmir. Tarasanha says that King Turushka ruled for 150 years as a Dharmanara in Kashmir and his son Mahasanmata brought the kingdom of Kashmir, Tedbara and Ghani under one administration and spread Mahayana Buddhism there. The Aryanaparinimakha mentions a king Turushka, who ruled over the Uttarapatha up to Kashi and under whom the Mahayana doctrine, specially that of the Pravajparamita spread in the north, and his successor, Mahanushaka, who erected numerous Buddhist shrines and monasteries and propagated the mantra and the worship of Taradevi. In this text Turushka is called Gomu or Gounumikhya and Mahanushaka Buddhapanha. It is clear that Turushka and
Mahasadutta of Taranatha are the same as Turushka and Mahapurusha or Gomukṣikṣya and Buddhakapi of the Aṣṭasāhasrika Praṇītā of N. Dutt has proposed to identify Turushka with Mihiraka and Mahapurusha or Mahasanadutta with his son Bala mentioned in the Rajatarangini. But this view is manifestly wrong because Mihiraka is represented as the persecutor of Buddhism rather than its preserver or protector and Bala is shown to have founded the shrine of Baleshvara (Shiva) and not built any Buddhist establishment, while Turushka and Mahapurusha are known as zealous Buddhists. It appears that Turushka of these traditions stands for the king called Meghadahanaya by Kālhana. The grounds of this identification are that Meghadahanaya is said to have been invited by the people and monks of Kashmir from Gandhara, which was, as we have seen above, under the rule of the Tevy-Kine, he is depicted as a great patron and protector of Buddhism and the builder of many viharas, he is represented as undertaking a conquest of the world (āgrīrāja) to promote the observance of the sacred law, particularly, to enforce the prohibition against the killing of living beings; for which reason he is said to have acted like a jina. and one of his queens is named as Khanda, whose name is preserved in the locality called Khandaniya, about 5 miles below Varanasthala (Varanasi), containing a monastery built by her, seen by Wu-Kung (Baramulla), containing a monastery built by her, and remiss us of the title Khadon borne by the queens of the Turks. As I propose to show in another study, Meghadahanaya and his successors were Tevy-kine or Turk rulers some of whom had their rule in Gandhara but whom Kālhana jumbled in the lines of the kings of Kashmir. Thus it is clear that the Turks created a mighty empire including Gandhara and Kashmir and the extensive parts of North India. But sometime, between 637 and 649, the founder of the Karkota dynasty Durlabhaharasana, called Tur-lo-pa in Chinese texts, 29 established his rule in the Kashmir valley obviously driving the Turk rulers in the neighboring regions. It appears that some of the Turks set up their rule in Gilgit in the north-west of the valley and founded a strong state there which played a very significant part in history.

That the state of Gilgit became a great power in the seventh and eighth centuries is known from an inscription found one mile south of Hatam on the right bank of the Indus river in the Gilgit Agency. It refers to the reign of Parameshvara Mahakar Dilruba Patlodera Shahi lel Navarasendraptiyamadhipati belonging to the family of bhagavatta, and records that, in the 47th year of his reign, his chief minister, Maharasimba, who bore the titles of 'great lord of the elephants' (Mahanājapa), 'great lord of the fortresses' (Mahākṣetrapala), and 'chief of the army at Gilgit or Gilgit (Gilgitvadāra-

20
The king Navasurandirayanandadeva, mentioned in the Hatun inscription, is obviously identical with Shahanshahi Patolasahi Sri Navasurandirayanandadeva, mentioned in a manuscript of the Mahayani, discovered in a stupa, three miles to the north of Gilgit, along with his queen Anangdevi. He is said to have caused the manuscript to be written to ensue his longevity. Further it may be possible to identify him with Stildega Shahi Surendra Vikramaditya Nanda, who, along with one Shami Devi Trailokadevi Bhattacharika, probably his wife, is mentioned in the colophon of another manuscript as its donor. Another king of the same line Patolasahi Shakti Vajrailiyandali is known from the colophon of another manuscript.

King Surendraiyandaliyadeva of the Hatun inscription and colophon of Gilgit manuscripts is undoubtedly Sou-lin-t'ou-i-tche, ruler of Great Poo-lu, who sent a mission to China with the products of his country in the period K'ai-yen (713-741), according to the T'ang shu (chapter CXXXI, b)9. From the Chinese Encyclopaedia Ta-h's fu yen k'i we learn that in the year 710 the Chinese emperor sent ambassadors to the court of this Sou-lin-t'ou-i-tche conferring on him the title of the king of Poo-lu. The T'ang shu further states that his predecessor was Sou-sou-sho-li-tche-li-ni and that he also sent an envoy to the Chinese court and that it sent a letter of investiture to him in 717. This king reigned up to 719 and, the following year, Sou-lin-t'ou-i-tche came to the throne.

The Ta-h's fu yun k'i states that in 728 a dignitary of the kingdom of Poo-lu, named T'у-mao-tan (yen) mo-she went to China to render
homage and received the present of a violet robe and 2 golden belts. In 735 another dignitary of the kingdom visited the Chinese court. His name is given as pa-han-ki. He got the title of lang-tsang and fifty pieces of silk as gifts from the court.

In the letter, which the Chinese emperor sent to Sau-sou-sho-li-tche-tshi in 737, he stated that the predecessors of the latter had been ruling and showing respect for the Tang for the last many generations which shows that they were diplomatic contacts with the Tang emperors at least from the latter part of the seventh century.

