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 Dardistan. Its subdivisions are Astor, Bunji, Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Panjal, Yasin and Chitral. Adjacent to it is the territory of Baltistan consisting of the subdivisions of Kharmang, Kuplu, Shigar Skardu and Rendsub. 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 12,355 square miles. Along river valleys and mountain passes run routes connecting this region with the outside world. One route passing through the Tragil and Buzil passes joins Gilgit to Sitigar 235 miles south of it. Another route connects Gilgit with the Ahsanabad frontier of the Punjab along the Balkasar Pass. In the north, narrow sterile mountain valleys, measuring some 100 to 130 miles in width, separate the province from the Chinese frontier beyond the Manseh and Karakoram ranges.

The region of Gilgit and Baltistan is known as Daradadea in old texts (the Rajastangi). 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 and following Mathayamaka the emissary of Meggeplampa 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 Tānpoh which Watters identifies with Tashkurgan in Tiskul. "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 Yuh-wy, Aktash according to Watters, in the Tsang-lung (Oxion) mountains. There they passed.
their retreat. Then they moved among the hills and, travelling for twenty-five days, reached Kleebch's which Klaproth and Watters take to be Skardo in Baltistan. It was a great centre of Buddhism. At that time the king was holding the Pancha Parishad 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 wider-liners 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 ministers distributed gifts and charities among the rank, uttering vows all the time. A specimen of Buddha and also his tooth 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 T'a-lin (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 lived in the Tushita 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 300, 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 Strama of India had crossed this river carrying with them Sutra and Vinaya scriptures. From that place he and his men reached the kingdom of Woo-chiug (Udyana) where the diet, vases and dialect of the people are said to be like those in "Central India". The region was quelled with nonmatters (stupa), their number being no less than 600, 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-ho-o (Swazene) the pilgrims reached Gandhara and were at Takhtabula.

This account of Fa-hien’s itinerary shows that a route lay from Khoten via Thukhgur, Akroch, Skardo and Daral (Darasia), across the Indus, to Udyana Swat and Gandhara and that it took one 99 days, say one hundred days to complete the journey from Khoten to Udyana along it. 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. Daral and Skardo were flourishing Buddhist centres radiating their influence in all directions. Further it is patent that the region to the south of the Queen Range was
considered part of India, for, as Fa-hsuan says, "When the travellers had got through them (the Union Mountains) they were in North India". Sometime after Fa-hsuan another Chinese monk, Ch'ung-mo, crossed the Pamirs and travelling through Gilgit, entered into Kashmir, probably through the Buzail Pass route. A little after, the Chinese monk, Fa-yong, took the same route for reaching Kashmir from the Pamirs. In the next century Sung-yun travelled from Tsu-mon (Tashkurgan), through Fa-hsuan (Wakhsha) to She-su (Chitralt), but, instead of advancing through Gilgit on the way to Kashmir, he journeyed on the road to Ushana and thence to Gandhara. In the later part of the eighth century the pilgrim and monk Wu-lung followed this route of Yasharad Gilgit to reach the Asia region and thence to Ushana and Kapisa. Thus it is clear that the Gilgit route was an important link between India and the coastal states of the southern part of the Tarim Basin linking the passage to China. The flourishing of Buddhist centres along it invented 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 Daradas, were somewhat different in customs and manners from those of the Kashimir valley. In a verse, found in the Calcutta and Paris manuscripts of the Kātabānsāgī, there is a reference to their custom of having illicit relations with their daughters-in-law. At 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 Kashkari. According to Junaqā, Sultan Zain al-Abidin (1429-71) 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 Kashimir valley. Similarly the kings of Kashimir are reported to have marched into the Darada country and chastised its people and even converted them to their culture and religion. For example, Mihrakula is said to have 're-established pious observances in this land which, over-run by the impure Daradas, Bhuttas and Mlechchhas, 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 Mihrakula put an end to their menace and drove them off and re-established the Aryan there.

The early history of Gilgit, the Darada country, in relation to the Kashimir valley, consists of the activities of Buddhist monks and missionaries, on the one hand, and the frequent raids and counter raids, invasions

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and elsewhere, an instance of which at the time of Mihira Sūrya 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 these regions through which the routes of trade and communication passed.

