

BETWEEN GANDHĀRA AND THE SILK ROADS

Rock-carvings along the Karakorum Highway



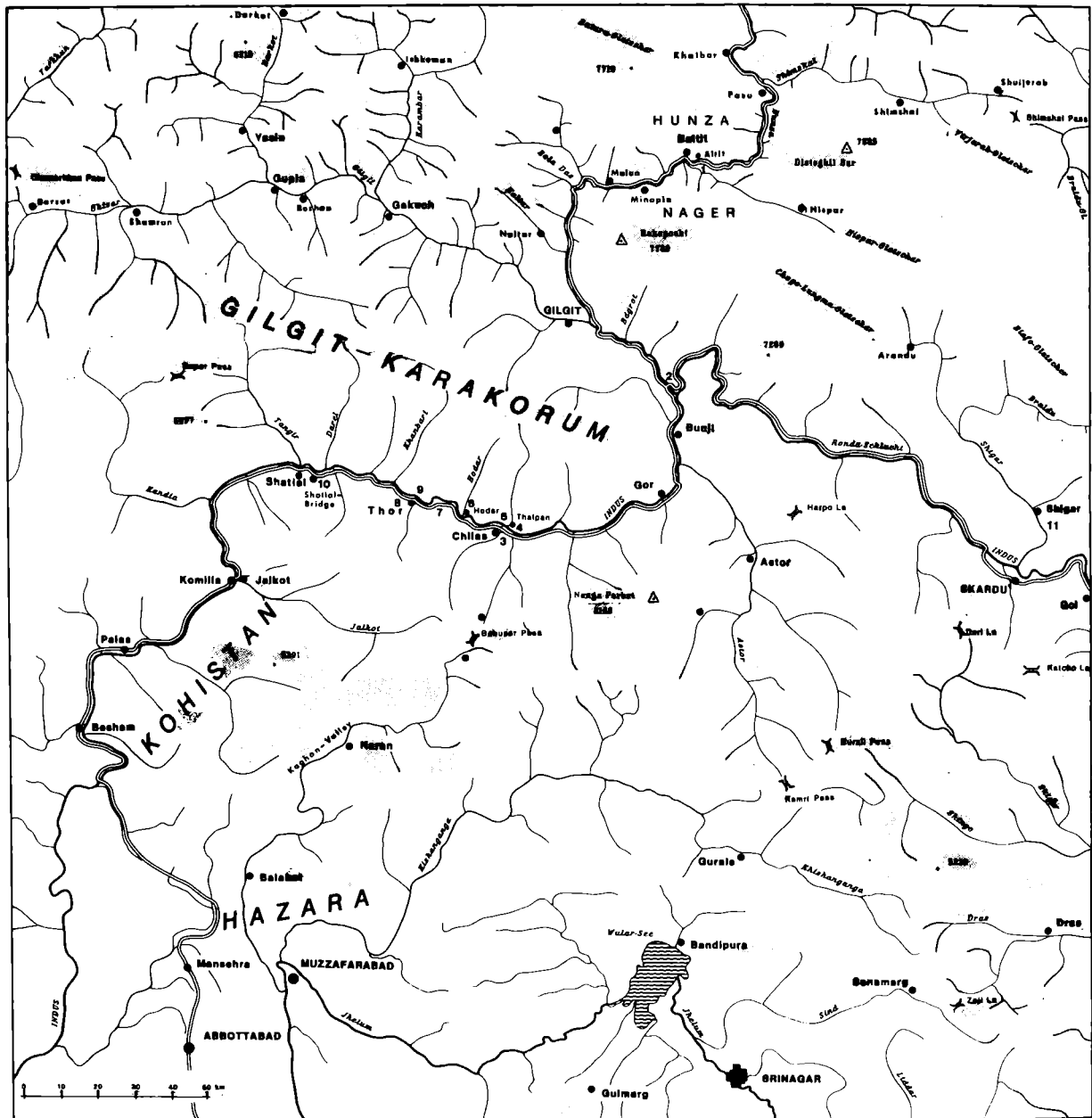
Philipp von Zabern

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Rock-carvings along the Karakorum Highway

Pitt Rivers Museum and
Department of Ethnology and Prehistory
University of Oxford

The Royal Geographical Society
London



Important clusters of rock-carvings and inscriptions along the Karakoram 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 Shatial Bridge 11 New discoveries in Baltistan: monastery and inscriptions near the castle of Shigar

BETWEEN GANDHĀRA AND THE SILK ROADS

Rock-carvings along the Karakorum Highway

Discoveries by German-Pakistani Expeditions

1979 - 1984



VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · MAINZ AM RHEIN

Colour photographs come from slides taken by members of the Pak-German Study Group, K. Jettmar, V. Thewalt, J. Poncar, M. S. Qamar during systematic recordings of rock-carvings and inscriptions in North Pakistan.

The slides were put at our disposal by the research unit "Rock-carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway" of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (Heidelberg Academy of Science and Letters). Large-sized colour photographs were then made by the Heidelberger Universitätsgesellschaft (Heidelberg University Society) with the help of a donation from the Heidelberger Zement AG on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the University in 1986. An additional financial contribution was made by the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne, which arranged the first exhibition of the material in German-speaking countries from 29th March to 21st July 1985. The photographs were also on view in Heidelberg, Zurich, Munich, Essen and Hamburg.

The printing of the catalogue was made possible by permission of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften to produce preprints from the colour lithographs which had been made for scientific publication (volumes of the corpus). We thank the Verein zur Förderung der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (Sponsors of the Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences) for a contribution towards the printing costs.

The proceeds from sales of the catalogue were used for the production of additional colour photographs.

Planning and production of the catalogue:
Prof. Dr. Karl Jettmar and Dr. Volker Thewalt. Dr. V. Thewalt also supplied all the line drawings. Together with the engineer Mr. Robert Kauper he designed the maps.

Mrs. Eva-Maria Lill translated the catalogue.

Authors whose sketches were reproduced for comparison are mentioned in the text.

The exhibition is organized by the German coordinator of the Pak-German Study Group, Prof. Dr. Karl Jettmar, on behalf of the above-mentioned research unit of the Heidelberg Academy.

Conception, scientific supervision and production:
Prof. Dr. Karl Jettmar
Dr. Volker Thewalt

Cartographic material:
Dr. V. Thewalt and Dipl.-Ing. R. Kauper

Front cover – Photograph 53

Ibex with exaggeratedly long horns. Possibly not a representation of the real animal but of a cult symbol. Chilas IV. (Post-Buddhist period).

Back cover – Photograph 52

Rock-carvings of the 1st century A. D. thickly covered with patina: elephant, stūpa, wild goats; Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, partly covered by mostly lighter rock-carvings of the post-Buddhist period. In the top left corner "deity with extended arms" — here with horse, extra large battle-axe and bow. Below a clumsier repetition of the theme. Human figures of uncertain date.

Rock shelter at site Chilas II.

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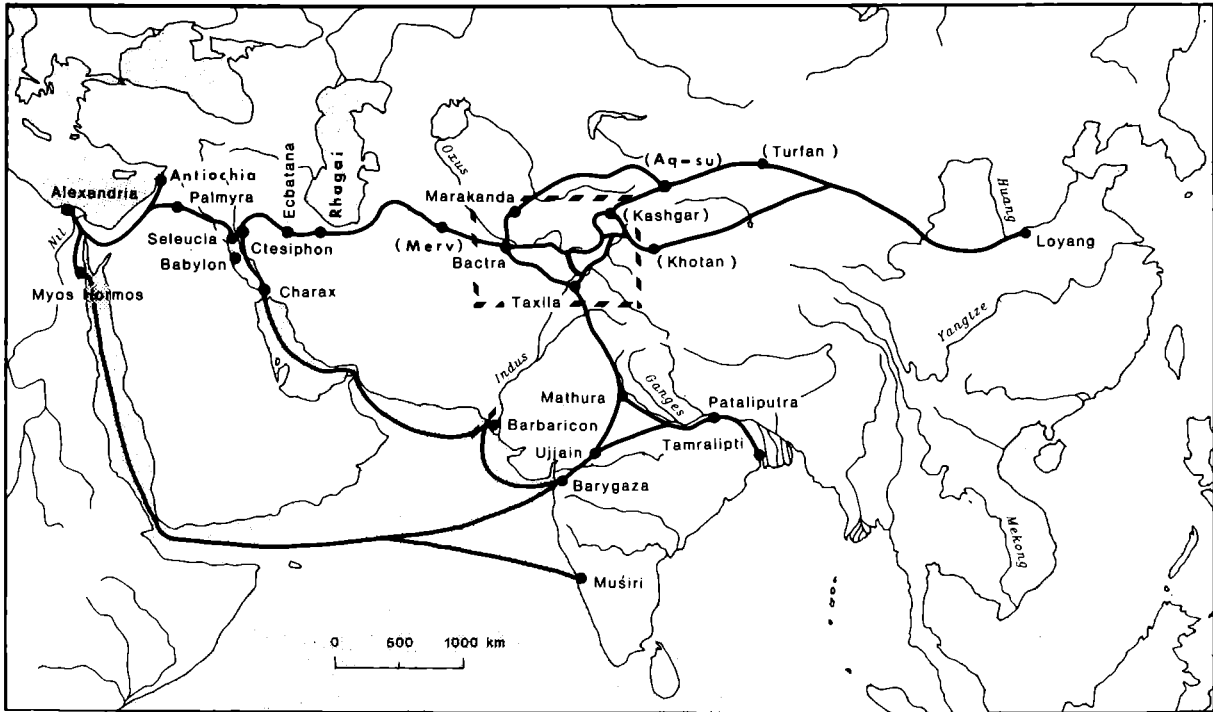
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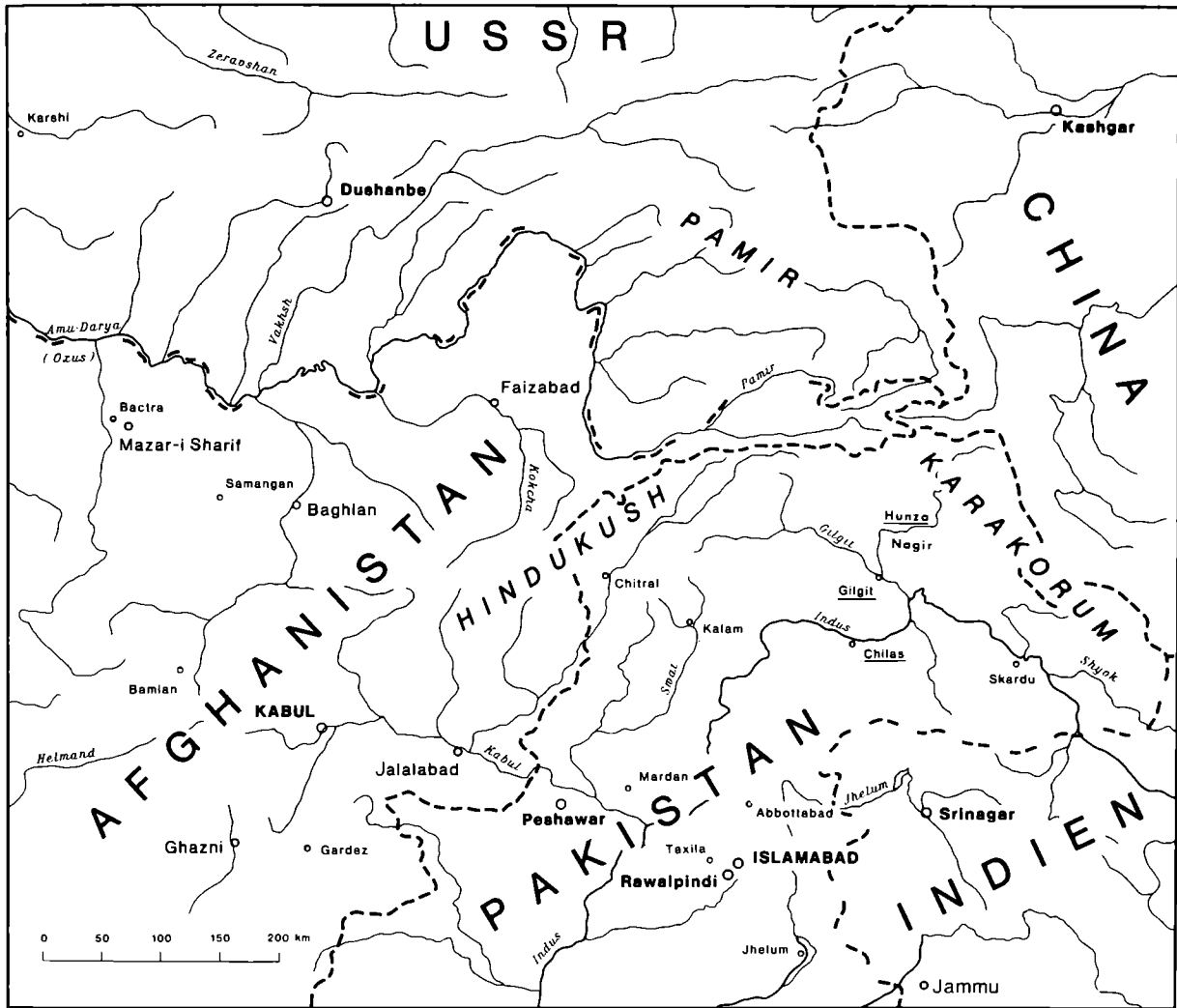
There are 30 publications on the subject including those for a broader audience. From 1987 onwards the volumes of the collected material will appear.

Silk Roads and Sea Routes in Ancient Times



Silk Roads and complementary sealinks during the first flourishing of trade between East and West at about 100 A. D. After A. Herrmann and H. Ingholt. The significance of the short-cut between the Tarim Basin and South Asia is obvious. Another important connection was the route from Marakanda (today Samarkand),

the centre of Sogdia, leading directly to the southeast. Excavations at the Oxus River, at Swat and now the petroglyphs in the Indus Valley show that since the Bronze Age migrations of the tribes have taken place on these routes. (Modern names in brackets)



Map of the modern political borders (and the course of the Pakistani-Indian cease-fire line) shows the relevant section of the map of the Silk Roads in its modern setting: the traffic-junction was blocked since the Mongol Invasion. The British Empire did not want the country to be opened up. Today the borders can only be legally crossed at a few points.

The expeditions after World War II therefore experienced their field of work in North Pakistan and Ladakh (with the centres of settlements Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, Chilas and Leh) in an isolation which was formerly unknown to the area. Every border is surrounded by a zone closed to foreigners. The Karakorum Highway was the first attempt at an opening up of the country.

