

# 1. *Pre-Islamic Heritage in the Northern Areas of Pakistan*

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The 2400-kilometre-long mountain range composed of the Hindukush and the Karakoram in the north and the Himalayas in the east forms a seemingly impenetrable barrier separating the Indian subcontinent from the highlands of Central Asia and China. Yet the history of this part of the world, supported by archaeological finds, proves that throughout hundreds and thousands of years important cultural movements were able to overcome this obstacle. Such was the case for the Greco-Hellenistic influences of the empire formed by Alexander the Great which reached as far as the higher Indus valleys; and such was the case for the expansion of Buddhism from the Indian subcontinent to China, which proceeded along similar routes from south to north across the mountains. Another stream of cultural influences penetrated the mountain ranges from west to east, that is, from Iran and Transoxania through the highlands of Central Asia into the Indian subcontinent. Finally, the trade along the ancient Silk Route created an inverse, equally important stream, leading from China to the Middle East and to the Indian subcontinent, although since the sixteenth century an increasing international sea trade was to reduce the importance of this connection.

All these movements were based on routes established by the highly ramified Indus river system, which had cut several gateways into the high mountain ranges and allowed migrations and invasions, as well as trade and cultural exchange, to happen along its valleys (fig. 14). The lower routes along the valleys of Ghizer, Gilgit, Hunza, Shigar, Shyjok and Astor were complemented by passes leading across the interposed 'Bam-i Dunya (the 'roof of the world') – such as the Baroghil (3804 m), Khora Burt (4630 m) and Darkot (4575 m).<sup>1</sup> Gilgit, the 'gate to India', served as the main hub interconnecting the north-south routes from China to the Punjab with the west-east routes between Iran and Kashmir and Ladakh, via Chitral. The new Karakoram Highway (KKH), opened in 1978, more or less follows one of the main old north-south connections along part of the Indus and Hunza rivers. It has made this mountain area much more accessible to travellers and researchers than it used to be in previous centuries.

## EARLY PILGRIM ACCOUNTS

A reconstruction of the early history of this region is rendered more difficult by the lack of indigenous historical traditions based on written documents. Chinese sources dating from the Han dynasty (Western Han from 206 BC to AD 9 and Eastern Han from AD 25 to 220) for the first time refer to historical developments in Central Asia which also affected the region today called the Northern Areas. Later Chinese sources relating to the period of the Chinese-Tibetan conflicts during the seventh and eighth century AD present more details concerning the local principalities in the south-west of the mountain ranges bordering the Tarim basin and also speak about the dangerous paths leading through these mountains.

