

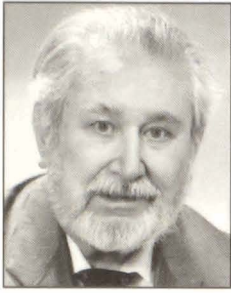


Karl Jettmar

Beyond the Gorges of the Indus

Archaeology before Excavation

OXFORD



About the Author

Karl Jettmar, the founder of systematic German research in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, was born in Vienna in August 1918. Influenced by his teachers Heinrich von Heine-Geldern and Robert Bleichsteiner at the University of Vienna, where he started his studies in 1936 and was awarded the degree D.Phil., in 1941, he became an expert in the fields of Central Asian anthropology, archaeology, and art history. Specialization in these subjects provided a firm ground for his future pioneer work in Pakistan. As field researcher, Professor Jettmar had been member and leader of many ethnographic as well as archaeological expeditions to the mountain areas of the Karakoram and Hindukush. As teacher and university professor he was member of the universities of Vienna, Frankfurt and Mainz until he became Head of the Department of Anthropology at the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg in 1964, from where he retired in 1986. Karl Jettmar is a full member of the German Archaeological Institute and the Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences that—on his initiative—installed the research unit Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakoram Highway. To honour his outstanding scientific contributions, Karl Jettmar was awarded the 'Sitara-i-Imtiaz' by the Government of Pakistan and the 'Dennis-Sinor-Gold-Medal for Inner Asian Studies' by the Royal Asiatic Society, London.



Important clusters of rock-carvings and inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway: 1 Hunza-Haldeikish 2 Alam Bridge 3 sites near Chilas 4 sites near Thalpan 5 Ziyarat 6 Hodar 7 Oshibat 8 Thor, Minar-Gah 9 Thor North 10 Shatal Bridge 11 New discoveries in Baltistan: monastery and inscriptions near the castle of Shigar

BEYOND THE GORGES OF THE INDUS

Archaeology before Excavation

KARL JETTMAR

EDITED BY ELLEN KATTNER

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Athens Auckland Bangkok Bogotá Buenos Aires Cape Town
Chennai Dar es Salaam Delhi Florence Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi
Kolkata Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi
Paris São Paulo Shanghai Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto Warsaw

with associated companies in Berlin Ibadan

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2002

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First published 2002

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press.

Enquiries concerning reproduction should be sent to
Oxford University Press at the address below.

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way
of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out or otherwise circulated
without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover
other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition
including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

ISBN 0 19 577979 7

Typeset in Times

Printed in Pakistan by
Mehran Printers, Karachi.

Published by

Ameena Saiyid, Oxford University Press
5-Bangalore Town, Sharae Faisal
PO Box 13033, Karachi-75350, Pakistan.

Contents

	<i>page</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Introduction</i>	ix
1. Early expeditions in North Pakistan (1955, 1958)	1
2. The Northern Areas of Pakistan: An ethnographic sketch	9
3. The social and economic process in Tangir and Darel, Northern Areas	45
4. Rock art in Northern Pakistan: Researches between 1979–1989	80
5. Sogdians in the Indus Valley	110
6. The Patolas, their governors and their successors	116
7. The Gilgit Manuscripts: Discovery by instalments	157
8. The Suspended Crossing: Where and why?	174
9. Exploration in Baltistan	182
10. The Dards and connected problems: Giuseppe Tucci's last contribution	189
<i>Bibliography</i>	203
<i>Index</i>	229
 <i>Illustrations</i>	 between pp. 12–13

Acknowledgements

The publication of the present volume would not have been possible without the support of the below mentioned institutions, editors and colleagues to whom I owe my deepest gratitude.

In 1992, Oxford University Press, Karachi accepted my proposal for this book. Nobody could anticipate then, that its publication would get delayed for so many years. The reason was that my beloved wife Dr Senta Jettmar—who supported my scientific work for almost fifty years—fell seriously ill. During the years to come I spent most of my time looking after her until she passed away in July 1999. Here, I would like to express my gratitude to the editor, Ms Ghousia Ghofran Ali, who showed respectful sympathy, and more than the necessary patience for my situation.

The present volume intends to offer a survey of my contributions to the development of scientific research concerning the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Most of the contributions are, therefore, revised versions of articles already printed before in the years between 1960 and 1995. The editors of the respective scientific publications kindly gave their permission. I want to express my thankfulness to the editor of the 'Year Book of the American Philosophical Society' (chapter 1, Jettmar 1960c), to Professor A.H. Dani (chapter 2, Jettmar 1989a), to the editors of 'Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique' (chapter 5, Jettmar 1991b), to the editors of the 'Journal of Central Asia' (chapter 7, Jettmar 1981), to G. Pollet, the editor of 'India and the Ancient World: Prof. P.H.L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume presented on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday' (chapter 8, Jettmar 1987a), to the editors of 'South Asian Archaeology 1987' (chapter 9, Jettmar 1990a), and to the editor of 'Guiseppe Tucci: nel centenario della nascita, Roma, 7-8 giugno 1994' (chapter 10, Jettmar 1995).

I am deeply obliged to the Heidelberg Academy for the Sciences and Humanities for installing the research unit 'Rock-carvings and inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway' in 1989, a crucial decision allowing the continuation of the important research work in the Northern Areas.

I want to thank Martin Bemmman, M.A., for his support in technical matters. The artist Elisabeth Ochsenfeld-Sepi kindly supplied the necessary drawings. My assistant Ellen Kattner, M.A., dedicated much time and effort in completing the manuscript. She contributed useful suggestions as well as critical comments, edited the papers and the bibliography, and compiled the index. I am thankful for the excellent work she did.

The Franz-and-Eva-Rutzen-Foundation in the Donnors' Association for the Promoting of Sciences and Humanities in Germany kindly supplied the financial support for the final realisation of the publication. I am very grateful for the unbureaucratic help granted.

Notes on Transliteration

Throughout the present publication words, as well as geographical, place and personal names are given in their Anglicised form. For the convenience of the reader we also abstained from using diacritics unless they indicate different meanings, for example, Buner and Būner. Quotations render the transliteration given in the text cited.

Introduction*

The discovery of the Indus Civilisation shortly before the end of the colonial period still is Pakistan's most important contribution to global archaeology. The last essential correctives to earlier theoretical assumptions were stimulated by the French excavations at Mehrgarh (Jarrige 1991). The discoveries in the Northern Areas although a recent, most fascinating supplement, did not raise comparable attention. Most articles on this topic were written by the members of a small team—A.H. Dani, Gérard Fussman, Oskar von Hinüber, Nicolas Sims-Williams, Ditte Bandini-König, Martin Bemann, Klaus Sagaster, Renate Söhnen-Thieme, Harald Hauptmann, and myself—who had the chance to see the essential monuments, the rock inscriptions and figural petroglyphs, with their own eyes.

In the meantime it is clear that the consequent familiarity of all co-operators with the local environment has many advantages. The present fauna of the area concerned is quite similar to that of the past. Other implications are not so pleasant, different interpretations are evident but not clearly pronounced against the colleague. So, a necessary correction has to wait for the next generation.

That will be possible, because the system of publication sponsored by the Heidelberg Academy for the Sciences and Humanities is far more cautious than that conceded, for example, to rock art specialists of the former Soviet Union. In the German publications inscriptions are rendered by photographs, important

* Part of this essay is based on a paper given to Professor Fateh Muhammad Malik when he left Heidelberg for Islamabad. Professor Fateh Muhammad Malik, holder of the Iqbal Chair at the South Asia Institute/University of Heidelberg for many years, was one of my best friends and colleagues, a worthy representative of his homeland.

figures often in colour ones. Scholars like Ranov and Kuz'mina were enthusiastic about such possibilities. The rock art province along the traverse of the Indus in the area of Chilas will be better documented than those in the other parts of the Central Asian mountain belt. Thanks to this generous liberality we know that, for example, human figures are highly individual, with enormous diversity of attributes and poses.

The other detriment of this situation certainly is that we have to wait several decades for the final end of the publications. That cannot be excused by the expectation that the commercial excavations of graveyards in the catchment area of the upper Indus might offer a necessary approach to the petroglyphs. After the exhaustion of graveyards in Swat, the grave-robbers expanded their activities to the areas in the large side-valleys of the Indus, especially Tangir and Darel. They are well-armed and would defend their hunting grounds against regular archaeologists.

To draw more attention to the highly interesting researches in the Northern Areas of Pakistan was my intention when I offered the contributions showing my way from ethnography to archaeology which I had seen on the rocks, to a respected publisher.

How did it come that I, although my previous anthropological, geographical and historical studies were concentrated on Central Asia and Southern Siberia, shifted the focus of my main interest to the Northern Areas of Pakistan from the very first moment I went there? A question even I asked myself very often. A short glance into my biography might give a clue to this question:

When I was born in Vienna in August 1918, this charming town still was the capital of Austria-Hungary, the Danubian monarchy. Although this great supranational Middle-European empire was dissolved a few weeks after my birth, and gave place to a small state with very restricted possibilities for the next generations, in my family its spirit was kept alive. First of all there was my father, who never could overcome what he considered to be a political tragedy: the dissolution of this old multiethnic state in the very heart of Europe. He was born in Bohemia in a family whose members were citizens of small

townships and villages, where they held respectable positions. One of his forefathers was president of the court of justice in Biala where the population was German, Polish, Ukrainian and Czech. As a young man my father migrated to Vienna and became a respected painter and etcher, a Professor at the Imperial Academy of Pictorial Arts. Additionally, he was an enthusiastic musician playing flute, organ and the violin; the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra made him an honorary member. After the partition of Austria-Hungary many of my relatives on the paternal side lived in the new state of Czechoslovakia, many on the maternal side in Hungary. My mother was from this part of the former state, where most families of the middle class were of German extraction at that time.

The first European explorer of the Northern Areas, Dr Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner came exactly from the same region as my maternal family. When he joined the rebellion of his Hungarian friends against the Habsburg State in 1848, Leitner had to take refuge in England, from where he went to Lahore and later on to the northern mountain areas. There he became the best friend of the local Dardic population, always stressing that they deserved to remain free and independent. They had his sympathy—just like the Hungarians, who, in vain, had fought the Russians and the Germans in 1848. Finally, Leitner went back to England, where he arranged the building of the first mosque for his students—many of them Muslims. He—who always remained a Christian—only wanted to render a service to his friends.

When I enrolled at the University of Vienna in 1936, I hoped to learn about such problems as migration and ethnicity—but was disappointed. The scholars in the disciplines of history and ethnology very rarely included such relevant topics into their schedule, only the great prehistorian Oswald Menghin and the Japanese scholar Masao Oka, then guest Professor in Vienna, offered lectures that met my expectations. But, unfortunately, there was not much time for studies at all: In 1938 Austria was integrated into Nazi-Germany. For me, like for many other men, it meant that I had to join the German army and to participate in

the Second World War. However, I got leave for finishing my studies, and in altogether six months I wrote my thesis, made my examinations and was awarded the degree 'Dr phil'. In my thesis I tried to prove that during the period of the 'Great Migrations' in Europe some of the most important crafts were in the hands of migrant workers. Their social problems are reflected by seemingly mythical tales, for instance about Wieland the Blacksmith and his skills.

Having returned from war with a piece of iron from a Russian shell inside my belly, I was lucky to meet some of my former teachers and was captivated by the enormous progress achieved in the field of Central Asian archaeology. Rich graves had been excavated in the Altai region, all otherwise perishable goods were frozen and, therefore, well preserved over more than two thousand years. Already before the Second World War, fascinated by the cultural heritage of the European east, I had started to learn Russian, so that I was able to follow the publications of my Soviet colleagues. Translated with critical comments I made them accessible to other Western specialists—almost the first information about the results of the pertinent researches to be published at all.

My activities were appreciated by some of the great scholars of those days, among them the sinologist Bernhard Karlgren, the British archaeologist Ellis H. Minns, the prehistorian V. Gordon Childe. In Vienna I was supported by Robert von Heine-Geldern, a great personality with a wide outlook, and by Robert Bleichsteiner, an expert on Caucasian and Central Asian cultures and languages. For some years I had to earn my living by translations from several European languages, until I entered the staff of the Ethnological Museum in Vienna. One year later (1955), Adolf Friedrich, then Professor at the University of Mayence, planned anthropological fieldwork in the mountain areas of Northern Pakistan. He invited me as well as the indologist Georg Buddruss, whom Georg Morgenstierne accepted as his spiritual heir, and Peter Snoy, then student at Friedrich's institute and later on my competent assistant and

dear friend for many years, to join his expedition sponsored by the German Research Foundation.

The expedition had the unique chance to visit the valleys of Tangir and Darel, just included into the administered part of the Gilgit Agency with the full consent of the population. Social developments, never described before, were observed there. In Darel, the traditional village communities still were intact and had preserved their system of administration. In Tangir, the emergence of a stratum of landlords was visible, the fields were tilled by sharecroppers in a social position not much different from slavery.

The new upper class considered hunting as their favourite sport, but it was complemented by ideas almost recalling Siberian beliefs; ibex and markhor—the main bag—were considered as being sacred animals. Wonderful carvings were visible everywhere, the mosques and the wooden graves were lavishly decorated. Later much of these splendid remains were destroyed. The languages spoken there were studied by Buddruss with great success.

After this crucial experience, I could visit Baltistan, especially *brokpa* villages situated in the upper parts of the valleys coming down from the Deosai plateau. There I met still active shamans and had the chance to observe many customs which have been abolished since.

The expedition ended tragically. Friedrich stayed in the valleys of the Kalash-Kafirs even in wintertime, which so overexerted his health that he died in Rawalpindi in spring, 1956. Even I succumbed to the strains of a serious illness that prevented me from my intended studies in the mountains of Afghanistan; I had to return from Kabul.

Only two years later I came back to the Gilgit Agency as a member of the scientific team added to an Austrian climber expedition which conquered the Haramosh (7497 m). The short period passed in the Haramosh valley brought most important information: the population there still remembered details of a pre-Islamic cult for a female deity protecting the hunters and their game—ibex and markhor. The deity as well favoured the

women in the time of childbirth and their offspring. She was a sort of a Central Asian Artemis, not the sole parallel to the religious systems of the Mediterranean World.

All in all it turned out that the great scholars among the British overlords, for instance George S. Robertson and John Biddulph, had written excellent reports, but the full importance was still clouded at that time. One of the aims of my scientific work was to lift these clouds and to create a sound foundation for the generation of researchers to follow. Whether I succeeded or not, future generations might be able to judge. A compendium of my contribution to the ethnography of the Northern Areas is given in the first three chapters of the present publication.

The 1958 expedition remained the last one for many years, because I, always working in two fields—Central Asian pre-history and South Asian anthropology—entered an academic career. I was appointed Associate Professor in Vienna, only three years later and became a full Professor in Mayence in 1964. After another three years, I was a full Professor in Heidelberg at the South Asia Institute as head of a large department. There I got the offer of a well-known editor to publish a large comprehensive study on the traditional customs and beliefs of the mountain peoples in Afghanistan and Pakistan, a challenge to start a new series of expeditions in order to collect material for this project.

In fact, expeditions in 1971 and 1973 brought new information. But the overwhelming impression of these journeys, now including Chitral and Swat-Kohistan, was to recognize how little had been done in the past—except in a few selected spots, for example, the valleys of the Kalash-Kafirs, where the last pagans of the Hindukush had been almost overcrowded by anthropologists.

The work, devoted to the spiritual heritage of the mountain peoples, was printed in 1975. It was translated into Russian and, partly, into English. Long before corresponding post-modernist claims were formulated, I was conscious of my responsibility to my many friends in Gilgit, Skardu, Chitral, and in the villages to render their information as correct as possible. Therefore, in

1973, I brought my manuscript to Pakistan and discussed it with learned persons, for example, with Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk, the former Governor of Drosh, and Wazir Ali Shah in Chitral proper, who had already done tremendous service to the great Norwegian linguist Georg Morgenstierne.

However, I learnt more and more that it is impossible to write a synopsis of the spiritual heritage as long as the basic facts of the political, ethnic and social past still remain unknown.

At present, most historical essays are overestimating the first attempts made by the British authors shortly after the time of conquest. Besides, there are dynastic tales and genealogies, and the stories enshrined in the 'History of Jammu and Kashmir' written by Hashmatullah Khan. Chinese, Tibetan, and early Muslim sources were not used in a proper way, even less the rock-carvings, inscriptions and other historical monuments.

Shortly after the opening of the Karakoram Highway to foreigners, I started a systematic programme for the documentation and interpretation of such sources together with Professor Dani as official counterpart, and in close collaboration with the Lok Virsa and the Department of Archaeology. The immediate result was the discovery of one of the major rock art provinces of the world with more than 20,000 carvings or groups of carvings spread over the Northern Areas (i.e., the Gilgit Agency and Baltistan). The unique speciality of this province is the occurrence of many Buddhist carvings, and the connection with inscriptions in many languages: the local ones including the enigmatic Burushaski, still spoken in Hunza, Nager, Yasin, and foreign ones such as Sanskrit, Sogdian, Chinese, Bactrian, Middle Persian, Tibetan. An introduction to the results of the scientific interpretation of the 'Rock art in Northern Pakistan' is given in chapter four. Specialists from Pakistan, Germany, France, and England joined our team and dedicated their large knowledge and time to the deciphering and interpretation of the inscriptions. Professor Dani who had participated from the beginning wrote several articles, pamphlets and books for specialists, among them, at a time when essential conditions were still unknown, the, so far, most disseminated report.

I took over the task of detecting influences from Central Asia during the Bronze Age, during the time of the Early Scythian nomads, and later on when Tibetans dominated the Inner Asian oases and steppes. All my archaeological efforts during previous decades turned out to be fruitful. And I was also able to see the links with the later 'dynastic' history.

At the beginning, Baltistan was the most powerful country in the mountains. It was the centre of the kingdom of Bolor, still mentioned during medieval times by Biruni, Marco Polo, and Mirza Haidar, the Mongol adventurer and writer. Bolor brought Buddhism even into far away valleys, and introduced a peaceful way of life.

South-east of Bolor, with the capital in the Nilum valley, was the state of the Daradas, and further to the west there were smaller kingdoms under strong Iranian influence, even today evident for the scholar studying the beautiful language of Chitral, namely Khovar.

When the Tibetans, who had founded a strong 'empire' in the seventh century AD invaded the region and the Chinese attempts to interfere failed, the Darada rulers became—with the consent of the Tibetans—overlords over most of the mountain valleys. The local princes used the fighters from the Karakoram to attack and plunder Kashmir, but they also gave asylum to Kashmir rulers during internal wars.

In Baltistan and Ladakh, however, the Tibetans had posted princes from Khotan as their governors. They could not stop the invasion of tribes from Central Asia, who had to find new lands after the collapse of Tibetan and Uighur predominance. The Khotanese or Turkish names of formerly ruling families in Gilgit and Baltistan may be explained by such invasions.

Later on these warlike lords from the North were ready to accept Islam as their religion spreading it over the whole region—only in a small enclave pagan traditions were preserved. Other preachers of Pakhtun descent came from the South. So today we find a considerable diversity, the Ismaelis maybe representing a very early wave. Chapters 5 to 10 offer detailed analyses of these developments throughout the centuries.

Although my reports contain several proposals which even my own colleagues did not accept, they remain, maybe after a more definite formulation, the clue for understanding the situation.

Once again I would stress that we should not take the petroglyphs only as historical documents. They also reveal the artistic abilities of the indigenous population, a keen spirit and humorous tendencies. For collecting merits, foreign-trained painters were asked by local lords to increase the regional 'rock art gallery' by traditional scenes and gestures, a performance well paid in cash and kind. The native contenders made copies in the local style: crude but bold and capricious. Such local masters were able to express the current ideas of the population, often different from the official version.

For the documentation of the rock art, expeditions under my leadership were working in each year between 1979 and 1988. These campaigns were sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation and the German Research Foundation. In 1989, however, the research unit 'Rock-carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakoram Highway' was founded in the frame of the Heidelberg Academy for the Sciences and the Humanities. Since then, the small team with Dr Ditte Bandini-König, Mr Martin Bemann, M.A., and the artist Elisabeth Sepi-Ochsenfeld as permanent staff members headed by my friend, the prehistorian Professor Dr Harald Hauptmann, is busy with publishing the sites. At least twenty large volumes will be needed with hundreds of photographs to issue the enormous collection. The expeditions continue and every year new and fascinating material is added to the already existing corpus. Unfortunately, this tremendous work will hardly be completed before the end of my expected lifetime. So not all of my observations and suggestions might be regarded.

I know very well, how deeply I am indebted to my local friends and advisors. Some of them have already been mentioned; let me add Mr Rhabar Hassan, who was chief of the porters for the early German Nanga Parbat expeditions. He was my guide during the early expeditions and discovered some of the most important sites. As helpful was the former administrator

of Chilas, a great personality, highly appreciated by the local population, Mr Ismail Khan, was able to inform about rock-carvings near Chilas. Shortly before his sudden demise, Ismail Khan related, that in his youth, even when riding over a difficult path, his eyes were directed to the mountain side. He hoped to recognize wild goats, the most appreciated bag. Now, however, he looked out for rock-carvings!

Since late August 1971, I became one of the many visitors hosted by Shazada Hussam-ul-Mulk at Drosh. It became clear, that this prince was better informed about the former system in his land than any of his compatriots, even better than my highly intelligent and critical friend Wazir Ali Shah. Hussam-ul-Mulk who was an adamant admirer of the old way of life including many formalities and the rigid etiquette, was fully aware of their functional relevance. Chitral had a courtly culture, highly sophisticated and rich in detail, and the manners of the court permeated to the lower classes by systems of official invitations and fosterage.

Therefore, I attempted to give Hussam-ul-Mulk further incentives and proposed that his memories of the past should be written down in a series of notebooks which could then be published together with supplementary comments by professional linguists. When the renowned linguist Georg Buddruss came to Chitral in 1975, he worked with Hussam-ul-Mulk for several weeks in order to clarify the scientific transcription of many hitherto unknown terms.

Shazada Hussam-ul-Mulk had offered his assistance even before I had personal contact with him. He was always willing to provide all information possible. His reasons for such readiness are a clear proof that he truly understood the task and chances provided by ethnology, much better than some distinguished colleagues. In a letter from 1968 Hussam-ul-Mulk wrote:

For every people there are times when the achievements of the past are no longer understood and therefore neglected. Foolish persons believe that the future will be much better and quite different. In

such times, the foreigner is more to be trusted than the old generation, especially when this foreigner can boast of scientific erudition. The older generation should then hand over their knowledge to the trusted foreigner. He should present it in a language widely known, in this case English. In such a roundabout way, the locals would be informed by an authority which they accept more readily than their own leaders. Perhaps in future there would be schoolbooks in Chitral telling the story of their own land.

Regrettably, Hussam-ul-Mulk was not able to see more than the beginning of the work with his own eyes. Mourned by his compatriots, even regarded as a holy man, he died after a protracted illness on 22 August 1977.

Hopefully my works and studies will contribute to his most prominent aim, namely helping the next generations to understand the past and through it the present of their country and people better.

Karl Jettmar
Heidelberg, Spring 2000

Early Expeditions in North Pakistan (1955, 1958)

During the second half of the nineteenth century the British, assisted by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, moved the borders of India to the main ranges of the Hindukush and Karakoram. The western Hindukush, however, outside the line of defence marked by the Khyber pass, was handed over to Afghanistan.¹ This shift of the border was governed by strategic reasons and not economic interest as the British tolerated the existence of tribal areas and did not intervene in the internal affairs of the conquered unless they were forced to. In many cases the local rulers were permitted to stay in power. Another reason for their self-restraint were the geographical conditions, which Biddulph impressively characterized:

In no other part of the world, probably, is there to be found such a large number of lofty mountains within so confined a space. This immense mass of mountain is intersected by numerous deep valleys, and these, owing to some particular geological formation which I have not remarked in other parts of the Himalayas, are generally narrower at their mouth than higher up. It is not unusual to see among them valleys of from 10 to 30 miles in length, supporting a population varying from 500 to 5,000 souls, with an embouchure so narrow that it is difficult to find a pathway beside the torrent which issues between overhanging rocks. In addition to this, the enormous rush of water during the summer months from numerous and extensive glaciers and snowfields impedes communication. (Biddulph 1880:1-2).

* This chapter is a slightly revised version of an article published under the title 'The cultural history of Northwest Pakistan' (Jettmar 1960c).

•

Regarding the inhabitants of those mountains, we can distinguish three periods of investigation:

1. The first explorers, mostly British officials, were equally interested in all cultural aspects. They collected wonderful material, but used it only for casual hypotheses.²
2. After 1900, linguistic research turned out to be more and more important. It became evident that a map based on language is much more variegated than one could deduct from the rather homogenous material culture or even from the spiritual concepts.³
 - a) In the east, in Ladakh (India) and in Baltistan (Pakistan), Tibetan dialects are spoken.
 - b) Languages of the north-western or 'Dardic' branch of the Indian (Aryan) group are found in Chitral, the Gilgit Agency, Dir, upper Swat, and Indus-Kohistan, all now united with Pakistan. Some Dardic villages exist in Baltistan and even in Ladakh.⁴
 - c) The Iranian languages are: Jidgha (= Munji) in Chitral, Wakhi in the Gilgit Agency (cf. Lorimer 1958), and Pashto in Dir, Swat, and Indus-Kohistan.
 - d) In the greater part of the Hunza valley, Burushaski is spoken. The Wershikwar of Yasin is another dialect of the same tongue (cf. Zarubin 1927). It is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish, or Tibetan languages.

During this period, problems of the ancient geography were almost exclusively considered and solved by A. Stein (1907, 1921, 1928). Ethnographic material was collected, but A. Francke alone used it as a historical source.⁵ The ambitious work of Hashmatullah Khan remained almost unknown (Hashmatullah Khan 1939).

3. The present period may be reckoned since the Second World War. This period is chiefly differentiated from the past by the opening of most of the former 'tribal territory' along the Indus to travellers (cf. A. Stein 1942), and by a radical increase in field research:

- a) Linguistic field work from 1954–5 (Barth/Morgenstierne 1956; Buddruss 1959).
- b) Terms and methods of modern sociology were applied for the first time by Barth in 1954 (Barth 1956).
- c) The cultural geography of the Hunza valley was studied in the same years (Paffen/Pillewizer/Schneider 1956).
- d) For the first time since the days of the earliest explorers, ethnographic and folkloristic material was systematically collected. The Kalash, a Dardic tribe of Chitral, were visited by Siiger in 1954, and by Friedrich and Snoy during the German Hindukush Expedition 1955–6 (Siiger 1956; Snoy 1959, 1960).

Adolf Friedrich, Peter Snoy, Georg Buddruss, and myself, all members of the same expedition worked in the Gilgit Agency in 1955. Among the valleys also visited were Tangir and Darel, which were tribal territory up to 1952 and notorious for robbery and murder. Owing to the untimely death of Friedrich in Rawalpindi on 25 April 1956, not much of his material has been published (Jettmar 1957; Snoy 1960).

The sudden, almost explosive increase in anthropological activity, however, had the consequence that the findings of one expedition could not be used to plan the next. Moreover, no compilation of the older sources was readily available.

In 1958, when I returned to the area as a member of the Austrian Haramosh Expedition,⁶ the situation had changed. All the reports just mentioned had appeared; I could gather personal information from Snoy, Buddruss, and Barth. Additionally, I had written the necessary compilation myself (Jettmar 1957–8). So my work may be regarded as an attempt to fill the gaps systematically, to solve at least some of the problems which had arisen in 1955–6. In being able to choose my route of travel to this end, I am indebted to the goodwill of the Austrian Himalaya Society, which sponsored this expedition. I am also grateful for the efficient help of the Government of Pakistan, for the understanding of my comrades, and for a grant given by the American Philosophical Society.

Most of my time was devoted to the study of the Shina speaking population in the Gilgit Agency. Between 2 April and 8 August, I visited the valleys of Haramosh, Gilgit proper up to Gupis, Tangir, Darel (as in 1955), and Gor. Only the most important results are enumerated below:

1. For the process of settlement, no general theory can be established. Some valleys were depopulated and had new settlers several times. The description of this complicated issue must be left to a later publication.
2. As for the pre-Islamic settlement pattern, in 1955 the expeditioners were told that there once existed village fortresses high upon the slopes or in the upper part of the valleys. This was fully attested at Gor. The view of that valley had not changed much since the conversion (cf. Jettmar 1959). A separate article will show the evolution in most of the valleys leading from this form to the modern one.
3. As a basis for the study of the material culture, collections were acquired during the expedition of 1955–6. This time more clothing and carved objects were bought.⁷ I used them for an article somewhat in the footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein (Jettmar 1960b).
4. I was able to confirm the discovery Adolf Friedrich had made first, that there existed houses for the disposing of the dead bodies near Gakuch. They belong to entire lineages and are much nearer to the collective ground-level burials just detected in Khorezm than to the coffins of the Hindukush-Kafirs, to which Soviet scientists compare them. In the Wakhan, similar types may exist (Snesarev 1960, Jettmar 1960d). All of them go back to pre-Islamic Iranian burial practice.
5. The more general aspects of subsistence and economy were described by Wiche (1958:9–14) and myself (1960b:92–4). They do not differ too much from the standard found in Hunza by Paffen.

South of Gilgit we observed the survivals of an archaic pattern in which hunting and goat breeding were of greater importance. The goats were fed with the leaves of the evergreen holm-oak (*Quercus ilex*) in winter. Cattle, which require haymaking and stall-feeding for protracted periods, were mainly used for ploughing and threshing, not for food. Millet dominated among the crops. As manure was scarce, a system of fallowing was necessary.

6. Turning to sociology, 'classic' authors such as Biddulph and Leitner were mostly interested in the system of castes and in the methods of administration. The existence of lineages inside the 'castes', quite similar to those described by Barth for Indus-Kohistan, only became clear after the expedition of 1955-6. During my last visit, I found some hints that these lineages were not endogamous but exogamous before Islam, i.e., they showed a characteristic feature not common in modern Central Asia.

South of Gilgit, many local peculiarities, for example, division of the villagers into quarters (not castes) of equal numeric strength, were noted in 1955. In Darel, I was able to establish that this division was the basis for a periodic re-allotment of fields and meadows among all members of the community. It is obvious that the Pathan *wesh*-system was introduced by Sunnite missionaries who belonged to that people. All other forms still existing in neighbouring valleys can be explained as results of the disintegration of this system (Jettmar 1960).

7. Islam is the official religion of the area. However, even the early explorers noted many popular beliefs and customs of unknown origin. In certain aspects this was confirmed in 1955. There were evidences of fragments of an old religion observed during festivals, offerings, and a kind of shamanism. The old gods whose names had been reported to Biddulph, seemed forgotten. Taiban, however, the protecting god of the Gor valley, is still remembered. His festivals as well as his connection with the horse remain in memory. In Haramosh, I found the still intact (if rather crude) sanctuary

of Murkum, a goddess favouring women in labour as well as hunters (Jettmar 1958). Lorimer and Schomberg were told about dangerous witches in the Gilgit Agency, the *rui*, and their 'black masses'. My information makes clear that this popular belief is a reflection of the ecstatic and cruel cult of Murkum, resembling the Tauric Artemis. Even the 'aider and abettor' of the witches bear the features of the priest of this goddess. I think that now we are able to explain many strange motives in the stories reported by Leitner, Biddulph, Lorimer, and Schomberg.

One of the most surprising results of the expedition in 1955 was that so many beliefs and customs of hunters had been preserved in this essentially agricultural area; a sort of shamanism based on similar ideas. It was described by the 'old authorities' and is still flourishing in the northern part of the Gilgit Agency. Now it becomes clear that this complex is headed by Murkum (Jettmar 1961). In her spiritual world, man and wild goat (ibex or markhor) are considered as 'doubles'. In the same way, Murkum may appear as a woman or as a she-ibex. Even the holy tree of the Dards, the juniper, belongs to that realm. It renders fodder to the wild goats in wintertime; it is used by the shamans; and it may represent the goddess herself. The domestic goat is held as a pure animal because it is a relative of the holy game, ibex and markhor. The cow, lacking such connections, is regarded as unclean and bad.

Since Biddulph, the existence of structures of megalithic character is known. Ghulam Muhammad records feasts of merit for women connected with similar but smaller monuments. An exciting report about feasts of merit and menhirs erected by and for men was brought from the Haramosh district by Peter Snoy. I am able to confirm his information and may add that the posting of such a stone meant the founding of a new lineage (Jettmar 1960a).

To sum up we may say that in this area we are not dealing with isolated superstitions but with the survivals of a distinct and specific religious system hardly disguised by an Islamic

stratum. Many minor traits not fully mentioned above fit into this pattern.

Only a short visit (19–28 August) was paid to Swat, as it was important to see whether or not the Dardic tribes of Swat-Kohistan, whose social life was studied by Barth, had preserved much of their old pre-Islamic traditions. Definitely they have, but not to the same extent as their northern neighbours. For more detailed statements, further research will be necessary (cf. Jettmar 1959: 89–90).

The main problem raised by the recent material is, how should one classify this underground religion of the Shina-speaking Dards. How old is it and where are its origins? Surely, it was not the result of late acculturation or missionary work. It is too much interwoven with the archaic economic pattern mentioned before. Moreover, similar religious systems existed among the other Dardic peoples. There are many parallels in the still pagan cult of the Kalash. This principal features must belong to the common heritage of the whole ethnic group.

My comparative studies indicate that the most substantial foreign affinities do not lead to the popular beliefs of other Indian peoples, neither do they lead to the thoughts presented in the Vedic texts (Jettmar 1960d, 1961). They are rather related to Kafiristan and Caucasia (hunting customs) on the one hand, and to Nepal, Assam, and Burma on the other. Thus, one may presume that there is a chain of kindred mountain-religions perhaps going back to the Neolithic period. But there are connections to the north as well, to pre-Turkish Middle Asia and Southern Siberia. Taiban and Murkum, for instance, are surprisingly near to the central deities of Khorezm—Syavush and Anahita (Rapoport 1960).

The archaeological material—to which I made a contribution (Jettmar 1961a)—provides actual proof that there was a cultural influx from the north, perhaps connected with a migration of Saka tribes (Stein 1944; Litvinskij 1960).

Of course, beneath the tremendous mountains all foreign elements were transformed and given a new meaning. The summits and glaciers became the home of the gods; their

proudest game—ibex and markhor—became the symbols for holiness and ritual purity. This adaptation to the gigantic nature surely was the reason why the popular beliefs of the Dards could survive the impact of three great religions—Buddhism, which ruled for a millennium in political centres like Gilgit, Shivaism, and, finally, Islam.

NOTES

1. Therefore, this part of the area is not included in this study.
2. Only the most important papers can be mentioned in this short survey. Besides Biddulph (1880), cf. A. Cunningham (1854), G.W. Leitner (1876, 1889, 1894). Leitner and Biddulph include linguistic information in their books.
3. Cf. G.A. Grierson (1919), and the summarising articles of G. Morgenstierne (1932) and D.L.R. Lorimer (1935–38).
4. The Kashmiris originally belonged to the same stock. More Dardic languages are found in Afghanistan.
5. Cf. Ghulam Muhammad (1907), G. Dainelli (1924, 1925), D.L.R. Lorimer (1929), R.C.F. Schomberg (1935, 1938), A.H. Francke (1905, 1907).
6. This expedition was composed of a group of mountaineers who conquered Mount Haramosh under the leadership of Heinrich Roiss, and a scientific team, the geographer Prof. Dr K. Wiche, the zoologist Dr E. Piffl, and myself.
7. The acquisition of both collections was sponsored by the Austrian Ministry of education. Now they are part of the inventory of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

The Northern Areas of Pakistan

An Ethnographic Sketch

The Northern Areas might also be called the 'Trans-Himalayan Districts of Pakistan'. The westernmost part of the main range of the Great Himalaya forms the southern boundary, their northern boundary corresponds to the easternmost Hindukush and to the western Karakoram, and mountains now called Hinduraj (Rathjens 1972) separate them from Chitral. The eastern limit is the divide between Baltistan and Purig, corresponding roughly to the cease-fire line between Pakistan and Indian-held territory. The cease-fire line crosses the valleys of Indus and Shayok and follows the ranges bordering the Deosai plateau in the east.

The main division inside the Northern Areas are mountains called the 'Nanga Parbat-Haramosh spur' by geologists. This barrier is intersected in the north by the Indus river breaking through the Rondu gorge, and in the south by the Astor river draining a fan of valleys east of the Nanga Parbat.

The present political and administrative organization of the Northern Areas corresponds by and large to its geographical situation. East of the Rondu gorge there is the district of Baltistan with two subdivisions. In 1972 Skardu subdivision had a reported population of 89,000, and Khapalu of 78,000.

The western region contains two districts, north and south of the Gilgit range. The northern one—Gilgit proper—includes the valleys drained by the Gilgit river and the land along the Indus between the Shengus pass formerly intersecting the paths

* This chapter is a slightly revised version of an article published in 'History of the Northern Areas of Pakistan' (Jettmar 1989a).

through the Rondu gorge and the basin of Bunji. The southern district—Diamar—with its centre at Chilas, starts from Tangir/Darel (the opposite bank of the Indus belongs to Indus-Kohistan as far as the mouth of the Basha valley) and extends eastwards even to Astor, i.e., east of the Nanga Parbat-Haramosh spur. The population numbers for the Gilgit district were, according to the 1972 census: 158,000 (Gilgit subdivision 51,000; Hunza/Nager 52,000; 'Political Districts' 55,000), and 90,000 for the Diamar district: Chilas 29,000; Darel/Tangir 25,000; Astor 36,000. This implies that the Northern Areas had a total population of some 415,000 people in 1972. In many subdivisions the increase had been about thirty per cent since 1962. The effects of this excessive growth will be discussed shortly.

That such a patchwork of valleys nevertheless forms an integrated whole in many respects is due to several recent innovations in this region, especially the establishment of government schools favouring Urdu as a *lingua franca*. The main factor, however, is the construction of roads. Not only is the Karakoram Highway of extreme importance, so is the link-road through the Rondu gorge between Gilgit and Skardu. Many bridges were built over previously unfordable stretches of rivers, while jeep-roads are now creeping into remote side-valleys, some still under construction. Air traffic connecting Gilgit and Skardu with Islamabad still is important. The traditional suspension bridges formed of ropes of twisted birch (or willow) twigs have almost entirely disappeared, as have the famous skin rafts made of inflated cow or goat hides.

The indologist, Prof. Dr Gérard Fussman¹ includes Chitral and Indus-Kohistan within his survey but falls short with respect to Balti (Fussman 1972). However, not less than 150,000 of the inhabitants of Baltistan still speak this archaic Tibetan language. Burushaski is the mother tongue of a population of about 40,000 in Hunza and Yasin. I am not in a position to quote reliable numbers for the speakers of Khowar, Gujari, Wakhi, and Domaki, nor for the languages of the plains spoken by those who came to this region in service or as merchants etc.,

Kohistani is spoken by many gold washers² and others who originally entered as craftsmen or bondsmen.

Almost one half of the population speaks Shina. There are many dialects of Shina, some of them preserving a substratum of what appears to be another, unrecorded Dardic language. Shina was certainly brought in by a late wave of southern immigrants, probably entering in the service of a central political power. Later it was spread far to the east by settlers living in many colonies up to Ladakh.

Environment and Economy: Common Features

In the Northern Areas, as they are behind the Great Himalaya range, there is significantly less rainfall than further south, for example, in Indus-Kohistan. The main peculiarity is that there is scarcely any rainfall in the valleys but almost exclusively in high altitudes feeding snowfields and glaciers. So practically nowhere in this region agriculture may rely upon direct precipitation (i.e., lalmi cultivation). At the bottom of the valleys such as along the Indus, the air is extremely dry and the heat continues to be reflected from the barren rocks long after sunset. Therefore, everywhere irrigation is necessary, making double cropping possible that sometimes leads to higher annual yields per acre than in the lowland districts.

The rivers have cut their beds deep into rocks and sediments. The water volume changes enormously between its maximum in summer and its minimum between October and April, a ratio of 20:1 being quite normal. That makes it impossible to build canals branching off the main rivers themselves or to till the soil near their banks. Only the water of streams and rivulets coming forth from the side-valleys may be used. However, at the mouths of the side-valleys there are alluvial fans with much gravel and boulder, since at times sudden rainfall may result in a terrible flood. So it is preferred to conduct the water in canals to better protected tracts at the fringe of the fan and to build settlements there.

This is only one of the constraints imposed by nature. Another is the scarcity of manure as fertilizer. The best source is from cattle, but since all suitable land in the lower tracts (and of the side-valleys and near their mouths) is used for growing crops, high meadows became a necessary extension of the pastures. If they are of poor quality or at some distance, then human excrements must be collected together with the silt deposited in the canals by water coming from glaciers. This can be observed in Hunza and in Baltistan, although it is an unsuitable substitute for cattle-dung.

Collecting winter-fodder for cattle is very laborious, but it is possible to keep goats in large numbers in the zone of the evergreen holm-oak (*Quercus ilex*) south of the Gilgit range. The result is that agriculture was not feasible without herding before artificial fertilizer was made accessible. An integrated and well-balanced combination of agro-pastoral resources was necessary. Even immigrating herdsmen or other specialized groups tried their best to obtain their own land. Otherwise they were exploited and even blackmailed by the farmers in spring-time. Before the first harvest, there was always a scarcity of grain, and there were no distributing markets to cover their needs. Specialists—Gujars, Doms, *maruts*—were considered as being socially inferior to the farmers. They needed a direct link to the political centre or a sort of *jajmani* system—without the religious implications of inter-caste relations found in Hindu regions—for personal contact with farmers and a stable existence.

Wheat, barley, millet, buckwheat, and legumes were the principal crops, today supplemented and partly replaced by maize and potatoes. Equally important were fruits; apricots and grapes growing even at relatively high altitudes, while in lower places there were mulberries. They could be preserved, mostly dried, and formed an important part of the diet in winter. Walnuts were also plentiful in many areas.

Therefore, there was a considerable surplus in some places, but very few items for export, for example, *ghi*, dried apricots, or animals. This might explain the formerly widespread practice

Fig. 1: On the terrace over the southern bank of the Indus opposite the village Chilas, many boulders decorated with early petroglyphs are visible. Most of the rock-carvings were made in the prehistoric period. They are heavily repatinated and only visible when optimally lightened. The rock on the photograph shows a hunting scene, a markhor is cornered by two hunters accompanied by a dog. (Photo: Thalpan Ziyarat, Jettmar 1982)





Fig. 2: The two ibexes visible on a boulder at the westernmost terrace are made by battering—a rare technique. The body is completed with peckings inside the outline. (Photo: Thalpan Ziyarat, Jettmar 1982)

Fig. 3: Downstream of Chilas, a rock face with several hollows (chimneys) was used as a sanctuary. Splendidly decorated with rock art including inscriptions, mostly Kharoshthi. (Photo: Chilas II, Jettmar 1979)



Fig. 4: On the backside of a platform—used for religious activities—deities venerated by the local Buddhists (Vasudeva and Balarama), stupas, and drawings of the Saviour are depicted. (Photo: Chilas II, Jettmar 1979)

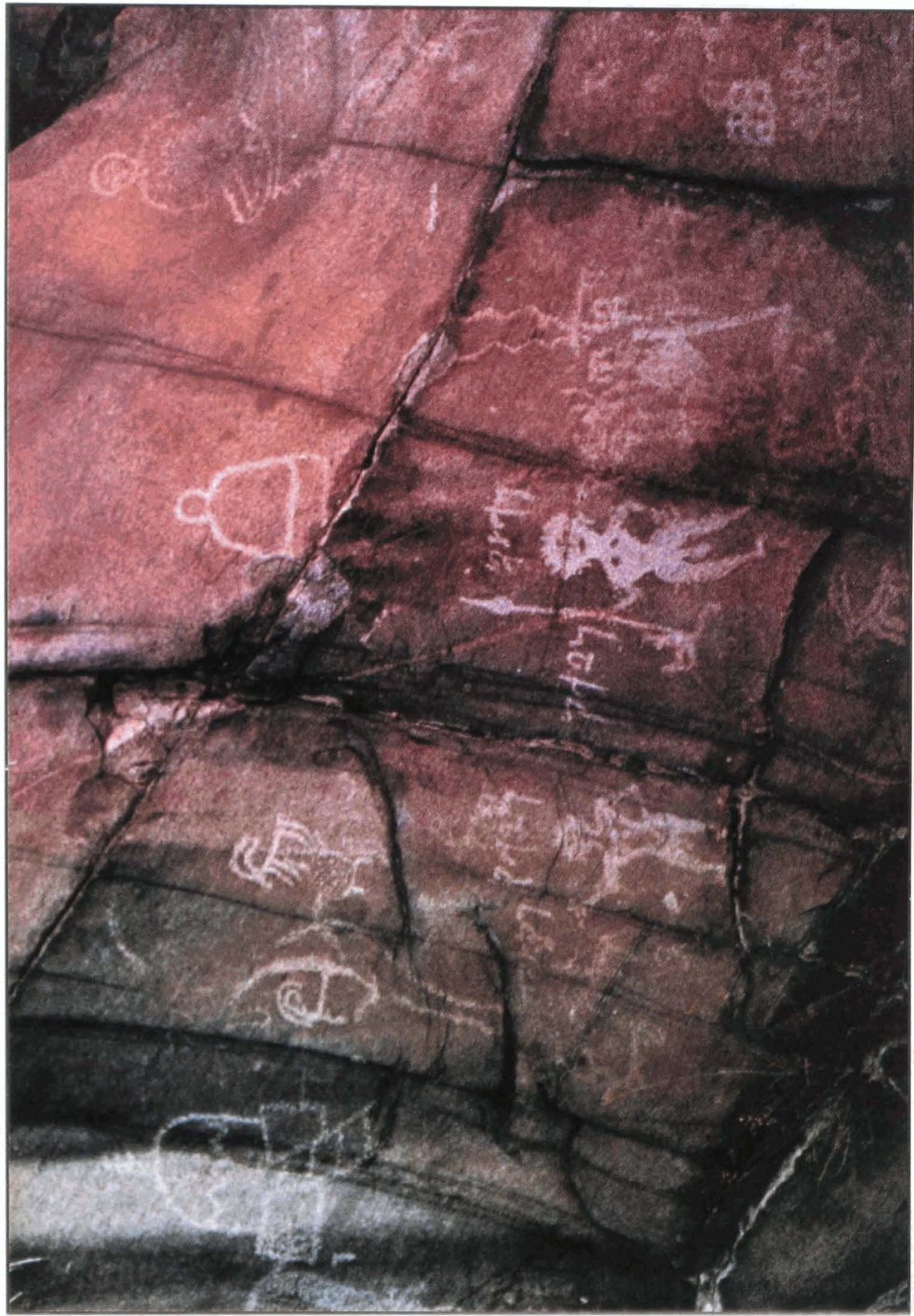




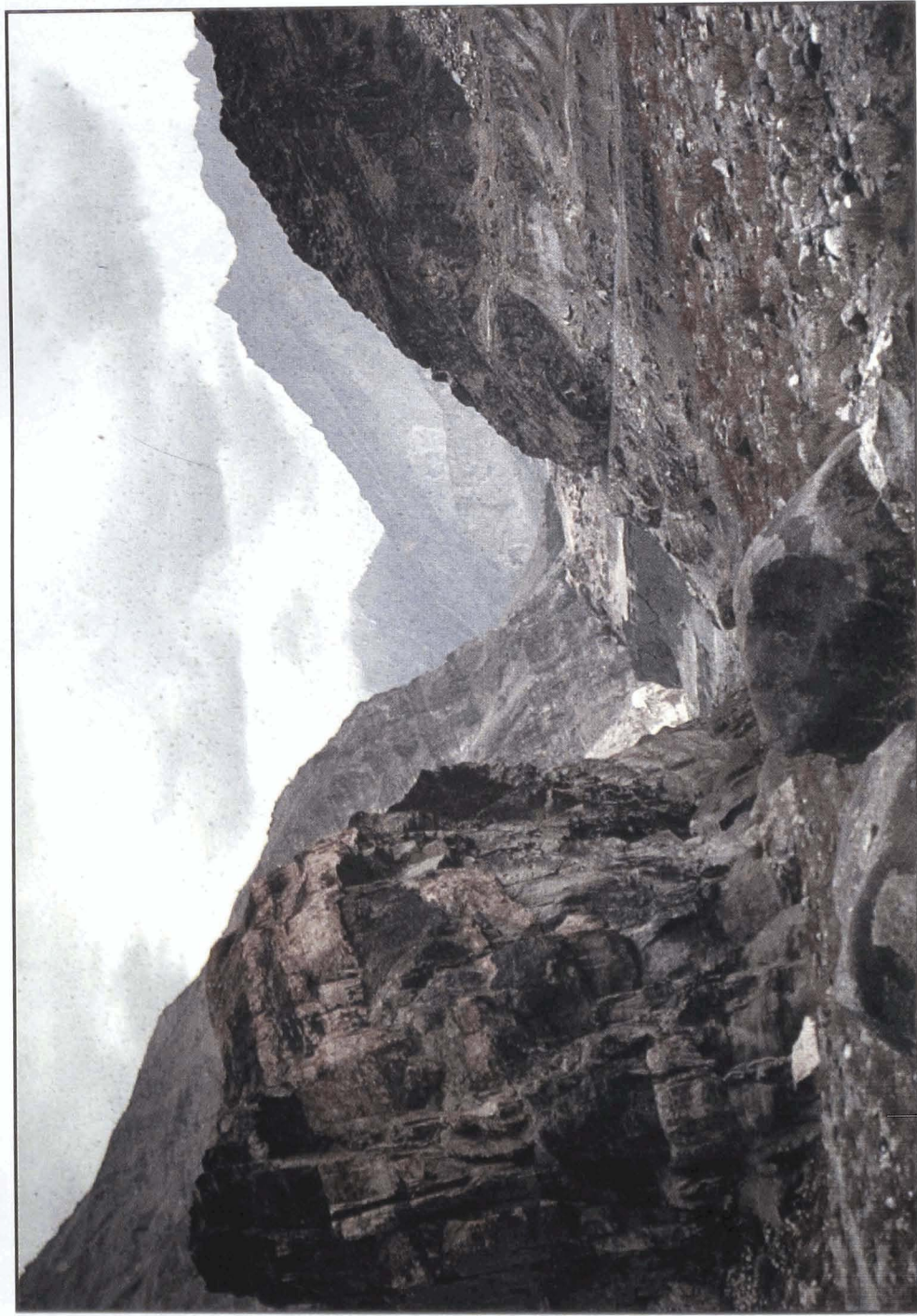
Fig. 5: In the hollows of the reef, mounted warriors are depicted. (Photo: Chilas II, Thewalt 1983)



Fig. 6: Near the modern bridge from Chilas to the northern bank, a rock in dominant position is decorated with petroglyphs. At this place called 'Altar Rock' we find the image of a warrior in an archaic dress with a long knife ready to slaughter a goat. This site was decorated by later visitors as well who had arrived following the Hunza river. (Photo: Thalpan Bridge, Thewalt 1981)

1981) 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200

Fig. 7: The site Haldeikish is situated at a crucial point (opposite Hunza) along the track running along the southern periphery of the Tarim basin and connecting the Indus valley with the Silk Roads. It was a place where the travellers employed or discharged the teams of guides and porters experienced in this difficult environment. Many inscriptions and figures pertain to the Kushan period. (Photo: Hunza-Haldeikish, Jettmar 1979)



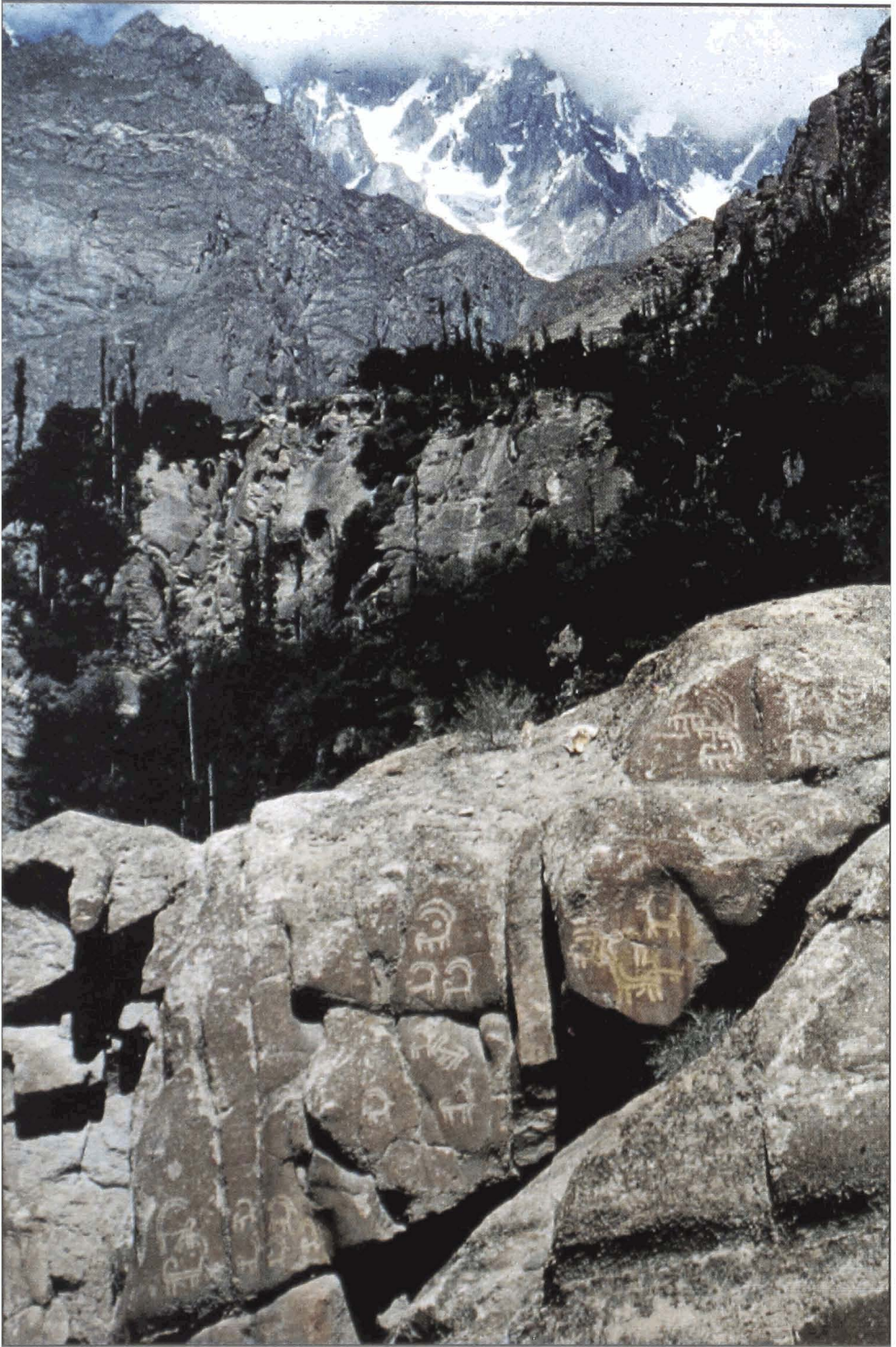


Fig. 8: The rocks on the left side of the modern road are decorated with petroglyphs. In the background the village Altit situated at the brink of an abyss is visible. This site was already known to Chinese and Pakistani workmen who built a bridge over the Hunza river nearby. But that did not impede the intention to destroy the rocks by blasting. (Photo: Hunza-Haldeikish, Jettmar 1985)

Fig. 9: Bullock followed by an ibex. The animal figures were made by tribes who imported the Scythian animal style to the mountains. The photograph was taken near the exit of the Rondu gorge. (Photo: Jettmar 1958)



Fig. 10: Near Shatial bridge there is a site where merchants from Sogdia met their counterparts coming from the areas where under the protection of Iranian dynasties the trade to Kashmir and Gandhara was organised. More than 500 Sogdian inscriptions are concentrated in a small compound. (Photo: Shatial I, Thewalt 1982)





Fig. 11: A stupas richly decorated according to the rules of Gandharan art at the site Thalpan Bridge. The statue is repeated outside of this monument. The inscription below this later Buddhist period rock-carving is in Brahmi script. (Photo: Thalpan Bridge, Jettmar 1984)



Fig. 12: Stupa reflecting the local technique of half-timbering with a figure of an adherent and Brahmi inscriptions. (Photo: Chilas, Jettmar 1982)

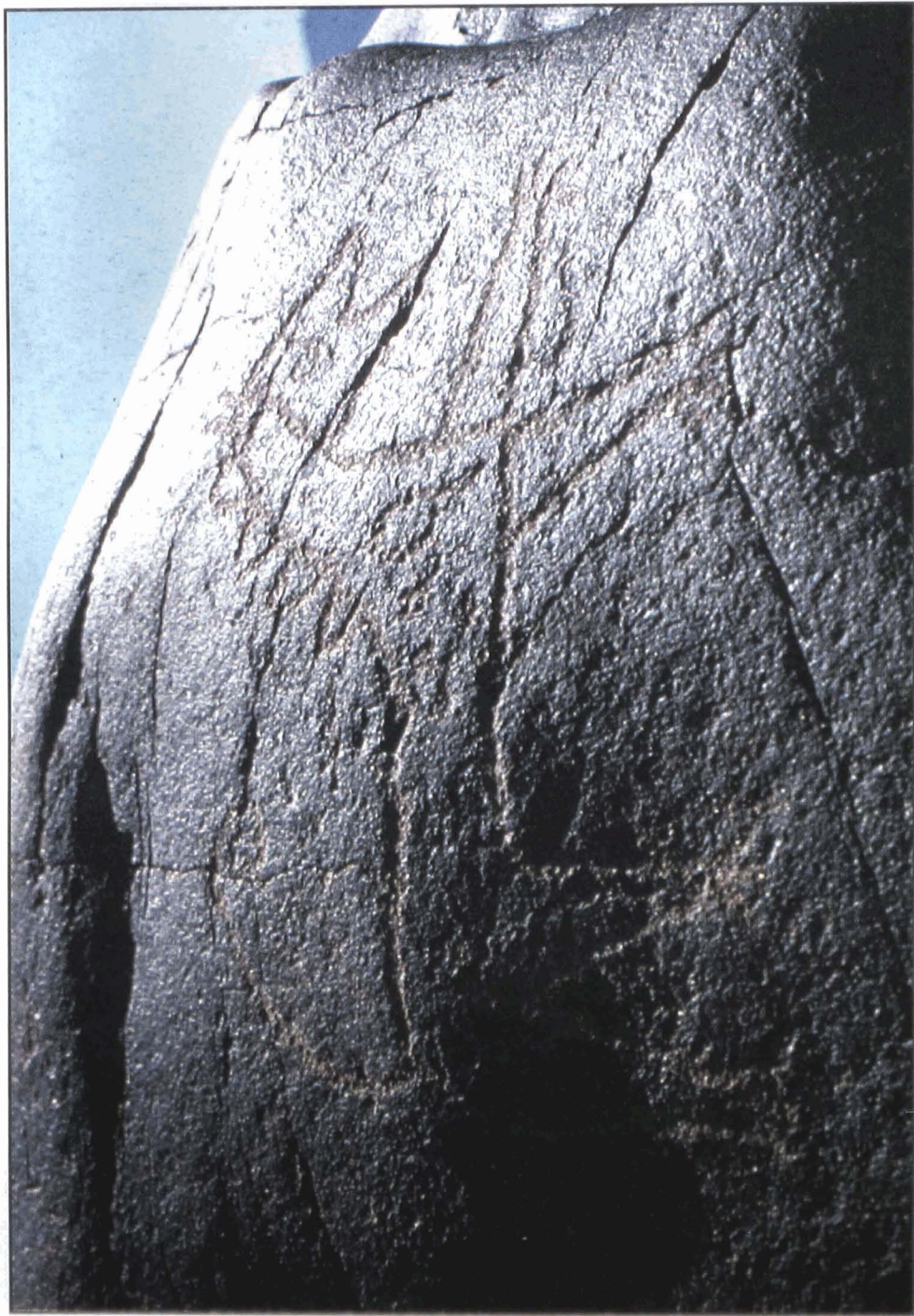


Fig. 13: In the Hodar valley several kinship groups of foreign origin came together in sacred meeting places where Brahmi inscriptions mentioning their names are attested. Apparently the dominant group had names composed with the term for lion or is attested by depicting this animal. (Photo: Hodar I, Jettmar 1981)

Fig. 14: On the other bank of the Indus one of the huge human figures which I called 'giants' can clearly be seen on one of the boulders. Typical are the small head, the extended arms and the spread legs. Such supernatural beings were still venerated and dreaded even in the Buddhist period. Originally accepted as male, later on they were conceived as female, with breasts added in a primitive technique. (Photo: below Chilas, Jettmar 1985)





Fig. 15: Near the confluence of the Indus and the Gilgit rivers the main symbol in the popular beliefs was the tulip. (Photo: near Partab Bridge, Jettmar 1988)

Fig. 16: In other parts of the surroundings, for example, near the mouth of the Gichi valley, the *anda* of the stupas was replaced by a circular design, maybe the expression of heliocentric beliefs. (Photo: Gichi, Jettmar 1981)



Fig. 17: In the Indus valley near the mouth of the Khanbari river figures of the giant demons are rendered in the usual technique with extended arms and darkened shoulders. The dating still is enigmatic. (Photo: Khanbari, Jettmar 1988)

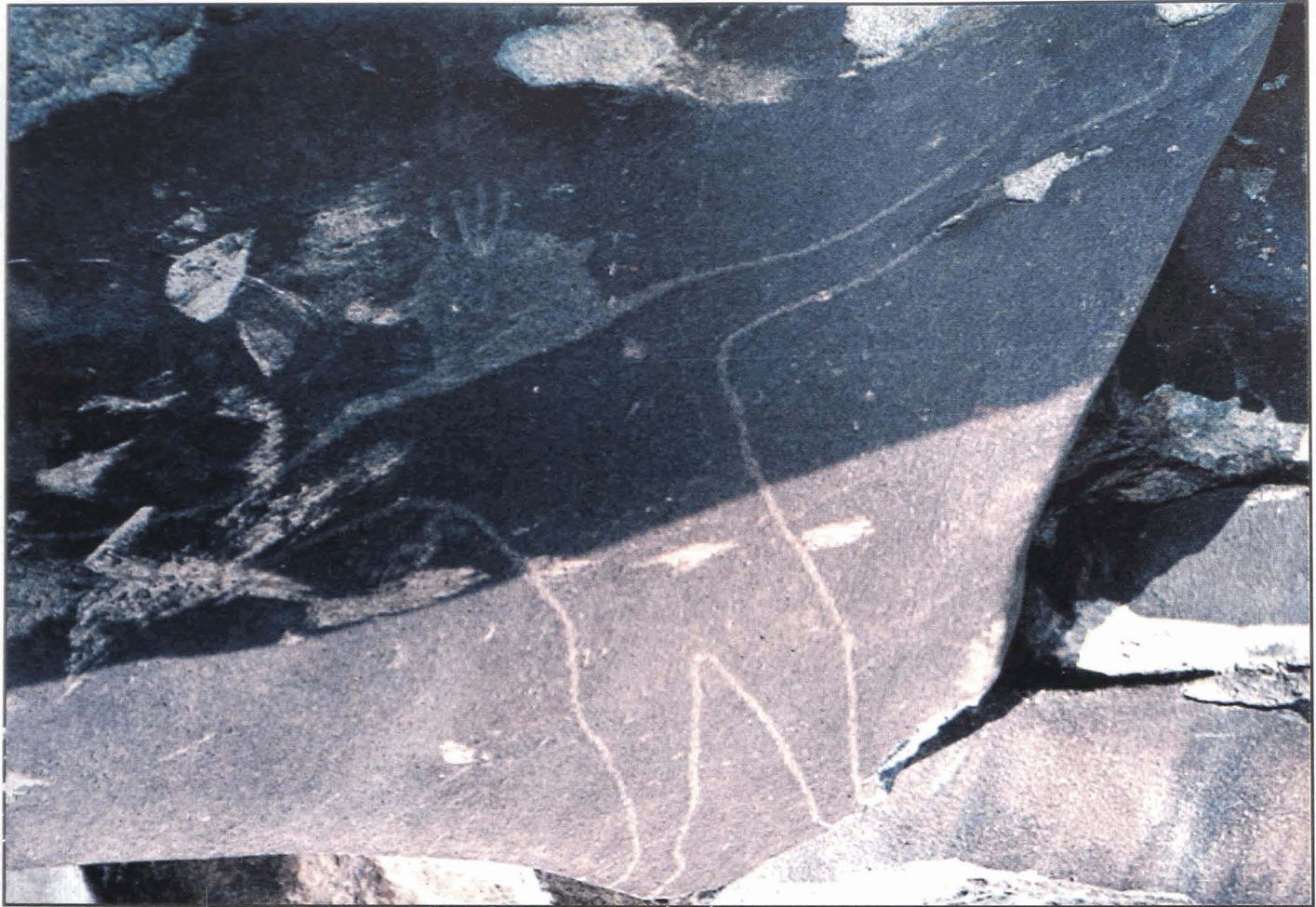


Fig. 18: The composition showing an adorant who presents an incense burner to a carefully executed stupa and holds a flower in his left hand, was made by an artist from Sogdia in the seventh or eighth century AD.