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The preliminaries for the discoveries in 1979 were seven expeditions in which I took part as an ethnologist. Five of them (1955, 1964, 1971, 1973, 1975) were made possible by the financial aid of the DEUTSCHE FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT (GERMAN RESEARCH COUNCIL). The expedition of 1958 was sponsored by the OESTERREICHISCHE HIMALAYA-GESELLSCHAFT (AUSTRIAN HIMALAYA SOCIETY). Its aim was the ascent of the Haramosh; however, the members of the scientific team were not required to perform such a feat. The AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY supported the ethnological work. From 1978 on the STIFTUNG VOLKSWAGENWERK (VOLKSWAGENWERK FOUNDATION) financed travels in North Pakistan and Ladakh as well as the processing of the material gathered. A scholarship from the Volkswagenwerk Foundation enabled me to have a two years' exemption from my duties at the university.

The documentation of petroglyphs required a team of helpers. Again the German Research Council stepped in. Thanks to this financial aid it was possible to win Dr. V. Thewalt who performed his scientific tasks with true dedication. Mr. R. Kauper, an engineer, joined the team as a very effective cartographer. Additional specialists were at our disposal during each campaign, among them Prof. Poncar who offered his services as a photographer.

In 1984 the long-term project was entrusted to the HEIDELBERGER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN (HEIDELBERG ACADEMY FOR THE HUMANITIES AND SCIENCES).

At this point I want to express my sincerest gratitude towards the institutions mentioned, to those responsible for decisions regarding the project and to their advisors. They did not only help effectively but also grasped the

fact that this is a unique probe into the past of Central Asia. The UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG and its administration, finally able to pursue an active policy again, has also supported us. Details of the close co-operation with scholars from many European nations are to be found in the chapter on the "History of the Research Project".

The German efforts, however, would have failed if the project had not found so many friends and active helpers in the host country. The support spans the whole range from the President of Pakistan to all levels of administration and to people from all social classes in the mountain areas where our work was carried out.

The friendships we formed over the years with the leading representatives of the traditional elite such as Prince Hussam-ul-Mulk, with extremely competent local administration officials like Ismail Khan and Wazir Ali Shah and also with other honourable citizens such as Rahbar Hassan and Hashim Khan have enabled us to learn more than those Europeans who were here as representatives of the colonial power.

We want to thank the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in Bonn and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Islamabad. Both have supported our main concern, i. e. to furnish proof of the fact that the continuity which Sir Mortimer Wheeler claims in the bold title of his book "Five Thousand Years of Pakistan" also applies to the most northern areas. There a cultural network of communication had developed since the earliest immigration movements and has fulfilled the mediatory role in a special form which today holds good for the whole state.

Karl Jettmar

INTRODUCTION

In Central Asia, a hectic age of discovery started in the last decade of the 19th century. At that time the culturally and politically dominating powers (England, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, and finally the United States of America) competed with each other and were able to advance to the Tarim Basin and take away tons of manuscripts and works of art. The last German expedition in 1913/1914 returned with 430 large crates. The extreme dryness and increasing isolation of the region had preserved cultural documents over centuries, even millennia. As world trade had shifted to the seas, the caravan routes had become more and more deserted. In addition formerly densely populated settlements were abandoned when rivers changed direction or dried up completely.

Soon after 1920 awakening nationalism in China put an end to imperialistic competition. Henceforth the "recovery" of cultural documents was regarded as pillage of the worst kind. The contrary opinion was that many of the things which remained in the country were destroyed during the military turmoil of the following decades. However, that which had by then been carried off had been put to good use. European scholars were able to discover lost languages and literatures in studies which are still going on. A rich panorama of the history of trade and religion unfolded before their eyes, and it transpired that the Chinese claim was built on sand. Only a small fraction of those responsible for the rich cultural ascendancy originated from the Far East. Besides Indians and Iranians the existence of the "Tokharians" was discovered; a people who had immigrated from the far-off West in the dim and distant past.

Imperial Germany had committed herself with remarkable zeal and success. Her scholars' particular interest was focused on China's connection with Europe and the classical ancient world. A German geographer named the "Silk Roads" after its most precious export to reach the

occident. Le Coq thought himself to be following in Hellas' footsteps, Albert Herrmann saw "the Land of Silk and Tibet in the light of the classics".

But it was understood earlier on, by Herrmann himself, that the most important cultural influences — even the heritage of Alexander's Empire — had reached the Tarim Basin from that region in the northwest of the South Asian subcontinent, the centre of which was called "Gandhāra" in ancient times. It corresponds roughly to present-day North Pakistan excluding the high mountain region. Here, close to Peshawar, was the winter residence of the nomadic Kuṣān Empire. In the 2nd century A. D. it extended as far as the Tarim Basin. Between Niya and the Lop-Nor a state called Kroraina remained — after set-backs in the 3rd century. Its rulers adorned themselves with Kuṣān titles. The upper class spoke Gandhāri — which is actually a Dardic language closely related to the Torwali spoken today in the upper Swat Valley. The script used was Kharoṣṭhī, which had been preferred by the Kuṣān in the northwest.

Other oases, too, where either Tokharians or Iranians lived, were under the cultural influence of the Indo-Pakistan Northwest and used variants of another Indian script.

The spread of Buddhism to East Asia must be seen against this background. Outstripping other world religions, the teachings of the Enlightened One changed China more lastingly than western ideologists of modern times had been able to. The question, of course, arises of how these influences reached the Tarim Basin. The scholarly success which Soviet archaeologists achieved after World War II in the Middle Asian republics and afterwards in Afghanistan gave rise, for a short time, to the assumption that the flow of culture had first of all led to the Oxus River (Amu Darya). From there it had turned east through the Wakhan.

Sir Aurel Stein, the most knowledgeable of the explorers of the Tarim Basin, knew quite well that there had been

another shorter route through the Hindukush and the Karakorum. As three journeys from British territory to the areas of his expeditions led him by paths which nature had marked he seized the opportunity to search for signs of precursors. For the most part, however, he had to limit himself to comparing his own experiences with the travelogues of Chinese pilgrims. He also utilized Chinese army commanders' reports on their advances into the mountains. He saw it as the task of future generations to really clarify those questions.

Today this area linking the northwest of the subcontinent and the Tarim Basin has been opened up to international traffic by the construction of a huge road. The Karakorum Highway first leads around the westernmost part of the Himalaya range and the tremendous massif of the Nanga Parbat following the Indus Valley. Then it continues into the Gilgit Valley and on into the Hunza Valley and at the Khunjerab Pass at a height of 4,697 m it reaches the Chinese border. It took 20 years and a supreme effort of man and material to carry out this venture. 15,000 Pakistani and 10,000 Chinese workers were employed on the construction of the road at any one time. The extreme heat of the Indus Valley and the bitter cold of the pass region had to be endured. The distance of 751 km between the starting point in the Hazara district and the border is presumed to have claimed almost as many lives. In preparation for the construction of the highway tribal areas which had hitherto been inaccessible had to be conquered. In a subsequent project the valleys of the opposite bank were also made accessible by bridges.

This struggle against the power of nature explains why there was none of the archaeological survey which usually accompanies such large-scale projects in Europe, although it was known that at least at one place the bulldozers were gnawing through a burial ground, and elsewhere rocks covered with strange figures and incomprehensible inscriptions were blasted.

It was only possible to make this good, at least to some extent, at the end of the construction work and after the departure of the Chinese who had objected to having foreign spectators. Since 1979 German-Pakistani expeditions have been working at the Karakorum Highway every year.

However, neither the German team nor its Pakistani partners were given permission to excavate so that they were only able to record the findings made above ground.

How it all started, who had prompted the investigation, who had carried out and supported it will be shown later. It is sufficient to say here that their success surpassed even the most daring expectations. About 3,000 inscriptions and more than 20,000 petroglyphs were discovered along the Karakorum Highway according to new estimates in 1986.

Judging from the material gathered, it can already be said that the flow of culture which, starting from Pakistan, reached the Tarim Basin had in fact taken the dangerous but shorter routes across the high mountain area. That is why Buddhism became the prevailing religion in the valleys there. This development is reflected first and foremost by the inscriptions dating almost without exception from the time between the 1st and 8th century A. D. They also tell us about local rulers who employed many foreigners, often Iranians, in their administration. Thus developed a type of infrastructure which was used by legations, traders and artists (sometimes accepting local customers) as well as by pilgrims and refugees. 125 travellers have immortalized themselves on one single rock by scratching their names or whatever. Often picture and inscription are so closely connected that the time and origin of the different formative styles can be inferred.

So the unanswered question of travellers' routes through the high mountain regions, which Stein had left to future generations, has largely been answered. But new questions have arisen: some rock-carvings are certainly older than the Buddhist period as overlaps show. However, comparative studies are the only — though not undisputed — approach when dating those older carvings. Judging from them it seems reasonable to assume that the travel arteries had developed several millennia ago, long before Buddhism found its way into the region. On the other hand, there are petroglyphs belonging to the post-Buddhist phase. They tell us about the reaction of the local people to this world religion and their final victory over a faith which made virtually impossible demands on warriors, herdsmen and hunters.

The extreme dryness in the valley region behind the first mountain range stretching from Nanga Parbat westwards was the prerequisite for the production of the petroglyphs. Those clouds from the south which surmount this range rain exclusively in the high region and there contribute to the growth of glaciers. Heat and dryness are extreme in the Indus Valley which is carved out deeply in the rocks and alluvials. The rocks which were initially polished by water and debris were, in the course of the millennia, coated in a patina of brown and blue hues, called "desert varnish". Even the artists of prehistoric times discovered the possibility of making pictures visible from a long distance by taking off small parts of the rock surface, e. g. pecking with a pointed stone. It took millennia for the lines and planes which had been made in that way to become coated with a patina once again. Later on metal instruments were used. Inscriptions completed or replaced the pictures, but the decoration of the rock shrines was continued until Islam finally impaired the tradition so much that the masterpieces of the past were reverently regarded as having been made by fairies (and were consequently spared — which unfortunately is no longer the case). Animals continued to be depicted at certain places as part of a hunting magic which evaded religious control.

At an early stage people in the neighbouring areas where the natural conditions were much more unfavourable were moved to do the same. The extent and the significance of the petroglyph art in neighbouring Baltistan are considerable.

The discoveries made by the German-Pakistani expeditions can only be hinted at in the pictorial material of the exhibition and even more faintly in the colour plates of the catalogue. The fact that only colour lithographs could be used which had already been prepared for books still in the planning stage leads to a bias in the selection — but makes the catalogue less costly. The bibliog-

raphy covers only part of our interim reports. Special mention should be made of the bold and deliberately impressionistic work of our counterpart Prof. Dr. A. H. Dani; unfortunately the illustrations do not meet his ambitions. The pictures are arranged chronologically according to a plan which the author drew up as early as 1980. Since that time only minor changes had to be made — which does not necessarily prove its correctness. A most interesting complication arises from the fact that petroglyphs remain present even after centuries, unlike artefacts of a more short-lived material. This way people coming from other regions who grew up in completely different artistic traditions of figural depiction were stimulated to reproduce and interpret the rock-carvings — often on the same rock. Stylistic inconsistencies and differences in the patina indicate imitation, but not necessarily the maker.



Quaint petroglyph from Thor North. The outlines are reminiscent of a sphinx, but the hind leg ends in a hand. The bald head originally had four ears.

THE ROCK-CARVINGS: CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER AND INTERPRETATION



Sub-naturalistic rock-carving near Shatial Bridge. The head of the animal is strikingly small.



The earliest rock-carvings of animals in the Minusinsk area have the same distorted proportions.
After Šer.



Bi-triangular stylized decoration of Bronze Age pottery from Iran.
After Ghirshman.



Rock-carvings of masks in the manner of the Okunev Culture in the Indus Valley near Chilas.



For comparison: "authentic" mask pictures from Mugur Sargol (on the Jenisej) classified as part of the Okunev complex.
After Devlet.



Pre-Buddhist Art

Earlier Periods

(5th – 2nd millennium B. C.)

Among the petroglyphs in the Indus Valley which are conspicuous for the thick patina formed over them (they were not made with metal tools and are never found combined with inscriptions) there are sometimes pictures of animals, whose style Anati would call "sub-naturalistic" were they found in Europe or the Near East. This would imply dating them back to the Epipalaeolithic Age. Part of the prehistoric stock are hunting scenes in

Photo 1
Plate 1 which the prey is depicted larger than the hunters, as well as rock-carvings reproducing hand and footprints. Often the bodies of animals are so "waisted" in the middle that

in extreme cases they form two triangles joined together at one corner. This can be explained as the influence of the "bi-triangular principle" which is often found in the Near East, but also in Middle Asia in the bodies of animals reproduced on vessels.

Photo 2
Plate 1

A surprising hint is given by mask-like petroglyphs where the face is cut into quadrants by diagonal lines.

Photo 3
Plate 2 The upper and the lower quadrant are often filled in completely by pecking. Dots at both sides of the centre represent the eyes. Above the vertex lines run upwards like rays; at times, however, shocks of hair and horns can be distinguished. Human figures with legs apart and arms extended (apparently a local way of depicting gods or demons) sometimes have such a "mascoid" for a head.

The "mascoid", however, is a characteristic motif of the Okunev Culture in South Siberia. It began in the 3rd millennium B. C., was borne by wandering cattle breeders and in the course of several centuries had undergone a marked expansion and various changes. It seems probable that the Okunev people advanced south, as other elements in their stock of symbols turn up on rocks in the

Photo 4
Plate 3

Indus Valley. It seems incredible at first that cattle breeders had advanced so far into the mountains, but in actual fact cattle is depicted on the rocks of the same site, even zebu as well.

Opposite Thor in the Indus Valley a two-wheeled cart with spoked wheels can be seen. Next to it are animals pulling a round object behind them. Here a motif which is known from Sajmaly Tash in the Ferghana Range has apparently been misunderstood: there carts with disc wheels are depicted close to representations of ritual chariots. Sajmaly Tash is situated more than 3,000 m high and can only be reached by difficult paths. But towards the end of the 2nd millennium B. C. the chariot was both a ritual and prestige object throughout Central Asia; in this way it was taken up into the imagination of the mountain dwellers.

West Iranian and Saka Motifs (1st millennium B. C.)

