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THE PAṬOLAS, THEIR GOVERNORS AND THEIR  
SUCCESSORS

1. *The Paṭolas and the So-Called Gilgit Manuscripts.*

Two reviews (TADDEI 1990: 353, CARTER 1990: 336) accepted my lengthy introduction to Vol I "Antiquities of Northern Pakistan" not only as a courteous formality but as a contribution in its own right referring to aspects not dealt with in the actual text. I must confess that I turned to write a similar preface earlier, when I wrote the "Vorwort" to a German translation of the book "Ulangom" (NOVGORODOVA et al 1982). That may be suitable, esp in cases when the full meaning of a statement might not be immediately evident to the reader. Otherwise it would be better to devote a separate article to a specific, still unsettled problem, with the option of adding plates and drawings. It is evident that a paragraph in the study of G. FUSSMAN needs such consistent treatment. I will start by quoting his text, even though it is printed in this volume, in (my) English translation:

"2.8. The Paṭola Ṣāhi of Gilgit. - The dynasty is known by the inscriptions of Hatun, the colophons of the Gilgit Manuscripts (v. HINÜBER 1980) and an inscription at Hodar (v. HINÜBER in JETTMAR 1989: 64). Paṭola is contained in the Arab name of the region, Bolōr (id: 65, JETTMAR 1977). Generally it is called the dynasty of the Paṭola Ṣāhis of Gilgit as most of the documents which mention it come from this region. But K. JETTMAR has shown that there are reasons to believe that the capital of the dynasty in fact was situated in Baltistan, at Skardu (JETTMAR

1977: 414-427). The discussion will be concluded only by the discovery of inscriptions of the Paṭola Śāhis at Skardu or its neighbourhood. For the moment to avoid confusion of my readers, I preserve the traditional expression “sovereigns of Gilgit” which in any case cannot be entirely wrong since the Paṭola Śāhis were (also) established at Gilgit. I want to add that the location of the ancient town is not known. I do not believe that it was identical to that of modern Gilgit.”

This short remark is to be considered as an important and helpful challenge, namely to present the arguments for my supposition with adequate clarity – and to delineate the consequences in case that this supposition were accepted.

Eventually, so far I did not succeed to make my thesis lucid enough. (A study presenting more detailed argumentation – delivered to the editor of “Pakistan Archaeology” in spring 1991 – is still unpublished).

We must start a realistic discourse by admitting that a term used in several variations for one and a half millennia presumably may have changed its meaning. The size and location of the territory in question did hardly remain stable. In order to discern early from late references, I use the term “Palūr” (proposed by PELLIOT 1959: 91) for the earlier group (mostly quotations from Chinese sources). I accept “Bolōr” for all mentionings recorded during the “Islamic” period (cf MINORSKY 1937: 63, 71).

The situation is complicated by the fact that the Chinese sources, especially those concerned with the political development discern between “Little Palūr” and, further to the east, “Great Palūr”. All scholars dealing with the problem agree that Little Palūr was located in the Gilgit valley, the term Great Palūr means the area, which at present is called Baltistan. For Little Palūr the Tibetans consistently used the term Bru-ža. I concluded (JETTMAR 1977) that this was the indigenous name of the country, which had been integrated by conquest into the realm of the Paṭola Śāhis.

It is advisable to start in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Inscriptions of the site Alam Bridge mention a group of persons appearing under the name of Palalo/Palala/Pālolo between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD (cf FUSSMAN 1978: 39-51, HUMBACH 1980: 107). HUMBACH came to the conclusion that names of that kind must refer to a tribe (or the territory of a tribe). Even in present times related

words are used as ethnic designations of personal names of the local Balti-population.

These early hints probably indicate that the homeland of the Paṭolas was **not** the Gilgit valley. The site Alam Bridge lies close to the mouth of the Gilgit river. We do not know why rock-carvings and inscriptions were made there. It may have been a resting place, a "control point", or a sanctuary. In any case it was situated at a halt on the way between Skardu or Astor and the edge of the Tarim Basin. Travellers from the Gilgit valley would have a shorter and easier approach road to this trans-continental route further west. By using skin rafts people from Gilgit proper could reach the opposite bank of the Hanessari river and then they could easily cross the Hunza river shortly before the confluence (as I did in 1955, using a skin raft). Then they were in Danyor.

The fact that there is a modern crossing of the Gilgit river nearby ("Alam Bridge") had diverted my attention from the fact that the ancient connections between Gilgit (and the Hunza valley) and the south (via the passes Babusar or Barai) or the southeast (via Astor) avoided the steep slopes west of the Gilgit-Indus confluence. The ancient route used an easy detour through the Sai valley. At the mouth of this valley, the Indus can be crossed by skin-rafts.

Apart from this a man would not stress that he is a "Paṭola" when he is still in his native land. Therefore we should rather assume that the country of origin of the Paṭola tribe was somewhere else, perhaps in Baltistan.

In this period, the Chinese equivalent of the term Palūr appears in the report of Che-Tche-mong = Zhimeng, who started his journey to India in 404 AD (SHIH 1968: 144).

It is quite possible that Zhimeng reached the kingdom of Palūr directly from the north. From Khotan to Kashmir the shortest connection is by crossing the Mustagh pass.

But it should be mentioned that, on the route southwards from the kingdom of Po-lü = Palūr, Zhimeng first had to cross the "Snowy Hills", then he reached the Indus river and finally Kashmir. That is not in accordance with an identification: Baltistan = Palūr, but too vague to be an argument for another identification (= Gilgit). Faxian offers a realistic description of his journey which started in 399 AD, ie a few years earlier than Zhimeng. The text was

repeatedly discussed by A. STEIN (1921: 5-9, 1928: 20-22). The main event was the visit of a sanctuary at To-leih = T'o-li where a huge wooden statue of Maitreya was venerated. The territory was already considered as a part of India and as a center of missionary activities resulting in the extension of Buddhist preaching far to the east. It took Faxian no less than "15 different marches" following the course of the Indus river, climbing up and down the towering cliffs skirting the banks, to reach the plains. T'o-li, later on written Ta-li-lo, was identified by CUNNINGHAM (1853: 2) as the valley of Darel - and that may correspond with the actual distance. In the end of his ordeal, the Indus had to be crossed by a rope-bridge, after that Swat was very near. Palūr is not mentioned in this report.

In the hair-raising description of Fa-yong's journey over the mountains which took place at the same time, nothing is said that would allow an exact identification of his route. Po-lü = Palūr is not mentioned (CHAVANNES 1903: 435-436).

The next travelogue, ie of Song Yun, tells of a journey made in 518-522 AD, when the Hephtalites had just reached the height of their power. The Chinese delegation had the task to obtain Buddhist books in India, but the leader Song Yun was provided with official letters from the imperial chancellery. They were handed over to the king of the Hephtalites, so that the next - and most difficult - part of the journey was under official protection.

From this report we learn that many small kingdoms were under the control of the Hephtalite kings as far as "T'ie-lo" in the south. This region, however, was not identified by CHAVANNES or STEIN with T'o-leih or T'o-li, the religious centre visited by Faxian. Otherwise we could accept this as evidence that Hephtalite rule was extended into the Indus valley as well.

Certainly under Hephtalite sovereignty was the land which appears under the name Chö-mi, identified with Chitral (CHAVANNES 1903: 406) and not portrayed as a Buddhist country. And then Palūr is mentioned: one way was to pass through this territory arriving at Wou-tch'ang = Swat, after many difficulties and dangers. So another route was chosen and Uḍḍiyāna (Swat) was reached rather quickly.

This story is confusing because every normal traveller who already had reached the central area of Chitral in the Kunar valley would try to cross over into the Panjkora valley. There he would find

several easy tracks to Swat. An extreme shortcut would lead via the Laspur valley and Paspāt. An alternative route however, reaching Swat from the east side would mean a superfluous detour.

However, it is interesting that "Po-lou-lei", ie Palūr is mentioned in this context. Song Yun must have only heard about this place, the description of the difficult tracks leading to the country is a reflection of earlier reports. However, an area identical with modern Baltistan could hardly appear in such a context, so CHAVANNES considers the possibility that in this case "Little Palūr", the western part of the country, is meant. Since on the other hand we do not know when Baltistan and Gilgit were associated as provinces of the same state, that could be an important hint.

The next piece of information is to be found in the "Records of the Western World" compiled by a student of Xuanzang which includes the material collected by the great scholar during his long journey (629-645 AD).

Information on Palūr was not collected on the spot, it is rather vague. We learn that Buddhism is the dominant religion there, but no great zeal can be expected. The country has a long shape, from east to west, and is rather narrow from north to south (BEAL 1884: 135), it lies in the middle of the "Snowy Mountains".

The Chinese pilgrim Wukong reached Kashmir in 759 AD and stayed there for several years until 764. So he was well informed, his notes are of great interest. Previously he had crossed the mountains. When the relevant part of the text was published by LEVI and CHAVANNES (1895: 348), both scholars agreed that after passing by Chitral - appearing under the name Kio-wei - Wukong proceeded in south-western direction, reaching Lamghān, then turning eastwards to Uḍḍiyāna (Swat).

Several years later CHAVANNES studied the sources concerning Swat and Palūr. Once again he noticed that one of the stations on the way through the mountains rendered as Ye-ho is identical with the "western capital" of Little Palūr. Evidently the pilgrim moved in areas which were safe in this period (after 747 AD), due to the intervention of the Chinese army. The other kingdoms mentioned in the text were situated in secluded mountain valleys as well. Therefore their names appear here and not again: Ho-lan and Lan-so. In Kashmir Wukong was informed of a track to Palūr, maybe different from the route he had used himself (CHAVANNES

1903/4: 129 n.; STEIN 1896: 22).

At the end of this overview I would like to mention the two royal rock inscriptions which definitely show that the Gilgit valley was certainly since the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD - maybe earlier - part of the kingdom of Palūr.

One of these rock inscriptions is discussed in the contribution by FUSSMAN (who could improve the earlier readings by CHAKRA-VARTI and SIRCAR in some points) to this volume. The other one was carefully studied but not completely published by O.v. HINÜBER (1987).

In the 8<sup>th</sup> century, comments in the official reports, describing the Central Asian involvement of the Tang-empire and the fate of the main actors (eg Gao Xianzhi) become more and more detailed. But still the most important facts are in a text by one of the later pilgrims. He was of Korean origin, his name is now rendered as Huichao.