The Chinese text Pei-shē, based on the accounts of the mission of Sung-yen in 519, notes that the regions of Tche-kia (Konggar), Ki-pr'-en-t'o (Tashkurgan), Po-hue (Wulhun), Po-tche (Zechak), She-ni (Chitrul) and Kan-t'o (Gandharra) formed part of more than thirty kingdoms which were included in the empire of the Hephthalites. This shows that Gilgit, particularly the route between it and Gandharra, on which Sung-yen travelled, was under the Hephthalites. We may equate this fact with the account of the conquest of the Daradas by Mihira Sūrya given in the Skyavagunta, cited above. But in the second half of the sixth century, between 523 and 567, the Khan of the Western Turks (Tou-kine), Isanak, called the le-ri-ri in Chinese texts and Silar- boon or Dilzibone in Byzantine records, with the collaboration of the Sasanid monarch Khosrau Anushirvan, destroyed the Hephthalite empire. According to Dinovari, Tha'labi and Mirkhadz, the Sasanids occupied Taqta'ristan, Zanbilistan, Kabulistan and Jaghizhan, whereas the Turks wrested the regions of Tashkand, Ferghana, Samakand Bukhara, Kish and Nosh. Taheri, however, states that Khosrau sent an army in Turanistan and encamped at Farghana and that his authority extended up to Kasmir and Ceylon (Sarrabyl). Chavannes thinks that the Causas was the boundary between the empires of the Sasanids and the Turks. The Iron Gates to the north of that river was the main divide. Then it appears that, with the dismemberment of the Hephthalite empire, the Sasanids became the overlords of the region up to the Indus including Kasmir.

Soon the afore-mentioned 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 northern route which circumvented the Sasanid empire. In 567 they sent an envoy, named Mammik, to Constantinople by the route of the Lower Volga and the Caspian and the emperor, Justinian II, reciprocated the gesture by sending an ambassador, named Zevarus, to the court of Isanak 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 Isin' 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 Arsaces and the Nepthalites, who had taken refuge in South Persia they continued their opposition to the Sassanids and in 588-9 attacked it from the east and the west respectively. Tahari says that the Turk chief Shaha marched with 500,000 soldiers against the Persians and the general Bahram Shabir 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 revolt, which resulted in the deposition of Hormid IV and the accession of Khusrav 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 Khusrav encompassed his assassination by suborning the Khans. About that time the Turks conquered Turkistan and appointed the local Hephthalite and Kushan rulers to administer it, for in 598-98 we find Khusrav Parwez sending his general Samat Bigratunq to over them. Yet the authority of the Sassanids could not extend beyond Meru.

As 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 Khusrav in 628. In those fruitful times the Turks extended their rule to the west and north of the Oxus with the result that by 630, when Huen Tung toured through that region, the sway of the Turks reached the Indus. Thus the suzerainty of the Sassanids over the region from the Oxus to the Indus was replaced by that of the Turks.

From the Buddhist traditions relate to the rule of the Turkushaka, or Turks, over wide regions including Kashmir. Taranda says that King Turushka ruled for 150 years as a Dharma-raja in Kashmir and his son Mahasamatha brought the kingdom of Kashmir, Tukara and Ghani under one administration and spread Mahayana Buddhism there. The Aryanajatimahadeva mentions a king Turushka, who ruled over the Uttarapatha up to Kashmir and under whom the Mahayana-doctrine, especially that of the Prajaparamita, spread in the north, and his successor, Mahasamatha, who erected numerous Buddhist shrines and monasteries and propagated the sciences and the worship of Tara Devi. In this text Turushka is called Goni or Gunanam- khya and Mahasamatha Buddhapaksha. It is clear that Turushka and
Mahasenmata of Tarasatha are the same as Turuska and Maharaturuka, or Gomāntakika and Buddhakika of the Aryanagaharmulalakṣa. N. Dutt has proposed to identify Turuska with Mihirakula and Maharaturuka or Mahasenmata with his son Bala mentioned in the Rajatarangini. But this view is manifestly wrong because Mihirakula is represented as the persecutor of Buddhism rather than its preserver or protagonist and Bala is shown to have founded the shrine of Jajakisa (Shiva) and not built any Buddhist establishment, while Turuska and Maharaturuka are known as zealous Buddhists. It appears that Turuska of these traditions stands for the king called Meghavahana by Kahlana. The grounds of this identification are that Meghavahana 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 Taxkine, he is depicted as a great patron and protector of Buddhism and the builder of many vihāras, he is represented as undertaking a conquest of the world (jagatijāna) 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 Chinna, and one of his queens is named as Khañāma, whose name is preserved in the locality called Khandaniya, about 4 miles below Varanamula (Baramulla), containing a monastery built by her, seen by Wu-k'ung, and rendered us the title Khakon borne by the queens of the Turks. As I propose to show in another study, Meghavahana and his successors were Taxkiño or Turk rulers none of whom had their rule in Gandhara but whom Kahlana 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 even extensive parts of North India. But sometime, between 627 and 649, the founder of the Karkota dynasty Durlabhavahuana, called Tax-lo-pa in Chinese texts, 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 to 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 once near south of Haton on the right bank of the Chushman river in the Gilgit Agency. It refers to the reign of Parshvatrakika Maharageriya Pramevāra Patolaśeva Shaliś Ṣri Navasurandadityavānūtīya belonging to the family of Bhagavatta, and records that, in the 47th year of his reign, his chief minister, Hākatimsha, who bore the titles of 'great lord of the elephants' (Mahājāpaṭa), 'great lord of the fortresses' (Mahāsāvatadhipati) and 'chief of the army at Gilgitta or Gilgit' (Gīlgaṭtāraṃ-
The king Navaunasadāyinandadeva, mentioned in the Hatun inscription, is obviously identical with Shahanshāh Patoladāhi Śrī Navaunasadāyinandadeva, mentioned in a manuscript of the Modāsubari, discovered in a nūma, three miles to the north of Giglit, along with his queen Anandadevī. He is said to have caused the manuscript to be written to ensure his longevity. Further it may be possible to identify him with Śrīdeva Shahi Sundrā Vīkānanda Nāinda, who, along with one Śambhadevi Tālālokadevi Bhāttārīka, probably his wife, is mentioned in the colophon of another manuscript as its donor. Another king of the same line Patoladāhi Shah Vīkānanda is known from the colophon of another manuscript. The king Navaunasadāyinandadeva, mentioned in the Hatun inscription and colophone of Giglit manuscripts is undoubtedly Sou-lin-t’o-i-tche, ruler of Great Pau-lu, who sent a mission to China with the products of his country in the period K’ai-yuen (713–721), according to the T’ang shu (chapter CCXXI, b)43. From the Chinese Encyclopaedia Ta-hs’ i-ya-en k’o-ti we learn that in the year 720 the Chinese emperor sent ambassadors to the court of this Sou-lin-t’o-i-tche conferring on him the title of the king of Pau-lu. The T’ang shu further states that his predecessor was Sou-sou-ho-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 upto 719 and, the following year, Sou-lin-t’o-i-tche came to the throne.