We have seen above that Navangendra Bhattacharyya was called Patobsbaha showing that he was the king of the region known as Baltistan but his sway extended over Gilgit also and its governor, Makarishma, acted as his subordinate. However, Chinese sources treat Baltistan, called Great Patobs, and Gilgit, called Small Patobs, as separate units and the Tang shu mentions Soou-lin t'o-ii-ke as the ruler of the former and Mok-si-mang as the ruler of the latter during the same period. ‘Soou-lin t'o-ii-ke’ is identical with Navangendra Bhattacharyya of Baltistan (Patobs), Mok-si-mang would be the same as Makarishma, the military chief of Gilgit (Gilligata Sarangba). The Tang shu states that Mok-si-mang went to China to render homage to the court and was treated by the emperor Hsin-sheng like his son. This is said to have been to seek succour from China against the Tibetans who were forcing their way through his territory to attack and occupy the fort garrison of Kuchha, Kasghar, Khotan and Karakhorum or Taxam. In 732, in accordance with the arrangement between China and Gilgit, the commissioner of Pei-tang Guochou, Tchang-Hia-sang, ordered the prefect of Suoude (Kashghar), Tchaou-kie-li, to march with 4,000 troops for the help of Mok-si-mang, stirring those of the Tibetans (Tompo) and inflicted a crushing defeat on them killing many of their men and taking nine of their cities. Following these events, the Tang emperor issued a decree conferring the title of king of Small Patobs (Gilgit), on Mok-si-mang and the latter also sent his envoy, Tch'a-lé-tcho-ni-mo-chung, to express his gratitude to the Chinese court. In 733 Mok-si-mang is said to have sent another envoy to China, on his death, his son Non-er assumed power. He also died soon and in 647 his elder brother Mok-si-ki was ascended the throne and was confirmed by the Chinese through a letter. He too passed away shortly and Sau-sho-li-tche became the ruler. He changed the policy of his predecessors and befriended the Tibetans in preference of the Chinese. Hence in 743 the Chinese general Kuo-shen-tche invaded Gilgit. As a result, the ruler
of Gilgit returned to the policy of friendship with China and in 748 sent an ambassador to China offering golden flowers. Again in 751 an ambassador from Gilgit reached the Chinese court. Thus it is clear that the chiefs of Gilgit, Makarikash and his successors, behaved as autonomous rulers and were treated by the Chinese as such in the disturbed conditions created by the incursions of the Chinese. Not only they, but also some chief under them, like the chief of Chiral (Kowai), were sometime considered autonomous as in 710 when a letter of investiture was addressed to him by the T’ang court.

It has been observed above that the kings of Baltistan were called Shahi, a title borne by the Sakas, Kushans, Hephthalites and Turks. But the days of the Sakas and Kushans were over in the fourth century and the Hephthalites had been conquered and eclipsed by the Turks and the Sassanids in the last quarter of the 6th. In the first quarter of the seventh century the Turks had even ousted the influence of the Sassanids from the region between the Oxus and the Indus and emerged as the paramount sovereigns of it. We have seen that the tradition of Turanbhik and Makatranbhik, referred to in the Aryanpooramitulahape, the history of Tarasthia, and that of the Usen, is based on the supremacy of the Tu-kim or Turks in that period. It is, therefore, quite likely that they conquered Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan also at that time. From Kashmir they were driven out by the Karahan, but in Gilgit and Saltistan they continued to rule and flourish and, as is probability, the Shahi rulers of Baltistan, tracing their lineage from Bugdattala, represented one of their stocks. This view is strengthened by the tradition of the rule of the Turks over this region reported by Al-Biruni. He writes on this subject as follows:

"The river Sind rises in the mountains Unrug in the territory of the Turks, which you can reach in the following way: leaving the ravine by which you enter Kashmir and entering the plateau, then you have for a march of two or three days on your left the mountains of Bolar and Shanilin, Turkish tribes who are called Bhutanwiyen. Their King has the title Bhattashah. Their towns are Gilgit, Aswira and Shilte and their language is the Turkish. Kashmir suffers much from their inroads."

The Shins of this region say that they are of the same race as the Moguls of India. According to tradition, Gilgit was ruled by the rajah of a family called Trakmara.
It appears that the tradition of Turkish rule over this region goes back to the early seventh century when the Tu-kins dominated the vast area up to Gandhara and Kashmir. Thus the Shabs of Balkistan, Naucharandbhutan and others, were a branch of the Tu-kins or Turks. They set up a strong state there and made it a flourishing centre of Buddhism. The Gilgit manuscripts, revealing the names of a number of devotees like Sukhina, Subhajit, Maitani, Mangalasa, Aryadevrahitsu, Aryanabhudha and others, are lasting contributions of that age.

However, the supremacy of the Tu-kins or the Turks, established in the first part of the seventh century, was challenged by imperialist movements from China and Tibet and also the campaigns of conquest launched by the Arabs and later by the Karkotas of Kashmir. As Balkistan and Gilgit commanded the strategic routes connecting Kashmir, Gandhara, Udyana, Tibet, the Tarim Basin and China, they became the cockpit of all these struggles and encounters.

In the seventh century the rulers of T'ang dynasty, particularly T'ai-tung (618-649), adopted an aggressive policy towards the Turks in Central Asia. In 630 he gave a crushing blow to the Turks, in 640 occupied Turfan (Kao t'eh-ling), in 644 attacked Kazanbil (Yen k'i') and imprisoned its king, and in 646 demanded the principal cities of eastern Turkestan, Kucha, Khoto, Kashgar, Kugiar and Tabkurgan, from the Khan of the western Tu-kin. She-kou, in return for the hand of a Chinese princess for which the latter was solicitous. Soon afterwards, as these negotiations broke down, he advanced on Kucha and took its king captive in 648 A.D.

T'ai-tung's work was completed by his successor Kao-t'ung (649-682). In 653, with the help of the Uighurs, he annihilated the Tchou-yue, who lived in the neighbourhood of Goutchen, and captured the chief of the Tchou-ni who inhabited the banks of the river Manas. In 656 he fought with the Karkul chiefs and the Tchou-yue whereas one of his generals plunged into the Tarhagatai, where the Tchou-mou lived, and occupied their city Yen, while a third army passed to the south of the Yen-shan and attacked the Shou-ni-shu in the valley of Yuldzü. Lastly, in 657 the Chinese, accompanied by the Uighurs, marched against Ho-lou, the Khan of the western Tou-kin, defeated him to the north of the Ili and compelled to pass that river and flee towards the west beyond the Talas. At the same time another Chinese army won a victory over a licentious of Ho-lou at Shouang-ho
near the Ephisor and a third force defeated the chief of Kucha who made common cause with Ho-hou. The finishing touch to this campaign was given in 659 when the T'ou-k'iao chief, Tashang-tse-sha-kou, was vanquished. Henceforth the Chinese were the masters of all the territory under the occupation of the T'ou-k'iao. They established their own administration over this vast region. For administrative purposes they divided the entire T'ou-k'iao empire into two parts, one comprising Transoxiana and the other the territory to the north of the Iron Gates from the Oxus to the Indus. The T'ang shu states that the second part was organized into 16 provinces, the latter into 84 districts, 118 subdivisions and 156 military commands. The 16 provinces were (see the Tukharistan with Kucha as its administrative centre), Ta-hun (the region of Hucat and Badhaps formerly under the Hephthalites), T'so-lo-teke (the territory of Anokh, Arachota of the Greeks and Zabolistan of the Arabs, with Ghara as its administrative centre), T'ien-mou (the country of Shuan and Khan in the north of the Oxus or the upper course of the river Kairanam whose, at the time of Hsin-tang, a Turk of the tribe of Hi-sus ruled), Kao-fu (Khartal with its administrative centre at Us-ho or Wakhsh, or Lowakand on the river Wakhshah or Surkhab), Saoo-shien (Kapisha with Lou-kien (Samghan) and Pan-tee (Panjhir) as its main cities, Sze-lung (Bamian) towards the northern side of Himadaksha, near the sources of the river Kunduz), Yae-pet (Jaghrain, a dependency of Tukharistan or better Kuran on the upper course of the river Kocksha), K'i-shia (Juzjan or the territory between Balkh and Berut), Te-mo (Timiriz on the Oxus), On-lu-ho (the west of the Oxus and 250 li to the southeast of Mu, modern Charja), Tse-lieh (Talekas, a part of upper Tukharistan, to the east of Kunduz), Ta-pa (Karakom), Niao-fee (Wakhsha), Kao-sha-to-kien (Kowadjan on the lower course of the river Kairanam), and Tso-liing (Sejsistan with its administrative seat at Zereqg where the claimant to the Sassanid throne, Peruz, had taken refuge. This was the height of Chinese power in the 'Western' regions symbolized in the assemblage of envoys from Uyana to Korea in the imperial entourage in 645. But soon afterwards the Chinese were challenged in that area by the Tibetans and the Arabs.