A shortened, incomplete version was found by PELLIOT in Tun-huang. (It was printed and translated into German by W. FUCHS (1939)). The journey was performed between 723 and 729 AD, but it is possible that later informations were included. Huichao clearly distinguished between Great Palūr which was subjected to Tibet together with Yang-t'ung and Nepal (FUCHS 1939: 443), and Little Palūr which was then dependent on China. Clothings and customs, food and language are identical in both Great and Little Palūr. The political situation resulting from the split is reflected in the official Chinese sources and in the Tibetan Annals found in Tun-huang, exactly in the same way. A useful concordance of the texts was recently made by BECKWITH in his study on the Tibetan empire in Central Asia (1987).

A crucial information is contained in the text of Huichao only: Great Palūr had been the official seat of the king. Because of the invasion of the Tibetans he emigrated to Little Palūr and settled there. The nobility and the people, however, remained in Great Palūr. FUCHS assumed that as early as "about 678" the Tibetans had conquered Great Palūr (1939: 444, n. 8). That means that the exodus of the ruler must have taken place in this early period. I cannot agree, because according to the Tang annals three delegations were sent to the Chinese court from Great Palūr in the periods starting in 696 AD by rulers whose names fit into the Paṭola tradition. In 717 AD a king with the typical "Paṭola"-name

Su-fu-she-li-chih-li-ni was awarded the title "King of Palūr" by the Chinese. There is a note which stresses the fact that he was king in Great Palūr (BECKWITH 1987: 87 n.). So we may suspect that the so-called Gilgit Manuscripts were not the work of a school of scribes in a monastery in Gilgit or its surroundings. For several of the manuscripts (v. HINÜBER 1980: the numbers I, II, V, VIII), copying was supported by a grant offered by the ruler or member of his family together with noble persons who most probably belonged to his staff. There is a possibility to explain the generally accepted name "Gilgit Manuscripts" as not misleading if we assume that the ruler of Palūr had two residences. We know that even in the high mountains it was possible to perform the task of rulership by shifting between several residences in a seasonal turn – as was the case in Europe in medieval times.

Was perhaps Gilgit only a temporary residence?

However, from the historical reports we know that in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century AD the Gilgit valley was conquered three times by the rulers of Baltistan, but that never resulted in an administrative integration. A glance on the "Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak" (1890, reprint 1974) offers the explanation. An army or the ruler with his bodyguard starting from Skardu would reach Gilgit normally via the Deosai Plains, which meant crossing one of the passes in the ranges which form the southern periphery of this plateau. Remarks in the Gazetteer illustrate the situation: "it is considered necessary to fasten together the horses with ropes to prevent them falling down crevasses". All passes are closed in winter for five months at least, but sudden change of weather could be fatal for the caravans on the Deosai Plains even in spring and autumn. It took six to eight days to reach Astor, and for a journey from Astor to Gilgit seven to eight days were reckoned.

There was a direct route along the Indus river. But for several miles, there was no passage at all, so the traveller had to climb up to the Shengus pass (3.600 m above sea level). This was the only path open in winter and it was more dangerous than all the others, "impracticable for animals and even difficult for men carrying loads".

Evidently due to its geographical situation Gilgit had to be ruled by a viceroy when the capital was located in Skardu (or *vice versa*).

Makar Singh, who ordered the constructions in the area of the



ancient village Hatun and stressed his own contribution beyond the usual proportion in the inscriptions in honour of his sovereign Navasurendrādityanandin, was one of these viceroys. No doubt, he had extensive authorities. Did he act in the frame of an established and hereditary position?

I think we can answer this question when we study attentively the seemingly well-known and exhausted sources. Most of them have been published for several decades.

The sources in question are the Tang chronicles, a Chinese encyclopedia written in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD (used by CHAVANNES) and the Tibetan documents found in Tun-huang (edited by BACOT-THOMAS-TOUSSAINT 1940-1946), which were re-studied in a larger context by BECKWITH, who could use the new translations (SPANIEN-IMAEDA 1979).

The basic fact is the steadfast alliance between the rulers in Little Palūr and the Chinese. For their loyalty they were rewarded with the confirmation of their royal title at three occasions:

in 722 AD to Mo-kin-mang (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 151; BECKWITH 1987: 95)

in 731 AD to his son Nan-ni (CHAVANNES 1903/4 n.a.: 52; BECKWITH 1987: 123, n. 94)

in 741 AD to Ma-hao-lai, the elder son of Mo-kin-mang, BECKWITH calls him Ma-lai-hsi (CHAVANNES 1903/4 n.a.: 65; BECKWITH 1987: 123)

The results of this policy were disastrous for the country. As soon as in 722 AD there was an invasion by the Tibetan army, repelled with Chinese support. In 736 AD the Tibetan army marched to their battlegrounds in the northwestern plains via Little Palūr, the ruler Nan-ni asked the Chinese for help. For revenge in winter 737/738 AD another Tibetan army invaded Little Palūr and captured the king (BECKWITH 1987: 116, n. 45). The king, being a prisoner, submitted and the Chinese envoy Wan'Do-ši did so, too. (Here we get the impression that the king had a sort of political agent by his side.) That explains the next sentence (now rendered in a more realistic way than BACOT-THOMAS-TOUSSAINT (1940-1946: 50) did. Instead of the misleading phrase "les Chinois détruisirent le royaume" we read: "The Chinese abolished (their) administration (of Little Palūr)". This may indicate that the Chinese had to close the "agency" which controlled the administration of their confederate!

In 741 AD the bestowal of the title "king" to Ma-hao-lai (or Ma-lai-hsi) (BECKWITH 1987: 123) by the Chinese (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 210-211) indicates, that Little Palūr was still considered as dependent on the Tang state.

But in the meantime politics had taken a new turn. In the year of the dragon (740 AD) a Tibetan princess, Khri-ma-lod, had been given in marriage to the chief of Little Palūr (BACOT-THOMAS-TOUSSAINT 1940-1946: 51). By comparing this information in the Tibetan Annals with the Tang-shu we can say without any doubts that the happy bridegroom was "Sou-che-li-tche" (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 151) and nobody else (cf BECKWITH 1987: 123, Su-shih-li-chih).

In case that we relate that information to activities of members of the same dynasty, we must consider such a manoeuvre as a serious lack of steadiness, a deficiency in loyalty and honesty. This interpretation is suggested by the Tang-shu (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 151): we are told "Sou-che-li-tche" was secretly enticed to join the Tibetan party. For this betrayal he was rewarded with the hand of a Tibetan girl. The failure of Chinese policy, the breaking away of twenty "kingdoms", their joining the Tibetan enemy was accordingly explained as a foul trick.

It cannot be an objective account of events. In 739/740 AD, relations between China and Tibet were strained, to put it mildly (BECKWITH 1987: 121-123). Tibetan troops had raided Tang garrisons but had been repulsed. In revenge "the Chinese took the city of An-jung through treachery and massacred the Tibetan garrison".

Under such conditions it is unthinkable that the marriage of a member of the ruling dynasty in Palūr with a Tibetan princess remained a secret or remained without reaction. We know the reaction: the solemn presentation of a certificate of appointment as king to Ma-hao-lai (=Ma-lai-hsi) exclusively. This was certainly a political act of the Chinese government to strengthen his position as a legitimate ruler. Therefore the last sentence of the certificate of appointment (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 212) is an admonition to remain attentive. Evidently the Chinese assumed that Ma-hao-lai would have children - and with them they hoped to perpetuate the alliance. They did not expect that the successor would be Su-shih-li-chih.

But Su-shih-li-chih was not a parvenu. Therefore he got fair treat-

ment by the Chinese when his case was lost: he was given the chance of a comfortable exile in China.

The unavoidable (but somewhat delayed) explanation is that there existed two different dynasties, easy to discern by “quite different types of names” (TUCCI 1977: 78). They co-existed and were rivals in Little Palūr. Since both of them had well-founded claims, the Chinese were unable to prevent that after the untimely demise of Ma-hao-lai (maybe he had no children or they were very young) the competitor with the strong support of the Tibetan party got his chance. The convincing proof was seen by BECKWITH (1987: 123). The Tibetans clearly differentiated by using different titles: the series of persons with related names – Mo-chin-mang, Nan-ni, Ma-lai-hsi – were called Bruža'i rgyalpo, ie kings of Bruža – the man, however, who was honoured to become the husband of a Tibetan princess was called Bruža rje = Bruža Lord.

There is another proof: according to the encyclopedia the Chinese government recognized Su-lin-t'o-i-che as king of Great Palūr in 720 AD, when his predecessor died. He still had time to send dignitaries to the Chinese court twice offering the products of his country as tribute. There must have been some years of relative stability, only was he later forced by the Tibetans to escape to Little Palūr. Yet even before, at the beginning of the period H'ai-yuen (713-741) Mo-kin-mang paid a visit to the Chinese Emperor and was very well-received with full honours as king of Little Palūr. According to the text of the Tang-shu this journey happened earlier than the Tibetan attack resulting in the conquest of nine “towns” recorded in 722 AD (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 150). So Mo-kin-mang was a contemporary of the “real” Paṭolas in Great Palūr. Palūr was already divided at his time.

There is, however, no reason to question the concise statement of the Tang-shu (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 149) namely that the Paṭolas were accepted by the Chinese as legitimate kings as long as they ruled in and over their country of origin (TUCCI 1977: 76). The names of two kings are known. The name of the later one was reconstructed by CHAVANNES as Surendrāditya (1903/4 n.a.: 44). Maybe this man as former king appears in the quite informal inscription found at Hodar (v. HINÜBER 1989: 64).

But what was the relation with the so-called kings of Little Palūr? In the time of the Hatun inscription, the Gilgit valley must have been a fief of the Paṭolas. But nobody was able to maintain an

effective administration in Skardu and Gilgit simultaneously. (That only became feasible by modern road construction and air traffic, telephone and wireless broadcasting.) So from the beginning in one of those areas a governor or viceroy had to be appointed. Since the capital was in the eastern part, Makar Singh “from the Kāñjudi-clan” in Little Palūr was responsible for the west. Maybe he was not the first one in a dynasty of governors – and not the last one either. Names like “Mo-chin-mang”, “Nan-ni”, “Ma-lai-hsi” could belong to the same tradition.

We may be sure that the viceroy was not at all pleased, when his overlord who had ruled on the other side of the mountain barrier suddenly appeared in person claiming maintenance befitting his rank as well as a senior position. Apparently aspirations of that kind were not rudely refused – that would have attracted the attention if not the intervention of the Chinese and the Tibetans and we would have got more information in this respect. But the results are obvious:

On the one hand we see that the Paṭola refugees had to face “a decline in sovereignty” (v. HINÜBER 1987: 228). That is reflected in the modest and informal Hodar-inscription and an official inscription in the precincts of the village Danyor very close to Gilgit. The prince Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi avoids using his former dynastic title and is anxious to have his intention accepted. That might be a precaution enforced by the co-existence with the established rulers (v. HINÜBER 1987: 227).