The Ta-hs’ i-ya-en k’o-ti states that in 718 a dignitary of the kingdom of Pau-lu, named T’u-mao-t’ai (yen)-mo she went to China to render
homage and received the present of a violet robe and 2 golden bowls. In 725 another dignitary of that kingdom visited the Chinese court. His name is given as Fa-hsien-ts'a. 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 Seo-sou-sho-li-tche-kung in 727, 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 in diplomatic contact with the Tang emperors at least from the latter part of the seventh century.

We have seen above that Narayanaendra-dattysana was called Patalabahu showing that he was the king of the region known as Balistan but his sway extended over Gilgit also and its governor, Makarasinha, acted as his subordinate. However, Chinese sources treat Balistan, called Great Pusa-hu, and Gilgit, called Small Pusa-hu, as separate courts and the Tang shu mentions Seo-sou-sho-li-tche as the ruler of the former and Mok-sin-mang as the ruler of the latter during the same period. If Seo-sou-sho-li-tche is identical with Narayanaendra-dattysana of Balistan (Patala), Mok-sin-mang would be the same as Makarasinha, the military chief of Gilgit (Gilgitta Sarangha). The Tang shu states that Mok-sin-mang went to China to render homage to the court and was treated by the emperor Hsin-tsung like his son. This is said to have done to seek succour from China against the Tibetans who were forcing their way though his territory to attack and occupy the fort garrisons of Kukha, Kasghar, Khitien and Karabulag or Ta-ka-nak. In 722, in accordance with the arrangement between China and Gilgit, the commissioner of Pei-ts'ang, Tchang-ho-sang, ordered the prefect of So-chia (Kashgar), T'ang-chieh, to march with 4000 troops for the help of Mok-sin-mang, strengthening thereby his succour, Mok-sin-mang, moved against the Tibetans (T'om-po) and inflicted a crushing defeat on them killing many of their men and seizing nine of their cities. Following these events, the Tang emperor issued a decree conferring the title of king of small Pusa-hu (Gilgit) on Mok-sin-mang and the letter also sent his envoy, T'ch'a-tso-mang, to mok-cheq, to express his gratitude to the Chinese court. In 733 Mok-sin-mang is said to have sent another envoy to China, on his death, his son Nang-ti assumed power. He also died soon and in 644 his elder brother Mok-sin-hi ascended the throne and was confirmed by the Chinese through a letter. He too passed away shortly and Seo-sho-li-tche became the ruler. He changed the policy of his predecessors and befriended the Tibetans in preference to the Chinese. Hence in 743 the Chinese general Kao-shin-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. This it is clear that the chiefs of Gilgit, Makarishna and his successors, belonged 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 those chief under them, like the chief of Chitral (Khowa), were sometime considered autonomous as in 750 when a letter of investiture was addressed to him by the Tang 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 Sasanids in the last quarter of the 6th. In the first quarter of the seventh century the Turks had even ousted the influence of the Sasanids from the region between the Oxus and the Indus and emerged as the paramount sovereigns of it. We have seen that the tradition of Turukhak and Makutaranabha, referred to in the Ayarmacraumalakale, the history of Taranatha, and that of Buxton, is based on the supremacy of the Tu-kime 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 Karkata, but in Gilgit and Baltistan they continued to rule and flourish and, is all probability, the Shahi rulers of Baltistan, tracing their lineage from Bugelatta, 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 Unong 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 more days on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamalan, Turkish tribes who are called Bhutanorom. Their king has the title Bhattashah. Their own are Gilgit, Aswara and Shulics and their language is the Turkish. Kashmir suffers much from their invasions."