The Tibetans emerged into the limelight of history under Songtsan-gam-po (617-649). He subjected the provinces of Ebou and Guanz and unified the whole of Tibet under his rule. He had matrimonial relations with Nepal, on the one hand, and China, on the other. At first he was quite friendly towards the T'ang emperors of China. From 633 to 646 he let the Chinese envoys Li-ki-pao and Wang Hien-tu pass through his territory on their way to the court of Hara and in 647
helped the latter to conquer Kashi and capture the king. C-la-no-choen. But from 663 the relations between Tibet and China began to worsen. In that year Song-bian-sang-po destroyed the Tungya tribe of Tou-yu-hom on the banks of the Kokonor. The defeated king took refuge at Leang tse-nu. Thus the Chinese emperor tried to restore him in his kingdom and for that purpose sent an army. It, however, sustained a heavy defeat in the valley of the Ta-fu (Bukhara gel, a tributary of the Kokonor). Following it, the Tibetans sacked the Four Garrisons, i.e., Kashgharia. The Chinese tried to win the favor of a Turk chief A-shi-na-Tou-te-ke and made him governor of Fu-yen in the territory of Tchou-mou-kuon. But soon the Tibetans won him over to their side. In 677 the Chinese officer Pei Hsing-Kien, marching under the pretext of restoring the Songaid pretender, who had sought Chinese help, surprised this Turk chief near Tokmak and made him captive. Following his success Wang Fang-chi strengthened the fortifications of Tokmak and in 682 defeated the Turk rebel A-shi-na-kin-pou-tshaur near the ill and, soon afterwards, triumphed over Ken-nien and his allies on the banks of the souk-kul. In 697 the Chinese regained the Four Garrisons of Kashgharia and vanquished the Turk Khan A-shi-na T'ou-tee, who was a nominee and stogge of the Tibetans. Thus the Chinese acquired what they had lost in 670.

To put an end to hostilities the Tibetans proposed an arrangement whereby the Chinese would evacuate the Four Garrisons of Kashgharia and give them the region of souk-kul and the basin of the rivers Tchou and Tala, where the five Turk tribes called Non-she-pi lived. In exchange, the Tibetans would let the Chinese rule over the valley of the ill and the region to the north of the Tien shan, which was the home of the five Turk tribes called Tou-lou. But the Chinese court declared this offer following the advice of Kang yuen-tehen, who addressed an eloquent memorial to the throne exJustifying the great military importance of the Four Garrisons. Rather the Chinese followed a policy of sowing dissension among the Tibetans and their neighbors. In 698, after Song-bian-sang-po had died and his son, Sang-sang-mou-thon (699-712), came to the throne, they sent a general to restore their nominee Hou-she-lu on the throne at Tokmak and killed by treachery a chief of the tribe of Non-she-pi. But this success was shortlived since the successor of Hou-she-lu was a renegade and mostly lived in China. The real power was passing into the hands of the Northern Turks who were witnessing a renascence under their chief Kurtuk (681-691) and his brother Kapsangan Kigan (691-716) and had brought the Ten Tribes, constitut
ting the western Turks, under their suzerainty. However, the Chinese successfully intervened in the affairs of the Turks in 714-716. After the death of Kaghun Kagan, a chief of the Turgesh tribe, proclaimed his independence and, with the help of the Arabs and the Tibetans, attacked the town of Yaka-ark and Aqyn in Kagharia in 717. The Chinese offered the carrot with the stick to him. On one hand, they conferred on him titles in 718 and 719 and gave him the hand of the daughter of A-she-na-Han in 717; and, on the other, sent A-she-na-Han to take the help of the three Karlik tribes to fight with him. In 718 he was assassinated by a chief of Yellow tribes. Henceforth the scene was dominated by the squabbles of the Yellow tribes and the Black tribes as a result of which the Uighurs emerged as the paramount power occupying Tokmak and Talas in 766.

After regaining their control over Kagharia in 723, the Chinese asserted their supremacy in the Pamirs and Gilgit and Baltistan through which lay routes connecting Tibet with Central Asia. To raise the might of China, the Tibetans tried to form a league with the Arabs who were pressing into Central Asia from the West in the opening decades of the eighth century. They combined in 715 with the Arabs in naming a certain A-bu-ya-the king of Persia, who was the legitimate sovereign, to seek refuge at Kucha. That refuge king sought the help of the Chinese, who rushed an army in the West which drove the stooge of the Tibetans and the Arabs from Persia into the mountains. This increased their prestige so much that eight kingdoms, including those of the Arabs, Tashkent, Samarkand and Kabul, sent envoys to China offering their submission.

Just as the Tibetans helped the Arabs in the valley of the Jazartes, the Arabs also assisted them in Kagharia. In 717 they collaborated in assisting the Turgesh in an attack on the Four Garrisons and laid siege to Yaka-ark and Aqyn, as a report of the Chinese commissioner, posted at Kucha, indicated. In that situation the Chinese tried to block the routes of Baltistan and Gilgit to the Tibetans and, for that purpose, win over their ruler who was the predecessor of Nasawandrabindyanastin. The letter addressed to him reads as follows:

"Those who resemble the sexes and those who follow the paths of virtue are not found in China only. When it comes to founding a dynasty and conquering a bewildering people, there is no difference among the peoples of diverse manners. You, therefore, the great dignitary, Ssu-lou-sou-li-che-li-li, king of the kingdom of Pao-li since many genera-
tions, (you and your ancestors) have been the chiefs who have conserved in your heart fidelity and respect; at distance you display your sincerity, you know to discharge your duty and bring your tribute. Sie-Tehe-sin liou has been able to put into execution his distant plans and it is because of you that Kono-K'iu-kenan could get sufficient soldiers. We call upon the king of You-ts'eng to deliver his head, how can we limit ourselves to cut the wing of the Huang-mu? This is why I order that you be king of the kingdom of Pou-lu. Let you commence in an excellent manner and finish in a perfect one, observe for a long time the Chinese calendar (a sign of Chinese suzerainty), give peace to your people and security to your kingdom and let happiness extend to your descendants. Come and respect it. You will commence by receiving this official missive and respect the investiture which I do the favour of giving you. How you can be otherwise than attentive."42

While this document is couched in the traditional imperialist terminology, characteristic of Chinese diplomacy, it reminds the king of Pou-lu of the help that he gave the Chinese earlier and expresses the hope that he would continue to do so in future.

