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 रेर्फ्रेन्(रिर्श्चेन्)) तृदानेरिकळगड्वम्पययेर्थेग्क्रुशम्पाक्षय्त्रा यर्दग्रुव्स्थार्थ्यनेन्द्रेया कें क्रियाय स्वय्ये कें क्रियाय कें क्रियाय क्रिया क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्र वियाय व्याय क्रिय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रिय क्रिय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रिय क्रियाय क्रिय क्रिय क्रि	pire. Similarly, some Rusana rulers in India, an 8 century ruler in Gand- hāra, as well as some 10^{th} to 11^{th} century Turkish rulers in Central Asia pretended to be related to the Roman Emperors by bearing the name Ke- saro or also Gesar, derived from the first Roman emperor Caesar. (In Ger- many the Emperors called themselves <i>Kaiser</i> , in Russia <i>Czar</i> .) The ruler of Gya-Miru, likewise claimed to be a <i>Caesar</i> . Assuming such a big name helps in getting accepted as a ruler, particularly if the majority of the peo- ple believes in the name. Similarly, some people quite proudly claimed to be from the same tribe as the Spurgyal, assuming the name <i>Spurgyalli rigs</i> or <i>Spurgyalli rangs.</i> , the contracted forms of which became <i>Spurangs</i> and <i>Spurigs</i> . Further to the east, in Western Tibet, the initial <i>s</i> - prefix (as well as the final - <i>s</i> suffix) got dropped, so that both names would be realised as <i>Puran</i> and <i>Purig</i> . Therefore it seems to be quite likely that the name Purig
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ૻૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣ	Sgampo, and even more so of early Ladakhi history, that is the time before the conquest by the Tibetan Empire somewhat later, is the almost total lack of historical sources. Even the Old Tibetan sources have few, if not nothing to say about Ladakh, and only very little about Žaŋžuŋ, of which Upper Ladakh may have been a part. Adding to this problem is the lack of defini-

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क्रिंग्ल्ण्यदार्छ'मैग्ग्भिग्भो'ते (२विकाफ़) केन ज्ज्या। ने अक्त का क्रिंग्स क्रिंग क्रिंग्स क्रिंग क्रिंग्स क्रिंग क्रिंग क्रिंग क्रिंग क्रिंग क्रिंग्स क्रिंग क्रेंग क्र क्रिंग क्रेंग क्रेंग्रेंग क्रेंग क्र क्रिंग क्रि	 tion of boundaries and common denominations for the same geographical enties and, even worse, shifts in designations, either due to peoples' migrations or due to some political intensions. In the following I will list the few sources relevant for the present discussion: 1. The 12th century Kashmirian Rājataraṅgiŋī is a very late retrospective source. It has nothing to say about the early prehistory of Ladakh or Baltistan, and references to events in the 6th and 7th century are extremely vage. 2. The most reliable sources are contemporaneous accounts from the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (mid 7th century) and the Korean pilgrim Hyecho (early 7th century). These accounts have been preserved in the historical writings of the Tang dynasty, where we find also some more information, "gathered form foreign ambassadors or traders. 3. Incidentally one can find bits of geographical or political information in Sanskrit religious and secular literature, such as the Mahābhārata (compiled over a long period, but written down during the 1st millenium CE) and the Harşacarita (7th century). The most famous geographical work, the Bṛhatsaṇṇhitā, is unfortunately not very reliable with respect to the three northern sections, the coordinates having been mixed up completely. 4. The Geek sources of the 2nd century BCE to the 1st century CE cover the lower Indus valley and remain silent about Ladakh. But one can derive some facts <i>ex negativo</i>. 5. Finally, there are some architectonical remains, mainly in Western Tibet (Mankrin).
ૡ અઽૡઃઽ૾ૹૻૻઽઽૻૡૻઽૢ૾ૹૻૹૻૻૡૻૡૻઌૻૡૻ૾ઽૻૡ૱૱ૺૹૣૻૼૡૼૡૻૹ૾૿ૹૻૹૻૻૡૡૻૡૻૡૡૻૡૻ૽ૡૡૡૻૡ૽ૻૡૡૡ૽ૼૡ૽ૻૡૡૡ૽ૡ૽ૻૡૡૡ૽ૡ૽ૻૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ	(Mŋahris), dating some time between the late Bronze Age and the Com- mon Era. Similarly some rock art in Western Tibet and Ladakh can be roughly dated to the 5 th century BCE or later.
	2. Who were the early inhabitants?
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१.१ मेंत्	2.1 'Men Of No-where (MON)'
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र्शेर्प्र इत्र देन दोन निमान निहन्म् निहन्म् निहन्म् निहन्म् निमान निमान निमान निमान निमान निमान निमान निमान नि र्शेर्ट्र् इत्राहेर्द्र के क्या क Indorayan देन्द्री के क्या के क्या के क्या क्या क्या क्या क्या के क्या क्या क्या क्या क्या क्या क्या क्या	plied by Tibetans to Austroasiatic, Tibeto-Burman, as well as Indo-Euro- pean tribes or people. In the Western Tibetan and Ladakhi context of an- cient buildings it does not mean more than 'it wasn't us or our ancestors, who built these castles, and we have no idea who did it'. I would thus pre- fer to read the name merely as acronym. Besides the enigmatic Mon, Kesar or the gods may be named as builders.
२.२ मैंद्र'म। श्रेंत'बेर'मवर'सेंदे'श्रेर'दे'सेंद्र'सेंद्र'स'देत'स'काद। सेंद्र'स'मान्युयास'कादी'श्रेर'श्रेर'सेंद्र'स'काद। श्रेंत'बेर'मवर'सेंदे'श्रेर'दे'सेंद्र'सेंद्र'स'काद। सेंद्र'स'मान्युयास'कादी'श्रेर'श्रेर'सेंद्र'स'कादी' केंद्र'स'मान्युयास'कादी'स'स' कें किंग्रे कें साम्युद्र'से कें कें कें कें कें कें कें कें कें के	2.2 Tibetans As a word of Tibetan origin, the name Mon could have been applied only after the Tibetans settled in Ladakh. However, by all that we know from the Tibetan historical accounts, is that the 'kingdom' of Žaŋžuŋ, either comprising Upper Ladakh or lying in between Tibet and Upper Ladakh was overthrown and conquered by Srongbrtsan Sgampo in the middle of the 7 th century. Only then (or perhaps even much later) did the process of Tibetanisation, including the immigration of Tibetans begin. The <i>Ladvags Rgyalrabs</i> mentions some earlier incursions by the Tibetans into the west, but these seem to have been merely raids, not affecting the ethnic composition of the country. The Korean pilgrim Hyecho, who passed through Chilas and Gilgit (Greater and Lesser Bolor) around 730 CE, speaks of Ladakh-Žaŋžuŋ (Yangtong) as being populated by the same people as Bolor, namely by Hu, Central Asian people in general, or more specifically Iranians, clearly different from the Tibetans further east. The Rājataraŋginī and a passage in the Harşacarita give further evidence that during the 6 th to 7 th century Ladakh and Western Tibet were under the sway of a Hephthalite/Hūņa tribal branch, which will be discussed further below.