Rising above the bridge of Thalpan over a sandy plain there is a rock reminiscent of an altar table with a screen behind it (therefore called "altar-rock"). At the front of the screen a quadruped, presumably a bull, is depicted in profile. The horn fits it but not its jagged mane. One of the forelegs is bent at the knee. This kneeling pose is well-known in the art of the Near East. The decoration of the body by blank spaces can be explained from the same context. On the same rock are three male figures of approximately the same height. One figure seems to be dancing, the second represents a warrior striding ahead with a lowered lance. Another warrior is holding up a goat by its hind leg, with the other hand he is brandishing a big knife. Both the latter figures are wearing a broad belt and a fringed skirt, the chest is turned towards the observer, legs and head are in profile. Pose and dress are easiest explained if the makers, who also hammered the mythical creature described above into the rock surface, came from the west of the Iranian plateau in early Achaemenid time at the latest. The Persian Empire may well have deployed warriors from its western provinces

Photo 5
Plate 4

Photo 6
Plate 5

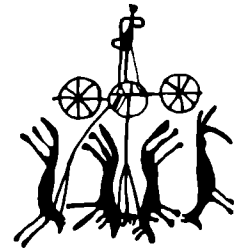
Bronze Age rendering of a zebu near Chilas V.



Late Bronze Age chariot, behind it an archer. Petroglyph from Thor North.



For comparison:
four-horse racing chariot with a driver. Rock-carving from Mongolia. Bronze Age. After Novgorodova.



Altar rock
photo 5, plate 4

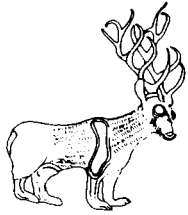


Along the Indus and in West Iran, also in Armenia, there are animals in very similar poses. For comparison: picture on a vessel, allegedly from Ziwiye, approx. 8th century B. C. After Porada.



For comparison:
armed man embossed on a golden bowl from Hasanlu (West Iran), 9th century B. C. After Porada.





For comparison: golden figurine of a stag from the Hazara District. Peshawar Museum.



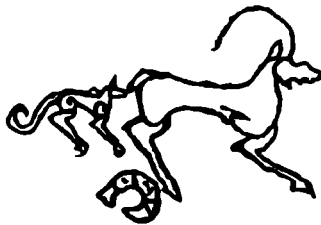
Photo 7: Main animal style scene at Thalpan Bridge.



The depiction of an elk from the tumulus Pazyryk II in the Altai shows the origin of the forms which were taken as far as the Indus. 4th century B. C. After Rudenko.



Rock-carving from the Minusinsk area with spiral hooks for body decoration. 5th - 4th century B. C. After Šer.



Nomadic artists often indicate the species of the depicted animal by a few characteristic features (horns, tail). Below: perhaps so-called curled animal. Chilas I.

when it moved its frontiers forward as far as the Indus. A related piece from North Pakistan, a golden stag figurine, was dated back to the 8th or 7th century B. C., so that even a pre-Achaemenid migration wave seems likely. These images must have made a great impression because there are depictions of animals in the kneeling pose on the same rock, which must have been chiselled in much later.

The "altar-rock" also shows a sweeping rendering of a stag. He is pursued by a predator with a small head and two hooked tails likewise drawn in elegant curves. The inside plane of the bodies is also decorated with volutes. Later two snakes attacking the stag from the front were added to the picture. The motif, however, clearly shows characteristics of the Eurasian animal style: the art concerned is that of the Iranian mounted warriors who spread almost over the entire steppe belt from the Black Sea area to the Huang Ho in the course of the 1st millennium B. C. The inhabitants of the Greek colonial towns called them Scythians, in Asia they were called Sakas, but we also know the names of regional tribal units. The stag's head is reminiscent of an elk with its downward-bent snout and fits exactly into the repertory of nomad art. The motif is obviously foreign; on the upper Indus there were no deer, let alone elks. On the opposite bank of the Indus we find the same scene in a more "local casting" as a very beautiful rock-carving: a realistically depicted ibex is followed by a snow-leopard, clearly recognizable by its long tail. Decorative elements of the animal style are still present.

An explanation seems to be provided by reports in Chinese sources that tribes of the "Sai", i. e. Sakas, wandered south and finally founded principalities in the Indo-Pakistan area. This migration, though, did not take place before the 2nd century B. C.; the rock-carvings observed here were rather intended to supplement works of the West Iranians which were still venerated.

In the meantime more animal style petroglyphs have been found. They combine abstractions and realistic details in a characteristic manner. Some of them show stylistic features of the 6th and 5th century B. C. Other pictures are only secondary adaptations of the animal style. Perhaps it had become the art form of a certain class of tradition-conscious lineages who for a long time held on

to their "heraldic animals". So in a late petroglyph clearly contravening the unwritten rules of the animal style in the outline of the body and the rendering of genitals we can still see the typical decoration of the body. This animal as well has a set of antlers.

A bronze plaque acquired in the remote Kandia Valley and handed over to the Pakistan National Museum clearly reveals one of the areas of origin of the northern nomads. It represents an ibex with a bird's head attached to its horns. The crest of the bird tells that it is the Impeyan pheasant (monal) which still today plays an important role in local popular belief. Apart from that all the stylistic details of burial objects from the Eastern Pamirs can be found here, too. From there Saka tribes advanced via Ishkoman (where a similar find was made) and the upper Gilgit Valley to Kandia on the one hand and to the Indus on the other hand. Most of them continued southwards.

Early Buddhist Period in the Indus Valley (1st - 2nd century A. D.)

Sites in the Gilgit Valley (Alam Bridge) and near Hunza (Haldeikish) offer inscriptions which spread over the entire period in which the Kuşān Empire existed and even go beyond it. A small number of rock-carvings belong to them.

In the Indus Valley near Chilas, however, there is only one single comparable concentration of inscriptions (called Chilas II in previous literature). It developed in a closely defined period before the Kuşān asserted themselves far into the mountains. All the more important is that rock-carvings which are artistically of high quality and historically important were added to these. Their exact interpretation remains a task for the future. Only three and a half kilometres below the mouth of the Buto-Gah, the torrent above which Chilas is situated on a steep terrace, a sacred place has been formed out of the cliffs. At the height of the summer the land at their foot is flooded as the Indus rises by several metres. At one point it is possible to descend between the bastions of rock. To the

Photo 9

Photo 10
Plate 7

Minar-Gah:
above: Standard carving of an ibex. 4th century B. C. or later.
below: animal "as if standing on tiptoe". Pose documented in the 7th - 5th century B. C.



For comparison: stag - early animal style from Mugur Sargol (on the Jenisej), 6th century B. C. After Devlet.



Finds with very similar formal elements from the Pamir. Pom-mel of a dagger, approx. 3rd century B. C.

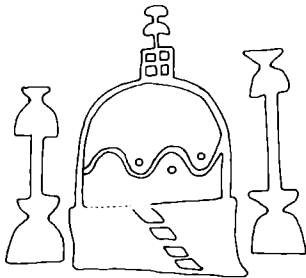


Clamp from Pamirskaja I.
Both after Litvinskij.





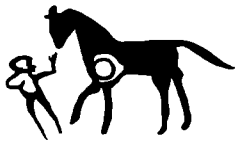
The frieze interpreted as a submission scene perhaps shows a deity (as in Pazyryk V) on a throne, who is offered a bowl. Gift bearer and dancers (?). Chilas II.



Among the earliest stūpa forms younger ones can be found. Dated 1st century A. D. The capitals on the pillars are unusual. Chilas II.



Identification as Balarāma by raised plough; second god with sun disc (?). Wide, open coat typical of the Kuṣān equipment, as are the clubs. Chilas II.



The marking on the body of the horse corresponds to Achaemenid tradition. Chilas II.

Photo 11 left a huge rock face is visible divided by natural fissures into several friezes. Each of them represents scenes with many figures, which Dani has interpreted as local nobles' submission to the conqueror. Perhaps the reading of the short inscriptions will clarify this. Past this convex face of the cliff one can reach a niche which is also richly decorated and from which one can raise oneself up onto a platform. It is protected by a huge vault-like formation

Photo 12 of rock. The lower half is covered by pictures pecked into the rock. Stūpas of an ancient form, partly framed by ceremonial pillars, can be discerned as well as human beings and animals, elephants among them. A similar figural decoration is also to be found in the deep hollows which the river formerly carved out of the adjoining rock face. They are arranged on several levels, some of them are also below the platform and the access to it. At some places there are longer inscriptions; the Kharoṣṭhī still shows peculiarities which were common practice at the time of the Saka predecessors of the Kuṣān. First readings are available. The names of the deities Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma have been reliably deciphered. It still, however, remains to be proven whether several well-known names of kings do really occur, as is maintained by Prof. Dani. It seems rather doubtful that so many prominent persons should have found their way to the Indus. Armed men, some mounted as well, are depicted in front of a stūpa with remarkable frequency. Some have dismounted in order to show their reverence in approaching a Buddhist sanctuary. Here surprisingly early the Buddha is represented as a person and not only as a symbol. There are pictures of animals whose bodies are decorated by leaving circular blanks — as was the case in the time of the Achaemenids. A monk (?) in barbarian costume offering incense to the stūpa is depicted in two places. Another person carries a receptacle and, in one case, also a little flag. The schematic picture of a fenced-in tree has a long tradition (we know it from the so-called tribal coins) — this may also apply to other symbols. How then can the sudden appearance of Buddhism, the makers' familiarity with the ceremonial buildings and symbols of the plain, but also the many signs of the warlike character of the pious community be explained? Today we know about small states in the foothills of the mountains which were founded by Saka dynasties. Their

Photo 13

Photo 14 Plate 9

Photo 15 Plate 10

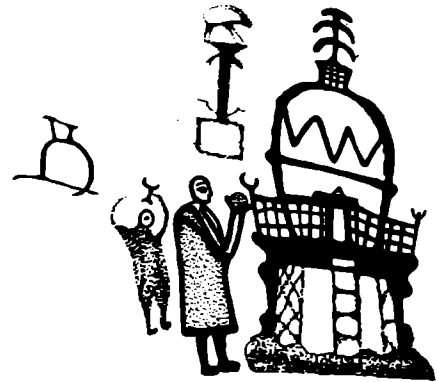
Photo 16 Plate 11

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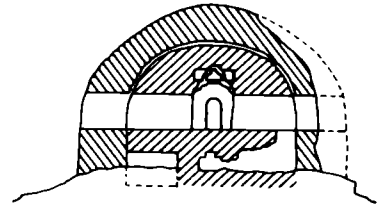
princes adorned themselves with Sanskrit names and titles and later, of their own free will, became part of the association of the Kuṣān Empire as feudal lords. Perhaps one of them had stationed one of his troops on the Indus and these had formerly served in the plain and had been converted to Buddhism there. (Christianity and the Mithras Cult spread in a similar manner.) This might well have been the state Uda (Chinese: Wu-ch'a) of which the Kaghan Valley was a part. A garrison moved forward to the Indus would have had strategic advantages for this state. Besides they could thus tax the gold-washers who certainly had been panning for gold at the Indus as early as that. In the imagination of the warriors Buddhism was mixed with elements of the popular belief of Gandhāra, but also with their tribal religion. That is why they pictured the stūpa, reminiscent of older dynastic sanctuaries, with a constantly accessible central chamber. Sometimes it is not obvious whether the clearly visible portal only leads to the ambulatory — this would correspond to the Buddhist ritual of walking round the stūpa — or really into the interior of the building. One carving evidently has a double meaning — it is a stūpa and a human figure as well. An anthropomorphic pillar belongs to it; added to all this is a sun disc which has likewise been made into an extremely unorthodox stūpa. Next to it is the word "Hāriti" — this does not necessarily mean the child-eating demon, who later became a benevolent goddess; it could also be somebody's name.

Subsequent decorations of the sanctuary are for the most part easily discernible. They are clearly post-Buddhist — only individual petroglyphs cannot be identified with one of the main groups.



Adoration scene with an additional tree symbol and votive stūpa (not shown as a photograph). Chilas II.

Photo 17
Plate 12



For comparison: North Afghanistan, Jarty Gumbaz - stūpa-type building, the side entrance to the chamber was already part of the basic construction. Kuṣān period. After Pugačenkova.

The Golden Age of Buddhism

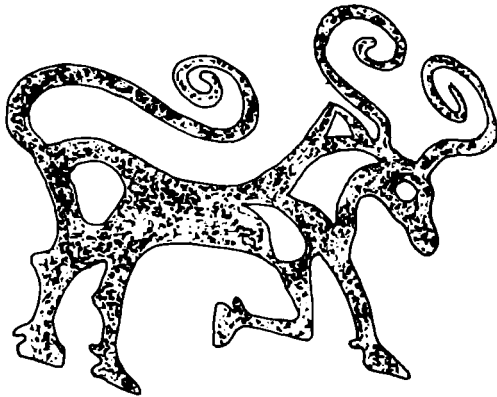
Sanctuaries and Trading Bases (until the 8th century A. D.)

At the sites already mentioned in the Gilgit Valley and in Hunza no hiatus between the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script can be seen. There is a gradual substitution, followed by an increase in Brāhmī epigraphs in the 5th century A. D.

In the Indus Valley there is on the one hand the considerable block of early Kharoṣṭhī, on the other hand very rich Brāhmī material dating from the 5th–8th century A. D. (the Sogdian inscriptions — which are still to be dealt with — might have started earlier. Their area of distribution, however, is different). In the centre Chilas, even for the images, there is so far no clear transition to be found. The significance of this remains to be seen. However, the tradition of making rock-carvings could hardly have been interrupted. Either an “illiterate” complex, which we cannot, of course, identify so far, has to be inserted or else we must correct our datings based on palaeographic classification.

In any case we find a large number of inscriptions and pictures dating from the 5th century onwards; Chilas itself could have been a political centre, the place of residence of a district official. Inscriptions on rocks along the Indus name persons of noble origin as patrons of carefully executed petroglyphs. Some of them were already seen by Sir Aurel Stein (Chilas I).

But even more important must have been a Buddhist sanctuary on the opposite, i. e. the northern bank of the Indus. The sacred area was near a ferry crossing, west of the village Thalpan, close to the mouth of the Kiner-Gah. What we can see here must be considered against the background of a tradition which began long before the advance of Buddhism. In fact, a large cluster of the already-mentioned “prehistoric” petroglyphs was found on the inhospitable terrace adjoining high to the west. They decorated the area surrounding a sanctuary which then, in the course of the 1st millennium B. C., was transferred to the altar-rock situated on a sandy plain lower down. Finally the centre was moved a little further



Variation of the Achaemenid or pre-Achaemenid animal figures. Certainly made considerably later, perhaps in the “illiterate” period. 2nd–4th century A. D. Thalpan Bridge.

to the east. We should not be surprised that only very few remains of buildings (stūpas?) have been found; it is a historical fact that the Indus was repeatedly dammed up to form a large lake. When the natural dam, which had been built up by a tremendous landslide broke, a tidal wave devastated the valley. The village Thalpan itself was destroyed in 1841, although it was situated higher than the sacred area.