The Shins of this region say that they are of the same race as the Moghuls of India. According to tradition Gilgit was ruled by the rajas of a family called Trakuna.
It appears that the tradition of Turkish rule over this region goes back to the early seventh century when the Tu-kine dominated the vast area up to Gandhara and Kashmir. Thus the Shabis of Baltistan, Nannavendra-thupramal, and others, were a branch of the Tu-kine 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 Salkhina, Salivraji, Mamtaji, Mangala-sura, Aryadevendra-hustra, Aryantibuddha, and others, are lasting contributions of that age.*

However, the supremacy of the Tu-kine 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 Karkotasa of Kashmir. As Baltistan 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-tsong (669-684), adopted an aggressive policy towards the Turks in Central Asia. In 670 he gave a crushing blow to the Turks, in 671 occupied Turfan (Kuo ts'ang), in 674 attacked Karabahr (Yen-k'i) and imprisoned its king, in 676 demanded the principal cities of eastern Turkestán, Kucha, Khoto, Kashgar, Kugiar and Tarhurgan, from the Khan of the western Turkeine, 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 678 A.D.

T'ai-tsong's work was completed by his successor Kao-tsong (685-694). In 682, with the help of the Uighurs, he annihilated the Tchou-yue, who lived in the neighbourhood of Goutchen, and captured the chief of the Tch'ou-ni who inhabited the banks of the river Masa. In 686 he fought with the Karlik 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 Yien-shan and attacked the Shou-ni-shue in the valley of Yeluz. Lastly, in 675 the Chinese, accompanied by the Uighurs, marched against Ho-lou, the Khan of the western Tou-kine, defeated him to the north of the Ili and compelled to pass that river and live towards the west beyond the Talas. At the same time another Chinese army won a victory over a lieutenant of Ho-lou at Shaoang-ho
near the Bih¬nor and a third force defeated the chief of Kucha who made common cause with Ho¬lou. The finishing touch to this campaign was given in 659 when the Tou¬kiew chief, Teten¬tshou-shinhou, was vanquished. Henceforth the Chinese were the masters of all the territory under the suzerainty of the Tou¬kue. They established their own administration over this vast region. For administrative purposes they divided the erstwhile Tou¬kue 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 18 provinces, the latter into 81 districts, 131 subdivisions and 166 military commands. The 16 provinces were Shu¬shu (Sinkiang with Kucha as its administrative centre), Ta¬han (the region of Hetian and Badagis formerly under the Hephthalites), T'iao¬teh (the territory of Anokh, Arachota of the Greeks and Zabulis¬tan of the Arabs, with Gao¬shan as its administrative centre), T'iao¬nan (the country of Shumun and Kharan to the north of the Oxus or the upper course of the river Kafirnang which, at the time of Hsi¬uan-tang, a Turk of the tribe of Ho¬shu ruled), Kao¬fa (Khotan with its administrative centre at Usho or Wakhsh, or Louhakand on the river Wakhsh or Surkhah), Su¬sin (Kupshu with Lou¬kien or Lamghan) and Pan¬teh (Panjeh) as its main cities, Sie¬nong (Bomana) towards the northern side of Hindukush near the sources of the river Kunduz, Yuntek (Jagbarduk, a dependency of Tukharistan or better Kuran on the upper course of the river Kokshu), Li¬sha (Juzan or the territory between Balkh and Beru), Te¬no (Tirmiz on the Oxus), Oeng¬ho (the west of the Oxus and 200 li to the southeast of Mu, modern Charjih), Ta¬la¬chien (Talekes, a part of upper Tukharistan, to the east of Kunduz), Tale¬po (Karaghand), Niao¬lai (Waklan), Kio¬shen¬teh¬ken (Kawadhijan on the lower course of the river Kafirnang), and Ta¬ling (Seistan with its administrative seat at Zereng where the claimant to the Sassanian throne, Piroj, had taken refuge. This was the height of Chinese power in the Western regions symbolized in the assemble of envoys from Uyiana to Kora in the imperial entourage in 647. 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 Song¬tsen¬gum¬po (640-688). He subjugated the provinces of Debu and Gansu and unified the whole of Tibet under his rule. He had amicable 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 643 to 645 he let the Chinese envoys Li¬hpio and Wang Hsiu¬Chou pass through his territory on their way to the court of Hara and in 649
helped the latter to conquer Kasaq and capture the king. At the same time, however, Srong-btsan-sgam-po, in 628, the Chinese emperor tried to restore him to his kingdom and for that purpose sent an army. It, however, sustained a heavy defeat in the valley of the Ta-te (Bukhara goli, a tributary of the Kizil-Kum). Following it, the Tibetans invaded the Four Garrisons, i.e., Kasghar, Tashkent, The Chinese tried to win the favor of a Turk chief A-she-ma-Tou-te and made him governor of Fu-yin in the territory of Tsho-su-nam-kon. But soon the Tibetans won him over to their side. In 637 the Chinese officer Pi-hsing-chien, marching under the pretext of restoring the Sasanid pretender, who had sought Chinese help, surprised this Turk chief near Tokmak and made him captive. Following his success Wang-fang-i strengthened the fortifications of Tokmak and in 653 defeated the Turk rebel A-she-ma-kun-tchou near the sea and, soon afterwards, triumphed over Ken-tien and his allies on the banks of the Lyuk-kul. In 674 the Chinese regained the Four Garrisons of Kasghar and vanished the Turk Kagan A-she-ma-Tou-te, who was a nominee and stooge of the Tibetans. Thus the Chinese acquired what they had lost in 658.