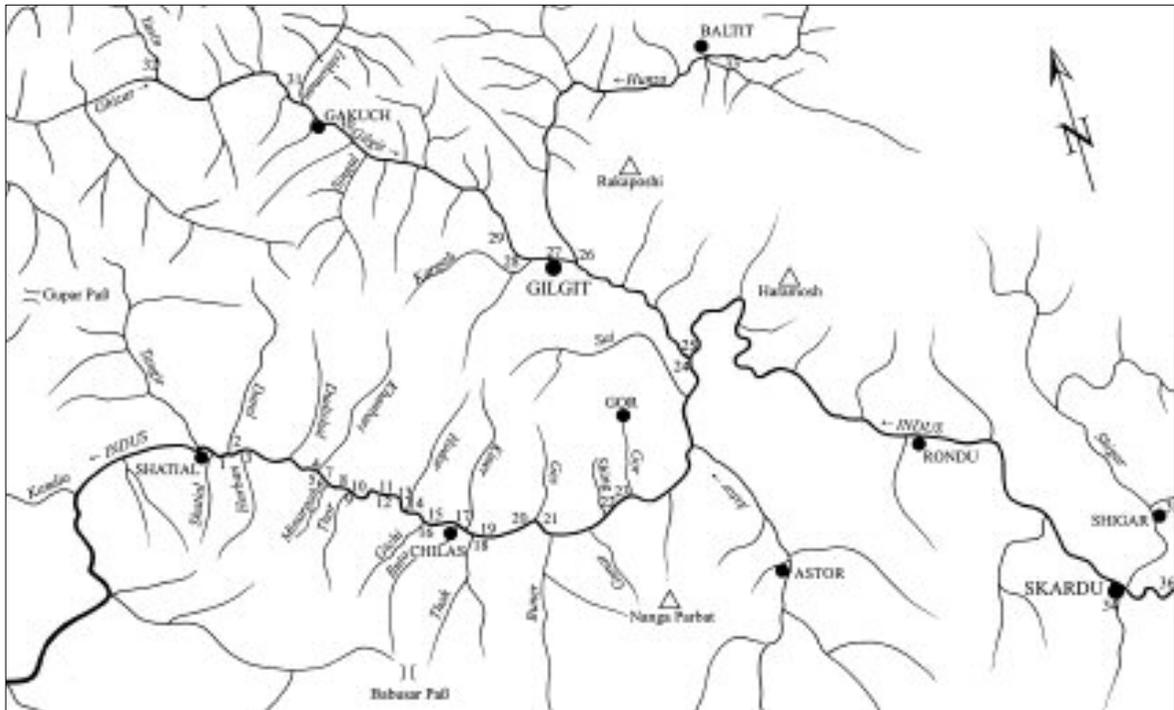


Fig. 14. Archaeological sites in the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

- |              |               |                  |               |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1 SHATIAL    | 10 THOR NORTH | 19 BA DAS        | 28 NAUPURA    |
| 2 DAREL      | 11 HELOR DAS  | 20 GUKONA        | 29 HENZAL     |
| 3 HARBAN     | 12 OSHIBAT    | 21 GES           | 30 BUBUR      |
| 4 KHANBARI   | 13 DOMU DAS   | 22 SHING NALA    | 31 HATUN      |
| 5 BAZERI DAS | 14 HODUR      | 23 BARGIN        | 32 SELEHARAN  |
| 6 MINARGAH   | 15 DADAM DAS  | 24 PARTAB BRIDGE | 33 HALDEIKISH |
| 7 MANRO DAS  | 16 GICHI      | 25 ALAM BRIDGE   | 34 MANTHAL    |
| 8 KINO KOR   | 17 THALPAN    | 26 DANYOR        | 35 SHIGAR     |
| 9 THOR       | 18 THAK       | 27 KUNO DAS      | 36 CHAGHDO    |

According to a historic source from the Eastern Han Dynasty – the “Description of the Western Regions” from the Han Shu accounts<sup>2</sup> covering the period between AD 25 and 221 – a southern branch of the ancient Silk Road led from Guma (Pishan) in the Tarim basin (west of the famous trade centre Khotan) through the south-western mountain chain of the Hindukush and Karakoram to Nandou and to a kingdom called Jibin (Chi-pin). Jibin has been identified with the region of Kapisha-Peshawar and Nandou with the plain of Gilgit.<sup>3</sup> The most terrifying and extremely arduous path at the end of this route has also been described in later Chinese accounts as *xiandu*, the ‘suspended crossing’ or ‘hanging passages’. Albert Herrmann tried to identify this track as the Kilik or Mintaka pass at the present Chinese border and the Hunza valley.<sup>4</sup> But most scholars localise these routes in the narrow and often adventurous pathways cut into the slopes of the Upper Indus gorges.

Itineraries written by three famous Chinese pilgrims who travelled in the Karakoram region refer to these gorges as the most difficult part of their journey. Fa Hsien (Faxian), after crossing the ‘Snow Mountain’, came to a small kingdom he calls T’o-lieh (Ta-li-lo) in about AD 400. This Buddhist place of pilgrimage was famous for its twenty-four-metre-high statue of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, made of carved and gilded timber. T’o-lieh has usually been identified with a side valley of the Indus called Darel, but this name seems

more likely to refer to the whole Diamar district with its political and religious centre at Chilas and Thalpan.<sup>5</sup> From here, the first known Chinese traveller to the area went to the kingdom of Udyana, or Swat, after he had passed the dangerous ‘route of the hanging chain’ in the deep gorges of the Indus of nowadays Indus-Kohistan. The same ‘southern route’ was taken by another Chinese pilgrim called Songyun, sent as an envoy by the empress of the Great Wei dynasty in AD 518 during a period when the Upper Indus region was under the supremacy of the Hephthalite kings. His official mission in Udyana (U-chang) in the Swat valley and in Gandhara was “to obtain Buddhist books in the west”. In his accounts, he presents a vague description of the political situation in the Northern Areas, mentioning the land of Po-lulai, or Little Palūr, usually located around Gilgit.<sup>6</sup>