In 219 the king of Ngun (Bukhara), Tou-sa-po-t'i, the king of Kiu-mi (Kumolhi), Na-lo-yen (Narayana) and the king of Ke'ang (Samarkand) On-le-kia (Ghouruk) sought the aid of China against the Arabs. The same year the ambassador of the king of Jaghrunian and Jaghgu of Tukharistan, Ti-she (Tesh) went to China to appeal for help. He was accompanied by the Manichean priest Ta-mou-sha who introduced this religion in China. But the Chinese emperor could not intervene in favour of these applicants. He only encouraged them to continue the struggle and sent emissaries to the kings of Ou-tsch'ing (Ughana), Kou-ton (Khotan), Kin-wai (Yasin) conferring on them the title of kings in recognition and recompose of the resistance they put up against the Arabs. The same year they give the title of king to the ruler of Hou-mi (Walhun), recognized the king of Zabolistan or Arakhai as the suzerain of Kapiha and conveyed the acknowledgement of royal status to king Candrapida of Kashmir. Thus it is clear that all these kingdoms and states joined to solicit help from China which shows their antipathy both to the Tibetans and the Arabs.

To counter these alliances and alignments the Tibetans launched an invasion against Gilgit in 722. Its ruler Mo-kin-moung (Makarasingha) sought the help of China. The commissioner of Pei-ting, Tchang-Hiao-song, ordered the prefect of Sou-le (Kashgar), Tchang Se-li,
to go to the help of Me-kim-mang. At the head of 4,000 soldiers he reached Gilgit by forced marches. Me-kim-mang also moved his army which inflicted a crushing defeat on the Tibetans, killing many of their men and seizing nine of their cities.

At that time a curious incident occurred. Fifteen years earlier the Tibetan monarch Dung-krung (712-730) had married a Chinese princess, Kwan-ch'ing. In the atmosphere of hostility between Tibet and China her position became untenable. She wanted to take refuge in Kashmir. The king of Kashmir was ready to receive her, but, to repel the Tibetans in that event, he sought the assistance of the king of Balkistan. This brought the king of Kashmir and that of Balkistan together but the Chinese princess continued to live in Tibet and died there in 741.

From the west the pressure of the Arabs was constantly mounting. In 737 the Jalghu of Tabharistan, who claimed a paramount position from the Oxus to the Indus, bitterly complained to the Chinese emperor that the Arabs had captured his father and bled his people white by their exactions so that he had nothing to present to the court. About the same time, in 736, the younger brother of the king of Bukhara reached the Chinese court, in 737, the king of Kesh sent an envoy there, in 738, the kings of Wakhân and Maimurgh, in 739, those of Wakhân and Khuttal, in 740, that of Maimurgh, in 741, that of Samarkand, and, in 742, that of Balkistan, sent embassies to China—all supplicating for help. In 733 Lattiditsya, Mukopusla of Kesh, sent his envoy to China stating that if the emperor were to send an army to Gilgit and also Balkistan, he would arrange food supply for two lakh soldiers. These preparations show the intense competition round the Pamirs at that time.

The assassination of Su-hu, the chief of the Northern Turks, in 739 gave an opportunity to the Chinese to march again in Central Asia. In 739 one of their generals cooperated with the kings of Kesh and Samarkand to imprison Su-hu's son Tou-wu-sien near Tokmak whereas another army joined hands with the king of Ferghana for suppressing the Kigan of the Black tribes or Kara Turgesh in the Talar. Following these campaigns China again asserted her supremacy in Transoxiana and the emperor conferred titles on the kings of that region, on the king of Tangkendi in 740, on that of Ferghana in 739, on that of Ikhshikan in 741. The king of Kesh gave the Chinese name of Lai wei huo (kingdom which moves towards glory) to his kingdom and that of
Fergana began to call his kingdom by the Chinese name of Ning yuen (peaceful distant land) by way of acknowledgement of Chinese influence. In 744 a Chinese princess was even given in marriage to the king of Fergana Avolan Taskar. Chinese influence even reached the south of the Caspian Sea in the region called Tahiristan as is clear from the titles conferred by the emperor on its kings in 744 and 747.

To the north of the Oxus and the Pamirs the Chinese kept vigilance and maintained their influence by recognizing Jang-mo-tsun-ta as the legitimate successor of his father in Zalhistan in 738 and conferring investiture on Pse-fou-tson-ho, king of Kapisa and Uzgana, the two kingdoms having become united, in 744. They also tried their best to keep their hold on the route of Wathian and Gilgit in order to conserve their relations with Kashmir, Uzgana, Kapisa and Zalhistan, since from 670, as T'ang reported, the route of Bumnan and Balh had been closed to the Chinese on account of the incursions of the Arabs. As the Wakhian-Gilgit route was the only artery of communication between China, Kashgaria and the west, the Chinese were very keen to preserve it and kept it from falling into the hands of the Tibetans. We have seen how they rendered military aid to Gilgit in 732 and helped in ousting the Tibetans from there. In 736 the Tibetans, under their new monarch Yik-sial-thang-tzhan (736-857) made a show of submission to China, but, side by side, soon afterwards, intensified their pressure on Gilgit. Hence, in 737, the Chinese attacked the Tibetans near Kohnar for diverting the latter to that side and thereby relieving the king of Gilgit. Again, in 743, the Chinese nominated or recognized Ma-hao-lai as the king of Gilgit and, in 747, facilitated the king of Wathian for breaking away with Tibet.