The motifs have been adapted to represent the Buddhist ritual. (Photo: Thalpan, Jettmar 1985)



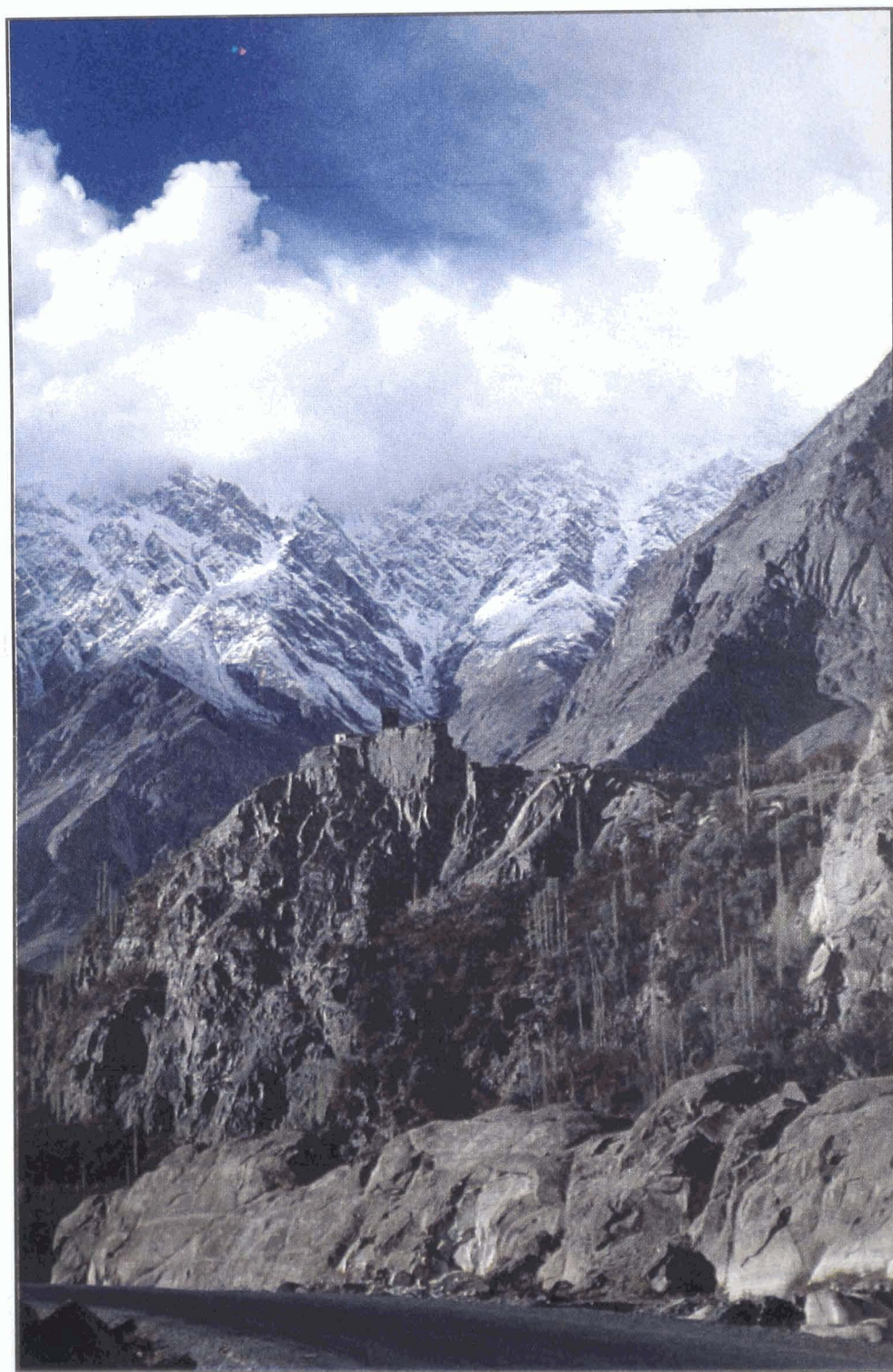


Fig. 19: After the time when Hunza-Haldeikish was a station of the transasiatic travellers, it finally was used as a sanctuary by the local illiterate population. Many figures of the ibex were made with the intention to improve the breeding of this sacred animal, the main bag of the hunters. (Photo: Hunza-Haldeikish, Jettmar 1979)

Fig. 20: Preachers of Islam arrived from the Pamirs in the sixteenth century AD, with the Yasin valley as main entry. There they decorated boulders near the place where they crossed the river with images of the *rubab*, their sacred musical instrument. This is the earliest evidence for the impact of Islam in the area north of the Gilgit valley. (Photo: Yasin, Jettmar 1985)





Fig. 21: In the late Buddhist period axes were considered as religious symbols for veneration. Their shape is similar to the dance-axes of the Kafirs. Often they were inserted in much earlier scenes. Circular figures like those observed at the mouth of the Gichi river belong to the same complex. (Photo: Chilas, Jettmar 1984)



Fig. 22: Hebrew inscriptions made by Jewish merchants on their way to Kashmir were observed near the so-called 'Campsite' in the Indus valley. Not far away Christian crosses verify the passage of Nestorian visitors. (Photo: Indus valley, Jettmar 1982)

Fig. 23: The tensions between different religious communities in the eighth and tenth centuries AD, when the Tibetans were the overlords, were expressed at a site discovered west of the mouth of the Hodar valley that was used as a sanctuary by—so far nameless—sectarians. Here the deity is emphasised by the use of a particular technical trick: the figure is composed of simple straight or curved lines, the head is formed by a circle. This deity seems to give order to attack the symbol of an enemy, a stupa of Tibetan type, by pointing at it. Some men are shown in single combat. Still not all figures can be explained. (Photo: Hodar, Jettmar 1986)



Fig. 24: The Nanga Parbat, the holy mountain, is to be seen in the background of this site. Its top is the supposed home of the protecting spirits, the *peris*. (Photo: Nanga Parbat, Thewalt 1984)



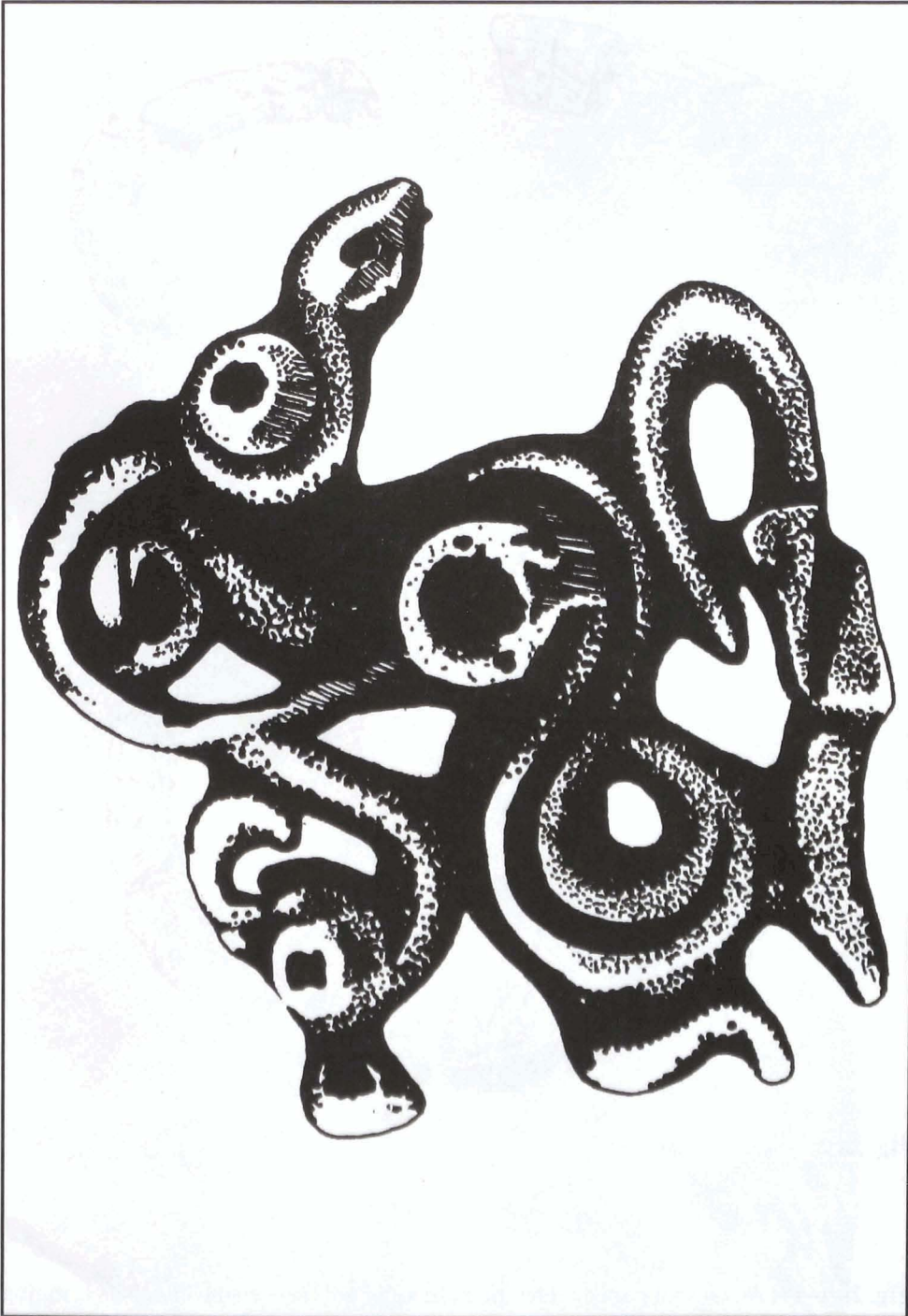


Fig. 25: During my visit to the Kandia valley, I met a man who had a bronze plaque (4 cm in diameter) attached to his cartridge belt. The surface showed the shape of an ibex. The prototype was found in the Pamirs. There it forms a stag but here the antlers are replaced by horns ending as head of a monal (*Impeyan pheasant*). Apart from the petroglyphs this was the first evident attestation of the use of the animal style in our area.

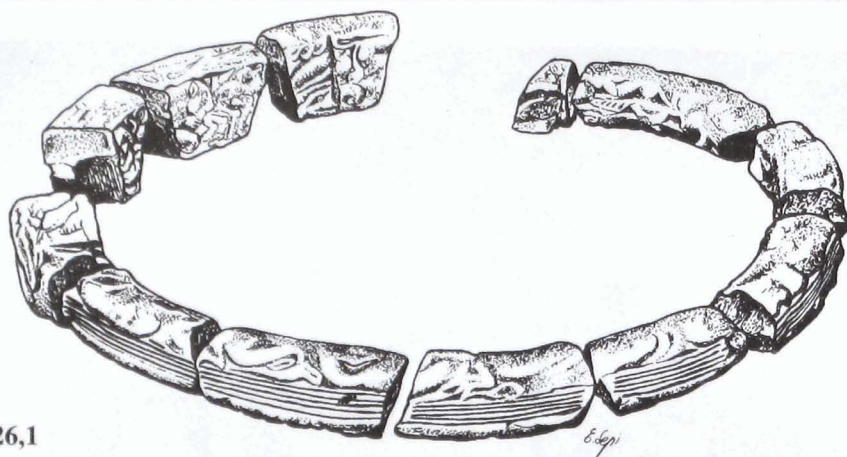


Fig. 26,1

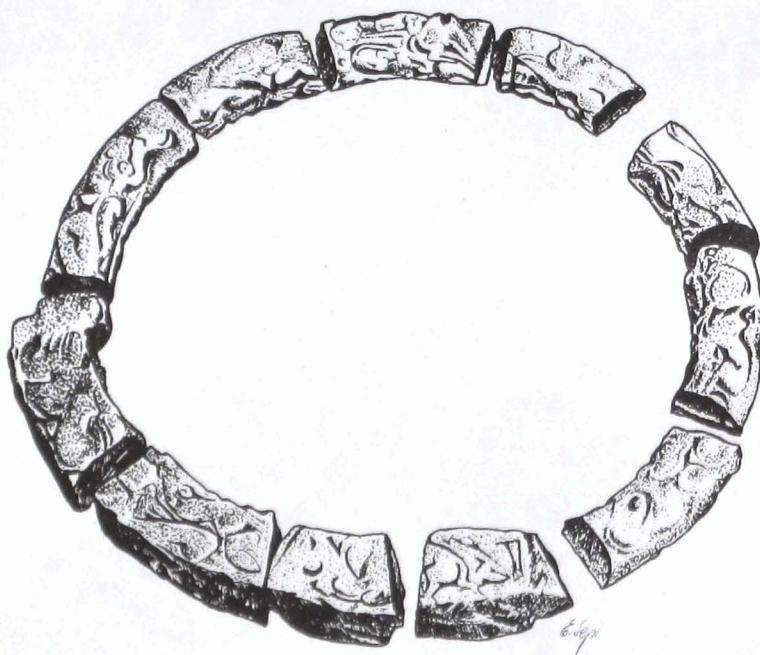


Fig. 26,2

Fig. 26,1–14: At Pattan a heavy golden ring (16 kg of gold) covered with reliefs featuring animals and birds was unearthed. Supplementary to these motifs reflecting the Innerasiatic fauna, trees and a fighting scene (a man shooting with a short bow) are visible. This precious one might have been a donation of a barbarian chief to the famous riches at the sanctuary of Multan. Unfortunately this ring was dissected into 57 parts before the authorities were able to confiscate it. Drawings 26,1–2 show a possible reconstruction of the ring, drawings 26,3–14 allow a more detailed view of some of the pieces. (Drawings: E. Sepi after Rahman 1990)



E. G. H.



E. G. H.

Fig. 26,4

Fig. 26,6



E. G. H.

Fig. 26,3



E. G. H.

Fig. 26,5



Fig. 26,7

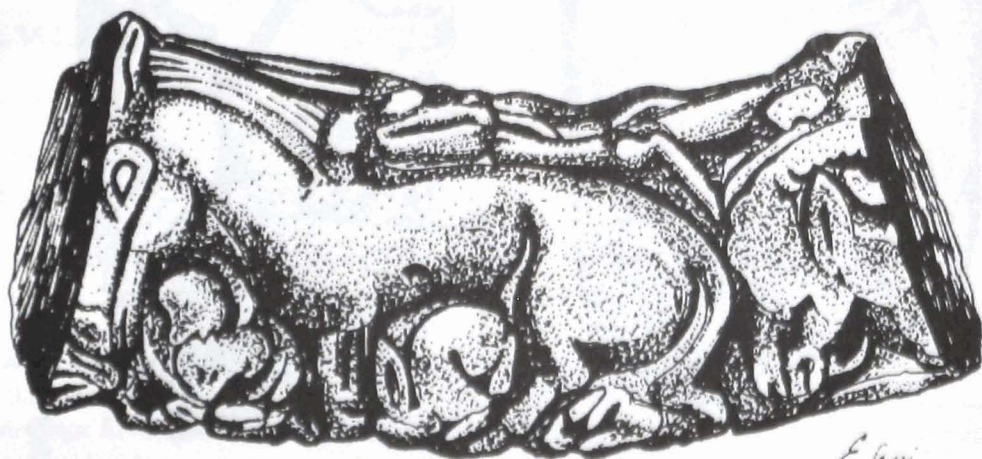


Fig. 26,8



Fig. 26,9

E. Sipi



Fig. 26,10

E. Sipi



Fig. 26,11



Fig. 26,12



Fig. 26,13

E. Sapi



Fig. 26,14

E. Sapi



Fig. 27,1

Fig. 27,1-3: At the end of the Buddhist period, Turkish tribes entered the upper Indus valley and left reliefs that are conspicuous by their flat faces. Their similarity with *baba*-stones is evident. (Photos: Bubur, Jettmar 1980)



Fig. 27,2



Fig. 27,3

of selling slaves in return for luxury imports. Gold dust was used for the same purpose, and was provided by a sort of villeinage³ in some areas.

The Many Forms of Islam

Since the Hindus—mostly soldiers, clerks, and shopkeepers who came with the Dogras—left the country after Partition, the population now is entirely Muslim. As Islam had gradually been introduced in different phases and from different sides, three or more exactly four separate denominations are represented here.

The story that the diffusion of the Ismailia in the western part of the former Gilgit Agency was due to the successful activities of a conqueror, called 'Taj Mughal', who came from the Badakhshan side and reached even Gilgit, where he was effective only for a short while but lost the final battle, is apparently fictional. The victory monument of Taj Mughal, still visible on a slope above Gilgit, certainly was a later type Buddhist stupa. Taj Mughal, as the champion of the Ismailia was called, arrived in the early fourteenth century AD in the areas of Kuh and Ghizar, Punyal and Yasin, as the story tells us. As we have no proof for this narrative's validity, it is quite possible that it is fiction. The people remained 'Spin Kafirs' (white clothed pagans) until a much later period (Raverty 1878:132). So the explanation of the Ismailis saying that *maulai* stems from *mughli* cannot be accepted.

Only under the dominant influence of Baltistan (where the Maqpon rulers reached the height of their power under Ali Sher Khan Anchan) one of the rajas of Gilgit, Mirza Khan, adopted the Shia faith. This was the beginning of a religious division between the local population causing dissension persisting to the present day.

For a better understanding of this situation we must shift our attention to Baltistan. The eminent men of religion who promoted Islam there all came from Kashmir or via Kashmir from Iran. It is doubtful whether Amir Kabir Syed Hamadani,

the supposed founder of Islam in Balti tradition, actually lived in Baltistan. It could merely be a pious legend, created by his disciples and delegates. The viceregent and representative of his son was Hazrat Syed Mohammad Nur Bakhsh, who died in 1464 AD. He was successful in propagating the faith not so much in Skardu but in Shigar and in Kiris/Khapalu. According to Hashmatullah Khan (1939:672), Hazrat Nur Bakhsh himself was quite in accord with the main tenets of the Shia, but later on his name and reputation were used by other religious teachers to spread their own somewhat different beliefs and practices, for example, by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi. This explains the existence of a religious community called 'Nur Bakhshi' in the northern and north-eastern regions of Baltistan (and Purig, i.e., Poryag or Kargil) that is slightly different from the Shia prevalent in the central, southern, and western parts of the area. The Shia territory also includes areas west of the Rondu gorge, namely Haramosh, Bagrot, some quarters of Gilgit, and Nager. Apparently, Hunza was under Shia influence for a while, but today only the village Ganesh remains a Shia enclave. The difference in the prevalent religious beliefs bolsters the natural antagonism between the brother-states Hunza and Nager.

Already many centuries earlier, there were Sunni pockets in the area, not only in Gilgit but also in Tangir and Darel, where the influence of south Chitral led to the emergence of a political system based on the Pashtun interpretation of Sunni Islam. When the Yusufzai and other Pakhtun tribes advanced to Buner, lower Swat, and the Panjkora valley their leaders were saintly but intrepid personalities. These conquerors, strictly Sunni in their religion, added what might be called a social and political component to the normal preaching. The *wesh*-system, the indigenous term for this complex of re-allotment of the land, is thus partially preserved in some remote places to the present day.

A description of *wesh* distribution given by the Norwegian ethnographer Fredrik Barth might give some idea about its application:

The descent group owns the rights to land in common, and the problem is to achieve an equitable distribution between its component members. Since no two plots of land are really identical, a semi-permanent division can never be fully satisfactory. Instead, the land is subdivided into blocks corresponding to the segments of the descent group, and each segment occupies each in alternate or rotating fashion. Thus each segment will, by the completion of the cycle, have occupied all the different areas an equal length of time, and full equality is ensured. Within each segment, land may be subdivided into lots according to the size of the household, or, as among the Pathans, according to the adult males traditional share of the total. Thus, a person does not own particular fields, but a specified fraction of the common land of his lineage segment, and at the end of each standard period, he moves with his segment to a new locality allotted to it, where he again is allotted fields corresponding to his share of the total, to be utilized in the next period. In the same way, not land but a specified share of the common lands is passed on as inheritance from father to son. (Barth 1956:33)

In everyday life local adaptations were made according to the specific conditions of the environment and also less easily modifiable traits of the social order. Areas like Swat have large and coherent tracts of arable land, while the kinship system of the Pakhtuns is highly flexible and offers many opportunities for strategic manipulation. The main problem was to stabilize the demarcation between the blocks of re-allotment. It was solved by handing over the buffer zones to saintly families.

In the mountains settled by Dardic 'tribals', incursions by neighbours into the valleys were very rare, early settlers and intruders lived side by side. The population as a whole was divided into large sections called *dala*, and smaller units called *tal*, as the patches of arable land did not necessarily correspond to the size needed for the subsistence of a kin group. The core of each *tal* usually is a descent group, *zat*, but frequently combined with others to obtain equal numerical strength. Every adult man received his share, and even girls got a *tago* portion and were allowed to add it to the land of their new families after

marriage. There was no exchange of land and no resettling in another area. The basic settlements (with additional houses in higher levels of the valley) remained stable. So considerable variations from the Pakhtun model exemplified in Swat were evident.

The basic settlements were concentrated in fortified villages with a *biyak*, an open ground for meetings where political decisions were discussed and finally accepted. In smaller valleys there was only one nuclear centre of this kind comprising a township.

Such a system neither needs nor allows a permanent ruler, but requires only a group of elected representatives and officials for its administration. The communities remained democratic, and it seems quite reasonable to call them republics. Indus-Kohistan certainly belonged to this kind of polity—quite in opposition to the northern belt stretching from Chitral to Baltistan and even beyond, where, almost without exception, the standard were centralized monarchies.

The areas now included in the Diamir district may be considered as a zone of transition or oscillation. Monarchical systems also existed there, when foreign rulers gained limited control, but such centralized states could only be maintained for some time, followed by frequent relapses to republican freedom.

Belt of the Centralized States: Gilgit

For several centuries the Trakhane dynasty ruled in Gilgit; assumptions as to the time of their first ascent differ considerably between the twelfth (Hashmatullah Khan 1939:758) to the fourteenth (Biddulph 1880:134) century AD. Certainly, there existed a state with the same geographical centre since the tenth or even ninth century AD as mentioned in the 'Saka Itinerary', in the Persian geographical work 'Ḥudūd al-Ālam', and Biruni's well-informed writings. The kings of the precedent dynasty can almost certainly be identified with the Darada Shahis mentioned in books of the 'Rājatarāṅgiṅī'.

Since very early times, the population was organized into four castes—Shins, Yeshkuns, Kamins, and Doms—perhaps according to a model taken from a neighbouring area where Hinduism was still prevalent. But the system of values and symbols associated with these classes remained somewhat different from the caste stratification of Hinduism. The Shins considered themselves as ritually cleaner than all the others, and treated the goat as their essential and sacred animal while the cow was abhorred. We learn from Fussman's already mentioned survey that Shina, the language prevalent in almost all areas under the sway of the Gilgit princes, has 'some relationship' to Tirahi, so its location as an offshoot of one of the Southern Dardic languages is almost certain. This fact supports local traditions as well as conclusions drawn from the actual spread of the Shin caste over the valleys indicating that the Shins came from the south, probably Pakhli or Urasa (Hazara). There, in the fringe of the mountains, domestic goats are plentiful and can be sustained in winter by foraging the leaves of the evergreen holm-oak. The partiality of the Shins for this animal thus becomes intelligible. It is possible that the Shins migrated northwards like the Gujars, but became powerful when they were needed as military guard, possibly by the Trakhans who had arrived from the east, from Baltistan and, therefore, were foreigners themselves.

The Doms, mostly acting as minstrels for the rulers or village communities certainly are late-comers from the south. In a marginal area they have preserved a language of their own. The Yeshkuns are landowners and probably descendants of an aboriginal population. The Kamins formerly were craftsmen but now are somewhat poorer farmers. Since occupational groups with similar names occur in the Punjab, the Kamins or Krammins (potters) might also include a foreign element.

Within the higher castes there existed patrilineal exogamous lineages with the tendency to accept women of lower social standing as wives, but hardly from the despised Doms. In the village council the lineages were represented by *yushteros* or elders. For co-ordination and regulation of the agricultural work

and as a sort of village police, a group of supervisors was appointed; and in Indus-Kohistan the name of this group, *zeitu*, was used as the official term for village magistrates.

The subsistence unit was the extended family, whereby brothers divided their separate tasks among themselves (tilling the soil, for example, being the responsibility of the strongest men). Polyandry was practised at least in some areas. In families without male offspring, one of the daughters could inherit house and land, the husband being included into her natal lineage.

Beyond and beside this block of regular castes, other caste-like groups or families were added—Ronos (families of foreign origin who provided the *wazirs*) and Sayyids in high positions; Gujars, Kohistanis, or Kashmiris in rather depressed ones. An intimate link between families of different rank was created by milk-fostership. Thereby a child of superior rank grew up within a family of his future subjects. This arrangement was useful for both parties, but especially for dignitaries of high standing who thus acquired fictitious relatives of absolute loyalty. The king was thus interrelated with his people in two ways.

There is evidence for the existence of a regular form of administration. From Biddulph's report (1880:34–45) we inevitably get the impression that its main scope was to provide the ruler, called *ra*, and his courtiers with provision and manual service in an archaic, and not too effective system. No taxes in cash were collected since there was no coined money. Gold dust in fixed quantities was mainly used for transactions with foreigners. The officials had the right to retain a part of the products they collected in the name of the *ra*—and to release some men from public or military service in order to be used by them for their private interests.

The titles used for the different ranks of the administrators and their helpers indicate that these were adapted during different periods from several different regions (including Iranian, Turkish, and Indian administrative titles); but so far no systematic analysis is available.

From other sources we know that the provinces administered by *wazirs*, in turn, had to send a labour force to the capital well

provided with ration. Families who recall that they had hereditary rights and duties towards the court may still be found—sometimes going back to the period of the previous pagan dynasty! Other villagers were needed as agricultural labourers for the state, tilling the fields which were spread over the entire country and belonged to the ruler.

There was no standing army, but every free man had to join the ranks in times of war unless they belonged to an exempted category. The villages were fortified and defended by their inhabitants. In this system the *ra* was not considered as commander-in-chief. The *raison d'être* of his office becomes clear when we refer to his role during the 'semi-religious festivals' surviving 'in spite of their conversion to Mohammedanism', 'mostly connected with agriculture'—as aptly described by Biddulph (1880:37). But in his days such traditions were already broken after the pernicious wars preceding the setting up of British rule in Gilgit (and the physical extermination of a large part of the local population).

Biddulph's notes cannot conveniently be reproduced here, but the *ra* was in fact the spiritual guarantor of fertility for crops, as well as fruit-trees, cattle, and humans. He had close connection with a female deity embodied in the great war drum. One of the primordial kings, Shiri Bager Tham, was subsequently taken as a supernatural being, identified with the holy *chili* tree (*Juniperus excelsa*). The altar for these ceremonies was a stone near the entrance of the villages. According to Shin practice, offerings of goats played an important role in the cult performances. The charisma connected with such activities allowed the ruler to act as mediator and judge in serious cases like murder or treason.

There is no doubt that the somewhat strained relation between the rulers and official Islam allowed some encouragement for the preservation of other, not strictly orthodox, customs and habits. Shamans of an almost Siberian type, often acting as the 'voice of public opinion' inhaled the smoke of burning juniper branches in order to induce trance. Witches rode wooden boxes instead of the brooms used by their European sisters. They were

believed to devour the souls of their neighbours and even their own sons during black masses. In such secret meetings they were assisted by a henchman, feigning reluctance, who had to slaughter the *alter ego* of the victim shaped as a goat. On the other hand, the witches themselves were haunted by another type of spiritual specialist who might occasionally succeed in saving the endangered person otherwise destined to die after a few days. Other customs simply survived because they took place in a region not regularly visited by members of the Islamic clergy.

Hunting lore was most important in this respect. The ibex living in high altitudes and taking refuge in the rocky slopes of extreme inaccessibility was hard to hunt for men equipped with bows or primitive guns. The markhor stood somewhat lower in the hierarchy. Both animals were considered as clean and sacred like their habitat with its fragrant trees and flowers, its shining glaciers and clean waters. They were protected and tended by fairy-like supernatural beings called *rachi* or *peri*. Ibex and markhor, forming the most noble game, were collectively known as *mayaro*.

Before going to hunt the experienced man had to purify himself and to sleep alone. Then his protective *rachi* would appear in his dream with a gift indicating sure success. A man of noble origin and an excellent officer, climber, and pilot who was proud to be a good Muslim, told me, that without a nightly visit of his *rachi* guardian he would miss in shooting. After the kill, the carcass of a hunted animal had to be treated with great reverence. Pieces of the liver were thrown away as an offering to the *peri*. According to the local belief, *mayaro* may only be killed when they, previously, had been slaughtered by the *peri*, their supernatural owners. After a common meal, the bones are said to be collected by the fairies and reassembled—resulting in a sort of reincarnation—but without the spiritual essence. Only such ‘secondary animals’ are disposable for humans.

The customs and beliefs presented here in a short anthology⁴ have many roots in the spiritual traditions of Asia. Some were certainly transmitted rather late, during Islamic times; and

etymological investigations by historical linguist may tell us the likely origin of some of these ideas.

It is indeed fascinating to see how human imagination has been shaped by the natural environment of their region, the grandiose theatre of the mountains. The experiences of hunters and shepherds, their feelings and speculations, brought widely divergent ideas into a coherent and structured world view. The highest mountain summits inaccessible to men were considered as the abode of clean spirits, mostly females. They are supposed to have their castles on the peaks of Diamir (Nanga Parbat), Haramosh, Dubani, and Rakaposhi. Europeans scale the peaks to have some relationship with them and are, therefore, eager to climb such heights—but often they are punished for their audacious efforts by the unleashing of avalanches and storm-clouds.

Below the mountain tops girded by glaciers is the zone of crags and rocky slopes inhabited by the *mayaro* and visited by hunters, sometimes meeting their *rachis* there. Just a little below are the meadows where the herdsmen tend their flocks. The agricultural zone is more or less neutral. Still further down, near the mouths of the rivers, lies the demonic sphere with dangerous invisible beings, male and female. The 'unclean' cows are confined to the middle and lower strata, as indeed are women. Anyhow, the resulting model of altitudinal zones of spirituality does not cover the full spectrum of conflicting concepts. The material collected by the chief clerk in the Political Office in Gilgit, Ghulam Muhammad, on the 'Seat of Chastity' and the 'Settling of Disputes' cannot be reconciled entirely within this ritual framework, but it is certainly accurate and has been supported by later inquiries. The same is true in regard to his chapters 'Marriage', 'Omens', 'Eclipses', and 'The Creation of the World' (Ghulam Muhammad 1907:93–127). Much remains enigmatic, and only recently we learnt about the importance of a special type of ceremonial axes used as emblems of the bridegroom.

It must be assumed that in former times there was considerable sexual liberty, a tendency to decide conflicts by a show of

competitive prodigality (i.e., the 'Feast of Merit'). Intra-village killing was banned, blood feuds being strictly prohibited in the regularly administrated areas as well. That the burial customs were quite un-Islamic is well known. Cremation was practised in some areas, the ashes being buried in wooden boxes or earthen jars.

Particular Traditions in the Former Dependencies of the Trakhane dynasty

The Haramosh valley hidden between the Indus and a mountain range which could be crossed by a very difficult pass west of the mighty massif with the same name, was visited by anthropologists in 1955 (Snoy 1975) and 1958 (Jettmar 1961:77-79). Here the spiritual background of the practice attributed to the witches became evident. The human soul may be incarnated as an ibex roaming in the lofty heights and in this shape chased by demonic beings. Successful killing of the animal could imply an impending death within the community. Conversely, the real ibex is conceived to have a spiritual counterpart or *alter ego* in a living human. Besides this, it is said that the women of the village once had meetings in honour of a female deity where a goat was slaughtered by a male priest, the 'buck of the women flock'. The deity also protected shamans and hunters appearing as a kind of Central Asian Artemis. It became clear, moreover, that in former times the branching off of a lineage needed a special feast of merit. A monument stone was erected on this occasion, and remained a symbol indicating the place for offerings.

For a long period Haramosh belonged to Baltistan, but lying beyond the Shengus pass this valley was not subject to fully centralized control. This might explain the preservation of archaic beliefs.

For Bagrot there is an excellent description of buildings, monuments, customs, and beliefs written by Snoy (1975) confirming the earlier notes of Ghulam Muhammad. It should

be noted that the population of Bagrot was Shiite. The troops enrolled in this valley which could be raised by the rulers of Gilgit formed the backbone of the army. Therefore, Gohar Aman⁵ decimated the population in the nineteenth century when many Bagrotis were killed and others sold into slavery. There are still many ruins, dating from this period of devastation. Major reorganization of the ancient social and religious system must have taken place afterwards.

Bagrot, however, became a centre for shamans again. Sometimes one gets the impression that the memory of their tragic past has been systematically suppressed in Bagroti tradition. The present situation, where extensive social change is occurring, has been studied by Grötzbach (1984). In the meantime the repopulating of Bagrot has found natural limits, so the general process of emigration to the lowlands has become more and more important.

The valley of the Hunza river was used as a short but difficult thoroughfare leading to passes crossing the watershed to Eastern Turkestan during many centuries. On both banks and in the side-valleys there are oases settled by three different linguistic groups.

The north called Gujhal is the homeland of the Wakhis who are relatively recent immigrants from the Wakhan corridor of north-eastern Afghanistan. As they settled in the main valley together with people from the south, a sort of mutual acculturation took place. They were under the sway of the ruler of Hunza and were heavily taxed. Even more cumbersome were the yearly visits of the ruler and his staff, as all of them had to be fed and entertained—somewhat similar to the traditional system in Chitral.

The next zone belongs to Burushaski speakers. It was divided into two rival states, Hunza with more open access to the north, and Nager with an important route to the Shigar valley in Baltistan. Since the people of Nager were ardent Shias, the remnants of their pagan past were not as well preserved as in Hunza. But this is no excuse for the ethnographically interested visitors who neglected the folklore of Nager for a long time.

Only recently an intense study has been made by J. Frembgen. Already his first printed report (Frembgen 1986) reveals thus far unknown facts. We learn that important kin groups immigrated together with the ancestor of the Maglote dynasty recently deposed in Nager, who was a scion of the Trakhane. Apparently, they gave up their Shina language for the local Burushaski but kept a great number of loan-words indicating survivals in the spiritual and socio-political sphere. Even earlier settlers claim that they came from the south, for example, from Gor, possibly in the time when Burushaski was still spoken south of the Gilgit range.

In the period when Hunza remained a closely knit and extremely aggressive community, the rulers of Nager introduced a systematic programme to expand their arable ground. But this extensive colonization also implied their considerable susceptibility to attacks from Hunza. In the eighteenth century, therefore, the population was ordered to stay in the fortified capital in wintertime, when the river could easily be crossed. Traditional conflict with Hunza, however, never prevented intermarriages between the ruling families of these sibling states. Their epical ancestors were actually considered twins already fighting in the womb.

Already very early, Hunza succeeded in inspiring interest and admiration from European visitors. So, there are more and better descriptions of this region than of anywhere else. Many books present an exaggerated and embellished picture of the 'extremely healthy' inhabitants resembling the Europeans in their looks and behaviour, their habits and longevity. In fact, not so long ago the people of Hunza were concentrated in three fortified villages. As there was deficiency of irrigated land, the women were trained to use their provisions extremely frugally. In order to endure hardship in predatory raids which were extended as far as Sarikol and the Yarkand river, the youth were trained to cross frozen rivers sometimes swimming below the ice, to sleep in the open even in winter, and to carry heavy loads (namely plundered goods) back home through the most difficult paths.

The tasks and privileges of the ruler correspond to those reported from Gilgit. He personified a solar deity and had to behave accordingly. The queen, too, had ceremonial tasks. But such ideas were those of the rulers of Bolor, one thousand years earlier. The question is only of the time they were adapted in Hunzaland. The administration also betrays several features of the Gilgit system, with more personal political relations replacing an earlier emphasis upon ritual kingship.

The intensive studies of Irmtraut Stellrecht⁶ made clear that the people of Hunza had no system of castes. The attribution of ritual purity according to altitude from the mountain tops down to the gloomy gorges of the river, appears to have been stressed more than by the Shins proper. Concepts like shamanism and witchcraft are encompassed within this ritual scheme. This world view was hardly adapted to the basic needs of a population living on agriculture. It was used by an emergent nobility—a closely interwoven body of office holders, heroes, royal confidants—in order to legitimize a distinction not only from the Berichos corresponding to the Doms, but also from those freeholders who had to carry loads. The hierarchy cut across a segmentary system of clans of different origin, most of them exogamous, i.e., with a formal obligation to marry outside the group. Some of them were possibly arranged according to positive marriage rules, intermarrying clans living together in the same village, but in different quarters.

Along with traditional training and thrift, the cult of purity offered the people of Hunza an easy approach to the modern world. A fragrant smell was regarded as best proof of ritual purity, therefore, regular baths, clean clothing and houses were considered as necessary—just what tourists desire. Indeed they are happy to find so many well-run hotels in the region owned or managed by Hunzas.

Finally, it must be admitted that not all elements in the spiritual heritage of Hunza can be grasped within this system. The forces of nature were understood as divine beings, male and female. In a thunderstorm people heard the clash of the horns of bulls belonging to Khuda-mo, i.e., a female deity with

an Iranian name (and a Tibetan suffix) used since a millennium of monotheistic religion. But this is not exclusive to them.

Much less is known about the Shina-speaking inhabitants of the lower Hunza valley. The area of Chalt-Chaprot is famous for its exuberance of gifted shamans. Sometimes they are invited to Hunza where, traditionally, this profession is not a local one. Sometimes Shina is spoken during trance, even by men not fluent in this language. But there also is an indigenous, designation for the inspired soothsayer, *bitan*. Chalt-Chaprot was an enclave of Nager on the right, i.e., Hunza side of the river.

In Hindi (= Hini), the village just south of Hunza's kernel of Burushaski speakers, it is said that in spring, when the vats full of new recently fermented wine were opened, a sort of mock-fight took place between the men of the different fortified settlements. It was restricted to fixed hours of the day, so that the not-too-badly injured participants could have their meals afterwards, and, after refreshing and impassionating gulps from the new wine, could sleep with their wives. This tradition seems to have a realistic background, since Mirza Haidar on his holy war against the infidels of 'Balur Kafiristan' in 1526-7, not too far from the scene of this activity, reports a similar story of 'mock' warfare among its inhabitants.

Proceeding further to the west is the Karumbar valley comprising settlers of different origin: Wakhis, Khowar, and Shina-speakers, descendants of noble but somewhat destitute families. An energetic and intelligent Sayyid took over the task of resettling land which formerly lay waste. So his descendants became important landowners giving their daughters to princely families. Many old and seemingly un-Islamic graves were destroyed during re-culturation; and there are also ruins of an old fort.

Only a large side-valley, Ishkoman, had a Shina-speaking population concentrated in a big village fortress. It is said to have been founded not so long ago by people coming from Chilas. Therefore, it might be concluded that a foreign invader had exterminated the previous population. This invader might

have been Mirza Haidar or one of his predecessors, but we do not know it exactly, as not all Mughal generals left lucidly written descriptions of their deeds. In times when the glaciers retreat, the approach from the north is extremely inviting to outside adventurers.

South of Karumbar valley—between a narrow defile just west of its mouth and Golapur in the east—there lies the fertile tract of Punyal along the middle course of the Gilgit river. Even here there are stories of cruel destruction and re-population by settlers from Gilgit and from the south, especially from Darel. For a while a Dareli, named Shoto, ruled there as a peasant monarch. For many centuries this area was a bone of contention between the Shah Ra'is⁷ who had their basis in North Chitral and the Trakhane of Gilgit.

The Shah Ra'is probably propagated a strange mode of burial in subterranean chambers. The dead bodies were left there till they decomposed; then the bones were stored in niches of the room separated according to sex; the skulls were deposited on a low frontal bench. There was a building on top of the ossuary, always belonging to one lineage. When a member of this lineage was near death, minstrel music could be heard from the grave. It was as though the ancestors were eagerly awaiting him with a feast for reception.

A collective tomb of this kind was seen near Bubur by A. Friedrich and myself. Another one was mentioned near Sher Qila—the present centre and the seat of the resident of the Shah Ra'is in earlier days. Land was set apart for the keepers of this sanctuary. The Shah Ra'is certainly were Muslims but, apparently, they preserved this pre-Islamic Iranian tradition of exposure and secondary inhumation within a royal grave. The local people accepted the custom of collective tombs as well as the establishment of a village fortress. A certain number of federated clans was requested, so there might have been a system of regulated intermarriages as in Hunza.

The Shah Ra'is were followed by the Khushwaqte and, finally, by a collateral line, the Burushe, until under British rule the administration was reorganized with a local prince as

governor. All rulers produced an astonishing number of offspring, so Punyal became known as the land of petty aristocratic *gushpurs* (royal sons from mothers of lower status). In 1972, a new reorganization transformed Punyal along with Ishkoman into one subdivision with its centre at Singal.

The rich harvests and the pleasant character of the landscape has to be duly stressed. The local Ismailis were great fanciers of wine and there was not much official reprimand until the orders of the Aga Khan finally stopped its age-old production. In these days of old it was even forbidden to drink water, when the wine had matured and the women were invited to join in the celebration; but this is probably a somewhat fanciful exaggeration.

Punyal was said to be formerly haunted by witches. One of the *rajas* keen enough to learn their secrets invited them to a tea-party. His questions about their habits were answered by the witches' asking for a pomegranate. They used it for a game of ball and when they finally opened it, it was empty.

For a while even Punyal was administered by the Ra'is rulers of upper Chitral. When they were replaced by a new dynasty, they later on split into Katore and Khushwaqte sections and the areas east of the Shandur pass were controlled by these newcomers. The attempts of the Shah Ra'is to restore their kingdom did not influence this periphery. But a still harder struggle for power between the two lines, the Khushwaqte, who had dominated a very large area including the Indus valley between Tangir in the west and Bunji in the east, created a strong basis for their further ambitions in Yasin, a mountain chamber north of the Gilgit river. There they were in an excellent strategical position. The official system of administration was similar to that of Chitral. The custom of sending the ruler's children to be fostered by important families was the same. The outcome, however, was different in this restricted area which could be almost completely overlooked. No open conflict would arise among the clans of the foster-parents using the princes as their pawns—in contrast to Chitral, which was a much larger and subdivided territory.

In Yasin the dynasty was based on a popular mandate. This was symbolized by the rule of performing important ceremonies not in the palace but in a spacious and solid peasant's house. The symbiosis between ruler and ruled was not hindered by the fact that the locals were Ismailis and spoke Burushaski, the rulers Sunnis, spoke Khowar, and had brought their best fighters with them. In the context of this political accommodation based on mutual tolerance and common aversion against Gilgit (where the Shiites became dominant), it must be explained how archaic festivals and their songs—with many erotic allusions—were preserved. Maybe there are traditions connected with the dynasties of Gilgit in earlier versions.

Since one of the rulers of Yasin, Gohar Aman, was especially antagonistic towards Shiites and so successful against the Dogras, the population of the valley was decimated by the latter after their final victory. Only the low-caste Doms were spared and, therefore, almost the only group familiar with the past of this region for a while.

Kuh and Ghizar are the names for the lands between the boundary of Punyal and the Shandur which is in fact not really a pass but rather a plateau with beautiful lakes on both sides of the Gilgit river. Down to Chashi Khowar prevails, in the lower valley the major part of the population speaks Shina. In the upper parts there is much land for grazing used by a special breed of cattle adapted to the height through cross-breeding with yaks.

In this relatively open country no political centre could be maintained against the ever present danger of invasion. Only British rule with its well-controlled governors brought some economic advantages, now perpetuated by the building of better roads.

But much is still left to be done by anthropologists. Near Gupis, the present capital, there is a place considered to be that of a female spirit protecting mothers and newborn children. Near Roshan one hears of several places where holy men of the past were venerated, each of them specialized in particular misfortunes such as sickness, bad harvest etc.

Republics: Zone of Transition to Indus-Kohistan

South of the Gilgit range the important valleys of Tangir and Darel are a zone of transition to an area of a different political system. However, the rulers of Gilgit were also powerful there. The main canal of Gilgit is said to have been built by Darelis who were rewarded with a most precious gift, the Khanbari valley, by the famous queen Dadi Juvari. Later on the valleys came under the rather gentle supremacy of the Khushwaqte dynasty. Tangiris and Darelis joined the ranks of victorious rulers hoping to get their share of the booty and lost their lives when the army of Khairullah returning from Afghan Kafiristan/Bashgal was trapped by snowfall and completely annihilated.

Following the tradition of his forefathers and using old links created by milk-fostership a Khushwaqte prince, Pakhtun Wali Khan, built his own independent kingdom here through force and clever diplomacy. Starting from Tangir he extended his rule to Darel and Sazin before he was murdered in 1917.

Earlier and even later, several attempts were made to subjugate and to exploit these two valleys which were well endowed with extensive forests (the woodcutters directly floated the timber down the Indus river). But all efforts always ended with the death of the pretenders, for the inhabitants had become passionate freedom fighters and the area was a part of Yaghistan, 'Land of the Free' or 'Land of the Rebels'.

Pakhtun Wali Khan had started his career in Tangir for very good reasons. There were foreign enclaves, Sayyids, Pakhtuns, and Kohistanis, all claiming descent from the original propagators of Islam. The large fortified villages once characteristic of this region, were already dissolved. In Darel the process of dissolution had just begun; but some basic internal tensions remained within the community. Reforms brought by Islamic missionaries were scarcely compatible with its indigenous 'caste' system of stratified groups.

Where there was neither opportunity for tyrannicide nor for raids against other valleys, the Yaghistanis alternatively indulged in romantic escapades with the wives of their neighbours,

complicated by the ever present need to guard their own spouses against similar temptations. Countless murder cases followed by blood feuds resulted from this. Rival family groups erected towers inside their villages for hiding the most endangered persons, sometimes in clusters as it was usual in Italian towns during medieval times—for instance in San Gimignano where they give a barbarian impression to bewildered visitors up to the present day.

The inhabitants of the villages appreciated hunting not only as a sport; it was a spiritual outlet, a way to enter the pure and (emotionally) cooler sphere of the high mountains. Therefore, hunting customs and beliefs as described previously were well preserved. These were isolated remains of the pre-Islamic heritage.

The surplus in agriculture was enormously increased when other crops were replaced by maize. If the manure available was concentrated on it, only one harvest was sufficient in areas where double-cropping had been possible. The herds were of considerable size, as meadows on the northern side of the Gilgit range could be used according to rights acquired in former times. Khanbari had been used in the same way, but was later on rented out to the Gujars who still pay taxes. Since attempts to impress one's neighbours by personal luxuries were considered provocative, the surplus was used for buying excellent guns, and for taking on people from Kohistan as *dehqans*, i.e., share-croppers and tenants. So the landlords could spend long periods on the high meadows when the climate in summer was most uncomfortable in the villages.

This state of affairs was already well established in 1952, when the valleys acceded directly and voluntarily to Pakistan, as the locals preferred this solution to the threat of being conquered by the Wali of Swat like western Indus-Kohistan. That would have meant the end of their freedom. A conciliation of all feuds shortly followed, but they reared up again, for the *dehqans* rather hastily adopted the political rhetoric that land should belong only to the man working on it. So the modern weapons earlier acquired by their masters turned out to be a

good investment after all; they decided the case in favour of the landlords.

Even in conflicts with the state warlike virtues proved to be successful. At present the towers are being rebuilt: lower and more spacious and used as *hujras*, i.e., men's houses. Once more remnants of the old and complicated *wesh*-system became important when the sale of timber was reorganized by the state offering new bridges and jeep roads for transport. Only old shareholders of the *wesh*-system got their portion of the returns provided by these new contracts.

Another republic of considerable power was Gor. Here in a fan-shaped basin, three fortified villages were situated within their surrounding fields. Each was strictly regulated, with clearly separated quarters; towers at the periphery were delegated to the young warriors. The forests of holm-oaks, so important for goat breeding, were divided into rotational plots to be used in turn. One grove was dedicated to Taiban, the old protecting fairy of the ancient folklore. Animals were slaughtered in his name, while all the trees around remained untouched. No cattle considered as impure, was allowed to enter this sacred precinct, and only the dung of goats was used for adjacent fields. Between the two main villages there was the (Muslim) grave of a holy woman—probably replacing the sanctuary of a female deity. There was a strict rule that all marriages should be contracted during one communal festivity every year.

Gor had good relations with the rulers of Gilgit. There was a house where Giligits encumbered with political problems could find refuge. Relations with other republics were not as pleasant. There was a long struggle with Darel for supremacy over the many valleys lying in between their territories. Finally, Chilas was asked to intervene for arbitration and that settled the case—in an unexpected way, indeed—Chilas itself occupied the disputed territory. This explains why the people of Gor were on the side of the invaders when Sikhs, Dogras, and British detachments entered this part of the Indus valley. With their collaboration new settlements were established by people from Gor; and for a while they were still included in the annual

system of collective marriage and had to contribute provisions to the feasts.

In the meantime the system of strictly regulated agricultural activities protecting essential environmental resources such as the holm-oak forests had broken down. A consequence of liberal individualism in community politics that is increasingly regretted as its ecological effects become more and more apparent.

For a while Chilas entered into a union with the neighbouring valleys. Thak on the left bank, certainly Gichi, Thor, and possibly Harban on the western flank were included in a political block with diplomatic connections to the Shina-speaking valleys of Indus-Kohistan. The fortified village of Chilas was especially strong and it held two water tanks inside its walls. Moreover, it was the only large centre in this part of the Indus valley proper. A British force had been lured by the Gor people downstream of Thalpan just opposite Chilas. A decisive battle was inevitable, and the British occupied the place in 1892. It was transformed into a military garrison and defended against a sudden attack of the confederates from Kohistan who had raised an army of about 2,000—a force too sizeable to be maintained or provisioned during a longer siege. After this campaign, even local fortresses in the neighbouring valleys were destroyed and their settlers were driven into the side-valleys and restricted to their lands.

Thus ended a fascinating period in the history of Chilas. It had been the organizing centre and from here the many raids taking people from 'Yaghistan' towards the east up to Astor and further had been initiated. For this purpose a special ability for swimming through torrents had traditionally been instilled in the fighters through rigorous training.

The fields around the British fortress were re-occupied by immigrants, the bazaar was organised by Hindus. After partition, these Hindu merchants were not robbed and killed like in other places, because they were allowed to enter the fort, where they were safe and sound until they were brought to the eastern Punjab which became a part of India.

When the timber contractors started the exploitation of the forests, the aboriginal settlers got their share according to the

wesh-system which, thereby, gained a new significance. Those who could not take part in this system and, therefore, were excluded from its benefits, tended to be more industrious. Now this group is reinforced by the gold washers who are still despised, but who were recently made aware of the proper price of their product. These disenfranchised classes now have begun to acquire guns too, certainly posing threat of future conflicts. One can expect that this tensions will as well be communicated to the political level.

As in other areas of the southern belt, Shina was spoken in Astor. This valley was always significant as a link to Gurez which for a while was a main outpost of the rulers residing in Gilgit. Later on it was included into the large territories conquered by Ali Sher Anchan (1580–1624) and ruled by a branch of the Maqpon dynasty.

During British times it was safe from earlier troubling attacks by the Chilasis; and as the traffic along the Gilgit road increased, horse breeding and the keeping of mules as pack-animals became especially rewarding in this area. Villages destroyed in previous wars were re-established, and many internal reforms took place.

Still in some remote corners old traditions were well preserved—as became clear from Ghulam Muhammad's notes (Ghulam Muhammad 1907).⁸ Goat breeding, for instance, has some highly archaic traits. Even more fascinating is the discovery that the snow leopard found its place in the hierarchy of purity. The male animal is considered too pure to have sexual contact. The female has to descend to the bank of the river in order to mate with the otter. This story is prevalent in other Shina-speaking areas: it illustrates the theme that purity needs a partner from the low and demonic sphere to become fully fertile.

Other elements of popular beliefs show influence from Baltistan. Information collected in the village Dashkin, near the Hatu Pir where the Gilgit Road suddenly goes down into the Indus valley, render some details about the calendar and a female demon called 'Herati'—certainly connected with Hariti, a deity of the early Buddhist pantheon. But it is not clear whether this

is a local tradition or was brought by newcomers settling in the previously destroyed village.

Territories outside the Trakhane State: Baltistan

Baltistan differs from all other districts through the preponderance of a language closely related to Tibetan that is often considered as an ancient dialect, and through the former co-existence of three dynasties with similar political and social systems.

In the Indus valley there were the Maqpons with their centre in the basin of Skardu and collateral lines in Rondu, Astor, Tolti, and Kartakhshah. Maqpon means 'commander of a frontier district' in Tibetan, indicating that the influence from the east was much stronger and longer lasting than in Gilgit. The second dynasty ruling over the large and fertile valley of Shigar is related to the chiefs of Nager and was founded, allegedly, by a refugee coming via the Hispar glacier. The third dynasty, with territories in the Shayok valley, had pretensions to a northern origin; *yabgu* is a well-known title, used by Central Asian dynasties.

There are many fertile tracts, but at very high altitudes and the meadows are far away and under heavy snow in winter. Therefore, night-soil must be used as manure. Only part of the arable land can be tilled in the large basin of Skardu due to scarcity of water. In the centre there is a desert with sand dunes, reminiscent of the Tarim basin in Chinese Central Asia. Rondu has high and flat side-valleys, but their access is easier from Astor and, therefore, its settlers came from that side. The same is true of villages deeply situated inside the gorge. Taxes had never been collected there because of the difficulties in reaching such places.

The regional peculiarities of the socio-political system of Baltistan become clear if it is compared with that prevalent in Gilgit and its former dependencies. In the west, in the Gilgit region, kin groups were the operative units, lineages or clans

being exogamous in former times. Their elders often were actively involved in competitive politics; but most of them collaborated with the ruler and his administration, its officials being selected according to their membership in hereditary status groups. So there are 'segmentary states' in this region, where kin groups are effectively integrated in a centralized policy.

In Baltistan, however, the basic units of the Balti population were residential rather than kin groups, i.e., neighbours, united by shared economic and ritual tasks during festivals and domestic life-cycle rites with a small mosque as their centre. Despite their Islamic foundation the similarity of these ritual communities to the *phaspun*-ships of Ladakh, with the mosque replacing the common Lha-tho sanctuary, is strikingly evident; and it may well derive from common institutions during the Buddhist period. The administrative system was more correspondingly hierarchic, particularly in its classification of hereditary offices. The late R.M. Emerson, who was lucky to have Yabgu Fateh Ali Khan, the last ruler of Khapalu, as his informant, presented an overall scheme to which is referred to with minor corrections (Emerson 1984).

Besides the heir apparent (and his brothers) born to a mother of royal blood, there was a large group of princes and descendants of princes born of mothers of lower status groups. They were trained as horsemen, fighters (and polo-players), and were called *kha-chos*, the 'minor brothers of the ruler'. In part they were a 'standing army', in part an officer corps, and in war their ranks were filled up with peasants. From each peasant household one man was mustered. Apparently, the commanders of the forts called *kharpon* were taken from this noble but illiterate group. Their subsistence was guaranteed by *jagir*-like tracts of royal land called *cho-pi-tsa* cultivated by tenants who rather were like sharecroppers under heavy conditions.

The next class were the hereditary cadres of officials, with the *wazir's pha-chos* on top. Drew (1875:434) heard that the 'Wazir class intermarry among themselves', and that implies that they would have had relatives throughout the country—even in rival kingdoms. On the other hand, their wives were the

wet-nurses of the princes, so the *pha-chos* could control succession to the throne, and it was already clear who would be the chief minister of an incumbent ruler—it would be his ‘milk-brother’. Thus, they were the overall managers of royal policy but not necessarily accountable if something went wrong.

Here the effects of milk-fostership were quite different from those in Chitral, where the princes were given to powerful and antagonistic clans which could provide the protégé with an armed guard. They risked their land when their foster-son took up the struggle for succession and failed. If he won, however, they and not the ruler gained possession of the loser’s lands. The Hunza people effected a Solomonic solution to such struggles for succession. The princes were given to different lineages as foster-children but the next king was elected by lineage chieftains in a joint meeting, and the not-so-able princes were thrown into the river, if they could not escape in time. So the *wazirs* had overall control in the administration of Baltistan. They were assisted by officials of lower ranks down to the headmen in the villages who formed a separate stratum.

Around the ruler’s palace there were also many groups with more menial hereditary tasks; people who brought firewood, worked in the kitchen, acted as grooms, doorkeepers, servants, guides, and companions.

In Khapalu the ruler imported specialist craftsmen from Kashmir where the people were repeatedly suppressed and exploited by foreign lords. They provided those skilled artists whom we have to thank for the splendid carvings in the mosques of this region. Several indigenous hamlets had to be evacuated in order to provide homesteads and land for these immigrant artisans.

Apart from such ‘administrative reshuffling’ of the local people, the burden of the centralized state on the rural population was hard. From land not attributed to privileged *pha-cho* families the fifth part of the produce (agricultural or pastoral) was collected. Moreover, annually each household was obliged to send a man for forty days of labour, when needed.

In the system of public defence which was the rationale for such taxes, the main castles of the rulers and not the fortified villages were the strategic points of defence. Each dynasty had its own palace in the valley (sometimes with a megalithic foundation), together with a fort on a steep and high cliff nearby. The defender of such forts had no access to running water, but depended upon a large tank within the citadel—and on a reluctant group of villagers who had to keep it filled by carrying the water vats on their shoulders. Apparently, this arrangement was not in good order when the Dogras attacked and, therefore, the forts regularly fell after a short and thirsty siege.

From successful campaigns Ali Sher Anchan brought back many prisoners of war taken between Gilgit and Chitral, as well as in Astor. Most of these captives came from the area around Chilas, which had been the headquarter of repeated raids tormenting the normally peaceful Baltis. They, however, turned out to be disciplined and effective soldiers in the hands of a great general. The prisoners were originally used for forced labour, building dams and canals; but they were eventually settled on land in the uppermost parts of the valleys giving access to the Deosai plains, i.e., on those routes where invasions were imminent. In hostile regions these *brokpas* (settlers on high places) were even used as guards and watchmen against their own relatives. Life is hard at such high and virtually treeless altitudes where sustenance can be achieved only from the most resistant crops, e.g., barley and a bitter variety of buckwheat. But the *brokpas* managed to maintain their own customs, they remained organized in their traditional kin groups. Their shamans were highly appreciated, since the Baltis do not have this religious calling; these were frequently used by rulers as oracles for deciding matters concerning foreign policy. One shaman was offered to the Maharaja of Kashmir where he acted with great success albeit in favour of his paternal country.

The *brokpas* have preserved their language, Shina, up to the present day, but they accepted the Shia faith of their overlords. Descendants of earlier Dardic immigrants now speak Balti, but their western origin is clearly written in their faces.

In comparison to the rigid framework of the public administration, private life might appear easy going and more relaxed than elsewhere. Still in the recent past, *muta*, the legal marriage for a restricted period was allowed to Shia communities. In Baltistan it was practised not only for temporary visitors, for example, merchants, but even in the villages between candidates for permanent marriage. They were to be intimately acquainted with their partner beforehand. But after such a test they had to decide on their choice, once and forever. Baltistan was liberal in accepting foreigners in high positions, and even a *brokpa* could reach the position of a *wazir*.

The country is proud of its cultural heritage. Many old songs were preserved by the otherwise despised minstrels. Young princes were trained not only in polo—which was considered as the national game (and may indeed have originated here) but also in poetry. The famous Kesar epic of Central Asia was enriched by the presentation of chivalry unknown elsewhere, and it was learnt by heart by all those who wanted to belong to the nobility.