٦.३ ราราร พราพิราติาสรพาริจิาฮูราตุรพ	2
तर्र्र्त्र भिन्ने क्रांग् के स्वर्त्त क्रांग् के क्रिंगी के स्वर्त्त क्रांग् के स्वर्त्त क्रांग् के स्वर्त्त क्र तर्र्त्त क्रांग् के स्वर्त्त के स्वर्त्त क्रांग के क्रिंगी के स्वर्त्त के स्वर्त्त के स्वर्त्त के स्वर्त्त के स	a di
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<u>दिः श्वरः भ्रें</u> बः भः लवा वेः लेरा मरामा भः द्वमा श्रे मा का वा से राजेः वीः क्षे श्वराजेः भें राषवा से दे स्वाया देवा	W
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2.3 The Dards – and the source of the Indus

The Shina-speaking Minaro or Brokpa of Ladakh and Baltistan are part of a larger cultural complex formerly spreading throughout most of the Hindukush, Karakorum and parts of the Pamirs. Most probably several genetically and linguistically different peoples or tribes shared this culture, among others also the people from Hunza and Nagar (Bruža). A (or the) greater part of these peoples must have been speaking an Indo-European language, more precisely, an Indoaryan language of the so-called Dardic group. Most traces of this earlier culture have been effaced by Islam, on the one hand, and Buddhism, on the other.

he designations Dard and Dardic are borrowed from an ancient Sanskrit erm Darada, used for tribes settling in approximatively the same area as e present day speakers of the Dardic languages, among which we may ount, among others, Kashmiri, Kohistani, and Shina. Some early Sanskrit purces as well as the 3rd century CE Greek geographer Ptolemy have debribed the *Darada* as sitting at the upper course of the Indus river or even ear its source. Given our present (or 18th century) geographical knowldge, it was taken for granted that the Darada were sitting in Western Tibet at least all over Ladakh, while nobody seems to have payed attention to he fact that the region widely known as Upper Indus Valley lies – in preent-day Pakistan. The reason for this apparent misnamer is that the ancient eople and their geographers either were not aware of the true upper part of he Indus or took it to be a marginal confluent of the Indus, the source of which they located in Gilgit (a relattively late Arab geography, the 10th entury Hudūd-al- 'Ālam even took the Kabul river as the main source). and likewise the British did not recognise the true source until late in the 8th century.

In their oral traditions, the Minaro still recount how they arrived in various places of Ladakh. However the fact that they still remember their immigration indicates that it cannot have happened more than a few centuries ago. Some details, like the spotting of a walnut tree on the other river side in the account of the foundation of Khalatse, indicate that the Minaro came into a previously inhabited and cultivated area, even if this might have been largely devastated and depopulated at that moment. More explicitly, the genealogies of some Purik chiefdoms indicate that the Minaro and related tribes were late immigrants, settling in Ladakh around or after the 15th century.

Some of the specific Dardic traits of the Ladakhi culture, particularly the Losar rite of *Bhagatham*, are so widespread (at least up to Hemis) and at the same time so blurred – as compared to what has been described for more western areas: they must have once included a human sacrifice – that they can hardly result from this late immigration wave, that led people mainly to Lower Ladakh and Purik. Thus we are led to conclude that peo-

' বির'র ৭়হ'। <u>মিঁজ্</u>বুস্বাশমণ্দশক্ষিয়াদ্ব প্ৰাৰ্থনি বিদ্যুদ্য বিশ্ব কি আৰম্ভ প্ৰাৰ্থ বিদ্যুদ্য বিদ্যু <u>देखेः भारत्याका भाषतदा भें जिल्ला स्वया</u> শক <u>૽</u>ઽૺઙ૾ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૣૹૻૹ૾ૻૡૻૻૹૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻ૽ૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻ૽ૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻૻૡ૽ૻઌૻઌૻ ฝี้ะวัสาขมามาขาวิสานิส สมาฐิน สมาธ์กานาพรากุราธ์กานาวุรกุญาน ราธุรารารกามาสาสิพา ฬิเธสแ วิามิาสิโ ตอสาสิามิาวัรามณิพราษัสาณณารุกุณณณรุกุแหลามีณิาสิดเ รกุเพเซ์กุนาณูณเหลา สิ่าจาตราริามีราคาอิตาที่านราวีาอีดาส์ตูแ ผู้ราสเ จิามีจารราริมากกลางเกลาสิ่าสิดาทีเกาตลาริามาสิ่งา สุราราวิาพาลิราวิาจลิสาวิไ พราริาสาราราราสิราสาริาราราวิาสาพาลิราวิาจลิสาวิาจริๆ สาพาลิราสไ

ple belonging to the above mentioned cultural complex settled in parts of Ladakh at some earlier time, and some undatale rock art in Western Tibet indicates that they were, if not settling, roaming and hunting even further in the East. What we do not know, however, is since when these people had been settling in Ladakh, but it is reasonable to assume that they were part of Ladakh's population before the Tibetan conquest. That some Indoaryan people had been among the earlier settlers, before the Tibetan conquest, is corroborated by Indoaryan place names, such as Hemis and Hembaps (related to the Sanskrit word for 'snow') or Śaya (Shey; possibly referring to a camp ground).