On the other hand the former governors became unsure as well. They needed backing by a higher authority, so they applied to the Chinese emperor for a document confirming the pretention that they had been entitled to be called “kings” for many generations. Two such confirmations of noble origin and acknowledged dignity are known – one for Nan-ni – (CHAVANNES 1903/4 n.a.: 52), the other one for his brother Ma-hao-lai (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 211). However, we cannot rule out the possibility completely that the Gilgit region had already been a statelet under the sway of the Kāñjudi-dynasty before the area was conquered by an army of the Paṭolas. Maybe the former supremacy of the Hephtalites was replaced by another one. For a while the name of the country – Bruža – was changed to “Little Palūr”. The Tibetans who wanted to build up a national identity directed against all former overlords never used the name “Little Palūr”, they reintroduced the old

name Bruža. We may assume that the administrations of the nine towns occupied by the Tibetan army in 722 AD were entrusted to the so-called Bruža Lord.

So apparently the outcome of that diplomacy was a sort of compromise. The descendant of former governors acted as “king” keeping loyalty with China – and the “Bruža Lord” represented the Tibetan party, maybe getting control of certain areas eg Danyor. Maybe his capital was in the Sai-valley, an area with many late and hardly explored monuments.

There is no hint that Ma-hao-lai died an unnatural death, but the Paṭola got after his death their chance: he had been firmly affiliated with the supporters of the Tibetan case. Little Palūr was now united under Su-shih-li-chih (TUCCI 1977: 79).

The Chinese strategists, however, considered the smooth transition of Little Palūr into the Tibetan sphere of influence as a threat to their still persisting connections with Tokharistan and other countries west of the Pamirs. Three times Chinese generals tried to recapture Little Palūr – without success (BECKWITH 1987: 130). In 747 AD the famous Gao Xianzhi (Kao Hsien-chih) was appointed for that difficult task. The report on the campaign is preserved in the Tang-shu and with more details in his biography (cf CHAVANNES 1903/4: 150-154). CHAVANNES already tried to identify the localities mentioned in the Chinese texts with those in the modern maps. So he assumed that “Kao Hsien-chih” forced his access to the Baroghil pass by conquering the Tibetan fortress Lien-yun. After three days he arrived at the foot of the T’an-kiu mountain (which is the access to the Darkot pass). Then he entered Yasin, where the town A-nou-yue was taken without much resistance. The next goal evidently was the residence of the ruler of Palūr. The name of his capital is not mentioned in the biography; it appears in the regular text of the Tang-shu (CHAVANNES 1903/4: 150) as Sie-to or Ye-to (cf CHAVANNES 1903/4: 129, n.). According to TUCCI the phonetic rendering is ngiät-tā, which corresponds with Gar-ta = s’Kardo. For confirmation TUCCI quotes the Tang-shu which mentions a town called Kia-pu-lo identified by him with Kapalu in Baltistan. Kapalu, however, is situated east of Skardu, not west of Skardu as is said in the text – on the basis of TUCCI’s identifications.

But the real difficulty is that we cannot imagine the campaign of a Chinese army from Yasin far to the east, via Rondu or the Deo-

sai Plains: that would have taken three or four weeks through difficult terrain - with all chances of the Tibetans to interfere.

When the township A-nou-yue was conquered, five or six dignitaries who had been allies of the Tibetans were beheaded, certainly a spectacular event. So the Tibetan army was alarmed, apparently a superior force. However, they were unable to interfere because the bridge over the So-yi = Sā-i river had been destroyed in the very last moment. For the action time was precious. The Tibetan army arrived with cavalry and infantry units: without the bridge, which was the distance of a bow-shot, they were unable to reach the opposite bank. For the reconstruction of this strategic bridge a full year of intense work was necessary. Palūr had consented when the Tibetans had offered to take over the reconstruction as a seemingly harmless contribution to an improved traffic system.

For the interpretation of what we hear about the following events we should deal with the question where this strategic bridge was situated. Looking at the map we could assume that the Chinese army destroyed a bridge approximately corresponding to the modern bridge crossing the Gilgit river which connects Gupis with the exit of the Yasin valley. In this case the Chinese would have their army stationed on the northern bank, the Tibetans holding strong positions on the southern side would not be able to cross over.

The problem, however, is that the easiest and most important route through the Gilgit valley is on the southern bank. Even today, there is no safe and suitable track on the opposite side. Without shifting over to the southern bank an invader arriving from Yasin would be in a cul-de-sac. Gilgit is situated on the southern bank as well. So we must assume that the invading Chinese army had already reached the southern (right) bank and was proceeding eastwards. There are plenty of difficult passages on the way, but no place where a bridge is needed. The real strategic point, where an imminent battle between an army arriving from the east, the Tibetan hinterland, and an invader approaching from the west can be avoided simply by destroying a bridge, is much further to the east, south of the Indus-Gilgit confluence. This was clearly seen by the British general staff. So I would agree with the Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh (1890: 897):

“The Astor river is, if the bridge at Ram Ghat be destroyed, in it-

self a very formidable obstacle. It is a raging torrent, about 40 yards broad and 6 or 7 feet deep, which can only be crossed by a bridge, while there are no large trees or other material suitable for bridging to be obtained in the neighbourhood. A boat or raft could not live in such a torrent.

The Indus also presents a very formidable obstacle to an enemy. There are only two small boats obtainable along this portion of the river, and rafts could only be constructed with great difficulty and delay. The strength of the current would also render them very unmanageable. ...”

So I suspect that the confrontation between the Chinese and the Tibetan forces took place here. Furthermore we have to assume that the residence of the ruler was somewhere near Gilgit, the distance to the bridge was said to be 60 Li.

So-i-shui, the name of the river mentioned in this context is later used as a designation for the Gilgit river, but it is possible that in those days the Hunza river, lower Gilgit river and the adjacent part of the Indus river were considered to be part of the same fluvial artery.

But let us return to the historical events. In a hopeless position, the king of Little Palūr and his Tibetan wife surrendered after having hidden themselves for a while, and were brought to China. There the last Paṭola remained apparently for the rest of his life, with due honours and in a position in the palace guards.

Little Palūr was transformed into a military district. The name is rendered by CHAVANNES as Koei-jen. Apparently the intention was to use it as base for inroads into Great Palūr. A successful advance took place in the year 753 AD (BECKWITH 1987: 141). The capital of Great Palūr P'u-sa-lao or Ho-sa-lao was reached and conquered. The identification with Katsura proposed by TUC-CI (1977: 83) is realistic.

Maybe to improve the readiness for collaboration the military district was raised to the status of a tributary kingdom. The encyclopedia quoted by CHAVANNES speaks of a “Kingdom of Koei-jen”, the king of Koei-jen sent an ambassador to the Chinese court with gratitude for the favours shown to him (CHAVANNES 1903/4 n.a.). Notes of that kind occur for the years 748 (p 80), 752 (p 85), 753 (p 86), and 755 (p 93).

Afterwards “Little Palūr” and the corresponding military district do no longer appear in the Chinese reports. The height of Chinese

supremacy and Pan-Asiatic interests was over. Islamic sources starting with AZRAQĪ still know the term Bolōr (BECKWITH 1987: 157-163).

But already this first reference to Bolor in AZRAQĪ (1965: 229) confirms what is evident: all mountain valleys south of the main ranges of the Hindukush and Karakorum (in the west including regions which at present belong to Chitral – we may assume) finally came under Tibetan control. Whether domination was mainly guaranteed by garrisons headed by generals and ministers, or by the appointment of a prince taken from the local nobility is not clear. My thesis is that the king of Dāradas, who had his ancestral seat in the Kishanganga valley, was selected by the Tibetans for this task. Due to the position of his traditional territory he was a useful ally as he could exert pressure on Kashmir. Kashmir had – in vain – supported the Chinese position in the mountains. The conclusion resulting from this historical survey is rather unambiguous:

The colophons of the so-called “Gilgit Manuscripts”, subjected by O.v. HINÜBER to a careful examination, mention in four of ten cases kings of the Paṭola dynasty as sponsors. Their queens – with differentiating titles, appear as well. Other contributing devotees had maybe important functions at the court. Names with the element “simha” are frequent, but no bearer of such a name had a position comparable to the governor, who constructed “his” town (in the name of an “absent overlord”) at Hatun. No doubt, at the top of the hierarchy of worshippers was a Paṭola Śāhi.

That is not compatible with the situation we must expect at Gilgit. There the governor had a key position and would appear as one of the main donators competing with the king.

## *2. Archaeological Monuments of the Gilgit Region. Tentative Chronology and Cultural Relations.*

In case that we persist maintaining the previously generally accepted thesis that Gilgit was the centre of the area where diligent scribes produced the famous manuscripts, we must imagine an ambience charged with Buddhist devotion. To find out whether that is realistic, it is necessary to check the information available about Buddhist monuments in this area. Without imposing any chrono-



logical concept I arrange them according to the time of their discovery – that may be corrected in a later survey:

1. The most spectacular evidence was already published by BIDDULPH and described by STEIN as follows:

The “figure of a colossal Buddha, about nine feet in height, carved in low relief within a shallow niche of trefoil shape... . Buddha is represented as standing with the right hand and forearm raised across the breast, in the gesture which, in Buddhist convention, is known as the *-abhayamudrā* (“the pose of assuring safety”), while the left hangs down grasping the edge of the robe. The robe is indicated only at the sides of the figure from the hip downwards, and leaves the limbs entirely bare ...” (STEIN 1907/1975: 18, Fig 1, drawing in BIDDULPH 1880: 108-111). STEIN observes parallels to a stucco figure from Dandān-Uiliq, assigned to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, but adds that the pointed form of the trefoil arch pleads for still a later date.

What is still lacking in this context is a systematic comparison with the reliefs which exist in great numbers in Baltistan. In the work of SNELGROVE/SKORUPSKI (1977, 1980) many of them are published, but without an attempt to bring them into a reasonable dated sequence. Famous is a masterly relief in a place called Mantal at the Satpura lake near Skardu (DUNCAN 1906: 297-307), another very flat relief was discovered by H. HAUPTMANN on the old track from Skardu to Shigar (JETTMAR 1990: 811, Fig 10). Shortly after the visit (when a good photo was taken) it was destroyed.