The importance of this holy place can be explained by the fact that it was located at a natural traffic-junction. There is a relatively easy path from the Gilgit area along the Kiner-Gah down to the Indus. After crossing the river there are several paths to the South (Taxila) and to Kashmir which are open in summer. They go over passes which, however, are, contrary to the routes in the north, blocked by heavy snowfall relatively early, i. e. from the end of September. In addition there is the danger of avalanches. That leaves the one path which runs high up in the cliffs of the Indus gorge. Having surmounted the worst part, one could cross the Indus and reach Swat, the destination of the pilgrimage. The route to Swat was entered near Shatial, which had been — for reasons still to be mentioned — a junction, too. Between Shatial and Chilas existed a sort of shuttle-traffic on the southern bank of the Indus. In some parts it was easier to cross over to the other side.

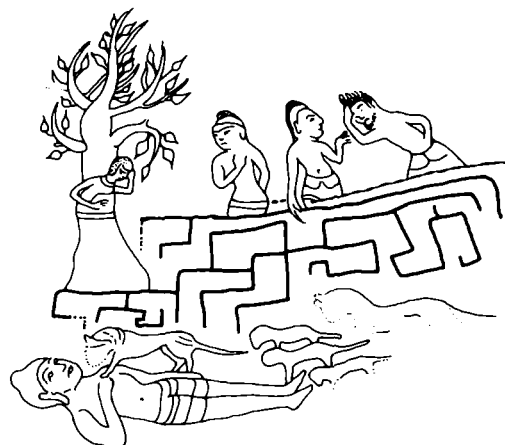
At places where valleys branched off there were smaller Buddhist, often rather barbarian sanctuaries. The settlements belonging to them were important for providing the travellers with food as the Indus Valley itself is a wasteland, over a long distance only sand and rocks.

Fields and pastures are along the tributaries. At some sites at the mouths of the rivers renderings of certain animals are preferred; the assumption already mentioned is that these were the "family crests" of the respective land-owners.

From Chinese pilgrims' reports we learn of a huge wooden Maitreya-stature in a Buddhist sanctuary of more than local importance. It was situated in "Ta-li-lo". It was supposed that this meant the side valley Darel. But it is quite possible that the name originally referred to a larger area with Chilas as its centre. This would explain why the pious inscriptions and pictures along the paths



To photograph 20: Behind the Buddha his companion Vajrapāni is to be seen: his thunderbolt clearly discernible, light garments typical of him. Thalpan Bridge.



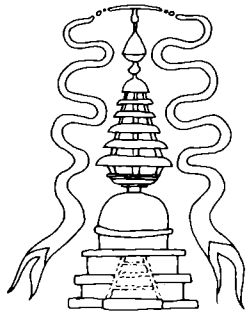
The offering of the own body or of a limb was a popular legend in the northwest of the subcontinent. In Chilas I the (later) Enlightened One allows a tigress having no milk for her cubs to devour him: a message of deepest compassion. Even a tree nymph laments with the relatives.



To photograph 21: Temptation of the Buddha by Māra's daughters. Thalpan Bridge.



Kashmir bronze: the three-pointed cape covering the shoulders can be found on numerous petroglyphs (not shown here). After Pal.



Picture of stūpa in the caves of Bamiyan. The Indus petroglyphs show more details. After Tarzi.

on the Indus become more dense and more carefully executed the closer to Chilas they are found.

Whoever the rulers over this area were, they were remarkably liberal-minded and surrounded by dignitaries of various origins. That resulted in a juxtaposition of artistic styles. Masters from all parts of the Buddhist world worked there, possibly at the same time. They all had the exceptional task of expressing traditional artistic patterns in the form of petroglyphs. Evidently certain groups of rocks at Thalpan Bridge were reserved exclusively for religious depictions and do not show any inscriptions of a more private nature. This rule is not so strict on a huge slope of rock at the northern edge of the site. Boulders covered with pictures have rolled further down the slope as a result of heavy earthquakes so that the connection has been lost there.

A school which used sharp metal instruments takes up the noble forms of the Gupta art, another tries to depict complicated subjects such as Jātaka-scenes. It is surprising to find the temptation of the Buddha by Māra's daughters as a petroglyph. Content was more important than form for the master who chose as his theme the Buddha's first sermon in the deerpark near Benares.

As was already mentioned, the patrons at the site Chilas I must be seen as having been in official positions. There artists worked whose repertory and style provoke comparison with the so-called Kashmir bronzes. Since the dating of these bronzes is disputed, it is important to note that the inscriptions added to the carvings are from the 6th or early 7th century.

Pictures of stūpas exhibit details which have nowhere been preserved in their ruins. Neither can such details be discerned so distinctly on wall paintings of the same time. A concentration of paintings of this kind can be seen in the caves of Bamiyan. Bamiyan was the centre of a Buddhist kingdom in Afghanistan, north of the central highlands. Bamiyan and Chilas correspond to each other more closely than would actually be expected judging from the geographical distance.

Coarse, one could even say exaggerated representations of stūpas show a fusion of the umbrellas which then form a compact plane divided into quadrangular cells. Some other elements could have originated from the Tarim Basin. Some other stūpas, however, have been made

almost as miniatures with a very fine chisel; just as delicate, but nevertheless expressive are the inscriptions belonging to them, containing uncommon Buddha names. Representatives of that school were at work everywhere in the Indus Valley where petroglyphs are abundant, i. e. within a zone of approx. 70 km.

Photo 27

As said before, boulders covered with petroglyphs have been torn away by earthquakes and fallen to the depths. This perhaps stimulated the artists to make petroglyphs with "hanging stūpas" on solid rocks which certainly had not been overturned in this way. They can be recognized by their roof-like umbrellas, i. e. depicted in the regular position. In other cases the dome has been expanded so much that it almost formed a circle. Finally it was replaced by an ornamented wheel as the expression of an idea which can already be deduced at Chilas II.

Photo 28

At the site Chilas I the names and titles of high-ranking personages were repeatedly immortalized on the rocks. Underneath a particularly delicate execution of a stūpa are the names of a ruler and his entire staff: it is uncertain whether the overlord of the Indus Valley is meant. Perhaps he and his men were visitors who came as pilgrims or on a political mission.

Photo 29

In general the rounded Brāhmī script is superseded by the angular Proto-Śāradā. Besides these two, specific variants can be seen which have yet to be worked upon.

Photo 30

The Sogdians and their Base

The Sogdians' role in trade on the "Silk Roads" has long been known. Many of them joined the world religions which were then advancing to the east, they became Buddhists, Christians or Manichaeans. Since they also attained power and honours in the service of the then powerful peoples as civil servants and diplomats, they could spread their religious beliefs.

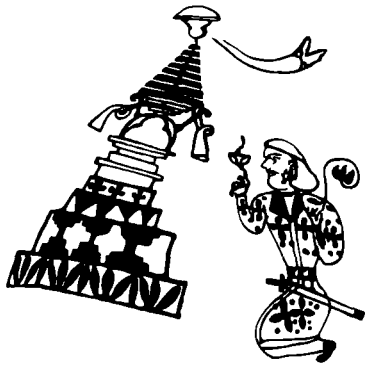
It may well have been favourable for their mediatory role that the city states of their home regions had only joined together to form a loose association. Many noble families were by origin Hephthalites i. e. Huns, or maybe Turks. There, however, the local form of the Iranian religion was able to assert itself even against the previously powerful Buddhism and the Sasanian state church. Just



Hanging stūpa, depicted on solid and unmoved rock below the village of Chilas.



Two-pointed hat and ceremonial axe were status symbols, as is attested by paintings in the monastery Alchi (Ladakh). (However, they were made a considerable time later, approx. 12th century.) The man who is adoring a stūpa here must have been a high official, his name is given. Soniwal-Payin (not shown as a photograph).



A document of the many and varied connections between Sogdia and the Indus Valley is this petroglyph: the patron who is depicted while adoring a stūpa was an Indian but his artist was obviously a Sogdian. In his book of designs there were drinking scenes which showed the drinkers' respective protective spirits hovering over his shoulders. Here an incense burner (?) corresponds to the goblet, a flower to the protective spirit. Thalpan Ziyarat.



Hippocampi as protective spirits. Detail of a Sogdian wall painting which depicts a group of people celebrating (with flowering twigs).
After Staviskij.



To photograph 34: Another form of body offering: a dove is saved by the Bodhisattva letting the starving falcon have the corresponding quantity of his own flesh (therefore the scales). Shatial Bridge.

before the Islamic conquest, i. e. at the beginning of the 8th century, symbols borrowed from India were used to represent local beliefs.

Photo 31 Opposite Chilas a man is depicted in customary Middle Asian dress worshipping a stūpa. In his hand he holds a flower which could easily be explained as being the re-interpretation of the winged mythical creature which appears over the shoulders of the heroes in the wall paintings of Sogdian towns.

Isolated Sogdian inscriptions have been found at several places in the Indus Valley, one also in Hunza-Haldeikish. They appear, however, en masse in the western part of the Shatial Bridge site; about 250 of them (only half of the actual stock) have been deciphered so far: for the most part they are simply the names and the patronymics of the travellers. Here we have a centre of long-distance traffic, proof of which we see in a few Bactrian, Parthian, Middle Persian and Chinese inscriptions. It still remains to be investigated whether the apparently out-of-place occurrence of Kharoṣṭhī can be explained by the presence of people from the Tarim Basin where this antiquated script lived on for some time. Strangely enough there is hardly anything else than Brāhmī in the eastern part of the site; presumably the shrine tended by the locals was situated there. In the western part among the visitors, Brāhmī was used for messages which are of particular interest to us, e. g. by a man who calls himself a "caravan leader". Several tribes known from Indian sources are mentioned. Jats (they number among the ancestors of the Sikhs) appear under the earliest form of their name, which previously had had to be reconstructed. The destination of their journey is the Kasha land which had always been sought in the mountains.

Photo 32 Plate 18

Photo 33

At Shatial Bridge we find proof of that early phase (4th - 6th century A. D.) of which there is only insufficient evidence in the Sogdian heartland. The ethnic term "Hun" appears several times — but as a proper name. This is proof of the intermingling of different peoples. On the other hand, a lot of the proper names mentioned refer to Iranian deities, whose bearers call themselves servants and worshippers.

Photo 34 Plate 19

two “pagoda-like” stūpas and a Jātaka-scene. Influences from the art of the northern Wei-dynasty are noticeable — and plausible. After the pictures had been pecked into the rock the remaining space was filled with Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī and Sogdian inscriptions.

Tamgas have been chiselled into another rock, heraldic signs of the former nomadic nobility. They were used by the Sogdians as municipal coats of arms for their townships as well as for coins. Striking are the number of sexual allusions, sometimes as caricatures, also the relatively unmotivated depictions of animals and human heads.

Reflection of Ethnic and Cultural Variety

It has already been stressed that only some of the seemingly strange motifs can be explained by direct influence from Sogdia. Above Shatial Bridge (formerly a ferry crossing) there is a rocky hill which really offers itself as a fortress. An extremely impressive rock-carving of a fire-altar was found here. The stocky form with two ansae can be seen on the late coins of Chionitic rulers. Perhaps a patrol lived here which came from an area where people had held on to this ancient symbol.

Near Chilas is a rock-carving of a goat (?), which was later adorned with a bow around its neck. This is already familiar to us from Sasanian Iran, expressing a special consecration of the animal. Sogdian textiles and silver work give proof of the continuation of the tradition.

Similar derivations can be found for the picture of a lion with a raised paw; his shoulder is decorated with a flower. As a rule it appears on the Indus in connection with inscriptions of persons whose names contain the element “siṃha” (= lion). Consequently we have here the heraldic animal of a powerful clan which apparently ruled over a whole side valley. Such a “lion man” had a liṅgam carved into the rocks close to a Buddhist sanctuary at Thalpan — bold proof of the tolerance of local Buddhism.

In the meantime a rather large number of Chinese inscriptions has become known. For the most part they are only names, but one marks the starting point of the dangerous winter pathway through the Indus gorge, another

Photo 35

Tamgas (tribal brand marks).
Shatial Bridge.



Heraldic symbol of the area of Samarkand observed at Shatial Bridge and Thor North.



Sogdian coins of Chinese form with symbols which have also been identified on the Indus; about 670 A. D. After Smirnova.

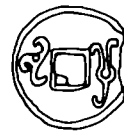
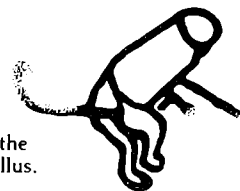


Photo 36

Monkey, upper part of the body formed into a phallus.
Shatial Bridge.



Fire-altar.
Shatial Fort.



Photo 37

According to Göbl this form of the fire-altar can be found on coins in the 6th century A. D.



Photo 38

For comparison: figural decor of precious textiles depicted in wall paintings in ancient Samarkand. After Al'baum.



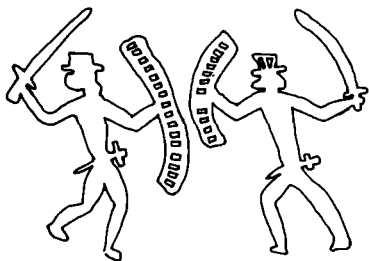
Photo 39

Lions engraved on a metal vessel with flowers as shoulder decoration. After Darkevič.

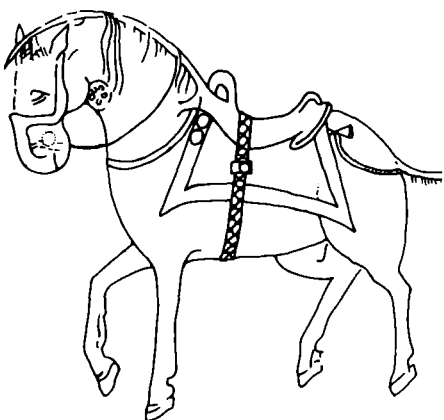


Photo 40 belongs to a pagoda which can be compared with a model pavilion of the T'ang period found in the Astana graveyard.

Photo 41 Near the sanctuary Thalpan a rock-carving depicts running warriors with loin-cloths, curved shields and raised swords: a popular motif of the rock paintings of Central India.



For comparison: rock painting from Central India. Warriors with elongated, curved shields. After Wakankar-Brooks.