Modern Development

The synopsis on the Northern Areas began with reference to the ecology of the areas behind the westernmost Himalayas and by stressing common traits in the economic activities of the local populations. At the conclusion I mention some of the most relevant ethnographic changes now occurring in the process of development, as this region has become increasingly integrated within the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

After Partition, the administration implemented by the British overlords was changed in a very careful and moderate way. Practically all taxes imposed on the products of the land were abolished. The traditional land-settlement reports which never covered the whole area, became obsolete. This was an enormous boon, especially for Baltistan where the villagers still were subjected to compulsory labour.

Communication was greatly improved due to fortunate circumstances. The pony tracks and suspension bridges built by the British were broad enough to allow the use of jeeps, able to take even the steepest ascent. So ponies and porters soon disappeared. Instead of the now obsolete Gilgit Road, a line of communication was opened via the Babusar pass, accessible between mid-May until the end of September.

So routes providing means for a considerable motor traffic even before the construction of an all-weather road through the Indus valley, later on were expanded as the Karakoram Highway. These new infrastructural conditions had, of course, a restrictive influence on horse breeding in this region. Instead of a good horse, owning jeep was now the pride of a man of influence.

The establishment of a modern administration with a host of new officials, had as one of its secondary effects a significant and generous subsidy for the local population. Touristic activities gave further impetus to the opening of hotels, in many cases very well managed by enterprising local people. Developmental programmes have had a sizeable impact on the regional economy of the Northern Areas; the import of artificial fertilizer, more productive crops, and the use of water power for small industries have played their role. At the moment many such efforts are systematically concentrated in the hands of the Aga Khan Foundation working with a large and knowledgeable staff and able to offer huge subsidies for investment.

However, one basic problem arose as a direct consequence of such well-meaning and otherwise positive measures. Particularly through the improvement of medical care and control, as well as the prevention of internecine wars, which were especially devastating in the nineteenth century, the density of population has grown beyond all anticipated limits.

From an ethnographic perspective it has been taken into account that many of the traditional regulative institutions on population growth have been abolished. In earlier days, during the prolonged period of breast-feeding, pregnancy was considered dangerous for both mother and child. In many areas young married couples had to restrict their sexual contacts to clandest-

tine meetings in the early years of marriage. These traditions, which once served to adjust birth rates according to the economic resources of household groups, now tend to be considered as non-Islamic superstition. Accordingly, the population would now have to starve if it was not for the supply of grain from outside. For some time, rations were distributed among the locals and transport costs were substantially subsidized.

Most valleys can rely upon locally grown grain for some nine or ten months per year, the remaining subsistence needs being covered by imports. Since these subsidized imports were artificially cheap, a necessity to expand the area under cultivation was not felt as an especially urgent problem. This economic dependency has certainly been a motivating factor for further integration into the community of Pakistan. The necessary imports are now increasingly paid for with money earned outside. Leaving their families in the mountains, men are taking up seasonal migrant labour in lowland Pakistan or else remain for long periods working in the Gulf States, visiting their families only occasionally. So 'colonies' of northerners have emerged in many commercial and industrial centres of lowland Pakistan, especially Karachi. Opportunities for migrant labour are not equally distributed in the population, people who had already to work very hard for their livelihood in the past are effectively privileged in being able to earn cash as labourers nowadays. The drain of these workers, in the prime of their lives, is badly felt in many areas, especially in Hunza. Once again, elderly men and women must take up the difficult task of maintaining agriculture and herding.

Besides, there are other problems less apparent in everyday life but some prescient persons are well aware of them, and they should be mentioned by the ethnographer. In future not only food shortage is imminent. Traditionally, people burnt wood as their main source of fuel in their homes. With a rapidly increasing consumption of such fuel (increased by the army staff posted along the cease-fire line), wood has become so expensive in wintertime that it became common in Baltistan to

fell even fruit trees—scarcely a profitable action in the long run.

At present there is a boom in modern house construction, using mainly stone and concrete. Formerly, the well insulated local style houses (not well studied outside Chitral) had a fireplace in the centre. Now every farmer wants a modern 'English home' with windows and doors leading to an open veranda and a nice chimney inside. In this way much firewood is being wasted in heating.

In the south, the side-valleys of the large rivers had forests with splendid trees, undamaged for centuries. Pakhtun Wali Khan started their commercial exploitation. When Tangir and Darel joined Pakistan, the woodcutters returned. But the floating of tree trunks down the Indus has always entailed heavy losses. Now the Karakoram Highway provides easy access to lorries, while jeeps may enter the side-valleys. So export is much more rewarding; Pakistan needs timber more than almost any other raw material.

A good share of the timber revenue is indeed paid to the local population and divided according to the ancient rules of the *wesh*-system. As meadows and forests are traditionally considered as being common property, there are no individuals who take over responsibility for any particular region of the forest. So nobody protests when the contractors not only select the permitted crippled trees, but devastate whole stands of prime forest. Rapid depletion of these forests is taking place with the same negative effects as in the Central Himalayas; and this is not even compensated by an equivalent expansion of agricultural land. The slopes are so steep that it is impossible to put them under cultivation, and hence the soil gets washed away forever. In fact, agricultural efforts are reduced when a safe income in cash, as *wesh*-participant in the timber industry, is guaranteed.

The admirable extension of local schools with a large teaching staff partly coming from outside, has supported the spread of Urdu as *lingua franca*. At the same time, effecting some cultural compensation, there is a tendency to create new scripts adapted to the local languages. Here and there we find men eager to

create indigenous literature, with religious books and poetry as its first manifestation. That is no easy task, due to the linguistic inadequacies. Khowar has already a small but established literary tradition and now attempts are made for Burushaski, Shina, and Balti as well. The Baltis once suppressed by the Dogra administration are now the leading players in this cultural renaissance.

These tendencies of ethnic cohesion should be esteemed and supported by the state. For some time, no political parties were allowed in the Northern Areas and the rifts and tensions inside the population were, therefore, mainly delineated by religious groups, even in regions where no such partisan feelings existed in the past. It would be useful to bring new loyalties into this game based on ethnic identities—in a positive and constructive way.

To find one's ethnic self means to discover old bonds of friendship and alliance with one's neighbours, and to become aware that they share a glorious common heritage. In times when the lowlands were under the sway of invaders, the mountain people were able to preserve their traditions and soon regained liberty after hostile inroads. Without modern weapons and the organization of a great empire, it would have been impossible to conquer them. Even the local rulers had to be very careful in imposing their dominions before they had the backing of the British power. There is a very long tradition of freedom in the Northern Areas which equally demands the respect of modern government.

NOTES

1. Prof Dr Gérard Fussman, member of the Collège de France, is one of the optional members of our team since 1980 and has published several of his results in our series. His linguistic survey of Dardic and Kafir languages formed the basis of his contribution to the book of Prof Dr A.H. Dani, which appeared under the title, 'History of the Northern Areas of Pakistan', (Islamabad 1989).
2. Gold washers, locally called *maruts*, usually settle at the banks of the Indus, where they perform their work. Additionally, prior to the

construction of bridges, they were acting as ferry-men, crossing the river by skin rafts. When the Indus falls back after the summer floods, the gold washing starts in the maximal deposits. As they owned no land, had no agrarian basis, they were badly exploited by the local farmers, who gave their grain only at exorbitant prices payable in gold. Nowadays the change to an open market has considerably improved the social situation of the *maruts*.

3. That is compulsory work for all villagers in the service of the authorities.
4. For details, see Karl Jettmar, 'Religions of the Hindukush' (Engl. transl. forthcoming).
5. Gohar Aman, also rendered as Gohar Rahman, belonged to the Khushwakte dynasty and ruled over Yasin before his death in 1860. Gilgit had been occupied by the Sikhs and later on handed over to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir who had purchased from the British their former conquests in the North. All these areas were deliberated by Gohar Rahman's attacks and conspirations; a strong force intended to relief the garrison of Gilgit was wiped out completely. But even worse was his treatment of the Shias who fell in his hands. They were sold into slavery.
6. Prof Dr Irmtraut Stellrecht wrote her doctoral thesis on the feasts and festivals of the area. She did field research in Hunza and is now Head of the Department of Ethnology at the University of Tübingen/Germany. She also is the head of the interdisciplinary project 'Culture Area Karakorum', dealing with the actual problems of the region.
7. *Ra'is* was the title of a high official in the Seljuk administration, mostly held by a man of non-Turkish origin.
8. Further interesting material was collected by A. Nayyar (1986).

The Social and Economic Process in Tangir and Darel, Northern Areas

Situated just across the westernmost ranges of the Karakoram mountains, the Shina-speaking population of Tangir and Darel had no hereditary rulers. The population in the side-valleys of the Indus was organized in separate, formerly autonomous political units. Gor, Chilas, Tangir, and Darel were the most important 'republics' bordering the principalities such as Hunza, Nager, and Punyal in the northern part of the former Gilgit-Agency. They were considered part of Yaghistan—the 'land of rebellion and freedom', where resistance against any kind of centralized government imposing law and order was even more pronounced than elsewhere. This attitude might result from the fact that several valleys had formerly been included in the despotic principalities. After they had regained their liberty, they resisted all attempts to restore their former dependency status. Another divergence from their northern neighbours was exhibited by their Muslim sectarian adherence. In the principalities of northern Gilgit, most of the villagers were Shias or Ismailis, and even their rulers who were Sunnis had learned to

* The primary source of this chapter is an article I wrote for 'Sociologus' entitled 'Soziale und wirtschaftliche Dynamik bei asiatischen Gebirgsbauern' (Jettmar 1960) describing the social and economic processes in the valleys of Tangir and Darel based on my visits in 1955 and 1958. During later visits to the areas of Chilas all my time and energy were absorbed in the exploration of the rock-carvings and inscriptions, a historical source of great importance; therefore, I never conducted any systematic restudy of Tangir and Darel. In this chapter I want to recount the cultural conditions of both valleys in the 1950s and in an epilogue identify and analyse the conditions of change that emerged during the past four decades.

collaborate with at least one of these sects. In contrast, Yaghistan was definitely Sunni, and the Chilasis proudly proclaimed that, in their glorious past, every Shia who dared to enter their territory was killed.

The political system in Shinaki territory, i.e., in the republics where Shina, a Dardic (north-west Indian) language was spoken, was of the same type as that of the Kohistanis of Dardistan, in the area stretching from Kashmir to Kabul. This name encompasses the inhabitants of Dir-Kohistan (on the uppermost tributaries of the Panjkora river) and the indigenous people in Kalam *rehzil* in northern Swat who speak Gowri as in Dir, or Torwali in the lower part of Kalam. In Pakistan there is also Indus-Kohistan, with several ethnic groups in the presently named Kohistan District. Maiya is spoken in two dialects on the western bank of the Indus, and Shina on the opposite side. Additionally, there are enclaves of, so far, poorly studied languages.

Early Political Control

For centuries, the Pakhtun tribes in the lower hills of Dir, Swat, Buner, and Hazara were organised in a manner similar to that described above. They differed, however, in so far as a member of a saintly family, the *wali* or *akhund*, had transformed Swat into a well-administered state by stabilizing his rule and expanding his territory each time the British—faced with other major problems—loosened their hold on these areas as, for example, during the Second World War. He succeeded in subjugating Kalam and the right bank of the Indus up to the Kandia valley. Dir, however, was ruled by a powerful *khan*, who did not have the progressive ambitions of his neighbour in Swat (Keiser 1991).

Even before consolidation through the principalities of Swat and Dir, the expanse of Yaghistan was drastically curbed when a British military force succeeded in conquering Chilas and defended it against a general uprising of the Kohistanis.¹ Dissident forces from distant valleys interfered, but they had to

retreat after heavy losses and the depletion of their supplies. The eastern boundary of the remaining territory was, finally, fixed at Basha. The official reason given for this campaign was to protect the Gilgit Road at the Hatu Pir, a weak point between Kashmir and Gilgit where the trail descends steeply to the Indus at the mouth of the Astor valley (Bruce 1910:106–15). Actually, the people of Astor were eager to instigate the British into such an intervention, because this finally stopped the raids by the Chilasis. The main victims of these forays were people from the Astor valley, but the Chilasis had formerly extended their inroads beyond the boundaries of Purig.

There was an ancient enmity between Chilas and Gor. The latter had always maintained diplomatic relations with Gilgit town, therefore, the people of Gor were immediately ready to lead and to support the intervention by the British forces. The village fortress of Chilas, where the population of two large valleys, the Thak Gah and the Buto Gah, had lived together in wintertime, where they planned raids for the next year, was destroyed and replaced by a modern fort with a garrison of Gilgit Scouts recruited from the settled areas. When our expedition arrived in 1955, most of the soldiers were from Hunza. Near the fort there were shops and the homesteads of merchants. Prior to Partition, most of these had been occupied by Hindus. The irrigated land in the Indus valley had been rented out to immigrants while the indigenous population had to retreat into the side-valleys, into their seasonal houses situated on arable land.

The Western Karakoram Headquarters

We could not conduct field research in Chilas itself. During our stay in 1955, we were always protected by armed guards, a situation that was necessary, because attempts were made to attack our camp during the nights. Therefore, we were happy to proceed to Tangir where we were received with full honours. The Doms were playing the band and the headmen were standing in line when our caravan arrived.

Tangir

The lowest part of the valley of Tangir is a narrow and steep gorge. Approximately 600 metres above its junction with the Indus is the first flat land. Then the track bypasses a barrier, the moraine of a glacier from the last ice age.² The trail led into the central part of the valley, which was broad and flat for many kilometres in each direction. Alluvial fans mark the places where the Tangir valley river is joined by small side streams, the water of which can be used for irrigation. The transition to the high pastures follows in large steps. Up to a level of 2,800 metres the slopes are covered with holm-oaks. Then, there is a zone of wonderful pine forests, which in those days had not yet been seriously depleted by logging.

The majority of the population is divided into four 'castes', according to the stratification characteristic of the Shina speakers. The Shins were considered to be the most distinguished group. In many places, certain taboos were upheld by them in order to preserve their ritual purity. They had immigrated from the south, from Pakhli, east of the Indus which borders the Hazara district. In fact, the Shina language does not have many archaic loanwords occurring in other mountain languages, so it was presumably brought by a later wave of immigrants.

The next group, the Yeshkun, held a position similar to that of the Shins and possessed a considerable amount of land. The men who had offered the information for Biddulph's (1880) excellent summary considered the Burushaski speaking population in Hunza, Nager, and Yasin as identical with the Yeshkuns. When the Shins succeeded in acquiring a dominant position, the indigenous farmers abandoned their own language, adopting that of the victorious invaders. The new additions were included into a system of four castes. The indigenous language was preserved only in a few places, such as Hunza, Nager, and Yasin. Although the Shins infiltrated even there, they remained a minority. With roles reversed, the former Burushaski speakers, now called Yeshkuns, could immigrate as 'agricultural specialists' into the valleys of Shinaki. This assumption, drawn from

Biddulph's remarks, presupposes the temporary existence of a larger political unit, including all valleys between the Karakoram range and the southern plains.

The third group is called Kamin or Kramin. The term is derived from a root well presented in many Indo-Aryan languages. Here it is used for a menial caste encompassing craftsmen and labourers. This might mean that the Kamins are immigrants from the lowlands, and their physiognomic characteristics suggest this ancestry. In this respect, they are similar to the Shins who look more Mediterranean than the Yeshkuns. The Kamins in the Tangir valley were farmers, mostly poorer than those belonging to the two dominant castes. The necessary handicrafts were produced by groups of specialists, sometimes connected to the representatives of other professions through intermarriage. They also tried to become landowners.

The Doms held the fourth and lowest position, acting as a caste of minstrels or musicians. In the principalities, their group was attached to the court of the ruler, while in Kohistan they were in the service of the rural communities. Sometimes they performed other less appreciated occupations such as ritual circumcision. They often tried to buy land, but even when successful, they were held in contempt by their neighbours.

As a rule, marriages were arranged in the framework of the same caste. The term should not be misleading, for there still remain structural similarities to the Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, probably going back to the pre-Islamic past. Later immigrants with a solid social position are Sayyids and Pashtuns. Less esteemed are the Kanyawalis. Like the primary inhabitants, they form endogamous units, not too different from the castes. Their language, Kanyawali,³ indicates their original habitat to be in the Kohistan district. The castes and similar units are segmented into lineages known under the name of a male ancestor who supposedly lived seven or eight generations ago. The number of 'houses' held by his descendants strongly affects the political importance of the group.

In describing the political system in the period before Pakistan was established, I used the term 'acephalous', but this convenient

term is unsuitable for characterizing the actual situation. Tangir had a rudimentary government formed by elected magistrates, with watchmen as assistants. Moreover, the valley was divided into three sections called *pati*. Each *pati* encompassed several villages. Their houses were spread over the agricultural land of the community, the centre was marked by the mosque, and the smithy often was nearby. To this open village pastures and forests were clearly attached. Each village community had its own council. The members, men of influence, represented their lineages, called *dabbars*. The council was called *jirga*, a term well-known in the Indo-Afghan borderlands and derived from a Mongol word meaning 'circle'.

The *pati* was represented by a superordinate *jirga*, uniting the delegates of the villages. Theoretically, to start war against a foreign enemy a *jirga* joining delegates of all *patis* was competent. Political decisions, however, were rare. The actual task of the *jirgas* was to settle conflicts between informal alliances with attempts being made to settle long-lasting feuds by the acceptance of blood money.

In the 1950s, the *jirgas* had been reduced and subjected to regulations. Most of their members, called *yushteros* (elders), were installed as *lambadars*, they got the title that had been used for council members in British India. That entitled them to a monthly payment of twenty to fifty rupees. The first reaction to problems caused by a *lambadar* was to withhold the payment. In those days that meant a lot of money, and the loyalty of the villagers was guaranteed by this simple regulation.

Almost all conflicts were triggered off by adultery, deriving from a jealous husband or from the anger of the kinsmen of an unmarried young woman. To have an affair with the wife of a neighbour or his daughter was considered not only as a pleasant entertainment for a real Tangiri, but also as a most enjoyable experience, full of romance, and often the best experience of his life. Nevertheless, the typical Tangiri man saw his overwhelming obligation in protecting the women of his own house—wives, daughters and sisters—against such temptations from others. This was a difficult task, especially when, quite in accordance

with Islamic rules, a rich man could afford to marry two or even more women. But the man might restore his honour and even increase it by lying in wait for a clandestine seducer, prowling near his house and killing him with a well-aimed shot of his rifle or with a deadly strike of his axe. Such a deed, of course, would incite the relatives of the murdered man to seek revenge. They would, then, wait for an opportunity to attack him. In any case, the restorer of his honour was henceforth under siege in his own domain. The towers visible beside respectable homesteads were already erected as precautionary fortifications for such a situation. But as no healthy and normal man endures a long period of isolation secluded in his fortified tower, he would leave his confinement after a while for nightly excursions, thus offering his enemies the opportunity to kill him. In optimal cases, the time of protective isolation might be used for negotiations, and more and more mediators being involved, resulting in either hostilities between lineages or even castes or a settlement enforcing the payment of blood money.⁴ In recent decades, a negotiable alternative was established; if the cuckolded husband was able to catch the guilty couple *in flagrante delicto*, he had to kill both immediately. Neither the relatives of the lover nor those of the woman were allowed to take revenge, a regulation based on the customary law of the Pakhtuns but approved by the 'Frontier Crimes Regulations' that directed British and later on Pakistani jurisdiction in the area. According to the same law, a murderer was not executed but sentenced to fourteen years of 'rigorous imprisonment'. (The prison is in Haripur in the plains, a hell for a man born in the mountains.)

In this well-established system of love, jealousy, and murder preconditioned like a game and not devoid of sporting ambitions, the behaviour of the women was the most surprising phenomenon. Even after the legal regulations made it inevitable and appropriate to kill them together with their partners, they risked their lives, often and without hesitation.

In my opinion there was a general tendency to enter into adulterous relationships, perhaps directed by an unconscious

desire for revenge, not understandable to the possessive husbands, brothers, and parents, but quite comprehensible to the foreign observer. The women were confined to the houses. (This was not so in Darel, as there most of the work in the fields depended on their participation.) They were treated badly and neglected frequently by Tangiri men who often were attached to a male partner, a custom expanding under Pakhtun influence from the plains. However, such an explanation might be too prosaic. Real passion was certainly involved, demonstrated by the love songs produced by the women of Tangir.⁵ These songs were pieces of genuine poetry, as attested by the excellent translations published by Buddruss (1964).

A story I heard in Naltar valley (north of Gilgit) should be told in this context. A man who had exploited the women's spirit of revolt for his own pleasure became a plague for his neighbours in the hamlet where I camped. In summertime, when families usually sleep on the roofs of their houses, one of the rich polygamous husbands evidently could concentrate his attention and sexual energy on only one of his wives at a time. At that crucial moment an interloper appeared silently, climbed up the roof and embraced the other wife. During this sexual encounter, a murmur of protest was never heard from any of the other women. It took some time before the villagers realized that something had to be done to stop this adultery. When the culpable man heard about plans for intervention, he went to the court in Gilgit for his personal protection. There he was told that rumours were not enough for taking action, that the police only would act in case he were killed. So he returned home, somewhat disappointed. By now the patience of his neighbours was exhausted, and, while sleeping on his own roof with his own wife, the adulterer was killed by them. The police then appeared and carried out a prolonged, but unsuccessful investigation. Their presence itself was a punishment enough and a heavy burden on the villagers: no chicken survived their stay, and many lambs were slaughtered to feed them.

Our hosts were well aware of the fact, that dissension caused by love and jealousy was then replacing all other problems.

'Formerly we killed each other for the land and the water, but now for the women,' so we were told. The Assistant Political Agent residing in Tangir/Darel, representing the Government of Pakistan, repeatedly was confronted with problems of this kind. He used to call in members of the *jirga* as experienced advisers, sometimes displaying Solomonic qualities: A man had killed his wife and her lover. Although the bodies were found on the same bedstead, the family of the male victim insisted that a long-standing animosity between the two men had been the real motive for the murder. Therefore, they accused him, that in order to escape the normal consequences, a blood fine and/or the regular fourteen years in the penitentiary, he killed his own wife afterwards and placed her body on the same bed. The *jirga* declared this suspicion as not realistic; the wife was too beautiful, they said, to be lost in such a deal.

The Agropastoral Cycle

For all groups of the population thus far mentioned, except the Doms and the poorest members of the lower castes, the typical way of life could be called *almwirtschaft*.⁶ For eight months, between October and May, the families live in farmsteads, mostly surrounded by fields owned by them. Only in some cases there were open hamlets. Many houses were equipped with towers for protection and as symbols of an elevated social position. Even during this period, much time was devoted to herding cattle, buffalo, sheep, and goats. Horses were needed for playing polo, the favourite game of wealthy people. Donkeys were needed for transport; mules were very rare. Winters, moderate and with little snowfall, required the stabling of animals for only a few weeks. The goats could be fed with the perennial leaves of the hom-oak. Cutting the fodder with an axe was the task of the herdsman. The cows were, then, fed with fodder brought from the high meadows and maize stalks. In autumn, herds were brought down to pastures around the lowest parts of the valley, where there was no snow cover.

For four months in the summer, the entire family moved to the high pastures, together with the cattle. In June, most of the population lived in Satil, at the very end of the main valley, 3,000 m high. In the following months, they roamed in the small side-valleys with high but excellent pastures. Other families crossed the passes over into the Gilgit river catchment area and occupied the famous pastures of Chashi and Batres. In September, all families returned towards Satil with their herds, and in October they migrated down to their homesteads.

The pastures were distributed among the villages, lineages occupied the same locality every year. Normally, each family moved into its accustomed shelter after some cleaning and repairing. It was not a real house, just a wall of stones, with the roof constructed of branches, and some planks and earth used as an outer cover. In spite of that, the sojourn at the high pastures was considered the best time of the year. Everybody enjoyed the cool and clear air, for there were no mosquitoes or sandfleas, and not much work to do. It was also the time when the men went hunting.

Even under such favourable conditions, little was actually produced. Milk, especially sour milk, was immediately consumed, and clarified butter was brought down to the homes in the valley. From their neighbours they had learned the art of preparing cheese and curd, but that remained a rather exotic food. The arable lands were considered as primogeniture private property of the householder, a practice contrasting with the custom of Islamic law according to which sons might inherit property in equal parts. Tilling the soil was more or less the task of sharecroppers called *dakans*. Each of the higher-ranking families had one or more *dakans* in their service. The proprietor had to supply grain for sowing, and also the plough-oxen and the agricultural tools. Sometimes he participated in the work, but certainly not in summer. Then only the *dakans* and the poorest farmers stayed in the valley to control and maintain the irrigation system. I call the *dakan* 'sharecropper'; he received a quarter (or fifth) of the harvest. In some cases, he was provided with a fixed quantity of grain and other products. Under similar

conditions, rich families might engage *dakans* for dealing with the animals.

Only in rare cases established inhabitants of Tangir worked as *dakans*, although they received better employment conditions when they did. They had their own houses and implements. Generally, the leaseholders were immigrants from the valleys of Kohistan district or they were Gujars. The Gujars who were experienced cattle-keepers, came from the borderlands of Punjab. As a rule, such people were hopelessly indebted to their employers, with their situation being hardly better than that of slaves. It was understood and generally accepted that such a man and his family might be sold to another landlord for the amount comprising permanent and inheritable debt.

The servitude of the Gujars was increased by various conditions. Many immigrants left the land they had inherited from their fathers, because it was not sufficient for maintaining their families. Others were embroiled in dangerous conflict with a superior enemy. Some fled after committing some crime, usually abduction. After their arrival in Tangir, if there was no immediate chance of getting a job in agriculture, the immigrants could try to make a living as blacksmith or carpenter. Most of the private tower fortifications were built by such 'guest workers'. Sometimes the foreigner was engaged to maintain the irrigation system, a labour that might bring him an eighth part of the harvest from the fields he cared for. That, however, was not enough to save him and his family from starvation. When a poor man asked for help from one of the landlords, the owner sold him maize for its actual price in cash, with payment due after the harvest. But after the harvest, the price of maize was much lower, so the debtor needed a much larger quantity of grain for repayment. Even if the poor man succeeded in settling the payment, the next winter he would need more maize than before. Although no interest was demanded, as per the practise in Islam, after several years, the debts amounted to as much as 500 rupees and there was not the slightest chance of repaying it. At this point, a new contract was offered. The 'foreign worker' was accepted as *dakan* and was henceforth the tiller of the soil

for his landlord, earning as his share only enough maize for survival. During the annual feast, clothes might be presented to him and his family as a reward for his service. It is surprising that the immigrants were ready to accept this arrangement but it appeared to be their only chance to be regularly provided with basic foodstuff and to find a social niche, even though in an utterly depressed position. The *dakans* not only had to work hard, but their health declined quickly, or was even ruined.

Once, I saw *dakans* producing a sort of tar to be used for rubbing on their body as a protection against mosquitoes and sand-fleas. This application was necessary because they had to remain on the bottom of the valley during the hottest months in summer. The mortality rate of the children born in the houses of *dakans* was said to be higher than in the families of the farmers. There were no intermarriages between the *dakans* and their owners. In some places the sharecroppers spoke Shina, in others 'Kohistani' or Gujari. Love stories and outbursts of jealousy were frequent. They had no other 'property' than their wives, and nothing to lose except their life. Long lasting feuds were rare; in order for these to develop, integration into a system of lineages, with additional alliances, would be needed. In the 1950s, the *dakans* had no rifles, and ammunition was expensive.

Most of the terraced fields are situated on the irrigated alluvial fans. Prior to the introduction of maize two harvests were common, a practice that was given up when the people shifted to maize cultivation. Now they prefer a 'one harvest system' with, almost exclusively, maize being sown in May-June and harvested in October. Therefore, the period of vegetation corresponds to the time when the cattle is driven up to the high pastures. Thus, there is no need to protect the fields by fences and to control the herds permanently. Wheat is sown in some places, as a welcome variation in the diet; rice would grow well but is restricted to low flat land where water for paddy cultivation is available. Several kinds of beans are known but they are mostly used as fodder, as is alfalfa. Some fruits such as mulberries are available that can be dried and consumed during winter. Walnut trees are ubiquitous, but unlike the situation in

Hunza and Nager, apricots and grapes are not important. Vegetables are almost non-existent.

The dishes prepared from this rather narrow spectrum of food resources are few and rarely palatable for an outsider, even when they are compared to the cuisine of other Dardic peoples. Basic sustenance is bread made from maize, eaten with a sort of spinach doused with rancid *ghi*. This concoction is the daily fare of the landowner and his *dakan*. The occasional meat and salted tea are considered as indication of a sumptuous lifestyle.

This basic diet must be seen in the context of general parsimony in all other aspects of living conditions. Housing and clothing are devoid of all embellishments and nothing is done to make them more convenient for the user. A man's fine coat would be interpreted as an attempt to prove superiority by the neighbours, and dangerous enmities would arise from such audacious behaviour. There is, thus, not much visible difference between the landowner who does not perform any agricultural work, and his poor and despised *dakan*. Only the modern rifle, and perhaps a horse, reveal a wealthy and powerful person. In such cases the private tower was carefully constructed and the burial-place of the family was marked by wooden monuments (carved planks marked the upper and the lower end of the grave). The surrounding fence was transformed into a structure decorated by carvings. These few signs of wealth and power were all that we could observe in the 1950s.

Darel

Despite the fact that the Tangir and Darel rivers are very close to each other at their confluence into the Indus, their settlements are quite different from a sociological point of view. Upstream the valleys diverge, with Darel having an important side-valley called Diamir. While Darel does not have as many intrusive social groups, the settlement pattern is more complicated. There are more physiographic divisions formed by moraines, more fans of sediments, and more diversity at different levels.

Therefore, the valley was subdivided into five blocks (*valis*), but others speak of seven units. Darel has no mountain pastures (alps) north of the Gilgit-Karakoram watershed. Instead, Khanbari, a rather large side-valley of the Indus bordering Darel in the east, forms an annex, a tributary territory. The population settled there has to pay taxes, which are a permanent tribute to Darel. Not all villages in the main valley share the natural resources, but there are regulations for compensation, including exclusive grazing-rights on some alpine pastures. The population of Darel is organized according to the pattern already described; there are Sayyids but neither Pakhtuns nor Kanyawalis.

Darel appeared more conservative, or old-fashioned. In many villages of Darel, it was strictly forbidden to use foreign *dakans* for tilling the soil. Goat breeding and herding was the ritual task of virgin boys. Women, especially during menstruation, were thought to be noxious to goats. Custom demanded that they avoided direct contact with these pure and holy animals. This taboo was a hindrance to the transformation of the alpine pastures into residential areas.

Due to such restrictions, those immigrants from Kohistan who were, finally, integrated into the society of Darel as carpenters and labourers came via Tangir. The Gujar invasion to Khanbari was prompted by other events. Pakhtun Wali Khan had seen the extensive but poorly utilized high pastures of this valley, which was formerly a battleground between Darel and Hodar, the latter supported by Chilas, and decided to gain the territory finally inherited by the Darelis.

Thus the structure of Darel was more balanced compared to the radical situation in Tangir. There is, however, further information that allows the reconstruction of a still earlier model, prior to the massive changes connected with the Islamisation of the area. According to material from Darel, the system of periodical re-distribution of the collectively owned fields was introduced when the compact village fortresses were set up. This happened when the inhabitants were converted to Islam by Sunni missionaries who had arrived from Swat and lower Kohistan, supported by armed forces. Their descendants are still

present among the indigenous population. Descendants of the missionaries still form a revered group; they are considered to be Sayyids. Apparently, the Islamic conquerors forced the members of the different 'castes' to make peace amongst themselves and to live permanently around the imposing mosques constructed during this period. The missionaries even succeeded in creating and maintaining an egalitarian society by introducing a land reform with far-reaching consequences.

Evidence indicates that, prior to the construction of 'modern' fortresses, there were smaller hamlets or villages.⁷ These places can still be identified today, they were situated on mountain tops or high up in the slopes. In those days, people said, the castes were housed separately, with Shins and Yeshkuns on the highest places, and Kamins and Doms at the bottom of the valley, or at least on a lower level. Land reform under the Islamic missionaries was a bold move, provoking immediate conflicts by imposing a reorganization of the local stratified society and the habitat it had exploited.

A significant difference lies in the system of settlement. Although Darel is not without isolated farmsteads and hamlets, the majority of the population still lived in closed, fortified villages, called '*kot*'. The house plan, structured in accordance with a systematic segmentation, may be demonstrated by taking Phuguch as an example. The *kot* has 120 houses and is divided into five *chudä*, and each *chudä* is divided into two *dabbars*, with each *dabbar* having twelve houses. The *dabbars* are not real lineages, i.e., not all members are related through kinship. The solid core is formed by extended families. The prescribed number of twelve households had been attained by including additional families, often pertaining to lower castes, Kamins or Doms. In other cases, a lineage was split into two parts when it became too numerous. The main objective of this manipulation is to obtain parts of equal strength. So the village of lower Samigal is organized in six *chudäs*, each divided into three units, each with an equal number of houses.

In 1955, the function of this institution was to divide the benefits entitled to the entire village into fair shares. When the

woodcutters managed to obtain the right to log one of the forests, the benefits went to the village community and were distributed to all landowners. The rent for the pastures at Khanbari was divided in the same way. Necessary tasks could be regulated according to this system as well. The fields belonging to the *chudä* or *dabbar* were situated in areas that are irrigated by the same ditch, while the pastures were located in a coherent territory. An appropriate representation in the *jirga* of the village was no problem, because each *dabbar* nominated one of the *yushteros*.

The Regular Redistribution of Land⁸

In the past the *wesh*-system contained crucial components for all aspects of the economic and social life of the villages. Land was ultimately owned by the community, and the share claimed by each household was subject to exchange in regular periods. Every five years, the *yushteros* held a meeting in which land holdings were rearranged. At first the main portions of the land were allocated to the *chudä* by drawing marked sticks. Then the claims of the *dabbars* were defined, and finally the land was allotted to the houses. The size of the families was taken into consideration. For this process, a regrouping of the population was necessary. Large families, previously forming one working unit, were split. Kamins and Doms were shifted to other units, and other 'houses' were dissolved. The result was a new permutation of the resource base. Some questions remain about the efficacy of this system since not all details are recollected as the last and final settlement happened one generation ago. After the breaking up of this strict system the villagers perceived the arable land as being their private property. It is now inherited according to Islamic law, but as in Tangir, it is not allocated to daughters.

There are marked differences in the gender division of labour between the neighbouring valleys. In Darel, herding is the task of the males, not of the grown-up ones but of the adolescent

boys. The boys live in the stables together with the animals. Such buildings form large clusters, separated from the *kot* in groups resembling adjunct villages. The boys bring the herds to the high pastures. Only in rare cases a younger, married brother with his wife might join them.

Other members of the family remain in the village, even during the hot summer. They perform the necessary work of irrigation and harvesting. Summer residence in the village is astonishing because the sickness spread by sand-flea bites is even more virulent than in Tangir. In addition, the secluded villages with their concentrations of houses, almost without intersecting passages, are breeding grounds for all sorts of pathogenic vectors.

Unfortunately, many of these hardships are endured by women. Their involvement in agricultural activities in Darel is far more important than in Tangir. Where wheat and barley are grown, each field must be weeded by hand. From a considerable distance, we saw the lines of squatting women slowly moving from furrow to furrow. Only a few functions are performed by men, for example, ploughing and threshing. Therefore, there is no need to employ migrant *dakans*. If necessary, fellow villagers co-operate and they are rewarded with a generous share of the harvest amounting to a third. Only in Khanbari agricultural work is done by *dakans*. Here the population of large but open settlements consists entirely of Gujars. They use land owned by the villagers in Darel, in some cases lent to a particular *chudä*. The rules are similar to those imposed on the tenants. For negotiations the Gujars were represented by their own *lambadars*. There is no tendency to abandon Gujari, the indigenous language of the immigrants.

Similar conditions prevail in a village situated in Darel proper. Gujars are the inhabitants of the highest hamlet, just below the level of the alpine pastures. This colony was ruled by a female *lambadar*, the widow of the former headman. This is a remarkable and much discussed exception in a predominantly male society.

The Gujars grow maize with only one harvest per year. Due to the high altitude of the fields a second sowing would not be effective. The villages of the Darelis proper at the upper part of the valley have the same single crop problem, for example, in the village of Jaglot. In the villages situated in the lower parts of the valley, the sequence of crops is arranged according to a well-conceived system. Frequently, barley is sown in autumn and harvested in spring, then followed by maize as a second crop. Winter wheat needs a longer maturation period and it is often combined with buckwheat. In other places, mixed crops include different kinds of beans and lentils sown together with wheat or millets in combination. There is not enough dung to fertilize all the fields, therefore, part of the land lies fallow. Compared to Tangir, Darel has more kinds of fruit trees; consequently the diet is more varied, more appetizing, and more nutritious.

The diversification of agricultural activities needed additional regulations. For example, during summer, the villagers were not allowed to keep their cattle near their homes, not even for milking. Such prohibitions were accepted as favourable to the community. When disputes arose, the *jirga* resolved them because the village elders could exert pressure on offenders. Migration to the high meadows was well organized. Despite efforts to ameliorate disputes, many old and bitter feuds prevailed, to be suppressed only temporarily. The reasons hardly differed from those usual in Tangir. The economic activities of men and women and casual contacts in the compact villages offered additional chances for clandestine meetings and illicit relations. Some customs, hardly mentioned but still preserved in the years after my first visits, offered many opportunities. I was told that even during marriage festivities some dances were shared by women and men, not as couples, but in long dance lines, as is common in America.

The settlement patterns of the two valleys (Tangir—isolated farmsteads and open hamlets; Darel—fortified villages with pertinent clusters of stables and only a small number of scattered houses) reflect considerable discrepancies in the social and

economic structure. The only European who could visit the area before the arrival of our expedition in 1955 was the Anglo-Hungarian Sir Marcus Aurelius Stein who was intrigued by this contrast in patterns. In the reports of Chinese pilgrims who had crossed the mountains on their way to the centres of Buddhist learning in the north-western Indian subcontinent, a side-valley of the Indus is mentioned as a centre of missionary activities and as the place of a monastery, where a famous wooden Maitreya statue was standing. The name of the locality (Faxian: T'o-li) was already declared by Cunningham as identical with Darel; the name used by Xuanzang (Ta-li-lo) was seemingly 'an exact transcription of Darel or an earlier form of the name as Chinese phonetics would permit of' (Stein 1928:21). Sir Aurel Stein concluded that, more than thousand years ago, this valley must have been a famous cultural centre. According to him, the flavour of the higher lifestyle was not entirely lost. Tangir, however, preserved the lower standard of the aboriginal ruffians, never tamed by the gentle preachings of the 'Enlightened'. Stein explained the patterns of the local wood carvers as being influenced by late Gandharan art and boldly assumed that the village Phuguch must have been the site of the wooden statue.

The local tradition, often contained in the context of genealogies reaching back fifteen generations, refutes this inspiring assumption. This is confirmed by reports collected in neighbouring valleys on local ruins and pertinent traditions. Everybody in Tangir knows that the landowners now residing in isolated farmsteads formerly had their homes in fortified villages. The places can be identified, but the houses have disappeared; only the mosque, decorated with carvings similar to those in Darel, the smithy, and the graveyard now mark the spiritual centre of the dissolved, but not quite disorganized, village community. Near or inside the mosque, the assemblies of the headmen were held. In those days, no *dakans* were available, so it was impossible to move to the high pastures with the complete family. Only boys and young men kept and protected the cattle in the pastures, while all other members of the family were needed for agricultural work. Previously, there

were two harvests each year even in Tangir; wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, buckwheat, and leguminous plants were cultivated, but maize was not yet grown. Quarrels and feuds were rare when compared to the present.

These statements are confirmed by information enshrined in Biddulph's admirable book, 'Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh' (Biddulph 1880). To him Tangir and Darel were definitely inaccessible, but as the first Political Agent headquartered in Gilgit he had built up a network of informants. They told him about fortified villages not only in Darel but also in Tangir. Perhaps, the process of dissolution was already initiated, but the decisive transition to a scattered settlement pattern must have happened in the period between the reports received by Biddulph and the visit of Stein. A comparable situation might have existed in Darel. When the *kot* of Gayal was destroyed by a fire some time ago, several villagers did not rebuild their houses on the former spot but chose to settle in the farmlands just attributed to them.

We also acquired information about the upper part of Tangir valley. Here the inhabitants of the former village were once organized in groups of equal numerical strength without regard to the stature of different castes. Their ancestry had the same history of collective landownership, maintained by periodical reallocations, as seen at Phuguch in Darel.

The oral tradition offers several explanations for the transition from the situation observed in Darel to that of Tangir. In the last century, so I was told, there were few wars between autonomous villages or even valleys. The incursions by the 'armies' of the principalities in the north, Chitral, Yasin, and Punyal came to an end. Attacks in the opposite direction, however, were not rewarding. In the Gilgit valley, better rifles were available. In this new situation, a usurper of royal descent, the famous Pakhtun Wali Khan who had built up his own spurious small state in Tangir, occupied Darel and favoured the tendency of his subjects to build their houses in the fields, thereby encouraging a new settlement pattern.

We must concede credibility and plausibility to such recollections. The tribal territory encompassing Tangir and Darel as north-eastern outposts in the second half of the nineteenth century was surrounded by areas already controlled by the British or allied principalities. As the local rulers had every reason to demonstrate good conduct, the village fortresses lost their strategic value. On the other hand, the British were not interested in building a road through the 'gorges of the Indus' because the Tsar's troops might have been the unintended beneficiaries. Preserving a 'tribal territory', full of anarchists, but too radical for external raids, was an effective and cheap way to seal one of the possible 'gates' to India! Pacification instead of conquest seemed to be the best solution.

In this situation, Pakhtun Wali Khan got the opportunity to acquire Tangir and Darel. In the eyes of the British administrators, he came from a most repulsive family. His father, Mir Wali, ruler of Yasin, had given the order to kill Hayward when this Scottish agent of the Royal Geographical Society passed through Barkulti on his way over the glaciers of the Darkot pass to Wakhan. As a consequence, Mir Wali was ousted from his principality. His son grew up as an acolyte of the Pakhtun chiefs in the lowland hills who tried to build up their own principalities at the expense of other tribesmen and the principalities in the north, taking advantage of the leniency of the British administration. In this way, Pakhtun Wali Khan learned to exploit modern weaponry and the art of intrigue. When the British lost patience and destroyed Umra Khan's principality, Pakhtun Wali Khan found refuge in Tangir, and soon started a systematic attempt to built up a new base of power there. After some bold skirmishes and clever negotiations, he became absolute ruler in Tangir and Darel, exerting influence over a much larger area. During his rule in the years 1905-17, the usurper had plenty of reasons to favour a quick dissolution of the village fortresses. He understood not only the sanitary problems but the integrative function of a fortress as a political institution as well; it was like a nest, well adapted for the breeding of conspiracies.

When Pakhtun Wali Khan at last fell victim to one of the rebellions, and those who claimed to be his successors met the same fate, the spiritual unrest and the ambitions of the potential heroes had to find another outlet. Illicit love affairs, consequent murders motivated by jealousy, and the resulting revenge became the supreme fancy, culminating in a strange product of Pax Britannica. There was a general conviction stressed by people in Tangir and Darel that the tendency to 'kill each other for the ladies' had become more and more fashionable during the last generation. The towers, now an almost obligatory component for the houses of the freeholders, look as ancient as those in the Caucasian mountain valleys, but were actually constructed during a period of forty years after the death of Pakhtun Wali Khan. Not even one of them is visible on Sir Aurel Stein's photographs taken in 1913 and published in 1928. Most probably the towers visible in many of Stein's photographs, were erected with the help of carpenters who had been brought from Kohistan by Pakhtun Wali Khan for the construction of large forts, but they were razed to the ground after his assassination. Then the craftsmen lost their jobs and were, henceforth, employed by private customers.

Once more we must ask why Darel was behind Tangir in the construction of towers. Tower building was still going on during my early visits. Perhaps, this delay was a cultural lag, resulting from their more conservative attitude. The *yushteros* had successfully preserved their positions and used them for supporting social cohesion. When the Darelis started to erect towers, they built them in the precincts of the old *kots*. The landscape was reminiscent of medieval Italian towns where bare but impressive towers marked the seats of the powerful families. Certainly they are symbols of hatred and pride.

The shift to intensive cultivation of maize in Tangir was closely associated with the opportunity to employ *dakans*. Maize offered the chance to get a larger harvest from the same plot of land and to feed more people than before. In a double-cropping system the winter-sown crop with its first harvest in early spring could be forfeited when the small quantity of dung was used

exclusively for the maize crop. Normally, the surplus derived from cultivation is used for trade, but in Tangir the preconditions for an effective market economy were negligible. The goods needed were cloth and clothing, cartridges and salt. Traders reached Sazin via Kohistan district, as it is now called, after an arduous trek; access from Gilgit being open only in summer. The main problem was, however, that luxuries—like machine-made clothing—should not be seen by the neighbours because they might perceive its exhibition as emphasizing a possible superiority. Consumer products that made life easier and more comfortable seemed to have no place in their system of values. They appreciated independence, avoiding labour, and the greater control of women gained by relieving the women from agricultural work, all became possible by hiring *dakans*. It is astonishing how clearly Pakhtun Wali Khan was aware of these implications. He tried to attract shopkeepers for offering foreign goods in Tangir. Availability of these products could stimulate the demand, resulting in an increased production. To achieve these ends, he ordered the construction of the first bazaar and pony tracks connecting Tangir/Darel with the Gilgit valley. Rarely were such initiatives successful, but the services of the *dakans* made it possible for landowners to enjoy leisure, spiced by hunting during a refreshing stay on the high pastures in the hottest summer months.

Perhaps the interest in agriculture was drastically reduced when maize, which was not integrated into the inherited agricultural customs and beliefs, replaced the traditional crops. Maize even made the keeping of domestic animals less laborious. During the rather short growing season, the plants were easily protected. When warfare was reduced to sporadic private raids the tendency to take the family to the high pastures was increased. During blood feuds women were not killed, except *in flagrante delicto*.

Elimination of the *Wesh*-System

When the lowland or hill Pakhtun tribes conquered Swat and other territories in the north-western corner of the Indian subcontinent such as Dir and Buner in the sixteenth century, they divided the land among the families of their forces according to rules called *wesh* (dividing). This term defines the creation of closely related land tenure systems that group the victors into segments, and sub-segments, with all units having equal strength. The land was then divided according to the same mathematical principle, with each lot containing fields of assorted quality, pastures and forests. That was definitely the prototype of the system established in Tangir and Darel, a ubiquitous pattern throughout the Kohistan region. In Swat this system was abolished by its imperious ruler, the 'old' Wali of Swat, between 1920 and 1930. Pakhtun Wali Khan had enacted his order earlier than his neighbour; he had abolished this practice in Darel as soon as he controlled the valley after 1910.

While the origins of this system are still in doubt, evidence is found among Pakhtun and Baloch tribes (Pikulin 1959). In the Euro-Asiatic steppes nomads were organized in quasi-tribes of equal strength, and the pastures were attributed to them by the central power.⁹ A. Nayyar made the important discovery that the *wesh*-system still is well established in the 'Black Mountains' (Nayyar 1988).

The situation in Swat can serve as an example; there, the pressure group consisted of persons endowed with religious charisma. They were considered to be strictly Sunni leaders while opposing sectarians (the 'Roshanis') were supported by a social movement. The almost 'socialistic' tendency might have been a reaction against this competing group. The system is not known in Dardistan where the Ithna Ahsarya Shia ('Twelvers') and the Ismaili Shia ('Seveners') were the dominant sects. The fields in the Bagrot valley were divided into five large blocks, but nothing is known about regular re-distributions.

There was another consequence of this incursion of lowland culture; the concentration of the population in a small number

of fortified villages made the cultivation in distant side-valleys difficult and laborious. On the other hand, it was advantageous to send only the youngsters together with the cattle into areas that were exposed to attacks. Between the 'republics', there remained pockets of 'no man's land' that continued to be unsettled until the twentieth century when the British hegemony led to some law and order, at least in 'external affairs'.

It is surprising how quickly this system of Pakhtun character and origin was liquidated in many of its essential aspects. In 1955, my informants mentioned a period of eight generations as sufficient time to induce radical changes in Tangir and a partial liquidation in Darel. For an environmental explanation we could refer to climatic conditions. Village fortresses situated at the bottom of the valley, near the riverbanks, were not conducive to the health of the population, malaria being rampant at this low altitude. In any case, such villages are hot and filthy, an additional explanation for the general practice of delegating agricultural work to others and of migrating to the high pastures in the summer in an *almwirtschaft* cycle. The avoidance of disease-ridden low places has not been regarded as a motive for the location of the earlier, pre-Islamic settlements on the top of hillocks or on major production zones on the higher slopes. Such places were not only useful for defence, they were optimal for the health of the population as well. In Gor, however, the villages are situated on a 2,500 m plateau,¹⁰ high above the banks of the Indus, a favourable location not only for cultivation but for permanent residence.

In the 1950s informants told us several times that the Shins were the major opponents to conversion by Islamic missionaries. It is easy to see why they resisted. Their formerly privileged position was endangered. Apparently, they had, previously, owned more land than they could actually use themselves. This allowed a concentration on goat breeding and hunting. For agricultural work, especially ploughing, which requires the otherwise despised cattle oxen, collaboration with other 'castes' was essential.

There had always been antagonistic relations between the 'castes', but after the Islamic conversion, Kamins and Doms repulsed discrimination from Shins and Yeshkuns, since they were accepted as Muslims with equal rights. It may be that the tensions were increased by reduced social space when the Tangir villages expanded in size.

In the proper Pakhtun area, the conditions for the preservation of the *wesh*-system were much better. The fields were divided and re-divided among the dominant male members enjoying the same social position. Social outcasts, such as the menial castes, were not included; they received the shares for their services as long as they served the dominant group. The religious leaders had a privileged position. In all areas of Dardistan, however, the social legacy made the imposition of Islamic practices difficult and sporadic. Concerning the role of women, I draw the conclusion, that their reputed increased temptations to participate in adulterous affairs might have been a reaction to the social and spatial restrictions imposed on them by Islam.

Postscript

The above account was a preliminary investigation based on observations and inquiries made during the first field research foray under the supervision of Adolf Friedrich. He later died under tragic circumstances at Rawalpindi before the end of our field research. Anyhow, the data collected by him were not lost, as the full text of Friedrich's diaries was made available to scholars interested in the region in several copies. When Konrad Wiche, another member of our team, died a few years later, again a great portion of his material remained unpublished. The data I collected during this expedition, as well as those of the expedition in 1958, form part of the ethnographic basis of my book, 'Die Religionen des Hindukush' (1975). Snoy published the data he had collected in Bagrot, a valley he visited alone, in a very useful book (1975).

The space/time model that I used in the above text was basically sound. The former political and social order, perhaps in many respects similar to that of the pagan Kalash and that found further to the west in present-day Afghanistan, had been subjected to radical changes as a result of the introduction of Islam. In the name of Islam, *wesh* was successfully instituted. The roots of this system are still unclear, for it was not necessarily connected to the religious concepts of Islam.

For a stratified society, divided into caste-like groups but with considerable gender equality, this Muslim dogma brought increased subjugation of women and intensified old indigenous problems and conflicts. Hence, the settlement pattern of Tangir was completely changed; in Darel this 'framework' was better preserved and used for new tasks, for example, for the distribution of the taxes imposed on the new settlers in Khanbari.

The expeditions in 1955 and 1958, that gave me the chance to do fieldwork in the valleys of Tangir and Darel, took place in an extremely auspicious period; at a time similar to that immediately after the 'Great Salavat', a term meaning 'settlement' or 'compromise'. The 'Great Salavat' took place in 1867-8, when the area inhabited by the Kazakh tribes was integrated into the Russian Empire (Grodekov 1889:161, 177). At that time, all conflicts and feuds were resolved, creating a foundation for peaceful co-existence. Age-old feuds were settled through high payments of blood money. The beneficial consequences lasted for almost sixty years, then freedom and the old way of life were ruthlessly destroyed by Josef Stalin. In the years 1951-2, under even better circumstances, a similar amelioration occurred during the voluntary incorporation of the valleys Tangir and Darel into Pakistan. There was an urgent need for such a reconciliation, as graphically explained in Schomberg's book, 'The history of the two valleys has been indeed a dreary tale of murder and blood feuds. So bad has it now become that there is no house without a vendetta, and life has become intolerable. Even murder appears to have lost its charm and the savages are sated with blood.' (Schomberg 1935:163).

In the period since then all conflicts were solved by verdicts imposed by the representatives of the State of Pakistan, the acceptance of blood money became obligatory and no further fighting inside the communities was allowed. Disputants who had been confined to the tower of their house could enjoy to travel outside their houses for the first time since many years. Previously, they had been in a state of siege, surrounded by enemies eager for revenge.

Murders occasionally happened during this relatively peaceful period. Since most of them happened 'for the sake of the ladies', as my interpreter explained, a regular and generally accepted procedure was possible. According to the 'Frontier Crimes Regulations', the husband had to prove that he had killed his wife and her lover *in flagrante delicto*. No blood feud should arise in such cases.

The relative peace lasted only a short time. All later accounts narrated to me in Chilas or Gilgit seemed to indicate a return to ancient customs. One example is illustrative: When Darel suffered the December 1984 earthquake, in which hundreds of people were killed, a man who had survived the first tremor took his rifle, ran to the house of his enemy, hid outside and waited for the next tremor. With the next shake his enemy's house collapsed forcing the owner into the open air straight into the man's bullets.

It would be tempting to say that the old roots produced new sprouts, or, to present it in a more scholarly way as a nice theoretical concept: the economic, social, and spiritual background had not changed, so the revival of former behaviour was unavoidable. Lincoln Keiser (1991) recounts similar experiences in Dir, almost becoming a victim of this homicidal 'behaviour' himself; he discussed relevant theories, using most of the perspectives current among social anthropologists.¹¹ I do not think that these general theories are sufficient. Perhaps, the associations are useful or illuminating, but they do not focus on the actual process and the special contextual conditions that are necessary for a full explication.

During the last decade, when all former internal boundaries were opened, many routes for wheeled traffic made more

frequent communication with neighbours possible. The exchange of ideas is supported by radio, television, and newspapers, while imported democracy is creating links between formerly separated castes and tribal units. On the other hand, institutions regulating common affairs and the interplay between groups of different interests have collapsed or are on the brink of anarchy. The state is no longer a monolithic partner. The military, the police, the civil administration, the political parties, and the organizations to promote economic development are now co-existing side by side, but they are not co-operating. Different religious sects and affiliations are creating new fractures, as reflected in everyday politics. Bhutto, who wanted to create a strong and lasting tenure, promoted such tendencies because he thought that the old feudal structure would be a hindrance to his personal power. He also thought it would contribute to this effort to unite all the northern mountain areas into an additional province of Pakistan. Although these plans were abandoned because there were too many forces against unification, irreparable damage had been caused to the mountain societies in the meantime.

The abolishment of the highly adapted judicial system, the 'Frontier Crimes Regulations', and the establishment of an ordinary administration were a heavy burden even for the settled areas such as the Ghizar district in the Gilgit area, because for a long time there was no replacement of the traditional governors who were mostly experienced petty local chieftains. Later, there were no houses available for the new officers and their staff. The Gilgit Scouts, previously acting as part of the police, could no longer be deployed. They lost their status in the reorganized civil administration and were, finally, integrated into the regular army. Furthermore, the institution of the 'levies' was suppressed.

In Tangir/Darel, however, far away from Gilgit, in spite of the close connection with the Karakoram Highway through a bridge near Shatial and several jeep tracks, the judicial system collapsed completely. People were arrested on suspicion, but instead of starting investigations assisted by a local *jirga*, the authorities had to send them escorted by a strong police detachment to Gilgit, where the process could begin. The result

was that the jail became overcrowded. The local men, well-armed and superior in number, intervened, freeing all inmates, culpable or innocent. The administration breathed a sigh of relief, because no other reaction was possible.

As in Kohistan district, the landowners got plenty of money from the wood contractors who destroyed the formerly rich forests. After the start of the civil war in Afghanistan, they could also obtain guns, including AK-47 automatic guns, destined for the Afghan civil war, supplied to Pakistan by the Reagan/Bush administration.

The Kohistanis below Sazin had to allow the construction of the Karakoram Highway through their territory. In a decisive encounter, they were convinced by the sudden appearance of formerly unknown, noisy helicopters, but in the interior of their valleys they remained untouched. So accommodations to central rule are accepted, but most of the changes were irritating.

As the people of Tangir and Darel had previously seen the positive consequences of 'law and order', their disappointment at some of the changes was great. Bhutto's speeches, for example, in Dassu, had nurtured the expectation among the *dakans* that land could be allocated to them, but they, too, were deceived. In the first clashes it became clear that the landowners now had better guns than before. In some cases, the agricultural labourers were ousted, agricultural work again being done by the peasants themselves.

The resumption of the traditional raids on the shepherds arriving from Punyal on the rich pastures in the Gilgit Karakoram was no economic necessity; it was a kind of political declaration, a symbol of regained independence. The construction of a bridge allowed the participation of Kohistanis from the left bank of the Indus, for example, from Harban. Beyond that, the upper part of the Singal valley had been occupied by Darelis. They neither paid the promised rent, nor did they agree to blood money for the murdered shepherds who were Ismaili Shias. Understandably, tensions arose among the religious groups.

The construction of the bridge near Shatial was appreciated, and not only for visiting Gilgit; it was recognized as a chance to express discontent by massing on the Karakoram Highway in order to halt traffic. Once, an armed crowd came down to the bridge with the intention of hijacking passing trucks. They also had a plan to assault the bazaar in Gilgit, in order to wage war against the 'infidels', i.e., the Shia population. When they reached the Indus, they were stopped by Shahiullah Khan, the Superintendent of Police, who was a Pakhtun from Dera Ismail Khan. He had arrived from Dasso, the Kohistan district headquarters, where he had his office. He was known as a brave man who did his best in the most rambunctious parts of Kohistan district. He told the mob surging towards the bridge that the wood of the bridge had been soaked with gasoline. The moment they encroach upon the bridge, he would use his cigarette lighter to set it on fire. The Kohistanis would, therefore, again lose their direct connection with the outer world during the approaching winter.

The police, sometimes under able and active leaders, tried to enter the valley along the recently constructed jeep tracks, but that was not always so successful. The results are dramatic events and romantic tales, like the one told to me in Gilgit full of admiration for a man named Azimo. This Azimo had not only boldly opposed the police but had forced the government to a kind of peace treaty as well, according to what I got to know through an embellished version of his story:

Azimo became involved in one of the many vendettas and succeeded in killing his enemy. The victim's relatives asked the police for assistance, an act that was, evidently, considered as unfair by the neighbours who, therefore, warned Azimo. When the police—a full platoon, as people say—arrived in order to arrest him, he and his followers lay in wait. The policemen, suddenly exposed to crossfire, ran away leaving their guns behind. Negotiations began and the notables of Gilgit convinced Azimo in a friendly way that he should not expose an Islamic government with plenty of other problems to such a humiliation. With the prospect that the judges in Gilgit certainly would make

a honourable deal with him, Azimo went there, surrendered and no trial took place. After some time, he sent a message to the court announcing that he was fed up with the situation and something should happen. He asked them to decide how to proceed—either to put him in jail for fourteen years according to the old custom, or to hang him according to the new laws, or to set him free as previously promised. As no reaction was forthcoming, some time later he repeated the admonition with the additional remark that he would otherwise act himself.

There was no reaction again. So, in a well chosen night while the jailers were enjoying a good dinner—consisting of mutton presented by somebody—a truck arrived and the passengers stepped out with implements for digging. They made a hole in one of the walls through which Azimo escaped, but not alone, a crowd of other inmates accompanied him. It was the most substantial break-out that ever happened in Gilgit, the time of the British rule included.

The rest of the story I got to know from Mr Karim Dar, a respected Malik at Seo (Indus-Kohistan) and a reliable informant, when I met him in October 1982. The truck with Azimo and his fellow runaways went down the Karakoram Highway, crossed the Indus and appeared in front of the mosque at Seo. There, Azimo proclaimed that he needed asylum for himself and his party. According to old bonds and treaties they were entitled to it.¹² Karim Dar himself immediately informed his father that a guest had arrived. A great *jirga* was arranged. Seo, Pattan, Duber, and the Jalkot people from the eastern bank were represented. Each side was ready to offer shelter to ten refugees, three remained in Seo.

The next act took place in Jalkot during the funeral of a respected elder in which the Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) was invited. Suddenly, the DSP noticed two men who had escaped from the Gilgit jail among the praying mourners, and ordered the policemen to arrest them. After the ceremony, when the police officer wanted to return with his prisoners, a small bridge which he had to cross was destroyed. The jeep stood on the other side and the driver had surrendered the

ignition key. The police officer was slapped across the face, and was only allowed to return to his office after he had handed over the two men.

The next day, the important elders and chairmen were called to the office of the DSP. There, Karim Dar's father was requested to justify the act of violence. His answer was, that the DSP himself was a guest, like the escapees, and that he was invited for mourning, not for arresting! Therefore, he should say his prayer and be happy that he was still alive. If he should break the rules again, that would lead to his death—rather unpleasant, awkward, and ponderous for himself and for the population.

Afterwards, the SP Shuja ul-Mulk raided Seo, searched many houses, but could not find Azimo who was well protected in a hidden room. The situation relaxed when, due to a general assessment, Azimo could return to Darel, and his colleagues to their villages. The reputation of the government, however, remained badly tarnished.

Stories and events like this one confirmed that, in spite of the formal abolition of the designation 'Tribal Territory', on both sides of the Indus, actual control did not cover the interior of the valleys, not even of those communities that had voluntarily joined Pakistan thirty years ago. When an attempt was made to protect the shepherds of Punyal by posting a police station on the pass blocking the connection, this station was attacked and destroyed with considerable bloodshed.

Invited guests, however, were safe. Recently, in 1992, a European scholar who wanted to discuss religious matters with the local *mullahs*, could even take his family with him.

When I visited Darel in 1985, I noticed that a new type of tower had been erected; they were 'stocky', relatively low, but with a large base. I interpret them as fortified *hujras*, corresponding to the guest houses in the Pakhtun areas, where the guests of the 'big man' the 'Khan', are catered for and housed. Apparently, this system, previously existing in Swat and Dir, has expanded deeply into the mountains, restricting the power and the influence of the individual leaders.