ਸ਼ਫ਼੶ਫ਼੶ਲ਼੶ਸ਼ਸ਼੶ਗ਼ਸ਼ੵੑਫ਼ੑੑਸ਼੶ਫ਼ੑਸ਼੶ਫ਼ੑਗ਼੶ਫ਼ੑਗ਼੶ਖ਼ੑਗ਼੶ਖ਼ੑਗ਼੶ਖ਼ਫ਼੶ਖ਼ਫ਼੶ਖ਼੶ਫ਼੶ਸ਼੶ਗ਼ੑ੶ੑਸ਼ਫ਼ਖ਼੶ਖ਼ਫ਼੶ਸ਼ਫ਼ੑ੶ਖ਼ਫ਼੶ਖ਼ੑੑਗ਼੶ਫ਼ੑੑ੶੶ਸ਼੶ਖ਼੶ ᡃᢖᠵᢣ᠍᠍᠍ᢧᢆ᠋ᡎ᠋ᢌᠠᢁᡔᠴ᠗᠙ᡩᡄ᠉᠗ᢋᠴᡎᠴᡆᢋᡃ᠋ᢋ᠂ᢓᡄᡠᡃ᠋᠊᠋᠊᠋ᡃᡱᡭ᠄᠊᠋ᡍ᠈ᡩᡗᢓᡆ᠋᠋ᢩ᠂ᡷᡳ᠖᠉ᡩᡗᡃᢓᢋ᠋᠁ᠴᠼ᠕᠕᠘ ଌୖ୕୶୲୴ୠୖ୶୲ୢୖଈଽ୶୳ଌ୵ଽ୶ୖୠ୲୵ଡ଼ୣଽ୶୲୲୲ୖ୲ଌ୕୵ୖଽ୲୴ୄୠୢୣୄୖ୶୲୶୲୷ଡ଼୲୷ୠ୶୲୲ଌ୕ୖ୵ଽ୶ୖୠୄ୵ୄୢୠୣୠ୲୶୲୷ୄୢ୶୲୷ଡ଼୲୷ୖୄ୲୲ୢୄ୵୲ଽଡ଼୲୵ଽୖ୳ୄୄୡୄୖ୲ୢୄଈ୵ ୴୶ୖ୳୳୕*ଈ୕*ଽ୕ଽ୶ୖଌ୲୰ଽୖଽ୲୴ୠୄ୲୴ଢ଼୲୵ଽୄଡ଼୲୲ଌ୶ୖୠୖ୲୳୕ୖୣଽୄ୳୲ଌୠୄ୲୴ୠ୲୴୶୶୶୲୶ୣୄଽୢୢୄ୴୴ୄୄୗ 'থির'র্থ্র্র্র্ ਗੁਆ੍ਰਤਾਸ਼ ਹੈ ਸੀ ਨਾ ਕੇ ਸਿੱਤਾ ਸਹਿ ਸੀ ਨਾ ฉริ _สาขุราริ ามิราสิ วัรานจามิราสิ เจขู ราริ าจิสามิ ซิรา র্মার্শমারী ৽৲ মি দে দি দি দে দে দে দে দে দে দে দে দি দে দি দে দি দে দি দে দি দি দি দি দি দি দ *৽*য়ৢ৾৾৾৴ৼ৾য়ৢ৾৾৴৻য়৾৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾ দি'থ্বি'শ্রুশা। র্মান্যা I हेरायाव्येया

2.4 Bhauțța and Hephthalites (White Huns, Hūņa)

The Rajatarangini mentions the Bhautta besides the Darada as frequent intruders of Kashmir. M.A Stein and other translators took the name to be equivalent with that of the Tibetans, but thought of the inhabitants of Baltistan and Ladakh. However, while the Tibetan name Bod could be a derivation of an original Bhautta, the opposite is impossible, hence the name must have originally referred to a non-Tibetan people of the Himalayas and the Karakorum. The Bhautta are first mentioned cursorily at the time of Mihirakula, the Hephthalite or Huna conquerer of Kashmir and Northern India, that is in the first half of the 6th century. The Bhautta are mentioned again, together with the Darada, about 200 years later as victims of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīda's raids or conquests. This Kashmirian ruler is said to first have conquered all of northern India before conquereing much of Central Asia. The account of these conquests appears to be quite exaggerated and schematic: the countries are enumerated in a strict geographical order. From this ordering however it follows that the Bhautta should have been located west of the Darada whom he conquered immediately afterwards on a route towards the east.