The situation changed with the death of Ma-hao-lai. We have said above that, just after making a show of submission in 736, the Tibetans launched an attack on Baltistan and Gilgit. They succeeded in reducing Baltistan and in 738 totally defeated a Chinese army stationed there. But Gilgit was saved for the time being by the Chinese. However, after the death of the Chinese ally, Ma-hao-lai, the Tibetans brought round his successor, Sha-shei-lchen, to their side and married a Tibetan princess to him. With Gilgit under their influence, the Tibetans were supreme in the whole of that area. From 744 to 747 they had a firm hold on Ladakh to Gilgit. As a result, as the T'ang sin says, more than twenty kingdoms of the north-west became subject to the Tibetans, none of them sending presents or having communication with the Chinese court. The commander of Kucha (Ngen-si) undertook three expeditions against Gilgit but
failed. At last, in 747, the Chinese emperor ordered General Kan-Sien-tche to attack. He sent an officer of Sii Yuen-k'ing with one thousand horsemen to Gilgit in advance to tell its king Sou-she-li-tche "we ask you to lend us your route for reaching Baltistan (Great Pe-lu)". But in the capital of Gilgit five or six of the big chiefs were devoted to the Tibetans. Hence the mission of Sii Yuen-k'ing fell through. However, he acted as he was briefed by Kao Sien-tche. He published an imperial edict reassuring the people and giving them presents of silks. Thus winning their support, he attacked the places of those chiefs who favoured the Tibetans. This course met with a signal success. Even the king Sou-she-li-tche fled with his Tibetan wife and nobody could find where he had gone. Kao Sien-tche dominated the scene. He executed all those who were in favour of the Tibetans. He also destroyed the bridge on the river Su-i (Yasin) to check the movement of the Tibetans. Hence, when, the same evening, the Tibetans arrived they could not find a passage nor their allies. Kao Sien-tche promised peace to the kingdom of Gilgit if its king surrendered to the Chinese. This success of the Chinese arms created a stir in the neighbouring regions, rather the whole "West", for the Arabs (Iz-cher) and the sixtynine kingdoms, including that of Fou-lin (Syria), are said to have submitted to China. Kao Sien-tche returned to China with the king of Gilgit, Sou-she-li-tche, and his Tibetan queen as prisoners. Gilgit became a Chinese territory; its name was changed to Ko-e-jeun; a military establishment was set up there and one thousand men were enrolled to garrison it.

The emperor, Hiuen-tsong, however, pardoned Sou-she-li-tche, gave him a violet robe and golden belt and the title of the General of the Right Guard.

In spite of the aforesaid success, stirring though it was, the Tibetan resistance was not entirely broken. For, in 748, we find the Japho of Taxkharistan She-lu-mang-kia-lo (Stimmagula) seeking the aid of Chinese troops against the king of Kie-hi, a small mountain prince who was in alliance with the Tibetans and had intercepted the communications between Gilgit and Kashmir. She-lu-mang-kia-lo formulated the grand strategy of forming an invulnerable bulwark against the Tibetans from Taxkharistan across the Pamirs and Kashgharia to China. In 750 the Chinese court responded to his suggestion and sent Kao Sien-tche again to the west. He defeated and imprisoned the king of Kie-hi, Fou-T'c'e-mo, and put on the throne his elder brother, Sou-kia. This success of Chinese arms again sent a shudder in the West. Hence the ambassador of Samarkand, Mo-yi-tse, envoy of Kupala, Ngpo-tarkan, and representatives of Ferghana, Kumish, Khwarizm, Bukhara
refugee court of Persia visited the Chinese court. On his return Sa-po-
terlan was accompanied by the Buddhist pilgrim Ou-Leng in 751.

However, the success of Kao Sienc-tee turned his head. In 747 he
intervened in the affairs of Taikendo. The king of that kingdom offered
his submission. But, false to his word, Kao Sienc-tee captured and
executed him and appropriated his wealth. His son fled to the Arabs.
The people were also enraged by the treachery of the Chinese. Taking
this opportunity, the Arab general Abu Muslim sent an army under
Ziyad-bi-sahih to fight with the Chinese and reestablish the son of
the chief of Taikend. Kao Sienc-tee united his troops with those of
the king of Fergana and marched against the Arabs. Just then the
Karlik tribes revolted and attacked his rear. Thus Kao Sienc-tee
was sandwiched between the Arabs in the front and the Karlik in the
rear and was completely defeated in the great battle at Atshlai, near
the river Talas, in July 755. Most of his men perished and he had
great difficulty in finding his way home with his bedraggled and battered
staff. This decisive battle put an end to the domination of the Chinese
in the western regions and ensured the success of the Arabs there. The
troubles in Yunnan and Ta-li and the revolt of Ngu Li-shuèn diverted
the attention of the Chinese from the west and prevented them from
retrieving the disaster of the Talas. Thus ended the rule of China in
Turkestan for the time being.

But at that time the Arab world was also in a crisis. In 749 Abu
Muslim had been away with the Umayyad Caliphs. This gave the signal
for revolt and uprising in the whole Islamic world. Neither the Arabs nor the Persians were satisfied. At Nishapur the Magian Bih
Afarid raised his head and at Bukhara the Arabs, led by Sharik-bin-
hashiik al-Madari, unfurled the banner of revolt. Abu Muslim’s deputy
Ziyad-bi-sahih had to crush them with a hard hand. But soon the rule
turned against Abu Muslim himself. The Abbasids, whom he brought
to the Caliphal throne, became his enemies. In 752-53 they instigated
Sibs-bi-an-Numan and Ziyad-bi-sahih, whom Abu Muslim had appointed
governors of Transoxiana, to rebel against him. But this revolt failed.
Sibs-bi-an-Numan was executed at Amul and Ziyad-bi-sahih, abandoned by his armies, fled to the defence of Barkhod who got him
killed and sent his head to Abu Muslim. Another supporter of Abu
Muslim, named Abu Dawud, was also won over by the Abbasids and
eventually Abu Muslim himself was assassinated in 755. But the party
of Abu Muslim did not die out. It carried on the struggle against the
Abbasids in Kirman and Transoxiana under a new white standard which
 gave the insurgents the name of White Clothes (Spid Jamgan Arabic al-mubayyad)86. This created so much fright among the Abbasids as to force them to seek the assistance of China. It is significant that Chinese records repeatedly refer to the tribute-bearing missions of the Ta-che wearing Block Clothes, meaning the Abbasids, to the Tang court in and after 751, as we shall presently see.

Evidently in this state of affairs a vacuum appeared in the politics of Central Asia which was filled by another power, namely Kashmir. The Rajsthanwali states that the Karkota ruler of Kashmir Lalitaditya Muktapida launched an expedition in the northern regions (Uttarapatha) and is said to have defeated the Kshatrigas (of Dadakhana), Tukharas (of Tukharistan) or Sukhrapas (of Bukhara), Bhauttas (of Tibet), Darahs (of Gilgit), Pragjyotisa (probably Bakhtiar) and fought against Mumman (representing the Mohtins or Muslim) inflicting three reverses on him87. He is also reported to have planged into the 'sea of sand' (Vahukabilbali), which signifies the desert of Taklamakan, and reduced the mythical Uttarakurus, meaning the people of the oasis-states of the Tanm basin or Kashghiris. That he completely crippled the Turks is clear from the remark that “it is by his command, to display the mask of their bondage, that the Turukhas carry their arms at their back and shave half their beard”88.