NOTES

1. The population of Gor lured the British force under the command of G. Robertson—the adventurous physician who became famous through his book, ‘The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush’—to proceed down along the Indus until they reached Thalpan. There, while crossing the Indus, they were attacked by the Chilasis, an assault that was answered by a successful British counter-attack resulting in the conquest of Chilas.
2. Moraines observed in the lower part of Tangir valley far below the present snow-line indicate, that an essential change to the actual climatic situation has taken place. This was seen by my colleague Konrad Wiche (cf. Wiche 1958).
3. Georg Buddruss, already a member of our expedition in 1955/56, published an article on this language in 1959.
4. Here I have to add that a reform instigated by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, when he was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, rescinded the ‘Frontier Crimes Regulations’ as a remnant of the colonial past. The same reform deposed all local authorities as well as the governors who had been carefully selected from amongst the local noble families by the British authorities. As for court proceedings, all accused persons were transported to Gilgit, where a visiting court would decide the matter. I met such visiting courts—the judge, the counsel for the defence and the public prosecutor, all travelling together in the same car! Every witness had to be ‘imported’ as well. The result was formulated by one of my old friends: ‘Yes, at present you may definitely kill your enemy, but it is terribly expensive!’
5. In Tangir I asked one of my local friends to query one of the ladies for the reasons that make them brave enough to dare this kinds of love adventures in spite of the threat of being killed. Allegedly the answer was: ‘Sahib, you see our simple clothes and our poor food. What else could bring a full life, if not a love-story?’
6. *Almwirtschaft* is a technical term borrowed from the German language, denoting ‘mountain pasture economy’.
7. The modern fortresses were built by order of Islamic preachers and always had a mosque in the centre.
8. For further information I recommend Zarin/Schmidt 1984a, pp. 41–5.
9. In some areas of Iran, entire villages were regarded as property of a ‘company’ of landlords, while the tax paying tillers of the soil were provided with equal shares, but this has quite a different origin (cf. Lambton 1953).
10. The exact numbers are: 2,130 m (lower fields), 2,445 m (villages), 2,676 (highest fields, sanctuary of Taiban).
11. He quotes the studies of Black-Michaud (1975), Boehm (1984), Chagnon (1988), and Merker (1980) to elucidate his explanations.

12. Most probably Azimo referred to the so-called *dala*-system which, formerly, organized all the villagers beyond ethnic and linguistic boundaries into two leagues.

Rock Art in Northern Pakistan Researches between 1979–1989

In the past twenty years awareness mounted that rock art is a world-wide phenomenon and should be dealt with by systematic international co-operation. The 'Centro Communo di Studi Preistorici (CCSP)' certainly is the most renowned organization propagating this approach. Its ambitious effort was the creation of a 'World Inventory' and a 'Bank of Data on Rock Art' under the auspices of UNESCO (Anati 1983:26).

In the meantime, we know of other parallel undertakings: a world congress was held in Darwin, NT, Australia, 29 August–2 September 1988, convened by AURA, the 'Australian Rock Art Research Association' (Rosenfeld 1989). I shall not write about these or similar efforts; there is only one observation we may agree with, a 'general pattern' formulated by E. Anati (who has identified 800 provinces the world over, 144 to be considered of 'major interest'): '... namely that a high percentage of these 'provinces' of rock art occur in areas which are now arid or semi-arid, and many of them occur in peripheral, isolated geographic zones.' (Anati 1983:27) The implication is that most of them were (at least) built up by hunters and herdsmen with conservative traditions, but we must add that beyond that, it would be difficult to find a common denominator. The disparity is evident, involving very special problems in respect to dating and chances of interpretation. This broad and diversified panorama confronts us with the task of extracting the particularities of each group—and to discern either structural analogies and/or historical connections.

The petroglyphs in the Indus valley between Rakhiot Bridge and Shatial form an integrated 'rock art province of major

interest' with 'outposts' at the junction of the Indus and the Gilgit rivers, and another one at the confluence of the Hunza and the Hopar rivers. The first attempt to define the position of this province in the framework of South Asian rock art was made by B. Allchin. In a most stimulating article she discusses two major categories (Allchin 1987:152–54):

1. Pictures of local animals (including species extinct) and humans—strongly simplified partly as part of hunting scenes, hand and footprints and other subjects. They are considered as pertaining to a tradition spread over the mountains of Central Asia, including the Himalayas in the north to the Hissar range and probably beyond.
2. Carvings which must be explained in a historical context either as influenced by the Scythian animal style or the great traditions, indicated by Achaemenid and Kushan art. Buddhist influence is preponderant. Dating is easy since a quite exceptional number of inscriptions in various scripts and languages belong to the same complex, some were made by the same hands.

Although this is a fair rendering of my earlier reports, it is by no means comprehensive. Some essential peculiarities of this province were not mentioned at all. The almost continuous series of discoveries since 1979 made their immediate publication difficult. Therefore, the specific difference of the Indus valley petroglyphs compared to other rock art provinces in the high mountains of Central Asia is still not evident to outsiders.

The rock art province to which the research work of the Pak-German Study Group was devoted, covers an area which has clear boundaries in the northern and southern as well as western directions (the eastern border is more problematic). As already mentioned the core is situated in the Indus valley between Rakhiot Bridge—where the Indus bypasses the massif of the Diamir (Nanga Parbat)—and Shatial where it enters the gorges of Indus-Kohistan describing a large bend. Indus-Kohistan, below the gorges, is an area with a higher density of precipitation favourable for vegetation and agriculture—even without irrigation—but unsuitable for the production of petroglyphs.

Pictographs (i.e., paintings) occur in the rock-shelters of Swat, but they are rare.

The range bordering the core area in the south may be considered as the very end of the Great Himalaya range. It is exposed to the winds bringing clouds—and heavy snowfall in wintertime. The next parallel range in the north, termed ‘Gilgit Karakoram’, has less precipitation—the rather easy passes are open for a large part of the year. There is no modern term for the region where the Indus flows from east to west between two ridges: ‘Yaghistan’ has ethnic or political connotations. ‘Diamir’ includes Astor as well. Biruni has called the outer (southern) range ‘Shamilan’, and the area bordering it in the north ‘Shamil’—a name that should be reintroduced (Jettmar 1984:212).

There is no congruent analysis of the ecological conditions for human settlements in this section of the Indus valley. The major part was still inaccessible ‘Tribal Territory’ when Troll (for example, 1984) wrote his lucid studies. However, *cum grano salis*, we can extend his statements.

Behind the Himalayan range in lee of the monsoon, the Gilgit valley itself is extremely dry and barren at the bottom and up the slopes to a considerable height. Only such places can be used for agriculture where rivulets and streams—coming down from glaciers or from the belt of coniferous forests—have deposited sediments. Canals bring the water to the more distant parts of the fans, because the streams may become destructive to their banks after a sudden rainfall in the upper part of the side-valley. The villages are mostly situated on the next rocky spur that provides safety against enemies too.

Such arable tracts are rare along the Indus, but frequent in the side-valleys, where the zone of permanent settlements is not restricted to heights between 2,000–2,700 metres above sea-level. (cf. Troll 1984:110). Normally, after rather short and steep bottlenecks at their mouths, the side-valleys are fit for cultivation on the alluvial fans of side rivulets. To the peculiarities of the rock art province situated here we may reckon the location of the petroglyphs.

During prehistoric periods when the climate was even drier and the river could not carry off the sediment, the Indus valley was filled with sand and gravel up to an altitude of several hundred meters. When the river cut down its bed again, steep ledges remained between its old and its new course. Their rocky slopes remained uncovered and old terraces were exposed. During earthquakes large boulders came down from the mountains and the banks were covered by the waters of the Indus full of detritus. Only in some places we may assume aeolic activities, and everywhere the bare rocks were covered by desert varnish formed in a process which has been intensively discussed during the last few years (Whalley 1983).

In the maps showing the geological zonation of Northern Pakistan (cf. Tahirkheli 1982), the formation through which the Indus river has cut its bed is part of the so-called 'Island Area', a former chain of volcanic islands, which had been sandwiched and compressed between ancient continents, i.e., the 'Asiatic' and the 'Indian' land masses, in a process which lasted many millions of years. The Indus is almost in the middle of the belt of the 'Bahrain Pyroxene Granulites'. The belt of 'Kamila Amphibolites' adjoining at the southern margin would have been far less suitable for patination.

However, the limits of patination are not determined by the geological basis: the extremely hot and dry climate is perhaps the main factor. Thus we find petroglyphs in Baltistan and Ladakh as well. The outposts of our rock art province—Haldeikish and Alam Bridge—have different conditions: Haldeikish belongs to the so-called 'Ganish Marble', Alam Bridge is embedded in the 'Ladakh Intrusives'.

A result of the dramatic geological past might be that here—in contrast to other mountain areas of Central Asia—there are no caves with the exception of some 'holes' in the sediments covering the bottom of the valley. Rock-shelters occur, but they are not deep. Thus, there is no need to contest Ranov's statement made in his review of previous reports on this area: 'As a general rule, Stone Age drawings in this region were done in mineral paints and survive only in caves or rock shelters' (Ranov

1989:45). We must, however, add that so far not many caves have been found. This is different from the outer zone, the 'Lesser Himalayas' where still unpublished paintings were observed near Balakot pertaining to the Buddhist period.

Another peculiarity of the Indus valley is the fact that it has been struck by floods. The most disastrous wave, still remembered, went down the Indus in 1841, when a landslide from the Nanga Parbat had dammed the river and created a lake which extended back over 55 km (34 miles). When the dam broke, the resulting torrent caused a rise of the water level of 24 m (80 feet) even at Attock. This is well attested, because detachments of the Sikh army had their camp in the flat open land on the bank of the Indus—several hundred men together with their animals and a well-assorted brothel. They all were swept away like ants by a gush of water (Drew 1875:414–21).

Since such floods had occurred several times between 1841 and 1858 we can discern two main reasons: either an earthquake that caused a landslide barring the river for a while (like in 1841) and suddenly giving way to the waters, or the advance of a glacier damming up one of the major tributaries issuing in an enormous wave when the barrier of ice broke.

In earlier centuries such catastrophes had not been so frequent as we can infer from the fact that west of the mouth of the Hodar stream a large settlement with terraced and irrigated fields existed. Even then, serious floods must have occurred. The people of Skardu still remember that some time in the past the whole basin of Skardu had been transformed into a large lake by a landslide closing the entrance to the Rondu gorge.

It is very important for the researcher dealing with the local petroglyphs to be aware of the fact that such strange 'rinsings' of the lower portion of the valley had happened several times in the past. Important concentrations of petroglyphs occur very close to the banks of the river, even in areas which are completely submerged during the summer period when the water level rises six metres and more. Some engravings are made on huge boulders transported to their present location by the river. It is, therefore, doubtful whether they were made on places

where desert varnish, *sensu stricto*, is to be expected or rather 'rinds' occurring in humid locations. Whalley (1983:197) mentions that 'rinds may extend more than a millimetre into the rock, while desert varnish is generally much thinner'.

In this respect it is interesting that a rock with petroglyphs—in fact a rounded boulder of extraordinary dimensions—has been split into two parts during the last ten years. I saw it still complete when I bypassed its location in 1974. Now, we may observe that between the pale interior and the dark surface there is a transition zone of several centimetres in different shades.

This does not mean that all areas where rock art occurs had been inundated during the last millennia, but many of them had been indeed and in such places we should not expect observations like in the African deserts. There the stone implements which had been used by the artist were found at the foot of the rock, whereas in our area they were certainly swept away by the river.

In case there had been cult places below such rocks like in eastern Siberia (Tivanenko 1989:82–98, 128–63) most of them were certainly destroyed by floods. Actually, some potsherds were found near the sites, in addition to ruins of buildings, many of them—but certainly not all—correctly interpreted as the fundamentals of stupas.

Considerable stretches of the Indus valley are covered with sand dunes, but this does not render a sufficient explanation of the fact that the petroglyphs are not evenly distributed all over the riversides. Evidently, different periods had their preferred locations, an observation that will be dealt with in my chronological scheme. As a general rule we may say that the concentrations are near the banks—only in some places does the distance exceed half a kilometre. Often they are situated at the mouth of side-valleys.

Due to the geographical conditions in the Karakoram we are confronted with petroglyphs, not with pictographs. I got the impression that in the past pictographs existed even at exposed places, but they were wiped out soon. The best argument for this assumption is that modern political slogans visible from the

Karakoram Highway, often written in Chinese characters proclaiming eternal friendship and co-operation, had disappeared after a few years even at places where they had not been destroyed intentionally. An attempt at making use of rock paintings for an advertising campaign in favour of a tourist resort near Skardu called 'Shangri La' yielded the same result.

Since the ancient settlers and travellers had been aware of the natural conditions, the petroglyphs became the chosen technique from a very early time onwards. We must assume that many of them resisted several inundations and even heavy earthquakes without being destroyed. Only in recent times have they begun to be endangered by an increasing demand for regular cubic stones needed as construction material which are produced by blasting. Religious fervour is dangerous to them as well.

The terminology presented by Wakankar (1984:198–200) is not optimal. Under the heading 'engravings' he discusses:

- 'battering'—harder stones are used as hammers to produce 'hard struck surfaces',
- 'bruising'—means a more delicate process, the surfaces are lightly struck, lines are formed by series of peckings,
- 'grooving'—this term is not explained,
- 'incising'—very thin lines are made with a sharp stone.

Evidently this technique was more frequently applied as soon as metal tools, allowing even 'chisellings', were used.

For several reasons the artists combined different techniques. Rough lines produced by battering or bruising might have been transformed into grooves by grinding or sanding. This is useful, if the figure shaped in this way is intended as an object for permanent veneration. Early petroglyphs from Swat belong to this category (Tucci 1958:289). Drilling might have been applied for the same purpose.

In some cases a combination of the alternative techniques of painting and engraving has to be assumed. One of the petroglyphs observed at the site Chilas II shows a dancing person—headless. We may suspect that the face was rendered by painting.

Among the rock-carvings observed on boulders of a high terrace on the rocky slope near the place selected by the British administrators for the construction of a suspension bridge connecting Bunji with the entrance of the Gilgit valley, we can distinguish bruising in the shape of a human hand. The body of the person, however, is indicated only by a few marks made by pecking with a stone. The surface between the marks is less patinated than the surrounding space. Maybe the figure was executed as a painting and the marks had been a sort of sketch. The colours completely vanished, but the marks as well as the lesser patination remained.

Ghulam Muhammad (1907:110) still had heard of a rock painting in the neighbouring Sai valley at Barmas near Damot, depicting Buddha sitting surrounded by his disciples. There is no reason to doubt this information.

In the following paragraphs we shall discuss the optimal principles of dating under the specific conditions of the geographic and cultural setting and include what we know about the adjoining areas. I shall not try to present a generally applicable approach. Rather I want to make use of a flexible strategy.

The decisive deliberations for my previous attempts to classify the material and to establish a relative and even an absolute chronology were exposed in the first volume of our series 'Antiquities of Northern Pakistan' (Jettmar 1989). Therefore, only new viewpoints and additional clues are presented here.

Establishing the Project: Counterparts

Systematic research on petroglyphs started in 1979 on the lines of a concept which I had presented two years earlier during the 'Fourth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists', held at Naples in 1977 (Jettmar 1979b: 919–25). I have already pointed out the expectations which gave

the impetus for this project. They were partly fulfilled, but many unexpected questions arose.

The juridical and administrative framework for our researches was created by the foundation of a 'Pak-German Study Group for Anthropological Research in the Northern Areas'. The initial application had been submitted to General Zia-ul Haq, then President of Pakistan, by the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr Scheske. The programme included intense studies of the cultural and ecological changes stimulated by the construction of the Karakoram Highway. Highly interesting material was collected by the participants of the project, but so far only part of it has been published. As most of the scholars involved in the project were also engaged in teaching activities at the hopelessly overcrowded German universities, continuity was somewhat difficult to maintain. Thus, the number of actual expeditions dwindled. In the last few years a new start has been achieved by Professor Dr Irmtraut Stellrecht together with German specialists in physical and cultural geography.

For a better understanding of specific problems in the field of archaeology, namely, the presentation of two different, sometimes even conflicting sets of interpretations—on the basis of one expedition—a few introductory remarks are necessary.

Parallel to his European colleagues, Professor A.H. Dani (very helpful in the first phase and later organising the 'First International Conference on Karakoram Culture') undertook substantial efforts in interpreting the material himself. His competence in Sanskrit and his experience as a palaeographer were the preconditions for this approach, certainly bold, even daring, since famous experts for particular aspects of the same fields (Gérard Fussman, Oskar von Hinüber) were working on the same materials as temporary members of the team. Another problem was that this solitary effort made sense only where inscriptions in Iranian scripts and languages—which were interpreted by Humbach (1980, 1980a) and later on by Sims-Williams (1986, 1989, 1989a)—were not too frequent and important. Thus Prof Dani concentrated on Haldeikish and

Chilas (and its surroundings) where he won the race as he gave the first summaries.

Dani's main books, however, were printed in Pakistan. Their content was only selectively repeated in his external publications (Dani 1982, 1983, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1985, 1985a, 1988). Thus they reached a readership different from that which was addressed by German, French, or British members of the team. As a rule, conflicting evaluations were not stressed or explained, a strategy resulting in an apparent harmony, not always helpful for the readers who were forced to decide between alternatives. There is hope for more transparency since the European members started to present reports as well as critical evaluations of the present state of research in the two series 'Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete von Pakistan' and 'Antiquities of Northern Pakistan'.¹ Only later on Director M.S. Qamar, our official counterpart in a series of expeditions, published part of his observations (Qamar 1985).

Thus, two different lines of interpretation were created—and both lack an up-to-date presentation. For one of these lines I am responsible.

Cultural stratigraphy

The main handicap, namely the absence of systematic excavation on a select spot as a basis for stratigraphic observations, has not been eliminated. For a while, the Department of Archaeology and Museums allowed regular digging neither to the German participants nor to Professor Dani. This lacuna was partly filled by a re-study of the literary sources and by hints offered by the archaeological sequence in adjacent areas. Archaeological excavations, however, remain a desideratum.²

During my first journey devoted to the discovery of rock art under the guidance of my late friend Mr Ismail Khan, the petroglyphs that I saw mostly belonged to either the historical (when Buddhism and later on sun-worship propagated by a Hinduistic sect were the dominant religions) or to the proto-

historical period (like most of the 'Achaemenoid' or animal style carvings). This was mentioned in the reports (Jettmar 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1981).

When I, very cautiously, wrote about carvings which, according to the current criteria of classification, could be attributed to the Bronze Age or even an earlier time (Jettmar 1980d:193), I was fully aware of the possibility that the indigenous population—hunters and herdsman—had still perpetuated their technical and artistic traditions during the historical period. My comparisons were taken from Soviet articles. D. Kabirov (1975:85–90) had discerned four major local groups of rock pictures in Middle Asia; other scholars were on the same path.

Prehistoric Petroglyphs

The situation changed in 1981 when one of our photographers climbed up to the terrace strewn with large boulders and much gravel, towering above the slope where Thalpan I is located. On the cliffs on the edge of the terrace we first saw highly repatinated outlines or 'shadows' of footprints and palms. Then we recognised other, so far unknown figures, with the same kind of repatination. Later on we discovered similar carvings, but not as close to each other, on the other side of the river. Concentrations of more elaborate, but certainly pre-Buddhist engravings occurred on the terraces on both sides of the entry to the gorge through which the Thak rivulet flows before joining the Indus.

All members of the expedition who explored such locations in the days following the initial discovery, had the impression that they were dealing with a special category, i.e., with prehistoric carvings. This was our common conviction, but, yet, we were short of arguments. The most convincing answer to the embarrassing question would be to prove that animals are depicted which had existed here when 'uplift, glaciation and subsequent deglaciation must have created special conditions as

far as the flora and fauna are concerned' (Gansser 1983:21). Dani assumed that human beings had arrived so early that yaks were still hunted as wild animals in the mountains around Chilas by archers assisted by their dogs.³

The major problem is that at least in later periods, not all the game depicted on the rocks lived in the area, for example, the stag and the roe deer. Immigrants might have remembered animals which they had seen elsewhere. This, however, is merely a tentative explanation. In any case the markhor definitely is not a local variety of reindeer as assumed by Dani (1983:18).

Looking for other arguments, Dani tells that next to a quartz vein which offered the raw material, he found some microlithic but non-geometrical flake tools at the mouth of the Gichi Gah, a rivulet flowing down to the Indus a few miles west of Chilas, 'making a collection of points, scrapers and some triangles. Large flakes, and some of triangular shape have also been recovered' (Dani 1983:18). However, without a painstaking publication of the pertinent objects—which I myself have never seen—there is no reliable evidence.

On the base of the observations made in Xinjiang, summarised by Debaine-Francfort (1988:9), we may indeed expect that such 'mesolithic hunters survived into the historic period'. Not only the collection of the artefacts on the surface, but also excavations will be necessary for reliable statements lacking so far. Before this has been started, such fundamental statements as 'The representation of these animals prove the long continuity of mesolithic living tradition' (Dani 1983:18) are preliminary at the best and I must reduce my analytical essay to the remark that there are rather divergent groups only superficially connected by a high degree of patination, a rather indistinct 'flair of archaic traits' and a location outside of the bulk of the protohistoric and historic petroglyphs. I recognised several groups, internally related by their motifs, their stylistic and technical peculiarities.

- There is a coherent category of animal figures, mostly observed in the area west of Chilas II. The outlines are rendered, but they are regular, the grooved lines are executed with great care. They are grouped into pairs rendered as if in a sort of perspective. One line runs straight over the body of the animal.
- In another category of animal figures the body is often filled in by bruising. It has a rectangular outline or is rendered in a bi-triangular way. Such animals appear in hunting scenes, the hunters are shooting with bows and have dogs, in most cases their figures are smaller than those of the game.
- In other carvings the size of the humans is larger in comparison to the size of the animals. Some men are engaged in hunting, some are arranged in lines like dancing parties. Cult objects, standards and huts, even a 'horned altar' are depicted. Such bruising frequently render bovids, among them the zebu, certainly appearing here as domestic animal.
- In some way related to this group are human figures of a much larger size than usual, with a small head and extended arms. Only the upper part of the body is shaded.

In the same context I propose to include human heads or masks. In many cases diagonals divide the faces into quarters. Often two of them, i.e., on the top and on the opposite or bottom, are shaded by pecking or bruising, two or four points (eyes?) are visible at the centre. In other cases the eyes are clearly indicated and separated from the rest of the face by curved lines. Rays or spines are visible on top of the human head.

There is an elaborate figure with a quadrangular face topped by a radiating crown, the arms are shaded and endowed with large palms. This demonic being had pointed feet, perhaps indicating boots. Or does it stand on a moon sickle? A curved line ends below the left shoulder. Dani who found this petroglyph, called it a river-(or a snake-)god (1983:23-4, 33-4, no. 34).

I have no explanation for this particular image, but I am able to identify the cultural background and the relations of this group. It belongs to the complex which is called 'Okunev Culture' and known from Southern Siberia through a considerable number of monuments (cf. Vadeckaja/Leont'ev/Maksimov 1980, Kyzlasov 1986, Kubarev 1988). It cannot clearly be distinguished from the so-called 'Afanasjevo Culture', also belonging to the Early Metal Age, a time when herdsmen, mostly with large horned cattle, intruded into areas previously inhabited by hunters and fishermen, and even entered the mountain valleys of the Altai. For the Okunev Culture the connection of the sites and especially the graves with a particular group of rock-paintings and rock-carvings can be maintained with an otherwise rare degree of plausibility: slabs which had previously been decorated for ceremonies most probably in connection with burial rites, later on were used for the building of stone-cists containing the dead bodies. Many of them were found undisturbed.

When I showed my relevant slides during a lecture at the Archaeological Institute in Moscow, one of the leading explorers of this complex, D evlet (1976, 1980), agreed that no doubt is possible: there are more than only structural similarities. Parpola (1988:234–38, figs 21, 22) utilised my observations for an attempt to elucidate the spreading of the earliest waves of Indo-European settlers in Central Asia. It would, however, not be realistic to presume direct connections. Somewhere in the huge territories between the northern fringe of the Tibetan plateau and Southern Siberia we must assume an ancestral culture which had developed this particular style that later on was reflected in the far north and the south-west, beyond the ranges of Kuenlun and Karakoram.

The fantastic material discovered by Kubarev (1988:27–49, 94–116, figs. 17–22) in the graves of Karakol in the High Altai includes many human figures which can be explained as dancers decorated with feathers and body-paintings, but otherwise perfectly bare. Some of the dancers remind us of the Red Indians, others of Australian natives holding *tjurungas* (i.e.,

bullroarers) in their hands. These ritual objects, suitable to produce strange and frightening sounds, have an almost world-wide diffusion in the Old (Africa, Australia) and the New World. Why not assume their use in the plains, deserts, and mountains of Central Asia among the tribes still without domestic animals or with a merely incipient herding system? The technical equipment and the way of life of the indigenous population in Central Asia certainly was much closer to that of the sub-modern hunting nomads of Australia than to the cultures of the mounted warriors or settled farmers during later periods. In an area of always arid continental climate during the day, clothing could be reduced to a minimum, fringed girdles were sufficient. This kind of clothing is attested by rock-carvings, for example, in Kalbak-Tasha (Kubarev 1988:139). The women are always shown *en face*, sometimes covering their breasts with similarly fringed sashes. The men cover their private parts and their buttocks with tassels pendent from a belt.

This gives a fair chance to explain many human figures among the early carvings which show something hanging between the feet, reaching almost down to the soil. This must be some kind of clothing. Even today in many parts of Central Asia extreme changes of temperature in the course of the day are recorded making cloaks necessary after sunset.

Such a cloak may be indicated by one of the paintings at Karakol (Kubarev 1988:fig 59). For the former existence of this type of clothing even more substantial proofs are available. In the deserts of the Tarim basin, especially in the well-protected and conservative Lop-nor regions, considerable numbers of corpses were found either in graves or wooden coffins or hatches on the surface of the earth. Their clothing was identical with those shown on the petroglyphs which can be ascribed to the Okunev Culture in Southern Siberia described above. Such mummies had been observed by Aurel Stein (1928, I: 264–69, 1928, II: 753–61, 1928, III: pl. 170–173, 1928, IV: tables XV, XXIX) and Bergman (1939: 61–117, pls. 6–19). More recent finds are described with illustrations in several modern Chinese publications, scientific and popular.

Rock-carvings in the Lang-shan area (Maringer 1950) situated almost 1,700 km to the SSE (of the Altai), belong to an 'Okunoid' tradition as well. This is an additional hint to my assumption that the observations in Southern Siberia and in the mountain belt must have a much broader—and still unknown—background.

The supposition that influences from the northern and eastern parts of Central Asia were active in the Indus valley and are documented by an integrated complex of rock-carvings, can be supported by the result of excavations in not too distant areas.

Summing up the results gained at Burzahom in Kashmir on the one hand, and at Loebanr and Aligrama in Swat on the other, the Allchins (1982:110–6) realised the appearance of a complex 'foreign to the Indian tradition. Among them are the forms of the bone tools, the rectangular, perforated stone knives, jade beads, the pit-dwellings, and the placing of domestic dogs in graves with their masters. Each of these features is found in Neolithic cultures of north China'. (cf. Stacul 1992).

These prehistoric cultures of the north-eastern areas, however, are related to those of Southern Siberia where the Okunev Culture was dominant. Thus we may assume that the rock art of this intrusive complex, very insufficiently known by carvings on two slabs excavated at Burzahom (Ranov 1984:93), is now better known by the petroglyphs in the Indus valley. A cautious formulation is more realistic: the Indus petroglyphs may belong to another, but related wave of Central Asian immigrants.

Dani quite correctly observed the great variety of archaic petroglyphs in respect to content and style. He offered, however, an explanation with the hypothesis that hunters and later on herdsmen clinging to a mesolithic tradition, who lived enclosed, but also protected by their almost inaccessible homeland, got the chance to develop several regional and individual styles of rock art, which is very expressive and surprising for us and hardly had any parallels elsewhere. Only later on this splendid isolation was broken and then we meet with the spectrum of scripts and iconographies known from other parts of Asia (Dani 1983:15–8).

If we accept my hypothesis concerning the Far Eastern contact—like in Swat and Kashmir—then most of the prehistoric carvings should be assigned to the second millennium BC. This is possible and would be compatible with the dating of one petroglyph that can be put into a more general context, namely a chariot and an archer which I saw in Thor North. According to the classification proposed by Sher (1980:205) the type of the chariot indicates a date on the turn from the 2nd to the 1st millennium BC.

So, we may conclude this section with the statement that many problems have been raised by the discovery of prehistoric rock-carvings. Most of them remain to be solved by the research of later generations which must include excavations in optimal areas, not affected by the frequent floods in the Indus valley. Only one of the differing groups of petroglyphs can be put in a reasonable context—the horizon represented by the Okunev group at the northern fringe of the steppe belt. This means that the Indus valley formed part of the Central Asian/South Asian interaction zone so far known from excavations in Kashmir (Allchin/Allchin 1982:116; Stacul 1992:118–20).

The Invasion of the Northern Nomads

In different locations, near Alam Bridge, in the area around Chilas, and in Thor (on the southern bank), there are carvings showing the influence of Near Eastern art traditions which were integrated in the official repertory of the Achaemenid empire. In 1958, during my journey from Gilgit to the mouth of the Haramosh valley at the place where the primitive road leaves the Rondu gorge I had already seen a distinct and impressive carving of this kind depicting a bovine followed by a wild goat. Still intact in 1971, the carving was apparently destroyed when the road was improved.

The first scholar who dared to insist on actual connections was G. Fussman (1978:23, plate XI/17). Fussman was intrigued by the impending consequence to date these isolated carvings to

a period earlier than that of all the inscriptions on the neighbouring rocks. So, he discussed the chance of a genuine Achaemenid derivation—whether they were made by an officer of the Great King of Persia who had taken refuge in the mountains during Alexander's invasion. He preferred, however, the explanation that the Sakas, i.e., the Iranian nomads of Central Asia, had preserved artistic trends of the Achaemenid heritage and included them into their decorative system when they crossed the mountains on the way southwards between the first and the fourth centuries AD.

In the meantime stylistically similar carvings had been observed on the so-called 'Altar Rock' near Thalpan Bridge. Here, warriors had been depicted in clothing which we would rather expect in early Western Iran.

Images from different periods, with a different regional (= ethnic?) background indicate permanent places of worship in the Chilas area proper, as well as in Hodar and in Thor. However, in such clusters 'Achaemenoid' carvings are situated at strategic places, at the focal points from which—as we may assume—the accumulation of images and inscriptions started, finally forming a site of large extension. At the site Hodar is the place where a rivulet breaks through a rocky barrier before joining the Indus. My hypothesis should be tested by 'spatial archaeology'. It means that such Achaemenoid carvings were made by people who were the founders of sanctuaries which were different from those made by tribesmen in the prehistoric period.

I, therefore, doubt that the late datings proposed by Fussman should be accepted. His opinion, that the artists were members of Saka tribes preserving Achaemenoid traditions could be correct and is essential for an understanding of the early art of the Northern Nomads. In some areas of Inner Asia, for example, Bactria and via Bactria the eastern part of Kazakhstan, Kirgisia, and in the northern regions of Xinjiang the art of the Near East already radiating in the time of the mighty Medes—maybe even earlier—was imitated and works of monumental solemnity were

produced. This is evident in the decoration of the 'altar tables' and cauldrons.

Other tribes followed more dynamic lines. Finally, in a sort of dialectical process and certainly favoured by the attainment of complete political independence the more fantastic, less orthodox schools became dominant. In this way the artistic production of the nomads gained their specific character which fascinates modern collectors as well as scholars.

It is, therefore, not astonishing that the nomadic alternatives, summarised under the term 'Scythian animal style', are represented as well. Pertinent animal carvings were mostly found in the same sites as the dignified 'quotations' from the Near East. They occur in the clusters of Minar Gah, Thor, Hodar, Thalpan 'Altar Rock', and Chilas I.

It is clear that the animal style in the rock art along the Indus valley can be used as a confirmation of what is clearly told in the Han-shu, chapter 96B (Hulsewé 1979:144), namely, that the king of the Sai, defeated and expelled by the Ta Yüeh-chih, moved south and crossed over the 'Suspended Crossing'—a most difficult track on the way to Chi-pin. This name was not only applied to Kashmir, but also to a larger region in the north-western corner of the Subcontinent.⁴

Banerjea (1957:189–91) stated that a way through the mountains would have been impossible 'because the extreme difficulty of terrain is quite ill-suited to the migration of an entire people'. In the same year, however, the credibility of the Chinese text was upheld by Narain (1957:132–40). Now the animal style carvings confirm the possibility of such marches through the mountains, but they tell us that long before the famous flight of the Sakas, there must have been a lively traffic involving different ethnic elements starting at different times.

The first wave is indicated by the carving of a horned animal at Minar Gah which seems to be 'standing on tip-toes'. Such images are frequent in the easternmost part of Kazakhstan and in the Altai. They occur on so-called stag-stones which were dated by Grjaznov (1984:73) not later than the seventh century BC. In the same site a cat-like animal had been observed many years

ago, its legs ending in ring-shaped paws (Jettmar 1979b: fig. 4). This peculiarity is known from the Pontic region, as well as from the Ordos bronzes and from the Pamirs. Other carvings show an animal with a curved snout, somewhat resembling that of an elk (Thalpan, cf. Jettmar 1984a:78).

Not by petroglyphs, but by a real bronze plaque in the shape of an ibex—which I could acquire in the Kandia valley—a direct connection between the north-western part of Indus-Kohistan and the Saka graveyards in the south-eastern corner of the Pamirs is proved. It is evident that the details of figures forming the decor of plaques found in the Pamirs re-occur in a meaningful combination in Kandia. There a new element is added, i.e., the head of a bird with a crown of feathers. Such a crest is typical for the monal, a bird not occurring in the Pamirs. In the Indus valley, however, it is part of the local fauna. Moreover, this bird is still considered pure and sacred in the area where this small work of art was secured. It is an excellent specimen of a much later variant of the animal style.

In such graveyards small cauldrons with horizontal rings as handles were found, provided with a sort of additional handle, maybe evolved from a spout. Vessels of this type, but considerably larger, belong to the inventory of the so-called 'Sauromatic Culture' in the Wolga-Ural steppes (Smirnow 1964: pl. 70B). There they are dated back to the fifth century BC. Their origin is not clear, perhaps they came from workshops influencing the tribes in the eastern Pamirs as well. Litvinskij proposed the fourth century BC as date.

One small cauldron of the same type with the head of a horse as handle formed part of a hoard discovered near Imit in the Karumbar valley north of the Gilgit river. This is on one of the routes which a traveller from the Pamir could use in order to reach the Kandia valley.

One of the last British agents of Gilgit, Major E.H. Cobb, took possession of this interesting antiquity and, just on the way to Chilas, handed it over to Sir Aurel Stein for examination. It had, however, already been brought to light in August 1940 and remained in the care of the preceding political agent for a while.

Aurel Stein wrote a report published posthumously (1944:15–16). After he expired in Kabul, the piece together with other items of scientific interest, was handed over to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. On the base of the article and its illustrations the cultural context of this miniature cauldron (but not that of the rhyton found at the same place) was correctly recognised by B.A. Litvinskij, one of the best archaeologists of our time (Litvinskij 1972:44–50). This gave me the chance to inform the keepers of the Ashmolean about a so far unexplained and enigmatic piece.

Another striking discovery is a large ring made of a yellow metal initially taken for copper unearthed by an old lady near Pattan in Indus-Kohistan not far from the bank of the river, together with a hollow yellow bangle which was lost in the course of handling. The ring is made of pure gold, has a round, partly quadrangular cross-section, and its weight is nearly 16 kg. Its size has not been indicated by Mr Saeedur Rahman, Deputy Director of the Regional Office of the Department of Archaeology in Peshawar, who was entrusted with the preliminary publication of this priceless item (Rahman 1990:5–17, 15 plates). Comment and dating were provided by the editor-in-chief, Prof A.H. Dani who called its style 'Scythian'. Dani ventured to assign this girdle to the Scythians who supposedly marched under the leadership of Maues via Chilas down to Taxila, the capital of their future kingdom. Accordingly, dating to the first century BC is proposed. The same date and pertinence had already been mentioned by Rahman (1990:7).

For the intended publication by the authorities of the Peshawar Museum it will be useful to compare this find firstly with the golden objects from the graves of the Sarmatian nobility (cf. Mancevič 1976:164–72), secondly with the objects of the treasure of Peter the Great and, finally, with the anecdotal plaques recovered in the Chinese borderlands. This eastern group is poorly represented among the finds of Tillja-Tepe (Sarianidi 1985:46, 250). Attention should be paid not only to the animals but also to the clothing of the persons depicted on the golden ring.

However, I have serious doubts about the interpretation as 'girdle'. Previously, I had heard from Dr Abdur Rahman who had taken over the hoard when it had been seized by the police—already cut into fifty-seven pieces for an equal distribution among the neighbours—that he considered this object as a necklace not for a man, but perhaps for a statue of a deity (made of wood, like the memorial statues of the Kafirs).

In any case, a religious designation and a mythological meaning must be taken into consideration—the reliefs show a sort of compendium of the Central Asiatic fauna. The further discussion should take into consideration what we have published on animal style objects and petroglyphs in Northern Pakistan (Jettmar 1967:178, pl. 33). The bangles in the Museum of Peshawar and in Cologne, as well as the golden stag from Hazara should be referred to. Mr M. Bemmann made the important observation that there is another golden ring in the treasure of Peter the Great—without decoration. The shape is identical, a round and a quadrangular zone are combined.

At the end of this discussion we should mention Ranov's extremely important observation that Saka graves in the Pamirs are very rare after the second century BC. Apparently, the climatic conditions changed to the worse—therefore, the tribes moved to new places in the mountain belt. This seems to be realistic, but it has nothing to do with a forced exodus as told in the Chinese sources (cf. Ranov/Sidorov 1974:171).

A Safe Circuitous way through the Mountains and its Confirmation

In 1977 during the 'Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe', when I declared my intention to consider the study of petroglyphs in the areas where I had done fieldwork among the Dardic populations as my next task, the actual entry to this field of research had already happened. I had informed Professor Fussman about the petroglyphs (including many inscriptions) that were shown to my friend Dr

P. Snoy during his journey to the mouth of the Haramosh valley by our guide and interpreter Rhabar Hassan. He remembered the place where the road starting from the 1976 opened Alam Bridge allowed an easy access. In spite of the ban to foreigners to visit this area as long as the Chinese participants in the construction of the Karakoram Highway were present, the top administrators of Gilgit allowed Fussman to reach this place on a road north of the Gilgit river and to start a most effective investigation there. Among the travellers there were, apparently, preachers who documented their presence at this spot, intending to reach the Far East where they contributed to the spread of Buddhist creeds. The chronology of this extreme expansion of the missionary activities was not problematic. The dates clearly show that the Kanishka era had just been introduced. That was exactly what I had expected in my boldest dreams.

Fussman immediately made several important observations. The earliest complex is represented by Kharoshthi inscriptions mentioning the name of the visitor together with his father's name, his presence and a date in the just introduced Kanishka era. Although it is quite possible that the visitors came in an official function by order of their great lord, such a purpose is rarely mentioned. A 'Daradaraja' is only referred to once. The respective text is in a non-Indian language (proto-Burushaski?) and remains enigmatic. Other high ranking functions that occur are a 'Yuvaraja', a hereditary prince, and a 'Raja of Guda' (in Kashmir) (Fussman 1978:18 ff.).

The aim of my own expedition were places at the supposed route to the main artery of the Silk Road through the Tarim basin. At Danyor my respected colleague A.H. Dani did not find any explication for the inscriptions, but the site Haldeikish opposite the main settlements of Hunza certainly was an essential link along the route to the north and for the travellers moving in the opposite direction. So far only Dani's readings of the inscriptions are available. Apparently my colleague did not accept my interpretation suggesting that after the time when the foreigners had recruited new guides and partners here, the locals transformed the place into a sanctuary.

Haldeikish was discovered in 1979. Late in the year, after Dani's return from this successful trip, I went back to the area of Chilas where we had seen a few carvings on our way to the mountains. This time I had the chance to travel in the company of one of my friends who assisted me as guide and protector. Our contact dated back to 1955. When he accompanied me to Chilas where he had been the top administrator prior to his retirement, we were supported by the population. In a few weeks time the most important sites of this region were shown to me. The westernmost was Shatial Bridge with the largest concentration of Sogdian names, obviously merchants who were members of a proud nobility. Evidently they risked the tiresome and dangerous march through the mountains in order to meet the cream of the Buddhist entrepreneurs who were equally interested to avoid the areas and Sasanian control under the protection of a Buddhist sanctuary. My interpretation⁵ was not accepted by Fussman but I do not know a better one.

The next important site was opposite the mouth of the Thor valley, perhaps a meeting place as well, this time for visitors from the western part of the Kushan territories. But the most interesting site was on the southern bank of the Indus, with many stupa engravings, visited by monks, riders and armed followers. The explanation as a resting place for merchants arriving from the lowlands is not entirely convincing.

On the northern bank of the Indus, there was a sanctuary, apparently the meeting place of a tribe which cannot be identified.

In the estuary of the Thalpan river there was contact and competition of different populations. Here I had to wait for the next campaign before a conclusive explanation could be offered.

The results of the next visits were the discovery of petroglyphs going back on the one hand to the pre-Buddhist time, as already mentioned, and on the other hand many images and inscriptions were observed made by new immigrants from the areas where the art of Gandhara was still flourishing.

Other visitors who did not have the same artistic root position but a comparable tendency to attest their presence in an area of

spiritual importance promising grace to all visitors, left either their names on the rocks or an attestation in their own style, like a sort of signature. In this respect a petroglyph depicting jumping warriors near Thalpan bridge is most interesting.

The Indus Valley in the System of the Silk Routes

In the subsequent time, i.e., after the fifth century AD, the Indus valley was part of the system of the Silk Routes not only as a crossroad but rather as a sort of junction where travellers arriving from the south had a choice among several tracks all heading for the north—and vice versa. Various side-valleys could be used for access and exit. Travellers from the Zerafshan valley would enter via Tangir and—if bound to Kashmir—use the exit via the Būner valley. There was a sort of ‘shuttle’ between these gates on trails skirting both sides of the Indus. A typical resting place combined with a sanctuary was discovered by A. Chaudhary at Oshibat in 1985.

For south-bound travellers the best time to start from the Indus valley was in summer, when the passes leading into the Kaghan or the Nilum/Kishanganga valley were open. Due to the early and heavy snowfall and avalanches on the main ridge there only was a short period suited for travelling in this direction, i.e., the time between May/June and September. Otherwise the dangerous but permanently open ‘Hanging Passage’ skirting the gorges of the Indus below Sazin had to be used (Jettmar 1987a).

The summer period, however, was not advisable for journeys north of the ‘Indus junction’. In the height of summer the glaciers of the main ranges—Hindukush and Karakoram—melted and the rivers were swollen and raging. It became an adventure to ford them. The crossing of the high passes became problematic only towards the end of the year. Accordingly, late autumn was the best time for north-bound travellers. Thus, the ‘Indus junction’ must have provided residences in the side-valleys where the locals were ready to receive foreigners who

were 'paying guests' after all. Some rewarded their hosts by meritorious Buddhist decorations plus inscriptions on the rocks of the village sanctuaries. Those who could pay in kind, being idle for a while, made such inscriptions for their own rebirth. Some simply wanted to document their presence and the successful completion of a stage of a long and exhausting journey. Vividly imagining such a milieu, I called one of my early reports on the Indus petroglyphs 'The Visitor's Book of a Silk Road' (Jettmar 1980a).

The names of these managers are known. They are attested in several sites. They ordered narrative scenes with Buddhist backgrounds for their own spiritual salvation. The article contributed by Maillard and Jera-Bezard (1994) is devoted to the most active of them.

To the local population we may attribute the most frequent motifs: humans, riders, stupas, round shields, or discs. Some uncommon signs were perhaps made by foreigners. It is useful that now the full inventories of the sites are exposed, but it will need many years until the series of publications is finished. Maybe some of the most remarkable differences should be explained by the chronological disparity attested by the use of Brahmi and proto-Sharada.

Such a chronologically separable group was observed at the upper part of the site Chilas I, the name of a ruler Vajrashura was observed (v.Hinüber 1989, 1989a). This clearly is in Sanskrit but he came with his entourage and several of them have names in Burushaski. Perhaps these persons appeared here as pilgrims who left an excellent stupa drawing, but it is also possible that they were the local lords.

The very elegant stupa drawings of this group only forming a regionally coherent part of the site Chilas I, replace the *anda* by a complete circle. But this particularity occurs in other complexes as well. Perhaps that indicates an official visit from a neighbouring area, or an intrusion by a power which was stronger at the end of this time and had Far Eastern connections.

End of the Buddhist Period

The latest definitely Buddhist reliefs belong to a horizon characterised by the Saka Itinerary.⁶ After the last occupation of the Indus valley by a Chinese army the area fell under Tibetan supremacy again, who handed over the administration to a local dynasty. It is quite possible that the rulers of the Darada state who had been helpful by robbing the caravans and brought provisions from Kashmir to the Chinese army posted in Little Palur received this office as a reward for their support. Stupa drawings with Tibetan inscription discovered above the southern banks of the Gilgit river might indicate that then Hatun was their residence. At this time Turkish tribes who—under Tibetan chiefs—were the occupants in the northern regions retreated into the shelter of the mountains. A large boulder discovered by a local farmer near Bubur might stem from this period. On three sides it is decorated with Buddhist reliefs. Two out of these three images look like *baba*-statues with a large broad head.⁷

Approximately one mile below the mouth of the Hodar river, there is a cluster of carvings forming a sectarian sanctuary. The most interesting one in the left corner shows a *mchod-rten* (a stupa) in the shape common during the Tibetan period. On the left side of this section several armed men are depicted, two of them while fighting each other. The attack is directed by a large human figure pointing to the symbol of the enemy. The figure's body is composed of simple lines with the head being a mere circle. Apparently deities or demons were rendered in this way. This gives an explication of other figures of this kind. I assumed that this site was a meeting-place for foreigners who were not Buddhists, although the motifs were similar to those appearing in a still Buddhist context (Jettmar 1997:62).

Fighting and hunting scenes are visible on the rocks in the slope leading down to Chilas I. Maybe they were made by members of a garrison posted there. Here no inscriptions were found, a situation also typical for images in the upper part of the Gilgit valley. Only in the Yasin valley there are petroglyphs in a shape allowing a reasonable dating. At a spot where the

crossing of the river is possible—today by a bridge—there are images showing the Pamirian *rubab*. This musical instrument is very popular; it is preferred by Sufis for the accompaniment of their religious songs. Such figures were observed in the western Pamirs near Ljangan at the southern fringe of Tajikistan by Ranov (1960). The fact that they are almost without repatination indicates that they belong to the latest stratum. As we do not know the date of the conversion to Islam, we can only guess that they were the symbol of the Muslim missionaries.

Pagans who proudly declared that they were not Muslims still existed in the nineteenth century. Only afterwards were the ancient graveyards replaced by 'modern' Muslim burials. Previously the corpses were burned; the place for this ceremony was called '*jain*', a term similar to '*chāni*', the word used for burning places in the Punjab. According to Biddulph's report (1880:113), the ashes were carefully collected and buried in rude wooden boxes or in pots sometimes carved out of a solid block. That was confirmed by Biddulph who opened several graves and found the bones packed in boxes lined with birch bark. Some objects, cotton cloths and brass chains, as well as wooden spindle whorls for the ladies were usual additions. Such graves were excavated near Kandahar and described by Scerrato (1980). Maybe this ritual had been spread by the Shin who arrived as the last wave of immigrants. But it is not evident in which century such movements happened. Perhaps the sudden end of the petroglyphic tradition just in those areas where most of the artistic production was found, was under the influence of this last wave.

The decline of petroglyphic activities as well as the end of the production of inscriptions are rather strange as in the neighbouring statelets—in Gu.ge and Pu.hrang—the tradition was clearly maintained. From the Tibetan books translated and commented by Vitali (1996: 103, 141, 162) we learn about a campaign made by Od.sde.btsan into the land of Bru.sha where he became a prisoner. Later on we hear of the inroads made by the Gar.log people who are identical with the Qarakhanids.

Ge.sar actually was the title of the chiefs of the Turkish invaders.

It is evident that in this dark period the Dardic tribes became unbelievers or 'Kafirs' again, maybe under the influence of their western neighbours in present Nuristan. As such they were exposed to the raids from Moghulistan. Only one of the last attacks, already in the first half of the sixteenth century AD, is transmitted in a proper description. Under the title 'Rashid Sultán and the author lead a holy war into Balur' it was included as a chapter in Mirza Haidar's famous book (Elias/Ross 1895).

The story is remarkable because it informs us about a social structure which allowed and even postulated periods of temporary warfare between small villages in defensive positions on hilltops. This situation is so different from the one in the Buddhist past, that we should suppose that in the meantime the last infiltration had taken place—that of the Shina speakers. Evidently they penetrated by jumping from the settlements in the upper part of the valley to the neighbouring ones. If such an infiltration happened in this way, we could certainly expect a kind of linguistic splitting (diversity) increased by the unavoidable co-operation with the groups already resident in the lower reaches of the valleys, where the agricultural and menial partners had their homes. This conclusion was confirmed when I was informed about the fact that there are several dialects of Shina, incomprehensible to each other, during a visit to Muzaffarabad. Anyhow, the assertion that 'the tribe of each separate valley speaks a different language to that of its neighbour and no one tribe knows the language of another. On account of being continually at war, few of them have seen any other village than their own.' (Elias/Ross 1895:386) most probably is not tenable.

Recently the study of Phalura, perhaps the ancient original idiom of the Dardic areas became an interesting topic for my learned colleague Georg Buddruss. That may help us to understand the situation (cf. Rivers/Turner 1969).

It might have taken several centuries for the spread of a system like that from Pakhli—(the alleged point of departure of

the Shins—to the northern margins of Baluristan. With this last wave of immigrants the production of rock-carvings stopped.

NOTES

1. In the last couple of years complete inventories of the sites Oshibat (1994), Shatial (1997), and Hodar (1999) were presented in the series 'Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans'. Prof Dr Harald Hauptmann, since 1989 the head of the research unit 'Rock-carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway' at the Heidelberg Academy for the Sciences and the Humanities, is the responsible editor. The series 'Antiquities of Northern Pakistan', edited by myself started in 1989, the fourth volume being published in 2000.
2. Recently, illicit diggings became a rather lucrative activity of the local population; most of them got their training in Swat. It is quite possible, that the exhaustion of the graveyards there was compensated by the shift to this still virgin area. As I got the impression that no effective protection by the armed forces of the state could be expected, petroglyphs remained the main focus of my studies.
3. This is an interpretation of a hunting scene visible at the site Ziyarat (Dani 1983:16, 30, nos. 15, 16). No. 14 where the horns are quite different, hardly is to be included.
4. A detailed article on the 'Suspended Crossings' is published as Chapter 8 of this book.
5. For further details see Chapter 5 of this publication.
6. An evaluation of the Saka Itinerary is given in Chapter 6.
7. A detailed description of the discoveries is furnished in Chapter 6, pp. 134–5

Sogdians in the Indus Valley

Dr Nicolas Sims-Williams joined the small German team working in the Indus valley west of the Nanga Parbat between the villages Chilas and Shatial in 1985. During and after this campaign he studied no fewer than 610 Middle Iranian inscriptions, apart from a small group near Hunza, all discovered in the Indus valley. 'About ten are in Bactrian, two Middle Persian, the rest Sogdian'—so is the summarization of his conclusions.

For Dr Sims-Williams the result of his studies basically is a 'corpus of Sogdian names large enough to be regarded as a typical cross-section—at least, of names used by males of a particular social group' (Sims-Williams 1989:135)—almost certainly merchant-venturers who led their caravans in one of the most forbidding regions in Asia. Many names indicate the heroic ambitions of the traveller. As theophoric names are very frequent as well, we can deduce which divinities were venerated in the Sogdian territories during the time when the inscriptions in the Indus valley were made. They 'seem most likely to belong to the fourth to sixth centuries AD, or to some part of that period' (Sims-Williams 1989:134). This allows us to take a look at the religious situation during an otherwise badly documented period. The discoveries of our Soviet colleagues in the Sogdian towns mainly refer to a later time, between the seventh and the early eighth century AD (Azarpay 1981:81–158).

* This chapter is a slightly revised version of an article printed in 'Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique' sous la direction de Paul Bernard et Frantz Grenet. Editions due CNRS, 251-253, pl. CII-CVI. Paris (Jettmar 1991b).

What is most important to me is the fact that 560 of all Middle Iranian inscriptions, i.e., more than 90 per cent, were found in one site alone, at Shatial Bridge. A modern bridge near the village Shatial was used for naming the site. This bridge links the Karakoram Highway running on the southern bank of the Indus with two diverging jeep roads on the opposite northern bank, leading into the adjoining valleys Tangir and Darel.

Approximately fifty Sogdian rock inscriptions were observed in all the other sites along the Indus including that at Hunza. Even in these we observe a strange concentration; more than twenty inscriptions were found at the site Thor North, and almost the same number was counted not far away, at Oshibat. Fewer than a dozen have a very diffuse distribution, mostly around the township of Chilas. But that is not the only oddity.

The site Shatial Bridge has a large extension. So far, inscriptions were observed on the southern bank of the Indus following the course for approximately two kilometres. The distance from the riverside hardly exceeds 300 metres. Carvings of Buddhist stupas occur almost everywhere in this belt. The pertinent Buddhist inscriptions were studied and, in part, published by Oskar von Hinüber (1989, 1989a). Some may belong to the seventh or even to the eighth century AD. It is interesting to note that during the campaign of 1985, I saw some bruising on the opposite bank, east of the mouth of the Darel river along the old path to a place opposite Harban where the Indus could formerly be crossed by a ferry, a large wooden boat which could even take horses aboard. But these petroglyphs are quite unusual, rather resembling those in the upper Gilgit valley.

The greatest density of inscriptions in Sogdian script and language was observed west of the present bridge. Reports on the excellent works of Buddhist art located there have already been published, for example, the presentation of the Sibi-Jataka and 'pagodas' with adornments, probably created under Chinese influence (Jettmar/Thewalt 1987:22–3, pl. 19). Chinese and Bactrian inscriptions occur. One inscription—maybe Kharoshthi—remains enigmatic. The largest cluster of the Sogdian inscriptions at this place is situated in an area not larger than 2,500

square metres. Decorations by other visitors who used the Brahmi script are applied as well. Nearby, there are two minor related groups, practically between the bridge and the main concentration.

Does the 'largest cluster' indicate the location of a sanctuary, a holy precinct attracting pilgrims from far and wide? If so, then we need to explain why the Buddhists made engravings and bruising over such a large area, while the Sogdians preferred a concentration in a very restricted compound. Why were the adherents of the Sogdian pantheon not willing or not allowed to write down their names, i.e., to reveal and to attest their identity beyond a neatly defined boundary line? I would like to suggest the following explanation:

The Sogdians were traders, who had arrived from the north via Tangir or Darel. They were allowed to cross the Indus and to camp near the banks. They were protected in respect of their religious activities, but they could not move freely and had to keep within narrow boundaries. This was the normal end of their journey. Perhaps, it was not necessary to go further, because near the place now called Shatial Bridge there might have been a trade centre where the Sogdians coming from the north had the chance to meet their partners arriving from Kashmir or from the lowlands of Gandhara. I submit the assumption that the area around Shatial had a similar function as, for example, the fortress of Rajawari which was considered by Biruni as the 'northern frontier of India'. 'It is the farthest place to which our merchants trade, and beyond which they will never pass' (Sachau 1888,I:278).

One of the Chinese inscriptions near Shatial Bridge (deciphered but still unpublished) somewhat cryptically speaking about a 'boundary' (or 'pass') might become important in this respect. Even more relevant is the text of a Sogdian inscription deciphered by Dr Sims-Williams: 'I, Nanēvandak, (son of) Narisaf, have come on (the) ten(th day) (?) and (have) begged (as) a boon from the spirit of the sacred place, *K'rt*, that ... I may arrive (home) more quickly and may see (my) brother in good (health) with joy' (Sims-Williams 1989:133).

If the contacts at the emporium were so well regulated, then we have to assume the existence of a controlling authority with an armed guard at hand, providing protection to the merchants and also participating in their profits by imposing duty on the merchandise.

Since 1983 I am convinced that I know where this 'administrative unit' was situated. East of the bridge, but on a higher level, just below the Karakoram Highway, there was a camp of the wood contractors mercilessly destroying the wonderful forests in the valleys Tangir and Darel. In this area, there is a spur with rock faces on three sides. When I explored it, under the suspicious eyes of the woodcutters, I called the place 'Shatial Fort' in a sort of hopeful anticipation.

A closer examination was undertaken by Dr Thewalt in 1987. He observed the remains of walls built up with regular or well-cut stones and explained them as remains of stupas based on quadrangular fundaments. This identification although communicated to the police and the local administration did not hinder the wood contractors from destroying the visible ruins during the following winter, in order to get rid of the 'nasty' archaeologists. This is most regrettable even though I am not prepared to accept the interpretation proposed by Dr Thewalt. My understanding of the situation is different. I think that the designation 'Shatial Fort' is correct. There are some Buddhist rock-carvings in this place too, but they are not the typical decoration. Perhaps, they were later additions.

I consider the area on the southern bank of the Indus, with a campsite nearby, a holy precinct and a dominating stronghold, as a sort of bridgehead occupied by the power which protected the merchants during their long journey from Sogdia, via Eastern Tokharistan or skirting the Pamirs, crossing the Hindukush and, finally, leading down to the Indus. Whether there actually was a bridge nearby or just a ferry, is an open question.

However, the following among the many questions remain to be answered in the future:

- If the site Shatial Bridge was the location of a sort of trade fair, who were the partners of the Sogdians coming from the South? Inscriptions in Brahmi, approximately contemporary to the Sogdian ones, were studied by O.v. Hinüber who observed Iranian names. Some of them indicate that their bearers were of Saka origin. Others reveal an affiliation to the tribal population of north-west India and Pakistan who went through a period of re-arrangement after the decline of the central Kushan power. The name of the Jats is mentioned twice. In any case, these southern counterparts were not homogenous, and in this respect different from the Sogdians.

Some of the southern visitors were worshippers of Hinduistic deities, but the general background was Buddhist. This is a marked difference to the majority of the Sogdians. Several observations point to mutual animosity existing between them.

- Possibly, the protecting power for the traders from the north were the Kidarites, but that can only be proved by a more exact dating of the inscriptions. As for the southern counterparts, they were perhaps supported—but hardly ruled—by the Daradas. The name of a Maharaja of the Daradas is found in a royal inscription near Chilas.
- What are the economic and social implications of the Sogdian inscriptions discovered in the minor clusters at Thor North and Oshibat? They might belong to an alternative route further to the east and not as strictly controlled, where the Sogdians could enter an otherwise forbidden territory. It was precisely in these places where they expressed their sentiments in a sort of joking relationship.

Although several questions remain unanswered, one conclusion is evident: We know that in the seventh and eighth century AD Sogdian iconography was strongly influenced by Indian prototypes. The basis must have been earlier contacts, trade routes already existing in the fifth and sixth century. One of these routes has now become visible in a rather gloomy and desert-like part of the Indus valley (Azarpay et al. 1981:26–50).

In a valley north of the Indus river that might have been used as an easy access to the bridgehead at Shatial, there was a Buddhist monastery famous for a wooden statue of Maitreya.

The Sogdians, themselves followers of a different religion, had to pass this sacred place on the way to their emporium, a fact necessitating a reasonable cooperation between the two religions, Buddhism and the creed of the Sogdians. This argument is supported by Harmatta's explanation. He solved that problem by stressing that Sogdians and Buddhists both acted under the pressure of the Sasanians who upheld an orthodox kind of the Zoroastrian religion. In order to avoid this influence, the Sogdians preferred the arduous route through the mountains (Harmatta 1994:439).

The Patolas, their Governors and their Successors

The Patolas and the so-called Gilgit Manuscripts

The short quotation below 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 of its acceptance.

The Paṭola Ṣāhis are known by the inscription of Hatun, the colophons of the Gilgit Manuscripts (v.Hinüber 1980) and the 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 Ṣāhis 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 Ṣāhis 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. (Fussman 1992:16, transl. by K. Jettmar)

In case that I have not succeeded in making my thesis lucid enough so far, this paper's intention is to supply the necessary evidence.

* This chapter is a slightly revised version of an article printed in A.N.P. (Jettmar 1993).

A realistic discourse on the subject must begin by admitting that a term used in several variations for one and a half millennia may presumably have changed its meaning. The size and location of the territory in question hardly remained stable. In order to discern early from later references, I use the term 'Palur' proposed by Pelliot (1959:9) for the earlier group which are mostly quotations from Chinese sources. I accept 'Bolor' 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, differentiate between 'Little Palur' and, further to the east, 'Great Palur'. All scholars dealing with the problem agree that Little Palur was located in the Gilgit valley, and that Great Palur designates the area of present-day Baltistan. For Little Palur the Tibetans consistently used the term 'Bru.sha'. I concluded that this was the indigenous name of the country, which had been integrated into the realm of the Patola Shahis by conquest (Jettmar 1977a).

It is advisable to start in the fourth century AD. Inscriptions at the site Alam Bridge mention a group of persons appearing under the name of Palalo/Palala/Palolo between the fourth and the seventh century AD (Fussman 1978:39–51; Humbach 1980a: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 for persons belonging to the local Balti population.

Such early hints probably indicate that the homeland of the Patolas was not the Gilgit valley. The site of Alam Bridge lies close to the mouth of the Gilgit river. We do not know why rock-carvings and inscriptions were made there. It might 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 periphery of the Tarim basin. Travellers from the Gilgit valley would have a shorter and easier approach road to this transcontinental 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) and proceed to Danyor.

From Great Palur it is possible to reach Danyor through the Rondu gorge. At the exit of this gorge, the site called 'Alam Bridge' was studied by Fussman. Inscriptions and petroglyphs indicate that the transition entry to the northern route, reaching the Tarim basin via Nager and Hunza, was located here.

In this period, the Chinese equivalent of the term Palur 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 Palur 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 (= Palur), 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 = Palur, and too vague to be an argument for another one, i.e., with Gilgit. The Chinese traveller Faxian offers a realistic description of his journey which started in 399 AD, a few years earlier than Zhimeng's. 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 being part of India and a centre 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 (cf. Beal 1869:18-28). T'o-li, later on written Ta-li-lo, was identified as the valley of Darel by Cunningham (1854:2)—and that could correspond to the actual distance. In the end of his ordeal, Faxian had to cross the Indus via a rope bridge, after that Swat was very near. Palur is not mentioned in this report.