Due to the lack of a systematic study it would be difficult to propose datings for this group of relics. The only preliminary assessment possible now is that they were carved during the time when these areas were under Tibetan control before or after the fall of the central monarchy.

2. In the same book, STEIN describes a stūpa which he had seen during his journey to Hunza on the Nager-side near the hamlet of Thōl. Originally the stūpa had a height of 20 feet. It was built from unhewn slabs fixed by a fairly hard plaster, which was also used for the coating. The base was quadrangular, each side 80 feet long. The next storey, set back, was quadrangular as well, the third one was a smaller octogone, followed by a circular drum, on top of

that there was an apparently hemispherical dome. Each storey was topped by a cornice. As STEIN did not identify clear parallels, he was reminded of "chortens of Sikkim and Ladakh" (STEIN 1907/1975: 20).

STEIN had already heard of ancient "ruined mounds" in the environs of Gilgit, most probably stūpas. He was not in a position to visit those monuments nor others noted by the British officers on duty in Gilgit "at Hanzil and Jutiāl" (STEIN 1907/1975: 19).

3. Apparently the building at Hanzil was badly damaged already by that time. A "decidedly circular" mound was all what was recognizable in a still earlier photograph (taken by the Pamir Boundary Commission), mentioned by STEIN as worthy to be preserved. Only a heap of stones near the road is left now and therefore without any chance to be preserved.

4. The ruined mound at Jutiāl is almost certainly the so-called monument of the "Taj Moghol" which is situated on a small plateau jutting out from the mountain slope leading down to Jutiāl. This landmark should not be destroyed, therefore careful excavation would be appropriate. Taj Moghol is an important figure in the lore of Gilgit, allegedly a pious invader from the north propagating and even coercing the population to embrace the Ismaelian belief.

5. It is strange that the more spectacular monuments situated at the western edge of the plateau towering above the plain which is taken up by the township of Gilgit were not mentioned. The next hamlet is Naupur, formerly called Amsar. Here there was a chain of four stūpas (A-D). In 1931, according to reports given to HACKIN (printed by LÉVI 1932) and A. STEIN, in the largest building (stūpa C), wooden beams became visible due to the erosion, which had in the course of many centuries worn out the previous outer coating of a "fairly hard plaster". The stūpa is described as an edifice "roundish in form", three storeys high. (It is not clear whether there had been more storeys on top.) The base, however, was quadrangular. It was still visible when I visited the building myself in the year 1958. Treasure seekers have searched again in the meantime and have carried away the rubble down to the natural soil. The building apparently had some similarity to the stūpa

still seen by STEIN at Thöl, in the Hunza valley. The villagers pulled out the wooden beams which had suddenly appeared in the stūpa and entered through the hole into a hidden chamber. There they found the first batch of the manuscripts. STEIN saw them in a wooden box in the office of the Tahsildar. Some leaves reached Europe and gained much interest.

Systematic excavation started in 1938 when it became clear that the base, so far intact, enshrined another larger chamber sheltering other manuscripts and votive objects, among them (almost certainly) Buddhist cult bronzes. Their inscriptions reveal that they were produced and dedicated due to the generosity and the religious zeal of a Paṭola Śāhi.

The story of these discoveries and the consequences for the interpretation was subject of a study which appeared in English and German in the same year (JETTMAR 1981/1981a). Here it is sufficient to say that my interpretation was accepted, but restraint was prevalent in respect to my additional hypothesis that the manuscripts were copied in a monastery near Skardu and only later on transferred to Gilgit. There they were finally buried as one of the Concealed Treasures according to a concept strongly influencing the rise of esoteric Buddhism (cf DARGYAY 1977).

6. In a study published in 1932, Sir Aurel STEIN wrote about a find of ancient jewellery in Yasin. Most of the objects might be attributed to an early period, as he assumed, second or third century AD. But the figure of a Buddha on a lotus-seat belongs to the group presented by U.v. SCHRÖDER (1981: 65-98, esp the plates 7 and 8). In this publication similar pieces are indiscriminately brought together under the localization "Swat valley" with dates between the late 6<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD.

TODD, political agent of Gilgit, told STEIN that they all came from one mound, but STEIN was rather inclined to believe that they were from different localities. In any case, they were found on a plateau above the right bank of the Yasin river, called Dasht-i-Taus (STEIN 1932: 103). Local people told me in 1978 that the objects came indeed from a mound which later was totally destroyed by illicit digging. I saw the place, it has become a hollow which is the result of later excavations on the same spot.

In case that the objects came from the central chamber of a stūpa dating is hardly possible for such relics.

7. A larger boulder with a triangular base decorated with reliefs was unearthed in a field near the village Bubur in Punyal. On two sides there are figures of *Śākyamuni*, life size, standing, one with clothings like those on the Gilgit relief. The third facet shows a sitting *Padmapāṇi* wearing a three-pointed crown under a sort of pointed arch (?). On the level of the feet of the standing Buddhas there are two smaller reliefs, each depicting a sitting *Mañjuśrī*. The owner of the field was considerably worried by that strange apparition and asked immediately for gunpowder. That may explain why neither more reliefs nor other remains of that kind are known: blasting was always the easiest way to escape further irritations by evil spirits or inquisitive European visitors. By paying a generous reward to the landowner and promising further gains on my next visit, I tried to keep the owner interested in conservation. I was not successful: the (late) prince, Ali Ahmad Jan, then chief of the Gilgit police (SSP), otherwise helpful to scholars like G. FUSSMAN and me, ordered to transport the boulder to Gilgit (which was impossible without mutilations), to split it into halves and to fix the more representative half as decoration to the wall of his private house. My report and my photographs remain the only documentation. The attempt to make plaster casts failed due to a heavy rainfall (JETTMAR 1985: 214, Pl III, IV). The case of the mutilated boulder is wellknown to the authorities (DANI 1989: 163, Pl 17).

Not included in this list is a completely destroyed relief, maybe a fasting Buddha, which was still visible until recently in the Sai valley. A local mullah had incited the boys to throw stones on this "demon". From Sai relatively easy tracks were leading down along the Indus, on the other hand here was an important station of the route Skardu-Gilgit, and maybe the first foothold for the Paṭola refugee before he entered the areas held by the successors of Makar Singh. It is certainly an interesting subject for future excavation.

The overview must mention the petroglyphs.

1. Images and inscriptions - not all of them prove the Buddhist background of the involved person - are frequent between Alam Bridge and the exit from the Rondu gorge. They occur beyond the confluence of the rivers Gilgit and Indus on the opposite (western) bank as well.

2. A large cluster was found in the site called Hunza-Haldeikish. This will be the subject of an article by G. FUSSMAN, with my comments.

3. In Punyal, Tibetan inscriptions and stūpa-bruisings, attributed by K. SAGASTER and his collaborators not to Buddhists but to Bonpos, were observed near the mouth of the Karumbar brook, on the opposite (southern) bank of the Gilgit river. The producers were certainly foreigners but neither traders nor pilgrims of the usual kind. According to the titles mentioned in two inscriptions, they belonged to the ruling elite.

4. The engravings of a stūpa together with a Tibetan inscription were observed very near to the top of the Darkot pass but still on the southern side. STEIN made the observation, FRANCKE the translation (STEIN 1928/1981: 46). Nearby a "modern" inscription was found, maybe made on order of an uncle of the dreaded Gohar Aman. (A similarly late inscription was recently seen by Mr Abbas Qasmi.) But we are here at the fringe of a territory with different traditions. In the Pamirs inscriptions from the Islamic period are frequent, there was no fundamental rejection of the use of petroglyphs for religious purposes - but their avoidance is typical for Dardic territories (ROZENFEL'D-KOLESNIKOV 1963, 1969, 1985).

5. and 6. We already mentioned royal inscriptions. They were made either in the name of a Paṭola or according to the order of a later member of this family. One inscription - at Hatun - has been discussed, a new approach can be found in this volume. The other one is still waiting for a comprehensive publication, v. HIN-ÜBER has spread information over several articles so far (1980, 1986/87, 1989, 1989a).

No other rock-inscriptions are known along the Gilgit river and its tributaries. We may explain this deficiency by a lower standard of education, maybe literacy was conspicuously rare in the region. But in this case it is relevant that Buddhist carvings are surprisingly seldom, almost exceptions.

7. Near the confluence of the Chaprot brook with the Hunza river there is a green hollow, a peaceful corner where the visitor would imagine the residence of a monastic community. There I saw stūpa-carvings, very simple and corresponding to a late stage in the development of such motifs in the Chilas area.

8. In the western part of the Gilgit district, formerly Kuh and

Ghizr, among hundreds of carvings and bruising there are mainly animals, sometimes also men on foot or horseback. Some of the figures which I called "stūpa-derivates" in many studies (eg JETMAR 1983: 771) occur, too. They, however, are rare, not very typical, and definitely late. A great number of petroglyphs was found in Yasin, at the Gilgit-Yasin confluence, and in the main valley immediately bordering this area on the western side.

9. In the meantime I know that Gilgit proper is almost entirely encircled by rock-carvings. In the area where the Hunza river flows into the Gilgit river there is a considerable density, and interesting motifs have been observed. But even there the result is negative: no Buddhist carvings, no inscriptions.

An unexpected confirmation of my impression, that even intense and unbiased re-studies of this region would not change the present rather disappointing situation, namely the absence of Buddhist material, was adduced by the investigations of a German colleague, U.W. HALLIER (1991). Because he was aware of his informal position, without contact to our team or institutions in Pakistan, he directed his attention to the areas not mentioned in my field reports (JETMAR 1977: 918). The article where I had reported my previous experiences and had predicted rock-carvings of mainly ethnographic interest outside the main traffic routes had been unknown to him. He discovered animals, hunters and rarely abstract symbols on the rocks - some men on foot or on horseback using sophisticated "reflex"-bows. There could be no better proof for my initial opinion which for a long time had prevented me to devote my time to an undifferentiated and only superficially datable material, with hunting magic as an unsatisfactory explanation. This evaluation was confirmed once more during my own expedition in 1988 - without knowing of HALLIER's journey. I saw some datable carvings, not recognized as something special by HALLIER (demons with a circular body and an axe as head certainly reflect intrusive ideas from the Indus valley). The equally overlooked images of the rubab, a musical instrument used during religious ceremonies, show the impact of mystic Islam. That is an important proof that here, contrary to the Chilas area, rock-carvings were not condemned after the conversion to Islam. The main result, however, is confirmed: in the catchment area of the Gilgit river, animals were the main topic of rock-art, sometimes arranged with humans into hunting scenes, a few foreign elements were

integrated. They are depicted throughout many centuries, styles and techniques change. Attempts to date them, sometimes by comparison to distant but well-studied centres, offer hints – but no proofs.