Masterly picture of a saddled horse, ambler, without stirrups. Cavesson as in Sogdia (but still depicted in the 12th century A. D. at Alchi). Thalpan Bridge.

Aristocratic and Popular Traditions

Buddhism had not only to reckon with the presence of foreign disbelievers who brought strange ideas with them. Certain strata of the local population held on to their customs or developed ideas and rituals which were to satisfy demands which could otherwise hardly be satisfied within the framework of Buddhism.

Photo 42 Thus with the finer methods introduced by trained artists, certain wild animals were depicted so huge and at such important places within the site that they probably have to be seen as the embodiments of protective spirits. Pictures of saddled horses bridled in the Sogdian manner — but without riders — belong to the same category, although they could also be interpreted from the Buddhist background. It must be borne in mind that Saka tribes regarded the fastest of all animals as sun-like. Their descendants depicted it on coins. Here it may be the symbol of a local deity.

Photo 43 A larger-than-life human figure which can be seen across a rock near Chilas presumably belongs to the same category. It has been executed very carefully with a metal instrument but is distorted by a wilful exaggeration of perspective: The feet are too big, the legs are a little apart, round the hips is a half-open belt, the arms are extended, the head, which is disproportionately small and almost without a neck, is surrounded by short rays. On the hips is a pattern of dots. At a later stage the feet of the figure were fettered and female breasts and a phallus were added. The mythical figures of the mountain peoples can possibly be used for an interpretation. In any case there are earlier — and a lot of later — images of this "giant".

For a long time yet the changes undergone by stūpas will remain an attractive and difficult subject of modern re-

search. If we can trust the depictions, the usual Buddhist cult monuments were replaced by tower constructions made of rough stones safeguarded against earthquakes by beams and half-timbering, for the most part with a pointed roof. Such a development is already heralded by the pictures on the slope of Thalpan. Monuments of that kind were soon interpreted as mountain models.

Thus can be explained why for the most part only one of the pennants is depicted which flutter from the top: it corresponds to the powdery snow which is always visible over the highest summits drifting in one direction according to the direction of the wind. Modern folklore sees it as "smoke" from the fires which the fairies light in their mountain palaces. Those rock-carvings are frequent. An isolated case is the transformation of such an object into a Yantra, a Buddhist sign of salvation, with Akṣaras (syllables) inserted. Here the cloud starts at a lower point, on the other side a sun is indicated. At a later time a set of horns was added, as we still find it on Islamic sanctuaries.

One step further was the interpretation of such pictures as the bodies of demonic beings. Arms and legs are added, the crowning structure becomes the head. There is definitely a connection because sometimes such beings were inserted between the mountain models. If there are lines above the crowning structure corresponding to the pennants hanging from the top of the stūpa the result looks suspiciously like an "astronaut" whose helmet is fitted out with antennae.

Anti-Buddhist Currents? (9th - 10th century A. D.)

At many places works of the Buddhist period are supplemented or even spoiled by rougher schematic rock-carvings dealing with only a narrow spectrum of themes. The makers obviously could neither read nor write, there are pseudo-inscriptions which repeat the same squiggle. Perhaps the most conspicuous symbol is a battle-axe of

Photo 45

Photo 46

Photo 47

Plate 23

Photo 48

Photo 49

At first the derivation of the "monuments" from the stūpa is clearly recognizable. Soniwal-Payin.



Further changes. In-between is a figure with a narrow base and three apices: early stage of the demon pictures (?) to be found in photograph 47. Chilas IV.



Ultimate derivation, the transformation of the curvature has resulted in a full circle. Thalpan Bridge.





Different types of axes occurring in rock-carvings near Chilas.



For comparison: forms of axes which were still found in the 19th century; very similar to the Kafirs' axes in the western Hindukush. After Biddulph.



Typical are the extended arms and the oversized hands. The picture occurs so often that it certainly shows a deity or a mythical figure. Chilas II.

Photo 50
Plate 24

an unusual form with an upward curved serrated blade. Even more frequent are disc wheels decorated in different ways. Outside the mountains similar rosettes are found on coins ascribed to the Huns retreating from India. Wheel or sun symbolism was already expressed in depictions of stūpas of the period when Buddhism was at its height. It is undoubtedly a sun symbol which has been carved out as a relief above a niche situated near running water — perfect for a sacrificial altar.

Photo 51

Human figures are mainly carved with simple lines. Here, too, connections with older petroglyphs can be found. Sometimes one has the impression that a tradition has lived on here which had already started in the Early Metal Age under the influence of the Okunev Culture. However, it might be that the petroglyphs which could be seen everywhere were used as examples. Stick figures with legs apart and arms extended are often mounted, i. e. they are shown frontally whereas the horse is seen from the side. They hold the reins in one hand as well as an axe, in the other hand they have an instrument which could be a bow.

Photo 52
Back cover
of the catalogue

Animals are also drawn schematically with simple lines. Only in individual cases such pictures attain a monumental character, as in the case of an ibex whose horns span his body in two arches. Their crenellation corresponds formally to the serration of the axe blades.

Photo 53
Front cover
of the catalogue

Mountain models are still carved, sometimes the axe is stuck above them, occasionally we find forks (grown out of Śiva's trident) and lines which radiate from a crude base — perhaps representing the flames of a fire-altar.

Photo 54

There are rocks on which the whole range of forms is shown without exception; a synopsis of the pantheon as it were, e. g. above the mouth of the Thak-Gah. They were supplemented with primitive pictures of animals at a later stage. In a similar panorama, armed men, some of

Photo 55

them apparently fighting, surround a larger figure whose head has been turned into a disc. There is also a stūpa in the picture — but only at the periphery of the composition. Is it not the victorious sun god who is celebrated here? Often a wheel is turned into a human being by the addition of a head and limbs. Since at the same time when those pictures were made the sun temple of Multan was the main sanctuary of the plains and the sun cult was flourishing at Kashmir, too, this interpretation

cannot be ruled out. Influences from the north could also be possible where, during the Manichaean period of the Uighurs, the ruler was identified with the sun.

It must, however, be stressed that the whole complex can only be found in the eastern sites of the Indus Valley, in the area surrounding Chilas. Even here there was apparently an additional "courtly" petroglyph art which had a preference for mounted hunters and battle-scenes. Individual inscriptions could be classified with them. Further downstream, at Shatial Bridge, no comparable finds have been made.

In any case, Buddhism had "recovered" even near Chilas. There are pictures of stūpas accompanied by inscriptions which are stylistically reminiscent of the paintings of Alchi. There must have been a comparable renaissance in the Gilgit Valley, too. Buddhist reliefs like the long-familiar standing Buddha near Gilgit and the newly-discovered but almost immediately destroyed monolith from Bubur in Punyal probably date from the 10th - 11th century. Rock-carvings of animals have obviously been made even after Islam took over. The above-mentioned site, Hunza-Haldeikish, has such a late stratum. In the land of Hunza the memory of hunting magic is still alive. Ibx pictures were made for this purpose.

Photo 56

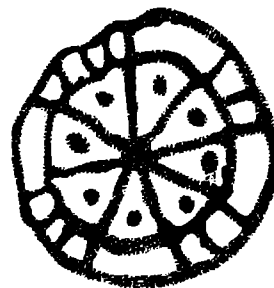
Photo 57

Photo 58

Photo 59

Photo 60

In the Gilgit Manuscripts there are already drawings of discs with richly varied decoration. In the late period (from the 8th century A. D. onwards) rosettes are the most frequent motif.
Chilas III.



Disc turned into a living creature by adding a bird's head and extremities.
Chilas III.



Disc in which a schematic human figure has been inserted, with bow symbol (?).
Chilas III.



HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The history of the Former Han dynasty contains news about areas in the Far West with which China had been in close contact since approx. 130 B. C. We learn that there had been small states in the mountain ranges on the southwestern rim of the Tarim Basin which were ruled by kings. A path through the mountains which branched off the Silk Road west of Khotan and reached the plain in modern-day Pakistan is described with amazing precision. It was considered to be extremely arduous and dangerous. It sounds improbable, however, that the most dangerous part was almost at its end: the "Suspended Crossings". A number of scholars have identified this adventurous stretch with the path along the brink of the Indus gorge. In doing so, later itineraries were taken into consideration, especially the report of the famous monk Fa-hsien. Others looked for this obstacle further north, in Hunza for instance. In fact it is difficult to see why no other route was looked for: several easy passes lead over the ranges west of Nanga Parbat.

This problem has been solved today. Modern measuring methods show why in the region of the main ranges of the Karakorum late autumn and winter were the best time for travelling until recently. There is only little snowfall in the valleys and the rivers are so shallow that they can be crossed without bridges. In summer, on the other hand, when the glaciers melt, these rivers are raging and dangerous. Then the Hunza River can rise to fifty times its volume.

However, the traveller reaching the Indus Valley from the north in autumn or winter finds all the passes leading further south blocked by high snow. How this comes to pass has already been described. One either has to wait until the next summer — and then there is plenty of time for the carving of petroglyphs — or one has to venture into the Indus gorge at last.

That explains the importance of the area between Shatial and Chilas. It was the transitional zone between winter and summer traffic and, as we have learnt, it was also the

place of intersection with the adjoining traffic system in the west. The region was called "Shamil", as we learn from a note of Birūnī, which may correspond to the name She-mi or Shang-mi in the Chinese sources.

Politically more important, however, was "Bolor", an adjoining state in the northeast. Its original centre was in modern-day Baltistan. There the connections with Kashmir were more intense. In summer easy paths led over the Deosai Plains, in winter one could still use the Zoji-la, a pass which is not too high. The rulers of Bolor, the Paṭola-Shāhis, conquered the land "Bruzha" which at that time must have been included in the lower Gilgit Valley and went further west until they came into contact with a principality on the soil of what today is Chitral which had been loosely incorporated into the Hephthalite state since the 5th century A. D.

The rule of the Paṭola-Shāhis over the Gilgit Valley is confirmed by two long, official inscriptions, only one of which has already been published. Remarkable is the fact that place names like Gilgit and Hatun have been faithfully preserved until today. Hanesari is still the name of a part of the valley. There was no tradition of rock art there comparable with that in the Indus Valley, but the local people were also zealous Buddhists.

The whole system, a Buddhist refuge in a world already threatened by new forces, was greatly disturbed in the 8th century A. D. when Tibet rose to become the main power of Central Asia. Baltistan was subjugated, the Shāhis retreated to their western possessions; namely the Gilgit Valley. Even there they had to submit to the Tibetans. The wedding of their ruler with a Tibetan princess (740 A. D.) sealed their dependency.

Between 631 and 755 A. D., China under the powerful rulers of the T'ang-dynasty controlled the northern edge of the Tarim Basin. It had subjugated the nomads of the adjoining areas and reached far to the west over the Pamirs. China therefore was not willing to accept such an expansion. At first in league with the most important

ruler of Kashmir, Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīṭha, who himself was to meet his death during an expedition to the north, the Chinese armies repeatedly advanced into the mountain areas. The most effective intervention took place in 747 A. D. The then ruling sovereign of Bolor was abducted and taken off to China and safely put out of the way as "general of the guard". From then on his country was regarded as a Chinese military district. We learn about another king whose name is not mentioned. He must have been a puppet in the hands of the Chinese. Their troops advanced even further, presumably as far as the Indus. The ruling sovereign there was replaced by his more compliant brother. The reason for such moves was to secure the route by which the Chinese garrisons were supplied from Kashmir.

Internal fights in China, a dangerous military revolt, put an end to this display of power. The Tibetans presumably again appointed a king of their own choice in Bolor who perhaps came from the valleys bordering on the south. The population there, greedy for booty, had already collaborated with them in the past and robbed road transports of food from Kashmir. The inhabitants of the southern valleys were known by the name of "Darada" which has a long tradition and presumably had been widely spread in the past, so that then the king of Bolor appears under two other titles as well: as ruler of the Darada and also as king of the Tibetans, i. e. as a Tibetan vassal. This Bolor Empire supported by Dardic tribes and installed by the grace of the Tibetans gained its freedom without fighting, as the Tibetan Empire soon disintegrated because of religious conflicts.

The struggle between Buddhists and anti-Buddhists might have spread to the Darada, too, and may thus form the background of a still unnamed war-like religion. Its most provocative symbols, axes and disc-wheels, riders and wild goats, cover many rocks near Chilas. As in Tibet it was here, too, the revival of age-old popular beliefs — in spite of all foreign influences.

But these clashes obviously ceased soon, and the Darada-Shāhis were able to make sallies into Kashmir from then

on until the 12th century A. D. Their seat of residence was in Gilgit. There was another camp at Gurez where actions against Kashmir were prepared. Buddhist monasteries could be found near many villages, but the fact that a library (which had perhaps been transferred to Gilgit by the Paṭola-Shāhis retreating from Skardu) had been walled into a hollow "stūpa" proves that the former learning had given way to magical practices. The three reliefs which were discovered on the monolith recently found near Bubur also show the growing barbarism. Influences from the steppes may have contributed. Both standing Buddha figures on the rock of Bubur have stylistic peculiarities which are reminiscent of Turkish statues of dead rulers and heroes. The king of Bolor was regarded as the "son of the sun" henceforth — which could also be the result of Manichaeic influences. This religion had been adopted by the ruling dynasty and the people in the Uighur Empire which had temporarily controlled the Tarim Basin since the end of the 8th century.

From the 10th century we know an exact itinerary for the route from Khotan (?) to Kashmir. Typically enough it does not mention any Buddhist monasteries for Chilas — where at that time heretics chiselled axes and discs into the rocks.

Soon afterwards the tendency towards isolation and keeping out of world traffic and world politics prevailed. The Sogdians, Moslems since the middle of the 8th century, no longer had any chance. Christians (documented by crosses on the rocks near Gilgit) and Jews, whose presence was ascertained by the sensational find of inscriptions near Chilas, took over the intermediate trade. Finally even they were not permitted to enter Kashmir any longer for fear of spies, as Bīrūnī tells us.

Therefore, those cruel fights which culminated in the Mongol Invasion had only a minimal effect on the mountain peoples. The victorious advance of Islam was also delayed for centuries. There were compromises, e. g. with the cult of the king which was still alive in Hunza until a few years ago.

HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The British Empire had, towards the end of the 19th century, advanced its borders to the passes over the main ranges of the Hindukush and Karakorum for the sole reason of having strategic advantages over the Tsar's Empire which had also been on the advance.