To put an end to hostilities the Tibetans proposed an arrangement whereby the Chinese would evacuate the Four Garrisons of Kasghar and give them the region of Lyuk-kul and the basin of the rivers Tchou and Talus, where the five Turk tribes called Nou-she-pi lived. And in exchange, the Tibetans would let the Chinese rule over the valley of the Il and the region to the north of the Tiien shan, which was the home of the five Turk tribes called Tou-lo-ke. But the Chinese court declined this offer following the advice of Kang yuen-chen, who addressed an eloquent memorial to the throne expatiating on the great military importance of the Four Garrisons. Rather the Chinese followed a policy of sowing dissension among the Tibetans and their neighbors. In 702, after Srong-btsan-sgam-po had died and his son, Mung-srong-miang-chen (699-712), came to the throne, they sent a general to restore their nominee Hau-shie-ho on the throne at Tokmak and killed by treachery a chief of the tribe of Nou-she-pi. But this success was shortlived since the successor of Hou-she-ho was a nominal and mostly lived in China. The real power was passing into the hands of the Northern Turks who were witnessing a rearrangement under their chief Kuruk (683-691) and his brother Kapschhan Kagan (691-716) and had brought the Ten Tribes, constit.
ting the western Turks, under their supremacy. However, the Chinese successfully intervened in the affairs of the Turks in 714-716. After the death of Kagan, a chief of the Turgesh tribe, proclaimed his independence and, with the help of the Arabs and the Tibetans, attacked the towns of Yaka-arg and Agra in Kadjgharia in 717. The Chinese offered the carrot with the stick to him. On the one hand, they conferred on him titles in 718 and 719 and gave him the hand of the daughter of A-sha-ka-Bulo in 722; and, on the other, sent A-sha-nia-Hien 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 two chief of Yellow tribes and the Black tribes as a result of which the Uighurs emerged as the paramount power occupying Tokmak and Talas in 768.

After regaining their control over Kadjgharia in 792, the Chinese asserted their supremacy in the Pamirs and Gilgit and Balistan through which lay routes connecting Tibet with Central Asia. To face 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 714 with the Arabs in naming a certain A-hao-ta the king of Fergana, driving it to legitimate sovereignty to seek refuge at Kucha. That refugee king sought the help of the Chinese, who rushed an army in the West which drove the stove of the Tibetans and the Arabs from Fergana into the mountains. This increased their prestige so much that eight kingdoms, including those of the Arabs, Taxikotan, Samarkand and Kupala, sent envoys to China offering their submission.

Just as the Tibetans helped the Arabs in the valley of the Jusarta, the Arabs also assisted them in Kadjgharia. In 719 they collaborated in assisting the Turgesh in an attack on the Four Garrisons and laid siege to Yaka-arg and Agra, as a report of the Chinese commissioner, posted at Kucha, indicated. In that situation the Chinese tried to block the routes of Balistan and Gilgit to the Tibetans and, for that purpose, won over their ruler who was the predecessor of Nasarunndhuqiyasr, the letter addressed to him reads as follows:

"Those who resemble the seers and those who follow the paths of virtue are not found in China only. When it comes to founding a dynasty and controlling a bewildering brooke, there is no difference among the peoples of diverse manners. You, therefore, the great dignitary, Sou-lhou-lo-li-tche-li-ni, 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. Si-Tche-
sin has been able to put into execution his distant plans and it is because of you that Koming-khs-khan could get sufficient soldiers. We call
upon the king of You-ch'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."  