About the Bhautta we do not hear much more than that they have extremely white skin, and, from a possibly later interpolated gloss it is indi-

<u> ব্যয়ায়া</u> 'ৰ্মা'মী'শ্ৰিমমা' ม_ีนารับพิราศสานีากา<u>หาร</u>ทุฒามิเมิาสีวรรารเร_ิทุพามสาสักן שביה ज़ॗॱ*ॸ*ढ़ऀॱज़ॖॱऄ॔ॱक़ॆग़॓ॺॕ॔॔॑॑ॸॱऺऀॱॵॺॏ॔ॱॾॖऺॵऄॱॺऀ॓ढ़ॱॺॢॱॷॣॖॖॖॖॖॖॖॖॱग़ॵग़ॱज़ॖॖक़ॖॱय़ऀक़ऻॱऄढ़ॱॿ॓ॕॸॱक़ऻ মিন্ শুনা কিঁহাহাইমগামা ସିଁ୍ଟ୍ୟରିଂଖିରଂ୴ଽଂସଭ୍ୟନିଂମ୍ମ୍ୟୁଦ୍ୟରିଂକ୍ଷରଂନ୍ଦ୍ରସ୍ଥାରିକ୍ଷିମ୍ବା देखेखे। ราสวาพราWhite Huns พรา Hephthalites बेरपर हेना डेल बेर हा हिंद मुझ भाषक के मान के कि के के कि के क केर्<u>भेग</u>्राज्ययाम् व ৽৲িষ্ণু'ম'র্ড'মিম্'রিমা'৸ম ૹૹૼ૱ૹૻૼ૱ઽઽૡ<mark>ૻ</mark>ૡ૾ૡૡ૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ สิ่งผมนามนา รุฑามณิเพศา์สูาสิ่าหล้างหล้างหิเวรุฑาขุฑาษ์ ที่เอนาสารเกลานี้ถ้าร้าสิ่า คิถามราพรา वित्र देग्ध्र भारते हिंद्र शांते रवे राष्ट्री दा देवरा देगा देगी भारत करेंग विवेर्गो कि मुम्ब के के मार्ग के राय โล้ฉิเคมเมริกุณาสารีกุณาการน้ำพีราม โล้ฉามมสารีกาน้ำพีราบกาณ์แ ม รายาพราคมามรัยสามารา ॱज़क़ॖॱॖॖॖॾॱॸ॓ॱॸ॓ॱक़॓ॱऄ॔ॵ[ॣ]ॴय़ज़ॵॱॡज़ॱय़ऀॱॵॱॎॷॸॱॻऻक़ॱढ़ड़ॖॖॺऻॱॸॱड़ॖॖॸॱऄॱऄॕॺॵऒ॔ॸॱय़ॱ মিঁন্ট্রিয়ার্যমাজন্য ୴ଌୖଈ୲୩୲୵୴୲୶ୖୖୖୖ୶୲୴୶ୄୖ୲ୢୢ୴୲ୖୠ୲ୢୄୡୠ୲୷ୢୄୄୢୄୄୄୄୄୄୖ୶୴ୖ୶୶୲୲୲୲ୖ୵୲ୖ୶୲ୖୠ୲୵ୢଽ୲ଽ୲ୠ୲୵୵ୖ୴୲ୄୄୡଡ଼ୖୣଌ୕ୄୖୄ୶୵ୖ୶ୖଽୠ୲ୖ୳୕୵୳୲ୖଵ୵ ក្ស ฿ฬเฉิสานีสาสุก ราชณราชิเราสินส์รานฉินสาก ชิตเฮาสุก พรานีราพูณาศักรราราสินริตุฬาชิเพิร์กาณจริง <u> ह</u>िमा अहुमा क्षु ' हे द में मा। दुन ' र्धे मुझा भा में न पर दे अत्र ' से द से द से मा से ' में भा के ' में म ' র'য়ামা'মি' ଈ୕ଽ୕୵୶୵ୣଽ୶୲୶୲୴ଽ୲ଵ୶ୖୠ୲ଡ଼ଽୖଽ୲ୖୖୖୖୖୖୖୖ୴ଽୖୖ୶୰ୖୖଢ଼୵ୡ୲ୖ୲ଌ୵ୠ୲ กุฑาสณิ Tibeto-Burman สิ่ามามสาวข้า॥ ๛ารุฑสาลิ์กาสิ่ม ธิฑาธาสุม ดกาดการกระการการการการการการการการการการการการ নাইলামা নিম กิ'ฑสร้าซี่ฑฺฆาฆิ'มิ'นิสาสัญาญราดขั้ 🛚 🖷

rectly reveiled that they might have practised polyiandry. The latter custom is not very specific for the Ladakhis, it was common among the Dards and many other Himalayan or Central Asian people, among others also among the Hephthalites, whose women were reknown for their headresses with as many horns fixed as they had husbands. An extremely white skin, especially in comparison with the not very dark Kashmiris, does not seem to fit the present complexion of Baltis, Ladakhis or Tibetans. The Hephthalites or White Huns, on the other hand, got their name exactly because of their extremely fair skin. There is one single literary reference from the 7th century Harsacarita that the Huna, as the Hephthalites or a related group were called in India, were sitting right at the foot of the Kailash, which is somewhat surprising, since after their defeat by the combined forces of the Sassanians and Western Turks in 577, their remnants are said to have settled in Afghanistan. But as far as the present Kailash is concerned, there is a certain possibility that it got its name only relatively late when the concept of the world mountain as the source of the 4 rivers was transferred from the Pamirs to Western Tibet. Furthermore, by the 11th century, thus even before the Rajatarangini was composed. Indian and Kashmirian authors were obsessed by skin colours, and unlike today, they conceived of white skin, as typical for the Afghan rulers of Turkic descent, as being unnatural or even a sign of maliciousness:

"it was almost as if the colour black had shunned him in fear of being stained by his bad reputation ... so ghastly white he was, [...] whiter than the snow of the Himalayan region where he was born."

Given the association of white skin with the Turkic people, and the remaining insecurity about the location of the Kailash during the Harşa's reign, the equation of the Bhautta with the Hephtalites and the location of the Hephthalites in Western Tibet remains somewhat problematic. But, it also remains unclear whether the entries concerning the Bhautta really refer to Ladakh or at least Baltistan. If not, the Bhautta might well have been identical with the Hephthalites or a subbranch of them, both of them, however, to be sought further west in present-day Afghanistan.