This purely defensive attitude explains why extensive Tribal Areas in the hinterland of the occupied border region were never conquered: their inaccessibility, the lack of any roads was regarded as an additional barrier against possible intruders. This admittedly hampered any scholarly activity in general. Access was restricted to a select group of people who were engaged officially in that remote corner of the subcontinent; other Europeans including the German Nanga-Parbat expeditions needed a special permission to enter the area. That explains the astonishing fact that the petroglyphs along the Indus, which had been known since 1906 at the latest, were not recorded and studied.

Neither could the discovery of the Gilgit Manuscripts in 1931, which unveiled the high standard of Buddhist learning and spirituality within the mountain zone, really change the situation.

It was only during World War II when Sir Aurel Stein received the fascinating news (about a Hellenistic rhyton and a long inscription in Punyal) from that area and decided to concentrate his efforts on it though he was already well advanced in age at that time. During a short visit to the Indus Valley between Thor and Chilas (end of August 1942) he became the real discoverer of the new rock art province, i. e. he was the first scholar who took note of the pictures and inscriptions, fully aware of their significance. But Sir Aurel died in 1943, his essay was published posthumously and was hardly noticed in the turmoil of the following years. Thus his studies remained an episode. The German Hindukush Expedition in 1955/1956 did not do anything in this matter. The members (I being one of them) did indeed see occasional petroglyphs and inscriptions during an exciting ride in the Indus Valley, but

many other things seemed more urgent than the recording of apparently indestructible petroglyphs in an area where one still had to reckon with tribal attacks.

It was only in 1971 when I resumed the ethnological work in North Pakistan after many years of involvement with Central Asian archaeology that I realized that it would be negligent not to note potential sources of this kind. In the meantime I had seen inscriptions at many places which, on consultation, turned out not to have been investigated at all. When, in addition, I saw a petroglyph in the animal style on a rock right beside the road during a journey on the provisional road through the Indus Valley in 1973, I made a decision: the existing finds were to be recorded systematically.

A first result of my efforts was the quick and effective work on the inscriptions of Alam Bridge by Prof. Fussman of Strasbourg University. I myself could not continue at first, because from 1974 onwards the Indus Valley had been closed to foreigners due to road construction. This, however, was of great benefit to my systematic preliminary work. The breakthrough came with the 1979 project. In Prof. A. H. Dani (Islamabad University) I had found an efficient and interested partner. Mr. Ismael Khan, the former Deputy Commissioner in Chilas, was an ideal guide and companion for my work at the Indus. His sudden death after the first campaign put an end to what we had seen as a long-term co-operation.

The success of 1979 made it possible to set up a Pak-German Study Group for Anthropological Research in the Northern Areas. It is within this framework that the petroglyphs were recorded systematically with the active participation of Pakistani colleagues. Apart from Prof. Dani, the Department of Archaeology and Museums became involved in our activities; in Director M. S. Qamar it gave us a partner to whom we owe many finds. The National Institute of Folk Heritage helped us with important matters.

The first proper expedition in 1980 was sent by the Deut-

sches Archäologisches Institut (German Archaeological Institute). It was financed, as were all the following expeditions from 1981 to 1983, by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Council). My own participation was made possible by the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk (Volkswagenwerk Foundation). It also provided an exemption from my duties at the university and granted a special scholarship. The art historian Dr. Volker Thewalt, employed in projects of the German Research Council, undertook the organizational preparations for our expeditions, was in charge of the recording of the documents during the various stages of our work and used the material obtained to set up archives. The rest of his time he spent on the art-historical evaluation of our finds.

In the meantime the German Research Council had generally pulled out of the financing of numerous long-term projects. Therefore, it was a lucky coincidence that the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (Heidelberg Academy of Science and Letters) had set up a commission responsible for the investigation of the inscriptions and petroglyphs at the Karakorum Highway at a time when the development of the German Research Council's policy could not have been foreseen. The prerequisites for the creation of a research unit were thus established and long-term planning became possible.

That we do have to deal with a long-term project in this case cannot be denied. During the various stages of the project much more material was discovered than could be dealt with at one time. It is only now that the growth of the material to be worked upon is slowing down. When, however, the topographer Mr. Robert Kauper in order to take photogrammetric photographs climbed the heights which had so far been regarded as void of any rock-carvings he came across more sites of petroglyphs.

The material does not only have to be fully and accurately documented — we are also under pressure of time: near Basha, a place little above the Indus gorge, the local authorities are planning the construction of a dam. It is intended to hold back mud and debris which would otherwise quickly fill the reservoir of Tarbela which is of vital importance to the economy of Pakistan. Once this has been completed, a lot of the most interesting petroglyphs and inscriptions will disappear under the waters of a lake 30 km long. But even during the building opera-

tion we have to reckon with destruction: the Karakorum Highway, which has only just been completed, has to be moved up to a considerably higher level.

On the other hand, we cannot delay our processing of the finds already made. We are obliged to the Pakistani government, which makes our work possible, as well as to the bodies providing the money. However, the progress of the project will inevitably slow down because we intend to enlist always the best experts to work on the different languages and scripts. That means we are moving towards international co-operation in our work.

Our Pakistani partner Prof. A. H. Dani, who wrote a book about the antiquities in the surroundings of Chilas, was virtually working on his own — an amazing achievement, which at the same time, however, shows the limits of such an attempt. Therefore we asked Prof. O. von Hinüber (Freiburg University) for a reading of the Brāhmī inscriptions. He has the best qualifications for this task due to many years' work on the Gilgit Manuscripts. Prof. G. Fussman (now Collège de France) undertook the same task for the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Both scholars worked on the rocks "in the field". In 1985 Dr. N. Sims-Williams (London University) accompanied us to Shatial Bridge to record those Sogdian inscriptions which had not yet been worked on by Prof. H. Humbach (Mainz University) on the basis of photographs. Dr. V. A. Livšič (Academy of Sciences, Leningrad) has also made valuable contributions on the basis of our photographs. Prof. H. Franke (Bavarian Academy of Science and Letters, Munich) was asked to deal with the Chinese inscriptions, nevertheless experts from the People's Republic of China would like to participate in this work. So the publication of all those volumes which will provide an enormous amount of material for the interpretation of future generations of scholars will take years. To give an impression of the amount of work and the importance of what has been achieved so far the exhibition and this catalogue have been put together.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Eva-Maria Lill to whose care I entrusted the translation of the revised German catalogue. Despite the shortage of time she fulfilled her difficult task with admirable efficiency and reliability.

Heidelberg, February 1987

Karl Jettmar

THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE EXHIBITION

Exact size is given for petroglyphs in areas where documentation has been completed.

Photograph 1 - Plate 1

Boulder with prehistoric carvings. In the background the barren plateau between Thak-Gah and Buto-Gah. The Indus below is not visible. Heavily patinated petroglyphs: hunting scene, footprint, palmprint. Thalpan-Ziyarat. (3rd-2nd millennium B. C., possibly earlier)

Photograph 2

Hunting scene, outline of prey transformed "bi-triangularly"; cult pillar, horned altar(?), further human figures. Thalpan-Ziyarat. (Presumably Bronze Age)

Photograph 3 - Plate 2

Left: dancers with "coat-tails". Right: a mascoid of the Okunev type. No explanation for the (unfinished?) carvings in the centre. Thalpan-Ziyarat. (Early Metal Age, end of the 3rd millennium B. C.?)

Photograph 4 - Plate 3

Fantastic representation: demon or deity. The arms can be clearly distinguished, the feet resemble the shape of a crescent. The face is subdivided by diagonals with four points near the centre (eyes?), crown of radiating lines. Another archaic figure on the differently slanting plane of the rock. Thalpan-Ziyarat. (Early Metal Age, end of the 3rd millennium B. C.?)

Photograph 5 - Plate 4

Fabulous animal with horn and tasselled mane. Decoration of the body by blanks. Winglike drawing on the back, tail with a lateral tuft at the upper bend, kneeling on one leg ("Knielauf"). Height 30 cm. Made by pecking. Altar-rock, above Thalpan Bridge. (Middle of the 1st millennium B. C.?)

Photograph 6 - Plate 5

West Iranian warrior with broad belt, fringed skirt and leggings about to slaughter a goat. Height 65 cm. Pecked.

Altar-rock, near Thalpan Bridge. (Approx. middle of the 1st millennium B. C.)

Photograph 7

Stag, by formation of muzzle reminiscent of an elk, pursued by a predator with two tails. Influence of animal style obvious by elegant contour and spiral hooks inside body. Produced by horse-breeding nomads or under their influence. The snakes were added later. Stag: height 25 cm. Altar-rock near Thalpan Bridge. (Approx. 3rd century B. C.)

Photograph 8 - Plate 6

ibex with snow-leopard behind. The horseshoe-shaped object below could be a curled animal. Maybe the elaboration of a certainly meaningful motif which had already been used for the decoration of the altar-rock. Height 46 cm. Chilas I. (Maybe contemporary with Buddhist carvings)

Photograph 9

Rock-carving influenced by animal style; with antlers (though there are no deer in the Indus Valley). Body structured by spiral hooks. Other features untypical. Thalpan Village. (Maybe 5th or 6th century A. D.)

Photograph 10 - Plate 7

During field-research an openwork bronze plaque (45 x 42 mm) was bought from a local farmer in the Kandia Valley (Indus Kohistan). On the reverse is a massive button for fixing it. The plaque shows an ibex to whose horns is added the head of an Impeyan pheasant (monal). Apart from this detail all essential elements can be observed in the Pamir in graves of Saka nomads. Karachi National Museum. (4th century B. C. or later)

Photograph 11 - Plate 8

Slightly convex face of a cliff, structured by natural

fissures to form friezes. Top row: one person, three animals, their shapes influenced by Achaemenid art. Central row: person sitting on a chair (deity or ruler?), in front of him dancing figures. Other figures uncertain. Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Bottom row: stūpa surrounded by riders, several male figures, further inscriptions. Chilas II. (Approx. 1st century A. D.)

Photograph 12

Carvings on the back of a large rock-shelter. Stūpa with two cult pillars, various animals, among them elephant and goat (Achaemenid influence). Below: edifice similar to a stūpa, crowned by a crescent, to the side a sun disc with a bust inscribed. Top stūpa: height 50 cm. Chilas II. (1st – 3rd century A. D.)

Photograph 13

Human figures clad in heavy coats of the Kuṣān period, with clubs, a plough and a toothed disc. Identified by Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Left figure: height 63 cm. Chilas II. (1st – 3rd century A. D.)

Photograph 14 – Plate 9

Carvings on the cliffs west of the platform: two stūpas of early type, cult pillar, Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, one (later) inscription in Brāhmī. To the left: riders dismounted before visiting the sanctuary. Pillar: height 64 cm. Chilas II. (Approx. 1st century A. D.)

Photograph 15 – Plate 10

Armed horsemen, dismounted, approaching a stūpa. The rest of the carvings is not clear. One man carries a plough (?). Produced by pecking in a recess of the cliffs. Stūpa: height 41 cm. Chilas II. (1st century A. D.)

Photograph 16 – Plate 11

A monk with raised incense burner venerating a stūpa. In the background a person with belted dress, with a jug and a small flag. Kharoṣṭhī inscription. Additional carvings from different periods. Stūpa: height 92 cm. Chilas II, view from the platform situated above the left bank of the Indus. (1st century A. D.)

Photograph 17 – Plate 12

Anthropomorphic stūpa. To the left: cult pillar, also with human attributes. To the right: disc on a base and therefore resembling a stūpa. The name “Hāritī” is clearly legible in the inscription added. Pillar: height 41 cm. Recess in the cliffs of Chilas II. (1st century A. D.)

Photograph 18 – Plate 13

The Buddha under the Tree of Enlightenment sitting on a lotus flower. Inscription in Brāhmī mentioning the patron. Above a stūpa, to the right a Kinnara. Height 91 cm. Periphery of the sandy plain at the foot of the rocky slope at Thalpan Bridge. (6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 19

The Buddha in pose of meditation, carefully executed with a metal chisel. Influence of classical Gupta art. The boulder bearing this picture tumbled down the slope during an earthquake. Height: 57 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (Approx. 6th century A. D.)

Photograph 20

The Buddha accompanied by Vajrapāni in typical dress. Very careful execution by an outstanding artist. Height: 82 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (Approx. 6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 21

The Buddha, beside him a daughter of Māra in the temptation scene; similar figure to the right here only partly visible. Height 34 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (Approx. 6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 22 – Plate 14

The Buddha’s first sermon in the deerpark near Benares with the first disciples. The wheel of doctrine is seen below. Height: 71 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (6th century A. D.)

Photograph 23 – Plate 15

Crowned and bejewelled Buddha on lotus throne and surrounded by an aureole decorated with spiral hooks. Height: 61 cm. Chilas I. (6th century A. D.)

Photograph 24 – Plate 16

Bodhisattvas (Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya) with stūpa and vase of plenty. Inscriptions in Brāhmī indicate the pious intentions of the lay-worshippers who ordered the pictures. Left figure: height 110 cm. Chilas I. (6th century A. D.)

Photograph 25

Stūpa and several figures of the Buddha; one sitting beside stūpa, another in front of a niche. Three figures visible in front of harmikā. Below this Brāhmī inscription. Related to representations in Bamiyan(?). Stūpa: height 145 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 26 – Plate 17

Schematic rendering of a Buddhist sanctuary. A central stūpa is surrounded by four smaller ones (only two visible). To the right earlier Brāhmī inscription (mentions the Buddha of the East). To the left: later proto-Śāradā inscription. Height 137 cm. Towering cliff above Shatial Bridge. (Approx. 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 27

Under carving of stūpa can be seen a sequence of unusual names of Buddhas in most delicate script. Representatives of this spiritual tradition worked at various sites in the Indus Valley; perhaps they came from East Turkestan. Stūpa: height 66 cm. Chilas I. (Approx. 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 28

Petroglyphs of “hanging” stūpas. Such shapes frequently occur unintentionally when rocks with petroglyphs have tumbled into the depths. Here we are able to deduce from the formation of the umbrellas that this way of representation was designed from the start. Height approx. 80 cm. Chilas – New Colony. (7th – 8th century A. D.)

Photograph 29

Rock-carvings of stūpas; their dome is extended and sometimes rendered as a decorated disc. Allusion to sun symbolism(?). Left stūpa: height 143 cm. Chilas I. (Approx. 8th century A. D.)

Photograph 30

Very carefully executed stūpa. Below: inscriptions commemorating an otherwise unknown ruler and important dignitaries at his court, either representing a conquering power or simply visiting the sanctuary near-by. Stūpa: height 69 cm. Chilas I. (8th century A. D.)