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 719 the king of Ngn (Bukhara), Tou-so-po-t'i, the king of Kiu-mi (Kumoth), Na-lo-yen (Naryana) and the king of K'ang (Samarkand) On-le-kia (Ghurek) sought the aid of China against the Arabs. The same year the ambassador of the king of Jaghurian and Jaghlu of Tukiheart-
tan, Ti-shu (Tesh) went to China to appeal for help. He was accompanied by the Manichean priest Ta-nou-see 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-ch'ing (Udeena), Kou-ton (Khotan), Kin-wei (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 (Wakhan), recognized the king of Zabulistan or Arukhaj as the suzerain of Kapisa 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-kim-mong (Makarasimba) sought the help of China. The commissioner of Pei-ting, Tchang-
Hsiao-song, ordered the prefect of Sou-le (Kashghar), Tchang Se-li,
to go to the help of Mo-kin-mang. At the head of 4,000 soldiers he reached Gilgit by forced marches. Mo-kin-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-tsong (712-730) had married a Chinese princess, Kesh-ch'eng. 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 Zabulistan. This brought the king of Kashmir and that of Zabulistan 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 727 the Jaldhi of Talbaristan, 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 726, the younger brother of the king of Bukhara reached the Chinese court, in 727, the king of Kesh sent an envoy there, in 728, the kings of Wakan and Maimarugh, in 729, those of Wakan and Khuttal, in 730, that of Maimarugh, in 731, that of Samarkand and, in 732, that, calling himself the king of Persia, sent embassies to China—all supplicating for help. In 733 Lali-tet-sa, Makupa of Kashmir sent his envoy to China stating that if the emperor were to send an army to Gilgit and also Bakhistan, 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 738 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 implore Su-hu's son Tou-wo-sien near Tokmak whereas another army joined hands with the king of Ferghana for suppressing the Kagen of the black tribes or Kara-Turgesh of the Talas. 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 Tashkend in 740, on that of Ferghana in 739, on that of Bokhara in 741. The king of Kesh gave the Chinese name of Lai sei hou (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 Tashkistan 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 Fos-mo-fen-ta as the legitimate successor of his father in Zailistam in 718 and conferring investments on Fos-fou-tchun, king of Kapisa and Oedyana, the two kingdoms having become united, in 744. They also tried their best to keep their hold on the route of Wahan and Gilgit in order to preserve their relations with Kashmir, Udyana, Kapisa and Zailis-tam, since from 670, as L-thing reported, the route of Bannu and Balkh had been closed to the Chinese on account of the incursions of the Arabs. As the Wakan-Gilgit route was the only artery of communications between China, Kashgaria and the west, the Chinese were very keen to preserve it and keep it from falling into the hands of the Tibetans. We have seen how they rendered military aid to Gilgit in 722 and helped in ousting the Tibetans from there. In 716 the Tibetans, under their new monarch Ka-lo-lu-ge-lang-brtan (726-825) made a show of submission to China, but, side by side, soon afterwards, intensified their pressure on Gilgit. Hence, in 722, the Chinese attacked the Tibetans near Kokonor for diverting the latter to that side and thereby relieving the king of Gilgit. Again, in 744, the Chinese nominated or recognized Ma-hao-lai as the king of Gilgit and, in 747, facilitated the king of Wahan 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 716, the Tibetans launched an attack on Baltistan and Gilgit. They succeeded in reducing Baltistan and in 718 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, Soo-shel-fi-teh, 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 from Ladakh to Gilgit. As a result, as the T'ang sin says, more than twenty kingdoms of the northwest became subject to the Tibetans, none of them sending presents or having communication with the Chinese court. The commander of Kucha (Ngen-sti) undertook three expeditions against Gilgit but
failed. At last, in 747, the Chinese emperor paraded General Kan-
Sien-tche to attack. He sent an officer to Yuen King with one thousand
horsemen to Gilgit in advance to tell its king Sou-shu-li-tche "we ask
you to lead us your route for reaching Baltistan (Great Persia)". But
in the capital of Gilgit five or six of the big chiefs were devoted to the
Tibetans. Hence the mission of St Yuen King 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-shu-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 So-i (Yasin) to check the movement of the Tibetans.
Hence, when, the same evening, the Tibetans arrived they could not
find a passage near 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 (ia-che) and the sixty-two 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-shu-li-
tche, and his Tibetan queen as prisoners. Gilgit became a Chinese
territory; its name was changed to Kootien; a military establishment
was set up there and one thousand men were enrolled to garrison it.
The emperor, Huien-tsung, however, pardoned Sou-shu-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 749, we find the
Jaghu of Takharistan Shu-li-mang-ki-lo (Simongla) seeking the
aid of Chinese troops against the king of Kie-he, a small mountain
prince who was in alliance with the Tibetans and had intercepted the
communications between Gilgit and Kashmir. Shu-li-mang-ki-lo formulated the grand strategy of forming an invulnerable bulwark against
the Tibetans from Takharistan across the Pamirs and Kashgaria to China.
In 754 the Chinese court responded to his suggestion and sent Kao
Sien-tche again to the west. He defeated and imprisoned the king
of Kie-he, Pou-te-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, Ho-ye-teen, envoy of Kabul, Sego-
tarkan, and representatives of Ferghana, Kandah, Khwarizm, Bukhara
refugee court of Persia visited the Chinese court. On his return Sa-po-
tan was accompanied by the Buddhist pilgrim Ou-lek in 733.