If the term Bhautta, despite its original reference to some other people, was, indeed, intended to refer to the Tibetans, the apparent transfer would give us some information about the ethnic composition of the troops, if not of early Tibet itself. It is quite likely, that the troops in the western areas consisted mainly of soldiers from Žanžuŋ (including, most probably, Upper Ladakh). In that case, we could conclude that the population of Žanžuŋ (and Upper Ladakh), at that period, looked very much like Turkic or other fair-skinned Central Asian people, which would be as much as to say that they were not Tibeto-Burmans, but of Central Asian or Turkic stock. This would hold even more so for the Baltis further west.

৭.৬ লাম্বিম্বইল্ম্বিদ্বেম্বইন্ বিশ্বনিদ্ধান্য বাজনিদ্ধান্য বিশ্বনিদ্ধান্য বাৰ বিশ্বান্ধ বাৰ বিশ্বনিদ্ধান্য বাৰ বিশ্বাৰ বিশ্বাৰ্ধান্য বাৰ বিশ্বাৰ বিশ্বনিদ্ধান্য বাৰ বিশ্বাৰ্ধ বিশ্বাৰ বিশ্বনিদ্ধান্য বাৰ বিশ্বাৰ বাৰ বিশ্বান্ধ বাৰ বিশ্বান বিশ্বান বিশ্বান বাৰ বিশ্বান্ধ বাৰ বিশ্বান্য বাৰ বিশ্বান বাৰ বিশ্বান বাৰ বিশ্বান বাৰ বিশ্বান্য বাৰ বিশ্বান বাৰ বাৰ বিশ্বাৰ বাৰ বাৰ বাৰ বাৰ বাৰ বিশ্বান বাৰ বাৰ বাৰ বাৰ বাৰ বা

੶^ਙ়র মের শী'দন মার্ম মার্ম মির্বা মার্ম মির্বা মির্ মির্বা মের্বা মের্বা মের্বা মের্বা মের্বা মের্বা মের্বা মের্বা মে শ্রীমারা ্যার্ঝাঝহ্র্রাম'Xuanzang অদ্র'Hyecho আরিঝাযারি <u>भान्त्रम्बा के से दा के राष्ट्र के मां के से कि ल</u> देवे ใหราคลานี้จิ่าสราสิโ ਘ੮ਾਨੇੱੱ੮ਾਛ੮ਾ੮ਰਾਙੇ੨ਾਗ শβষ্ণমাশ্ব্যন্ह শিঁচি ৰু মাধী রিব্দশারীৰেম্ব্রম্বি ব্বস্থিয় আৰু বিশ্ব - ইণ্ডাইমারা ar ે ને ૠ ૼૻૹૻૡૢૻૡૻૻઙ૾૾ૹૻૻૹ૽ૻઌૻૻ ઌૻૻઌૻૻઌૻૻઌૻૻઌૻૻઌૻૻ মি**ন**'শ্রশা উৎস্মস্য Xuanzang देप्याकेर ฅรายาติยารราศักรุสาณิพูณาสิาณิ (miles)३००० ฮัมาณิ २००० ฮัมายยา ริรมา นิสาส์ยาณ์แ **२**रेगी कें के ਘੁ<u>ਨ</u>ਾਰੁ ᠗ᡬ᠋᠈᠊ᢩ᠊ᢐᢩᠬ᠈᠍ᡱ᠋ᡪᡃ᠋ᢍ᠋ᠵᡃ᠋ᡊᡄ᠇᠋ᢆᢐ᠋᠋ᠴᢄᠯ᠋᠄ᢙ᠋ᡄᢙᢩᡄᡕ᠋᠋ᡇᡵ᠈ᢓᢆ᠊᠋ᡎᢂ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ᡷ᠋ᡞᠴᡭ᠈᠋᠋ᡜ᠋᠋ᡎᡃ᠋ᡷᡄ᠋ᢂ᠄ᡘᠴ᠋ᢓ᠋ᢆᡎᢂ᠋᠄᠋ᡭ᠈ᢋᡄ᠇ᡄᢄᡜᢅᠴᠴ দেষ্যম্বাদ্ব্যন্ধ্বীদ্বীদ্বীয় বিশ্বদিষ্ঠ কি বিশ্বমাধীয় বিশ্বমাধীযা বিশ্বমাধীযা বিশ্বমাধীযা বিশ্বমাধীয - দেই জামা <u> অ'ম্</u>মা শ্বি'র্জ্মানা ૢૻૻૢૹૻ૽ૼ૽૾ૺૼૼૡૢૢૢૢૢૼૼૼૼૺૡૹૡૡ૽૾ૡૢૻૺૻ૾ૢ૽ૺૻઌૢૻૡૢૻૣૡૣૢ૾ૺૻઌૺૺૻૡઽૻૹૣૢૻૣૣૻૻઌ૽ૢૺૻઌ૽ૺઌૻૡૡૡ૾ૺૡૻૻૡૡૡૡ૽ૻૡૡૡૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૻ ଧୂଆ ૡઽ૾ૺૹ૾ૣૺૻૻઽૻૡૻઽ૾ૣૡૻૡૻૹ૾ૻૹૻ૾ઽૻૡૻૢઌૻૻઽૻઽૻૡૢ૱ઌ૽ૺઌ૾ૡૻઌૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡ૱ૻ শ্ৰুমা শি ๛สาสิาฐณาสสารราชมานั้าเวลิณารมานั้าเวลีรารราบูตาแ วิสาสุวรา ริาฐราริโจามณานั้ารรารตามเจ้าคณ हुङ्कुःखुलाङेगार्येग्धेन्दर्वे॥ नेप्तनामकार्येग्ध्वाका रेश्वेरर्त्तराष्ठ्रस्योग्तेर्प्यत्येण्स्यान्धरः क्युर्यायाः करा विंद्राभेष्भूभाभेषुर्भेष्त् युद्रारेक्षादेतुर्भे॥ <u>หาสายสาร์นิ่าสุราราศสราริศสารราณรุศสาชิศาร์าพีราชาชิรา ชินาสราสเ สรายสาร์นิ่าสุรารสรา</u>