Some writers think that Muktapida undertook his northern campaigns at the instance of and as the instrument of the Chineses. One of them goes to the extent of saying that "the expansion of Karkota Kashmir was not merely an expansion of an Indian kingdom, it seems to have been, in reality, the expansion of the supremacy of China in the Himalayan regions"89. He adds that "Lallitaditya's expeditions against the Tukharas and the Darahas probably had the same objective in view, namely, to assist in the establishment of Tang supremacy in these regions"90. But Chinese records, which give fullest details about the happenings of this period and do not omit to mention those who undertook campaigns on their behalf, for example, the king of Pul-e in 757, are entirely silent about the expeditions of Muktapida. There is also nothing in the account of Kalhana to indicate that he received or utilised Chinese assistance in his campaigns. Hence the theory of Chinese hand in the campaigns of Muktapida is gratuitous. What appears likely is that, when the Chinese suffered a setback in the battle on the Talas and lost their interests in Central Asia and when the Arabs also were embroiled in their own struggles, Muktapida stepped on the scene to extend his influence in the region around the Pamir from the Terin basin to Tukharistan. Ob-
viably this happened after 744 and made the king of Kashgar the master of Balistan and Gilgit which gave him the control of the routes to Central Asia. That he succeeded in worsting the Turk rulers of Baltistan and Gilgit and the states of Central Asia from the Tarim basin to Takharistan is indicated by the tradition that the victory of Muttaq (Muktapadi) over the Turks was celebrated in a festival held on the second day of the month of Caïra in Kashgar, reported by Alcimân. One can presume that it was Muktapadi who put an end to the imperial house of Naxawrendra-diyouasi in Baltistan and that of Makarapili, who had become subservient to China, in Gilgit and who gave the coup d’etat to the Western Turks in Central Asia.

The astounding success of Muktapadi made not only the Turk houses but also the Arab houses nervous. This is clear from the fact that even after the disaster of the Chinese on the bank of the Tila and their own difficulties at home which made them disinterested in the affairs of the "West" they begged them as their props and supports and repeatedly sent them ambassadors to seek their aid. The Tche-fen-men-kei states that in 742 the king of Khuttal, Lo-tsi-men-ten, contacted the Chinese court and received the letter of investiture and that, in the same year, the ruler of Gilgit (Koci-jen) sent an envoy there and even Sic-te-ho-mi, the chief of the Tche (Arzcs) with Black Clothes, the Abbasids, despatched a mission to China. In 753, the rulers of Kashgar (Sou-le) Kapis (Ki-pin), Zabalistan (Sic-pi), Gilgic (Koci-jen) and of the Abbasids (Ts-che with Black Clothes) sent their envoys with presents to the Chinese court. In the seventh month of that year the kings of Ferghana (Ning-yao), Bokhara (Ngo) and Takharistan (Tou-ho-lo) also sent envoys and presents to the emperor. It is remarkable that in that year the Abbasids sent four missions in the third, fourth, seventh and twelfth month respective ly. Last time they presented thirty horses to the emperor. In 754 the kings of Ferghana, Minaurgh, Turgesh, Quhopar, Takharistan, Chtral (Ki-wi), Samarkand (K’ang), Bbahara and the Abbasids again sent envoys. In 755 the kings of Takharistan (T’o-pa), Samarkand, Tashkand, Khwanim (Ho-sian), Johunan (Taio), Turgesh, Ferghana and Gilgit sent fresh ambassadors. In 756 the Abbasids sent two missions, one in the seventh month, which consisted of twenty-five chief dignitaries and the other a bit later. In 756 the kings of Takharistan (Ku-t’o-lo), Tashkand, Samarkand, Kspaa, as well as the Abbasids sent their missions, the last consisting of six Arab chiefs who raised a dispute regarding protocol and claiming priority in reception which was resolved by making them enter the court simultaneously in the line. In 759 the kings of Ferghana, Bokhara, Turgesh offered tribute...
throughout the seven fifties the kingdoms of Central Asia were keen on having diplomatic contacts with China and, in particular, the Abbasids were very solicitous of their alliance. The question arises, why these kingdoms were banking so much on the help of China and why, particularly, the Abbasids were sending envoys after envoys, mission after mission, almost every year, to the Chinese court. It is true that the Abbasids were faced with the revolts of the followers and partisans of Abo Muslim, as we have seen above, but it should also not be ignored that, according to the *Nizamat-i-Mulk*, Malikapida had inflicted three defeats on the Arabs (Mamun) and established his supremacy from the Tarim basin to Tukharistan which must have made the Abbasids feel shaken. If everything should have gone well with them there was no cause for them to be so keenly and persistently desirous of the alliance and friendship of China. It was some deeper danger which inclined them so much towards China and it appears that it was no other than that of the rapid advance of Malikapida. Not only they, but all the other states and kingdoms of Central Asia, realized the intensity of the menace of Malikapida and sent unceasing trains of envoys and ambassadors to China in the hope of assistance.

Lalitaditya Malikapida ruled for 36 years, 7 months and 11 days. His reign must have ended about 760 or a little later. He died fighting in some obscure northern region. His successor Kuvalapapida is said to have maintained his hold over his empire extending over the disc of the earth. However, his rule was very short lasting for one year and fifteen days only. Then another son of Lalitaditya ruled for seven years. During his reign the Muezzas, possibly meaning the Arabs, became assertive for he is said to have sold many men to them and introduced many of their practices into his kingdom. Here we find a reference to the raid of Hisham bin-Ismar al-Taghlibi, governor of Sind, into Kashmir, as a cruel of which he carried many men as prisoners and slaves, reported by Balazuri. The next two rulers Prithiyapapida and Sangrampapida were also weak and cruel rulers and the kingdom seems to have suffered under them. But the next ruler Jayapapida was again, like his grandfather, a man of parts and is said to have set out for the conquest of the world. His campaigns in the Himalayan region seem to underlay the reference to the defeat of the king of Nepal in his hands. It may be conjectured that he asserted his power in Baltistan and Gilgit also. But after him his dynasty declined and its hold over the neighbouring regions became loose.

After the eighth century the Tibetans again seem to have become dominant in Baltistan and Gilgit. This appears from the fact that Al-
Birmai refers to the rule of one Bhastabkha in Gilgit, a title which bears the echo of the Tibetans. Besides this the Vidyanandini of Srivara (III, 445) mentions Gilgit and Bahstan as 'Bhastabkhabonba' and 'Bhastabkhabodha' respectively. This means that these regions had come to be considered as parts of Bhastabkha or Tibet.