However, the success of Kao Shen-te turned his head. In 747 he
intervened in the affairs of Tabarqin. The king of that kingdom offered
his submission. But, false to his word, Kao Shen-te 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-bin-salih to fight with the Chinese and reinstate the son of the
chief of Tabarqin. Kao Shen-te united his troops with those of
the king of Ferghana and marched against the Arabs. Just then the
Karak tribes revolted and attacked his rear. Thus Kao Shen-te was
sandwiched between the Arabs in the front and the Karak in the
rear and was completely defeated in the great battle at Atshas, near
the river Talas, in July 751. 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 Ts'ui and the revolt of Nguan Lun-shan 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 gone 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-
shaykh al-Mahri, unfurled the banner of revolt. Abu Muslim’s deputy
Ziyad-bin-salih 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-bin-an-Numan and Ziyad-bin-salih, whom Abu Muslim had appointed
governors of Transoxiana, to revolt against him. But this revolt failed
out. Sibs-bin-an-Numan was executed at Amul and Ziyad-bin-salih,
abandoned by his allies, fled to the dihqan of Barkad 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 Khorasan and Transoxiana under a new white standard which
gave the insurgents the name of White Clothes (Sapid Janagan Arabic al-mubahiyin). 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-cho wearing Black Clothes, meaning the Abbasids, to the Tang court in and after 731, 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 Rajatarangini states that the Kadota ruler of Kashmir Lalátadiya Muktapida launched an expedition in the northern regions (Uttarapatha) and is said to have defeated the Kathánas (of Badakhshan), Tukhtaras (of Tukharistan) or Sukhharas (of Bukhara), Bhattas (of Tibet), Darhas (of Gilgit), Pragjyota (probably Balistan) and fought against Memmuni (representing the Muttins or Muslums) inflicting three reverses on him. He is also reported to have planged into the 'sea of sand' (Vahukambhi), which signified the desert of Taklamakan, and reduced the mythical Uttarapathas, meaning the people of the oasis-states of the Tam basin or Kashgari. 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 Turushkas carry their arms at their back and shave half their head."*

Some writers think that Muktapida undertook his southern campaigns at the instance of and as the instrument of the Chinese. 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 extension of the supremacy of China in the Himalayan regions." He adds that "Laladitya's expeditions against the Tukhtaras and the Darhas probably had the same objective in view, namely, to assist in the establishment of Tang supremacy in these regions." But Chinese records, which give some 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 Pu-tu in 737, are entirely silent about the expeditions of Muktapida. There is also nothing in the account of Kalkan to indicate that he received or urged 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 Pamirs from the Tarim basin to Tukharistan. Ob-
vionally this happened after 732 and made the king of Kashmir 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 Tukharistan is indicated by the tradition that the victory of Muttaz (Mukta privé) over the Turks was celebrated in a festival held on the second day of the month of Calira in Kashmir, reported by Al-Takri. One can presume that it was Mukta privé who put an end to the imperial house of Nasaraurendrakoliausandi in Balistan and that of Muktapr indeha, who had become subservient to China, in Gilgit and who gave the coup d'et to the Western Turks in Central Asia.