This statement has interesting implications, eg, for the relations with the tribes living in the Pamir. But as far as the negative evidence is important: we cannot produce substantial arguments that the population in the northernmost valleys of (present) Pakistan were Buddhists in the time preceding Tibetan dominance and Chinese intervention. Most of the monuments in the Gilgit basin mentioned in this article – the actual stūpas, the few stūpa-engravings, the Tibetan inscriptions of Buddhist content, and certainly the relief at the mouth of the Kar-gah were made during or after the time when Little Palūr was under Tibetan sovereignty.

In this context the inscriptions at Hatun and Danyor were exceptions, but not more, made on order of an overlord who had his residence not at Gilgit (otherwise the governor Makar Singh would not have spoken superciliously as he did). Maybe around the town of Gilgit the non-Buddhist feelings were still too strong, therefore a new residence was established – but it got the name after the representative of a local clan.

We cannot avoid the disappointing conclusion that apart from the two “official” inscriptions made in connection with the “foreign” Paṭolas we neither find evidence nor necessary ambience for a centre of Buddhist learning in Little Palūr. We might even suspect that the Paṭola refugee had brought the library with him because he wanted to appear as a champion for higher Buddhist civilisation.

### *3. From the Integration of Bolōr into the Tibetan Empire to the Takeover by the Trakhane Dynasty.*

Neither Chinese nor Tibetan sources are available for the following period. Their place is now taken by informations written in Arabic (mainly notices of Bīrūnī) and Persian (Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam) in spite of the fact that the region of the mountains between the Hindukush and the westernmost Himalayas remained outside the Islamic world for the next centuries. But notices told by these authors can only be transformed into a coherent history by includ-

ing passages from the Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and the so-called Saka-Itinerary from Khotan, now kept in the India Office Library describing a journey from Khotan to Kashmir in the time of the King Abhimanyū (958-972 AD). This text and the translation were published by H.W. BAILEY (1936, 1968) and commented by MORGENSTIERNE (1942).

The earliest notice, however, referring to the area has a most interesting background. As thoroughly explained by BECKWITH (1987: 159-162), there was a conflict between al'Amīn, son of the calif Harun al'Rashid, and the other heir to the throne, al'Ma'mun. Al'Ma'mun had tried to bolster his position by an alliance with powers which up to then had been dangerous enemies, namely the "Qaghan of Tibet", the Yabghu of the Qarlug, the "King Utrārbandah" and the king of Kabul. Al'Amīn could only achieve that malicious alliance by entering into negotiations with the Central Asian states himself. However, the sudden death of al'Amīn changed the situation completely, the position of al'Ma'mun became unchallengeable. So al'Ma'mun's experienced vizier al'Faḍl b. Sahl was appointed viceroy with the task to lead campaigns against the four states involved in the alliance (BECKWITH 1987: 160).

The first victim of the war of revenge was the king of Kabul, who submitted and embraced Islam sometime between 812/813 and 814/815 AD. Due to their exposed position, the kings of Kabul had to undergo several enforced and promptly renounced conversions. As a symbol of obsequiousness a golden idol in the shape of a man and a pertinent silver square throne were delivered to al'Ma'mun who sent these objects to Mecca as trophies to be stored in the treasury of the Ka'ba. The objects were melted down to make coins, but the golden crown taken from the head of the statue and a silver tablet, both provided with memorial inscriptions, were preserved up to the time when AZRAQĪ wrote his famous work: "Description and History of the Town Mecca". In his book copies of the inscriptions made by the author were included. Several authors translated the text or gave comments: WÜSTENFELD (1858), MICHAJLOVA (1951), MANDEL'STAM (1967), GHAFUOR (1955/56), MADELUNG (1981) and BECKWITH (1987: 161-162).

In this context it is important that the ruler of Kabul (mentioned in the description of the statue, rendered to AZRAQĪ by Sa'id b.



Yahyā of Balkh) is called “a King among the Kings of Tibet”. That means that in the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD the Tibetan sphere of influence included even Kabul! The other valuable message is that in the frontier regions there were evidently several kings and princes under the overlordship of the Tibetan “qaghan”.

The next campaign was directed against Tibet and Kashmir. Al' Faḍl b. Sahl entered the mountains and “was victorious in the Wakhan and in Ravere of the country Bolōr, over the ruler of the mountains of the qaghan and of the mountains of Tibet” (MICHAJLOVA 1951: 17). Tibetan cavalymen and their commander were captured and sent to Baghdad.

It is not clear what the expressions “mountains of the qaghan” and “mountains of Tibet” mean, in fact the text is “more than a little corrupt” (BECKWITH 1987: 162). My explanation is that in order to keep Kabul safely under control it was necessary for the Muslims to destroy the Tibetan stronghold in Wakhan – and to cut the alternative route along the Kunar river to Laghman. Therefore an inroad into Chitral was necessary. Apparently in these days Bolōr included Chitral as well, and the westernmost district was known under the name “Ravere”. (Another name of such a district is known from one of the rock-inscriptions discovered near Chilas: “Avardi”). It is interesting that this inroad was also considered as an energetic gesture against Kashmir.

In Chitral there is an oral tradition which says that after the time when the Chinese ruled the country, an invasion by an Arab (not simply by an Islamic) army took place. They entered via the Baroghil pass and were victorious in a bloody battle, the local ruler “Bahman Kohistani” died fighting with valour. But that remained an episode, the foreign forces withdrew. It is tempting to explain this tale as reverberation of historical reality.

We may summarize the notice as confirmation that the area of Little Bolōr then formed part of the Tibetan empire, either administrated directly or as one of the vassal kingdoms. The second possibility, indirect rule, is more probable, and that was the basis for Bolōr to achieve complete independence after the collapse of the Tibetan empire in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The next cluster of pertinent information, however, comes one and a half centuries later at the turn to the second millennium AD. The anonymous “Persian Geography” (Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam) written in

982 AD calls Bolōr a vast country - with a king who declares himself to be Son of the Sun. He has the title Bulūrīn-shāh.

Surprisingly well informed via different "channels" was Bīrūnī. The bulk of his references was included in his work on India. Geographical whereabouts are properly indicated: on the route to the mountains of Unang, settled by Turks, where "the river Sindh rises", "leaving the ravine by which you enter Kashmir, and entering the plateau, then you have for a march of two more days on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamilan". The mountains mentioned here certainly correspond to what we now call the "Gilgit Karakorum", south of the Gilgit river, and the westernmost Himalayas, on both sides of the Babusar. That is compatible with the name of the towns then mentioned by Bīrūnī, namely Gilgit, Aswira = Astor and Shiltas = Chilas.

But then we are confronted with a problem: the inhabitants are described as "Turkish tribes who are called Bhattavaryan. Their king has the title Bhatta-Shah" (SACHAU 1880: 278). (Only two pages earlier we found another name apparently for the same person: "Bolor-Shah".) Bīrūnī clearly says that the "Bhattavaryan" speak a Turkish language, and "Kashmir suffers much of their inroads".

Taken at face value, this note seems to indicate a complete change of the ethnic situation in Bolōr, an immigration of Turkish tribes. That might be possible. Such a transition - at least the change from one dominant language to quite a different one - happened in Baltistan. There the languages of the indigenous population either of Dardic or pre-Indo-European origin - as is indicated by peculiarities in the Buddhist manuscripts - were replaced by the language of settlers arriving from the east speaking Tibetan dialects.

I saw this possibility already in 1977 when I wrote a contribution to the political and ethnic geography of North Pakistan, but I was well aware that the present ethnographic and linguistic situation in the valleys north of the Gilgit river excludes an attempt to assert a massive immigration of Turkish tribes into the former territories of Little Palūr. Some identic roots are attested in Dardic and Turkish languages, but they are no arguments indicating an ethnic stratification.

The better explanation is that Bīrūnī (or rather his informants) did not differentiate between Tibetans and Turks. The situation was

clearly seen by STEIN (1900 II: 363 n. 64). I quote his remark: "Albērūnī's Bhatta may possibly represent the term Bhuṭṭa or Bhauṭṭa (the modern Kashmiri Buṭ<sup>a</sup>) which is applied in the Sanskrit chronicles to the population of Tibetan descent generally, from Ladākḥ to Baltistan. Albērūnī calls their language Turkish, but it must be remembered that he had spoken previously of 'the Turks of Tibet' as holding the country to the east of Kaśmir. There Tibetans in Ladākḥ and adjacent districts are clearly intended."

In spite of that information and the linguistic situation which is characterized by the absence of solidly identified Turkish loanwords in the Dardic languages, a Turkish invasion under their own rulers strangely coincided with the apex of Tibetan power in former Palūr, is presented as historical reality by A.H. DANI (1989: 157) in the "History of the Northern Areas". We read: "This incursion of Turkish rulers after the fall of the Patola Shahis towards the second half of the eighth century AD is a new phenomenon in the history of this region. It is significant that in their inscriptions they do not at all bear the title of Shahi. At the same time they do not appear to have been followers of Buddhism." Besides, the non-Buddhist invaders are identified with, or successors of, the "Mlecchas and Turushkas" who "had taken possession of the land that lay beyond in the north, with which the Kashmirian King had no connection at all." (DANI 1989: 153).

Here a short explanation is necessary. Looting may have started earlier, still in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but starting from the period when Ananta (1028-1063 AD) ruled in Kashmir, we learn repeatedly of inroads made by the Dārada-Ṣāhis. Such raids re-occur during the following reigns up to the time of Yayasimha (1128-1149) (STEIN 1900 II: 505, ie index). In these wars of conquest, the Dārada-king used to be supported by Barbarian chieftains and their hordes. The author of the "History", Prof DANI, (1989: 153) was firmly convinced that the proper Dārada-kingdom "was then limited to the upper Kishanganga valley" - consequently he considered Mlecchas and Turushkas as an independent force, as allies, maybe followers of a non-Indian religion, then occupying the place of the former state of Little Palūr.

Bīrūnī, in his book on precious stones, which was very carefully translated into Russian by BELENICKIJ (1962, an English translation, which appeared in Pakistan 1989 is not so well annotated)

directed much attention to the mountains of Central Asia, a region exporting so many costly minerals and metals. He even included new information not contained in his work on India. In the chapter dealing with “stories about gold and gold-mines” we learn that the Bhattavaryan are the inhabitants of the country called Dardar. In the same context he says explicitly that in this case he uses the term which he learned from the Indians in Kashmir. There is only one explication for this remark: Bīrūnī became aware that the land of the Bhattavaryan is known to the Indians under the ancient term Dardar, which never became popular in Central Asia in spite of new political conditions.