Kalhoon occasionally refers to the invasions of the Daz/news in Kashmir, for example under Vaddalha, and also the attacks from Kashmir on them, as under Vaddha, showing that the Gilgit region continued to play some part in the history of Kashmir.

The aforesaid study shows how important Saltistann and Gilgit have been in the political, diplomatic and military history of Tibet, China, Kideghurta, Tukolistan, Kapiz, Gandhara, Kashmir and North India in ancient times. This importance of these regions has been mainly due to the routes which pass through them. It was for the protection of these routes that the various imperialist powers wanted to keep their hold over these regions. Therefore, the authorities of Tibet told the king of Gilgit in the eighth century: "It is not against your country that we plot, rather we take your route for attacking the Four Garriestia (Kucha, Kedhar, Khotan and Karashahr or Tokmaks)." Likewise, from the Chinese side, Tchung nang, the imperial commissioner of Tielching, observed: "Pot-la is the western gate of the T'a-lang (that is to say of China); if Pau lu is lost (to us) then the countries of the West will all become Tibetan." All the powers, in all the ages, had this point of view in regard to this region.

NOTES
1. G.L. Kaul, Kashmir Through the Ages (Srinagar, 1967) p. 91
5. James Legge, The Travels of Ya-hien (Oxford, 1886) p. 21
6. Ibid, p. 22

36
Ibid, p. 16
8. bid, p. 14
14. Janaraja’s Rajatarangini, verse, 885
15. Kalhana’s Rajatarangini (Text), I, 312-313 ed. Stein, p. 14
17. Th. Noldeke, op cit. p. 167
18. E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Touarèges du Sud, p. 229
19. Rene Grousset, L’empire des steppes, p. 129
20. E. Chavannes, op cit. pp. 258-259
21. A. Schiefner, op cit. pp. 64, 94, 163
22. Aryamanjari, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, pp. 619-626
37

अम भावायुं नृपामा विषयसे स्वमयः।
स दिनेवति निश्चयनंदै विनियमिः।
क्षुद्रम्योंकलासस्यिाषदारःनिषिद्धांसः।
सावहस्यं उस्वायिः तत्त्वप्रविष्णुः।

Vishva Bharati's edition (p. 65) reads विनियमिः instead of विनियमिः.


कोता विभिन्न संस्कारं (स) तेनक्र (री) त (स) हस्ते छोटा (भी)
पुराणः (4) वा 13 भौतिकव्यासीङ्गारभुगस्वामिसमसतृकामयक-परिवर्तिः
देववर्तिः भौतिकद्वादशश्चित्तदिशेविविभिन्नाः।

17. ibid., lines 3-4.

निर्देश भौतिकदेववर्तिः एव न (अ) एवं स्वामिसे महामहणाममपूर्व-
संस्कारादिः श्रीनामादिः व्यक्तिवर्णणम्।
हस्तेन अमरसहिं रामायणसाधकः।
मेधाविनिः नाम भौतिकोत्तरः विशिष्टादिः

18. In this connection it is significant that according to the Kukhindale Kanda (2, 51) of the Ramayana there was a Pragjyotisha in the western direction. The Mahabharata (II, 43; 7; II, 71. 9-10; II, 33, 157; P 11; 33-14) also suggests the existence of Pragjyotisha in the western region. In the Rajatarangini (5, 145) the marriage of king Meghavahana with Anuradhabha daughter of the king of Pragjyotisha who had had Tibet. Guro also suggests the existence of this region near Kailas and Tibet. It appears that Baltistan somehow acquired the name of Pragjyotisha.

12. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiin Occidentaux*, p. 150
13. E. Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiin Occidentaux*, p. 44
14. do ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... p. 199
15. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... p. 43
21. The text of this report is translated by Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiin Occidentaux*, pp. 180-182
24. The detailed biography of Kao Sien-tch' was given in Kien T'ang shu ch. CIV and T'ang shu (ch CXXXV) and has been retold by Chavannes in *Documents sur les Tou-kiin Occidentaux*, p. 147 foot note.
27. Ibid, IV, 172-173
28. Ibid, IV, 179

कव्यरागमनानां चक्राच्छाद चतुर्वासः
तुच्छं दशे अयो बुद्धं सर्वसुधिपीतं ||
50. Ibid, p. 46
52. The texts pertaining to these diplomatic missions have been translated by E. Chavannes, *Notes additionelles sur les Ton-kine Occidentaux* pp. 81-96
53. *Rajatarangini*, IV, 366
54. Ibid, IV, 372
55. Ibid, IV, 397
57. *Rajatarangini*, IV, 401
58. In modern Kashmiri language these regions are called *Lush Butun* and *Sad Butun* or Little Tibet and Great Tibet. See M.A. Stein *Kashmir's Rajatarangini*, Vol II, p. 435
59. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Ton-kine Occidentaux*, p. 130
60. Ibid p. 150 foot note 5.

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Notes & Topics

WHAT IS VAJRA? —

In the previous issue (Vol VII, No. 1) of this Bulletin I wrote in protest of the new angiled Powerbolt in place of the customary Thunderbolt as the English rendering of Sanskrit Vajra. Several scholars write in support. Some think that I have overstated in my zeal of writing English. My expression "Thunder and not Bolt is the essence of Thunderbolt" is suspected as an exercise in English.

My knowledge of Sanskrit (language) is poor and my knowledge of English (language) is poorer. I happen to read and write English as a student of history. For writing I try to follow the ideal of Japanese English and never care to practice Indian English or Chinese English. For translation I try to follow the Tibetan tradition e.g. Nirmamrkaya as Sprul-sku and not Avatara or Living Buddha. I thus say that Thunder is the essence of Thunderbolt and that Bolt is not its essence.

In Sanskrit Vajra begins as the weapon of Indra, and both in Brahmanism and Buddhism this weapon is Thunder or Thunderbolt. One of the many names of Indra is Vajrapani.

In the most important Upanishad, Brihadaranyaka, occurs an interesting dialogue about the king of gods.

Q. Who is Indra? A. Indra is Thunder (sthanayitruh). Q. What is thunder? A. Thunder is Thunderbolt (asaath-lightning). [Sankara renders asaath as 'vajram' and derives 'vajra' from 'vriya' which is destructive like Indra.] Brihadaranyaka III, 9.6. with Sankara's commentary is reproduced below.