The astounding success of Mukta privé made not only the Turk hosts but also the Arabs nervous. This is clear from the fact that even after the disaster of the Chinese on the bank of the Tamm and their own difficulties at home which made them disinclined to the affairs of the "West" they begged them as their props and supports and repeatedly sent them ambassadors to seek their aid. The Tukhuran-mon-kii states that in 732 the king of Khuttal, Lo-tsun-ten, contacted the Chinese court and received the letter of investiture and that, in the same year, the ruler of Gilgit (Kooi-jen) sent an envoy there and even Siur-to-ba-si, the chief of the Ta-ke (Arzha), with Black Clothes, the Abbassids, dispatched a mission to China. In 733, the rulers of Khasghar (Sou-le) Kaps he (Ki-pin), Kabulistan (Sei-si), Gilgo (Kooi-jen) and of the Abbassids (Ta-ke 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), Buksura (Nigen) and Tukharistan (Thu-ba-bi) also sent ambassadors. It is remarkable that in that year the Abbassids sent four missions in the third, fourth, seventh and twelfth month respectively. Last time they presented thirty horses to the emperor. In 734 the kings of Ferghana, Menciragh, Turgaskh, Oikipura, Tukharistan, Chirai (Ku-wei), Samarkand (K i i), Buburra and the Abbassids again sent envoys. In 735 the kings of Tukharistan (Thu-pa), Samarkand, Tushkan, Khuwara (Ho-sian), Ishana (To-e), Turgash, Ferghana and Gilgit sent fresh ambassadors. In 736 the Abbassids sent two missions, one in the seventh month, which consisted of twenty-five great chiefs, and the other a bit later. In 736 the kings of Wukan (Bou-mi), Gandhara (Kun-ti-lo), Tukharistan, Samarkand, Coppa, as well as the Abbassids sent their missions, the last consisting of six Arab chiefs who raised a dispute regarding protocol each claiming priority in reception which was resolved by making them enter the court simultaneously in the line. In 735 the kings of Ferghana, Buburra, Turgash offered tribute. Thus
throughout the seven fifties the kingdoms of Central Asia were been 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, particular-
ly, the Abbasids were sending envoys after 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 Nusratul-mas’ud, Muktapida had invaded 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 Muktapida. Not only they, but all the other states and kingdoms of Central Asia, realized the intensity of the menace of Muktapida and sent unending trains of envoys and ambassadors to China in the hope of assistance.

Lalitaditya Muktapida ruled for 36 years, 3 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 Kavindrapida 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 Mecchas, 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-Abdur-al-Tablibi, governor of Sind, into Khushmir, as a result of which he carried many men as prisoners, and slaves, reported by Balazuri. The next two rulers Prithivyapida and Sangramyapida were also weak and cruel rulers and the kingdom seems to have suffered under them. But the next ruler Jayapida 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 at 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-
Brum refers to the rule of one Bhuttashāh in Gilgit, a title which bears the echo of the Tibetans. Besides this the Rajatarangini of Sivārā (III, 445) mentions Gilgit and Baltistan as Śivaśārṣṭa and Bhauthmata respectively. This means that these regions had come to be considered as parts of Bhuttadeta or Tibet.

Kalkota occasionally refers to the invasions of the Draksha in Kashmir, for example under Vudhisa, and the attacks from Kashmir on them, as under Vardha, showing that the Gilgit region continued to play some part in the history of Kashmir.

The above-mentioned study shows how important Baltistan and Gilgit have been in the political, diplomatic and military history of Tibet, China, Kadagharia, Tukuristan, Kapiz, Gandhara, Kashmir and North India in ancient times. This importance of these regions has been mainly due to the routes which passed through them. It was for the preservation 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 Gairis万户 (Kucha, Kadagharia, Khotan and Karashahr or Tokmar).” Likewise, from the Chinese, T'ien, Thang sang, the imperial commissioners of Tel-Ching, observed: “Pou-lu is the western gate of the T'ang that is to say of China; if Pou-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
4. Anton Schichler, Tarānatha’s Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien an demTibetischen Übersetzt, p. 23
6. Ibid, p. 22

36
In this connection it is significant that according to the Kukkindha Kanda (42; 31) of the Ramayana there was a Pragjyotisha in the western region. The Mahabharata (II, 43; 7), (II, 31; 9-10; II, 31; 15; P 13; 13-14) also suggests the existence of Pragjyotisha in the western region. In the RajatarANGI (II, 146) the marriage of king Meghavahana with Anuratpadha daughter of the king of Pragjyotisha who had fled to Tibet, Guru also suggests the existence of this region near Kadmir and Tibet. It appears that Ralston somehow acquired the name of Pragjyotisha.

M. S. Kaul, Gilgit Excavation Report, 1819

N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, I, p. 40

N. P. Chakravarti, Epigraphia Indica, Vol XXX (1953-54) p. 219
E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kîne Occidentaux*, p. 150

E. Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kîne Occidentaux*, p. 44

Edward C. Sachau, *Allerun's India* Vol I, P. 207

Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol X p. 353


The text of this report is translated by Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kîne Occidentaux*, pp. 180-182

Translated from the French rendering of E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Occidentaux*, pp. 99-100


The detailed biography of Ku Sien-te is 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-kîne Occidentaux*, p. 157 foot note


Kalhoun's *Rajatarangini*, IV, 163-171

Ibid, IV, 172-173

Ibid, IV, 179

कर्मयुक्तमेरवासिं विनाका विद्वाकः

युक्तस्य दर्षनं अवन्तं स्वयं भविष्यति

39
50. Ibid., p. 46
52. The texts pertaining to these diplomatic missions have been translated by E. Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles sur les Ton-kine Occidentaux* pp. 81-96
53. *Rajatarangini*, IV, 366
54. Ibid., IV, 372
55. Ibid., IV, 397
57. *Rajatarangini*, IV, 493
58. In modern Kashmiri language these regions are called *Lahk 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. 150
60. Ibid. p. 150 foot note 5.