We see that we must not split a political unit into two parts simply because we have to deal with two terminological traditions. Such confronting traditions are frequent. The Chinese always spoke of “Little Palūr” – the Tibetans stuck to the name “Bruža” for the same territory.

The most convincing proof, however, that there was only one state which included all areas between the Gilgit valley and the Kishanganga valley, is the so-called “Saka-Itinerary” – already mentioned as a major source (BAILEY 1936, 1968).

The Saka-Itinerary remained unknown in Pakistan (there are as is the case in Germany – too many universities, but a deficiency of good libraries). The text should not be overlooked henceforth, so I quote the passage with the introductory remark, that the traveller who left the description of the route from Sarikol to Kashmir did not try to use the Hunza gorge but made a wide detour to the west using one of the passes between Irshād Uwin and Baroghil. After crossing the pass he went southwards maybe via Yasin. After that he entered the district of “Prušava”, ie he came to the area formerly called Bruža. We read: “There the head (source) of the Golden Water issues. There is the first town Syadiṃ by name; on the mountain top are three *saṃghārāmas*. From there six days by land is a town Baurbura by name. A great river Sīna by name exists. There men cross on *byāḍa* (inflated skins?). Four *saṃghārāmas* are there, beside the river are village quarters (of buildings). From that southwards along the river a great town Gīḍagittā by name. There are eight stone *saṃghārāmas*. The king’s residences are there, in four districts. From that southwards is the road to the Indian country. Along the Golden River there upon the river bank is a great city (*kṣīra*) Śilathasa by name. There beside the river are

village's quarters (of buildings). Upon the river bank are pomegranate trees. Afterwards they cross over by *byaḍa*(skins?). From Śiḍathasa to Tṭiḍi (\**tartiya*-, crossing-place) eight days (on) land southwards, along the river are walnut-trees, and *banāva*-trees. Then also are *devadāru*-trees. There monkeys live. The Tṭiḍi (crossing-place) is Maṃgalacakra by name. The king lives there. This is the first Indian town toward Kaśmira. Upon the mountain there is one (*saṃghārāma*?) southwards on the Mahuvi river bank.” (BAILEY 1968: 71).

The deciding statement is that the king has his residence in Gilgit (in four quarters: that is quite realistic as Gilgit previously got its water from several streamlets and was therefore an agglomeration of separate hamlets) – but at present he lives in Maṃgalacakra, a border town to Kashmir which may be called an Indian settlement. Maybe Maṃgalacakra was the camp for rallying the army and for negotiating with the mercenaries waiting for the golden opportunity to start a raid into Kashmir. In peaceful times and during winter, when the passes to Kashmir were snowbound (esp the Tragbal), the king shifted to Gilgit.

Certainly a large area was included in an integrated political and economic system guaranteeing internal peace and security. Otherwise the great number of (Buddhist) monasteries cannot be explained. It seems that Buddhism in the Gilgit valley before the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD was stronger than ever before. Religious dissensions, however, are indicated by other sources.

Compared to this compound of large valleys surrounded by extensive high meadows, a state restricted to the arable lands along the Kishanganga = Mahuvi river, with rather poor grazing grounds in the neighbourhood would be in an inferior position. Therefore the Dāradas are hardly mentioned in earlier books of the *Rājatarāṅginī*. The Dārada state alone (maybe the rest of a larger political unit) would have been unable to obtain a key position in the predatory wars against Kashmir. The precondition for the aggressive activities in the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century AD was the merging of the mountain kingdoms Bolōr and Dardar under one dynasty of kings who had Sanskrit names and were perhaps followers of a syncretistic religion.

Already in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD the Dārada state had been able to exert pressure on the Śāhis, who after the loss of Kabul, had transferred their capital to Udabhaṇḍa (=Hund) near the Kabul-Indus

confluence. But that had apparently been an action in coordination with the official policy of Kashmir. Its ruler Saṅkaravarman (883-902 AD) did not appreciate a new power so close to the gate of the valley. So he made the strategic error to weaken one of his potential allies in the ongoing contest with the Muslim enemy.

In earlier studies, I submitted the hypothesis that the unification of Bolōr and the Dārada state was initiated by the Tibetans themselves – the Dārada-Ṣāhis had previously offered services to them and were therefore invested with the governorship of Bolōr. That makes sense, but remains guesswork so far.

An important factor was not yet mentioned – the existence of “Bolorian Tibet”. Even if Little Palūr – then Bolōr – was well protected under the control of a local dynasty, on its eastern flank there existed a sort of thoroughfare for invaders from the north. This opportunity was certainly used by Tibetans and Turkish tribesmen, perhaps mixed hordes of adventurers. The open region is mentioned in the “Persian Geography” (1937: 93) under the name “Bolorian Tibet”, explained as “a province of Tibet adjoining the confines of Bolōr. The people are chiefly merchants and live in tents and felt-huts. The country is 15 days’ journey long and a 15 days’ journey wide.” (MINORSKY 1937: 93).

This Bolorian Tibet must be identical with former Great Palūr, including Baltistan, maybe Purig and Ladākh as well. In case that the ethnographic description is not too misleading, we must acknowledge a considerable reduction of agricultural activities since the days of the Great Palūrian state. That implies a reduced capacity to offer subsistence for the population. Only in the eastern part of that large territory, there are open meadows large enough to sustain a numerous population of animal breeders.

Just in that period many high and difficult passes between the Mustagh and the Biafon-la were used for building up a traffic system between the southwestern corner of the Tarim Basin and the Indus/Shyok with many connections to the south.

Information on the often incredible tracks were collected and published by R. VOHRA (1987). May I add that the ongoing melting of the glaciers at the northern fringe of the Tibetan plateau caused a considerable reduction of the areas fit for agriculture along the upper course of rivers like Raskam, Tiznaf and Qaraqash. As an example for a country disappearing from the later records we may mention Tūmat (MINORSKY 1937: 259-269), situa-

ted south of Khotan. It was able to feed a Tibetan garrison in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, ie it could produce a considerable surplus. As long as there were villages here, caravans with the destination Leh, Khapalu and Skardu found provision and guides on their route, maybe also bridges and skinrafts.

Perhaps the foundation of the joint “Little Bolōr-Dārada” state was the reason to look for caravan routes further to the east. Maybe this state - with the Chinese, Tibetan, Kashmiri (under Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa) and Arab invasions in mind - had decided to reorganize the trade: only by its own staff and on its own account. In any case, Ibn Khurdādbeh preserved a note that a certain tribe of infidels had the privilege to carry merchandise from Multān across the mountains, even goods which came from China or had China as final destination (JAFAREY 1979: 213-214).

One result of that shifting of routes to the east, including as well the point of departure for the caravans trekking southwards, was that Khotan could improve its connections with the lands south of the main Karakorum range.

The rulers of Khotan had a traditional tendency to maintain a cordial alliance with China and to preserve an independent position in relation to Tibet, but as soon as “Tibetan predominance replaced Chinese control throughout the Tarim Basin from the close of the eighth century” (STEIN 1907: 178), active collaboration with the superior neighbour Tibet became unavoidable and even profitable. Good diplomatic and personal contacts with the Turkish tribes which had appeared on the scene in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD - partly in the service of the Tibetans - were equally important. The success of this policy is reflected in a notice of Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam (MINORSKY 1937: 85): we learn that the king of Khotan lives in a large state and calls himself “Lord of Turks and Tibetans”. In order to secure his position, one of the kings of Khotan, Vijaya Saṅgrāma (FRANCKE 1929: 152), married Hu-roṅ-ga, daughter of “Hphrom Gesar” the king of the Turks.

In the meantime we know from a better evaluation of Tibetan texts and numismatic investigation (HUMBACH 1983, 1987) - that Gesar, Kēsaro, etc are renderings of a title which was used by chiefs of Turkish descent as an alternative to the “indigenous” designations.

But in spite of the close and fruitful coordination of interests joining Tibet and Khotan on the level of foreign affairs, the sym-

pathy of the population of Khotan and the hopes for a brighter future were directed towards China. This is reflected in a Buddhist text preserved in a Tibetan translation, in fact a sort of *sūtra* including several *dhāraṇīs*, the so-called “Inquiry of *Vimalaprabhā*”, published and commented by THOMAS (1935: 258). What is presented as a prediction is in fact a historical report. It is the history of the “Kings of Skar-rdo”, their relations with the dynasty of Khotan and the fateful events caused by the Tibetans and their barbarian allies. Salvation is expected by the interference of China. THOMAS was convinced that the adventurous story – told as *ex eventu* prophecy – had a concrete background, namely the integration of Baltistan into the Tibetan empire between 722 AD and 756 AD. In case that THOMAS offers a realistic explanation, it would be a grave neglect not to include this material in my report on Great Palūr, because the capital of Great Palūr was certainly in the basin of Skardu and we may assume that Khotan, which remained a dependency of China during the same period, was involved in the diplomatic and martial activities forcing the ruler of a border state to take refuge in the areas further to the east.

Writing about the religions of the Hindukush I referred to the material discussed by THOMAS in several respects (JETTMAR 1975: 299-312). Apparently there are allusions to spiritual concepts which are preserved until the present day, integrated into the mythical lore of the dynasty.

In the meantime I know that the historical background of the *ex eventu* prophecy was not the initial conquest of Great Palūr = Baltistan by the Tibetan empire. I already submitted my arguments (JETTMAR 1990), but since they also shed light on the events in Bolorian Tibet, they must be discussed here.

No Paṭola is mentioned in the text of the “Inquiry”, the names rather fit into the tradition typical for the dynasty of Khotan. Besides, apart from the states and their rulers, dangerous tribesmen, the “Wild Men”, the Sum-pas and the “Gold Race” are mentioned. Since the Paṭolas ruled their territories through centuries, it is doubtful whether such independent forces existed in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. And it is questionable whether somebody could hope – in the time of the Great Kings of Tibet – to influence political decisions by rich gifts (THOMAS 1935: 161) including the attempt to buy out the Tibetans from Khotan.

The story told here would appear much more realistic if we ad-



mitted that the model in the mind of the narrator was the state of affairs between the decline of the Tibetan empire in the early 9<sup>th</sup> and the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, and before Khotan became a Muslim kingdom ruled by Yūsuf Qadr Khān.