The next travelogue, the one of Song Yun, tells of a journey made in 518-22 AD, when the Hephthalites had just reached the height of their power. The Chinese delegation had the task of

obtaining Buddhist books in India, but the leader, Song Yun, was provided with formal letters from the imperial chancellery. They were handed over to the king of the Hephthalites, so that the next—and most difficult—part of the journey was under official protection. From this report we learn that many small kingdoms—as far as Tie-lo in the south—were under the control of the Hephthalite kings. However, neither Chavannes nor Stein identified this region with T'o-leih or T'o-li, the religious centre visited by Faxian. Otherwise we could accept this as evidence that Hephthalite rule was extended into the Indus valley as well.

Certainly under Hephthalite sovereignty was the land which appears under the name Chö-mi, identified with Chitral (Chavannes 1903:406) and not portrayed as a Buddhist country. Here Palur is mentioned. One way was to pass through this territory arriving at Wu-cha'ng (= Swat) after many difficulties and dangers. So another route was chosen and Udyana (Swat) was reached rather quickly.

This story is confusing as every ordinary traveller who had already 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 short-cut would lead via the Laspur valley and Paspat. An alternative route, however, reaching Swat from the east side would mean a superfluous detour.

However, it is interesting that 'Po-lou-lei', i.e., Palur, 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 Palur means the western part of the country. Since we do not know when Baltistan and Gilgit were associated as provinces of the same state, this could be an important hint.

The next piece of information is to be found in the 'Records of the Western Lands', compiled by a student of Xuanzang which includes the material collected by the great scholar during his long journey (629–45 AD). Information on Palur was not

collected on the spot and is rather vague. We learn that Buddhism was the dominant religion there, but no great zeal existed. From east to west the country has a long shape, 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 AD. As he was well informed, his notes are of great interest. Earlier he had crossed the mountains. When the relevant part of the text was published by Lévi and Chavannes (1895:348), both scholars agreed that after passing by Chitral—appearing under the name Kio-wei—Wukong proceeded in a south-western direction, reaching Lamghan, then turning eastwards to Udyana (Swat).

Several years later Chavannes studied the sources concerning Swat and Palur. Once again he noticed that one of the stations on the way through the mountains rendered as Ye-ho is identical with Sie-to, the western capital of Little Palur. Evidently, the pilgrim moved in areas which were safe in the 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 only, Ho-lan and Lan-so. In Kashmir Wukong was informed of a track to Palur, maybe different from the route he had used himself (Chavannes 1903-4:129n.; Stein 1896:22)

The two royal rock inscriptions which definitely show that the Gilgit valley certainly was part of the kingdom of Palur since the seventh century AD or even earlier, need to be mentioned. One is discussed in detail by Fussman (1992), the other was carefully studied but not appropriately published by v.Hinüber (1987).

In the eighth century, comments in the official reports describing the Central Asian involvement of the Tang empire and the fate of the main actors (for example, Gao Xianzhi) became 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 being now rendered as Huichao. A shortened, incomplete version was found by Pelliot in Tun-huang.¹ The

journey was performed between 723–729 AD, but it is possible that information obtained later were included. Huichao clearly distinguished between Great Palur which was subjected to Tibet together with Yang-t'un and Nepal (Fuchs 1939:443), and Little Palur which was then dependent on China. Clothings and customs, food and language are identical in both Great and Little Palur. 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 (Beckwith 1987).

A crucial information contained only in the text of Huichao is that Great Palur had been the official seat of the king. Because of the invasion of the Tibetans he emigrated to Little Palur and settled there. The nobility and the people, however, remained in Great Palur. Fuchs assumed that as early as 'about 678' the Tibetans had conquered Great Palur (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 Palur in the periods starting in 696 AD by rulers whose names fit into the Patola tradition. In 717 AD, a king with the typical Patola name Su-fu-she-li-chih-li-ni was awarded the title 'King of Palur' by the Chinese. There is a note stressing the fact that he was king in Great Palur (Beckwith 1987:87n.). 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 are I, II, V, VIII) copying was supported by a grant offered by the ruler or a member of his family together with noble persons who most probably belonged to his staff. If we assume that the ruler of Palur had two residences then there exists the possibility that the generally accepted name 'Gilgit Manuscripts' is not misleading. 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. Is it possible that Gilgit was only a temporary residence?

However, from the historical reports we know that in the sixteenth and seventeenth century AD the Gilgit valley was conquered by the rulers of Baltistan three times, never resulting in an administrative integration. A glance at the 'Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak' (1890) 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 (1890:1030) 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 low passage at all, so the traveller had to climb up 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.' 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 of Hatun and stressed his own contribution beyond the usual proportion in the inscriptions in honour of his sovereign Navasurendradityanandin, 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 attentively study the seemingly well-known and exhausted sources (Fussmann 1992:14–16).

The sources in question are the Tang chronicles, a Chinese encyclopaedia written in the eleventh century AD, used by Chavannes, and the Tibetan documents found in Tun-huang,

edited by Bacot/Thomas/Toussaint (1940–6), which were restudied in a larger context by Beckwith who was able to use the new translations (Spanien/Imaeda 1979).

The basic fact is the steadfast alliance between the rulers in Little Palur and the Chinese. For their loyalty they were rewarded with the confirmation of their royal title on 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-mang² (Chavannes 1903–4 n.a.:65; Beckwith 1987:123)

The results of this policy were disastrous for the country. As early as in 722 AD there was an invasion by the Tibetan army, which was repelled with Chinese support. In 736 AD the Tibetan army marched to their battlegrounds in the north-western plains via Little Palur, the ruler Nan-ni asked the Chinese for help. For revenge in winter 737/738 AD another Tibetan army invaded Little Palur and captured the king. The king, being a prisoner, and the Chinese envoy Wang Do-shi both surrendered. Here we get the impression that the king had a sort of political agent at his side. That explains the next sentence.³ Instead of the misleading phrase ‘les Chinois détruiraient le royaume’ we read: ‘The Chinese abolished (their) administration (of Little Palur)’ (Beckwith 1987:116). This could 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 by the Chinese (Chavannes 1903–4:210–211) indicates that Little Palur was still considered as being dependent on the Tang state.

In the meantime, however, politics had taken a new turn. In the year of the dragon (740 AD) a Tibetan princess, Khri-malod, had been given in marriage to the chief of Little Palur (Bacot/Thomas/Toussaint 1940–6:51). By comparing this

information in the Tibetan annals with the Tang-shu we can say without any doubts that the happy bridegroom was Su-che-li-tche⁴ (Chavannes 1903–4:151) and nobody else.

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

This 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 raiding Tang garrisons had been repulsed. In revenge ‘the Chinese took the city of An-jung through treachery and massacred the Tibetan garrison’ (ibid.). Under such conditions it is unthinkable that the marriage of a member of the ruling dynasty in Palur with a Tibetan princess remained a secret or that it remained without reaction. We know the reaction, the solemn presentation of a certificate of appointment as king to Ma-hao-lai exclusively; 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 is an admonition to remain attentive (Chavannes 1903–4:212). 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-che-li-tche. Anyhow, as he was not a parvenu, he got fair treatment by the Chinese. When his case was lost, he was given the chance of a comfortable exile in China.

The unavoidable, though 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 Palur. Since both of them had well-founded claims, after the untimely demise of Ma-hao-lai (who perhaps had no children or very young ones) the Chinese

were unable to prevent the competitor with the strong support of the Tibetan party from getting 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-kin-mang, Nan-ni, Ma-hao-lai, were called 'Bruža'i rgyalpo' (= kings of Bru.sha). However, the man who was honoured to become the husband of a Tibetan princess was called 'Bruža rje' (= Bru.sha Lord).

Yet, there is still another proof. According to the encyclopaedia the Chinese government recognised Su-lin-t'o-i-che as king of Great Palur in 720 AD, when his predecessor died. We know, that he had time to send dignitaries to the Chinese court twice, offering the products of his country as tribute, a fact indicating that there must have been some years of relative stability, as the Tibetans only later forced him to escape to Little Palur. Even before, at the beginning of the period H'ai-yuen (713–741 AD) Mo-kin-mang paid a visit to the Chinese Emperor and was very well received with full honours as king of Little Palur. According to the text of the Tang-shu this journey took place before 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 Patolas in Great Palur. Palur 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 Patolas 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 (Chavannes 1903–4:159). The name of the later one was reconstructed by Chavannes as Surendraditya. It is quite possible that this man appears as former king in the quite informal inscription found at Hodar (v.Hinüber 1989:64).

But what was the relation with the so-called kings of Little Palur? In the time of the Hatun inscription, the Gilgit valley must have been a fief of the Patolas. But nobody was able to maintain an effective administration in Skardu and Gilgit simultaneously. That only became feasible much later due to

modern road construction and air traffic, telephone and wireless broadcasting. So right from the beginning a governor or viceroy had to be appointed in one of those areas. Since the capital was in the eastern part, Makar Singh from the Kanjudi clan in Little Palur 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-kin-mang, Nan-ni, Ma-hao-lai could belong to the same tradition.

We can suspect that the viceroy was not pleased at all, 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 Patola refugees had to face 'a decline in sovereignty' (v.Hinüber 1987:228). This 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 Jayamangalavikramadityanandi avoids using his former dynastic title and is anxious to have his intention accepted. That might be a precaution enforced by a 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 pretension that they had been entitled to be called 'king' for many generations. Two such confirmations for noble origin and acknowledged dignity are known, one for Nan-ni (Chavannes 1903-4:52), the other for his brother Ma-hao-lai (Chavannes 1903-4:211). However, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that the Gilgit region had already been a statelet under the sway of the Kanjudi dynasty before the area was conquered by an army of the Patolas. Maybe the former supremacy of the Hephthalites was replaced by another one. For a while, the name of the country, Bru.sha, was changed to 'Little

Palur'. The Tibetans who wanted to build up a national identity directed against all former overlords never used the name 'Little Palur'; they reintroduced the old name Bru.sha. We may assume that the administrations of the nine towns occupied by the Tibetan army in 722 AD, were entrusted to the so-called 'Bru.sha Lord'.

So, apparently the outcome of that policy was a sort of compromise. The descendants of former governors acted as king, maintaining loyalty with China, the 'Bru.sha Lord' represented the Tibetans, maybe getting control of certain areas, for example, Danyor. It is possible that his capital was in the Sai valley, an area with many barely explored later monuments.

There is no hint that Ma-hao-lai died an unnatural death, but the Patola got their chance after his demise; he had been firmly affiliated with the supporters of the Tibetan case. Little Palur was now united under Su-che-li-tche (Tucci 1977:79). The Chinese strategists, however, considered the smooth transition of Little Palur into the Tibetan sphere of influence as a threat to their still persisting connections with Tokharistan and other countries west of the Pamirs. Chinese generals tried three times to recapture Little Palur—without success (Beckwith 1987:130). In 747 AD, the famous Gao Xianzhi (= Kao Hsien-chih) was appointed with 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 Gao Xianzhi 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 was the residence of the ruler of Palur. 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-ta'o' (ibid:129,n.) According to Tucci the phonetic rendering is 'ngjä-tā', which corresponds with Garta (= s'Kardo). For confirmation Tucci quotes the Tang-shu

which mentions a town called 'Kia-pu-lo' identified by him with Khapalu in Baltistan. Khapalu, however, is situated east of Skardu, not west of it 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 Deosai plains. That would have taken three to four weeks through difficult terrain with all chances for 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, apparently a superior force, was alarmed. However, they were unable to interfere because the bridge over the So-yi (= Sai) river had been destroyed at the very last moment. Timing was important for the action. The Tibetan army arrived with cavalry and infantry units. Without the bridge, that had the length 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. Palur consented when the Tibetans 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 of 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 army might have been stationed on the northern bank making impossible a crossing over for the Tibetans who held strong positions on the southern side.

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. We, therefore, 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 simply be avoided 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. Therefore I tend to agree with the 'Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh' (1890:897):

The Astor river is, if the bridge at Ram Ghat be destroyed, in itself 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 difficult 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 there. 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.

Now, let us return to the historical events. Faced with a hopeless position, the king of Little Palur and his Tibetan wife surrendered after having hidden themselves for a while, and were brought to China. There, apparently, the last Patola remained for the rest of his life with due honours. Little Palur was transformed into a military district. Chavannes (1903-4:152-3) renders the name as Koei-jen. Obviously the intention

was to use it as base for inroads into Great Palur. A successful advance took place in the year 753 AD (Beckwith 1987:141). The capital of Great Palur, P'u-sa-lao or Ho-sa-lao, was reached and conquered. The identification with Katsura proposed by Tucci (1977:83) is realistic. Possibly in order to improve the readiness for collaboration the military district was raised to the status of a tributary kingdom. The encyclopaedia quoted by Chavannes speaks of a 'Kingdom of Koei-jen', whose king sent an ambassador to the Chinese court to express his gratitude for the favours shown to him (Chavannes 1903-4, n.a.:80-93).⁵ Little Palur and the corresponding military district do not appear in the Chinese reports later than 755 AD. The height of Chinese supremacy and Pan-Asiatic interest was over.

Islamic sources starting with Azraqi still know the term Bolor (Beckwith 1987:157-163). This first reference to Bolor in Azraqi (1965:229) confirms what is already evident, that all mountain valleys south of the main ranges of the Hindukush and Karakoram in the west including regions which we may assume at present belong to Chitral, finally came under Tibetan control. Whether domination was chiefly 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 the Daradas, 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 which 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 v.Hinüber to a careful examination, mention the kings of the Patola dynasty in four out of ten cases as sponsors. Their queens appear as well, with differentiating titles. Other contributing devotees might have had 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, there was a Patola Shahi at the top of the hierarchy of worshippers. That is not compatible with the situation we have to expect in Gilgit. There the governor had a key position and would appear as one of the main donators, even competing with the king.

Archaeological Monuments of the Gilgit region: Tentative Chronology and Cultural Relations

If we persist in 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 chronological concept I arrange them according to the time of their discovery. This may be corrected in a later survey.

The most spectacular evidence was already published by Biddulph (1880:108–111, drawing) 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 side of the figure from the hip downwards, and leaves the limbs entirely bare... (Stein 1907:18, fig. 1, drawing in Biddulph 1880:108).

Stein observed parallels to a stucco figure from Dandan-Uiliq, assigned to the second half of the eighth century, but adds that the pointed form of the trefoil arch pleads for a still later date.

A systematic comparison with the reliefs existing in Baltistan in great numbers is still lacking. In the work of Snellgrove/Skorupski (1977, 1980) several of them are published, but

without any attempt to bring them into a reasonably dated sequence. A masterly relief in a place called Mantal on the way to the Satpura lake near Skardu is well known (Duncan 1906:297–307). Another very flat relief was discovered by H. Hauptmann on the old track from Skardu to Shigar (Jettmar 1990a: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 at the time when these areas were under Tibetan control, before or after the fall of the central monarchy.

In the same book, Stein describes a stupa which he had seen during his journey to Hunza on the Nager side near the hamlet of Thol. Originally the stupa had a height of twenty 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 being eighty feet long. The next storey, set back, was quadrangular as well, the third one was a smaller octagon, 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 1907:20).

Stein had already heard of ancient 'ruined mounds' in the environs of Gilgit, most probably stupa. He was not in a position to visit those monuments nor the others noted by the British officers on duty in Gilgit 'at Hanzil and Jutial'.

Apparently the building at Hanzil was already badly damaged by that time. A 'decidedly circular' mound was all that was recognizable in a still earlier photograph taken by the 'Pamir Boundary Commission', mentioned by Stein as worthy to be preserved. Now only a heap of stones is left near the road (Stein 1907:19).

The ruined mound at Jutial is almost certainly the so-called 'monument of the Taj Mughal' which is situated on a small plateau jutting out from the mountain slope leading down to Jutial. Taj Mughal, an important figure in the lore of Gilgit was

allegedly a pious invader from the north propagating and even coercing the population to embrace the Ismailian belief. According to the—unpublished—photographs taken during the visit of H. Hauptmann in 1989, the shape, however, reveals it as a stupa.

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 by Stein. The next hamlet is Naupur, formerly called Amsar. Here there was a chain of four stupas. In 1931, according to reports given to Hackin⁶ and Stein, wooden beams became visible in the largest building due to the erosion which had in the course of many centuries worn out the previous outer coating of a 'fairly hard plaster'. The stupa 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. In the meantime treasure seekers had been searching again and again, thereby carrying away the rubble down to the natural soil. Apparently, the building had had some similarity to the stupa seen by Stein at Thol in the Hunza valley. The villagers pulled out the wooden beams which had suddenly appeared in the stupa and entered through the hole into a hidden chamber. There they discovered the first batch of the manuscripts. Stein saw them in a wooden box in the office of the *tahsildar*. Some leaves reached Europe where they generated much interest.

Systematic excavations 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 to express the generosity and the religious zeal of a Patola Shahi.

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).⁷ Here it is sufficient to state that my interpretation was accepted, but

restraint was prevalent in respect to my hypothesis that the manuscripts were copied in a monastery near Skardu and only later transferred to Gilgit, where they were finally buried as one of the 'concealed treasures' according to a concept strongly influencing the rise of esoteric Buddhism (cf. Dargyay 1977).

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. The figure of a Buddha on a lotus-seat, however, belongs to a group presented by U. v. Schroeder (1981:65-98, esp. pl. 7-8). In this publication similar pieces are indiscriminately brought together under the localization 'Swat valley' with dates between the late sixth and the end of the eighth century AD (Stein 1932:103-6).

Todd, the 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). In 1978, local people told me that the objects indeed came from a mound which was later totally destroyed by illicit digging. I saw the place, it has become a hollow which is the result of later excavations at the same spot.

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

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 life size figures of Shakyamuni, standing, one with clothings like those on the Gilgit relief. The third facet shows a sitting Padmapani wearing a three-pointed crown under a sort of pointed arch (?). On the level of the feet of the standing Buddha there are two smaller reliefs, each depicting a sitting Manjushri.

The owner of the field was considerably worried by that strange apparition and immediately asked for gunpowder. That could 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 him interested in conservation. I was not successful. The (late) prince, Ali Ahmad Jan, then chief of the Gilgit police (§SP), otherwise helpful to scholars like G. Fussman and me, ordered the transport of 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 photographs remain the only documentation. The attempt to make plaster casts failed due to heavy rainfall (Jettmar 1984:214, pl. III–IV). The case of the mutilated boulder is well-known to the authorities (Dani 1989:163, pl. 17).

A completely destroyed relief in the Sai valley, still visible until recently, which is perhaps a fasting Buddha, is not included in this list. A local mullah had incited the boys to throw stones on this 'demon',

From Sai relatively easy tracks were leading down along the Indus. There was an important station of the route Skardu/Gilgit, and perhaps the first foothold for the Patola refugee before he entered the areas held by the successors of Makar Singh. It is certainly an interesting subject for future excavations.

To complete this overview, the petroglyphs should be mentioned at this place:

- Images and inscriptions are frequent between Alam Bridge and the exit of the Rondu gorge. Not all of them prove the Buddhist background of the person involved. They occur beyond the confluence of the rivers Gilgit and Indus on the opposite (western) bank as well.
- A large cluster of petroglyphs was found at the site called Hunza-Haldeikish in 1979. Excellent photographs were taken by V. Thewalt in 1980 and published by A.H. Dani in a booklet (Dani 1985a). Corrections announced by Fussman were never published.
- In Punyal, Tibetan inscriptions and stupa bruising, attributed not to Buddhists but to Bon-pos by K. Sagaster and

his collaborators, were observed near the mouth of the Karumbar brook, on the opposite (southern) bank of the Gilgit river. The producers, certainly foreigners, were neither traders nor pilgrims of the usual kind. According to the titles mentioned in the two inscriptions, they belonged to the ruling elite, hardly to the Bon-pos (Sagaster/Jettmar 1993).

- The engravings of a stupa together with a Tibetan inscription were observed very close to the top of the Darkot pass but still on the southern side. Stein made the observation, Francke the translation (Stein 1928:46). Nearby a modern inscription was found, perhaps made on the order of an uncle of the dreaded Gohar Aman. Recently a similarly late inscription was seen by Abbas Qasmi. But this is 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 the southern Dardic territories (Rozenfel'd-Kolešnikov 1963, 1969, 1985).
- Two dynastic inscriptions should be mentioned. They either were made in the name of a Patola or on the order of a later member of this family. One inscription, at Hatun, has been discussed by Chakravarti (1953–4), the other is still waiting for a comprehensive publication. V.Hinüber has disseminated information over several articles so far (1980, 1987, 1989, 1989a). No other official rock inscriptions are known along the Gilgit river and its tributaries.
- 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 stupa-carvings, very simple and corresponding to a later stage in the development of such motifs in the Chilas area.
- In the western part of the Gilgit district, formerly Kuh and Ghizar, among hundreds of carvings and bruising there are mainly animals, sometimes also men on foot or horseback.

Some of the figures which I called 'stupa-derivates' in many studies (for example, Jettmar 1985a:771) occur too. 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.

- I know that Gilgit proper is almost entirely encircled by rock-carvings. In the area where the Hunza river flows into the Gilgit river, considerably dense and interesting motifs have been observed. But even there the result is negative as no Buddhist carvings or inscriptions are seen.

An unexpected confirmation of my impression, that further 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). As he was aware of his informal position, without connections to our team or institutions in Pakistan, he directed his attention to the areas not mentioned in my field reports (Jettmar 1979b:918). The article in which 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 sometimes 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 from devoting 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, which had not been recognized as something special by Hallier; demons with a circular body and an axe as head certainly reflect intrusive ideas from the Indus valley. They equally overlooked images of the *rubab*, a musical instrument used during religious ceremonies, showing 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 cult, 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. Sometimes a few foreign elements were integrated. They are depicted throughout many centuries, styles and technique change. Attempts to date them, occasionally by comparison to distant but well-studied centres, offer hints, but no proofs.

This statement has interesting implications, for example, for the relations with the tribes living in the Pamir. But in as much 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 period preceding Tibetan dominance and Chinese intervention. Most of the monuments in the Gilgit basin mentioned in this article, the actual stupas, the few stupa 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 Palur was under Tibetan sovereignty.

In this context the inscriptions at Hatun and Danyor were exceptions, 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 non-Buddhist feelings were still too strong, therefore a new residence was established, but it got its 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 Patolas we found neither evidence nor necessary ambience for a centre of Buddhist learning in Little Palur. We might even suspect that the Patola refugee had brought the library with him because he wanted to appear as a champion for higher Buddhist civilization.

From the Integration of Bolor into the Tibetan Empire to the Take-Over by the Trakhane Dynasty

Neither Chinese nor Tibetan sources are available for the following period. Their place is now taken by information written in Arabic, mainly notices of Biruni, 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 coming centuries. But notes by these authors can only be transformed into a coherent history by including passages from Kalhana'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 King Abhimanyu (958–972 AD). This text and the translation were published by H.W. Bailey (1936, 1968:71) and commented by G. Morgenstierne (1942).

The earliest notice, however, referring to the area has a most interesting background. As thoroughly explained by Beckwith (1987:159–62), there was a conflict between al'Amin, son of the caliph 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 Qarluqs, the King Utrarbandah, and the king of Kabul. Al'Amin could only retaliate that malicious alliance by entering into negotiations with the Central Asian states himself. However, the sudden death of al'Amin changed the situation completely and the position of al'Ma'mun became unproblematic. So al'Ma'mun's experienced vizier al'Fadl 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 AD and 814/815 AD. Due to their vulnerable 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 treasure of the Ka'ba. The precious 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 Azraqi wrote his famous work 'Description and history of the town Mecca'. In this book copies of the inscriptions made by the author were included. Several authors translated the text or gave comments (Wüstenfeld 1858, Michajlova 1951, Ghafoor 1965/66, Mandel'stam 1967, Madelung 1981, Beckwith 1987:161–62).

In this context it is important that the ruler of Kabul, mentioned in the description of the golden statue is called 'a King among the Kings of Tibet'. That means that in the beginning of the ninth century AD the Tibetan sphere of influence included several dependencies, even Kabul! Evidently, in these frontier regions several kings and princes were under the overlordship of the Tibetan *qaghan*.

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

It is not clear what the separate designations '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 a Tibetan stronghold in Wakhan, and to cut the alternative route along the Kunar river from Laghman. Therefore, an inroad into Chitral was necessary. Apparently, in these days Bolor included Chitral as well, and the westernmost district was known under the name 'Ravere'. Another name of such a district known from one of the rock-inscriptions discovered near Chilas was 'Avardi'. It is interesting that this inroad was also considered as an energetic gesture against Kashmir.

In Chitral there is an oral tradition saying that after the period 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 a unique episode; the foreign forces withdrew. It is tempting to explain this tale as reverberation of historical reality.

We may summarize the note as confirmation that the area of Little Bolor 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 Bolor to achieve complete independence after the collapse of the Tibetan empire in the middle of the ninth century AD.

The next cluster of pertinent information, however, came 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 Bolor a vast country—with a king who declared himself to be the 'Son of the Sun'. He had the title Bulurin Shah (Minorsky 1937:121).

Surprisingly well informed via different channels was Biruni (Sachau 1888, I:276–79). 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-Karakoram, 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 Biruni, namely Gilgit, Aswira (= Astor), and Shiltas (= Chilas).

But then we are confronted with the problem that the inhabitants are described as 'Turkish tribes who are called Bhattavaryan. Their king has the title Bhatta-Shah' (Sachau 1888, I:278). In the same text, only two pages earlier, the title

'Bolor-Shah' probably denominates the same person. Biruni clearly says that the Bhattavaryan speak a Turkish language, and that 'Kashmir suffers much of their inroads'.

Taken at face value, this note seems to indicate a complete change of the ethnic situation in Bolor, 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, did take place 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 north-east speaking Tibetan dialects.

I saw this possibility already in 1977 when I wrote a contribution to the political and ethnic geography of northern Pakistan. Only recently I got the information from G. Buddruss that the linguistic structure of Khowar, the main language of Chitral, is analogous to the Turkish idioms in a typical aspect.⁸

The better explanation is that Biruni, or rather his informants, did not differentiate between Tibetans and Turks. The situation was clearly seen by Stein:

Albērūni's Bhatta may possibly represent the term Bhūṭṭa or Bhautṭa (the modern Kashmiri Būṭṭa) which is applied in the Sanskrit chronicles to the population of Tibetan descent generally from Ladākh to Baltistan. Albērūni 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 Ladākh and adjacent districts are clearly intended. (Stein 1900, II:363, n.64).

In spite of that information and the linguistic situation which is characterized by the absence of solidly identified Turkish loan words in the Dardic languages, a Turkish invasion under their own rulers strangely coincided with the apex of Tibetan power in former Palur.

This incursion to 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 Śahi. At the same time they do not appear to have been followers of Buddhism. (Dani 1989:151)

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 might have started earlier, still in the tenth century, but starting from the period when Ananta (1028–63 AD) ruled in Kashmir, we repeatedly learn of inroads made by the Darada Shahis. Such raids reoccur during the following reigns up to the time of Jayasimha (1128–49 AD) (Stein 1900, II:514). In these wars of conquest, the Darada king used to be supported by barbarian chieftains and their hordes. Prof Dani (1989:153) was firmly convinced that the proper Darada 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 Palur.

Biruni, in his book on precious stones, which was very carefully translated into Russian by Belenickij (1963:221) directed much attention to the mountains of Central Asia, a region exporting 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 explicitly states, that in this case he uses the term which he learned from the Indians in Kashmir. Biruni became aware that the land of the Bhattavaryan was known to the Indians under the ancient term 'Dadar', 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 Palur', the Tibetans stuck to the name 'Bru.sha' for the same territory.

The most convincing proof that there was only one state which included all areas between the Gilgit valley and the Kishanganga valley, however, is the so-called 'Saka Itinerary' (Bailey 1936, 1968) which remained unknown in Pakistan. 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 Irshad Uwin and Baroghil. After crossing the pass he went southwards, perhaps via Yasin. Thereafter he entered the district of 'Prushava', i.e., he came to the area formerly called Bru.sha.

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 *byaḍa* (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*) Śīlathasa 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 Śīḍathasa to Ttīḍī (*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 Ttīḍī (crossing-place) is Maṃgalacakra by name. The king lives there. This is the first Indian town toward Kaśmīra. Upon the mountain there is one (*saṃghārāmas*?) southwards on the Mahuvi river bank. (Bailey 1968:71)

The deciding statement is that the king has his residence in Gilgit, in four districts. 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 Mamgalacakra, a border town of Kashmir which maybe called an Indian settlement. Mamgalacakra, perhaps, 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, especially the Tragbal, were snowbound, 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 tenth century AD was stronger than ever before. Religious dissension, however, is 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 Daradas are hardly mentioned in earlier books of the 'Rājatarāṅgī'. The Darada 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 tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries AD was the merging of the mountain kingdoms Bolor and Dardar under one dynasty of kings who had Sanskrit names and were perhaps followers of a syncretistic religion.

Already in the ninth century AD, the Darada state had been able to exert pressure on the Shahis who had transferred their capital to Udabhandā (= Hund) near the Kabul/Indus confluence after the loss of Kabul. But that had apparently been an action in co-ordination with the official policy of Kashmir. Its ruler Samkaravarman (883–902 AD) did not appreciate a new power centre so close to the gate of the valley. So he made the strategic error of weakening one of his potential allies in the ongoing contest with the Muslim enemy.

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

An important factor was not yet mentioned, the existence of 'Bolorian Tibet'. Even if Little Palur, then Bolor, 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, who were perhaps mixed hordes of adventurers. The open region is mentioned in the 'Persian Geography' (Minorsky 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 fifteen days' journey long and a fifteen days' journey wide.' (Ibid.)

This Bolorian Tibet must be identical with the former Great Palur, including Baltistan, perhaps Purig and Ladakh as well. If the ethnographic description is not too misleading, we have to acknowledge a considerable reduction of agricultural activities since the days of the Great Palurian 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.

In just that period many high and difficult passes between the Mustagh and the Biafon-la were used for building up a traffic system between the south-western 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). Let me add, that the ongoing melting of the glaciers at the northern fringe of the Tibetan plateau caused a considerable reduction of the areas suitable for agriculture along the upper course of rivers like Raskam, Tiznaf, and Qaraqash. As an example of a country disappearing from the later records we may mention Tumat (Minorsky 1937:259–

69), situated south of Khotan. It was able to feed a Tibetan garrison in the tenth century AD, i.e., it could produce a considerable surplus. As long as villages existed there, caravans with the destination Leh, Khapalu, and Skardu found provision and guides and possibly bridges and skin rafts on their route.

Perhaps the foundation of the joint Little Bolor/Darada state was the reason to look for caravan routes further to the west. Maybe this state, with the Chinese, Tibetan, Kashmiri (under Lalitaditya Muktapida), 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 Khurdadbeh preserved a note that a certain tribe of infidels had the privilege to carry merchandise from Multan across the mountains, even goods which came from China or had China as the final destination (Jafarey 1979: 213–14).

One result of that shifting of routes to the east, including the point of departure for the caravans tracking southwards, was that Khotan could improve its connections with the lands south of the main Karakoram 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. However, 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 seventh 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). From there we learn that the king of Khotan lived in a large state and called himself 'Lord of Turks and Tibetans'. In order to secure his position, one of the kings of Khotan, Vijaya Sangrama, married Hu-ron-ga, a daughter of Hphrom Gesar, the king of the Turks (Francke 1928:152).

From a better evaluation of Tibetan texts and numismatic investigation we know, that Gesar, Kesaro, etc., are renderings of a title which was used by chiefs of Turkish descent as an alternative to the indigenous designations (Humbach 1983, 1987). But in spite of the close and fruitful co-ordination of interests uniting Tibet and Khotan on the level of foreign affairs, the sympathy 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 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 Palur, because the capital of Great Palur certainly was 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 west.

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 Palur (= Baltistan) by the Tibetan empire.

No Patola 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 Patolas ruled their territories for centuries, it is doubtful whether such independent forces existed in the eighth century. It is also 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 events would appear much more realistic if we admitted that the model in the mind of the narrator was the state of affairs between the decline of the Tibetan empire in the early ninth and the end of the tenth century AD, and before Khotan became a Muslim kingdom ruled by Yusuf Qadr Khan. In fact, we find an encoded description of the conditions transforming former Great Palur into Bolorian Tibet, a country, which might have been ruled as a dependency of Khotan for a while. 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 gold washing 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 and 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 south-eastern Tibet (Thomas 1935:I, 151-2). This association is based on local folklore and is used for the localisation of a famous legend in the area. It forms part of the 'Inquiry'. We are told that 500 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 man-devouring *rākṣasīs*. The 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-sha. 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 event had puzzled Thomas and his readers. When Hu-sha appeared in her demonic shape with skins as clothes, she had no ears; they had been cut off. This observation saved the *bodhisattva*. Thomas tried his best to prove that the animal with the small east had to 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 harmless animal. An animal definitely considered as demonic and fitting to 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 1977:124–7).

This digression was necessary because the legend of origin composed for the Tarakhane dynasty, which died out in the early nineteenth century AD in Gilgit, but ruled by sidelines of the family in Hunza and Nager until recently, includes among other motifs, some of which are quite decent and honourable with clear loans from literary traditions, other with mythical elements, that the founder came from Baltistan. *Tarakhan* is a local variation of Turkish *tarqan* (pl. *tarqat*), Mongolian *darhat*, *darqan* (pl. *darhat*), *darqat* (Vladimirtsov 1948:151), signifying a man who had attained his position by his own bravery. According to Alföldy (1932), the original meaning was ‘blacksmith’ 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 wood carvers etc.

There is no argument against the inevitable conclusion, that the ancestor belonged to the wave of Turkish, and Tibetan,

warriors crossing the passes of the Karakoram 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 the 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) based on the notes collected by Lorimer:

Two princes of Persia, named Abul Faiz and 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. (Ibid.:290)

However, this prelude to the genealogy which allowed the late Shah Rais Khan to make the claim of Kayanidic origin of his ancestor 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 earlier 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 large parts of the Buddhist traditions. Included in the 'Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā' it reappears in the 'Genealogical account':

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. (Ibid.:290–1).

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

The following story can be explained as pertaining to the Turkish string in this weave. As legitimization 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 Shahis 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 (Kljaštornyj 1980:160). Besides, it is said that Azur Shamsheer, a descendant of the Shigar dynasty, succeeded in deposing and killing Shiri Badat, the last indigenous king of Gilgit. Shiri Badat had inherited the areas of Rondu, Haramosh, and Chamugarh from his father, i.e., the lands north of the rivers Gilgit and Indus on both sides of the confluence. This zone had always maintained close connection with Baltistan. Therefore, the successor of the exiled Patola ruler documented his presence and power in this area by the Danyor inscription.

Further Prospects

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 dissension 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 'Rājatarāṅgiṅī' (i.e., before 1148–50 AD) the Daradas together with their barbarian allies appear as a dangerous and adventurous power (Saxena 1974:268; Stein 1900, II:218–19). No stories of this kind are told in the work of Jonaraja (cf. Dutt 1898). I tried to explain the difference by assuming that the united Bolor/Darada state under kings who had Sanskrit names had been dissolved in the meantime and the fragments no longer had the strength to undertake risky inroads.

That would mean that the accession of the Tarakhane took place in the thirteenth century AD, a rather conservative estimation not too different from the dates proposed by Biddulph⁹ or Hashmatullah Khan¹⁰ for the ruler who married the daughter of the murdered tyrant Shiri Badat. 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 Darada state reinforced by the resources of Bolor 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 transmigrations became attractive for settlers, especially among those who were not on good terms with the new dynasty. This situation is reflected in the songs of the Bono-na festival, collected by Francke for the first time (1905:98–9). More material including my own observations was presented by Vohra (1989).

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 Darada kingdom. Relations with the political centre in the Kishanganga valley, however, were rather relaxed; actually, it was a distant place of exile.

Better political integration was attained when Bolor and Daraddesha were united under one sovereign. Chilas became one of the main towns of the larger state. Monasteries are not mentioned at Shilathasa (= Chilas) in the 'Saka Itinerary'—certainly not accidentally. Petroglyphs which I discovered nearby, at Hodar, show the defenders of the stupa (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 Biruni by the name of 'Shamil' (Said 1989:203). Biruni distinguished between the mountains of Bolor and those of Shamilan confirming the political difference geographically (Belenickij 1963:212). Strangely enough, he learnt, as late as in the eleventh century AD, of an 'Idol of Shamil'. But this hardly was the gilded statue of Maitreya, carved from a huge 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 conditions for mounted warfare. The passes of the Shamilan range are not high, but due to heavy snowfall they are closed for many months every year. The mountains and valleys of Indus-Kohistan, like a natural fortress, 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 spread 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 the Tarakhane. 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 seventeenth century AD.

At present, the best approach to a chronological charter of migration is the analysis of the settlement patterns. The goat breeding immigrants from the south (Pakhli?) preferred strongholds on the top of the mountains, integrated into a network to temporary habitations. The population who had embraced Islam was ordered to construct village fortresses. The mosque lavishly decorated with wood carvings was close to the place for public gathering.

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 the 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.

NOTES

1. It was printed and translated into German by W. Fuchs (1939).
2. Beckwith (1987) writes 'Ma-lai-hsi'.
3. Beckwith renders it in a more realistic way than Bacot/Thomas/Toussaint (1940–6:50) did.
4. Beckwith (1987:123) writes 'Su-shih-li-chih'.
5. Notes of this kind occur for the years 748 AD (p. 80), 752 AD (p. 85), 753 AD (p. 86), and 755 AD (p. 93).
6. Printed by Lévi (1932).
7. A revised version is published as chapter 7 of this book.
8. Personal communication of G. Buddruss.
9. He suggested the fourteenth century AD (1880:134).
10. He proposed 1120–60 AD (1987:758).

The Gilgit Manuscripts Discovery by Instalments

In summer 1980, a grant by the German Research Foundation enabled me to continue scientific activities that had already started in late autumn 1979.¹ Thanks to the effective help of the German Embassy at Islamabad and the good will of the Pakistani authorities my endeavours as well as those of Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani had meanwhile led to the establishment of the 'Pak-German Study Group for Anthropological Research in the Northern Areas.'

Within the framework of this study group several German scholars came to Pakistan during summer 1980, the ethnologist Prof Dr Irmtraud Stellrecht to Hunza, the linguists Prof Dr Georg Buddruss to Gilgit, Professor Dr Klaus Sagaster and Dr Renate Söhnen-Thieme to Baltistan. Under the guidance of Dr Volker Thewalt, a team sent by the German Archaeological Institute was capable of completely recording the petroglyphs and inscriptions at Hunza-Haldeikish. I myself took part in both, the ethnological and the archaeological projects. The counterparts on the Pakistani side were Director Mr Uxi Mufti from the National Institute of Folk Heritage and Mr Mian Said Qamar from the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, Karachi. Prof A.H. Dani was the co-ordinator of the participants from Pakistan. At Hunza-Haldeikish he started reading and translating the inscriptions on the spot. Dr Adam Nayyar, then my student at Heidelberg University, accompanied me. He independently continued the studies in Astor which I had started myself in

* This chapter is a revised version of the article 'The Gilgit Manuscripts: discovery by instalments' (Jettmar 1981).

1979 and published his results in his Ph.D. thesis at Heidelberg University (Nayyar 1986). This joint undertaking brought cultural and historical research in Northern Pakistan into a new phase with high intensity and interdisciplinary co-operation.

The information gathered by me during the journey between 23 July and 8 October 1980 is supplementary to the material collected by the other participants. The members of the expedition were lucky enough to stay at one and the same place for a longer period, whilst I had to move around due to my obligations for co-ordination and contacting the Pakistani authorities. My responsibilities were still increased when we were joined by a German television team.

To give an idea of the rather strange circumstances accompanying the excavation of the documents known under the name 'Gilgit Manuscripts', which form an integral part of the cultural heritage of the area, I want to describe my observations which directly concern the studies of my colleague Oskar von Hinüber, to whom I am indebted, too, for much important information.

Already the first reports on the newly discovered Gilgit Manuscripts showed the relevance of this unique material for Buddhology as well as for local history (Lévi 1932:25ff).² But this material will only be of any use for the neighbouring disciplines, if it is collected and completely interpreted; it is now widely scattered and dispersed in manifold publications.³ O. v. Hinüber has invested a lot of labour and acumen into the said task. He succeeded in establishing the name of the kings of the local dynasty, the Patola Shahis, of their consorts, their dignitaries, and of a great number of scribes and devotees.

Chakravarti (1953-4:231) had already recognized that one of the kings named in the colophons of the Buddhist manuscripts occurs in the Hatun inscription as well. This inscription was written in the year 47 of an unspecified era. Another king of the same dynasty is named in the inscription of the so-called 'Kashmiri bronze statuette' which was published by P. Pal (1975:108,no.31).⁴ According to the complete translation of the inscription, kindly communicated to me by Pal, this beautiful

piece is dated in the year 90—presumably of the same unspecified era.

Meanwhile v.Hinüber has recognized the name of another king on the rubber cast of the inscription at Danyor, which I already saw in 1958 as participant of an Austrian mountaineering expedition. The name Jayamangalavikramadityanandi and the year 6 are mentioned.⁵ V.Hinüber tried to fix absolute dates for the inscriptions and for the kings mentioned. Palaeography gave first indications. Further v.Hinüber determined the sequence of kings under the assumption that the titles of the kings became more and more pretentious. This may not necessarily be so, because a partition of the kingdom took place which I had identified as Bolor, a state mentioned in Chinese and Muslim sources (Jettmar 1977a:425–8). Besides that v.Hinüber thinks that a system of constructing the names of the kings, combining an element of the mother's name with another derived from the father's, which is quite well known from Kashmir, is also used in Gilgit. He also accepts Chakravarti's assumption of the dates given for the Laukika era which is well testified for Kashmir.⁶ Considering all the above mentioned criteria, v.Hinüber suggests for:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| • the Hatun inscription | 671/72 AD |
| • the Kashmiri bronze statuette | 714/15 AD |
| • the Danyor inscription | 730/31 AD |

as absolute dates.

In case these chronological statements are correct, all dated monuments belong to the period prior to the warlike events about the middle of the eighth century AD, i.e., before the invasion of the Tibetans and the Chinese intervention.⁷ V.Hinüber even assumes that the Patola dynasty was replaced by newcomers. Concerning the colophons of the Gilgit Manuscripts he arrives at a very similar conclusion. This assumption in turn would have consequences for the chronology of the petroglyphs which are often combined with inscriptions. These inscriptions can be connected with the colophons by the pious

formulas used and by palaeographical comparison. In this case it turns out that except some Tibetan inscriptions and stupa drawings discovered by Stein⁸ (1928:45–6, fig. 46) and myself (1975:297)⁹ there are neither monuments nor remains from the phase after the Tibetan conquest. The dating of the covers of the Gilgit Manuscripts¹⁰ and some rock reliefs, the well-known one near Naupur (Stein 1907:17–19), and three more on a monolith near the village Bubur (cf. Jettmar 1989) is still disputed.

It is, therefore, quite possible that the Buddhist activities were drastically reduced after the loss of independence. Such a development in the middle of the ninth century would explain the observations of the palaeographers v.Hinüber and Fussman.¹¹ In Khotan a similar discontinuity occurred in 790 AD, when the Tibetan domination was at its peak. The alternative hypothesis upheld by me in 1977 (1977a:427)¹² includes the assumption that such a change occurred only much later, perhaps in the eleventh century. Till then the local dynasty and the monasteries protected by it might have survived, although for a while under Tibetan overlordship. The fact that the above-mentioned Kashmiri bronze, dedicated by one of the Patola Shahis, was originally put in the late eighth or even in the ninth century AD by Pal (1975), a date also accepted by the archaeologist H. Haertel, would be in favour of such a solution (personal communication).

But why, in this case, was a whole library including the texts used for practical regulations in a monastery withdrawn from utilisation by burying it in a stupa? In this connection it is important to re-check the very poor reports concerning the discoveries and also to collect what people still remember of these events.

When publications mention the discovery of manuscripts at 'Naupur near Gilgit' (v.Hinüber 1979:13; 1980:49), indicating that 'Naupur Manuscripts' would be a more correct quotation, this is based on a geographical misunderstanding. Gilgit originally got its water from three rivulets, the Jutial Gah, the Barmas Gah, and the Shuko or Naupur Gah. To each of these rivulets

belonged an irrigation oasis and the corresponding settlement.¹³ Only under the reign of the legendary queen Dadi Juvari three notables from Darel are said to have built the long canals. The canals drained the waters of the Kar Gah too, and in this way a continuous agricultural zone came into existence. It is said that as a reward for their initiative they received the Khanbari valley, east of Darel.

Naupur is a village situated on the largest of the three original rivulets, it was much more important before the construction of the long canals. Today it consists of 110 houses and is mainly inhabited by Yeshkuns, who are said to be the primordial inhabitants, and by Shins. It is not an outpost but an integral part of Gilgit, though at present it is cut off from the traffic because of its position on the edge of a terrace some eighty meters above the bottom of the valley. The men of Naupur were privileged in the assembly of the Gilgit inhabitants. They were called 'Amsari-mir'.¹⁴ These privileges are explained by the fact that the old palace was situated near Naupur. A not too spacious area covered with quarry-stones is said to show the remains of the castle. According to the tradition this was the residence of Shiri Badat (Mock 1998). Tales of Shiri Badat are to be found in many places, but here a purely local tradition also exists. Residing at Naupur, long before Shiri Badat, was another king, Saiphur Shah, who ruled over the valleys of the present Gilgit Agency. He was succeeded by his son Naupur Shah, from whom the name of the village is derived. Thus is the oral tradition in spite of the very simple etymology.

A path high above the valley of the Shuko Gah, leading to the main range of the Gilgit-Karakoram, is interpreted as the old escape route for the ruler in case of a sudden attack. The villagers had, as a closer place of retreat, a strongly inclined waterless plateau on which some stone walls can be seen from a distance. Here was the place of defence, if the Hunzakuts or the rulers of Yasin threatened Gilgit. The plateau is carved out from the mountain slope by the Shuko Gah and the Kar Gah, causing vertical cliffs on both sides; even from the top, it can only be reached with great difficulties. One single narrow path leads up

to the plateau. Its frontal portion ends in a precipice and within this the relief of a standing Buddha is to be seen, which has been depicted several times (Stein 1907:18–19).¹⁵ It is situated high in perpendicular or even overhanging rock, and that is the reason why it was never damaged or destroyed. However, it was also feared because it was looked at as a female demon banished into the stone. Her sacrificial place, a big boulder, was situated on the other side of the rivulet above the hamlet of Basin (Jettmar 1975:244).

Surrounding it is a small chain of hillocks, highly important and sanctified by many events, situated above Naupur not far from the edge of a plateau steeply sloping down to Basin. The hillocks are crowned by heaps of debris, over and over again searched through—the ruins of the famous stupas.

According to the information I gathered at Naupur on 21 August and 15 September 1980, and taking into account that a long time has elapsed since the private (1931) and official (1938) diggings, it is not astonishing to find the story of the discovery being handed down in several different versions. Already the information gathered by Sir Aurel Stein and laid down by him in publications and in his diary (cf. v.Hinüber 1982, n.2) were by no means homogenous. Today many informants as well as my host Mr Shiyat Khan say, that the plateau on which the stupas were situated was the village pasture for cows in spite of the meagre growth of grass in this area in earlier times. Every day two houses had to send one herdsman each. One of these cowherds started digging the earth of one of the elevations. At first he found 'earth rupies', i.e., coin-like little clay tablets with a kind of stamping on one side. Subsequently he reached down to wooden beams. The cowherd became afraid thinking he had touched a grave. So he filled up the hole, but spoke of his findings in the village. The villagers discussed the matter and agreed not to investigate further. However, one of them did not uphold the agreement as he hoped to find some buried treasure. Very early in the morning he left his house and later on returned with a wooden chest. One of the villagers told me that his father was present when the chest was opened, but it contained just

books. With deep disappointment the finding was announced to the authorities and the chest was delivered to them. Afterwards the police prohibited further digging at the site.

This fits exactly with Sir Aurel Stein's statement of having seen a wooden chest containing the precious manuscripts at the Tahsildar's office in 1931 (Mirsky 1977:569). He succeeded in buying some leaves which were still in the possession of the villagers. Thus he prevented their dispersal and saved them for scientific research.

On 31 August 1980, I was informed of still another tradition by a peasant who had some knowledge of the place and accompanied us to the site. According to him it was common practice, before the arrival of the archaeologists, to dig in one of the stupas for strips of birch-bark—this is what the manuscript leaves look like—in order to use them for covering the roofs of the houses. The villagers could see quite well that there was some faint writing on the leaves, but nobody was able to read the lines. After being submerged in water, the writing at first became more legible, but later on faded away. Only after some time the villagers came to know of the selling value of these finds. This story sounds somewhat incredible but certainly contains realistic elements. Until shortly birch-bark, i.e., bast, was used for writing purposes, mainly in the preparation of amulets. The vertical lines which are visible on the surface are understood as *Aleph*, an abbreviation of the name of God, and this makes birch-bark holy material. On the other hand birch-bark was really used for tightening the flat roofs. Even today it is highly useful for packing purposes.

Mr Abdul Hamid Khawar, a local scholar who for many years had been intending to write a big volume on the history of Dardistan, told me that the officials of Gilgit kept some manuscripts under their vigilance which were brought to Srinagar later on. At the end of the war these manuscripts were transferred to Bunji, the main garrison of the Kashmiri troops, where they were thought to be in safe custody. Mr Khawar was afraid that they might have been destroyed or plundered when Bunji came under control of the freedom fighters.

This information is doubtful, too, but it could explain how quite a number of manuscripts came into the possession of Captain Agha Mohammad Shah at Lahore, from whom G. Tucci bought them 'after bargaining long and strenuously' (cf. v.Hinüber 1979:334). Mr Khawar himself thought that these manuscripts were discovered after the year 1938. In my opinion this cannot be correct, the official excavator had been too radical in turning the stupa ruins upside down.

Before giving the information obtained from the villagers concerning the 1938 excavations, I shall try to analyse the excavation report that was published in 1939. This report settles many points—but surely much information has been passed over in silence.

The archaeologist Kaul Shastri, who worked at Srinagar, pointed out that already in 1931 he had asked for the permission to go to Gilgit in order to carry out excavation (Shastri 1939:1). Plans of the mounds had been prepared for him. But only on 4 August 1938 the Prime Minister gave him the strict order to proceed immediately to Gilgit together with a photographer, a clerk, and two assistants. On 5 August the journey which took fourteen days began and excessive hardships are mentioned in the report. Here the question rises why there was such a sudden urgency after several years of hesitation. It is not unlikely that some objects or simply information had reached Srinagar giving rise to the presumption that far more could be found at that site. Whatever might have caused the alarm remains unmentioned. The most harmless explanation would be the plan to surprise the local British authorities. At Gilgit, after only one day of rest, the excavations started and were carried on for just one week, from 20–29 August. Immediately the excavations concentrated on mound C which had been scratched by the herdsmen in 1931 during their search for wood. The following passages in the report are relevant:

On excavation it appeared to be a stone edifice of three storeys and roundish in form, twenty-two feet in height with mud plaster inside and sloping externally up to the top. Its circumference measured

internally fifty feet. To strengthen the wall of the edifice and to support the roof on the top, woodwork was used. It consisted of:

16 uprights built by twos at varying intervals with the wall,
1 beam 17 feet long and 18 inches both in thickness and breadth with the two ends fixed in the wall diametrically,
4 couples of uprights fixed between the stones in basement storey 2 feet away from the wall in the inside at irregular intervals,
5 uprights standing in the centre on the diametrical beam with cross at the bottom fixed with the 4 couples mentioned above. (Shastri 1939:2-3)

Discussion

Mound C was situated in a line with a number of similar but definitely smaller ruins of monuments. The diameter of these monuments was only five to six feet, the height ten feet (Shastri 1939:3). The height of mound C was twenty-two feet and the inner diameter must have been at least the same, as calculated from the given circumference (fifty feet) of the inner chamber. This nearly equals the length of the diametrical beam within the enclosed room which is given as seventeen feet. The said dimensions are confirmed by the photographs which I could still take in 1958. Nowadays only a depression filled with stones is to be seen. Into the inner wall that was covered by mud-plaster, supports were inserted. In 1958 it was still quite clearly discernible where they had been placed. In the centre there had been five poles; obviously they were placed on a cruciform plan.¹⁶

Between the above mentioned post and the wall the double-posts were situated. It is possible that this construction was intended to prevent the sidewalls from breaking. This could also explain the function of the heavy diametrical beam which is to be seen in figure 1424 of Shastri's publication (Shastri 1939). Thus an unperceptible inner room was created, just fit to fulfil the needs for depot purposes. The inner height must have measured at least three meters. This is the height of the mud-

covered walls in the photograph I took in 1958. Any entrance from outside was not to be seen within this height of the walls. So, there are no indications that the hollow stupa could be entered after the completion of the edifice.

The main purpose of the pole must have been to carry a massive wooden ceiling. But in the report we do not find a ceiling mentioned. This leads us to the conclusion that the ceiling must have disappeared before the excavation was started. The photographs I took in 1958 show the reason for that. At that time even the complete wooden structure had been carried away. The building had been dismantled meanwhile and the presumably well-preserved wooden beams had been re-used, maybe as firewood, maybe (even) for building purposes.¹⁷ This is exactly what must have happened to the wooden ceiling before 1938. We remember that an endeavour to get hold of wood within easy reach had already been the motivation for the illegal digging activities in 1931. But that can be only half the truth.

Again I studied the information sent by M. Hackin from Misgar in a letter to his friend M. Sylvain Lévi, dated 8 August 1931, who published the information (Lévi 1932:24–5). First there is an erroneous indication about the site.¹⁸ Then it is stated that the quadrangular substructure of the big stupa measured 6.60 m at the base on each of the sides. The second level of the monument recessed by 60 cm, 'Le double soubassement carré du stupa principe (C) mesure 6 m. 60 de côte à la base; le second est retrait de 0 m. 60 par rapport au premier.' The exact height of the two-storied structure is not given; we just learn that the estimated height of the whole edifice including the dome which had already been destroyed at the time must have been somewhere between twelve to fifteen meters. But then it is stated that the wall of the inner chamber had a thickness of 1.80 m and the circumference of the chamber, measured internally, was about 7.50 m, i.e., not even twenty-five feet. These measures are in clear contradiction to Shastri's information that the circumference of the roundish chamber was fifty feet (one foot = 0.305 m making it 15 m).¹⁹ It is simply not possible that Shastri was mistaken in his measurements. My

own photographs vouch for a diameter of the chamber of about five meters. If the chamber had a circumference of fifty feet this would give us the diameter as 4.85 m. This fits very well.

So the question is whether Hackin was misled, for example, by giving the radius (2.40 m) instead of the diameter. Here it should be noted that Hackin describes the wooden construction quite differently. He only talks about five poles in the centre, 'Le centre est occupé par les fragments de cinq poteaux de bois, le cinquième étant entouré par les quatre autres' (Lévi 1932:124–25). That means, that he does not give information about wooden posts within the walls nor about the four double-posts. Additionally, in Shastri's photographs nothing is to be recognized that could justify the expression 'fragments'. In my opinion the meaning can only be that here we find the description of two distinctly different chambers, situated one on top of the other. They correspond to the two different storeys which were composing the lower portion of the edifice.

Hackin had entered the upper roundish chamber which was much smaller and in fact only had a diameter of 2.40 m. Because of the small dimensions this upper room did not need any supporting structure. It was here that the chest containing the manuscripts was found in 1931. The information that the walls had a thickness of 1.80 m must be connected with this upper storey. The addition of all the measurements, i.e., 1.80 m (wall) + 2.40 m (chamber) + 1.80 m (wall) does not give 6.60 m but only six meters. On the other hand the measurements given by Shastri are related with the lower storey. Here another round chamber was found. In the middle portion of each side of the walls the thickness decreased, but there was an additional supporting wooden structure to strengthen the construction. Between 1931 and 1938 this lower chamber must have been opened and the wooden ceiling removed. In the course of these diggings the walls of the upper storey collapsed completely so that Shastri had the impression that only this lower chamber had existed. During the destruction of the ceiling, mud and stones had fallen down into the lower chamber. Presumably the second storey had a clay floor; in any case the villagers would

have continued to search for wood. Within this rubbish the bundles of manuscripts which were later on found by Shastri were hidden.

However, we are told that the four manuscripts and the two incomplete bundles of leaves found during the excavation in 1938, were not from within the inner chamber. We learn from Shastri's report (Shastri 1939:3-9) that manuscript no. 1 was found 'below the central poles in a depth of 7 feet,' manuscript no. 2 'below the junction of the cross with the outer central pole in the south' in 7 feet 9 inches depth. But the illustrations no. 1424 and 1424a do show one manuscript in front of one of the poles which were inserted into the wall; another manuscript is lying by the side of the central poles (1424a). Beside this lies a stupa model, with the base facing upwards. On the same spot, but still deeper, manuscript no. 3 was found, as the report states. No information at all is given about the position where manuscript no. 4 has been discovered. The details concerning the loose bundles of manuscript leaves are confused as well. If the above cited information is correct, the question still is open as to what happened to the manuscripts lying not below but inside the lower chamber. It is quite unlikely that this chamber, much larger than the other one, should have been completely empty.

Indeed, the information on the find spots could be wrong as well. We heard that during the destruction of the ceiling, mud and stones fell into the lower chamber. That could give the impression of the manuscripts having been found below the floor of the chamber. Unfortunately there is no indication of the level giving the reference for the measurements of the depth of 7 feet or 7 feet 9 inches. The wooden poles must have had a greater length. Could it be possible that the manuscripts were found near the lower end of the poles? This would be the conclusion from Shastri's photographs.

Archaeologists will be highly surprised by the hasty progress of the excavation. One more day was spent with an excursion to the stupa at Henzal. There a trial trench was dug within just a few hours, comprehensively, without any result. On another day

some photographs were taken of the well-known relief above the Kar Gah valley. Already on 30 August the journey back to Srinagar began.

The comments of the villagers on these events are as follows: The British Agent and his assistants were highly indignant and very suspicious about all these excavation activities. Their mistrust was not at all unfounded, it is said, because within the stupas a big pot and some wooden chests containing 'precious objects' were found, and these things were not shown to the British officials. This is a quite customary suspicion in the Gilgit Agency. It is always presumed that somebody who has found something would embezzle the best part of it. Anyhow, they demanded the excavations to be stopped and are said to have become very loud while expressing their demand. In fact, Kaul Shastri himself must have had the impression that the officials did not estimate him highly. Thus he informed us that 'The officers of the British Agency, Gilgit, used to visit the site and inspect the work very minutely' (Shastri 1939:4). So his reports were somewhat apologetic. One of the photographs shows him standing between two British officers, and the expression on his face is rather revealing. According to the explicit demand of the inspecting officers the finds were displayed on the table. In this respect one has to consider the very intricate competencies. Since 26 May 1935, the civil and military administration of Gilgit had been leased to the British government for sixty years (Hassnain 1978:145). This conveyance of competencies presumably explains the transfer of the rhyton from Imit, described by Sir Aurel Stein, to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Jettmar 1979b:923-5).

By the way, Shastri's report does give information concerning the three deposits hidden in the other stupas. Their contents, by no means a treasure, are minutely described.

I asked myself whether there might have been more important finds in the following stupa, before or during the excavation. This could be first of all the Kashmiri bronze published by Pal under the number 21 (Pal 1975:108). In the inscription, Nandivikramaditya, a king of the Patola Shahi dynasty, is said to be

the donor. It is highly plausible that this bronze came from Gilgit or the Gilgit area. But how could it fall into the private collection of the Maharaja or into the possession of one of his officials? Sources from which the Americans built up the Pan-Asian Collection, among others. Pal states, 'In 1948 the then Maharaja of Kashmir abdicated his throne and retired to Bombay. Soon thereafter a group of bronzes appeared on the art market...' (Pal 1975:9). The arrival of such a bronze statuette at Srinagar might explain why Kaul Shastri was sent to Gilgit so abruptly. Contrary to the suspicions of my friends at Gilgit I do not believe in the possibility that this bronze or similar pieces came from the regular excavation of the stupas at Naupur in 1938 and ended up in the private collection of the ruler or his Prime Minister instead of the museum. It should be mentioned that miniature stupas, like the ones Shastri found at different places, are being discovered till today.²⁰ Often children break them into pieces to get hold of the 'clay coins' for their games. Further on, even by scratching the ground in the vicinity of the stupas sometimes Buddhist amulets are to be found. My visit on 30 August 1980 started such a search and it proved successful. The find spot was fifteen meters off the stupas. It is quite possible that the amulet was embedded within the waste of earlier diggings. The newly found piece was handed over to the Department of Archaeology, Karachi. Therefore, much concerning the circumstances of the discovery of the Gilgit Manuscripts remains puzzling. Sometimes one gets the feeling of not being an archaeologist but a kind of detective. The following points are quite evident:

- Only one of the stupas contained all the important manuscripts. This 'hollow stupa' was arranged in a line of stupas situated on top of a low ridge. As this stupa was bigger and more spacious than the others, it is not plausible that it was inserted at a later date. Evidently, one or two edifices depending on the question where the row was initiated, have been erected after the completion of the great stupa. The other stupas have nothing extraordinary. The huge container

in form of a hollow stupa seems very strange to all indologists I consulted. Maybe we must assume a Central Asian derivation for this monument.

- The stupa contained two superimposed chambers which were robbed at different times. Their groundplans and the lack of decoration contradict the assumption that they were intended for religious ceremonies. But on the other hand these two chambers were fit to keep a library in safe custody. According to the observations in 1931, 1938, and 1958 no lateral access existed. The library must have been deposited during the erection of the monument in two steps.
- Eventually, the manuscripts discovered in 1938 form the rest of the contents of the lower chamber. Reports concerning the opening of the said lower chamber might have reached Kashmir and thus have caused the abrupt excavation.
- One decisive point is the fact that the deposition of the library cannot be connected with an acute political crisis sometime in the middle of the eighth century. If there had been any need for concealment of religious objects the builders of the edifice would not have engaged in a complicated wooden construction.

Whether the deviant dates of art historians for the wooden book covers mean a much later date for the building, or only the final closure of the huge 'container stupa', is still open to question. The last pair of book covers which is badly illustrated (Shastri 1939:plates no. 1433, 1436) has to be included into the deliberation. The sun-dried bricks of the mounds A, B, and D, showing rows of Buddhas together with disciples and stupa (ibid:plates no. 1422, 1435) have to be analyzed and dated.

Only when such points are cleared up we may reconsider the question which political and/or religious change did cause the final deposition of the manuscripts in the great hollow stupa at Naupur. It is quite possible that at the time when the Saka Itinerary was written, the texts brought from Great Bolor by the

last Patola Shahi already were incomprehensible and, therefore, translated into 'Concealed Books' (gTer-ston) in an official act.