2.5 The 'Goldrace' and the 'Women's Dominion'

According to various Chinese sources, e.g. the description by the pilgrim Xuanzang, who travelled to India in the mid 7th century, and the Korian pilgrim Hyecho who travelled around 730. Upper Ladakh was known by at least three different names: Lesser Yangtong (i.e. Western Žanžun), Suvarnagotra (land of the 'Goldrace'), and Nüguo/Strīrājya ('Women's Dominion). That all three names referred to the same entity and not to several adjoining smaller entities becomes clear from the explicit identification between Suvarnagotra and Nüguo by Xuanzang, on the one hand, and by identical coordinates for Lesser Yangtong and Suvarnagotra, namely 2,700 to 3000 li (i.e. ca. 870 to 1000 km) south of Khargalik or Khotan, on the other hand. This would lead us guite exactly up to Leh. Additionally, what appears to be contradictory statements, namely that certain references to both Nüguo and Greater Yangtong have to be located in far Eastern Tibet, shows that the Chinese authors were dealing with the same geographically and politically not very well definable entity, that apparently streched from Ladakh through the Changthang to Eastern Tibet. Although Baltistan and possibly also Lower Ladakh might have been part of the kingdom of Lesser Bolor or Gilgit, the descriptions for Suvarnagotra and Nüguo, would lead us to the conclusion that these entities also extended through Baltistan and Gilgit (this would follow from an alternative description as lying south of the Pamirs), possibly even down to the Swat valley, which was likewise notorious for its independent women, also known as *dākinī* or *mkhahgroma*.

A Strīrājva is mentioned in the Rājataranginī, as one of the countries conquered by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīda. He is said to have errected a Shiva statue there, which would perhaps better fit the Swat valley than Ladakh. An additional source, not mentioned in the beginning, the Vimalaprabhāpariprcchā or Drimamedpahiōdkyis žuspa, a Khotanese post festum prophecy, written in Tibetan, indicates that the land of the Goldclan is politically closely tied to Khotan, on the one hand, and to the principality of Skarrdo, on the other. Again we face the problem that this Skarrdo does not necessarily need to be identical with present day Skardo, but independent of this question, the most likely location for the land of the Goldrace would be the area of Hunza. If I were to summarise the very confused story in one line, I would say that the king of Skarrdo is supposed to procure gold from the land of the Goldrace, in order to defend Khotan against the Tibetans, and to unite the three provinces under his rule. The alternative interpretation, as suggested by Philip Denwood, ot identify the land of the Goldrace with Ladakh and/or Nubra, faces the difficulty that the land of the Goldrace, according to the story, remains unconquered by the Tibetans.

The Tibetan name *Gserrigs* is found only in this source and seems to be otherwise completely unknown. The Sanskrit designation, however, is attested

দারিহু হার্রি দার্ম কিল্যা સ્પન દ્વાંચેરાયન પોલે એ દાદાયના મેં અદાજી બાબુ મુદ્દે સાથે બેલા ચેવા વાર્તે મા ᠊᠊᠋᠊ᢖ᠂᠋᠋᠋᠋ᠵ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ᡊᡊᠴᡬᠵ᠋ᡘᡭ᠈ᢓᡵᡄ᠋᠘᠋ᠺ᠈ᠺᢓᢌ᠋ᢂ᠆᠆ᠴᡭ᠈ᠺᠴ᠋ᢓ พราพิราร์าพณาฐิาสิรารราบๆๆๆ त्र रक्त का की क्रें से स्वाय के पा कि स्वाय के से साम का की से साम का की साम का का की साम का की साम का का की साम का की स ᠋ᡷ᠋ᡢᠯ᠋᠉᠄ᢤᢧ᠋᠊᠋ᡜᢄᢋ᠓᠋᠋᠋᠋᠆᠋᠋᠉᠋᠁ᢍ᠋ᠵ᠈ᢤᡁ᠋ᢓ᠈ᡬᡬ᠌ᡱᠴ᠋᠋ᡅᢋᡃ᠋᠋᠋᠊᠋ᡭ᠕᠂ᢩ᠖ᡪ᠆ᡗ᠄᠋ᢂ᠂ᡇᢈ᠋᠋᠋᠊᠋ᡢ᠇᠋ᢋ᠈᠋᠋᠋᠇ᢩᠧᢈ᠌᠈ᡐᠬᠠᠭ᠋᠄᠖ᠴ᠉ᡃᡍ ศิราพราศสาสิามิาลักๆานั้ารูากุาลิราราชักกุลารุราณริศาสณรา มาณริศาสณรา ศิราชรามณิา **শ**ম্পদ্র বিশ্বু হেশাশী চ' বীশাশী স্ক্রি চে দ দে দ আলা พราพาร์านิจสาชัตุลาลิาฐาลิรานีามรานีาริตา 551 ชี้เชิลเฉเลลเนเพิรเนเลรา ชิตเษเสเ พระพูเลรานี้เพิรเนเลรา โอรเรเตโลรเริตเลเลรารรบบูตาแ ଐ୕ଽ୳¤สॱสิॱक़ॺऻॺॱदेสॱढ़ॺॊ॒॥ ୴**८ॱॺॱ**ग़ऻदेॱॸऀॺऻॺॱॺॆॱक़ऺॸॎॱय़ॱॺॱॺ॓ॱॸॊॱफ़ॆॺॱॿॆॸॱॺॎสॱสॆॱॸऀॺऻॺॱॺ८ॱॱৡ॑ढ़ॎ८ॱॸॺॱॺदिॱ માં અત્રસ્યાયે નું સેં સુરત્ર હતું સે સેં ખેતું તે તે સ્વર્થો સ્વર્ગ સ્વરે સ્વર્ગ સ્વરાગ સ - উৎ্ণে ৰুম্য বা ซามัาพรารูาขุลิวริตุฆาฆาสราราพิรารราบๆ ลิสาสุกรุโ ฆาทุลิารูามีลิาฆราฐราราริตาพิรากษิแ ਨੀਾ <u>ଌ</u>୶ୖ୴୲୲ୖ୶ୖଽୖଽ୶୵୩୲ୖ୶୵୲୴୶ୖୖ୶ୢ୵୵୶ୖ୶୵୳ୖ୳୶୶୲ୖୖୖୖୖୖ୰୳୲ୖ୵ୖୖୖୠ୲୴ୄୖ୵୩ଈ୲ୖଈୄ୲୷ୖୖୖୖ୷ୡୄୖ୲୷୶ୡୗ୵୕୶୶ୖୡ୕୩୲୩୲୲ ॺॎॕॸॱॸऀॱॸऀॖॺऻॺॱक़ॱॺऻॾक़ॱॿ॓ॸॱॸॱऄॕऀॺऻॺॱॺॖॱॸ॓ॱऄऀॱॿऀॺऻ ইিশ্বমান্ধ আ মান্দ্র আ মার্ট আ আ মার্ট মির্মা মার্ট মির্মা মার্ট মির্মা মির্মা মির্মা মির্মা মির্মা মির্মা মির্ <u>ৰিমামীমাউন্নের্মিয়া</u>