In fact, we rather find an encoded description of the conditions transforming former Great Palūr into Bolorian Tibet – a country maybe ruled for a while as a dependency of Khotan. In any case, we have to reckon with Tibetans and Turks, maybe belonging to the same fighting force. But certainly in the remote valleys, descendants of the earlier population survived maintaining goldwashing as a traditional occupation – and an elevated position of the ladies as a local peculiarity.

Xuanzang was informed that the “Land of Gold”, *Suvarṇagotra* (Tib. Gser-rigs) was identical with one of the kingdoms ruled by women where the male ruler had no authority but all affairs were directed by his wife: “The men manage the wars and sow the land, that is all”. This state in the mountains is mentioned in several Sanskrit texts, it cannot be identical with another state equally ruled by women in southeastern Tibet (THOMAS 1935: I, 151-152). This association is based on local folklore and is used for the localization of a famous legend in the area. It forms part of the “Inquiry”. We are told that five hundred traders “who through desire for gold came to the mountain of the Gold Race were well received by as many ladies of the country, with seductive blandishments and extreme tenderness.” Indulged in the “pleasure of desire” the visitors did not recognize that their beloved were mandevouring *rākṣasīs*. An attack on the former lovers was to happen before the arrival of a new party of foreigners. However, that time the caravan-leader was a *Bodhisattva*, moreover he had begotten a daughter with the female ruler Hu-śa. The girl gave him a warning of the imminent danger. Besides the *Bodhisattva* was able to relieve his consort of the spell which had been cast on her because of a sin in a former existence. So the daughter eventually married a man who performed the duties of the ruler. The feminist interlude with special attractions came to an end.

One thing had puzzled THOMAS and his readers: when Hu-śa appears in her demonic shape with skins as clothes, she has no ears: they had been cut off (this observation saved the *Bodhisattva*). THOMAS tried his best to prove that the animal with the small ears must be the marmot. However, the ears of marmots are not

big but they are thickly fringed with hair on both sides. And I never heard of demonic qualities attributed to this nice and harmless animal. An animal definitely considered as demonic and fitting into the description is the Himalayan otter. The external ear pinnae are very small and capable of being pressed back against the skull when under water (ROBERTS 1977: 124-127).

This digression was necessary because the legend of origin composed for the Tarakhané dynasty (which died out in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century AD in Gilgit, but ruled by sidelines of the family until recently in Hunza and Nager) includes among other motifs - some of which are quite decent and honourable with clear loans from literary traditions, others with mythical elements - that the founder came from Baltistan.

"Tarakhan" is a local variation of Turkish "*tarqan* (pl *tarqat*)", Mongolian "*darhan*, *darqan* (pl *darhat*), *darqat*" (VLADIMIRTSOV 1948: 151) signifying a man who has attained his position by his own bravery. The original meaning was "blacksmith", according to ALFÖLDY (1932), and that is plausible, as this profession was necessary for nomads. Therefore this craftsman had a position apart from the web of kinship. The meaning was "specialist" - corresponding to the word "smith" which also included woodcarvers etc.

There is no argument against the inevitable conclusion, namely that the ancestor belonged to the wave of Turkish (and Tibetan) warriors crossing the passes of the Karakorum on their way southwards, some of them settling in the mountain valleys. The most frequented route was via the Mustagh - with the Shigar valley as next and pleasant part of the route.

This interpretation is inconsistent with the version which became known by the publication of the "Genealogical account of the ruling families of Hunza, Nager and Gilgit ..." in the book of MÜLLER-STELLRECHT (1979: 290) based on the notes collected by LORIMER: "Two princes of Persia, named Abul Ghani, having been exiled from their motherland, came to Baltistan - Skardu and Shigar - after travelling through India and Kashmir, and entered Baltistan across the Zoji La Pass."

However, this prelude to the genealogy which allowed the late Shah Rais Khan to make the claim of Sasanian origin of his ancestors, is the weakest link in a chain of semi-mythical and pseudo-historical information.

The relatively firm point (supported by simplified versions I have heard in several villages) is the former stay in the Shigar valley – famous for gold-washing and as temporary home of migrants arriving from the north. Maybe the valley was identified with the legendary land of gold and women.

That would explain how a version of the legend spread over large parts of the Buddhist *koine*. Included in the “Inquiry of *Vimala-prabhā*” it reappears in the “Genealogical Account” (290-291): “The ruler of Shigar at that time was a woman who considered that her position placed her above the ordinary restraints of chastity. She was in the habit of making a secret alliance with any handsome youth who for the moment caught her fancy. When a child was born the father was quietly done away with. A boy baby was similarly put to death, but a girl baby was allowed to live and was carefully reared so that after the mother’s death there might be a female heir to inherit the throne.

Then this wanton queen came to know of the arrival of the two Persian princes at Shigar, she sent for them and fell in love with Abul Faiz at first sight. She proposed to him that he should live with her as her paramour. The prince was aware of the *rānī*’s (queen’s) reputation and was prepared to accept her offer only on the condition that they were lawfully wedded: he refused to commit the grave sin of an unlawful union. The *rānī* demurred to this, protesting that her subjects regarded her as a goddess. If she were wedded according to the rites of Islam and in due course had issue, she would be put to shame before her people.”

The name of the queen is not mentioned. She must have been a re-incarnation of Hu-śa!

It should be mentioned that the next story can be explained as pertaining to the Turkish string in this weave. As legitimation for his accession to the throne, Abul Faiz had to hide for a while and then to make his appearance under (manipulated) circumstances indicating heavenly descent. It is known that the first of the Turk-Şāhis of Kabul had been enthroned due to a similar testimonial which was in fact the imitation of the miraculous epiphany of the founders of the great Turkish dynasty, the Ashina rulers (KLJASH-TORNYJ 1980: 160).

Besides, it is said that Azur Shamsher, a descendant of the Shigar dynasty succeeded to depose and kill Shiri Badát, the last indigenous king of Gilgit. Shiri Badát had inherited the areas of Ron-

du, Haramosh and Chamugarh from his father, ie the lands north of the rivers Gilgit and Indus on both sides of the confluence. As I tried to show in this study, this zone had always maintained close connection with Baltistan. Therefore the successor of the exiled Paṭola-ruler documented his presence and power in this area by the Danyor inscription.

We may conclude that the almost general assumption, that the last dynasty of Gilgit and its collateral lines were of mixed but primarily Turkish descent, corresponds to reality. Adventurers from the Central Asian steppes had participated in political and religious dissensions for many centuries - until finally one representative of this group, already imbued by the spiritual heritage of post-Buddhist Bolorian Tibet, occupied the throne of the neighbouring kingdom.

When did those crucial events happen?

Even in the final chapters of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (ie before 1148-1150) the Dāradas together with their barbarian allies (SAXENA 1974: 268; *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* VIII: 2775-2782) appear as a dangerous and adventurous power. No stories of this kind are told in the work of *Jonarāja* (Reprint 1975). I tried to explain the difference by assuming that the united Bolōr/Dārada state under kings who had Sanskrit names had been dissolved in the meantime, the fragments no longer had the strength for dangerous inroads.

That would mean the accession of the Tarakhané took place in the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD - a rather conservative estimation not too different from the dates proposed by authors as BIDDULPH (14<sup>th</sup> century AD, 1971: 134) or HASHMATULLAH KHAN (1120-1160 AD, 1987: 758) for the ruler who married the daughter of the murdered tyrant Shiri Badát. Only DANI, who had the difficult task to bring the proud legend, posthumously propagated in the manipulated version to prove the ancestry of Shah Rais Khan (1987), in tune with the historical data, concludes a transfer of power in the middle of the eighth or at the beginning of the ninth century AD. The rulers of the Dārada state reinforced by the resources of Bolōr used much of their energy for harassing Kashmir and other states at the fringe of the mountains by plundering and inroads. It seems that the following dynasty - with a reduced base and different traditions had other tasks and aims. The areas of Bolorian Tibet, which had been depopulated during the time of the transigrations became attractive for settlers, especially among those who

were not at good terms with the new dynasty. This situation is reflected in the songs of the Bōno-nā-Festival, for the first time collected by FRANCKE (1905: esp 98-99). More material including my own observations was presented by VOHRA (1989).

Concentrating on the fate of the Paṭolas, their partners and successors I did not intend to offer a systematic account of the political situation in the Indus valley south of Gilgit.

In its western part a sanctuary of Maitreya is referred to in the reports of Chinese pilgrims. Inscriptions tell of an emporium with a sacred place nearby, evidently visited by (non-Buddhist) Sogdian merchants as well.

At times, the eastern part of the Gilgit valley formed a district of the Dārada kingdom. Relations with the political centre, however, (in the Kishanganga valley) were rather relaxed, it was actually a distant place of exile.

Better political integration was attained when Bolōr and Dāraddeśa were united under one sovereign. Chilas became one of the main towns of the larger state. Monasteries are not mentioned at Śīlathasa (=Chilas) in the Saka-Itinerary - certainly not accidentally. Petroglyphs which I discovered nearby, at Hodar, show the defenders of the stūpa (Tibetan type, therefore datable) clearly on retreat: they had been attacked with swords and battle-axes by the adherents of a solar deity rendered on the rocks in an almost "anti-iconic" mode by a circle and a few lines.

The area was known to Bīrūnī by the name of Shamīl (in the "Mineralogy" of Muhammad SAID 1989: 203). Bīrūnī distinguished between the mountains of Bolōr and those of Shamīlān (SACHAU 1896: 120), confirming the political difference geographically. Strangely enough, he learnt - as late as in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD - of an "Idol of Shamīl". But this was hardly the gilded statue of Maitreya, carved from a huge tree-trunk as reported by Faxian. Apparently there is a continuity between the earliest and the last reports on the area.

However, that is only one aspect of reality. The Indus valley along the southern fringe of the mountain states forms the northern frontier of Indus Kohistan. Indus Kohistan belongs to a zone of steep and wet slopes, with bad chances for mounted warfare. The passes of the Shamīlān range are not high, but due to heavy snow-fall they are closed for many months every year.

The mountains and valleys of Indus Kohistan - like a natural for-

tress - protected the belt of statelets at the foot of the main ranges against direct aggressions from the southern plains. Many invaders lost their fervour in the cluster of narrow valleys without tracks, but with a dense and hostile population.

Futile as well as successful inroads were followed by peaceful contacts with the neighbours in the lowlands and induced religious and socio-economic innovations. Foreigners were integrated and held in dominant or obedient positions. Many migrations are evident: the intrusion of a pastoral population spreading the Shina language, the infiltration of "menial castes" necessary for the production of better arms, Sunnitic saints spread Islam and introduced the wesh-system which enforces a periodical redistribution of the land among all members of the community.