Photograph 31

Stūpa, venerated by a man in Central Asian costume and corresponding armour. He holds an incense burner by a bent handle. The flower in his left hand could be explained as a re-interpretation of a Sogdian motif. The patron depicted here has a Sanskrit name, therefore only the executing artist seems to be of foreign origin. Stūpa: height 80 cm. Thalpan-Ziyarat. (7th century A. D.)

Photograph 32 – Plate 18

Boulder thickly covered with patina, densely crowded with Sogdian inscriptions (mostly the travellers' names and patronymics). Top right: a caravan leader is mentioned in Brāhmī (incomplete). Shatial Bridge. (3rd – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 33

Rock with numerous inscriptions mostly Brāhmī, one Sogdian. A member of the “Jat” tribe is mentioned in the oldest hitherto only conjectural form of this term. Also mentioned is the politically important “Kasha land”. Shatial Bridge. (6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 34 – Plate 19

To the left: Scene from the Śibi-Jātaka (“body offering”). Centre: two pagoda-shaped stūpas. Below: adorants. In-between and to the right: inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Sogdian. Shatial Bridge. (Starting from the 4th century A. D.)

Photograph 35

Apart from inscriptions and Buddhist cult images several Tamgas. Some of them occur on coins of Sogdian towns. Shatial Bridge. (4th – 6th century A. D.)

Photograph 36

Fire-altar of ancient type with ansae. Perhaps symbol of the garrison which occupied a fort looking down on the crossing of the Indus near Shatial Bridge. Height approx. 70 cm. Shatial Fort. (6th century A. D.)

Photograph 37

Animal (goat or sheep?) with Brāhmī inscription. The bow at the neck is known from metalwork and from depictions on textiles. Height 27 cm. Chilas V. (6th century A. D.)

Photograph 38

Lion with raised paw and flower on shoulder. The noble persons who had this symbol carved bear names containing the element "lion". The motif is known from Iranian metal-work, but also from coins of the Turk-Shāhis. Hodar. (6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 39

This liṅgam design was executed at the order of a man belonging to the aristocratic clan which used the lion symbol. Liṅgam: height 78 cm. At the path to Thalpan Village. (6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 40 – Plate 20

Pagoda and Chinese characters. Left: still unexplained. Right: designation of travellers. Pagoda: height 69 cm. Site at the mouth of the valley of the Thak-Gah. (T'ang period)

Photograph 41

Leaping warriors with raised swords and in loin-cloths strongly reminiscent of rock paintings in Central India. Presumably produced by a traveller from this region. Height 58 cm. On the path to Thalpan Village. (No reliable dating)

Photograph 42

Large and very careful depiction of an ibex. Height 31 cm. Gichi-Gah. (Approx. 6th – 7th century A. D.)

Photograph 43 – Plate 21

Noble horse with headgear of Sasanian-Sogdian type, apparently ambling. Outlines executed with a sharp chisel, plastic quality of the picture increased by additional pecking. Height 21 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (Approx. 6th century A. D.)

Photograph 44 – Plate 22

Giant human figure with legs apart, large feet, extended arms, small head with radiating lines. Half-open belt. Later additions (female breasts) clearly distinguishable. Height 205 cm. Chilas VI. (Buddhist period?)

Photograph 45

Carvings of mountain-models; stimulated by the shapes of stūpas. In the course of time further details were added. Height approx. 50 cm. Soniwal Payin. (8th century A. D.)

Photograph 46

Transformation of such a symbol into a Yantra, a Buddhist sign of salvation. Akṣaras were put into the Yantra, cloud, sun symbol and horns (as on Islamic tombs of saints) were added. Hodar. (7th – 8th century A. D.)

Photograph 47 – Plate 23

Fantastic beings derived from mountain symbols and finally from stūpa images. Surrounded by animals. Earlier carvings of human figures to be discerned by the different degrees of re-patination. Hodar. (End of Buddhist period)

Photograph 48

Demonic being originally derived from the shape of a stūpa; anthropomorphically transformed by the addition of legs and arms. The umbrellas have become "antennae" so that the figure is strongly reminiscent of an "astronaut". Height approx. 25 cm. Thalpan Bridge. Altar-rock. (Post-Buddhist period?)

Photograph 49

Axe with blade turned upwards and prolonged shaft-tube, the blade ornamented with horseman. Ceremonial

axes of similar shape were in use by the local population only a few decades ago. They were also used in Afghanistan by the Kafirs of the Hindukush. Height 116 cm. Chilas III. (8th – 10th century A. D.)

Photograph 50 – Plate 24

Boulder with (earlier) carvings of stūpas, many decorated discs, numerous carvings of animals and two axes (top centre). Thalpan Bridge. (Mostly post-Buddhist period)

Photograph 51

Wheel-shaped disc with toothed rim, chiselled deeply into the rock, sun symbol at site for sacrifice (?). Thalpan Village. (8th – 10th century A. D.)

Photograph 52 – Back cover

Rock-carvings of the 1st century A. D. thickly covered with patina: elephant, stūpa, wild goats; Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, partly covered by lighter carvings of the post-Buddhist period. In the top left corner “deity with extended arms” – here with horse, extra large battle-axe and bow. Below a clumsier repetition of the theme. Human figures of uncertain date. Deity: height 52 cm. Rock shelter at site Chilas II.

Photograph 53 – Front cover

Ibex with exaggeratedly long horns. Possibly not a representation of the real animal but of a cult symbol. Height 73 cm. Chilas IV. (Post-Buddhist period)

Photograph 54

Rock demonstrating the systematically assembled cult-images of the anti-Buddhist period; from left to right: sun symbol, mountain symbol, below: fighting figures. Adjoining possibly a fire-altar, below a man on a horse. Above further depictions of men, axe. Still later schemat-

ic pictures of animals confuse the original meaning. Near the mouth of the Thak-Gah. (8th – 10th century A. D.)

Photograph 55

Representations of religious ideas of the late period (similar to photograph 54). Left: stūpa, right: larger figure with disc (sun symbol) as a head, in-between: fighting figures. Hodar-West. (Approx. 8th – 10th century A. D.)

Photograph 56

Hunting scene with horsemen. Courty art of late period. Above Chilas I. (End of 1st millennium A. D.)

Photograph 57

Carving of stūpa with umbrellas blended into an aureole. Reminiscent of painting in the monastery of Alchi, Ladakh. The inscription fits the date. Stūpa: height 62 cm. Chilas – New Colony. (Beginning of 2nd millennium A. D.)

Photograph 58

Buddha relief on a cliff above the mouth of the Kar-Gah near Gilgit. Dating from the time of the “Buddhist renaissance”. (End of 1st millennium A. D.)

Photograph 59

Monolith decorated on three sides with Buddhist reliefs. Possibly made under the influence of monuments of Turkish heroes. Certainly dating from late period, today removed to new site, heavily damaged. From Bubur, Punyal.

Photograph 60

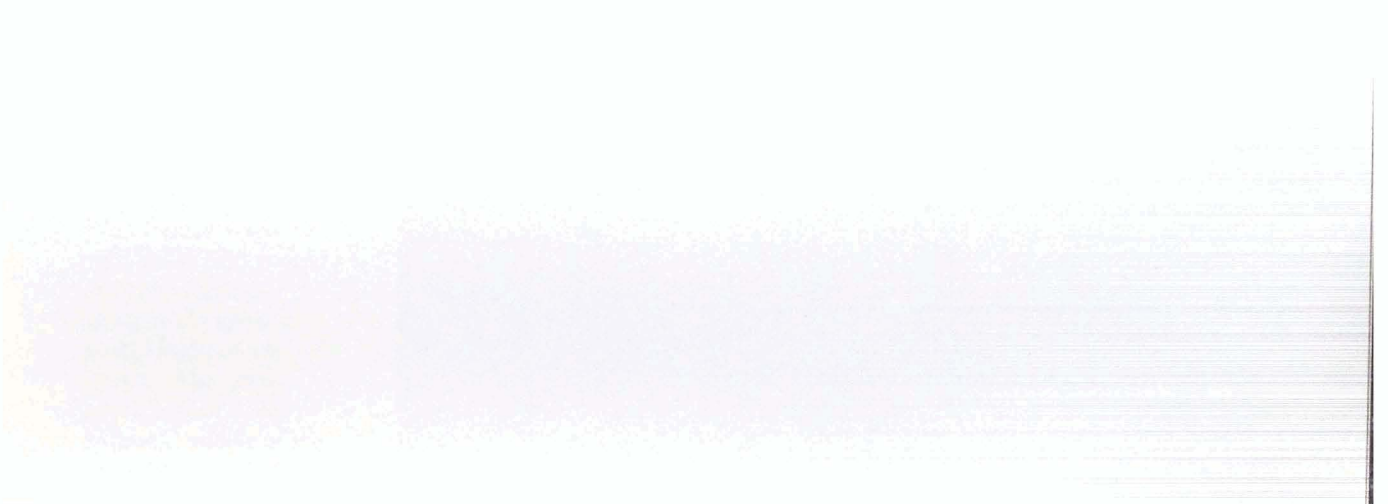
Simple line carvings of ibexes were done even after the general conversion to Islam. One of the cliffs at Hunza-Haldeikish. In the background the declivity towards the Hunza river where the fortress of Altit is situated.



Photograph 1 – Plate 1

Boulder with prehistoric carvings. In the background the barren plateau between Thak-Gah and Buto-Gah. The Indus below is not visible. Heavily patinated petroglyphs: hunting scene, footprint, palmprint. Thalpan-Ziyarat. (3rd – 2nd millennium B. C., possibly earlier)







Photograph 5 - Plate 4

Fabulous animal with horn and tasselled mane. Decoration of the body by blanks. Winglike drawing on the back, tail with a lateral tuft at the upper bend, kneeling on one leg ("Knielauf"). Height 30 cm. Made by pecking. Altar-rock, above Thalpan Bridge. (Middle of the 1st millennium B. C.?)

Photograph 6 - Plate 5
West Iranian warrior
with broad belt, fringed
skirt and leggings
about to slaughter a
goat. Height 65 cm.
Pecked. Altar-rock,
near Thalpan Bridge.
(Approx. middle of the
1st millennium B. C.)