in the Khotanese-Saka language as *Svarnagūttar*- or *ysarnai rrvī gūttairi* for a particular 'golden royal family'. The element *suvarna* is also found as part of the name of two kings of Kucha: Suvarnapuspa and Suvarnadeva. These 'golden' people or the royal family were originally located in the Shazhou region, i.e. the region of Dunhuang, which was accordingly also called the 'Golden District' (*ysarrnai bādā*) or with similar appellations. Apart from the Khotanese texts, there seem to be also texts in Chinese and even Old Tibetan mentioning a 'Gold Land' or 'Gold Family' in Shazhou.

This may allow us to view the Goldrace as a branch of the Sakas or Scythians, a far-spread Indo-European people that may or may not have absorbed tribes of originally Turkic, Mongolic, or Siberian origin, but that was still dominated by an Iranian speaking elite, and that must still have had the anthropological features of the early Indo-Europeans, particularly fair skin and golden hair. It may be noted that these features have been preserved in some northern Tibetan nomadic tribes. It may have been this latter feature or the fact that they were extremely expert in gold manufacturing that acquired them their surname.

Women apparently had an unusual high status in Scythian society, and this could be an indication that the so-called Women's Dominion was of Scythian origin. The Massagetes, a branch of the Scythians, who mainly lived in present-day Afghanistan, were ruled by a queen, when Alexander conquered them. Scythian women must have been very strong, they obviously could handle the strong flexed bow, and they apparently took part in war, as one has found graves of females with bows and arrows placed besides them, as in the case of their male counterparts. To a somewhat lesser extent one has found such graves also among the Xiongnu a mixed Turkic-Siberian and possibly Indo-European tribe. Legends concerning Alexander's campaign would tell us also of another Amazone kingdom, which he was not able to conquer. Who knows, if this is not just a fairy tale, couldn't that have been our Ladakhi Women's Dominion?

Scythians and their associated tribes spread through Central Asia and southern Siberia from about the third millennium BCE onwards; from the first millenium onwards they also moved westwards, reaching Europe, where they become known by the Greeks. The Scythians are also very famous for their art work. In particular they developed, what is usually called the Nomadic Animal Style: deers, gazelles, and so on going tip-toe, often bending their head backwards, and most particularly, around the 5th century BCE, representations of animals often had an S-curve and spirals inscribed in their body. Rock carvings of this style have been found abundantly in Western Tibet (Mŋaḥris) and at a few places also in Ladakh, e.g. in Drangtse and at a river crossing in Domkhar.