#### ROCK CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS AS A SOURCE FOR HISTORIC RESEARCH

Besides these pilgrims’ accounts and Chinese historical records, another group of documents turned out to be a major source for the historical development in the Northern Areas. These are the rock carvings located along the old routes between Central Asia and the Lower Indus plains across the Karakoram range – some of them coinciding with the new KKH. Here we find one of the greatest collections in the world of ancient images and inscriptions carved into the rock, unique in their diversity. They are incised into the rocky slopes and boulders of the Indus gorge, starting from Shatial in Indus-Kohistan up to Gilgit, Ishkoman and Hunza, and extending as far as Baltistan, Ladakh and Western Tibet. A high concentration of rock carvings exists on a stretch about a hundred kilometres wide between the Indus gorges west of Shatial and the Raikot bridge (fig. 14). Here, especially in the widened basin of Chilas-Thalpan with its hot and desert-like sandy environment, the typical dark brown varnish-like coat covering the surface of the rocks could easily be engraved with stone instruments or metal chisels. Smaller clusters of petroglyphs, but not of such elaborate execution, also occur in the side valleys of the Indus and higher mountain basins, along the old pathways. The so-called ‘Sacred Rocks’ of Haldeikish in the Hunza valley (pl. 5), with their carvings showing ibexes, hunting scenes, and inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Sogdian, Bactrian, Tibetan and Chinese represent one of the most important epigraphical monuments in the western Himalayas.<sup>7</sup> Altogether more than fifty thousand rock carvings and six thousand inscriptions have been recorded and the number is increasing every year as a result of further exploration.

Although the two reliefs of a standing Buddha at Naupura in the Kargah valley (near Gilgit) and of a sitting Buddha on another rock at Manthal (near the Satpara lake at Skardu) have been known to the scientific world since 1880 and 1844 respectively,<sup>8</sup> the rock art galleries along the Upper Indus were neglected by archaeological research for nearly another century. As early as 1884, the Hungarian traveller Karl Eugen von Ujfalvy had published rock carvings and inscriptions from Baltistan and mentioned similar representations from Gilgit, and even Chitral.<sup>9</sup> The first scientific study of rock carvings and inscriptions in this mountain range goes back to the name of the German tibetologist August Hermann Francke, who, from 1902, published his first archaeological studies about Ladakh and Baltistan, pointing also to Buddhist representations in Chilas.<sup>10</sup> Ghulam Mohammad was the first to publish Buddhist rock carvings in the region of Gilgit and in Chilas itself, in his book of 1905 *Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit*.<sup>11</sup> The discovery of the famous *Gilgit Manuscripts*, found by M. S. Kaul Shastri in one of the *stupas* of the Buddhist monastery at Naupura near Gilgit in 1931,<sup>12</sup> unveiled the high standard of Buddhist spirituality in this mountainous region and helped to establish a list of rulers of a local dynasty, the Palola Śāhis of the kingdom of Bolōr from the late sixth to the beginning of the eighth century AD. Another scientific study of rock carvings and

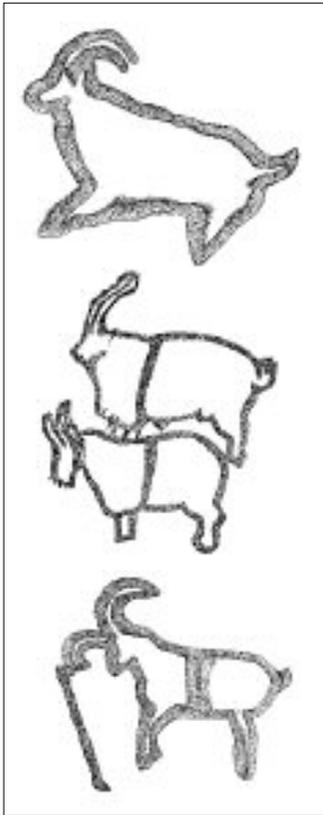


Fig. 15. Prehistoric carvings.  
From top to bottom, Dadam Das:  
Caprine; Chilas III: Caprine;  
Dadam Das: Blue Sheep.

inscriptions is owed to Sir M. Aurel Stein, whose observations of 1942 were published posthumously.<sup>13</sup>