NOTES

1. Out of the manifold results of the 1979 expedition the discovery of petroglyphs along the Karakoram Highway is to be stressed.
2. Lévi expresses the up-to-now not confirmed supposition that the names of the donors are of Turkish origin. From this supposition the daring theory is deduced that Gilgit was incorporated into the empire of the Turks at the beginning of the seventh century AD.
3. See, v.Hinüber (1979, 1980, 1981, 1982); further contributions Mette (1981), Tripathi (1981).
4. The inscription is only partly rendered.
5. Letter of Prangopal Pal dated 19 June 1980. I informed Prof. v.Hinüber of its contents.
6. Pal (1975) assumed the same date. He considered that the Patola Shahis could not have manifested their sovereignty in such an impressive way after the accession of Lalitaditya.
7. We have to ask why the Laukika era should have been used in an area not belonging to Kashmir proper and reigned by kings who highly esteemed their independence. Besides that there was a king ruling in the period when the Danyor inscription was written who is called 'Nan-ni' by the Chinese. Nan-ni cannot be identical with Jayamangalavikramadityanandi. The contemporaneous kings of Great Bolor have different names. My own assumption (1980c:118f) had to be changed in that case.
8. Near the Darkot pass.
9. The inscription was published by v.Hinüber (1987).
10. Banerjee (1969:117) believes that the book covers are from the ninth century AD or even later. Williams (1973:148) thinks that this is a statement 'without clear reason' and pleads for the seventh or eighth century. That would be quite in accordance with what v.Hinüber says of the contents of the book covers. Director Haertel, however, assured me that the position of Banerjee must be correct (personal communication).
11. Fussman even told me that no inscription could be later than the seventh century AD.
12. The Saka Itinerary and the travel report of Ki-ye may be added as arguments (Chavannes 1904:77-88).
13. The information of the Saka Itinerary on Gilgit: 'The kings' residences are there, in four districts' (Bailey 1968:71) possibly means these settlements. The 'district' of the queen—Sonikot—was situated on the Jutial Gah. The fourth district might have been Danyor.

14. Amsar, as the old name for Naupur is already mentioned by Biddulph (1880:109).
15. Buddha is in the pose of *abhayamudra*. Why Namus (1958:84) refers to it as to a 'newly discovered Buddhist monument' remains his secret.
16. The central post either must be identical with the shaft carrying the umbrellas and the crowning symbols or it was sort of a basis for that mast.
17. Still today it is common use in the Gilgit area to take the wooden beams out of houses which are left by their owners and to re-use them for constructing new buildings. In this case a heap of quarry-stones remains, very discouraging for any archaeologist concerned with the forms of settlements.
18. According to Hackin the site is situated three miles to the north of Gilgit. Actually, Naupur is the westernmost part of Gilgit.
19. Even the assumption that the chamber was not roundish but square would give just thirty-two feet.
20. A miniature stupa and six clay tablets from Naupur, acquired in 1958, were published by Fussman (1978:5-7).

The Suspended Crossing Where and Why?

The history of the former Han dynasty presents a clear description of the route connecting the southern branch of the Silk Roads in the Tarim basin with the north-western corner of the South Asian subcontinent, an area called Chi-pin.¹ Thanks to Hulsewé we can refer to a modern and well-documented translation. The text of the relevant passage is:

All cases in which we have sent envoys to escort visitors back have been due to our wish to provide them with defensive protection against the danger of robbery. But starting in the area south of P'i-shan, one passes through some four or five states which are not subject to Han. A patrol of some hundred officers and men may divide the night into five watches and, striking their cooking pots (to mark the hours) so keep guard, but there are still occasions when they will be subject to attack and robbery. For asses, stock animals and transported provisions, they depend on supplies from the various states to maintain themselves. But some of the states may be poor or small and unable to provide supplies, and some may be refractory and unwilling to do so. So our envoys clasp the emblems of mighty Han and starve to death in the hills and valleys. They may beg, but there is nothing for them to get, and after ten or twenty days man and beast lie abandoned in the wastes never to return. In addition, they pass over the ranges (known as the hills of the) Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of the Body. These cause a man to suffer fever; he has no colour, his head aches and he vomits; asses and stock

* This chapter is a slightly revised version of the article printed in 'India and the Ancient World: Prof. P.H.L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume presented on the occasion of his 70th Birthday' (Jettmar 1987a).

animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes, with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forward for a length of thirty *li*, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travellers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than two thousand *li* do they reach the Suspended Crossing. When animals fall, before they have dropped half-way down the chasm they are shattered in pieces, and when men fall, the situation is such that they are unable to rescue one another. The danger of these precipices beggars description. (Hulsewé 1979:110–11)²

In the recent edition of Herrmann's historical atlas of China, the 'Hanging Passages' (an alternative translation of 'Suspended Crossings') are identified with the Hunza valley and the Khunjerab pass (Herrmann 1935: map 16). The argument is based on the experience of modern travellers who found the most difficult mountain paths there. Moreover, the starting point of the ancient Chinese envoys was rather far to the east, at P'i-shan, between Karghalik and Khotan, so we may imagine a track like that preferred by the famous robbers from Hunza—via Shimshal, Raskam, and the Yarkand valley.

Another possibility certainly is the proposal that the Suspended Crossings/Hanging Passages were in fact nothing else than the gorges of the Indus starting a few miles west of the modern village Sazin, the region where the Indus turns southwards to break through the last barrier of mountains before reaching the plains.

The famous monk Faxian travelling in the beginning of the fifth century AD, certainly considered these gorges as the most difficult part of his route (Legge 1886:26). According to his description the wanderer is walking 'along a hill-like wall of rock, 10,000 cubits from the base', i.e., the Indus. After crossing the river there is only a short way to Udyana, i.e., Swat. In his analysis of the Shui-ching-chu, Petech very carefully examined the arguments (Petech 1950:16–9). Obviously impressed by the opinions of Sven Hedin and Herrmann he conceded that Faxian certainly had the gorges of the Indus in his mind, though the

earlier sources might indicate a more northern hindrance. Petech identified the 'plain' which—according to Kuo I-kung³—is reached soon after the Crossing with the valley of the Gilgit river.

In the meantime Sir Aurel Stein as the first European had experienced and described the route through the gorges. In one of his last articles he quotes the description of Faxian and even mentions the report from the Han period (Stein 1942:49, 55). Stein was convinced that the Suspended Crossing that he called the 'route of the hanging chains', was there and nowhere else. In fact, his description is convincing, and my friend Brigadier Jan, the man who devoted years of his life to the task of exploring Indus-Kohistan and re-organising its economy, told me almost the same thing. Aurel Stein wrote:

Our progress down the Indus during the next few weeks showed only too clearly what was meant by Fa-hsien's reference to those many 'rock steps', as the translation puts it. On all the eleven trying marches which took us down to where we turned off from the Indus to follow the route up the Ghorband valley to Swat, there was daily a constant succession of tiring ascents to be made. The track climbs up steeply ridge after ridge, each rising sometimes as much as 1000 feet or more above the river, in order to avoid impassable cliffs. From the heights thus gained there were invariable descents, often quite as tiring, to be made again towards the river. Nowhere was it possible for any distance near to the river bank since masses of huge boulders line it wherever the river does not actually wash the foot of impassable rock walls. I have not counted all the climbs, but they must have been still more numerous before the recent track was constructed. When this was being made the men had often to be suspended from pegs while they were at work boring holes to blast the rock or to fix in fissures the tree branches which were to support galleries. (Stein 1942:55)

One point in his argument irritated me in a way, that I was rather inclined to accept the more vague solution of Petech. Stein suggested that coming from the north the traveller was forced to ascent a high pass either the Kilik (4,755 m) or the

Mintaka (4,629 m) or the Shimshal (4,787 m) and to march through the difficult Hunza valley. A roundabout track via the Mustagh pass in the east or via the Karumbar valley in the west would have been by no means easier. Only the long detour leading to the Wakhan and then crossing the Baroghil and the Darkot passes would make some difference. So there was no choice. But why should Chinese envoys and pilgrims have chosen a route skirting the precipices of the Indus valley? Compared with this gorge all passes crossing the ridges in this 35° latitude are completely harmless. The Babusar pass is almost a low promenade (only 4,148 m high) and the approach through the Thor valley is also without problems. It did not make any sense to me that an extremely tiring and dangerous passage was preferred to traverses which are perfectly fit for horses.

In the meantime I learned on the spot that there were very good reasons why the more comfortable passes could not be used and I will try to explain them as concisely as possible.

The best time for travelling through the mountain valleys via the passes north of the 36° latitude was, until recently, late autumn and early winter, before it becomes really cold and snowfall closes the high passes, although never as heavy as farther south. In this season the rivers are already reduced and can be rather easily forded. The raids by the Hunza men robbing caravans in the Tarim basin and on the track to the Karakoram pass were deliberately adapted to this time-table (Müller-Stellrecht 1978:86). As the best illustration of the difference between travelling in summer and in winter we may use the statistical material handed over to the German geographer Professor Haserodt (1984, 1984a) by the WAPDA Lahore, the agency for planning dams and irrigation systems. They indicate that the monthly quantity of water passing the water gauge at Danyor (i.e., the discharge of the Hunza river at its mouth), is exposed to extreme seasonal changes. Here I want to compare the relevant figures only: In 1971 the relation between the defluxion during the travel period (November–January) and the summer maximum between June and September was 1:25. 1972 was a rather moderate year, the winter quantity was surpassed

twenty times in summer, but in 1973 the difference was 1:40. This offers an explanation for the fact that in the Northern Areas of Pakistan normally more people are killed by drowning than by falling from the mountain tracks. Only climber expeditions and jeep traffic have somewhat distorted the statistic evidence.

In the mountains south of the great furrow (Gilgit valley–Rundu–Shyok) the situation is quite different. The area is affected by clouds brought from the south by the winds. Satellite photographs are the best proof. The result is early and heavy snowfall, not as much in the valleys as on the mountains closing the passes.

The range immediately south of the Gilgit valley is impassable for a short period only. The higher ranges to the east and to the west of the southern flank of the Nanga Parbat, however, are blocked by snow for most of the year. In fact, the jeep road via the Babusar pass, now in bad repair and practically out of use, was open only from May/June to August/September. Sudden and dangerous avalanches even threatened pedestrians. As a consequence travellers from the south had to start not later than August. Then they had to stay in the Transhimalayas for three months, and only afterwards they could venture to proceed to the north crossing the rivers, now already at low level, while the passes were still open. The way back needed an expanded interval as well. Starting from the north-western corner of the Tarim basin in November, travellers reached the Indus valley west of the Nanga Parbat in January, where they had to stay until May/June.

Certainly, many travellers accepted the rules of the game. Among them were the foreign artists who lived in local monasteries near Chilas or Shatial for a while. They had plenty of time to produce petroglyphs using the local technique, pecking or engraving the rock, but following the stylistic tradition of their homelands (Jettmar 1980a, 1980b, 1980d, 1982c, 1983a, 1983b).

The prehistoric and early historic migrants, for instance the Saka tribes who brought their cattle with them, certainly appreciated the slow and discontinuous kind of migration. They

had better arms at their disposal than the locals and could acquire provisions if needed. Some of them settled down as lords of the mountains (Jettmar 1994).

Diplomatic missions, merchants, and Buddhist pilgrims had the option to choose a time-saving but dangerous way to shorten the process. They could use the only permanent open connection between the Transhimalayan zone and the south, namely the Suspended Crossing. In this way they could start in October/November and reach their destination area in January. Such journeys were feasible in both directions.

A few of my ethnographic observations may be added. The footpath to the gorges of the Indus was used until the first unmetalled road replaced it at the end of the sixties. When this footpath was used by peddlers coming from the north, they had to leave the bank of the Indus between Shatial and Sazin and climb up to a place near the village of Sazin, approximately 300 meters higher than the bottom of the Indus valley. There a group of stone slabs marked the beginning of the most dangerous part of the track. It was practicable only because tree branches had been fixed in fissures on the rock supporting galleries, steps had been carved out, in many places there were logs with notches to be used as ladders. The Sazinis were in charge of the repair, therefore, they had the right of toll to be paid at the place marked by the *menhirs*. Travellers who tried to avoid the expenses made detours, but were picked up by the youth of the village many times. This was considered as being a kind of sport, as the toll did not much increase after detection. Most of the time, the track climbed up and down through the precipices. Only at Jalkot, at the mouth of two large valleys, the dangerous part of the journey came to an end. Here and in some places farther south, it was possible to cross the Indus. During winter, cliffs in the middle of the river were connected by tree-trunks forming temporary foot bridges. From such places, the track to Swat was not too difficult.

Many of the travellers were peddlers from the south, from Pattan. They made their tour of the north late in the year, when agricultural work was finished and the villagers lived in the

compact settlements situated in the lower parts of the valleys. The peddlers always went on in groups carrying their load in barrows which could be raised or let down by ropes at places where the men had to use the ladders.

The confirmation that the Suspended Crossing was indeed identical to the gorges of the Indus might help us to resolve other problems. Since the Suspended Crossing is so far to the south, Wu-ch'a corresponding to an original Uda was certainly not located somewhere between the Badakhshan and Sarikol (Hulsewé 1979:97–99, 101–104). The text clearly states that it is east of the Suspended Crossing. Only the Kaghan valley, or parts of Azad Kashmir fit into this description. According to the Han-shu it is east of Chi-pin (Hulsewé 1979:99). Now in the 'Records of the Western Lands',⁴ there is an enigmatic note that formerly Ta-li-lo was the seat of the government of Udyana (= Wu-cha'ng). Ta-li-lo is identified with Darel and the adjacent parts of the Indus valley (Watters 1904–5,I:239).

Wu-ch'a and Wu-ch'ang were perhaps not only mixed up by modern authors like Lüders (Petech 1950:18), but also by their ancient predecessors. If Uda was the Kunar valley, also called Kaghan, it might have had a northern capital hidden behind the ranges, well protected against all enemies coming from the west or south. This would make more sense than a political connection with Swat, separated from Darel not by one but by several ridges. I do not dare to suppose an identification of Uda with Odi, the country where vassals of the Kushans ruled and deposited a most important document in the centre of a stupa (Bailey 1980).

NOTES

1. For the attempts to define an exact location see, Petech (1950:63–79) and Pulleyblank (1962:218).
2. There is another remark in the same chapter, also stressing the dangerous character of the place (Hulsewé 1979:99). It is even said that the inhabitants of Chi-pin were quite unable to traverse them (1979:109). But this must be an exaggeration since we also learn that the king of the

Sai and his followers moved south via the Suspended Crossings in order to conquer Chi-Pin (1979:144). So at least the ruling group of this country had been able to face the difficulties of this mountain path.

3. Kuo I-kung wrote an expanded treatise under the Chin dynasty. The full text is lost, but fragments are preserved in a much later work (Petech 1950:6).
4. Translated and interpreted for instance by Watters (1904–5:1, 239).

Exploration in Baltistan

In Baltistan less archaeological monuments are known than in the other districts of the Northern Areas of Pakistan, i.e., Gilgit and Diamir (Jettmar 1977a, 1980d, 1985a; Jettmar/Thewalt 1987; Thewalt 1985). A possible explanation might be that Baltistan is situated just at the gap between the zone crossed by Sir Aurel Stein during his great expeditions to Innermost Asia or visited as late as in 1942 (Stein 1944:16–24). The area was studied by A.H. Francke with great zeal and many assistants recruited from Buddhists converted to Christianity. The members of the 'de Filippi Expedition' (1913–4) were among those few who included Baltistan in their field of research (Biasutti/Dainelli 1925; Dainelli 1925). But their interests concentrated on the splendid wooden mosques and an already famous group of Buddhist monuments at Mantal off the old road to Satpara (Duncan 1906:297–307).

The most comprehensive compilation of the political and religious history of Baltistan is found in the 'Short History of Jammu and Kashmir' written by Hashmatullah Khan (1939:482–675). He was a high official in the service of the Maharaja, posted in the mountain provinces of the state for many years. Apart from genealogies and chronicles of the dynasties which administered Baltistan up to 1842, his text is based on local traditions, sometimes stemming from remote villages. As a top administrator, Hashmatullah Khan had excellent conditions for his research, as the best informants were at his disposal. The

* This chapter being a revised edition of the article 'Exploration in Baltistan' (Jettmar 1990a).

attentive reader of his work will get the impression that the statelets of the area had grown up from the grassroots.

The late Professor Emerson, an American scholar who was in contact with one of the last traditional-minded rulers, put forward a variant of this concept in an article published posthumously (1984:101–5). Emerson assumed that ‘stateless Tibetans’ were organized and ruled by military adventurers who got their legitimization by the protection which they provided to the peaceful agricultural communities.

The local scholar Hashmatullah Khan and the American sociologist Emerson took the local traditions at their face value, as solid support for the argument that during the pre-Islamic period which ended in the fifteenth century AD, Baltistan was a mosaic of independent villages, founded and settled by immigrants who had come late enough to remember their origins. Many of them, supposedly, were refugees coming from the north, either via the Hispar glacier, from Hunza and Nager, or from Khotan after crossing the Mustagh pass, finally descending the Hushe or Saltoro valleys. In any case that meant difficult climbing across the main Karakoram range, across passes between 5,000 to 6,000 m (Vohra 1987:268–71).

In most cases, however, the immigrants came from the west, from Gilgit and Brushal. Chilas is also mentioned. People living there were called ‘Dards’, a term apparently not exclusively taken from European sources (cf. Clarke 1977; Jettmar 1982a). Settlers from the east, from Ladakh, partly from Nubra valley following the Shyok river, are also reported, but surprisingly late. From Kashmir individuals, rather than communities migrated.

So far, nobody was concerned about the evident discrepancy between these oral traditions and what we know from Chinese sources from the first millennium AD referring to the same area. According to the Chinese reports Baltistan must have been the basis of the most prominent power in the Western Himalayas, a state called ‘Pa-lur’ (Chavannes 1903–4:149–54; Pelliot 1959: 91 ff. prefers Balor or Balur). The titles of the rulers reveal that they emulated a standard set up by the Kushana emperors. The

administration, too, was organized according to the same model, Sanskrit was used as official idiom (Chakravarti 1953-4:229-31). The basis must have been a dense sedentary population. There are reasons substantiating the assumption that the areas west of Baltistan, called 'Bru.sha' (Laufer 1908:3),¹ were incorporated and accordingly called 'Little Palur'. Further, we must conclude that the dynasty had an army strong enough for such conquests.

The contradiction between this political situation and the popular traditions describing most of the valleys as unoccupied and without cultivation, could be explained by the hypothesis that the Tibetan conquest in the first half of the eighth century AD—known from Chinese and Tibetan texts—immediately caused the exile of the dynasty, clearly told by the Chinese pilgrim Huei-ch'ao (Fuchs 1939:444), but was followed by the expulsion of substantial parts of the original inhabitants. At least we should reckon with a time of foreign inroads and destructions. A Chinese army invaded Great Palur in 753 AD (Chavannes 1903-4, n.a.:88n). There are arguments for a vacuum filled by immigrants with a clearly different cultural background. The 'Hudūd al-Ālam', a geographical work written in Persian, describes 'Bolorian Tibet' as a land where 'the people are chiefly merchants and live in tents or felt-huts' (Minorsky 1937:93).

Our investigations in 1984 and 1985 provided substantial proofs that in earlier times Baltistan really was part or centre of a Buddhist state. Dr Adam Nayyar, Scientific Director at the National Institute of Folk Heritage, invited our counterpart Director, Mr M.S. Qamar and me to join his team for a short exploratory trip. On the last day of this collaboration, Dr Nayyar received a stimulating information from Mr Abbas Kasmi, a renowned expert on Balti culture. Rock-carvings, perhaps inscriptions, had been seen in Shigar, very close to the former castle of the ruler. The same evening our team started for Shigar, and found the hint to be true. So, after a couple of weeks, the Pak-German Study Group came back to a place where a brook is pouring out of a narrow gorge, the main canals for the whole

oasis are branching off there. On a steep cliff towering the palace, there was the ruler's refuge in case of a sudden assault—a castle provided with a water tank. The peasantry in the neighbourhood had the cumbersome task to keep the basin always filled.

On the other side of the brook, between the steep and rocky slope of the mountain and the fertile land at the flat bottom of the main Shigar valley strewn with hamlets, there is a barren sandy terrace. Only some rocks, apparently fallen down from the mountain slope, are to be seen from below. Using one of the trails crossing the very steep slope we climbed up for approximately hundred meters and saw the first petroglyphs. Only a little farther, on the tops of hillocks overlooking the plateau at different levels, there were ruins, heaps of stones, some with a low enclosing wall, circular in shape, certainly stupas. In a depression between the hillocks and the slope of the mountains there had been a large building; we were attempted to explain it as a Buddhist monastery. A staircase led up the slope between the boulders. More ruins and inscriptions were discovered at a still higher level when Mr Kauper, the land surveyor of our group, climbed up.

So far only one of the Brahmi inscriptions which we saw in this precinct, certainly the longest and best preserved one, was deciphered by Professor von Hinüber on the basis of colour photographs (v. Hinüber 1989:66–8). It was written on behalf of the lord of a district most likely identical with Shigar, and testifies him as a pious Buddhist. Perhaps his son had lived under the tutorial of the monks, and the inscription reminds the solemn return to the father. Palaeography indicates an early date, seventh or even sixth century AD. Thus the complex must belong to the time of the Palurian kingdom. A well-preserved bruising of a stupa on a large boulder near the mountain slope, and another one in a narrow slit between two rocks belong to a type which I did not find represented in the Indus valley near Chilas. Characteristic is the high spire with many discs. However, similar stupas supported by lotus flowers like that on the large boulder flanking a bejewelled and crowned Buddha

also in a lotus-seat, are to be seen on a so-called Kashmiri bronze now in the Rockefeller Collection (Pal 1975:106, no. 30). The Sanskrit inscription on the base mentions the donors and a date. Certainly, this bronze is related to another one which had a dedicating inscription mentioning Nandivikramaditya, one of the Patola Shahis ruling in Palur (Pal 1975:108, no. 31).

According to a conjecture expressed by some of my friends in Gilgit, such bronzes were found in the 'hollow stupa' at Naupur, Gilgit, and directly went into the collections of the Maharaja of Kashmir, while the other items, especially the manuscripts, were delivered to the museum in Srinagar (Jettmar 1981:12–14), others remained in Pakistan. In any case, all these objects including the Gilgit manuscripts have the same cultural background, they represent the Buddhist and pre-Tibetan period of Baltistan up to the middle of the eighth century AD.

There are more cultural remains belonging to the same period. Dr Nayyar took photographs of inscriptions on rocks near the beautiful lake of Katsura, today surrounded by the buildings of a tourist resort called 'Shangri-La'. According to v.Hinüber, one of these inscriptions tells of the visit of a monk to a new monastery (v.Hinüber 1989a:74).

Not far from the radio station at Skardu, many clay tablets with Buddhist texts and/or relevant images belonging to a class of objects called *ts'a ts'a* were found (cf. Tucci 1983, Taddei 1970, Fussman 1972a). Most of them were taken away by locals to be presented to foreigners as gifts or left to the children as toys, but some were handed over to Mr Qamar who collected them for the Department of Archaeology and Museums. On the basis of my photographs they were deciphered and dated by Fussman to the centuries of the Palurian kingdom. Only in one case he suspected a later date, the ninth century AD. Clay tablets might have been deposited in a stupa, but if so, the monument was so thoroughly dismembered by treasure hunters that only a hole in the ground is to be seen on the respective spot. Petroglyphs depicting elaborate stupas with a long spire and many disc-like umbrellas are not typical for Baltistan; perhaps they render monuments erected in Kashmir.

Another model, with the base of the stupa shaped like a kind of stepped pyramid, is more frequent. *Anda* and spire are reduced in size or indicated by a few lines only. The term 'terraced stupa' used for this kind seems to be convenient. I saw such images near Gol at the confluence of Indus and Shyok, and on the way to Khapalu on the right bank of the Shyok river. In both cases Brahmi inscriptions, apparently of an earlier type, evidently related to the images, are to be seen on the same boulder. So we may assume that they were made before the eighth century AD, still in the period of the Palurian state.

The Tibetans seem to have taken exactly this type as a starting point for the subsequent evolution which led to what Aurel Stein called 'cruciform type of stupas'. He observed one of them on a rock flanking the way to the Darkot pass. The translation of the Tibetan inscription was furnished by A.H. Francke. He informed Stein that this 'cross-type' frequently occurs in Ladakh (Stein 1928:45-7, 1050-51, fig. 46).

One of the stupa-carvings observed on a boulder at the plateau of Shigar does not represent the fully developed 'cruciform type'; it could belong to a transitional group. The inscription was made by a Buddhist monk who used Tibetan language and script (Sagaster/Jettmar 1993).

The main question is whether the monastery was still working or already in ruins when this Tibetan monk appeared on the scene. Perhaps a small Buddhist community re-established the veneration of still existing stupas at a time when the locals had fallen back into their indigenous cults. Even inside the holy precinct carvings of a rather primitive type are visible, animals, men on horseback, hunting and fighting scenes. In an area still on the same plateau, but separated from the Buddhist sanctuary by a gap in the slopes, such carvings are visible. There I did not see a single inscription nor any stupa-carvings.

It is quite possible that, similar to so many countries with Buddhism as the dominant religion, ceremonial centres for the fertility cults and hunting magic of the villagers existed in the oasis of Shigar even during the first Palurian stage of Buddhist activities. When Buddhism lost official support, such local cults

got a new lease of life, and the bruising and graffiti could expand, invading even the formerly Buddhist precincts. Buddhism certainly recovered after the arrival of the great Indian teacher Atisa in 1042 AD, when the restoration of Buddhist faith took place in Tibet. But at this time reliefs and not rock-carvings were the preferred medium of religious expression, as seen on the famous rock of Mantal near the old route to Satpara. Another, thus far unknown, badly damaged but still impressive relief was observed near the old pony track to Shigar. The number of such monuments remains very small, they were hardly augmented during the following period in spite of the fact that the conversion to Islam did not take place before the fifteenth century.

There are two lines of research which must be undertaken as follow ups:

1. Since we know of more carvings and inscriptions in other parts of Baltistan, these should be documented and studied as soon as possible. In the basin of Skardu many short inscriptions have already been destroyed as the inhabitants of the adjacent hamlets are blasting the rocks because they want squared stones for their modern houses.
2. In the gorge of Rondu it is very difficult to find proper places for excavation. When the valley was blocked by a landslide and the natural dam finally broke, water came down in a terrible rush up to thirty meters high, washing away many old buildings and other remains. For settlements at a higher level, however, proper sites for buildings and fields were re-used and remain until today. There was no shifting to new places since prehistoric periods.

In Baltistan the bottoms of the valleys are flat, rivulets from the side-valleys change their course again and again and settlements move accordingly. Inundations do not become destructive; they just deposit a layer of silt. Therefore, below this cover there must be prehistoric and early historic sites waiting for excavation.

NOTES

1. Later on we hear of a district with the name Prushava (Bailey 1968:71).

The Dards and Connected Problems Giuseppe Tucci's Last Contribution

Giuseppe Tucci's last extensive and conclusive article was published under the title 'On Swāt: the Dards and connected problems' (1977) and amended by two appendices, one by K. Enoki, the other by B. Brentjes. The same volume of 'East and West' contains his review of my book 'Die Religionen des Hindukusch', summing up the study of several Dardic religions (Tucci 1977a on Jettmar 1975:187-459). My article on Bolor dealing with the political history of the area in question appeared in the same year (Jettmar 1977a).

Now it can be said that Tucci's article which had posed considerable difficulties to himself and his co-editors, as so many heterogeneous and controversial topics were quoted and discussed was very well aimed. Solutions which he expected can now be confirmed by new arguments, last but not least by those resulting from the discovery of a previously unknown province of petroglyphs in the Indus valley near Chilas with 30,000 images and more than 4,000 inscriptions. Most of them are short, we could call them 'graffiti', only mentioning the name of the visitor plus religious formulas and personal additions, for example, the final destination of the journey (Jettmar 1989; 1991; 1992; 1993).

This article aims to discuss the importance of Tucci's views and observations only in a few selected points:

1. When Tucci evaluated the excavations which he had initiated in Swat, he detected the possibility of a connection between the

* This chapter is a slightly revised version of the article 'The Dards and connected problems: Giuseppe Tucci's last contribution' (Jettmar 1995).

name of a township in Swat 'Massaga' and the 'Massagetæ', the name of an important tribal confederation in the steppes (Tucci 1963:28; 1977:51). That became the starting point of a blown-up criticism, stressing that the Dardic tribes settling in Swat were Indians and the Massagetæ most probably Iranians, and, therefore, should be clearly distinguished.

These reproaches are not well founded. Several dynasties in the lands of the Dardic tribes were of Iranian origin (Fussman 1980; 1982). They came from the north on the trails already familiar to their ancestors. Their art, the animal style, appears quite early in the Indus valley (Jettmar 1991:pl. 5) interwoven with more rigid patterns, spread at the time when the Achaemenids not only occupied Bactria and Sogdiana but also the westernmost part of India. Evidently they employed mercenaries from the fringes of their empire. So we cannot exclude the presence of Massagetæ in Swat.

What we should demand now, is more information on the ecological conditions in this period. For an understanding of the economy of the Assacenians, who were the strongest local tribe with Massaga as capital, it is essential that Alexander on his way to their country captured not less than 230,000 heads of cattle as Arrian told us (Chinnock 1942:526–31–IV 25). They were of such a superb quality that Alexander ordered a selection to be brought back to Macedonia for ploughing. Evidently the dominant tribes of the region were experienced cattle breeders. As a precondition for the maintenance of large herds of superior quality, we may assume a system of transhumance. In winter, the cattle was grazing on the pastures in the lowlands, but in summer the herdsmen brought them to the mountain sides near the strongholds on inaccessible tops. Looking at the climatic conditions, it is understandable that the tribesmen appreciated such seasonal migrations.

This shifting between the plains of Gandhara and the highlands would better explain Alexander's seemingly 'sportive' adventures up to Swat. To control the tribes Alexander had to smoke out their refuges. Again Arrian tells us, that fighting the Sogdians (Chinnock 1942:518) Alexander had seen that such hill stations would remain potential pockets of resistance.

Such systems of transhumance, with strongholds in the zone of the summer meadows, would elucidate the appearance of the same ethnic name in different valleys. The Daradas established their state, frequently mentioned in the 'Rājatarāṅgiṇī' (Stein 1900,II:505), in the Kishanganga valley, but they lived near the Indus as well. That is attested by the term 'Dāradi Sindhuḥ' (Agrawala 1953:43).¹

Now, due to the reading of rock inscriptions discovered by our expedition, it is possible to confirm that the Indus valley near Chilas was in fact land of the Daradas, possibly a frontier district of their state. A royal inscription near the village Chilas is a definite proof. Prof O. von Hinüber, certainly the best specialist in this field, translated: 'The subduer of enemies [...] the glorious great king of the Dards Vaiśravaṇasena the subduer of enemies, the king who is the subduer of enemies.'² The end of this inscription, lines 'c' and 'd', might be translated as: 'The teacher of the glorious Vaiśravaṇasena, great king of the Dards, Rudraśarma is firmly established in the district Avardi'. The 'district Avardi' could be identical with the enigmatic country 'Ravere', mentioned in the report of the Arab commander al-Fadl (Jettmar 1993:100).³ Vaishravanasena appears in several minor inscriptions, but is called 'Great King of the Dards' only once more (v.Hinüber 1989: 59, inscription 59a).

At least for a while the rule of the Daradas was restricted to the southern bank. Darel, however, is on the northern side in the territory which previously was dominated by the Bru.sha people who came under the control of the kings of Palur, who had their headquarters in Baltistan (Jettmar 1993:83).

A Kharoshthi inscription discovered at the site Alam Bridge on the way from Baltistan to the Tarim basin via the Hunza valley, was read by Fussman as: 'Daradaraya merekhisu dhadasu urmu ragasampiioja bhajru satradu.' It mentions the Darada raja, but the rest is incomprehensible, maybe written in proto-Burushaski. The Darada raja was perhaps a foreigner in the area of Alam Bridge, and the inscription was made by his local subjects (Fussman 1978:18-19, 54).

Darel was interesting for Tucci, because Xuanzang says in his famous travelogue that the Ta-li-lo valley⁴ had been the 'old seat of the government of Uddiyāna', which nowadays is called Swat (Watters 1904–5, I:239). The way from Ta-li-lo⁵ to Udyana had been already described by Faxian; it took fifteen days along the Indus. Just before reaching the destination (Swat), the traveller had to cross the 'river', i.e., the Indus.

Today, when we can see the supposed route from the car using the Karakoram Highway, the problematic character of this identification is obvious. Before the construction of the highway, every sensible man travelling from Darel to Swat would have avoided the Indus gorge and gone directly over the passes, reaching Tangir, then Kandia and, finally, Kalam. There is no path on the right bank between Kandia and Tangir. Even the way on the left bank was extremely difficult (Jettmar 1987a:100)⁶ before the blastings during the construction of the highway. Near the mouth of the Darel river more than 500 Sogdian graffitis were found. In this place there was an emporium protected by a non-Buddhist garrison, most probably Chionitic tribesmen (Jettmar 1991). On the other hand, an Italian team which hoped to confirm Tucci's expectations, reported that they had seen a sacred area at Sonikot in Darel with a stupa on a square base and rectangular rooms on two sides. The locals reported about another stupa, almost completely destroyed (Faccenna 1980). The figure of an adorant, fragment of a Buddhist cult-bronze from this area which I delivered to the Department of Archaeology, Karachi, still is unpublished.

2. As for the kings of Palur (Po-lü, Bolor), Tucci correctly observed that there exist 'quite different types of names' (Tucci 1977:78). Following his hint, I found out that according to the new translation of Tibetan texts by Beckwith (1987:123) two types of titles were used. According to its name, Su-shih-li-chi—Tucci writes 'Surendaicca'—belonged to the line formerly ruling in Great Palur. He was called 'Bruža rje', 'Bru.sha Lord', his contenders, descendants of the former governors in Little Palur, were called 'Bruža'i rgyalpo', 'King of Bru.sha'. They

had names of a different type, Ma-lai-hsi, Mo-kin-mang, and Nan-ni.

This, and the fact that the Saka Itinerary mentioned no monasteries near Chilas, as also seen by Tucci (1977:73 fn.), gave the chance for my reconstruction of the history of the Patola Shahis (Jettmar 1993:77, 122).

3. Tucci's contributions to the history of Chitral are of lasting interest, recent studies allow to confirm them. He was startled by the fact, already discussed by Stein (1907:11–17), that Chitral appears under two incompatible designations, as 'Chieh-shih' and as 'She-mi' (Tucci 1977:82). Tucci assumed that the Chinese designation, rendered by the western scholars in other variants as well, 'Chieh-shi', 'Chieh-shuai', 'Chieh-shu', 'Ch'ieh-shuai' (Beckwith 1987:123, 135–38), means a tribe which was an annoying and even dangerous neighbour to Palur and Tokharistan, identical with a people appearing in different regions of the Himalayan belt, especially in the mountains bordering Kashmir, namely the Khashas, one of the Hu tribes (Iranians?). An area settled (or only ruled) by this people is in fact attested by the study of rock inscriptions. On a rock near Shatial bridge, v.Hinüber identified an inscription (No. 31) mentioning this name 'in the year 50 rumeṣa pekako went to the Khāśas kingdom' (v.Hinüber 1989:47–9). The inscription is located at a place where the Indus was crossed by rafts, or even by a bridge. One of the routes leading northwards reaches Mastuch in Chitral via the Shandur pass. A journey in this direction is certainly meant and not the long way to the Khasha kingdom in western Kashmir (Stein 1900, II:430).

Without much wishful thinking we may assume that the earliest name of Chitral, 'Kashkar', goes back to the time when the Khashas were the dominant population. Chitral, originally a township settled by the Kalashas, later on became the capital, its name replaced the earlier designation (Biddulph 1880:59–61). If the Kasha tribe ruled the area today called Chitral, then the extension of their power into the Indus valley has to be taken into consideration as well as the inclusion of this area into

the territory called 'Chieh-shi'. Exposed to such an extension was the area between Shatial and the confluence of the rivers Indus and Astor. Only by this assumption the situation in the middle of the eighth century AD, as described by Beckwith, makes sense:

It has been necessary to import supplies from Kashmir because the T'ang garrison of two thousand men in Little Balur could not be supported by the limited agriculture resources. But his importation was possible only by passing through the little country of Chieh-shih, which bordered Ṭukhāristān. The yabghu's [that was the title of the ruler of Ṭukhāristān] envoy reported that the king of Chieh-shih had received Tibetan bribes and had requested the Tibetans to build a fortress or fortresses inside his country. Their intention was to seize the main road to Little Balur ... Moreover, the king of Chieh-shih and the Tibetans had been taking advantage of the situation by raiding Ṭukhāristān. (Beckwith 1987:135-36)

The place where fortresses could interrupt the stream of supplies needed in Little Palur was certainly either at the entrance of the Buner valley or near the mouth of the Astor river (Jettmar 1993:103). To reach these points, the control of the Indus valley including Chilas was necessary; such conquests from the Chitral side repeatedly happened in later centuries. On the other hand, Tokharistan, the other target of the raids, had its capital near Kunduz (Enoki 1977:88). Kunduz can be reached from Chitral via the Dorah pass which is accessible from central Chitral (= Kashkar). This in turn has connections via the Shandur to the Indus valley. So the Khasha-lands were not a small territory, but a larger zone. There is, however, still another country identified with Chitral, namely She-mi. For a while, it was a dependency of the Hephthalites.⁷

Tucci gladly accepted the proposal made by Morgenstierne (1973b), namely, to identify this land with upper Chitral, Sham. Similar is the name used by the Prasun people: Sim gol, Simaigul. Syama could have been the ancient form. But that is difficult to tune into the other sources. Che-mi was already mentioned by Song Yun and the Wei annals (Chavannes

1903:406 f.; 1903–4:159–60, 225; Stein 1907:14). According to the descriptions, this area was situated near the southern border of the mountains. From there on difficult paths, Udyana was reached.

This information and not an identification with northern (upper) Chitral seems to be correct. Biruni states that the traveller entering Kashmir, via the Baramula gorge, has the mountains of Bolor and Shamilan on his left side. Moreover, he tells that the rivers Kusnari (= Kunar) and Mahuvi (= Kishanganga) come from the mountains of Shamilan (Sachau 1888:277–78). These must be the ridges to both sides of the Nanga Parbat. Biruni's 'Mineralogy' mentions that the Indus bypasses the 'idol of Shamil'—before its exit from the mountains (Belenickij 1963:221). So Shamil is the area including Chilas. That evidently means that the people called 'Ch'ieh-shih' were not the aboriginals there. They had conquered this tract for a while and used this dominance for raiding the caravans which brought supplies from Kashmir to Little Palur.

Nothing precludes the conjecture that the Ch'ieh-shih people, identical with the Khashas, were Iranians who had entered from the north. Maybe they brought the many Middle Iranian loan-words into Khowar, the language of the aboriginal Dardic tribe in northern Chitral (Morgenstierne 1973c:243–9). Given the case that they were Iranians, warlike nomads, the appearance of the name Khasa (Khasha, Khaka) in so many places (Stein 1900, II:519) would show the areas occupied by them. Then we could understand the appearance of a similar name, namely 'Kashgar', much further to the north. The Chinese used the terms 'Ch'ia-sha' or 'Sha-le', also 'Ch'i-sha', Faxian wrote 'Chieh-ch'a' (Stein 1907:47–51).

4. One more problem, raised by Tucci in the same article under the heading 'Diffusion of Vajrayāna, and revival of aboriginal cults' (68f.), should be discussed here.

Tucci refers to one of his early discoveries: the travelogue of the Tibetan *sadhu* Orgyan-pa, who had visited Swat in the thirteenth century. There, the pilgrim was confronted with

Buddhism in its 'popular and Tantric shape', quite active and impressing; witchcraft was still in full swing. Mahayana deities were venerated, the fear of flesh-eating *ḍākinīs* was immense. Tucci considers that as one of the 'Buddhist or Hindu islands' it was continuing to exist at a time when Islam was already spreading deep into the mountain valleys (Tucci 1940:40). This persistence of local traditions is confirmed by the experience of another Tibetan pilgrim, sTag tsan ras pa, the energetic and influential founder of the famous monastery at Hemis in Ladakh. He travelled in the first half of the seventeenth century (Tucci 1940:29).

Shortly thereafter, Swat was conquered by the Yusufzai Pakhtuns, who expelled all former inhabitants excepting only those who were ready to work as serfs. One of the distributions of the conquered lands already took place in 1533 AD (Rejsner 1954:120). Even earlier, Islam was the dominant religion, but without destroying the last traces of Buddhism and Hinduism. Small Hindu principalities still existed even in the outlying lands, the Salt Range. The king of Swat was a Muslim, but very liberal and well disposed to the Tibetan pilgrim. Buddhism had totally disappeared; the *sadhus* belonged to the Nathapanthiyas sect:

Both believers and unbelievers [= Moslems] carry their corpses [to the graveyards], the believers to burn them and the unbelievers to bury them. They go there for secret practices and in the night one can see corpses rising from the soil; there are also many *ḍākinīs* black, naked, carrying in their hands human hearts and intestines and emanating fire from their secret parts. (Tucci 1940:77)

But in Orgyan (= Swat) even the festivals had preserved their heathen atmosphere: 'All people were assembled and singing and dancing, they drank all kinds of liquors without restriction' (Tucci 1940:81).

Only recently it became evident that such persistence was not the effect of an esoteric underground cult. Islam had already been victorious when in 1048/49 AD the first mosque was

constructed near Mt. Raja Gira, not far from Udegram among ruins that go back to the earlier *shahi* period. Using a block of marble from such an earlier building, an inscription was made mentioning a general of the Ghaznavids as the founder (Scerrato 1985). Thus the information about the early enforced conversion is proven but later there had been a relapse. The Swatis did not remain under strict control, the decline of the Ghaznavids gave them space. Hinduism, which had been introduced during the *shahi* period flowered again. The Tantric tendency to use sexual rituals for obtaining spiritual enlightenment was perpetuated.

Tucci noted this continuity with uttermost interest. He was convinced that Swat even after the immigration of the Pakhtuns—a people proclaiming Sunnitic Islam as the only way to religious and moral perfection—remained the homeland of witches and female cannibalistic spirits. Therefore, he arranged the publication of a book on the folk-tales of Swat, with a result not quite matching his expectations (Inayat-ur-Rahman 1968). Perhaps we should add that the menial castes of Swat, those who lost their lands and their freedom to the conquering Pakhtuns, had a notorious reputation for sexual liberty. Many of their girls went down country as prostitutes, the macabre end of an age-old tradition. Tucci concluded:

Our knowledge of the folk religion of the Kāfirs and some of their neighbours untouched by Buddhism, or having had scarce contacts with Buddhism, makes me believe that the fairies, the Peri and the Daiyāl, are not a survival of the Ḍākinīs or of the Ḍākas; they are rather the same primeval religious entities, the ambiguous powers chiefly, but not only, female whom Buddhism accepted in its Tantric esoterism as ḍākinīs; Vajrayāna codified them within the frame of the Buddhist gnosis and when it disappeared, then their resurrection took place. (Tucci 1977:69)

This statement was indeed an appreciation of ethnology, especially of my work in this field. Tucci referred to a complex of customs and beliefs that I had described in an early article (Jettmar 1965:109 ff.) and later on in my book (Jettmar 1975: 230–76). In the article I referred to a fertility cult previously

known from the, still pagan, Kalasha tribe. From each village, a strong and healthy boy was selected (Staley 1982). These youngsters, called *budalak*, were confined to the high meadows for a while. There, far from the females, they lived in a lonely paradise 'drinking much milk'. Then in the frame of the *pul*-festival held at the time of the grape and walnut harvest, they were allowed to return to the village. In the *pul*-night, they were received by the whole population. The women danced, until the *budalaks* appeared and made their choice. No husband should interfere when his wife was honoured by such a suitor full of divine blessing. Healthy and strong children were expected, even from those ladies who were not involved, because even the neighbours entered in a state of sexual frenzy. Similar rituals bringing sexual fulfilment and children to those women who had problems in this respect are recorded in many places of Dardistan. I got an even more concise description from Bubur in Punyal (Jettmar 1975:266).

In other areas, the religious context of the *pul*-festival is openly expressed. In the Haramosh valley the women venerated a female deity called Murkum. Allegedly she protected them in childbirth, but like Artemis she also inspired the shamans and directed the hunters to the game. In olden days, when these women came together around a crude altar erected from rough stones only one man was permitted to participate. He slaughtered the sacrifice sent by the goddess herself and distributed the meat among the worshippers. Then, he joined the dancing crowd and was provoked and molested by the ladies. He was called the 'billy-goat of the women's flock'—and that might indicate that he had rights and duties similar to the *budalak* of the Kalash.

Such customs, however, should not necessarily be seen as part of a Tantric complex. John Staley spoke of a 'eugenic' practice. It was based on experiences gained in sophisticated goat breeding. A similar privilege was conceded to the strongest billy-goat of a herd (Nayyar 1986:40). The meaning is an optimal exploitation of female fertility. Communities with numerous and strong offspring increase their political power. To have many descendants is a good card in the game for arable land and meadows.

The adepts of bio-social anthropology, now fashionable in USA, would find excellent illustrations for their concepts here.

There are, however, other customs which are really surrounded by a Tantric atmosphere. In the villages of Punyal some women were known as practising witches. When they came together in their black masses, they, in turn, had to present a human victim which had been overpowered by them. The victim was brought in the shape of a goat and slaughtered by a male assistant during the meeting. Only when the head was divided from the trunk and fell down, it got its human traits—and it was clear who would die in the next few days with his substance being eaten up beforehand (Jettmar 1975:272–6).

It is evident that the model for this secret cult of female cannibals was the gathering of women venerating their protecting goddess who in turn was assisted by a priest.

In earlier studies I explained this as being the repression of a previously respectable institution to the demonic underground, taking place when Islam became the official religion (Jettmar 1975:209–11). But the association of female deities with the chthonic sphere or at least their being vested with ambivalent characteristics must have an ancient background. It is reflected not only in tales about the ancestress of a dynasty in Gilgit who used to kill her lovers and male offspring (Müller-Stellrecht 1979:290), but also in the texts from the hidden library discovered by Sir Aurel Stein near Tun-huang. There we hear of Hu-sha who was of *deva* race (Thomas 1935:221–4). Due to an offence committed against a *devi*, she became a man-devouring *rākṣasī*, ruling on the 'mountain of the Gold race' over 500 other *rākṣasī* who 'indulged in the pleasures of desire' with merchants who were attracted by the gold found there. When the next merchants arrived, the earlier lovers were devoured. The connection with the genealogy of the Gilgit princess is evident, but cannot be discussed here. Only when a *bodhisattva* appeared who recognized her animal double, namely a cat with small ears, apparently an otter which is still feared as a demonic animal in some Dardic valleys, she was released from the curse, got a legal husband and a male successor.

In order to explain such dangerous aspects of female sexuality, we might assume that during the late Buddhist period, 'in the very geographical situation open to all sorts of trade and cultural influences' the clean world of the hunters was transformed into the complicated cosmos ready to include Tantric ideas. In this time concepts borrowed from Hindu neighbours became more and more important.

There are definite hints that this supposition might be correct. Tucci himself was surprised by the 'almost complete absence of Vajrayāna deities' among the earlier reliefs of Swat (Tucci 1958:322). Even in the Gilgit region, the rock-carvings ending before the close of the first millennium AD show almost the same 'absence of Vajrayāna deities'. A stone with three main reliefs in Bubur, Punyal, is an exception. Below the main reliefs there are two smaller ones located under one of the standing Buddhas. The smaller figures are brandishing swords like Manjushri. The third large figure is sitting and has a three-pointed crown, like on images of Vajrapani. This monolith, today completely disfigured, belongs to the very last phase of Buddhist moments in this area (Jettmar 1984: 214–16, pls. III, IV a, b). To this complex I would suggest to relate the 'image of a *devi*', discovered near Guligram during one of the early campaigns of Professor Tucci's team in Swat (Tucci 1963a: 146–51, figs. 1–2). It is visible on a large boulder, broken into two pieces and badly damaged. The posture resembles reliefs showing Durga Mahishasuramardini. Apparently the beheaded animal being trampled under the feet of the dancing *devi* is a domestic goat. The iconography was discussed by Tucci, when he quoted my observations in the Haramosh valley (Tucci 1963b:153).

A possible interpretation would be to assume a parallel existence of fertility rituals in the early period, practised by the common people on the one hand, and Buddhist teachings being accepted and proclaimed by the rulers of the small states and their courts including foreigners on the other. Among them were the Chinese who, perhaps, brought the ideas of the 'Chinese schools' with them, accepted and propagated by Padmasambhava.

Only in a later period under strong Hindu influence the integration of local cults and the official religion into the Tantric system took place. In this period the Gilgit Manuscripts were hidden as concealed treasures. But it would not be wise to consider the arguments for a later rise of Tantric ideas in the western mountains as definitely indicating the final solution. One of the most important observations made during the study of rock-carvings in the Indus valley was the discovery of 'deviant images' which we cannot insert in one of the known traditions. We are very far from a comprehensive iconology, only some aspects of the spiritual life are known.

The complex concentrated at Shatial is full of sexual allusions. That was explained as 'dirty jokes' made by the staff of the foreign caravans, headed by a mixed Sogdian/Hephthalite⁸ nobility. But such drawings, certainly made near the centre of the sanctuary, could also indicate the appearance of Tantric ideas (Jettmar 1992; 1993).

NOTES

1. In a commentary to Panini.
2. Brahmi inscription 59, lines 'a' and 'b', cf. v.Hinüber 1989:58-9.
3. A slightly revised version of this article is given as chapter 6 of this publication.
4. That is normally identified with Darel (Stein 1907:9).
5. Legge (1886:24-8) writes 'T'o-leih'.
6. A slightly revised version of this article is given as chapter 8 of this publication.
7. Cf. Chavannes, who writes 'Chö-mi' (1903:406).
8. Maybe Kidaritic, cf. Zeimal (1996:122).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.P.	K. Jettmar (ed.), <i>Antiquities of Northern Pakistan</i> . Mainz.
A.P.	<i>Ancient Pakistan</i> , University of Peshawar.
E/W	<i>East and West</i> , ISMEO, New Series.
J.C.A.	<i>Journal of Central Asia</i> .
Karakorum–Hindukush	<i>Karakoram–Hindukush</i> (Urdu), ed. by Manzoom Ali, Islamabad, 1985.
SAI	<i>Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung</i> . Südasiens-Institut der Universität Heidelberg. Stuttgart.
SNOY 1983.	<i>Ethnologie und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Jettmar</i> . SAI, 86.
ZAS	<i>Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn</i> . Wiesbaden.

LITERATURE

- Afridi, Banat Gul. 1988. *Baltistan in history*. Peshawar.
- Agrawala, V.S. 1953. *India as known to Pāṇini: a study of the cultural material in the Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Lucknow.
- Ahmad, S. Maqbul; Raja, Bano. 1984. *Historical geography of Kashmir*. New Delhi.
- Ahmad, Wazir. 1980. *Tarikh-i-Sar Zamin Vadi-i-Shigar*. Unpublished Urdu manuscript in the possession of the author.
- Alföldy, A. 1932. A tarchan méltóságnevé eredete: tanulmányok a királyság intézményének az északázsiai lovasnépeknel való kialakulásához. (L'origine du nom de dignitaire tarchan: études sur le développement de la royauté chez les nomades de l'Asie du Nord). *Magyar Nyelv*, 28:205–20.
- Ali, Tahir. 1981. Ceremonial and social structure among the Burusho of Hunza. *Asian highland societies in anthropological perspective*, Chr. von Fürer-Haimendorf (ed.), pp. 231–49. Reprint Delhi 1984.
- Allchin, B. 1987. South Asian rock art. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts: Sir George Birdwood Memorial lecture*:138–56.

- Allchin, B.; Allchin, R. 1982. *The rise of civilization in India and Pakistan*. Cambridge.
- Anati, E. 1983. Saving the world's rock art. *Archaeology*, 36(2):24–30.
- Antonini, C.S.; Stacul, G. 1972. *The proto-historic graveyards of Swat (Pakistan)*. 2 vols, IsMEO. Rome.
- Azarpay, G. et al. 1981. *Sogdian painting: the pictorial epic in oriental art*. With contributions by A.M. Belenickij, B.J. Marshak, and Mark J. Dresden. Berkeley.
- Azizuddin, M. 1897. *Tarikh-i-Chitral*. Agra.
- Azraqī, Abū al-Walīd Muhammad b. Abd Allah-al-. 1965. *Akhbār Makka*. Mecca.
- Bacot, J.; Thomas, F.W.; Toussaint, Ch. 1940–6. *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*. Annales du Musée Guimet, 51. Paris.
- Bailey, Grahame. 1924. *The grammar of the Shina language*. The Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- Bailey, H.W. 1936. An itinerary in Khotanese Saka. *Acta Orientalia*, XIV:258–67.
- Bailey, H.W. 1968. *Saka documents: text volume*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Part II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian period and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, V: Saka. London.
- Bailey, H.W. 1980. A Kharoṣṭhi inscription of Senavarma, King of Odi. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1:21–9.
- Balneaves, Elizabeth. 1972. *Mountains of the Murgha-Zerin*. London.
- Banerjea, J.N. 1957. The Scythians and Parthians in India. *A comprehensive history of India, vol. 2: the Mauryas and Satavahanas 325 B.C.–A.D. 300*, pp. 186–221. Calcutta, London.
- Banerjee, P. 1969. Painted wooden covers of two Gilgit Manuscripts in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir. *Oriental Art*, N.S., 14(2):114–7.
- Barrow, E.G. 1885. *Dardistan and Kafiristan*. Calcutta.
- Barth, F. 1956. *Indus and Swat Kohistan: an ethnographic survey*. Studies honouring the Centennial of Universitetes Ethnografiske Museum, Oslo 1857–1957, vol. II. Oslo.
- Barth, F. 1956a. Ecologic relationships of ethnic groups in Swat, North Pakistan. *American Anthropologist*, 58:1079–1109.
- Barth, F. 1959. *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*. London School of Economics, Monographs on Social Anthropology, 19. London.
- Barth, F.; Morgenstierne, G. 1956. Vocabularies and specimens of some S. E. Dardic dialects. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 18:118–36.
- Basham, A.L. (ed.). 1968. *Papers on the date of Kaniska*. Leiden.
- Beal, S. 1869. *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist pilgrims, from China to India: 400 A.D. and 518 A.D.* London. Reprint London 1964.
- Beal, S. 1884. *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist records of the western world; translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang*. London. Reprint Delhi 1969.

- Beckwith, C.I. 1987. *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: a history of the struggle for great power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton, New Jersey.
- Beg, Qudratullah. 1962. *Tarikh-i-Adh-i-Atiq Riasat-i-Hunza*. Vol. 1. Rawalpindi.
- Belenickij, A.M. 1963. *Abu-r-Rajchan Muchammed ibn Achmed Al-Biruni: Sobranie svedenij dlja poznanija dragočennostej (Mineralogija)*. Leningrad.
- Berger, Hermann. 1960. Bericht über sprachliche und volkskundliche Forschungen im Hunzatal. *Anthropos*, 55:657–64.
- Berger, Hermann. 1968. Zwei Erzählungen aus dem Hunzatal. *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 18(2–3):224–5.
- Berger, Hermann. 1974. *Das Yasin-Burushaski*. Wiesbaden.
- Berger, Hermann. 1983. Etymologische Bemerkungen zu einigen auf Geister und Geisterglaube bezügliche Wörter im Burushaski. *SNOY* 1983:29–33.
- Berger, Hermann. 1985. A survey of Burushaski studies. *J.C.A.*, VIII(1):33–7.
- Bergman, F. 1939. *Archaeological researches in Sinkiang*. Reports from the scientific expedition to the Northwestern Provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, VII: Archaeology, 1. Stockholm.
- Bernhard, Wolfram. 1983. Beiträge der physischen Anthropologie zum Geschichtsverständnis der ethnischen Gruppen im Hindukush. *SNOY* 1983:34–51.
- Beveridge, M. 1959. *The Akbar nāmā of Abu-l-Fazl*. 3 vols. Reprint Lahore.
- Biasutti, R.; Dainelli, G. 1925. *I tipi umani*. Spedizione Italiana de Filippi nell' Himālaia, Caracorūm e Turchestān Cinese (1913/14), Serie II, vol. IX. Bologna.
- Biddulph, John. 1880. *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. Reprint Karachi 1977; also reprinted at Graz 1971.
- Bielmeier, R. 1985. A survey of the development of western and southwestern Tibetan dialects. *Sounding in Tibetan civilization*, ed. B.N. Aziz; M. Kapstein, pp. 3–19. New Delhi.
- Biswas, Atreyi. 1973. *The political history of the Hunas in India*. Delhi.
- Bivar, A.D.H. Maues at Taxila: problems of his arrival-routes and political allegiance. *J.C.A.*, VII(1):5–15.
- Black-Michaud, Jacob. 1975. *Cohesive force*. London.
- Boehm, Christopher. 1984. *Blood revenge*. Lawrence, Kansas.
- Bongard-Levin, G.M. 1985. *Mauryan India*. New Delhi.
- Brauen, Martin. 1980. *Feste in Ladakh*. Graz.
- Brentjes, B. 1977. On the petroglyphs of Gogdara I in Swat. *E/W*, 27(1–2):92–3.
- Bretschneider, E. 1900. *Medieval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*. Vol. 1. London.
- Bruce, C.G. 1910. *Twenty years in the Himalayas*. London.
- Buddruss, G. 1959. *Kanyawali, Proben eines Maiya-Dialektes aus Tangir (Hindukusch)*. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft; Beiheft B:72.
- Buddruss, G. 1964. Aus dardischer Volksdichtung. *Indo-Iranica*. Mélanges présentés à George Morgenstierne à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire, pp. 48–61. Wiesbaden.

- Buddruss, G. 1967. *Die Sprache von Sau in Ostafghanistan: Beiträge zur Kenntnis des dardischen Phalura*. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft; Beiheft M:150.
- Buddruss, G. 1974. Neuiranische Wortstudien. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 32:9–10.
- Buddruss, G. 1976. *Khowar: a new literary language of Chitral (Pakistan)*. Orient. Kongress, Mexico, manuscript.
- Buddruss, G. 1982. *Khowar-Texte in arabischer Schrift*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz.
- Buddruss, G. 1983. Neue Schriftsprachen im Norden Pakistans: einige Beobachtungen. *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation*, I, A. u. J. Assmann (Hrsg.), pp. 231–44. München.
- Buddruss, G. 1983a. Ḍomáaki čhot “Ton”: mit Beiträgen zur historischen Lautlehre. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 42:5–21.
- Buddruss, G. 1984. Ḍomaakí-Nachträge zum Atlas der Dardsprachen. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 43:9–24.
- Buddruss, G. 1985. Linguistic research in Gilgit and Hunza: some results and perspectives. *J.C.A.*, VIII(1):27–32.
- Buddruss, G.; Wiehler-Schneider, S. 1980. *Wakhi-Lieder aus Hunza*. Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde, 9.
- Burrow, T. 1973. *The Sanskrit language*. 3rd ed. London.
- Carter, M.L. 1981. Mithra on the Lotus. *Acta Iranica*, 21:74–98. Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne I.
- Carter, M.L. 1990. Review of K. Jettmar, D. König, V. Thewalt (eds.) *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan: reports and studies*, 1, Mainz. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, Iowa, N.S.*, 4:336–9.
- Chagnon, Napoleon A. 1988. Life histories, blood revenge and warfare in a tribal population. *Science*, 239:935–92.
- Chakravarti, N.P. 1953–4. Hatun rock inscription of Patoladeva. *Epigraphia India*, XXX(38):226–31.
- Chandra, Lokesh. 1980. Oddiyana: a new interpretation. *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979*, A. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., pp. 73–8. Warminster.
- Charak, Sukhdeva Singh. 1977. *Gulabnama of Diwan Kirpa Ram*. New Delhi.
- Charak, Sukhdeva Singh. 1983. *Historical study of society and culture in Dardistan and Ladakh*. New Delhi.
- Chattopadhyay, B. 1979. *The age of the Kushanas: a numismatic study*. Calcutta.
- Chavannes, E.M. 1903. Voyage de Song Yun dans l’Udyana et le Gandhara: 518–522 p.C. *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême Orient*, 3:379–441.
- Chavannes, E.M. 1903–4. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux: recueillis et commentés suivi de notes additionnelles*. Paris. [n.a. = notes additionnelles, separately paginated!]

- Chavannes, E.M. 1904. Notes sinologiques: l'itinéraire de Ki-ye. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 4:75–82.
- Chavannes, E.M. 1905. Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei lio. *T'oung Pao*, 6:519–71.
- Chinnock, E.J. (transl.). 1942. Arrian: the anabasis of Alexander. *The Greek Historians*, 2nd ed. by F.R.B. Godolphin, pp. 399–620. New York.
- Clarke, Graham E. 1977. Who were the Dards?: a review of the ethnographic literature of the North-western Himalaya. *Kailash*, V(4):323–56.
- Crook, W. 1896. *The tribes and castes of the North-western Provinces and Oudh, II*. Calcutta.
- Cunningham, A. 1854. *Ladak, physical, statistical, and historical*. London. Reprint New Delhi 1977.
- Cunningham, A. 1979. *Ancient geography of India*. Reprint Delhi.
- Dainelli, Gistoo. 1924. *Le condizioni delle genti*. Spedizione Italiana de Filippi nell' Himàlaia, Caracorùm e Turchestàn Cinese (1913/14), Serie II, vol. III. Bologna.
- Dainelli, Gistoo. 1925. Le genti e le loro condizioni culturali. *Spedizione Italiana de Filippi nell' Himàlaia, Caracorùm e Turchestàn Cinese (1913/14)*, Serie II, vol. IX:3–267. Bologna.
- Dainelli, Gistoo. 1933. *Buddhists and glaciers of western Tibet*. London.
- Dani, A.H. 1967. Timagarha and Gandhara grave culture. *A.P.*, III:3–64.
- Dani, A.H. 1981. *Karakorum Highway unfolds the romance of the past*. Islamabad.
- Dani, A.H. 1982. Prehistoric rock carvings at Chilas. *Studia Iranica*, 11:65–72. Leiden.
- Dani, A.H. 1983. *Chilas: the city of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)*. Islamabad.
- Dani, A.H. 1983a. *Human records on Karakorum Highway*. Islamabad.
- Dani, A.H. 1983b. *Guide to Karakorum Highway*. Islamabad.
- Dani, A.H. 1983c. Carvings on a Thalpan rock. *SNOY 1983*:89–96.
- Dani, A.H. 1983d. *Human records on Karakorum Highway*. Islamabad.
- Dani, A.H. 1985. The sacred rock of Hunza. *J.C.A.*, VIII(2):5–124.
- Dani, A.H. 1985a. Two royal inscriptions from Chilas in the Karakorum region. *Serie Orientale Roma: Orientalia Josephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, 56(1): 225–32, 4 plates. Rome.
- Dani, A.H. 1988. *Recent archaeological discoveries in Pakistan*. UNESCO, the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies. Paris, Tokyo.
- Dani, A.H. 1989. *Islamic architecture: the wooden style of Northern Pakistan*. National Hijra Council. Islamabad.
- Dani, A.H. (ed.). 1987. *Shah Rais Khan's history of Gilgit*. Islamabad.
- Dargyay, E.M. 1977. *The rise of esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*. Delhi.
- Debaine-Francfort, C. 1988. Archéologie du Xinjiang des origines aux Han: première partie. *Paléorient*, 14(1):5–18.
- de Marco, G. 1987. The stūpa as a funerary monument: new iconographical evidence. *E/W*, 37(1–4):191–246.
- Đevlet, M.A. 1976. *Petroglify Ulug-Cheta*. Moscow.