While the Chinese sources state that Greater Yangtong, that is Zhangzhung

দ্রেন্ডিদ্রান্দ্রান্দ্রা 'মি'মি'মেন্দ্রীমান্ট'মের'র্মশা। ট্রিম্বাদ্ররি देवे'बद'मन् रेंधुंगुबाख'ख'वर्तुम्। ଌ୶ୖୠୣ୲ୄୠୖ୶ୖଽ୶ୢ୶୴ୢଈ୵୴ୢୄଈ୴୳୵ୖଽୖୖୖଌ୕୴୶୲ୖଈ୲ୖୖ୶୲ୖୖ୴୵ୄ୕୰୴୴ୖଢ଼୲୲୕୕ୖୖୡୖ୵୲ୖଡ଼୴୲ୖୠ୴୲ୖୠ୵୲ୖୠ୲୰ଡ଼୴୲ **উ**ি্রা ই স किंदरदेखेखेखुण्याररेखेखेखेंग्रहेषाया मुक्केण्यत्या मुक्केण्यद्यार्रेद्वि वेरायवर्षे खेखेखेल्दा ' ই'র্টিশাঝা ୠୢୣୣୣୣୠ୳ୄୖଌ୕୩ୢ୶୲୴ଡ଼ୄୢଽ୩୲୴୶ୖୄ୶ୄ୳ୖ୬ୖଌୖ୲ୄୢୄୢ୶୴ୢୖଈୣ<mark>୵</mark>୲୴ୖୄୗୣୖ୲୷ୄ୴ୄ୷ୖୄ୶ୖୖଌୄ୵ୢୢୄୖୠ୲୷ୢୖଈ୵ୄୢୖଽ୲୶୵୵୵ୖଈ୲୷ଽ୳୶ୖୄଽ୕ଽ୲ଽୖ <u>ริเซ็ตสาสิาผิมสาพราวีราวาราวาสิวาสาสาลาลารีราราสิต</u> กุลรานิาฐาราณิเ रे'र्नेरे' श्रद'न मेरि' ଶୁଦାଷ୍ଟିମ୍'ମିଂମିଶ୍ୱାଆର୍ଟ୍'ଆର୍'ର୍'ର୍'ନ୍'ରିମ୍'ରିଶ୍ୱାଂଶ୍ୱିରୁ ୧୪ଛିମ୍'ର୍ୟୁଦ୍ୟୁଦ୍ୟୁଦ୍ୟୁ <u>୴ᠵ</u>੶ৠৢৢৢ৾য়ৢয়৾ঀয়৾ঀয়৾ঀ৾য়৾৾য়ৢ৾য়৾য়য় র্বিস্থেন্থ্যমার্শ্বনিষ্ঠার্মীর্দ্রীর্দ্ধিস্টের্বার্মী। বিস্থিন্দ্রমান্ত্র্যার্দ্ধান্ত্রমান্ত તે સ ખેં મા છે જા ભા કે વડ ખેં | ชุดพาติหรีาสาดถาญชุดพานาพรา รีราดาดิตาศีลิกพฤษณรฐิรานาพรา มันถิ่ารีรางดิลามีรานาศตุมาติง ษฐายพรา <u> </u>ৰ্ষামণ্যমণ্য हेर्य्भेराता র্দিহাহীদমা ୳୳ୢୄୣୣୣୣୣୣୣ୷୳ଌୖ୶୲୶୲୶ଈ୲ୖଌ୕ଌ୵ଽୖ୶୵ୖଡ଼୲ୄ୷୲୵ଌ୕୲୷୕୵୶ୡ୲୳୲୲ଌ୕୵୲ୖଌ୶୲ୖ୶୲ୖୡ୲୶ଈ୲ୖ୶୵ୖୄଐ୲୲ <u>कर</u>ालावरणात्रारी <u>উ</u>ঁত্ব্যশ্যি ૾ૹ૾ૺ*૾૾*ૹૼઽૻૻ૱ૹ૽૾૱ૻ૾૱ૻૹૺૻૹઽૻૡૻૺૼૼૹૣૻૡ૽૾ૼૡૻઌૻ૽ૡૻ૽ઽૻઌ૾ૼૡૻ૽ૼઽૻૡૻ૽ઽૹૼૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૼ૱ૹ૽ૻૡ૽૾ૺૼૡૻ૽ૡ૽૾ૺૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ দ্রা মাঁ এই দিশাবা ุ_ปูามั่นิ่าพรายาซ์ พราราริๆาพัรายาพรายามั่วพราษัญรายาตามีการมีคาพับ র[,] আঁহ'হ'ঝ'র্রমার্শ্যা

proper, did not have any script, but used tallies and cords with knots like in early Tibet, they also state that an Indian type of script was current in the Women's Dominion. Curiously enough, they state that it was used in the eastern part, but this must be an error; since the Indian script they refer to, cannot be but either the Karosthī or the Brāhmī script as current in Gilgit, Chilas, and even Lower Ladakh.

The people of the Women's Dominion used to paint their face red, a custom also found among the Turko-Mongolian Tuyuhun/Haža and the Tibetans, but they are also said to have venerated the *asura*, İranian deities, and their burial customs differed significantly from that of the Tuyuhun. It is said that when a noble man died, they flayed of the skin and put the bones and flesh mixed with gold into a jar, which they buried, the skin was buried a year later. New year was celebrated around the winter solistice, and in this connection they made use of a particular kind of divination:

"Our eleventh month is their first. Their custom is, as soon as the tenth month begins, to order a diviner to go into the mountains to make offerings of ch'u and to scatter in the air barley which has been steeped in wine. With great incantations he calls the birds. Suddenly a bird like a pheasant comes flying to the bosom of the diviner, who then splits ist belly open and examines it. Whenever there is one grain of corn in it, the coming year will be fruitful; but if there is ,hoarfrost and snow' there will be calamities" (*Jiu Tangshu*, Pelliot 1963: 700f.)

"At New Year they sacrifice men or monkeys [...]. When the sacrifice is over, they go into the mountains, where [a diviner] makes incantations. A bird like a female pheasant comes and perches on the [diviner's] hand; he splits open the stomach and examines it. If there is grain, the year will be fruitful; if sand and gravel, there will be calamities" (*Suishu*, Pelliot 1963: 700f.)

A reverberation of this divination technique might perhaps be found in the *Chaŋraps*, the 'genealogy of the beer', from a (Lower) Ladakhi cycle of marriage songs: a cultural hero kills various birds and examines their stomach in search of the first grain; finally barley is found in the stomach of a pigeon and disseminated for the first time.

As for the women's rule and the general characteristics of the country, the Chinese sources give the following details:

Women have been the rulers from generation to generation. The queen's husband does not share in the government. The men have no other activity than to fight. The queen lives in a nine-storeyed house and has several hundred female attendants. Every five days, there is a council of state. There is also a little queen and both together attend to the government of the kingdom. When the queen dies, the people col-

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lect many gold coins and ask from the clan of the dead the two ablest women, one to be queen, and the second to be little queen. (*Suishu*; Pelliot 1963: 694f.)

"If she has no daughter to succeed the throne, the people of the kingdom levy and collect several millions of gold coins to buy from the family of the deceased sovereign a girl whom they put on the throne. In that country there are five men to three women. Women of nobility have many male attendants; men cannot have female attendants; even women in straitened conditions are always heads of a family, and have several husbands. When a child is born, he takes the surname (hsing) of his mother." (*Tungtien*, Pelliot 1963: 695)

It is their custom for women to make light of men, but their natures are not jealous. Men and women paint their faces with different colours, which they sometimes change several times a day. All the people let their hair hang down. The climate is very cold and they live by hunting. The country produces brass, cinnaber, musk, yaks, and swift horses. Salt is particularly abundant, and they constantly carry it to India for sale, making profit of several hundred per cent. They have also often fought with India and the Tangutan tribes. (Suishu; Pelliot 1963: 694f.)

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