But the impulse of more systematic research and documentation was given by Karl Jettmar,<sup>14</sup> who had joined the 1955 and 1956 expeditions of Adolf Friedrich of the University of Mainz dedicated to ethnological explorations in the valleys of the Hindukush and Karakoram. In 1973, as he was travelling again along the old Karakoram track and saw the big concentration of petroglyphs in different styles downstream of Chilas at the mouth of Minargah in the Indus valley, he realised the significance of the clusters of rock carvings in tribal areas, at that time mostly inaccessible. The decision to start systematic research had to wait until the opening of the new Karakoram Highway. In 1980 he founded the Pak-German Study Group together with Ahmed Hasan Dani, the Nestor of Pakistan Archaeology. Since 1984, the project is incorporated as a research unit in the Heidelberg Academy for Humanities and Sciences, with the aim of processing previously collected material, supplementing it by further expeditions, and publishing the rock carving sites successively and systematically in the context of an emerging cultural and political historic condition of the area.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, these inscriptions and petroglyphs are far more than accidental graffiti or a 'visitors' book' made by foreign invaders, merchants and pilgrims. They provide information about cultural variety, the transformations of climate, flora and fauna, as well as the changes of religion, from pre-Islamic time back to prehistory and even to the epi-palaeolithic period, that is, the ninth/eighth millennium BC.

The dating of the petroglyphs is made possible by stylistic comparisons and superimpositions, by analysing the engraving technique and, last but not least, by assessing different stages of the patina. During the Buddhist period, some carvings are accompanied by inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Bactrian and Sogdian, presenting another source of historical information. There are some isolated inscriptions in Chinese, but also in Tibetan, and even one in Hebrew. Many different themes, topics, and styles can be identified in these carvings, where the range of the region's history is reflected. More than eight different main stages in stylistic development can be distinguished, as summarised in the following paragraphs.

#### PREHISTORY: HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

The most ancient group of rock carvings with a varnish-like patina, which is identical to that of the rock thus allowing attribution to an earlier prehistoric age, includes above all pictures of animals and hunting scenes (fig. 15, pl. 5). These engravings constitute only about five per cent of the entire material. In the drawings 'on the contour' performed in a so-called sub-naturalistic style, hunting animals like ibexes are most frequent, followed by markhor, blue sheep, red deer and wild cattle. Predators are stylised as in other provinces of rock art in Central Asia and the Near East, which can be dated to the ninth or eighth millennium, that is, the epi-palaeolithic or Neolithic period.<sup>16</sup> During this period after the retreat of the glaciers, and especially between the sixth and third millennia BC, this region had a denser vegetation, due to

a more balanced and humid climate. This favourable environment with a rich variety of wild animals attracted groups of hunter-gatherers. With the beginning of the Bronze Age, in the third millennium BC, the landscape gradually transformed into the present Artemisia steppe, as a result of a much drier climate and lower precipitation.

The compact representation of the body with its belt-like division is characteristic of this early group, which also has parallels in the early rock art of the Near East, Caucasus and Central Asia. The animals executed in a more abstract 'bi-triangular style' are depicted individually

side by side, not arranged into group scenes. The representation of a male figure with raised arms standing in front of an animal is rare and occurs only in a few examples. Surprisingly, there are pictures of humped cattle, common in the lowlands. In rare cases, there are also representations of birds.

A conclusive interpretation of the concentrations of petroglyphs as being sites for religious or ceremonial functions is still not possible, since there have been no other archaeological finds (such as stone artefacts) which could be connected with these carvings. Nevertheless, one could conjecture that some of the galleries may have served as ceremonial centres of communities or tribes. Pictures of animals, as in the late Palaeolithic cave paintings of Western Europe, are mostly related to magic practices of hunters attempting to cast a spell on the hunted animal and to secure its preservation – a ritual which could also apply to some of the Karakoram carvings. There are rare representations of the hunter himself, sometimes equipped with a simple bow. More frequent prints of hands and feet may symbolise the presence of man, by representing his personal mark (fig. 16, below).

#### NORTH AND CENTRAL ASIAN INFLUENCE IN THE BRONZE AGE

The second group of carvings includes mask-like representations which have a direct link to similar motifs in rock carvings from the Early Bronze Age belonging to the Siberian Okunev culture in the Charkassian-Minusinsk basin or the Altai, and attributed by radio-carbon dating to the end of the third millennium BC.<sup>17</sup> These masks or mascoids show a face diagonally subdivided into four segments<sup>18</sup> (fig. 16, above); dots indicate eyes and vertical lines on the head may represent hair, horns or even rays. It could be speculated that the meaning of these images was related to shamanistic rituals, since in later periods hunters seem to wear masks, probably to deceive the game. Even today in the Karakoram, the guise of a fox, made of cloth, is used in hunting the chakor.<sup>19</sup> According to local legend, the birds made a contract with the fox, so that once a year on a certain day he was permitted to chase one of them. Thereafter, the birds need not fear the fox, and the hunter disguised as a fox would therefore have easy play.