- Dévlet, M.A. 1980. *Petroglify Mugur-Sargola*. Moscow.
- Dilawar, Khan. 1977. *Northern Areas: a select bibliography*. Islamabad.
- Dilthey, Helmtraut. 1970. *Versammlungsplätze im dardo-kafirischen Raum*. Dissertationsreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg. Wiesbaden.
- Dobbins, K.W. 1972. *Coinage and epigraphy of the Sakas and Pahlavas: a reconstruction of the political chronology and geography of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, 130 B.C.–A.D. 70*. Ph.D. thesis, unpublished.
- Doerfer, G. 1963. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Vol. I. Wiesbaden.
- Doerfer, G. 1965. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Vol. II. Wiesbaden.
- Drew, F. 1875. *The Jummoo and Kashmir territories: a geographical account*. London. Reprint Karachi 1980.
- Drew, F. 1877. *The northern barrier of India*. London.
- Duncan, J.E. 1906. *A summer ride through western Tibet*. London.
- Durand, A.G. 1894. The eastern Hindu Kush. *Climbing and exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas*, William Martin Conway, pp. 3–17. London.
- Durand, A.G. 1899. *The making of a frontier: five years' experiences and adventures in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral and the eastern Hindu-Kush*. London. Reprint Graz 1974, also reprinted in Karachi 1974 and 1977.
- Durrani, Sayid. 1985. Inqilab-i-Gilgit: ek Mukhtasar Jaizah. *Karakorum-Hindukush*, pp. 362–71.
- Dutt, J. Ch. (transl.). 1898. *The Rājatarangiṇī of Jonarāja*. The Kings of Kashmira, 2nd series. Reprint Delhi 1986.
- Dutt, N.N. 1984. *Gilgit manuscripts*. 4 vols. Reprint Delhi.
- Earle, T.K.; Preucel, R.W. 1987. Processual archaeology and the radical critique: with CA-comment. *Current Anthropology*, 28(4):501–38.
- Edelman, D.I. 1983. *The Dardic and Nuristani languages*. Moscow.
- Eggermont, P.H.L. 1975. *Alexander's campaign in Sind and Baluchistan and the siege of the Brahmin town of Harmatelia*. *Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta*, 3. Leuven.
- Eggermont, P.H.L. 1984. Ptolemy, the geographer, and the people of the Dards: Alexander in Buner, the Aornos problem and the Dards of Dyrta. *J.C.A.*, VII(1):73–124.
- Elias, N. (ed.); Ross, E.D. (Transl.). 1895. *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlât: a history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*. Repr. London 1972.
- Emerson, Richard M. 1984. Charismatic kingship: a study of state formation and authority in Baltistan. *J.C.A.*, VII(2):95–133.
- Endresen, R.T.; Kristiansen, K. 1981. Khowar studies. *Acta Iranica, Homages et Opera minora*, VII, *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, I:210–43, pl. LVII–LX.
- Enoki, K. 1977. Some remarks on Chieh-shi. *E/W*, 27(1–2):86–91.

- Faccenna, D. 1980. Brief report of the archaeological missions of IsMEO in Asia – Pakistan. *E/W*, 30:205–7.
- Francke, A.H. 1905. The eighteen songs of the Bono-na festival. *Indian Antiquary*, 34:93–110.
- Francke, A.H. 1907. *A history of Western Tibet*. Reprint London 1942, reprint Islamabad 1987 under the title “Baltistan and Ladakh: a history”.
- Francke, A.H. 1926. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*. 2 vols. Calcutta. Reprint New Delhi 1972.
- Francke, A.H. 1928. Notes on Khotan and Ladakh. *Indian Antiquary*, 58(724):108–12, 147–52.
- Francke, A.H. 1928a. Königsnamen von Khotan (a-ma-ca) auf tibetischen Dokumenten der Turkistansammlungen von London und Berlin. *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philosophisch–historische Klasse*, Jahrgang 1928:671–6.
- Francke, A.H. 1978. *History, folklore and culture of Tibet*. Reprint Delhi.
- Frembgen, J. 1985. *Zentrale Gewalt in Nager (Karakorum)*. SAI, 103.
- Frembgen, J. 1986. Ethnographical field-research on the history and culture of Nager: some preliminary remarks on the process of settlement. *J.C.A.*, VII(2):29–38.
- Fremont, A. 1982. *Contribution à l'étude du Burushaski*. Thesis, Paris III University. Unpublished PhD dissertation.
- Friedl, Erika. 1965. *Träger medialer Begabung im Hindukusch und Karakorum*. *Acta Ethnologica Linguistica*, 8. Österreichische ethnologische Gesellschaft, Wien.
- Friedrich, Adolf. 1955/56. *Wissenschaftliches Tagebuch der 'Deutschen Hindu-kusch-Expedition 1955/56'*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Frye, R.N. 1963. *The heritage of Persia*. Cleveland.
- Fuchs, W. 1939. Huei ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwestindien und Zentralasien um 726. *Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch–historische Klasse*, 30(1938):1–47. Berlin.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1972. *Atlas linguistique des parlers Dardes et Kafirs*. 2 vols. Publications de L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient; LXXXVI Paris.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1972a. Entailles et empreintes indiennes du Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. *Revue numismatique*, 6th series, XIV:21–48.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1977. Pour une problématique nouvelle des religions indiennes anciennes. *Journal Asiatique*, 265:21–70.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1978. Inscriptions de Gilgit. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 65:1–64, XXXII planches.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1980. Nouvelles inscriptions Saka: ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kaniska. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, LXVII:1–43, pl. 4.

- Fussman, Gérard. 1982. Documents épigraphiques Kouchans (III). L'inscription Kharoṣṭhi de Senavarma, roi d'Odi: une nouvelle lecture. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, LXXI:1–46.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1989. Les inscriptions Kharoṣṭhi de la plaine de Chilas: text. *A.N.P.*, 1,1:1–39.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1989a. Les inscriptions Kharoṣṭhi de la plaine de Chilas: plates. *A.N.P.*, 1,2:3–43.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1992. Chilas, Hatun et les bronzes bouddhiques du Cachemire. *A.N.P.*, 2:1–67.
- Gansser, A. 1983. The wider Himalaya: a model for scientific research. *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Matematik-fysiske Meddelelsen*, 40(14):1–30. København.
- Gazetteer. 1890. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak*. Calcutta. Reprint Delhi 1974.
- Gazetteer. 1907. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak*. Reprint Delhi 1974.
- Ghafoor, M.A. 1965/66. Two lost inscriptions relating to the Arab conquest of Kabul on the north-west region of West Pakistan. *A.P.*, 2:4–12. Peshawar.
- Ghansara Singh. 1986. *Gilgit before 1947*. Transl. from Urdu by Sher Baz Ali Khan Boroha. Rawalpindi.
- Ghulam Haidar. 1985. Inqilab-i-Gilgit meri nazar me. *Karakorum–Hindukusch*, pp. 335–61.
- Ghulam Muhammad. 1907. Festivals and folklore of Gilgit. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1(7):93–127. Reprint Islamabad 1980.
- Grierson, G. 1919. *Specimens of the Dardic or Pisacha languages: including Kāshmiri*. Linguistic Survey of Pakistan, 5. Reprint Lahore.
- Grjaznov, M.P. 1984. *Der Großkurgan von Aržan in Tuwa, Südsibirien*. Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, 23. München.
- Grjunberg, A.L.; Steblin-Kamenskij, I.M. 1976. *Vaxanskij jazyk: testy, slover', grammatičeskij ocerk*. Moskva.
- Grodekov, H. I. 1889. *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy Syrdar'inskoj oblasti*. Tom pervyj. Juridičeskij byt. Taškent.
- Grötzbach, E. 1984. Bagrot: Beharrung und Wandel einer peripheren Talschaft im Karakorum. *Die Erde*, 115:305–21.
- Hallier, U.W. 1991. Petroglyphen in Nordpakistan: Neuentdeckungen in Gilgit und Yasin. *Antike Welt*, 22(1):2–20.
- Hamid, S. Shahid. 1979. *Karakoram Hunza: the land of just enough*. Karachi.
- Harmatta, J. 1994. Languages and scripts in Graeco-Bactria and the Saka kingdoms. *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, 2:417–40.
- Harmatta, J. (ed.). 1994. *The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*. History of civilizations of Central Asia, 2. Paris.
- Hasan Khan Rono. s.a. *Jang-i-Azadi, Gilgit wa Baltistan*. Unpublished.
- Hasan, Mohibbul. 1959. *Kashmir under the sultans*. Calcutta.
- Haserodt, K. 1984. Abflußverhalten der Flüsse mit Bezügen zur Sonnenscheindauer und zum Niederschlag zwischen Hindukusch (Chitral) und Hunza-Karakorum (Gilgit, Nordpakistan). *Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft*, 96:29–36.

- Haserodt, K. 1984a. Aspects of the actual climatic conditions and historic fluctuations of glaciers in western Karakorum. *J.C.A.*, VII:77–94.
- Hashmatullah Khan, Al-Haj Maulvi. 1939. *Mukhtasar tarikh-i-Jammu* etc. (A short history of Jammu and Kashmir and other conquered states of the area of Tibet), part VI. Lucknow. Reprinted in Lahore under the title 'Ta'rikh-i-Jammu' 1969.
- Hashmatullah Khan, Al-Haj Maulvi. 1985. Padum party ek naqabil-i-Faramosh dastan. *Karakorum-Hindukush*, pp. 479–501.
- Hashmatullah Khan, Al-Haj Maulvi. 1987. *History of Baltistan*. Lok Virsa translation by Adam Nayyar. Islamabad.
- Hassnain, F.M. 1978. *Gilgit: the northern gate of India*. New Delhi.
- Haughton, H.L. 1913. *Sport and folklore in the Himalayas*. London.
- Herrmann, A. 1910. *Die alten Seidenstraßen zwischen China und Syrien*. 1. Abt. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Erdkunde, Heft 21. Berlin.
- Herrmann, A. 1935. *Historical and commercial atlas of China*. Reprint Edinburgh 1966 with the title 'A historical atlas of China' and a prefatory essay by P. Wheatley.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1979. Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften: Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, I. *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 12(1979):329–59.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1980. Die Kolophone der Gilgit-Handschriften. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 5/6:49–82.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1981. Namen von Schutzzaubern aus Gilgit. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 7:163–71.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1982. Die Bedeutung des Handschriftenfundes bei Gilgit. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. V, XXI: Deutscher Orientalistentag (24.–29.3.1980, Berlin): ausgewählte Vorträge, ed. F. Steppat, pp. 47–66. Wiesbaden.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1985. Royal inscriptions from North Pakistan. *J.C.A.*, VIII(1):59–67.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1987. The Paṭola Śāhis of Gilgit: a forgotten dynasty. *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, 36(1–4):221–9.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1989. Brāhmī inscriptions on the history and culture of the Upper Indus Valley. *A.N.P.*, 1:41–72.
- Hinüber, O. von. 1989a. Buddhistische Inschriften aus dem Tal des oberen Indus. *A.N.P.*, 1:73–106.
- Hinüber, O. von (ed.). 1986. *Studia Grammatica Iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*. München.
- Historical Section of General Staff. s.a. *The Kashmir campaign 1947–1948*. Rawalpindi.
- Hoffmann, H.H.R. 1969. An account of the Bon religion in Gilgit. *Central Asiatic Journal*, XIII(2):137–45.

- Holdich, T. 1910. *The gates of India: being a historical narrative*. London.
- Hulsewé, A.F.P. 1979. *China in Central Asia: the early stage, 125 B.C.–A.D. 23*. With an introd. by M.A.N. Loewe. Sinica Leidensia, XIV. Leiden.
- Humbach, H. 1980. Die sogdischen Inschriftenfunde vom oberen Indus (Pakistan). *Allgemeine und vergleichende Archäologie, Beiträge des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 2:201–28.
- Humbach, H. 1980a. Hybrid Sanskrit in the Gilgit Brāhmī inscriptions. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 5(6):99–121.
- Humbach, H. 1983. Phrom Gesar and the Bactrian Rome. *SNOY* 1983:303–9.
- Humbach, H. 1987. New coins of Fromo Kesarō. *India and the Ancient World: Prof. P.H.L. Eggermont jubilee volume presented on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, ed. G. Pollet, pp. 81–5, pls. xi–xiii. Orientalia Lovensia Analecta, 25. Leuven.
- Inayatullah, S. 1971. *Report of the Northern Areas Committee, December 1971*. See also, under Report, 1971.
- Inayat-ur-Rahman. 1968. *Folk tales of Swat: part I*. IsMEO Reports and Memoirs, 13. Rome.
- Ivanow, W. 1948. *Nasir-i-Khusraw and Ismailizm*. The Ismaili Society, series B, 5. Leiden.
- Jafarey, A.A. 1979. Early Iranian knowledge of Pakistan with special reference to Biruni's work. *Al-Biruni commemorative volume*, pp. 208–24. Karachi.
- Jarrige, Jean-François. 1991. The cultural complex of Mehrgarh (Period VIII) and Sibri: the "Quetta Hoard". *Forgotten cities of the Indus*, ed. M. Jansen et al., pp. 94–103. Mainz.
- Jettmar, K. 1956. Die deutsche Hindukusch-Expedition 1955/56. *Wiener völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, 4,1:91–7.
- Jettmar, K. 1957. Heidnische Religionsreste im Hindukusch und Karakorum. *Wissenschaft und Weltbild*, 10(2):126–31.
- Jettmar, K. 1957a. Schmiedebrauchtum im östlichen Hindukusch. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien*, 87:22–31.
- Jettmar, K. 1957–8. *Zur Kulturgeschichte eines Dardvolkes*. Mss., 2 vols.
- Jettmar, K. 1958. Völkerkundliche Forschung im Haramosh-Gebiet (Gilgit Agency). *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 83(2):252–6.
- Jettmar, K. 1958a. Das kulturhistorische Ergebnis der österreichischen Karakorum-Expedition 1958. *Österreichische Hochschulzeitung*, Dec. 15, 1958, Vienna.
- Jettmar, K. 1959. Urgent tasks of research among the Dardic peoples of eastern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan. *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research*, 2:85–96.
- Jettmar, K. 1960. Soziale und wirtschaftliche Dynamik bei asiatischen Gebirgsbauern (Nordwestpakistan). *Sociologus, N.F.*, 10(2):120–38.
- Jettmar, K. 1960a. Megalithsystem und Jagdritual bei den Dardvölkern. *Tribus*, 9:121–34.
- Jettmar, K. 1960b. Schnitzwerke aus den Tälern Tangir und Darel. *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, 14:87–118.

- Jettmar, K. 1960c. The cultural history of north-west Pakistan. *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society*, pp. 492–9. Philadelphia.
- Jettmar, K. 1960d. Zum Heiligtum von Surkh-Kotal. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 5(3):198–205.
- Jettmar, K. 1961. Ethnological research in Dardistan 1958: preliminary report. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 105(1):79–97.
- Jettmar, K. 1961a. Bronze axes from the Karakorum: results of the expedition in Azad Kashmir. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 105(1): 98–104.
- Jettmar, K. 1965. Fruchtbarkeitsrituale und Verdienstfeste im Umkreis der Kafiren. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XCV:109–16.
- Jettmar, K. 1967. *Art of the steppes*. New York
- Jettmar, K. 1967a. The Middle Asiatic heritage of Dardistan: Islamic collective tombs in Punyal and their Background. *E/W*, 17(1–2):59–82.
- Jettmar, K. 1969. Altentötung in Dardistan. *Paideuma*, 15:162–6.
- Jettmar, K. 1973. Weinbereitung in Nord- und Zentralasien. *Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Helmut Petri*, ed. K. Tauchmann, pp. 191–205. Köln.
- Jettmar, K. 1975. *Die Religionen des Hindukusch*. With contributions by Schuyler Jones and Max Klimburg. *Die Religionen der Menschheit*, 4,1. Stuttgart.
- Jettmar, K. 1977. Fragment einer Balti-Version der Kesar-Sage. *ZAS*, 11:277–86.
- Jettmar, K. 1977a. Bolor: a contribution to the political and ethnic geography of North Pakistan. *ZAS*, 11:411–48.
- Jettmar, K. 1978. Brücken und Flösse im Karakorum: aus dem Material Heidelberger Expeditionen. *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, XII:59–70.
- Jettmar, K. 1979. Zur Kesar-Sage in Baltistan und Ladakh. *ZAS*, 13:325–37.
- Jettmar, K. 1979a. Bolor: a contribution to the political and ethnic geography of Northern Pakistan. *J.C.A.*, II(1):39–70.
- Jettmar, K. 1979b. Rock-carvings and stray finds in the mountains of North Pakistan: archaeology before excavation. *South Asian Archaeology*, 1977: 917–26. Naples.
- Jettmar, K. 1980. *Bolor and Dardistan*. Reprint Islamabad.
- Jettmar, K. 1980a. Felsbilder und Inschriften am Karakorum Highway. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 24(3–4):185–221.
- Jettmar, K. 1980b. The visitors' book of a Silk Road: rock-carvings and inscriptions in Northern Pakistan. *German Research, Reports of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, 2–3:6–9.
- Jettmar, K. 1980c. Bolor: zum Stand des Problems. *ZAS*, 14(2):115–32.
- Jettmar, K. 1980d. Neuentdeckte Felsbilder und -inschriften in den Nordgebieten Pakistans: ein Vorbericht. *Allgemeine und vergleichende Archäologie: Beiträge*, 2:151–99.
- Jettmar, K. 1980e. Das Gästebuch der chinesischen Seidenstraße: Felsbilder und Inschriften als Quelle der Geschichte. *Forschung*, 2(1980):6–9.
- Jettmar, K. 1981. The Gilgit manuscripts: discovery by instalments. *J.C.A.*, 4(2):1–18.

- Jettmar, K. 1981a. Zu den Fundumständen der Gilgit-Manuskripte. *ZAS*, 15:307–32.
- Jettmar, K. 1982. Indus-Kohistan: an ethnographic overview. *Kohistan Development Board News*, 2nd annual number: 6–12. Abbottabad.
- Jettmar, K. 1982a. Kafiren, Nuristani, Darden: zur Klärung des Begriffssystems. *Anthropos*, 77:254–63.
- Jettmar, K. 1982b. Petroglyphs and early history of the upper Indus valley: the 1981 expedition—a preliminary report. *ZAS*, 16:293–308.
- Jettmar, K. 1982c. *Rock-carvings and inscriptions in the Northern Areas of Pakistan*. Islamabad.
- Jettmar, K. 1982d. Vorwort. *Ulangom: ein skythenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Mongolei*, E.E. Novgorodova, V.V. Volkov, S.N. Korenevskij, N.N. Mamonova, pp. 7–16. Asiatische Forschungen, 76. Wiesbaden.
- Jettmar, K. 1983. Indus-Kohistan: Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie. *Anthropos*, 78:501–18.
- Jettmar, K. 1983a. Westerners beyond the Great Himalayan range: rock-carvings and rock inscriptions in the Indus valley near Chilas. *India and the West: proceedings of a seminar dedicated to the memory of Hermann Goetz*, ed. J. Deppert, pp. 159–64. South Asian Studies, 15. New Delhi.
- Jettmar, K. 1983b. Felsbilder im Karakorum. *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, 12(1983): 22–32.
- Jettmar, K. 1984. Felsbilder am Indus: die nachbuddhistische Periode. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 28:176–219.
- Jettmar, K. 1984a. Tierstil am Indus. *Kulturhistorische Probleme Südasiens und Zentralasiens*, ed. B. Brentjes, pp. 73–93. Halle (Saale).
- Jettmar, K. 1985. *Zwischen Gandhāra und den Seidenstraßen: Felsbilder am Karakorum Highway* [Ausstellungskatalog]. Mitarb.: V. Thewalt. Mainz.
- Jettmar, K. 1985a. Non-Buddhist traditions in the petroglyphs of the Indus valley. *South Asian Archaeology 1983*:751–77. Naples.
- Jettmar, K. 1985b. Addenda et corrigenda zu dem Artikel 'Felsbilder am Indus: die nachbuddhistische Periode. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 29(1–2):158–9.
- Jettmar, K. 1985c. Cross roads and sanctuaries in Western Central Asia. *International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, Information Bulletin*, 9:48–58. Moscow.
- Jettmar, K. 1987. Hebrew inscriptions in the western Himalayas. *Serie Orientale Roma: Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, 56(2):667–70, plate I.
- Jettmar, K. 1987a. The "suspended crossing": where and why? *India and the Ancient World: Prof. P.H.L. Eggermont jubilee volume presented on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, ed. G. Pollet, pp. 95–102. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 25. Leuven.
- Jettmar, K. 1987b. Entdeckungen in Baltistan. *Indo Asia*, 29(1):38–42.
- Jettmar, K. 1988. Iranian motifs and symbols as petroglyphs in the Indus valley. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 60:149–63, Fasc. I–IV.
- Jettmar, K. 1989. Introduction. *A.N.P.*, 1:XI–LVII.

- Jettmar, K. 1989a. Northern Areas of Pakistan: an ethnographic sketch. *History of the Northern Areas of Pakistan*, ed. A.H. Dani, pp. 59–88. Islamabad.
- Jettmar, K. 1989b. Von Bolor zu Baltistan. *Die Baltis: ein Bergvolk im Norden Pakistans*, ed. U. Sagaster, pp. 183–215. Frankfurt.
- Jettmar, K. 1990. Das westtibetische Zentrum der Kesar-Sage: zur Rechtfertigung der These A.H. Franckes. *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und gegenwärtige Forschungen in Nordwest-Indien, internationales Kolloquium, 9.–13.3.1987 in Herrnhut*, ed. L. Icke-Schwalbe, G. Meier, pp. 259–65. Dresden.
- Jettmar, K. 1990a. Exploration in Baltistan. *South Asian Archaeology 1987(2)*:801–13.
- Jettmar, K. 1991. The art of the Northern Nomads in the upper Indus valley. *South Asian Studies*, 7:1–20.
- Jettmar, K. 1991a. Documentation and exploration in Northern Areas of Pakistan: preliminary report, 1988. *Pakistan Archaeology*, 24(1989):177–94.
- Jettmar, K. 1991b. Sogdians in the Indus valley: sources écrites et documents archéologiques. *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique*, eds. Paul Bernard et Frantz Grenet, pp. 251–3, pl. CII–CVI. Paris.
- Jettmar, K. 1992. Jenseits bekannter Ikonographien: Graffiti am Karakorum-Highway. *Akademie-Journal*, 1:18–28.
- Jettmar, K. 1993. The Paṭolas: their governors and their successors. *A.N.P.*, 2:77–122.
- Jettmar, K. 1994. Prähistorische Wanderungen in den zentralasiatischen Hochgebirgen: Voraussetzungen und frühe Nachweise. *Festschrift Georg Buddruss*, eds. Renate Söhnen-Thieme, Oskar von Hinüber, pp. 157–72. Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, 19. Reinbeck.
- Jettmar, K. 1995. The Dards and connected problems: Guisepe Tucci's last contribution. *Guisepe Tucci: nel centenario della nascita, Roma, 7–8 giugno 1994*, ed. Beniamino Melasecchi, pp. 35–54. Conferenze IsMEO, 8. Roma.
- Jettmar, K. 1997. Symbolic systems in collision: rock art in the upper Indus valley. *Gandhāran art in context: east-west exchanges at the cross-roads of Asia*, eds. Raymond Allchin et al., pp. 55–69. New Delhi.
- Jettmar, K.; Thewalt, V. 1987. *Between Gandhāra and the Silk Roads: rock-carvings along the Karakorum Highway; discoveries by German-Pakistani expeditions 1979–1984, catalogue of the exhibition*. Mainz.
- Kabirov, D. 1975. K voprosy o lokal'nych različijach naskal'nyh izobraženij Srednej Azii i Kazachstana. *Istorija materialnoj kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 12:85–90. Taškent.
- Kapur, M.L. 1966. *History of Jammu and Kashmir State*. Jammu.
- Kapur, M.L. 1968. *Kashmir sold and snatched*. Jammu.
- Kapur, M.L. 1980. *History of Jammu and Kashmir State*. Jammu.
- Kaul, G.L. 1963. *Kashmir through the ages*. Srinagar.
- Kaul, S. 1977. *Kashmir: constitutional history and documents*. New Delhi.
- Kaul, Omkar N.; Schmidt, R. Laila. 1983. Dardistan revisited: an examination of the relationship between Kashmiri and Shina. *Aspects of Kashmiri linguistics*, eds. Omkar N. Kaul and Peter E. Hook, pp. 1–26. Delhi.

- Keay, J. 1977. *When men and mountains meet: the explorers of the Western Himalayas, 1820–1875*. London.
- Keay, J. 1979. *The Gilgit game: the explorers of the Western Himalayas 1865–95*. London.
- Keiser, L. 1991. *Friend by day, enemy by night: organized vengeance in a Kohistan community*. Fort Worth.
- Khan, Husain. 1984. Moghal relations with Baltistan and the northern region: from Akbar to Aurangzeb. *J.C.A.*, VII(1):179–90.
- Khan, Nazir Ahmad. 1983. Rock engravings from Hathiano Kandao. *J.C.A.*, VI(2):59–62.
- Khan, Shah Rais. 1987. *History of Gilgit*. Ed. by A.H. Dani.
- Khan, Yar Mohammad. 1985. The political relations of the Mughals with the rulers of Northern Pakistan. *J.C.A.*, VIII(1):161–9.
- Klimburg-Salter, D. 1990. Tucci Himalayan Archives report, 1: the 1989 expedition to the Western Himalayas, a retrospective view of the 1933 Tucci expedition. *E/W*, 40(1–4):145–71.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. 1980. Das Kreuzsymbol in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung. *Leben und Tod in den Religionen: Symbol und Wirklichkeit*, ed. G. Stephenson, pp. 61–80. Darmstadt.
- Klimov, G.A.; Edelman, D.I. 1970. *Yaznik burushaski*. Moskva.
- Kljaštornyj, S.G. 1980. Drevnetjurkskaja nadpis' na kamennom izvajanii iz Cojrena. *Strany i narody Vostoka*, 22:90–102. Moskva.
- Knight, E.F. 1893. *Where three empires meet*. Reprint Karachi 1973.
- Knudsen, A.J. 1991. Nature conservation in Pakistan: case studies from Hunza with special reference to the Kunjerab National Park. *Asian perspectives of nature, papers presented at a workshop, Copenhagen*, pp. 92–109. Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies, 3. Copenhagen.
- Konow, Sten. 1929. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: Kharoshthi Inscriptions*. Calcutta.
- Kubarev, V.D. 1988. *Drevnie rospisi Karakola*. Novosibirsk.
- Kumar Mahajan, S. 1973. *Debacle in Baltistan*. New Delhi.
- Kuwayama, S. 1989. The Hephthalites in Tokharistan and Northwest India. *Zinbun: Annuals of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University*, 24:89–134.
- Kyzlasov, L.P. 1986. *Drevnejšaja Chakasija*. Moscow.
- Lahori, Abdul Hamid. 1866. *Badshahnama*. Persian text. Calcutta.
- Lambton, Ann K.S. 1953. *Landlord and peasant in Persia*. London.
- Laufer, B. 1908. Die Bru-ža Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padma-sambhava. *T'oung Pao*, ser. II, IX:1–46. Leiden.
- Legge, J. 1886. *The travels of Fâ-hsien: a record of Buddhist kingdoms*. Oxford. Reprint Delhi 1981.
- Leitner, G.W. 1876. *The languages and races of Dardistan*. London.
- Leitner, G.W. 1889. *The Hunza and Nagyr handbook*. Vol. I. Calcutta.
- Leitner, G.W. 1894. *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893*. Woking. Reprint New Delhi 1978.

- Leitner, G.W. 1895. *New dangers and fresh wrongs*. London.
- Lentz, W. 1939. *Zeitrechnung in Nuristan und im Pamir*. Berlin. Reprint Graz 1978 with a preface of the author to the new edition.
- Lévi, M.S. 1932. Note sur des manuscrits sanscrits provenant de Bamiyan (Afghanistan) et de Gilgit (Cachemire). *Journal Asiatique*, 220:21–45.
- Lévi, M.S.; Chavannes, E.M. 1895. L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong (751–790): traduit et annoté. *Journal Asiatique*, 9(6):341–84.
- Litvinskij, B.A. 1960. Archaeological discoveries in the Eastern Pamirs and the problem of contacts between Central Asia, China and India in antiquity. *XXV. International Congress of Orientalists—Papers presented by the U.S.S.R. Delegation*. Moscow.
- Litvinskij, B.A. 1972. *Drevnie kočevniki "kryši mira"*. Moscow.
- Lockhart, W.S.A.; Woodthorpe, R.G. 1889. *Confidential report of the Gilgit Mission 1885–86*. London.
- Löffler, Reinhold. 1964. *Soziale Stratifikation im südlichen Hindukusch und Karakorum*. Dissertation. Mainz.
- Lohuizen de Leeuw, J.E. van. 1949. *The "Scythian" period*. Leiden.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. 1924. *Notes on the phonetics of the Gilgit dialect of Shina*, vol. I, pp. 1–24; vol. II, pp. 177–212. London.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. 1929. The supernatural in the popular belief of the Gilgit region. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 507–36.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. 1931. An oral version of the Kesar Saga from Hunza. *Folk-Lore*, XLII(2):105–40.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. 1935–8. *The Burushaski language*. Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B XXIX, 1–3. Oslo.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. 1939. *The Dumāki language: outlines of the speech of the Doma, or Béricho of Hunza*. Comité International Permanent des Linguistes. Publications de la Commission d'Enquête Linguistique, 4. Nijmegen.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. 1958. *The Wakhi language*. 2 vols. London.
- Lorimer, E.O. 1938. *Language hunting in the Karakoram*. London.
- Ma Yong. 1974–86. The Chinese inscription of the 'DA WEI' envoy on the sacred rock of Hunza. *Pakistan Archaeology*, 10–22:201–21.
- Maclean, D.N. 1989. *Religion and society in Arab Sind*. Monographs and theoretical studies in sociology and anthropology in honour of Nels Anderson, 25. Leiden.
- Madelung, W. 1981. New documents concerning al-Ma'mun, al-Fadl b. Sahl, and Ali al-Rida. *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsan Abas on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. Wadad al Qadi, pp. 333–46. Beirut.
- Maillard, Monique; Jera-Bezard, Robert. 1994. Les stūpas de Kuberavāhana á Chilas et Thalpan. *A.N.P.*, 3:173–200, 22 fig.
- Mandel'stam, A.M. 1967. K dannym Al-Biruni o Pamire i pripamirskich oblastjach: Ėllinističeskij Bližnij Vostok, Bizantija i Iran; istorija i filologija. *Sbornik v čest' Semidestjatiletija člena-korrespondenta Akademii Nauk SSSR N.V. Pigulevskoj*, pp. 186–96. Moscow.

- Mancevič, A.P. 1976. *Nachodki v Zaporožskom kurgane: k voprosu o sibirskoj kolekcii Petra I; Skifo-sibirskij zverinnyj stil' v isskusstve narodov Evrazii*. Moscow.
- McCrinkle, J.W. 1901. *Ancient India as described in classical literature*. Reprint Amsterdam 1971.
- McGovern, W.M. 1939. *The early empires of Central Asia*. Chapel Hill, N.Y.
- Majumdar, R.C. 1960. *The classical accounts of India*. Calcutta.
- Manzoom Ali (ed.). 1985. *Karakorum-Hindukush*. Series in Urdu. Islamabad.
- Maringer, J. 1950. Felsbilder im Lang-shan. *Ethnos*, 1-2:57-73.
- Marsh, H.C. 1876. Description of a trip to the Gilgit valley, dependency of the Maharaja of Kashmir. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLV (1, 11): 119-30.
- Marshall, John. 1960. *A guide to Taxila*. Karachi.
- Marvin, Charles. 1984. *The Russians' advance towards India*. Reprint Peshawar.
- Merker, Michael. 1980. The twilight of a South Asian heroic age. *Man*, 14:682-701.
- Mette, A. 1981. Zwei kleine Fragmepnte aus Gilgit. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 7:133-53.
- Michajlova, A.I. 1951. Novye épigrafičeskie dannye dlja istorii Srednej Azii IX v. *Épigrafika Vostoka*, 5:10-20. Moskva/Leningrad.
- Miller, Keith (ed.). 1982. *Continents in collision*. Royal Geographic Society, London.
- Minorsky, V. 1937. *Hūdūd al-Ālam — 'The regions of the world': a Persian geography, 372 A.H., 982 A.D., translated and explained*. E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S., XI. 2nd ed. London 1970. Reprint Karachi 1980.
- Mirsky, Jeannette. 1977. *Sir Aurel Stein: archaeological explorer*. Chicago and London.
- Mock, John. 1998. The Cannibal King of Gilgit. *Karakorum-Hindukush-Himalaya: dynamics of change*, ed. I. Stellrecht, pp. 653-62. Köln.
- Mohammad Khan. 1985. Inqilab aur Jang: Azadi. *Karakorum-Hindukush*, pp. 380-91.
- Moorcroft, W.; Trebeck, G. 1979. *Travels in Himalayan Provinces: Hindustan and the Punjab from 1819 to 1825*. Reprint Karachi.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1932. *Report on a linguistic mission to north-western India*. Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie C III-I. Oslo.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1936. Iranian elements in Khowar. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 8:658-71.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1941. *Notes on Phalura: an unknown Dardic language of Chitral*. Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi in Oslo, II: Hist. Fil. Klasse, Skrifter, 5(1940). Oslo.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1942. The Saka Itinerary. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 12:209-11.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1947. Some features of Khowar morphology. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 14:5-27.

- Morgenstierne, G. 1955. A Khowar tale. *Indian Linguistics, S.K. Chatterji Jubilee Volume*, 16:163–9.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1957. Sanskritic words in Khowar. *Dr. S.K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 84–98. Banares.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1973. *The Kalasha language*. Indo-Iranian frontier languages, IV. Oslo.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1973a. *Irano-Dardica*. Wiesbaden.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1973b. The name *Munjan* and some other names of place and peoples in the Hindu Kush. *Irano-Dardica: Beiträge zur Iranistik*, 5:110–5.
- Morgenstierne, G. 1973c. Iranian elements in Khowar. *Irano-Dardica: Beiträge zur Iranistik*, 5:241–55. Wiesbaden.
- Müller-Stellrecht, I. See, Stellrecht, I.
- Mughal, M.R. 1985. The significance of some pre- and protohistoric discoveries in the Karakorum region. *J.C.A.*, VIII(2):213–35.
- Mukherjee, B.N. 1967. *The Kushana genealogy*. Calcutta.
- Mukherjee, B.N. 1969. *An Agrippan source: a study in Indo-Parthian history*. Calcutta.
- Murtaza, G. 1962. *Tarikh-i-Chitral*. Peshawar.
- Namus, M.S. 1958. The Boddhisatva at Gilgit: a newly discovered Buddhist monument. *Museum Journal of Pakistan*, 10(2):83–93.
- Narain, A.K. 1957. *The Indo-Greeks*. Oxford.
- Nayyar, Adam. 1984. Cosmology and colour perception in the Astor valley. *J.C.A.*, VII(2):69–75.
- Nayyar, Adam. 1986. *Astor: eine Ethnographie*. SAI, 88.
- Nayyar, Adam. 1988. *Kala Dhaka*. Lok Virsa Research Centre, research report, RR-6-88. Islamabad.
- Nevill, H.L. 1977. *Campaigns on the north-west frontier*. Reprint Lahore.
- Novgorodova, É.A. 1989. *Drevnjaja Mongolija*. Moscow.
- Novgorodova, É.A.; Volkov, V.V.; Korenevskij, S.N.; Mamonova, N.N. 1982. *Ulangom: ein skythenzeitliches Gräberfeld in der Mongolei*. Asiatische Forschungen, 76. Wiesbaden.
- Pachalina, T.N. 1975. *Vaxanskij jazyk*. Moskva.
- Paffen, K.H.; Pillewizer, W.; Schneider, H.J. 1956. Forschungen im Hunza-Karakorum: vorläufiger Bericht über die wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten der Deutsch-Österreichischen Himalaya-Karakorum-Expedition 1954. *Erdkunde*, 10(1):1–33.
- Pal, Pratapaditya. 1975. *Bronzes of Kashmir*. Graz.
- Pal, Pratapaditya (ed.). 1989. *Art and architecture of ancient Kashmir*. Bombay.
- Pande, B.M. 1971. Neolithic hunting scene in a stone slab from Burzahom, district Srinagar, Kashmir. *Asian Perspectives*, XIV:134–8.
- Parmu, R.K. 1967. *A history of Muslim rule in Kashmir*. Delhi.
- Parpola, A. 1988. The coming of the Aryans to Iran and India and the cultural and ethnic identity of the Dāsas. *Studia Orientalia*, 64:195–302. Helsinki.
- Paul, Pran Gopal. 1986. *Early sculpture of Kashmir*. Leiden.

- Pelliot, P. 1959. *Notes on Marco Polo, I*. Paris.
- Petech, L. 1950. *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*. Serie Orientale Roma, 2. Roma.
- Pfeffer, G. 1984. Kin-classification in Hunza. *J.C.A.*, VII(2):57–67.
- Pikulin, M.G. 1959. *Beludži*. Moskva.
- Pulleyblank, E.G. 1962. *The consonantal system of Old Chinese*. 1. AM, N.S., IX, pt. 1. 2. AM, N.S., IX, pt. 2. London.
- Pulleyblank, E.G. 1966. Chinese and Indo-Europeans. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1–2:9–39.
- Pulleyblank, E.G. 1970. The Wu-Sun and Sakas and the Yüeh-Chih migrations. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 33:154–60.
- Qamar, M. Said. 1985. Pottery selection from Chilas region, Northern Areas of Pakistan. *J.C.A.*, VII(1):139–60.
- Rahman, S. 1990. Unique find of gold ornaments from Pattan/Kohistan (with Chief Editor's note). *J.C.A.*, XIII(1):5–17, pl. I–XV.
- Ranov, V.A. 1960. Naskal'nye risunki u kišlaka Ljangan (zapadnyj Pamir). *Izvestija Akademii nauk Tadžikskoj SSR, Otdelenie obščestvennyh nauk*, 1(22):19–40.
- Ranov, V.A. 1984. Kamennyj vek Kashmirskoj doliny. *Pamirovedenie*, 1:76–97. Dushanbe.
- Ranov, V.A. 1989. Petroglyphs: new materials on the history and culture of Gilgit. *International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, Information Bulletin*, 15:37–50. Moscow.
- Ranov, V.A.; Sidorov, L.F. 1974. The Pamirs as man's habitat. *The countries and peoples of the East: selected articles*, pp. 148–77. Moscow.
- Rapoport, Y.A. 1960. Some aspects of the evolution of Zoroastrian funeral rites. *XXV. International Congress of Orientalists—Papers presented by the U.S.S.R. Delegation*. Moscow.
- Rathjens, C. 1972. Fragen der horizontalen und vertikalen Landschaftsgliederung im Hochgebirgssystem des Hindukusch. *Landschaftsökologie der Hochgebirge Eurasiens*, ed. C. Troll, pp. 205–20. Erdwissenschaftliche Forschungen, 4. Wiesbaden.
- Rathjens, C. 1975. Human interference in the natural water balance: geomorphological manifestations and consequences in the arid areas of Afghanistan and north-west India. *Natural Resources and Development: a Biannual Collection of Recent German Contributions Concerning the exploration and Exploitation of Natural Resources*, 2:20–30. Tübingen.
- Raverty, H.G. 1878. *Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan*. Reprint Lahore 1976.
- Rawlinson, G.; Slakeney, E.H. 1945. *The history of Herodotus*. 2 vols. Every Man's Library. London.
- Raychaudhuri, H.C. 1953. *Political history of ancient India*. 6th ed. Calcutta.
- Rejsner, I.M. 1954. *Razvitie feodalizma i obrazovanie gosudarstva u afgančev*. Moskva.
- Report. 1971. *Report of the Northern Areas Committee*, Dec. 1971. See also, Inayatullah, 1971.

- Rice, T. Talbot. 1957. *The Scythians*. London.
- Rivers-Turner, Dorothy. 1969. *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages: Indices*, pp. 97–9.
- Roberts, T.J. 1977. *The Mammals of Pakistan*. London.
- Robertson, George Scott. 1896. *The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush*. London.
- Robertson, George Scott. 1898. *Chitral: the story of a minor siege*. London. Reprint Karachi 1977.
- Rosenfeld, A. 1989. Rock-art research: world congress in Australia. *Current Anthropology*, 30(3):410–1.
- Rozenfel'd, A.Z.; Kolešnikov, A.I. 1963. Dve nadpisi na kamnjach vblizi selenija Sist (Zapadnyj Pamir). *Ėpigrafika Vostoka*, 16:127–31. Leningrad.
- Rozenfel'd, A.Z.; Kolešnikov, A.I. 1969. Materialy po ėpigrafike Pamira. *Ėpigrafika Vostoka*, 19:92–102. Leningrad.
- Rozenfel'd, A.Z.; Kolešnikov, A.I. 1985. Materialy po ėpigrafike Pamira. *Ėpigrafika Vostoka*, 23:88–95. Leningrad.
- Sachau, E.C. 1879. *The chronology of ancient nations: an English version of the Arabic text of the Athar-ul-Bakiya of Albiruni*. London. Reprint Lahore 1983.
- Sachau, E.C. 1888. *Alberuni's India: an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws, and astrology of India*. Ed. London 1910. An English ed. with notes and indices, reprod. by Sh. Mubarak Ali. Reprint Lahore 1962.
- Sagaster, K. 1983. Kesar, der islamische Antichrist. *Documenta Barbarorum: Festschrift Walther Heissig*, pp. 341–8.
- Sagaster, K. 1984. The kings of Baltistan and other kings: some remarks on Balti folk literature. *J.C.A.*, VII(2):49–55.
- Sagaster, K.; Jettmar K. 1993. Ein tibetisches Heiligtum in Punyal. Unter Mitwirkung von Loden Sherab Dagyab. *A.N.P.*, 2:123–40.
- Said, Mohammad Hakim. 1989. *Al-Beruni's Book on Mineralogy: the book most comprehensive in knowledge on precious stones*. Islamabad.
- Samašev, Ė. 1990. Grot Akbaur s pisanicami b Vostočnom Kazachstāne. *Problemy izučeniya naskal'nych izobraženii v SSSR*, pp. 123–9. Moskva.
- Sander, L. 1989. Remarks on the formal Brāhmī of Gilgit, Bāmiyān and Khotan. *A.N.P.*, 1:107–37.
- Sankalia, H.D. 1958. *Prehistory and protohistory of India and Pakistan*. Poona.
- Sarianidi, L. 1985. *Baktrisches Gold: aus den Ausgrabungen der Nekropole von Tillja-Tepe in Nordafghanistan*. Leningrad.
- Sastri, K.A.N. (ed.). 1957. *A comprehensive history of India: the Mauryas and Satavahanas*. Madras.
- Saxena, K.S. 1974. *Political history of Kashmir: B.C. 300 – A.D. 1200*. Lucknow.
- Scerrato, U. 1980. Due tombe ad incinerazione del museo di Kandahar. *Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 40 (N.S. 30):627–50. Napoli.
- Scerrato, U. 1985. Research on the archaeology and history of Islamic art in Pakistan: excavation on Mt. Raja Gira, Swat. *E/W*, 35(4):439–50.

- Schmitt, E. 1971. *Ornamente der Gandhārakunst und rezenten Volkskunst im Hindukusch und Karakorum*. Dissertationsreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, 10. Wiesbaden.
- Schmitz, Carl A. 1960. Die Problematik der Mythologeme „Hainuwele“ und „Prometheus“. *Anthropos*, 56:215–38.
- Schomberg, R.C.F. 1935. *Between the Oxus and the Indus*. London.
- Schomberg, R.C.F. 1938. *Kafirs and glaciers*. London.
- Schroeder, U. von. 1981. *Indo-Tibetan bronzes*. Hong Kong.
- Schuler, S. 1978. The “Story of the Creation of Shigar” of Wazir Ahmad. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 22(1):102–20.
- Schweinfurth, U. 1957. *Die horizontale und vertikale Verbreitung der Vegetation im Himalaya*. Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen, 20. Bonn.
- Schweinfurth, U. 1962. Nagaland und die Invasion der Chinesen. *Außenpolitik, Zeitschrift für internationale Fragen*, 12:853–7.
- Schweinfurth, U. 1965. Der Himalaya: Landschaftsscheide, Rückzugsgebiet und politisches Spannungsfeld. *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 53(4):241–60.
- Schweinfurth, U. 1982. Der innere Himalaya: Rückzugsgebiet, Interferenzzone, Eigenentwicklung. *Erdkundliches Wissen*, 59:15–24.
- Schweinfurth, U. 1983. Mensch und Umwelt im Indus-Durchbruch am Nanga Parbat (NW-Himalaya). *SNOY 1983*: 536–57.
- Schweinfurth, U. 1983a. Man's impact on vegetation and landscape in the Himalayas. *Man's impact on vegetation*, ed. W. Hotzner, pp. 297–309. The Hague.
- Schweinfurth, U. 1993. Vegetation und Himalaya-Forschung: neue Forschungen im Himalaya. *Erdkundliches Wissen*, 112:11–30.
- Shah Khan. s.a. *History of liberation struggle*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Shahrani, Nazif; Mohib, M. 1979. *The Kirghiz and Wakhi of Afghanistan*. Seattle.
- Shastri, M.S. Kaul. 1939. Report on the Gilgit excavation in 1938. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 30(1):1–15, 15 pl.
- Shaw, R.B. 1878. Stray Arians in Tibet. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 47(1):26–62.
- Sher, Ja.A. 1980. *Petroglyphic srednei i centralnoi Asii*. Moscow.
- Sher, M. s.a. *Shah nama-i-Chitral: history of the Kator family*. Unpublished Persian manuscript.
- Shih, R. (Transl.). 1968. *Biographies des moines éminents (Kao Seng Tchouan) de Houei-Kiao*. Bibliothèque du Muséon. Louvain.
- Shunying, M. 1984. Development and achievement of archaeology in Xinjiang since the founding of New China. *J.C.A.*, VII(1):55–72.
- Siiger, Halfdan. 1956. *Ethnological field-research in Chitral, Sikkim, and Assam*. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser utgivet af det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 36,2. Copenhagen.
- Sikander Khan. 1975. *Liberation of Northern Areas*. Rawalpindi.
- Sims-Williams, N. 1986. The Sogdian inscriptions of the upper Indus: a preliminary report. *Pakistan Archaeology*, 10–22:196–202.

- Sims-Williams, N. 1989. *Sogdian and other Iranian inscriptions on the upper Indus*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, III; Sogdian. London.
- Sims-Williams, N. 1989a. The Sogdian inscriptions of the upper Indus: a preliminary report. *A.N.P.*, 1:131–6.
- Sims-Williams, N. 1997. Novye Bakrijskie dokumenty. *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 3:3–10.
- Singh, Khushwant. 1977. *A history of the Sikhs*. Vol. 1. Oxford.
- Smirnov, K.F. 1964. *Savromaty: rannjaja istorija i kul'tura Sarmatov*. Moscow.
- Snellgrove, D.L.; Skorupski, T. 1977. *The cultural heritage of Ladakh*. Vol. 1. Warminster.
- Snellgrove, D.L.; Skorupski, T. 1980. *The cultural heritage of Ladakh*. Vol. 2. Warminster.
- Snesarev, G.P. 1960. Bolshesemeinye zakhoroninija u osedlogo naselenija levoberezhnogo Khorezma. *Instituta étnografii – Kratkije soobščeniija*, 33:60–71.
- Snoy, P. 1959. Last pagans of the Hindu Kush. *Natural History*, 68(9):520–9.
- Snoy, P. 1960. Kalash—Nordwestpakistan (Chitral): Almauftrieb mit Opfern. *Encyclopaedia cinematographica*, E 210/1959. Göttingen.
- Snoy, P. 1960a. Darden—Nordwestpakistan (Gilgitbezirk): Almwirtschaft. *Encyclopaedia cinematographica*, E 211/1959. Göttingen.
- Snoy, P. 1960b. Darden—Nordwestpakistan (Gilgitbezirk): Herstellung von Felsbildern. *Encyclopaedia cinematographica*, E 212/1959. Göttingen.
- Snoy, P. 1960c. Darden—Nordwestpakistan (Gilgitbezirk): Schamanistischer Tanz. *Encyclopaedia cinematographica*, E 213/1959. Göttingen.
- Snoy, P. 1975. *Bagrot: eine dardische Talschaft im Karakorum*. Bergvölker im Hindukusch und Karakorum, 2. Graz.
- Snoy, P. 1983. Thronfolge in den Fürstentümern der großen Scharungszone. *SNOY 1983:573–81*.
- Snoy, Peter (ed.). 1983. *Ethnologie und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Jettmar*. SAI, 86.
- Söhnen, Renate. 1983. On reflections of historical events in Balti folk songs. *SNOY 1983:582–601*.
- Söhnen, Renate. 1984. Treasures of literacy and musical tradition in Baltistan. *J.C.A.*, VII(2):39–48.
- Spanien, A.; Imaeda, Y. (eds.). 1979. *Choix de documents Tibétains: conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale, complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum*. Tome II. Paris.
- Stacul, G. 1966. Notes on the discovery of a necropolis near Kherai in the Gorband valley, Swat—West Pakistan. *E/W*, 16:261–74.
- Stacul, G. 1969. Discovery of protohistoric cemeteries in the Chitral valley, West Pakistan. *E/W*, 19:92–9.
- Stacul, G. 1992. Further evidence for the “Inner Asia complex from Swat”. *South Asian Archaeology Studies*, ed. G. Possehl, pp. 111–20.

- Stacul, G. 1994. Neolithic Inner Asian traditions in northern Indo-Pakistani valleys. *South Asian Archaeology* 1993, II:707–14.
- Staley, J. 1982. *Words for my brother: travels between the Hindukush and the Himalayas*. Karachi.
- Stein, M.A. 1896. VII. notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kacmir 759 A.D. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, 135:1–32.
- Stein, M.A. 1900. *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī: a chronicle of the kings of Kaśmir*. 2 vols. London. Reprint Delhi 1979.
- Stein, M.A. 1907. *Ancient Khotan: detailed report of archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- Stein, M.A. 1921. *Serindia: detailed report of explorations in Central Asia and westernmost China*. 5 vols. Oxford. Reprint Delhi 1980.
- Stein, M.A. 1922. A Chinese expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush A.D. 747. *The Geographical Journal*: 112–31.
- Stein, M.A. 1928. *Innermost Asia: detailed report of explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Irān*. Vols I–IV. Oxford. Reprint New Delhi 1981.
- Stein, M.A. 1929. *On Alexander's track to the Indus*. London.
- Stein, M.A. 1932. Note on a find of ancient jewellery in Yasin. *The Indian Antiquary*, 61:103–6.
- Stein, M.A. 1942. From Swat to the gorges of the Indus. *The Geographical Journal*, 100(2):49–56.
- Stein, M.A. 1944. Archaeological notes from the Hindukush region. *J.A.R.S.*: 5–24, plates III–V.
- Stein, M.A. 1977. *Ancient geography of Kashmir*. Reprint Calcutta. (Also reprinted as 'Memoirs on the ancient geography of Kashmir' in *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol. II, chapter IV.)
- Stellrecht, I. 1973. *Feste in Dardistan: Darstellung und kulturgeschichtliche Analyse*. Arbeiten aus dem Seminar für Völkerkunde der Johann–Wolfgang–Goethe–Universität Frankfurt am Main. Wiesbaden.
- Stellrecht, I. 1978. *Hunza und China: 1761–1891*. SAI, 44.
- Stellrecht, I. 1979. *Hunza*. Materialien zur Ethnographie von Dardistan (Pakistan) aus den nachgelassenen Aufzeichnungen von D.L.R. Lorimer, I. Graz/Austria.
- Stellrecht, I. 1980. *Gilgit*. Materialien zur Ethnographie von Dardistan (Pakistan) aus den nachgelassenen Aufzeichnungen von D.L.R. Lorimer, II. Graz/Austria.
- Stellrecht, I. 1980a. *Chitral und Yasin*. Materialien zur Ethnographie von Dardistan (Pakistan) aus den nachgelassenen Aufzeichnungen von D.L.R. Lorimer, III. Graz/Austria.
- Stellrecht, I. 1981. Life patterns in Hunza. *J.C.A.*, IV(2):51–8.
- Stellrecht, I. 1983. Hunza. *Menschenbilder früherer Gesellschaften*, ed. Klaus E. Müller, pp. 388–415. Frankfurt.
- Stellrecht, I. 1984. The people of Hunza: their life in the high mountain area of Pakistan. *J.C.A.*, VII(2):21–8.

- Stellrecht, I. 1984a. Tribute relationship between Hunza and China: 1761–1947. *J.C.A.*, VIII(1):125–32.
- Stellrecht, I. (ed.). 1998. *Karakorum–Hindukush–Himalays: dynamics of change*. Culture Area Karakorum Scientific Studies, 4, 2. Köln.
- v. Stietenron, H. 1966. *Indische Sonnenpriester: Sāmba und die Śākadvipiya-Brāhmaṇa; eine textkritische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie zum indischen Sonnenkult*. Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts, 3.
- Sufi, G.M.D. 1948–9. *Kashmir: being a history of Kashmir*. 2 vols. Lahore.
- Subrawary, A.H. 1983. *Tragedy in Kashmir*. Lahore.
- Taddei, M. 1970. Inscribed clay tablets and miniature stupas from Gazni. *E/W*, 20:70–86.
- Taddei, M. 1990. Review: Antiquities of Northern Pakistan: reports and studies, 1. *E/W*, 40(1–4):353–4.
- Tahirkheli, R.A.Khan. 1982. *Geology of the Himalaya, Karakorum and Hindukush in Pakistan*. Peshawar.
- Tahirkheli, R.A. Khan; Qasim Jan, M. (eds.). 1979. *Geology of Kohistan, Karakoram Himalaya, Northern Pakistan*. Geological Bulletin, University of Peshawar, II(1).
- Thapar, B.K. 1984. Fresh light on the neolithic cultures of India. *J.C.A.*, VII(1):195–202.
- Thewalt, Volker. 1983. Jātaka-Darstellungen bei Chilas und Shatial am Indus. *SNOY 1983:622–35*, Taf. XXXVIII–XLII.
- Thewalt, Volker. 1984. Pferdedarstellungen in Felszeichnungen am oberen Indus. *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches*, J. Ozols/V. Thewalt (eds.), pp. 204–18.
- Thewalt, Volker. 1985. Rock-carvings and inscriptions along the Indus: the Buddhist tradition. *South Asian Archaeology 1983:779–800*. Naples.
- Thewalt, Volker; Ozols, J. (eds.). 1984. *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches*. Köln.
- Thomas, F.W. 1935–63. *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan: part I: Literary texts, part II: Documents, part III: Addenda et corrigenda, part IV: Indices*. London.
- Thompson, H.C. 1981. *A narrative of events in Chitral, Swat and Bajour: the Chitral campaign*. Reprint Lahore.
- Tiffou, E.; Morin, Y. Ch. 1982. A note on split ergativity in Burushaski. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 45(1):88–94.
- Tivanenko, A.V. 1989. *Drevnie svjatilišča Vostočnoj Sibiri v epochu kamnja i bronzy*. Novosibirsk.
- Trench, C.C. 1985. *The frontier scouts*. London.
- Tripathi, Ch. 1981. Gilgit: Blätter der Mekhalā dhārani. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 7:153–62.
- Troll, C. 1984. Der Nanga Parbat als Ziel deutscher Forschung. *Zur Entwicklung der vergleichenden Geographie der Hochgebirge*, ed. H. Uhlig, pp. 99–127. Darmstadt.

- Tucci, G. 1940. *Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat valley*. Greater Indian Society. Calcutta.
- Tucci, G. 1956. *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*. Serie Orientale Roma, 10. Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture, 1. Roma.
- Tucci, G. 1958. Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat. Preliminary reports and studies on the Italian excavations in Swat (Pakistan). *E/W*, 9 (4): 279–328.
- Tucci, G. 1963. The tombs of the Asvakayana-Assakenoi. *E/W*, 14(1–2):27–8.
- Tucci, G. 1963a. Oriental notes, I. The Tibetan ‘White-Sun-Moon’ and cognate deities. *E/W*, 14(3–4):133–45.
- Tucci, G. 1963b. Oriental notes II: an image of a devi discovered in Swat and some connected problems. *E/W*, 14(3–4):146–82.
- Tucci, G. 1973. *Tibet: land of snows*. 2nd ed. London.
- Tucci, G. 1977. On Swāt: the Dards and connected problems. *E/W*, 27(1–2):9–103.
- Tucci, G. 1977a. Review of: K. Jettmar, ‘Die Religionen des Hindukusch’. *E/W*, 27(1–4):435–6.
- Tucci, G. 1983. *Indo-Tibetica I: mc' od rten e „ts'a ts'a“ nel Tibet Indiano e occidentale*. Roma.
- Tucci, G. 1988. *Stupa-art, architectonics, and symbolism*. English version of ‘Indo-Tibetica I’, transl. by Uma Marina Vesci, ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi.
- Turner, R. 1966–85. *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*. 4 vols. London.
- Tusa, C. Sebastiano. 1985. An archaeological survey in Darel. *J.C.A.*, VII(1):179–91.
- Tusa, C. Sebastiano. 1988. Note sulla produzione metallica nella valle dello Swāt alla luce del rinvenimento di alcune matrici ad Aligrāma. *Serie Orientale Roma: Orientalia Josephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, 56(3): 1493–1501, VIII plates.
- Vadeckaja, È.V.; Leont'ev, N.V.; Maksimenkov, G.A. 1980. *Pamjatniki okunevskoj kul'tury*. Leningrad.
- Vajnbërg, B.I. 1972. Nekotorye voprosy istorii Toxaristana v IV–V vv.: v svjazi s zapusteniem Kara-tepe. *Kara-tepe III*:129–54. Moskva.
- Vigne, G.T. 1842. *Travel in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo*. 2 vols. London. Reprint Karachi 1987.
- Visser, Ph.C. 1928. *Zwischen Karakorum und Hindukusch: eine Reise nach dem unbekanntem Herzen Asiens*. Leipzig.
- Vitali, Roberto. 1996. *The kingdoms of Gu.ge and Pu.hrang according to mNgáris rgyal.rabs by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa*. Dharamsala.
- Vladimirtsov, B. 1948. *Gengis-Khan*. Paris.
- Vohra, Rohit. 1982. Ethnographic notes on the Buddhist Dards of Ladakh: the Brog-pa. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 107(1):69–94.

- Vohra, Rohit. 1983. *History of the Dards and the concept of Minaro traditions among the Buddhist Dards in Ladakh*. Recent research on Ladakh: history, culture, sociology, ecology. Schriftenreihe Internationales Asienforum, 1. München.
- Vohra, Rohit. 1987. An old route across Karakoram mountains: from Khapalu in Baltistan to Yarkand. *U.S.I. Journal* 1987 (July–September):268–76.
- Vohra, Rohit. 1989. *The religion of the Dards in Ladakh: investigations into their pre-Buddhist 'Brog-pa traditions*. Ettelbrück.
- Wakankar, V.S. 1984. Techniques of prehistoric paintings and engravings. *Rockart of India*, K.K. Chakravarty (ed.), pp. 196–200. New Delhi.
- Walker, Anabel. 1995. *Aurel Stein: pioneer of the Silk Road*. London.
- Watters, T. 1904–5. *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India: A.D. 629–645*. Edited after his death by T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell with two maps and an itinerary by V.A. Smith. London. Reprint Delhi 1973.
- Whalley, W.B. 1983. Desert vanish. *Chemical sediments and geomorphology: precipitates and residua in the near-surface environment*, ed. A.S. Goudie, pp. 197–226. London, New York.
- Wiche, Konrad. 1958. Die Österreichische Karakorum-Expedition 1958. *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft Wien*, 100(3):1–14.
- Williams, J. 1973. The iconography of Khotanese painting. *E/W, N.S.*, 23(1–2):109–54.
- Wood, J. 1841. *A personal narrative of a journey to the source of the river Oxus by the route of Indus, Kabul, and Badakhshan*. London. Reprint Karachi 1976.
- Wüstenfeld, F. 1858. *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Mekka von Abul-Walid ben Abdallah el Azraki*. Vol. 1. London.
- Younghusband, F.E. 1896. *The heart of a continent*. London.
- Yule, H.; Cordier, H. 1903–20. *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1–2 and supplement. Reprint London 1975.
- Zarin, M.M.; Schmidt, R. L. 1981. The phonology and tonal system of Palas / kohis'tyō: / Shina. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 40:155–85.
- Zarin, M.M.; Schmidt, R. L. 1984. *Kohistani to Kashmiri: an annotated bibliography of Dardic languages*. Patiala.
- Zarin, M.M.; Schmidt, R. L. 1984a. *Discussions with Hariq: land tenure and transhumance in Indus Kohistan*. Berkeley.
- Zarubin, I.I. 1927. *Vershikskoe narechie kandzhutskogo iazyka*. Zapiski kollegii vostokovendov, 2, 2.
- Zeimal, E.V. 1996. The Kidarite kingdom in central Asia. *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, 3:119–33. Paris.