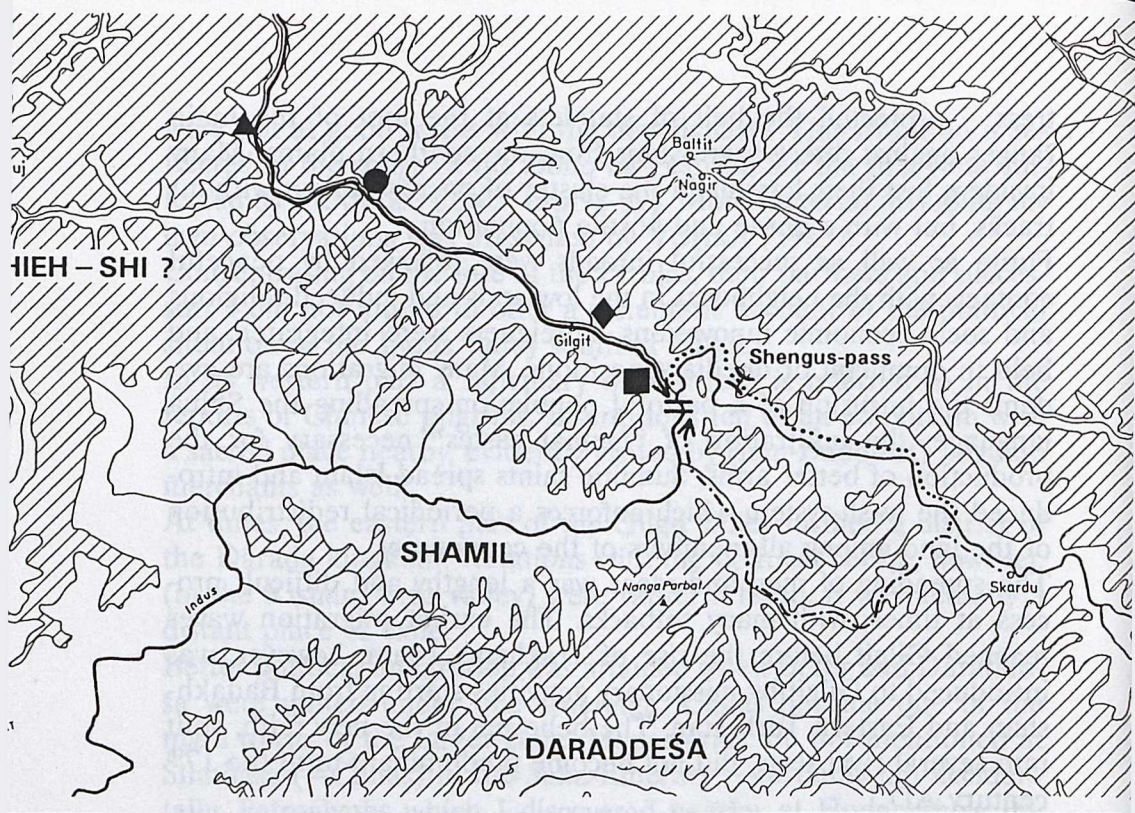
The spreading of men and ideas was a lengthy and difficult process at times, with many setbacks. The earlier migration waves reached Gilgit before the rise of Trakhané. Islam, however, was introduced to Gilgit by missionary activities starting from Badakhshan and Eastern Turkestan. The believers of the new faith, split into several rival sects, did not become predominant until the 17<sup>th</sup> century AD.

At present, the best approach to a chronological charter of migration is the analysis of the settlement patterns. The goatbreeding immigrants from the south (Pakli?) preferred strongholds on the top of mountains, integrated into a network of temporary habitations.

The population who had embraced Islam was ordered to construct village-fortresses. The mosque lavishly decorated with woodcarvings was close to the place for public gatherings.

During my early journeys in 1955 and 1958, intact village-fortresses still existed in several valleys. Most of them have been at least partially destroyed in the meantime. One of them, however, systematically documented with excellent ground plans made by an experienced architect will be published in one of the volumes of our series "Antiquities of Northern Pakistan". A map of the ruins of an earlier settlement, still visible close to the documented village fortress, will be included in this study.

All historical information available will be used for interpretation. I hope the result will be a supplement to this article, widening the view beyond the information gained so far.



Map of Palūr in the 8<sup>th</sup> century

- Official inscription of the Paṭola made by order of Makar Singh (Hatun).
- ◆ Late Paṭola inscription near Danyor.
- ▲ A-nou-yue, stronghold of Makar-Singh dynasty of governors.
- Residence of the Paṭola-refugee in the Sai-valley.
- Advance of the Chinese army in 747 AD.
- == Bridge over the So-i-shui river, destroyed in 747 AD.
- - - - Unsuccessful rescue operation of the Tibetan forces.
- ..... Alternative route Skardu-Gilgit through the Rondu-gorge and over the Shengus-pass.

## Index

- Abhimanyū, 99  
 Abul Faiz, 110  
 Abul Ghani, 109  
 Al'Amīn, 99  
 Al'Faḍl b. Sahl, 99, 100  
 Al'Ma'mun, 99  
 Ananta, 102  
 Ashina rulers, 110  
 Avardī, 100  
 Azraqī, 91, 99  
 Azur Shamsheer, 110  
 Baltistan, 77-79, 81, 83, 88, 92, 101,  
     102, 105, 107, 109, 111  
 Bhatta, 102  
 Bhatta-Shah, 101  
 Bhattavaryan, 101, 103  
 Bīrūnī, 98, 101-103, 112  
 Bodhisattva, 108  
 Bolōr, 77, 78, 91, 98, 100, 101, 104-  
     106, 111, 112  
 Bolor-Shah (siehe auch Bulūrīn-  
     shāh), 101  
 Bōno-nā-Festival, 112  
 Bonpos, 96  
 Bru-ža, 78, 86-88, 103  
 Bruža, kings of, 86-88  
 Buddha, figure of, 92, 94, 95  
 Buddhism, 80, 81, 91, 92, 94-98, 101,  
     102, 104, 107, 110-112  
 Bulūrīn-shāh, 101  
 Che-Tche-mong (siehe auch Zhi-  
     meng), 79  
 Dārada(-Šāhi), 91, 102, 104-106, 111,  
     112  
 Dardar, 103, 104  
*dhāranīs*, 107  
 Fa-yong, 80  
 Faxian, 79, 80, 112  
 Gao Xianzhi (Kao Hsien-chih), 82,  
     88  
 Gesar, 106  
 Gilgit Manuscripts, 77, 83, 91, 94  
 Gohar Aman, 96  
 Gser-rigs, 108  
 Harun al'Rashid, 99  
 Hatun, inscriptions, 77, 84, 86, 91,  
     96, 98  
 Hephtalites, 80, 87  
 Ho-sa-lao (P'u-sa-lao), 90  
 Hphrom Gesar, 106  
 Hu-roñ-ga, 106  
 Hu-ša, 108, 110  
 Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, 98, 100, 106  
 Huichao, 82  
 Hund (= Udabhaṇḍa), 104  
 Ibn Khurdādbeh, 106  
 Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandī, 87  
 Kabul, king of, 99, 110  
 Kāñjudi-clan, 87  
 Kao Hsien-chih (Gao Xianzhi), 88  
 Kashmir, 79, 81, 83, 89, 91, 99-106,  
     109, 111  
 Katsura, 90  
 Kēsaro, 106  
 Khotan, 79, 99, 106-108  
 Khri-ma-lod, 85  
 Koei-jeñ, 90  
 Lalitaditya Muktāpida, 106  
 Ma-hao-lai (Ma-lai-hsi), 84-88  
 Ma-lai-hsi (Ma-hao-lai), 84-87  
 Maitreya, 80, 112  
 Makar Singh, 83, 87, 95, 98  
 Mañjuśrī, 95  
 Mecca, 99  
 Mlecchas, 102  
 Mo-chin-mang, 86, 87  
 Mo-kin-mang, 84, 86  
 Nan-ni, 84, 86, 87  
 Navasurendrādityanandin, 84  
 Nepal, 82  
 P'u-sa-lao (Ho-sa-lao), 90  
 Padmapāñi, 95  
 Palūr, 78-83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 102  
 Palūr, little, 78, 81-88, 90, 98, 101-  
     103, 105  
 Palūr, great, 78, 82, 86, 90, 105, 107,  
     108  
 Paṭola Šāhi, 77-79, 82, 86-88, 90, 91,



- 94-96, 98, 107, 111, 112  
 Prušava, 103  
 Purig, 105  
 Qaghan of Tibet, 99, 100  
 Qarlugs, 99  
 Rājatarāṅginī, 99, 104, 111  
*rākṣasī*, 108  
 Ravere, 100  
 Saka-Itinerary, 99, 103, 112  
 Śākyamuni, 95  
 Saṃkaravarman, 105  
 Shah Rais Khan, 109, 111  
 Shamīl, 112  
 Shina, 113  
 Shiri Badāt, 110, 111  
 Skardu, 77-79, 83, 87, 88, 92, 94, 95,  
 106, 107, 109  
 Song Yun, 80, 81  
 Sou-che-li-tche (Su-shih-li-chih), 85  
 stūpa, 92-94, 96-98, 112  
 Su-fu-she-li-chih-li-ni, 83  
 Su-lin-t'ò-i-che, 86  
 Su-shih-li-chih (Sou-che-li-tche), 85,  
 88  
 Sum-pas, 107  
 Surendrāditya, 86  
*Suvarṇagoṭra*, 108  
 Swat, 80, 81, 94  
 T'ò-li, 80  
 Ta-li-lo, 80  
 Tang-empire, 82, 85  
 Tarakhan/Tarakhané, 109, 111  
 Tibet, 82, 85, 99, 100, 102, 105-108,  
 111  
 Tibetan inscriptions, 96, 98  
 To-leih (T'ò-li), 80  
 Turushkas, 102  
 Udabhaṇḍa (= Hund), 104  
 Utrārbandah, 99  
 Uḍḍiyāna, 80, 81  
 Vijaya Saṅgrāma, 106  
 Wan'Do-si, 84  
 Wukong, 81  
 Xuanzang, 81, 108  
 Yabghu, 99  
 Yayasimha, 102  
 Yūsuf Qadr Khān, 108  
 Zhimeng (Che-Tche-mong), 79

### Bibliography

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