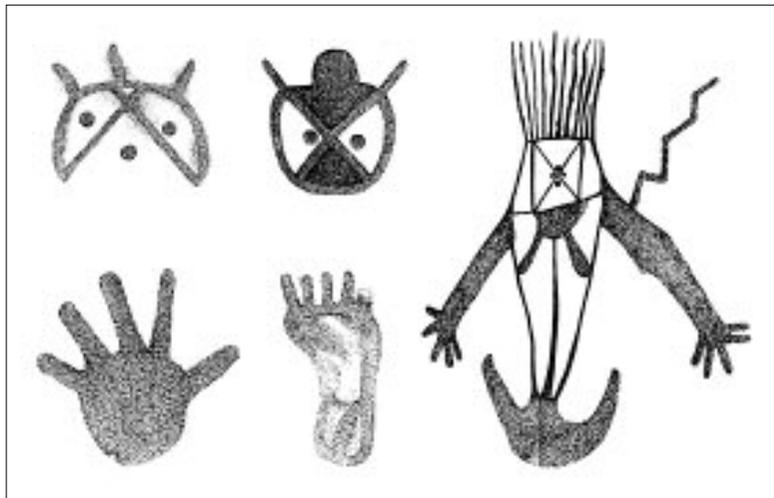


Fig. 16. Carvings of the Bronze Age. Chilas IV and Ziyarat: masks of shamans; Dadam Das: hand; Oshibat: foot; Ziyarat: masked figure with crown, representing a demon, deity or shaman.

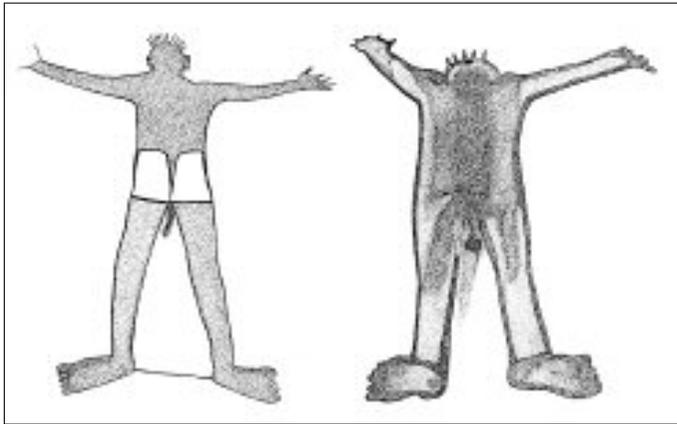


Fig. 17. Carvings of the Bronze Age. Chilas VI: giant; Dadam Das: giant.

Another significant feature of this Bronze Age group are about fifty representations of a so-called ‘giant’ or ‘giant deva’ – male anthropomorphic figures with extended arms (fig. 17), which represent a particularly impressive motif in rock art.<sup>20</sup> Most of them are depicted in human life size at prominent places, like the giants in Khanbari on a rock high above the torrent of the Indus (pl. 3). Sometimes, these figures occur in the neighbourhood of imprints of human hands and feet, or combined with pictures of snakes, but never with other figures or symbols. Similar giants were found at fifteen sites along the Upper Indus, even as far as Ladakh, where two representations are

known at Samrah. Some of these naked male figures are more than two metres high. Details of the face are never depicted, the heads sometimes show raised hair strings, or the indication of ears. In this type of representation, the faces are apparently related to the mentioned anthropomorphic masks characteristic of the Okunev culture in the third millennium BC. The giants of the Indus have been connected with similar representations in China, Mongolia and Siberia. Such images of ‘masked big men’ are engraved and painted on tomb slabs in the cemetery from Karakol in the High Altai, dating to the early second millennium BC.<sup>21</sup> The question still remains, as to what they are supposed to represent. Perhaps they portray ancestors or local deities which held an important place in the rituals of these cattle-breeding nomads of the Bronze Age. Or, they may represent shamans who acquired supernatural power to transfer the soul of a high-ranking dead person into the realm of spirits or ghosts. In one figure at Chilas VI, later additions of breasts seem to change these obviously terrifying figures into more harmless female beings.<sup>22</sup> These shamanistic concepts are apparently derived from Central Asian or South Siberian prototypes and may indicate a movement of northern population groups into the Indus valley.