नस्ति इदं तमः प्रज्ञाविदिति सत्तनानाटिको वहः प्रज्ञाविदिति तदा: सत्तनानाटिको वहः इति तानाटिको इति

śvetāmbaraścāyaṃ padānā, १. ९. ५

कथा इदं तस्मः प्रज्ञाविदिति सत्तनानाटिको वहः प्रज्ञाविदिति तदा: सत्तनानाटिको वहः इति —सत्तनानाटिको वहः

शास्त्रभाषा

Nirmal C. Sinha
In Sakya, Vajra (་བྱ་རྒྱུ་) we find four meanings of ṚDo-rje (Vajra): 1. Dharma Vajra (་རྒྱུ་དམྭ་) ; 2. Lakshana Vajra (་ལྕྱུས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་) ; 3. Guhya Vajra (་གྱུ་སྲེལ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་) and 4. Rupa Vajra (་རྟོ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་).

Dharmata Vajra is Sunyata itself. In Kanjur the question is posed: “You say Vajra Vajra. What you mean by Vajra?” and the answer is offered “Vajra is hard, void, imperishable, indestructible, which can not be cut, which can not be burnt, that is, why it is called Sunyata Vajra.” In Kanjur a more precise definition is found: "Vajra is Dharmakayaamakula which is like Akasa (space).”

Lakshana Vajra that is the symbol of Vajra is made of iron, bronze or some sacred metal. The form of the symbol may be with nine spokes, five spokes, three spokes and sometimes with even uncrowned spokes. The spokes represent virtues and functions. In a Vajra with nine spokes, the central spoke stands for Dharmadhatu. A Vajra with five spokes represents the five Jinas or Buddhas in upper half and the five mothers goddesses in lower half. The five Buddhas are Vajracana, Argyasiddhi, Akshobhya, Ramaamrta, and Amitabha, that is the Five Wisdoms (་བྱ་སྲོང་). The five deities are Manjri, Panchavastu, Tara, Lokesvar, and Vajradhatvisvari, that is the Five Elements (་ལྷ་). The two sources, called Dharmadhatu, are the two vanishing points and thus also known as Sunyata. The spokes are known to represent the horns (་བྱ་) projecting from crocodile’s mouth and are regarded as instruments to draw out the sufferings of transmigration. The spine or centre of the Vajra consisting of the moon and eight letters on either side of the moon is itself the Chen-pri-nid or Sunyata.

The Secret Vajra as its name suggests has no known appearance. The Substantial Vajra is also a matter more for meditation than for portrait. Diamond has two names in Tibetan: ṚDo-rje rin-poche and ṚDo-rje-phal-sham (་རྒྱུ་བོད་མ་རྒྱུ་པོ་ཆེ་) and in hardness it is compared to the bones of Shoo-thang (་བྱ་བོད་) that is Dalhi-chi. Hindu legends describe Indra’s weapon, thunder or thunderbolt, as made of Dalhi-chi’s bones. In Tibetan legends and literature ṚDo-rje is thought of in its material form as thunder or thunderbolt. I give below the extracts from Kanjur, Tanjur and Sakya Kusum describing ṚDo-rje as Chen-pri-nid or Sunyata.
GILGIT IN ANCIENT TIMES

Professor Budhha Prakah, in a learned account of ancient Gilgit (pp 15-40), has narrated the fascinating events of political history. For a non-specialist reader of the Bulletin it is necessary to state that the English renderings of Chinese terms like “tribute” or “tribute-bearer” are not to be understood in modern sense. The Han diplomatic diction has its own terms to describe protocol, gifts, etc. Vide Hugh Richardson’s article on Fish Bag in Bulletin, Vol VII No. 1.

Gilgit (Griaza), belonging to Tibet-Buddhist complex, has an equally fascinating cultural history. A non-specialist reader may read Kalinaksha Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts (Srinagar 1939), Vol I, pp 1-45.

Nirmal C. Saha
SOME PUBLICATIONS
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltse, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyingma and Sakya schools of Derge, in 1771 A.C. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The lexicon portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborate foreword by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

October 1961.

The entire xylograph (637 pp: 21 inches x 4 inches) containing both lexicon and grammar parts is now presented by offset (photo-mechanic) most clear reproduction of any Tibetan xylograph ever made anywhere. A table of typographical errors etc., found in the original (xylograph), compiled by late lamented Gogan Palden Gyaltse (Mentsikhang: Lhasa and Enchay: Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.
SABI LA

Muhammad Shahir, popularly known as Sabi La, died in the early hours of October 20, 1970.

A life full of years and full of honours has ended. Yet to his friends and admirers, who count many, this death at 83 has the grief which one feels when a pet child goes out of this life. While some dispute whether Sabi La was old enough others dispute his nationality. Was he a Sikkimese, a Tibetan or an Indian? He spoke Sikkimese and Tibetan, Urdu and Chinese, Hindi and Nepali. A scholar’s finding is that Sabi La was Central Asian par excellence; he was the synthesis of Indic and Mongoloid, Sufi and Sunyata. Sabi La was a link with that rich heritage which expressed itself, among others, in Khache Phalu, the popular mystic poem of Tibet.

For centuries, till the middle of the current one, mercantile families from Ladhak had a welcome home in Shigar and Lhasa. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a family from Srinagar came with several Ladhak migrants to Lhasa. A child born to this family in 1887 had grown into “the seventeen year old Ladhak Sabi La” at the time of the Younglupal Expedition to Lhasa. Sabi La was then articled to a Ladhak mercantile house and was himself a trader on his own at the time of the Expulsion of the Ambans from Lhasa (1913). He had married into a Ladhak family; the pious consort predeceased Sabi La in 1947. In the early twenties Sabi La shifted to Sikkim and settled down in Gangtok. His imports from Tibet were mostly Yak’s wool and exports from Sikkim were cotton goods, cardamon and dry fruits. As in Lhasa so in Gangtok he was held in esteem in the mercantile community.

Sabi La however was great not because he was a merchant. There were in Sikkim many bigger merchants than him and there will be in Sikkim many bigger merchants than him. Sabi La was good, humble and pious. He was truly religious in any sense of the term. His piety was not confined within his own community and significantly he could evoke responsive tears. He built the Gangtok Masjid (1963).
and till his death was the President of Anjönan Sikkim. The land for the Mosque was a gift from the late Chogyal Tashi Namgyal who also donated much building material. Much of the funds was raised in Tibet while the publicity for assistance in English medium was drafted by a Buddhist. Sashi La evinced a deep interest in the work of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. While the scholars connected with the Institute would learn from him much about the Central Asian trade or the Dalai-Paxchen relations, this writer profited materially and morally from what he would describe as a prize association of life.

Those who love Sikkim and those who loved Sashi La mourn an irreparable loss.

Nirmal C. Sinha

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