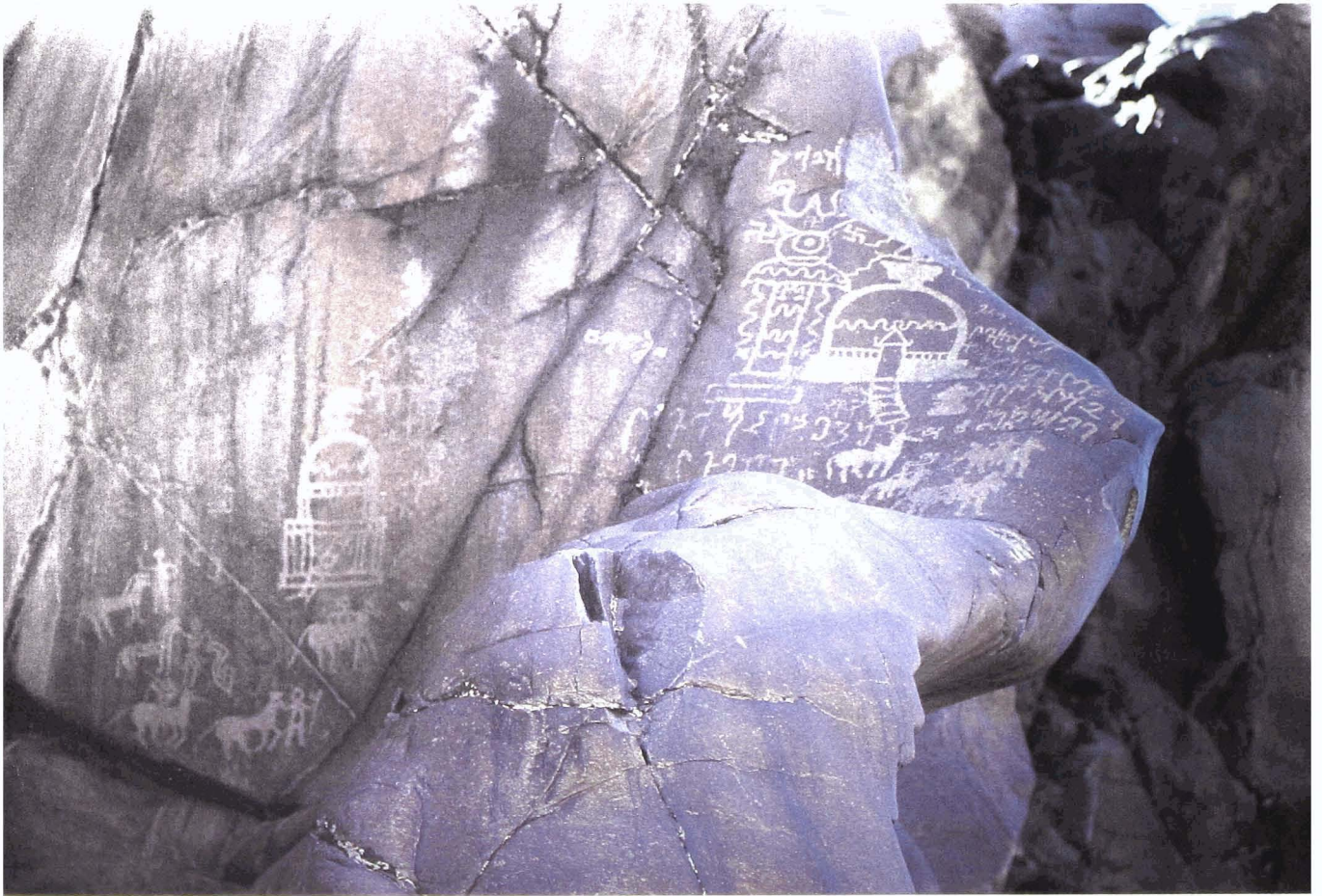






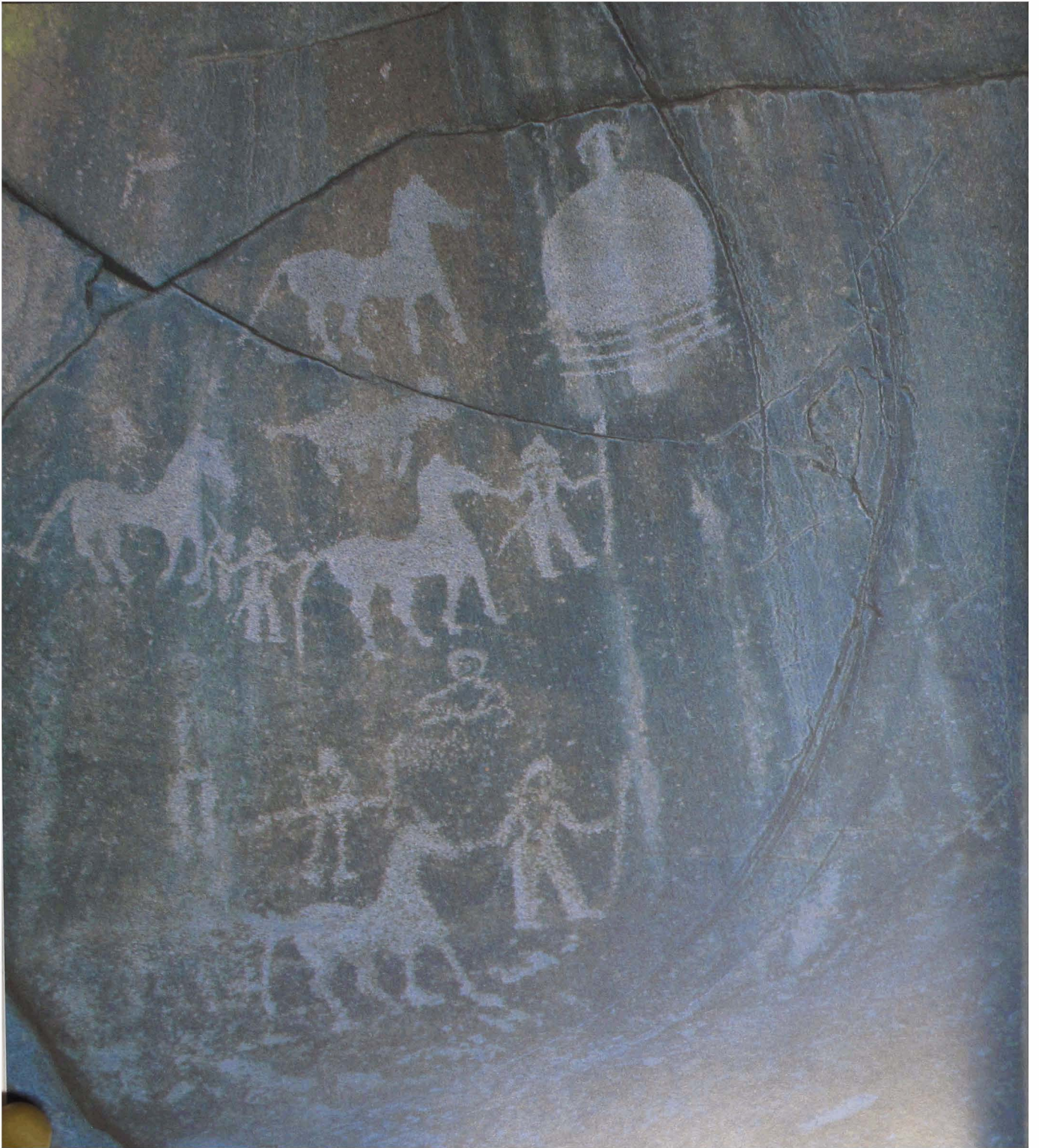
Photograph 11 - Plate 8

Slightly convex face of a cliff, structured by natural fissures to form friezes. Top row: one person, three animals, their shapes influenced by Achaemenid art. Central row: person sitting on a chair (deity or ruler?), in front of him dancing figures. Other figures uncertain. Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Bottom row: stūpa surrounded by riders, several male figures, further inscriptions. Chilas II. (Approx. 1st century A. D.)



Photograph 14 – Plate 9

Carvings on the cliffs west of the platform: two stūpas of early type, cult pillar, Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, one (later) inscription in Brāhmī. To the left: riders dismounted before visiting the sanctuary. Pillar: height 64 cm. Chilas II. (Approx. 1st century A. D.)







Photograph 17 – Plate 12

Anthropomorphic stūpa. To the left: cult pillar, also with human attributes. To the right: disc on a base and therefore resembling a stūpa. The name "Hāritī" is clearly legible in the inscription added. Pillar: height 41 cm. Recess in the cliffs of Chilas II. (1st century A.D.)

Photograph 18
Plate 13
The Buddha under the
Tree of Enlightenment
sitting on a lotus
flower. Inscription in
Brāhmī mentioning the
patron. Above a stūpa,
to the right a Kinnara.
Height 91 cm. Periph-
ery of the sandy
plain at the foot of the
rocky slope at Thalpan
Bridge. (6th -7th
century A. D.)





Photograph 22 - Plate 14

The Buddha's first sermon in the deerpark near Benares with the first disciples. The wheel of doctrine is seen below. Height: 71 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (6th century A. D.)

Photograph 23 - Plate 15

Crowned and bejewelled Buddha on lotus throne and surrounded by an aureole decorated with spiral hooks. Height: 61 cm. Chilas I. (6th century A. D.)









Photograph 26 - Plate 17

Schematic rendering of a Buddhist sanctuary. A central stupa is surrounded by four smaller ones (only two visible). To the right earlier Brahmi inscription (mentions the Buddha of the East). To the left: later proto-Saradā inscription. Height 137 cm. Towering cliff above Shatal Bridge. (Approx. 7th century A. D.)

▷ Photograph 24 - Plate 16

Bodhisattvas (Avalokitesvara and Maitreya) with stupa and vase of plenty. Inscriptions in Brahmi indicate the pious intentions of the lay-worshippers who ordered the pictures. Left figure: height 110 cm. Chilas I. (6th century A. D.)



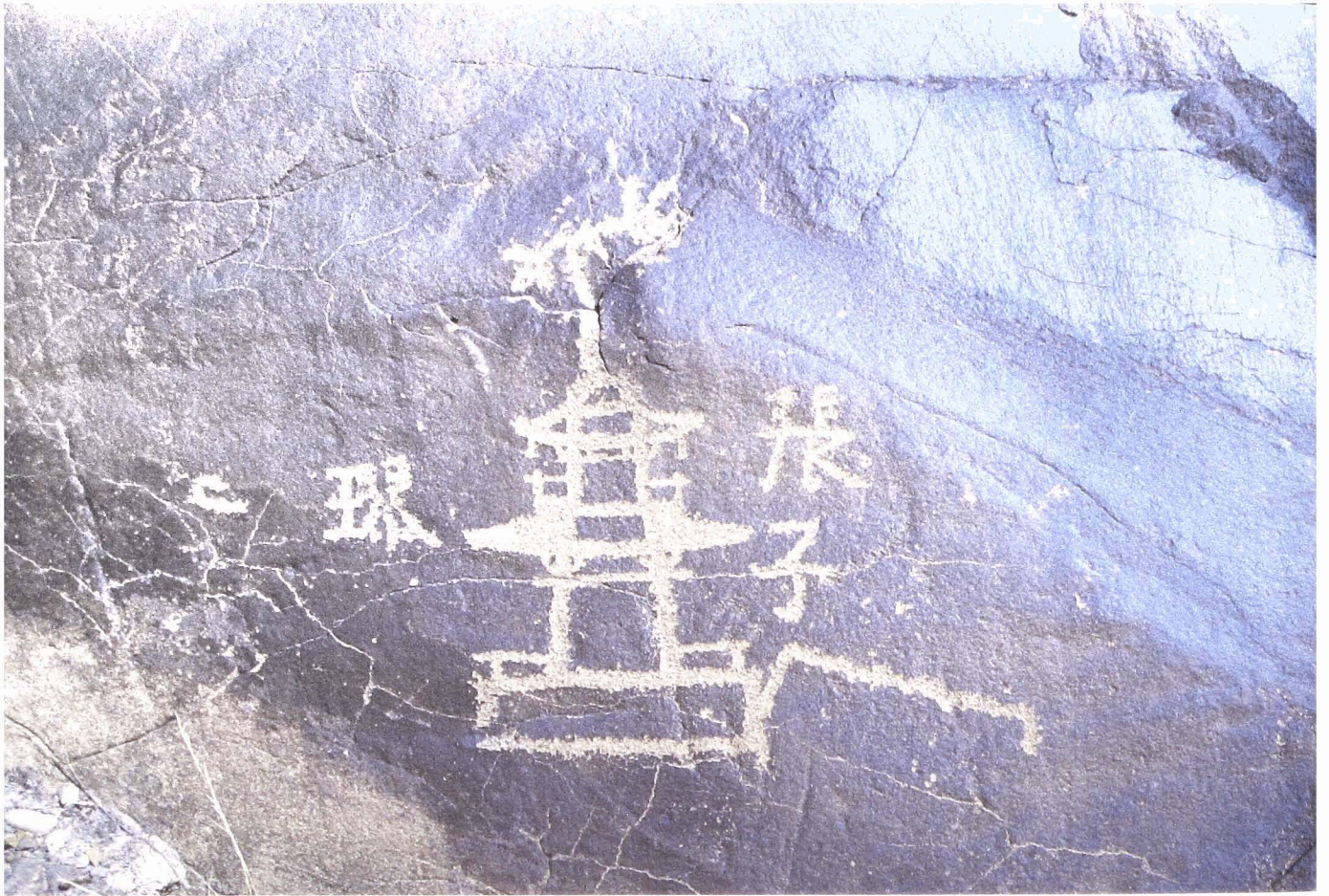
Photograph 32 – Plate 18

Boulder thickly covered with patina, densely crowded with Sogdian inscriptions (mostly the travellers' names and patronymics). Top right: a caravan leader is mentioned in Brāhmī (incomplete). Shatial Bridge. (3rd – 7th century A. D.)



Photograph 34 – Plate 19

To the left: Scene from the Śibi-Jātaka (“body offering”).
Centre: two pagoda-shaped stūpas. Below: adorants.
In-between and to the right: inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī,
Brāhmī, Sogdian. Shatial Bridge. (Starting from the 4th
century A. D.)

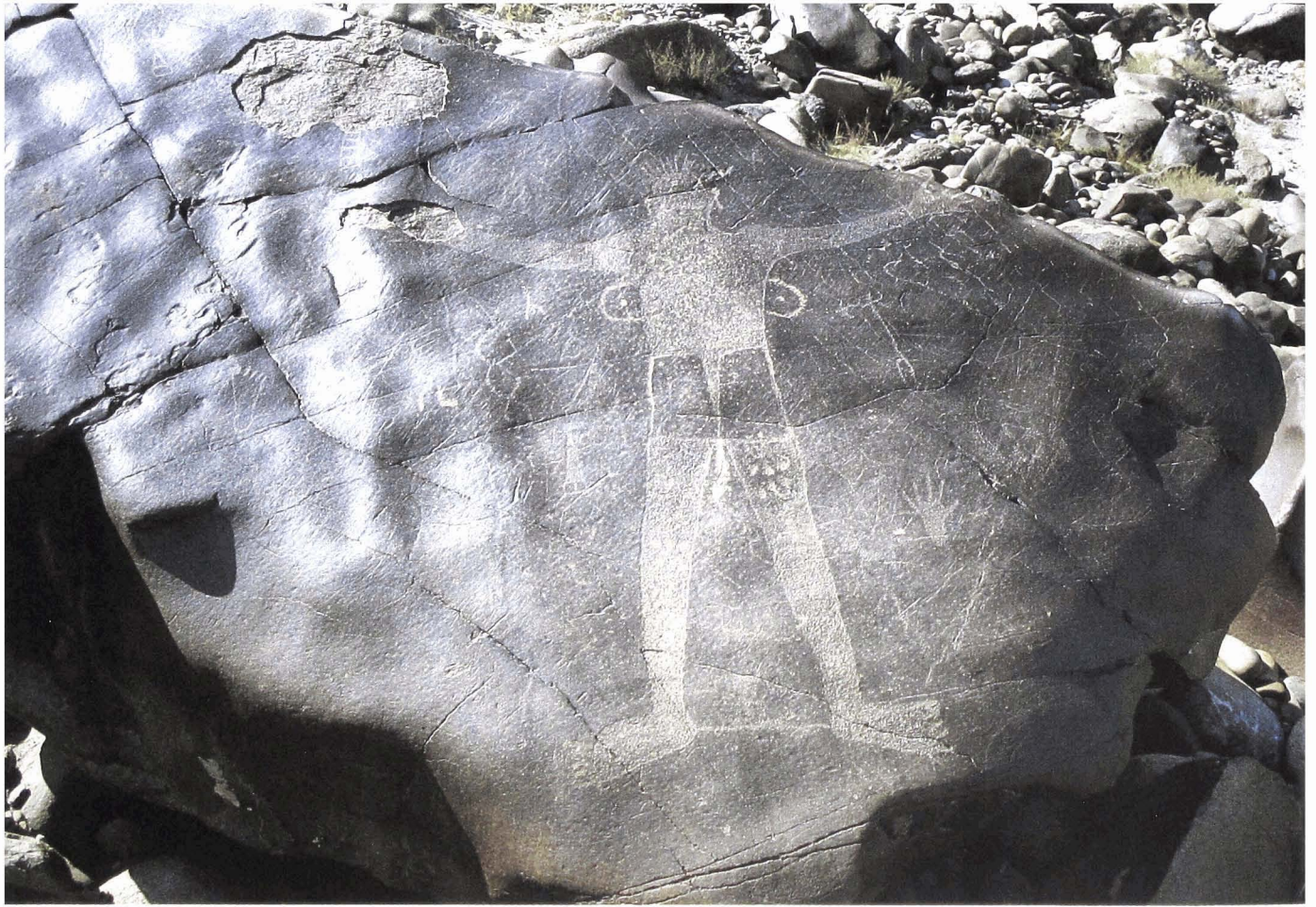


Photograph 40 - Plate 20

Pagoda and Chinese characters. Left: still unexplained.
Right: designation of travellers. Pagoda: height 69 cm.
Site at the mouth of the valley of the Thak-Gah. (T'ang period)

Photograph 43 - Plate 21
Noble horse with headgear of Sasanian-Sogdian type, apparently ambling. Outlines executed with a sharp chisel, plastic quality of the picture increased by additional pecking. Height 21 cm. Thalpan Bridge. (Approx. 6th century A. D.)





Photograph 44 - Plate 22

Giant human figure with legs apart, large feet, extended arms, small head with radiating lines. Half-open belt. Later additions (female breasts) clearly distinguishable. Height 205 cm. Chilas VI. (Buddhist period?)



Photograph 47
Plate 23
Fantastic beings
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from stūpa images.
Surrounded by ani-
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Photograph 50 – Plate 24

Boulder with (earlier) carvings of stūpas, many decorated discs, numerous carvings of animals and two axes (top centre). Thalpan Bridge. (Mostly post-Buddhist period)



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PHILIPP VON ZABERN
MAINZ AM RHEIN