Index

A

- Abdur Rahman, 101
abhayamudrā, 131, 173n
Abhimanyu, 139
Abul Faiz, 151–2
Abul Ghani, 151
Achaemenids, 96; rock art, 81, 90, 96–7, 190
administration, 5, 18, 27–8, 36–7, 39, 73
adultery, 50–2, 57, 70
Afanasjevo Culture, 93
Afghanistan, xiii–xiv, 1, 8, 23, 71, 74
Africa, 85, 94
Aga Khan, 28; Foundation, 40
Agha Mohammad Shah, 164
agriculture, 5, 11–2, 56, 61–3, 82, 146, 198; see also, alfalfa, animals, apricots, barley, beans, buckwheat, double-cropping, fertilizer, grapes, irrigation, lalmi, legumes, lentils, maize, (high) meadows, millet, mulberries, pomegranate, potatoes, rice, spinach, trees, walnuts, wheat
air traffic, 10, 126
akhund, 46
Alam Bridge, 83, 96, 102, 117–8, 135, 191
al’Amin, 139
Alexander the Great, 97, 190
al’Fadl b. Sahl, 139–40, 190
alfalfa, 56
Alföldy, A., 150
Ali Ahmad Jan, 135, 176
Ali Sher Khan Anchan, 13, 34, 38
Aligrama, 95
Allchin, B., 81, 95
Allchin, R., 95
alluvial fans, 11, 48, 56, 58, 82
al’Ma’mun, 139–40
almwirtschaft, 53, 56, 69, 78n; see also, transhumance
Altai, 93, 95, 98
altar, 19, 98, 198; horned, 92
alter ego, 20, 22, 199; see also, doubles
Amir Kabir Syed Hamadani, 13
Amsar (= Naupur), 133
Amsari-mir, 161
amulets, 170
Anahita, 7
Ananta, 143
Anati, E., 80
anda, 105, 187
animal style, 90, 98–9, 101, 190; Scythian, 81, 98–9
animals, 6, 8, 12, 17, 20–1, 32, 58, 67, 91–2, 94, 98–9; rock art, 81, 90–2, 98, 100, 137–8, 187; sacred, xiii, 5–6, 17, 19–20, 22, 58, 99, 199; see also, cat, cattle, dog, elk, goats, horses, ibex, lamb, markhor, marmot, monal, monkey, otter, poultry, pure/impure, reindeer, roe deer, sacrifice, sheep, snow leopard, stag, yak, zebu
Anjung, 124
A-nou-yue, 127–8
apricots, 12, 57
Arabs/Arabian, 116, 141, 147
archaeology, xii, 98–9, 157; see also, altar, amulets, *baba*-statues, bronz-

- es, cauldrons, excavations, girdles, graves, jade, jewellery, necklace, pit-dwellings, plaques, potsherds, reliefs, rhytons, rings, ruins, stag, stag-stones, stone knives, stupa, tools, treasure hunters /seekers
- archer, 96
- arms, 92
- Arrian, 190
- Artemis, xiv, 6, 22, 198
- Ashina rulers, 152
- Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 100, 169
- Assaceniens, 190
- Assam, 7
- Astor, 9–10, 33–5, 38, 47, 82, 117, 122, 129, 157, 194
- Aswira (= Astor), 141
- asylum, 32, 76
- Atisa, 188
- Attock, 84
- Australia, 93–4
- Austria, x–xi, 8; see also, Vienna
- Austrian Haramosh Expedition 1958, xiii–xiv, 3, 8, 45, 70–1, 96, 165–6, 133, 159, 173n
- Austrian Himalaya Society, 3
- avalanches, 104, 178
- Avardi, 140, 191
- axes, 21, 51, 53, 137, 154
- Azimo, 75–7, 78n
- Azraqi, 130, 140
- Azur Shamsher, 152
- B**
- baba*-statues, 106
- Babusar pass, 40, 141, 177–8
- Bacot, J., 123, 156n
- Bactria/Bactrian, ix, 97, 190; rock inscriptions, xv, 110–1
- Badakhshan, 13, 155, 180
- Bagrot, 14, 22–3, 68, 70
- Bahman Kohistani, 141
- Bahrain Pyroxene Granulates, 83
- Bailey, H.W., 139
- Balakot, 84
- Baloch tribes, 68
- Balti, 10, 35, 38, 43
- Baltistan/Baltis, xiii, xv–xvi, 2, 9–10, 12–4, 16–7, 22–3, 34–9, 41, 116–9, 122, 128, 142, 146, 148, 150–2, 157, 182–4, 186, 188, 191, 199; rock art, 83
- Balur (= Palur), 108, 194
- Balūr, 140
- Baluristan, 108
- banāva*, 144
- Bandini-König, D., ix, xvii
- Banerjea, J.N., 98
- Banerjee, P., 172n
- Baramula gorge, 195
- Barkulti, 65
- barley, 12, 38, 61–2, 64
- Barmas, 87, 160
- Baroghil pass, 127, 141, 144, 177
- Barth, F., 3, 5, 7, 14
- battering, 86
- Batres, 54
- Basha valley, 10, 47
- Bashgal, 30
- Basin (hamlet), 162
- Baubura (= Bubur), 144
- beans, 56, 62
- Beckwith, C.I., 121, 123, 125, 139, 156, 192, 194
- Belenickij, A.M., 143
- Bemmann, M., ix, xvii, 101
- Bergman, F., 94
- Berichos, 25
- Bhattavaryan, 141–3
- Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 73–4, 78n
- Biafon-la, 146
- Biddulph, J., xiv, 1, 5–6, 8, 18–9, 48–9, 64, 107, 131, 153, 173n
- Biruni, xvi, 16, 82, 112, 139, 141–3, 154, 195
- bitan*, 26

- bi-triangular, 92
biyak, 16
 blacksmith, 55, 150; see also, smithy
 Bleichsteiner, R., xii
 blood feuds, 22, 31, 53, 56, 62, 64, 67,
 71–2, 75; money, 51, 71–2, 74; see
 also, *vendetta*
bodhisattva, 150, 199
 body-painting, 93
 Bohemia, x
 Bolor (= Palur), xvi, 25, 116–7, 130,
 139–42, 145–6, 153–4, 159, 171–2,
 189, 195
 Bolorian Tibet, 146, 149, 153, 184
 Bombay, 170
 Bono-na festival, 153
 Bon-po, 135–6
 boots, 92
 bovid, 92; see also, cattle
 bovine, 96; see also, cattle
 bow, 92, 137
 Brahmi, 105, 112, 114, 185, 187, 201n
 Brentjes, B., 187
 bridges, 10, 32, 40, 73–6, 87, 111–13,
 118, 128–9, 147, 179, 193
 British period, 1–2, 19, 27, 29, 32–4,
 44n, 46–7, 50, 65, 69, 76, 78n, 87,
 129, 132, 164, 169
brokpa, xiii, 38–9
 Bronze Age, xvi
 bronzes, 99, 133, 158–60, 170, 186, 192
 bruising, 86–7, 92, 111–2, 135–6, 185,
 188
 Bru.sha (= Bruža), 107, 117, 125–7,
 144, 184, 191–2
 Brushal, 183
 Bruža (= Bru.sha), 125, 192
 Bubur, 27, 106, 134, 160, 198, 200
 buckwheat, 12, 38, 62, 64
budalak, 198
 Buddha, 63, 131, 134–5, 162, 171, 200;
 rock art, 87, 185; see also, *bodhisat-
 tva*, Maitreya
 Buddhism/Buddhist, xv–xvi, 8, 13, 34,
 36, 63, 89, 102–3, 106, 108, 111,
 114–5, 118–20, 130–1, 134–6, 138,
 143, 145, 151–2, 158, 160, 173n,
 182, 184–8, 196–7, 200; rock art, xv,
 81, 84, 105–6, 111–3, 135, 137; see
 also, amulets, bronzes, Mahayana,
 missionaries, monastery, stupa, Tan-
 trism, written sources
 Buddruss, G., xii–xiii, xviii, 3, 52, 78n,
 108, 142, 156n, 157
 buffalo, 53; see also, cattle
 Bulurin Shah, 141
 Buner, 14, 46, 68, 194
 Būner, 104
 Bunji, 10, 28, 87, 163
 burials, 4, 22, 32, 93, 107, 196; second-
 ary, 27
 Burma, 7
 Burushaski, xv, 2, 10, 23–4, 26, 29, 43,
 48; rock inscriptions, xv, 102, 105,
 191
 Burushe, 27
 Burzahom, 95
 Buto Gah, 47
byada, 144
C
 calendar, 34
 carpenter, 55, 58, 66
 caste, 5, 12, 17–8, 25, 30, 48–9, 51, 59–
 60, 69–71, 155, 197; see also, oc-
 cupational groups, status groups
 cat, 98, 199
 cattle, 5–6, 10, 12, 17, 21, 29, 32, 53–
 4, 56, 62, 64, 69–70, 92–3, 96, 98,
 178, 190; see also, bovid, bovine,
 buffalo, cow, oxen
 carvings on wood, xiii, 155
 Caucasus/Caucasian, xii, 7, 66
 cauldrons, 98–100

- Central Asia, x, xii, xiv, xvi, 5, 22, 35, 39, 83, 94–7, 101, 120–1, 139, 143, 152, 171; rock art, 81
- Chakravarti, N.P., 136, 158–9
- Chalt-Chaprot, 26
- Chamugarh, 152
- chāni*, 107
- Chaprot brook, 136
- chariot, 96
- Chashi, 29, 54
- Chaudhary, A., 104
- Chavannes, E.M., 119–20, 122, 125, 127, 129–30, 201n
- Che-mi (= Chitral), 194
- Che-Tche-mong (= Zhimeng), 118
- Ch'ia-sha (= Khashas), 195
- Chieh-ch'a (= Khashas), 195
- Chieh-shi (= Chitral), 193–4
- Chieh-shih (= Chitral), 193–4
- Ch'ieh-shih (= Khashas), 195
- Chieh-shu (= Chitral), 193
- Chieh-shuai/Ch'ieh-shuai (= Chitral), 193
- Chilas/Chilasis, x, xviii, 10, 26, 32–4, 38, 45–7, 58, 72, 78n, 89, 91, 96, 99–100, 103, 110, 154, 178, 183, 191, 193–5; rock art, 97, 111, 114, 136–7, 140, 178, 185, 189, 191
- Chilas I, 98, 105–6
- Chilas II, 86, 92
- Child, G. V., xii
- chili* tree (= juniper), 19
- Chin dynasty, 181n
- China/Chinese, xvi, 35, 63, 86, 95, 100, 102, 106, 111, 118, 120–1, 123–30, 138, 141, 143, 147–8, 153, 159, 172n, 175, 177, 184, 195, 200; rock inscriptions, xv, 111–2, 193; see also, Han, Tang empire, written sources
- Chionits, 192
- Chi-pin, 98, 174, 180, 180n–181n
- chiselling, 86
- Ch'i-sha (= Khashas), 195
- Chitral, xiv, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, 2–3, 9–10, 14, 16, 23, 27–8, 37–8, 42, 64, 119, 130, 140–2, 193–5; see also, Che-mi, Chieh-shi, Chieh-shih, Chieh-shu, Chieh-shuai/Ch'ieh-shuai, Chö-mi, Kashkar, Kio-wei, Sham, She-mi, Sim gol, Simaigul, Syama
- Chö-mi (= Chitral), 119, 201n
- cho-pi-tsa*, 36
- chortens*, 132
- Christianity, 182
- chudä*, 59–61; see also, *dabbar*
- circle, 105–6, 137, 154
- circumcision, 49
- clan, 27; see also, descent group, kinship, lineage
- clay coins, 162, 170
- clay tablets, 173n, 186
- climatic conditions, 82–3, 94, 122, 190
- cloak, 94
- clothing, 100
- Cobb, E.H., 99
- coffins, 4, 22, 93–4, 107
- Cologne, 101
- conifer, 82
- corpses, 93; see also, mummies
- cow, 10, 21, 53; see also, cattle
- cremation, 22, 107, 196; see also, *chāni*, *jain*
- crown, 92
- cruciform, 187
- cult objects, 92
- cultural geography, 3
- Cunningham, A., 8, 63, 118
- D**
- dabbar*, 50, 59–60; see also, *chudä*
- Dadi Juvari, 30, 161
- Dainelli, G., 8
- daiyāl*, 197
- dakans* (= *dehqans*), 54–8, 61, 63, 66–7, 74

- dākas*, 197
dākinīs, 196–7
dala, 15, 79n; see also, *tal*
 Damot, 87
 dancer, 86–7, 92–3
 Dandan-Uiliq, 131
 Dani, A.H., ix, xv, 43n, 88–9, 91–2, 95, 100, 102–3, 134, 142, 153, 157
 Danyor, 102, 118, 127, 172n, 177; rock art, 126, 138, 152, 159, 172n
 Darada/Daradas, xvi, 16, 102, 106, 114, 130, 143, 145–7, 153–4, 191
 Dardar, 143, 145
 Dardic languages, 2, 8, 11, 17, 142
 Dardistan/Dards, xi, 2–3, 6–8, 11, 15, 17, 38, 46, 68, 70, 101, 108, 136, 163, 183, 189–91, 195, 198–9; see also, *dala*, *Darada*, *tal*
 Darel/Darelis, x, xiii, 3–5, 10, 14, 27, 30, 32, 42, 45, 52–3, 57–9, 60–9, 71–4, 77, 111–3, 118, 161, 180, 191–2, 201n
 Darkot pass, 65, 127, 136, 172n, 177, 187
 Dashkin (village), 34
 Dasht-i-Taus, 134
 Dassu, 74–5
 de Filippi Expedition 1913–14, 182
 Debaine-Francfort, C., 91
 defence towers, 31–2, 51, 53, 55, 57, 65, 72, 77
dehqans (= *dakans*), 31
 deity, 7, 25, 101, 110; female, xiii–xiv, 19, 21–2, 25, 29, 32, 34, 152, 199; male, 25, 92; rock art, 106, 154; see also, Anahita, Artemis, Durga Mahishasuramardini, Hariti, Herati, Khuda-mo, Murkum, river god, snake god, Syavush, Taiban
 democracy, 16
 demon, 92, 106, 137, 162; see also, fairy, spirits
 Deosai, xiii, 9, 38, 122, 128
 Department of Archaeology and Museums, xv, 89, 100, 157, 170, 186, 192
 Dera Ismail Khan, 75
 descent group, 15; see also, clan, kinship, lineage
 desert varnish, 83, 85
deva race, 199
devadāru, 144
devi, 200
 Dëvlet, M.A., 93
dhāraṇīs, 148
 Diamir (= Nanga Parbat), 10, 16, 21, 57, 82
 diet, 57, 62
 discs, 105, 185–6
 Dir, 2, 46, 68, 72, 77
 Dir-Kohistan, 46
 dog, 92, 95
 Dogra, 13, 29, 32, 38, 43
 Doms, 10, 12, 17, 25, 29, 47–9, 53, 59–60, 70
 Domaki, 10
 donkey, 53; see also, horses
 Dorah pass, 194
 doubles, 6, 199; see also, *alter ego*
 double-cropping, 11, 66
 drawing, 83
 Drew, F., 36
 drilling, 86
 Drosh, xv, xviii
 drum, 19
 Dubani, 21
 Duber, 76
 dung, see, fertilizer
 Durga Mahishasuramardini, 200
- E**
- earthquakes, 72, 83–4, 86
 earth rupies, see, clay coins
 ecology, 82, 190
 economy, 4, 7, 5, 41, 190
 elk, 99
 Emerson, R.M., 36, 183

- engraving, 84, 86, 90, 112, 136, 178
 Enoki, K., 187
 Europe, 122, 133; see also, written sources
 excavations, 89, 91, 95–7, 107, 109n, 133–5, 158, 162–71, 188–9
 expeditions, xvii, 21, 192; see also, Austrian Haramosh Expedition 1958, de Filippi Expedition 1913–14, German Hindukush Expedition 1955–6
 eyes, 92
- F**
- face, 86, 92
 Fa-hsien, see, Faxian
 fairy, 20; see also, *daiyāl*, demon, *peri-rachi*, spirit
 Far East, 102, 105; rock art styles, 96
 fauna, ix
 Faxian (= Fa-hsien), 63, 118–9, 154, 175–6, 192, 194
 feasts of merit, 6, 22
 feathers, 93
 ferry, 111, 113
 fertilizer, 5, 12, 31–2, 35, 40, 62, 66
 feudalism, 73; see also, villeinage
 Fever of the Body, 174
 fighting scenes, 106, 187
 fishermen, 93
 flake tools; see, tools
 floods, 11, 84–5, 96
 forests, 33, 42, 48; see also, trees
 fortifications, 24, 26, 33, 47, 66, 78n; 113, 127, 194; village, 4, 16, 19, 24, 26–7, 30–3, 38, 47, 51, 58, 62–6, 69, 155; see also, defence towers, *kot*
 Francke, A.H., 2, 8, 136, 153, 182, 187
 Frembgen, J., 24
 Friedrich, A., xii–xiii, 3–4, 27, 70
 Frontier Crimes Regulations, 51, 72
 Fuchs, W., 156n
- Fussman, G., ix, 10, 17, 43n, 88, 96–7, 101–3, 118, 120, 135, 160, 172n, 173n, 186, 191
- G**
- Gakuch, 4
 Gandhara, 63, 112, 190; rock art style, 103
 Ganesh (village), 14
 Ganish Marble, 83
 Gao Xianzhi (= Kao Hsien-chih), 120, 127
 Gar.log, 107
 Gar-ta/s'Kardo (= Skardu), 127
 Gayal, 64
 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak, 122, 129
 gender, 52, 60, 71; see also, inheritance, queen, women
 genealogies, xv, 63, 182
 geology, 1, 83; see also, alluvial fans, avalanches, Bahrain Pyroxene Granulates, earthquakes, floods, Ganish Marble, glaciers/glaciation, Island Area, Kamila Amphibolites, Ladakh Intrusives, landslides, moraines, Nanga Parbar-Haramosh spur, quartz vein, sand dunes, summits, uplift
 German Hindukush Expedition 1955–6, 3–6, 45, 47, 59, 63, 70–1, 78n, 103
 Ge.sar (= Gesar/Kesaro), 108
 Ghaznavids, 197
ghi, 12, 54, 57
 Ghizar, 13, 29, 73; rock art, 136
 Ghorband, 176
 Ghulam Muhammad, 6, 8, 21–2, 34, 87
 Gichi, 33
 Gichi Gah, 91
 Gīdagittā, 144
 Gilgit, xiii–xvi, 2–6, 9–10, 12–4, 16–7, 24–5, 27, 29–31, 34–5, 38, 40,

- 44n, 45, 47, 64, 67, 72–6, 78n, 82, 96, 99, 102, 111, 117–9, 122, 126, 128–30, 132–5, 138, 141, 144–5, 150, 154–5, 157, 159, 161, 163–4, 169–70, 172n, 173n, 178, 183, 186, 198, 200; river, 9, 27–9, 54, 99, 102, 106, 117, 128–9, 135, 137, 141, 152; rock art, 81, 87, 106, 117, 136–8, 176, 200; rulers of, 23, 29, 32, 34
- Gilgit-Karakoram, 58, 74, 82, 141, 161
- Gilgit Manuscripts, 116, 121, 130, 133–4, 158–60, 163, 168, 170–2, 172n, 186, 201
- Gilgit Scouts, 47, 73
- girdles, 94, 101
- glaciers/glaciation, 1, 7, 11–2, 20–1, 27, 48, 65, 82, 84, 90, 104, 146
- goats 5–6, 10, 12, 17, 32, 34, 53, 58, 69, 155, 198; rock art, 96, 200; see also, animals (sacred)
- gods, see, deity
- Gohar Aman, 23, 29, 44n, 136
- Gohar Rahman (= Gohar Aman), 44n
- Gol, 187
- Golapur, 27
- Golden River/Water, 144
- Gold race, 149, 199
- gold washing, 149, 151
- gold washers (= *maruts*), 11–2, 34, 43–4n
- Gor, 4–5, 24, 32–3, 45, 47, 69, 78n
- Gowri, 46
- grapes, 12, 57, 198
- grave-robbers, x
- graves/graveyards, x, xii–xiii, 4, 26–7, 32, 57, 63, 94–5, 99, 101, 107, 162, 109n, 196; collective, 4, 27; see also, Altai, burials, coffins, corpses, cremation, Karakol, mummies, Okunev Culture, ossuary
- Great Rock Slopes, 175
- Great Salavat, 71
- Grierson, G.A., 8
- grinding, 86
- Grjaznov, M.P., 98
- Grötzbach, E., 23
- grooving, 86, 92
- Gu.ge, 107
- Gujars, 12, 17–8, 31, 55, 58, 61–2
- Gujari, 10, 56, 61
- Gujhal, 23
- Gulf States, 41
- Guligram, 200
- Gupis, 4, 29, 128
- Gurez, 34
- gushpurs*, 28
- ## H
- Hackin, M., 133, 166–7, 173n
- Haertel, H., 160, 172n
- H'ai-yuen, 125
- Haldeikish, 88, 102–3; rock art, 83, 135, 157
- Hallier, U.W., 137
- Han, 174, 176
- Han-shu, 98, 180
- hand and footprints, 81, 87, 90, 92
- Hanessari river, 117
- Hanging Passage; see, Suspended Crossings
- Hanzil, 132
- Haramosh, xiii–xiv, 4–6, 8, 14, 21–2, 102, 152, 198, 200; rock art, 96; see also, Austrian Haramosh Expedition 1958
- Harban, 33, 74, 111
- Haripur, 51
- Hariti, 34
- Harmatta, J., 115
- Harun al'Rashid, 139
- Haserodt, K., 177
- Hashmatullah Khan, xv, 2, 14, 153, 182–3
- Hatun, 106; rock art, 116, 122, 125, 136, 138, 158–9
- Hatu Pir, 34, 47
- Hauptmann, H., ix, xvii, 109n, 132–3

- Hazara, 17, 46, 48, 101
 Hazrat Syed Mohammad Nur Bakhsh,
 14
 Hayward, 65
 head, 86, 92
 Headache, Greater and Lesser, 174
 Hedin, S., 175
 Heidelberg Academy for the Sciences
 and the Humanities, xvii, 109n
 Heine-Geldern, R. von, xii
 Hemis, 196
 Henzal, 168
 Hephthalites, 118–9, 126, 194, 201
 Herati, 34
 Herrmann, A., 175
 Himalayas, 1, 9, 11, 39, 42, 82, 139,
 141, 183, 193
 Hindi (= Hini), 26
 Hinduism, 17, 89, 114, 196–7, 201
 Hindus, 13, 33, 47, 196, 200
 Hindukush, 1, 9, 104, 113, 130, 139,
 148
 Hinduraj, 9
 Hini (= Hindi), 26
 Hinüber, O. von, ix, 88, 111, 114, 120,
 130, 136, 158–60, 172n, 185–6, 191,
 193
 Hispar glacier, 35, 183
 Hissar, 81
 History of Jammu and Kashmir, xv, 182
 Hodar, 58, 84, 106, 109n; rock art, 97–
 8, 116, 125–6, 154
 Ho-lan, 120
 holm-oak, 12, 17, 32–3, 48, 53
 Hopar, 81
 horse, 5, 34, 40, 57, 99, 111, 175, 177;
 see also, animals (sacred), donkey,
 mule, pony
 Ho-sa-lao (= P'u-sa-lao), 130
 houses, 16, 18, 22, 25, 29, 32, 36, 42,
 49–51, 55, 59–60, 62–6, 188; tem-
 porary, 47, 54, 155; see also, defence
 towers, *hujras*, pit-dwellings
 Hphrom Gesar, 147
 Hu tribes, 193
 Hudūd al-‘Ālam, 16, 139, 141, 146, 184
 Huichao (= Huei-ch’ao), 120–1, 184
hujras, 32, 77
 Hulsewé, A.F.P., 174
 human figures, x, 81, 87, 92–4, 105–6,
 137–8
 Humbach, H., 88, 117
 Hund (= Udabhandā), 145
 hunting/hunters, xiii, 7, 5, 20, 31, 54,
 67, 69, 93, 95, 198, 200; beliefs and
 customs, xiii, 6, 20, 31, 137, 187;
 rock art, 81, 92, 106, 109n, 137–8,
 187; see also, *alter ego*, doubles
 Hunza/Hunzakuts, xv, 2–4, 10, 12, 14,
 23–7, 37, 41, 44n, 45, 47–8, 57, 102,
 117–18, 129, 132–3, 136–7, 144,
 150, 157, 161, 175, 177, 183, 191;
 rock art, 81, 110–1
 Hu-ron-ga, 147
 Hu-sha, 150, 152, 199
 Hushe valley, 183
 Hussam-ul-Mulk, xv, xviii–xix
 huts, 92
- ## I
- ibex, xiii, 6, 8, 20–2, 99
 Ibn Khurdadbeh, 147
 images, 97, 135
 Imit, 99, 169
 incising, 86
 India/Indian, 190; titles, 18
 India Office Library, 139
 Indo-Europeans, 93
 Indus valley/river, 9, *passim*; rock art
 sites, 80–1, 90, 95, 98, 105, 136,
 189–90, 201; see also, Sindh, Sind-
 huḥ
 Indus Civilisation, ix
 Indus-Kohistan, 2, 5, 10–1, 16, 18, 30–
 1, 33, 46, 76, 81, 99–100, 154, 176
 infrastructure, 40, 146; see also, air traf-
 fic, bridges, *byada*, ferry, Karakoram

- Highway, paths, roads, skin rafts, tracks
 inheritance, 18, 60, 151; see also, primogeniture
 Inner Asia, xvi, 97
 Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā, 148–9, 151
 inscriptions, 140, 169, 172n, 186; see also, rock inscriptions
 Iran/Iranians, xvi, 2, 13, 78n, 88, 97, 190, 195; titles, 18
 Iranian, 2, 88, 114, 195; Middle, 110–1, 195
 irrigation, 11, 30, 47, 54–5, 61, 81, 84, 161, 177, 184
 Irshad Uwin, 144
 Ishkoman, 26, 28
 Islam, xvi, 5, 7–8, 13, 19–20, 30–31, 56, 59–60, 70–1, 77, 78n, 107, 117, 138–9, 141, 155, 188, 196, 199; rock inscriptions, 136; see also, *akhund*, *Ismailia*, mosque, mullah, Nur Bakshi, Roshani, Shia, Sufism, Sunni, *wali*, written sources
 Islamabad, 10
 Island Area, 83
 Ismail Khan, xviii, 89
 Ismailia, xvi, 13, 28–9, 45, 68, 74, 133
- J**
- jade, 95
jagir, 36
 Jaglot, 62
jain, 107
jajmani-system, 12
 Jalkot, 76, 179
 Jammu and Kashmir, 1, 44n
 Jats, 114
 Jayamangalavikramadityanandi, 126, 159, 172n
 Jayasimha, 143
 Jera-Bezard, R., 105
 jewellery, 134
 Jidgah (= Munji), 2
jirga, 50, 53, 60, 62, 64, 73, 76
 Jonaraja, 153
 juniper, 6, 19
 Jutial, 132, 160, 172n
- K**
- Ka'ba, 140
 Kabul, xiii, 46, 100, 139–40, 145
 Kabirov, D., 90
 Kafiristan/Kafirs, 7, 13, 30, 101, 108, 197
 Kaghan, 104, 180
 Kalam, 46, 192
 Kalash-Kafirs/Kalashas, xiii–xiv, 3–4, 7, 193, 198
 Kalbak-Tasha, 94
 Kalhana, 139
 Kamila Amphibolites, 83
 Kamins, 17, 49, 59–60, 70
 Kandahar, 107
 Kandia valley, 46, 99, 192
 Kanishka, 102
 Kanjudi (= clan in Little Palur), 126
 Kanyawali, 49
 Kanyawalis, 49, 58
 Karachi, 41
 Karakol, 93–4
 Karakoram, xvi, 1, 9, 45, 49, 85, 93, 104, 130, 147, 151, 177, 183
 Karakoram Highway, xv, 10, 40, 42, 73–6, 86, 88, 102, 111, 113, 172n, 192
 Kar Gah, 138, 161, 169
 Karghalik, 175
 Kargil, 14
 Karim Dar, 76–7
 Karlgren, B., xii
 Kartakhshah, 35
 Karumbar, 26–7, 99, 136, 177
 Kashgar, 195
 Kashkar (= Chitral), 193
 Kashmir/Kashmiris, xvi, 8, 13, 18, 37, 46–7, 96, 98, 102, 104, 106, 112,

- 118, 120, 130, 139–45, 147, 151, 153, 159, 163, 171, 172n, 180, 183, 186, 193–5; Maharaja of, xvi, 38, 143, 170, 182, 186; rock art, 95–6
- Kashmiri bronze statuette, 158–60, 169–70, 186
- Katore, 28
- Katsura, 130, 186
- Kauper, R. 185
- Kayanids, 151
- Kazakhstan, 71; rock art, 97–8
- Keiser, L., 72
- Kesar, 39
- Kesaro (= Ge.sar/Gesar), 148
- kha-chos*, 36
- Khairullah, 30
- Khaka (= Khasha), 195
- Khanbari, 30–1, 58, 60–1, 71, 161
- Khapalu, 9, 14, 36–7, 128, 147, 187; see also, Kia-pu-lo
- Kharoshthi, 102, 111, 191
- kharon*, 36
- Khasa (= Khasha), 195
- Khashas, 193–5; see also, Ch'ia-sha, Chieh-ch'a, Ch'ieh-shih, Ch'i-sha, Khaka, Khasa, Sha-le
- Khāśas (= Khashas), 193
- Khawar, Abdul Hamid, 163–4
- Khorezm, 4, 7
- Khotan, xvi, 118, 139, 147–9, 160, 175, 183
- Khowar, xvi, 10, 26, 29, 43, 142, 195
- Khri-ma-lod, 123
- Khuda-mo, 25
- Khunjerab pass, 175
- Khushwaqte, 27–8, 30, 44n
- Khyber pass, 1
- Kia-pu-lo (= Khapalu), 128
- Kidarites, 114, 201n
- Kilik, 176
- king, 16, 18–9, 23–4, 36, 38, 45, 49, 65; see also, kingship, queen
- kingship, 25, 37; see also, king, monarchy, principalities, queen, tyrannicide
- kinship, 15, 18, 24, 35–6, 38, 59; see also, *akhund*, *chudä*, clan, *dabbar*, *dala*, descent group, genealogies, lineage, milk-fostership, *tal*, *wali*, *zat*
- Kio-wei (= Chitral), 120
- Kirgisia, 97
- Kiris, 14
- Kishanganga (= Mahuvi, Nilum), 104, 130, 143–5, 154, 191
- Ki-ye, 172n
- Koei-jen (= Little Palur), 129–30
- Kohistan/Kohistanis, 10, 18, 30–1, 33, 46, 49, 55–6, 58–9, 66–8, 74–5
- Kohistani, 10, 46, 56
- kot*, 59, 61, 64, 66; see also *chudä*
- Kramins; see, Kamins
- Kubarev, V.D., 93
- Kuenlun, 93
- Kuh, 13, 29; rock art, 136
- Kunar, 119, 140, 180
- Kunduz, 194
- Kuo I-kung, 176, 181n
- Kushans, 103, 114, 180, 183; rock art, 81
- Kusnari river (= Kunar), 194
- Kuz'mina, E.E., x
- L**
- Ladakh, xvi, 2, 11, 36, 132, 142, 146, 183, 196; rock art, 83, 187
- Ladakh Intrusives, 83
- Laghman, 140
- Lahore, xi, 164, 177
- Lalituditya Muktapida, 147, 172n
- lalmi, 11
- lamb, 52
- lambadars*, 50, 61
- Lamghan, 120

- Land of Gold, 149, 151; see also, *suv-arnagotra*
- landlords, xiii, 67; see also, *gushpurs*
- landrights, 14–5, 42, 64, 67; see also, *cho-pi-tsa*, inheritance, *jagir*, primogeniture, landlords, share-croppers, *tago*, *wesh-system*
- landslides, 84, 188
- Lang-shan, 95
- languages, xiii, 2, 10, 42, 49, 142; see also, Bactrian, Balti, Burushaski, Caucasian, Chinese, Dardic, Domaki, Gowri, Gujari, Iranian, Jidgah (= Munji), Kanyawali, Khowar, Kohistani, Maiya, Middle Iranian, Middle Persian, Pashto, Persian, Phalura, Russian, Sanskrit, Shina, Sogdian, Torwali, Tibetan, Tirahi, Turkish, Urdu, Wakhi, Wershikwar
- Lan-so, 120
- Laukika era, 159, 172n
- Laspur valley, 119
- Legge, J., 201n
- legumes, 12, 64
- Leh, 147
- Leitner, G.W., xi, 5–6, 8
- lentils, 62
- Lévi, M.S., 120, 156n, 166, 172n
- Lha-tho sanctuary, 36
- Lien-yun, 127
- lineage, 4–6, 15, 17, 22, 25, 27, 31, 49–1, 54, 59; see also, clan, descent group, kinship, *yushteros*
- linguistic research, 2–3, 21
- Litvinskij, B.A., 99–100
- liver, 20
- Ljangan, 107
- loanwords, 48, 195
- Loebanr, 95
- Lok Virsa, xv
- Lop-nor, 94
- Lorimer, D.L.R., 6, 8, 151
- lotus, 184–5
- M**
- Macedonia, 190
- Maglote dynasty, 24
- Ma-hao-lai (= Ma-lai-hsi), 123–7, 156n, 193
- Mahayana, 196
- Mahuvi river (= Kishanganga), 144–5, 195
- Maillard, M., 105
- Maitreya, 63, 114, 118, 153–4
- Maiya, 46
- maize, 12, 31, 53–7, 62, 64, 66–7
- Makar Singh, 122, 126, 135, 138
- Ma-lai-hsi (= Ma-hao-lai), 156n, 193
- Mamgalacakra, 144–5
- Manjushri, 134, 200
- Mantal, 132, 182, 188
- manure; see, fertilizer
- Maqpon dynasty, 13, 34–5
- Marco Polo, xvi
- markhor, xiii, 6, 8, 20–1, 91
- marmot, 150
- marriage, 16–7, 21, 25, 27, 32–3, 36, 49, 56, 62, 124, 152; endogamous, 5, 49; exogamy, 5, 17, 25, 35–6; polygamous, 18, 51–2; see also, adultery, *muta*
- maruts*; see, gold washers
- masks, 92
- Massaga/Massagetæ, 190
- Mastuch, 193
- Maues, 100
- maulai* (= *mughli*), 13
- mayaro* (= ibex, markhor), 20
- mchod-rten*, 106
- meadows (high), 12, 21, 31, 35, 42, 53–4, 62–3, 145–6, 198–9
- Medes, 97
- Mediterranean World, xiv
- megaliths, 6, 19, 22, 38; see also, menhirs
- Mehrgarh, ix
- Mecca, 140

- men on foot or horseback, 136–7, 187
 Menghin, O., xi
 menhirs, 6, 179; see also, feasts of merit, megaliths
 merchants, 33, 67, 112, 179
 Mette, A., 172n
 microliths, 91
 Middle Asia, 7; rock art, 90
 milk-fostership, 18, 28, 30, 37
 millet, 5, 12, 62, 64
 Minar Gah, 98
 Minns, E.H., xii
 Mintaka, 177
 Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi, 14
 Mir Wali, 65
 Mirza Haidar, xvi, 26–7, 108
 Mirza Khan, 13
 Misgar, 166
 missionaries, 5, 13–14, 30, 58, 63, 69, 102, 107, 118
 Mlecchas, 143
 Moghulistan, 108
 Mo-kin-mang (= Mo-chin-mang), 123, 125–6, 193
 monal, 99
 monarchy, 16; see also, kingship
 monastery, 63, 114, 121, 134, 145, 160, 178, 185–6, 193, 196
 money, 18
 monkey, 144
 moon sickle, 92
 moraines, 57, 78n
 Morgenstierne, G., xii, xv, 8, 139, 194
 mosque, xiii, 36–7, 50, 59, 63, 76, 78n, 155, 182, 196
 Müller-Stellrecht, I.; see, Stellrecht, I.
 Mufti, Uxi, 157
 Mughals, 27
mughli (= *maulai*), 13
 mulberries, 12, 56
 mule, 34, 53; see also, horses
 mullah, 135
 Multan, 147
 mummies, 94; see also, corpses
- Murkum, 6–7, 198
 Mustagh pass, 118, 146, 151, 177, 183
muta, 39
 Muzaffarabad, 108
- N**
- Nathapanthiyas, 196
 Nager, xv, 10, 14, 23–4, 26, 35, 45, 48, 57, 118, 132, 150, 183
 Naltar valley, 52
 Namus, M.S., 173n
 Nandivikramaditya, 169, 186
 Nanēvandak, 112
 Nanga Parbat (= Diamir), 9, 21, 84, 110, 178, 195; rock art, 81
 Nanga Parbar-Haramosh spur, 9–10
 Nan-ni, 123, 125–6, 172n, 193
 Narain, A.K., 98
 Narisaf, 112
 National Institute of Folk Heritage, 157, 184
 Naupur, 133, 160–2, 170–1, 173n, 186
 Naupur Shah, 161
 Navasurendradityanandin, 122
 Nayyar, A., 44n, 68, 157, 184, 186
 Near East, 96–8
 necklace, 101
 Nepal, 7, 121
 Nilum valley (= Kishanganga), xvi, 104
 nomads, xvi, 97
 Nubra valley, 183
 numismatics, 148
 Nur Bakhshi, 14
 Nuristan, 108
- O**
- occupational groups, xii, xvii, 12, 17, 37, 41; see also, blacksmiths, painters, wood, sharecroppers, status groups
 Odi, 180
 Od.sde.btsan, 107

- Oka, Masao, xi
 Okunev Culture, 93; rock art, 93–6
 Ordos bronzes, 99
 Orgyan (= Swat), 196
 Orgyan-pa, 195
 Oshibat, 104, 109n, 111, 114
 ossuary, 27, 107
 otter, 34, 150, 199
 oxen, 69; see also, cattle
- P**
- Padmapani, 134
 Padmasambhava, 200
 Paffen, K.H., 4
 paganism xiv, xvi, 7, 107
 pagodas, 111
 painters, xvii
 paintings, see, pictographs
 Pak-German Study Group for Anthropological Research in the Northern Areas, 81, 88, 157, 184
 Pakhli, 17, 48, 108, 155
 Pakhtun Wali Khan, 30, 42, 58, 64–8
 Pakhtuns (= Pathans), xvi, 14–6, 30, 46, 49, 51–2, 58, 65, 68, 70, 75, 77, 197
 Pal, P., 158–60, 169–70, 172n
 Pa-lūr (= Palur), 183
 Palur, 117–21, 123–5, 127–8, 142, 185–7, 191–3; Great, 117–8, 121, 125, 130, 146, 148–9, 172n, 184, 192; Little, 106, 117, 119–21, 123–7, 129–30, 138, 143–4, 146, 184, 192, 194–5; ruler, 121, 123–5, 127; titles, 121, 123, 125, 127, 141, 183, 192; see also, Balur, Bru.sha, Bruža, Bolor, Bulurin Shah, Ho-sa-lao, Patola, Prushava, P'u-sa-lao, Sie-to
 Pamir, 99, 101, 107, 113, 127, 132, 136, 138; rock art, 136
 Pan-Asian Collection, 170
 Panini, 201n
 Panjkora, 14, 46, 119
 Parpola, A., 93
 Partition, 33, 39, 47
 Pashto, 2
 Paspat, 119
 Pathans; see, Pakhtuns
 paths, 122, 175, 179, 181n, 192
pati, 50
 patination, 83, 87, 90–1, 107
 Patola, 17, 116–7, 121, 125–7, 129–30, 135, 138, 143, 148–9, 152, 159; Shahis 116–7, 131, 133, 142–3, 158, 160, 169, 172, 172n, 186, 193; rock inscriptions, 116, 133, 136, 138; titles, 126, 130, 143
 Pattan, 76, 179, 100
 paws, 99
 pecking, 86–7, 92, 178
 Pelliot, P., 117, 120
peri, 20, 197
 Persia, xv, 184
 Persian, 184; Middle, xv, 110
 Peshawar, 101
 Petech, L., 175–6, 180n
 petroglyphs; see, rock art
pha-chos, 36–7
 Phalura, 108
phaspun-ships, 36
 Phuguch, 59, 63–4
 pictographs, 82, 83, 84–7
 Piffl, E., 8
 pilgrims, 105, 112, 120, 136, 179, 195–6
 pine, 48
 P'i-shan, 174–5
 pit-dwellings, 95
 plaques, 99–100
 political organization, 43, 45, 49–50, 59, 73; offices, 36; see also, administration, *dala*, democracy, feudalism, *hujras*, *jajmani*-system, *jirga*, kingship, *lambadars*, landrights, monarchy, *pati*, principalities, republics, segmentary states, *valis*, villages, *wazir*, *yushteros*, *zeitu*
 polo, 39, 53

Po-lou-lei (= Palur), 119
 Po-lü (= Palur), 118
 pomegranate, 28, 144
 Pontic region, 99
 pony, 40, 67, 188; see also, horses
 population growth, 40
 Poryag, 14
 potatoes, 12
 potsherds, 85
 poultry, 52
 primogeniture, 54
 princess (Tibetan), 123–5, 129
 principalities, 46, 49, 64–5
 Prushava, 144, 188n
 Pu.hrang, 107
pul-festival, 198
 Punjab, 17, 33, 55, 107
 Punyal, 13, 27–9, 45, 64, 74, 77, 134,
 198–200; rock art, 135
 Purig, 9, 14, 47, 146
 pure/impure, 6, 8, 17, 20–1, 25, 31–2,
 34, 48, 58, 99, 150, 200
 P'u-sa-lao (= Ho-sa-lao), 130

Q

Qamar, M.S., 89, 157, 184, 186
 Qarakhanids, 107
 Qaraqash, 146
 Qarluqs, 139
 Qasmi, A., 136, 184
 quartz vein, 91
 queen, 25, 130, 149, 150–2; see also,
 king, kingship, *rānī*

R

ra (= king); see, king
rachi, 20–1
 Rahman, S., 100
 rainfall, 11
 ra'is, 44n
 Raja Gira, 197
 Raja of Guda, 102

Rājatarāṅgiṇī, 16, 139, 145, 153, 191
 Rajawari, 112
 Rakhiot Bridge, 80–1
rākṣasīs, 149, 199
 Rakaposhi, 21
 Ram Ghat, 129
rānī (= queen); see, queen
 Ranov, V.A., x, 83, 101, 107
 Raskam, 146, 175
 Ravere, 140, 191
 Rawalpindi, xiii, 3, 70
 rays, 92
 Records of the Western Lands, 119, 180
 Red Earth, 174
 Red Indians, 93
 reindeer, 91
 reliefs, 132–5, 138, 160, 162, 188, 200
 religion, 5, 7–8, 13, 19, 21–2, 29, 41,
 43, 49, 86, 115, 148, 187, 189, 197,
 200; see also, Bon-po, Buddhism,
 Christianity, Hinduism, hunting, Is-
 lam, paganism, shamanism, Shiva-
 ism, sun-worship, Zoroastrianism
 republics, 16, 45, 69
 Rhabar Hassan, xvii, 102
 rhytons, 100, 169
 rice, 56
 riders, 105
 rings (golden), 100–1
 river god, 92
 roads, 10, 32, 34, 40, 47, 72, 102, 111,
 114, 126, 178–9, 182, 194
 Robertson, G.S., xiv, 78n,
 rock art, x, xv, xvii–xviii, 45, 80–92,
 94–9, 101, 103–7, 109, 109n, 111,
 132, 135–7, 154, 159, 172n, 178,
 185–8, 200–1
 rock art inventories, 86, 95, 137; see
 also, altar, *anda*, animals; archer,
 arms, axe, bi-triangular, body-paint-
 ing, boots, bovid, bovine, bow, Bud-
 dha, Buddhist, cat, chariot, circles,
 cloak, crown, cruciform, cult ob-
 jects, dancer, deity, demon, *devi*,

- discs, dog, elk, eyes, face, feathers, fighting scenes, girdles, goats, hand and footprints, head, human figures, hunting/hunters, huts, ibex, images, lotus, markhor, masks, men on foot or horseback, monal, moon sickle, paws, rays, reindeer, riders, roe deer, *rubab*, sashes, shields, snout, spines, spire, stag, stag-stones, standards, stupa, sword, tassels, umbrella, warriors, zebu
- rock art sites, xv, 81–3, 85; see also, Africa, Alam Bridge, Aligrama, Altai, Balakot, Baltistan, Burzahom, Central Asia, Chilas, Chilas I, Chilas II, Danyor, Ghizar, Gilgit, Gu.ge, Haldeikish, Haramosh, Hatun, Hisar, Hodar, Hopar, Hunza, Indus, Kalbak-Tasha, Karakol, Kashmir, Kazakhstan, Kuh, Ladakh, Langshan, Ljangan, Loebanr, Middle Asia, Minar Gah, Nanga Parbat, Okunev, Oshibat, Pamir, Punyal, Pu.hrang, Rakhiot Bridge, Rondu, Shatial, Shatial Bridge, Shigar, Siberia, Skardu, Swat, Thalpan, Thalpan 'Altar Rock', Thor, Yasin, Ziyarat
- rock art styles, 90; see also, animal style, Achaemenid, Achaemenoid, Bon-po, Buddhist, Far Eastern, Gandharan, Kushan, Scythian animal style, Sogdian
- rock art techniques, see, battering, bruising, chiselling, drawing, drilling, engraving, grinding, grooving, incising, pecking, pictographs (paintings), sanding,
- rock-carvings, see, rock art
- rock inscriptions, xv, 45, 81, 95, 97, 101–5, 106–7, 110, 112, 114, 117, 120, 135–6, 140, 153, 159–60, 186–9, 191, 193; see also, Bactrian, Brahmi, Bon-po, Buddhist, Burushaski, Chinese, Iranian, Islamic, Kharoshthi, Middle Iranian, Middle Persian, Patola, proto-Sharada, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Tibetan
- rock-shelters, 82
- roe deer, 91
- Roiss, H., 8
- Rondu, 9–10, 14, 35, 84, 118, 128, 152, 178, 188; rock art, 96, 135
- Ronos, 18
- Roshan, 29
- Roshani, 68
- rubab*, 107, 137
- Rudraśarma, 191
- rui*, 6
- ruins, 23, 26, 85, 113, 155, 162, 164–5, 185, 187, 192, 197
- ruler; see, king
- Rumeşa Pekako, 193
- Russia/Russian, 65, 71, 90, 110, 143; see also, treasure of Peter the Great, Tsar
- ## S
- sacrifice, 32, 198; see also, liver
- sadhu*, 195–6
- Sagaster, K. ix, 135, 157
- Sai, 87, 98, 127–8, 135, 181n
- Saiphur Shah, 161
- saintly families, 15
- Saka, 7, 97–8, 99, 101, 114, 178
- Saka Itinerary, 16, 106, 109n, 139, 144, 154, 171, 172n, 193
- Salt Range, 196
- Saltoro valley, 183
- saṃghārāmas*, 144
- Samigal, 59
- Samkaravarman, 145
- San Gimignano, 31
- sanctuary, 32, 36, 97, 102–6, 112–3, 117–8, 153, 201; see also, stupa, mosque
- sand dunes, 85

- sanding, 86
 Sanskrit, xv, 88, 105, 145, 153, 184,
 186; see also, written sources
 Sarmatians, 100
 Sarikol, 24, 144, 180
 Sasanids, 103, 115
 sashes, 94
 Satil, 54
 Satpara, 132, 182, 188
 Sauromatic Culture, 99
 Sayyids, 18, 26, 30, 49, 58–9
 Sazin, 30, 67, 74, 104, 175, 179
 Scerrato, U., 107
 Schomberg, R.C.F., 6, 8, 71
 schools, 42, 121
 Schroeder, U. von, 134
 Scythians, xvi, 100; see also, animal
 style
 segmentary states, 36
 Seljuks, 44n
 Seo, 76–7
 Sepi-Ochsenfeld, E., xvii
 settlements; see, village, town
 Shah Ra'is, 27–8
 Shah Rais Khan, 151, 153
 Shahi period, 197
 Shahiullah Khan, 75
 Shakyamuni, 134
 Sha-le (= Khashas), 195
 Sham (= Chitral), 194
 shamanism/shamans, xiii, 5–6, 19, 22–
 3, 25–6, 38, 198
 Shamil, 82, 154, 195
 Shamilan, 82, 141, 154, 195
 Shandur pass, 28–9, 193–4
 Sharada/proto-Sharada, 105
 sharecroppers, xiii; see also, *dakans*,
dehqans
 Shastri, K., 164–70
 Shatial, 73, 75, 109n, 110–4, 178–9,
 194; rock art, 80–1, 111, 178, 193,
 201
 Shatial Bridge, 103, 111–2, 114
 Shayok valley, 9, 35
 sheep, 53
 She-mi (= Chitral), 193–4
 Shengus pass, 9, 22, 122
 Sher, Ja.A., 96
 Sher Quila, 20
 Shia, 13–14, 23, 29, 38, 44n, 68, 45–6,
 75
 Śīḍathasa, 144
 shields, 105
 Shigar, 14, 23, 35, 132, 151–2, 185,
 187–8; rock art, 184–5, 187
 Shilathasa/Śīlathasa (= Chilas), 144,
 154
 Shiltas (= Chilas), 141
 Shimshal, 175, 177
 Shina, 4, 7, 11, 17, 24, 26, 29, 33–4,
 38, 43, 45–6, 48, 56, 108, 155
 Shinaki, 46, 48
 Shins, 17, 19, 25–6, 48–9, 59, 69–70,
 107, 109, 161
 Shiri Badat, 152–3, 161
 Shiri Bager Tham, 19
 Shivaism, 8
 Shiyat Khan, 162
 Shoto, 27
 Shui-ching-chu, 175
 Shuja ul-Mulk, 77
 Shuko Gah, 160–1
 Shyok, 146, 178, 183, 187
 Siberia, x, xiii, 7, 19, 93–5; rock art, 85
 Sibi-Jataka, 111
 Sie-to (= Ye-ho, Ye-to) 120, 127
 Siiger, H., 3
 Sikhs, 32, 44n, 84
 Sikkim, 132
 Silk Roads, 102, 104, 174
 Sim gol (= Chitral), 194
 Simaigul (= Chitral), 194
simha, 130
 Sims-Williams, N., ix, 88, 110, 112
 Sīna river, 144
 Sindh (= Indus), 141
 Sindhuḥ (= Indus), 191
 Singal, 28, 74

- Skardu, xiv, 9–10, 14, 35, 84, 86, 122, 125, 128, 132, 134–5, 147–8, 151, 186; rock art, 116, 186, 188
- skin rafts, 10, 44n, 117, 129, 147, 193
- Skorupski, T., 131
- slavery, xiii, 13, 44n, 55
- smithy, 50, 63; see also, blacksmith
- snake god, 92
- Snellgrove, D.L., 131
- snout, 99
- snow leopard, 34
- Snowy Mountains, 120
- Snoy, P., xii, 3, 6, 22, 70, 102
- Söhnen-Thieme, R., ix, 157
- Sogdia/Sogdians, xv, 110–1, 112–5, 153, 190, 201; rock art, 114; rock inscriptions, xv, 103, 110–2, 114, 153, 192
- So-i-shui river, 129
- Song Yun, 118–9, 194
- Sonikot, 172n, 192
- So-yi river (= Sai), 128
- spinach, 57
- spines, 92
- spire, 186–7
- spirits, 21, 135, 197; see also, *dākas*, *dākinīs*, fairy, witches
- Srinagar, 163–4, 169–70, 186
- stag, 91, 101
- stag-stones, 98
- sTag tsan ras pa, 196
- Staley, J., 198
- Stalin, J., 71
- standards, 92
- status groups, 36; see also, Dom, Kammins, Yeshkuns
- Stein, Sir Mark Aurel, 2, 4, 63–4, 66, 94, 99–100, 118–9, 131–4, 136, 142, 160, 162–3, 169, 176, 182, 187, 193, 199
- Stellrecht, I., 25, 44n, 88, 151, 157
- stones; see, megaliths
- stone knives, 95
- stupa, 13, 85, 103–4, 106, 111, 113, 132–4, 138, 160, 162–4, 166, 168–71, 173n, 180, 185–7, 192; rock art, 103, 105–6, 111, 113, 135–8, 154, 160, 185–7
- subsistence, 4
- Su-che-li-tche, 124, 127, 156n, 192
- Sufism, 107, 137
- Su-fu-she-li-chih-li-ni, 121
- Su-lin-t'o-i-che, 125
- summits, 7, 21
- Sum-pas, 149
- sun-worship, 89–90
- Sunni, 14, 29, 45–6, 58, 68, 155, 197
- Surendaicca (= Su-che-li-tche), 192
- Surendraditya, 125
- Su-shih-li-chih (= Su-che-li-tche), 156n
- Suspended Crossings, 98, 109n, 174–6, 179–80, 181n
- sūtra*, 148
- suvarṇagoṭra*, 149
- Swat/Swatis, 2, 7, 14–6, 46, 58, 68, 77, 109n, 118–20, 134, 175–6, 179–80, 189–90, 192, 195–7, 200; rock art, 82, 86, 95–6
- Swat-Kohistan, xiv, 7
- sword, 154
- Syadīm, 144
- Syama (= Chitral), 194
- Syavush, 7
- T**
- tago*, 15
- Taiban, 5, 7, 32, 78n
- Taj Mughal, 13, 132–3
- Tajikistan, 107
- tal*, 15; see also, *dala*
- Ta-li-lo (= T'o-li), 180, 192
- T'ang; see, Tang
- Tang empire, 120, 123–4, 194; see also, written sources
- Tang-shu, 124–5, 127

- Tangir/Tangiris, x, xiii, 3–4, 10, 14, 28, 30, 42, 45, 47–53, 55, 57–58, 60–71, 73–4, 78n, 104, 111–3, 192
- T'an-kiu mountain, 127
- Tantrism, 196–201
- Tarakhane; see, Trakhane
- Tarim basin, 35, 94, 102, 117–8, 146–7, 174, 177–8, 191
- tassels, 94
- Taxila, 100
- Ta Yüeh-chih, 98
- Thak, 33, 90
- Thak Gah, 47
- Thalpan, 33, 78n, 103; rock art, 90, 97, 104
- Thalpan 'Altar Rock', 97–8
- Thewalt, V., 113, 135, 157
- Thol, 132–3
- Thomas, F.W., 123, 148, 150, 156n
- Thor, 33, 177; rock art, 96–8, 103, 111, 114
- Three Pools, 175
- Tibet/Tibetans, xvi, 106, 121, 123–30, 132, 138–42, 144, 146–50, 153, 159–60, 183–4, 186–8, 194–6; rock inscriptions, xv, 106, 135–6, 138, 160, 187; titles, 139–40, 148; see also, Bolorian Tibet, Palur, princess, queen, written sources
- Tibetan, xv, 2, 35, 142, 187; archaic, 10
- Tibetan plateau, 93, 146
- Tie-lo, 119
- Tillja-Tepe, 100
- Tirahi, 17
- titles, 136, 139, 147; see also, India, Iran, Palur, Patola, rock inscriptions, Tibet, Turks, *wazir*, *yabgu*, *zeitu*
- Tiznaf, 146
- tjurungas*, 93
- Todd, J.H., 134
- Tokharistan, 113, 127, 193, 194
- To-leih (= T'o-li), 118
- T'o-leih, 119, 201n
- T'o-li (= Ta-li-lo), 63, 118–9
- toll, 179
- Tolti, 35
- tools, bone, 95; flake 91
- Torwali, 46
- tourism, 40
- Toussaint, Ch., 123, 156n
- towns, 16
- tracks, 40, 67, 98, 104, 119–20, 128, 132, 135, 176–9, 188
- Tragbal pass, 145
- Trakhane (= Tarakhane) dynasty, 16–7, 22, 24, 27, 35, 139, 150, 153, 155
- trance, 19
- Transhimalayas, 178–9
- transhumance, 190–91; see also, *alm-wirtschaft*
- treasure hunters/seekers, 109n, 133, 166, 171 186
- treasure of Peter the Great, 100–1
- trees, 20, 41, 62; see also, *banāva*, conifer, *devadāru*, forests, holm-oak, *chili tree*, juniper, pine, walnut
- Tripathi, Ch., 172n
- Troll, C., 82
- Tsar, 65
- ts'a ts'a*, 186
- Ttīdī, 144
- Tucci, G., 127–8, 130, 164, 189, 192–7, 200
- Tumat, 146
- Tun-huang, 120–2, 199
- Turkestan, 23, 155
- Turks, 106, 141–2, 146–50, 152, 172n; titles, 18, 108, 141;
- Turkish, 2, 142
- Turushkas, 143
- twins, 24
- tyrannicide, 30
- U
- Uda, 180
- Udabhandā (= Hund), 145

- Udyana (= Swat), 119–20, 175, 180, 192, 195
 Uḍḍiyāna/Uddyāna; see Udyana
 Udegram, 197
 Uighur, xvi
 umbrella, 186
 Umra Khan, 65
 Unang, 141
 uplift, 90
 Urasa (= Hazara), 17
 Urdu, 10, 42
 Utrarbandah (Lord of), 139
- V**
- Vaishnavasena (= Vaiśravaṇasena), 191
 Vajrapani, 200
 Vajrashura, 105
 Vajrayāna, 195, 197, 200
 valis, 58
 Veda, 7
 vendetta, 71, 75
 Vienna, xii, 8
 Vijaya Sangrama, 147
 village, xiii, 2, 4, 11, 16, 25, 34, 38, 50, 58, 62–5, 69–70, 82, 147, 155, 162, 182–3, 188, 198–9; conflicts, 22, 108; organisation, xiii, 5, 18, 54, 155; sanctuaries, 19, 105; see also, *biyak*, *brokpa*, *chudä*, *dabbar*, *dala*, defence towers, democracy, fortifications, *hujras*, *jirga*, *kot*, *lambadars*, *pati*, *wesh*-system, *yushteros*, *zeitu*
 villeinage, 13
 Vitali, R., 107
 Vohra, R., 146, 153
- W**
- Wakankar, V.S., 86
 Wakhan/Wakhis, 4, 23, 65, 140, 177
 Wakhi, 2, 10, 26
 wali, 46
 Wali of Swat, 31, 68
 walnuts/walnut tree, 12, 56, 144, 198
 Wang Do-shi, 123
 warriors, 97, 104
 Watters, T., 181n
 Wazir Ali Shah, xv, xviii
 wazir, 18, 36–7, 39
 Wei annals, 194
 Wershikwar, 2
 wesh-system, 5, 14, 16, 32, 34, 42, 58–60, 64, 68–71, 155
 Whalley, W. B., 85
 wheat, 12, 56, 61–2, 64
 Wiche, K., 4, 8, 70, 78n
 Wild men, 149
 Williams, J., 172n
 wine, 26, 28
 witches/witchcraft, 19, 20, 22, 25, 28, 150, 196–9; see also, *rākṣasīs*, *rui*
 Wolga-Ural steppes, 99
 women, 18, 51–2, 62; see also, gender, queen
 wood, 41; carvers, 37, 63, 150; contractors, 33, 74, 113; cutters, 30, 42, 60, 113
 written sources, Arabic, 139; Buddhist, 119, 142, 148, 158; Chinese, xv, 98, 101, 117–21, 127, 130, 139, 153, 159, 172n, 183–4; European, 183; Islamic, xv, 130, 159; Sanskrit, 142, 149; Tang, 121–2; Tibetan, xv, 107, 121–2, 124, 139, 148, 184, 192; see also, Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak, Gilgit Manuscripts, Han-shu, History of Jammu and Kashmir, Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam, Inquiry of Vimala-prabhā, Rājatarahṅiṅī, Records of the Western Lands, Saka Itinerary, Shui-ching-chu, Veda, Wei annals
 Wu-ch’a, 180
 Wu-cha’ng (= Swat), 119, 180
 Wukong, 120

X

Xinjiang, 91, 97
 Xuanzang (= Xuan Zhuang), 63, 119,
 149, 192

Y

yabgu (= yabghu), 35, 139, 194
 Yabgu Fateh Ali Khan, 36
 Yaghistan/Yaghistanis, 30, 33, 45–6, 82
 yak, 29, 91
 Yang-t'un, 121
 Yarkand, 24, 175
 Yasin, xv, 2, 10, 13, 28–9, 44n, 48, 64–
 5, 128, 134, 144, 161; rock art, 106,
 137
 Ye-ho (= Sie-to), 120
 Yeshkuns, 17, 48–9, 59, 70, 161

Ye-to (= Sie-to), 127
yushteros, 17, 50, 60, 66
 Yusuf Qadr Khan, 149
 Yusufzai, 14, 196
 Yuvaraja, 102

Z

zat, 15
 zebu, 92
 Zeimal, E. V., 201n
zeitu, 18
 Zerafshan, 104
 Zhimeng, 118
 Zia ul-Haq, 88
 Ziyarat, 109n
 Zoji La Pass, 151
 Zoroastrianism, 115

Beyond the Gorges of the Indus

Archaeology before Excavation

Karl Jettmar

Edited by *Ellen Kattner*

Beyond the Gorges of the Indus not only elucidates the old and ancient history of mountain areas of Pakistan, as far as possible, it also sends out an urgent appeal for the conduct of archaeological excavations there. Karl Jettmar, the doyen of systematic scientific research on the Northern Areas of Pakistan, exemplifies in this outstanding book the results of his studies in the disciplines of social anthropology, art history, and ancient history, and deduces their archaeological implications. This work is the first compilation of Jettmar's so far unequalled contribution to scientific research on the region to which he has devoted most of his scholarly life.

Between 1954 and 1989, numerous expeditions to the area that is now known as the Trans-Himalayan zone, allowed Jettmar to acquire his unique and intimate knowledge of it. The reader gets the opportunity to glimpse at the social conditions of Baltistan and the valleys of Tangir and Darel. The articles on the Sogdian merchants, the Gilgit Manuscripts, and the Patola Shahis, provide an insight into the ancient trading networks, and the dynasties trying to assert their influence on them. The presentation of the still ongoing research on the more than 30,000 images and over 5000 inscriptions documents the rock art province discovered by Karl Jettmar, that has turned out to be one of the world's most profuse and most impressive—the manifestation of the link connecting the famous Silk Roads to the South. Together, the articles confirm Jettmar's hypothesis, namely, that 'Archaeology before Excavation', is a most thrilling and rewarding adventure.