#### NORTHERN NOMADS IN THE UPPER INDUS VALLEY

During the second millennium BC, the history of the mountain areas still remains in relative darkness. Some light is being shed on this period by new archaeological discoveries, as well as significant motifs in rock art. From sites such as Daeen (in the Ishkoman valley) an early group of megalithic circles, similar to grave enclosures from the Late Bronze Age in the Transhimalaya, have emerged, which are clearly of earlier origin than the Iron Age ‘megaliths’ in Kashmir or in South India. Representations of a chariot as at Thor-North suggest the infiltration of a new life style introduced by a chiefdom of horse-breeders.<sup>23</sup>

The third chronologically and stylistically defined group in rock art is characterised by the representation of animals which, because of their slightly abstract features, belongs to the Eurasian ‘Animal Style’. They mark the presence of ‘northern nomads’ descendent from the Central Asian steppes. Assyrian sources report several nomadic invasions into the Near East by the Gimmirai-Cimmerians between the reign of Sargon II (721-705 BC) and Assurbanipal (669-662 BC). They were followed by a second wave of nomadic invaders, the Scythians, who crossed the Caucasus and threatened the political scenery of the Near East, as far as Egypt, for nearly a century.

The Median great king Kyaxares was able to bring the Scythian menace to a sudden end in 616 BC and to expel these rider nomads from his realm into the northern steppes. In Persian sources the name Śaka is also used for Scythians and may designate eastern nomadic groups known from the later Chinese records Han Shu where they are called Sai-wang. A first wave of Iranian speaking nomads is indicated by carvings of animals like deer or ibexes which seem to be ‘standing on tip-toes’.<sup>24</sup> Such images found along the Upper Indus and up to Ladakh are frequent during the Early Iron Age (the Maiemir phase)<sup>25</sup> in eastern Kazakhstan and in the Altai, as can be seen in the so-called stag-stones of the Sayan-Altai type, or in ornamental metalwork dating back to the ninth/eighth century BC. For instance, a mirror from the Altai presents stags in this typical pose of ‘toe dance’, as seen in a bronze from Ujgarak, near the river Syr-Darja. Other carvings showing stags and ibexes of elaborate design and high artistic quality represent heraldic symbols (pl. 4), which can be connected with the nomadic art of the early Scytho-Śaka nomads, who also crossed the mountains along the Indus via Ladakh.

Among the petroglyphs from Chilas, there is an ibex chased by a cat-like predator – perhaps a snow leopard with its typical long bushy tail. Below the scene there is a curled animal without legs, resembling a caterpillar.<sup>26</sup> Other images of ibexes or cat-like animals with their legs ending in ring-shaped paws, have prototypes in bronzes in the Pamir or Ordos. Like the ibex, the wild sheep is a typical motif in the art of the eastern steppes, while the stag seems to be more representative of the western art of the Scythians. This symbolic animal, whose heraldic use has been claimed for tribal identity, was also found at Obo Uzu near Thalpan (fig. 18).<sup>27</sup> Similarly, it appears in bronze plaques from the Tagar II culture (Šurovka), as seen in the famous stag from Kostromskaya in the Kuban, or in a quiver plate from the Tšilik valley in Eastern Kazakhstan.

Characteristic S-volutes as ornamental infills to the body are seen in a group of carvings in Ladakh and at Rutok in western Tibet, which seem to reflect symbolic signs found on bronzes from the early western Zhou period in China, that is, dating from the eleventh to the ninth century BC.<sup>28</sup> From severely plundered graveyards in the Northern Areas, a number of bronze plaques depicting ibexes, stags and horses show the same abstract rendering of the body as in the carvings.<sup>29</sup> These images of animals have their direct counterparts in the early nomadic art of Central Asia, Siberia and the Wolga region.

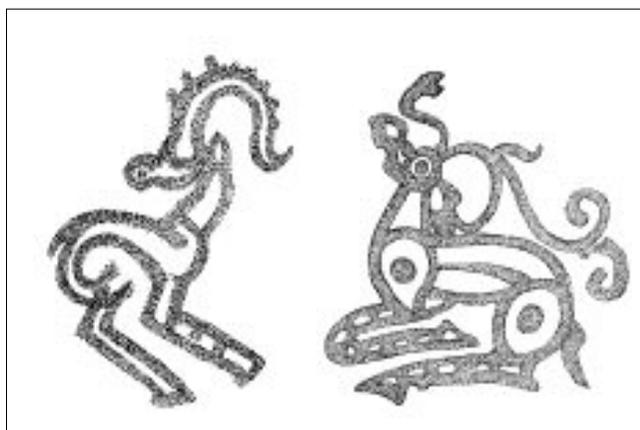


Fig. 18. Carvings of the ‘Eurasian animal style’. Iron Age. Thalpan: ibex; Thalpan-Obo Uzu: stag.



Fig. 19. Gold ring of Pattan with details of individual pieces (Indus-Kohistan). Archaeological Museum, Peshawar.

Relations with northern groups like the Śaka is revealed by a lucky find from Pattan in Indus-Kohistan (fig. 19). It consists of a golden hollow bangle and a large, solid golden ring, which is said to have been cut into fifty-seven pieces by the local finders.<sup>30</sup> Together, these objects weigh over sixteen kilograms. In a broad carved frieze on the ring, well-modelled stylised animals such as camels, rams, tigers, deer, boar, rabbits, standing horses with bridle and pommel, as well as eagles, are depicted – a complete Asian zoo. Characteristic for the representation of human beings are the artificially elongated skulls of the men from the steppes. This custom is known from the Hsiung-nu, the Huns. The costumes and the use of a *goryt* are also obvious ‘Scythian’ elements. Judging by its shape, as well as the interlaced patterns of the animal-relief, the Pattan ring may perhaps be an import from the plains of the steppe, but could also be a product of local goldsmiths. A similar example is known from the famous Siberian collection of Peter the Great. Yet another ring of gold of the same type has been recently discovered in the Siberian *kurgan* (hill-type tomb or tumulus) of Aržan II dating to the seventh century BC. Therefore the proposed dating in the first century BC, the period of Śaka king Maues of Taxila, should be revised.

#### IRANIAN INFLUENCE

As a result of the expansion of the Achaemenid empire under the great king Kyros II (559-529 BC) beyond the borders of Media and Persis into the west of India, that is, the provinces of Ga(n)dara (or Gandhara) and Hinduš (or Sind), Iranian influence extended as far as the Upper Indus valley. Here, stylistic influences may have been introduced by merchants along the known trade routes rather than by military activities. A group of isolated incisions shows a new style in the garment and armament of depicted warriors and in the drawing of animals (fig. 20). These petroglyphs are characterised by linear contours, as shown in examples from Thor North, Kino Kor Das and in the ‘altar rock’ at Thalpan. There, ibexes, stags, horses or fabulous animals are depicted in the typical ‘Knielauf’-position (with bent knees), a characteristic motif known from Achaemenid art.<sup>31</sup> To the same cultural influence belongs a scene with a warrior dressed with broad belt, fringed skirt and leggings, the so-called ‘anaxurides’, slaughtering a goat (fig. 20, right).<sup>32</sup> This Persian-type costume recalls similar representations on the reliefs along the stairway of the *apadana* at Persepolis, or on the gold plaques of the Oxus treasure.

Only a few elements in the rock carvings enable us to draw conclusions about the historical situation in the Northern Areas during the last centuries BC. During the campaign of the Macedonian king Alexander the Great from Bactria to the Indus, he nearly entered the mountain region when he captured the stronghold of Aornos above the river before he reached Taxila in 326 BC. The ‘birdless rock’ (Arrian IV.30.4) has been identified as mount Una in the bend of the Indus near Thakot, in Indus-Kohistan. But Alexander’s short reign and the following era of Hellenism inaugurated by the Seleucid kingdoms in Central Asia did not affect the remote world in the Upper Indus. During this period, the Mauryan empire arose in the Indian subcontinent and extended its predominance up to the Indus valleys. Aśoka, one of the outstanding emperors of this dynasty (approximately 268 to 232 BC), who held the regency at Taxila before he was enthroned, successfully promoted the spread of the new doctrine of Buddhism from the subcontinent to Central Asia. His famous edicts written in Kharoṣṭhī are engraved on the granite rocks of Mansehra situated on the ancient route leading from Taxila to Chilas and Gilgit through the Kaghan valley and across the Babusar pass.<sup>33</sup>

With the decline of Greco-Bactrian supremacy, the emerging Parthian empire seems to have influenced the Upper Indus region as well. A much greater impact on this area was due to the intrusion of the Iranian

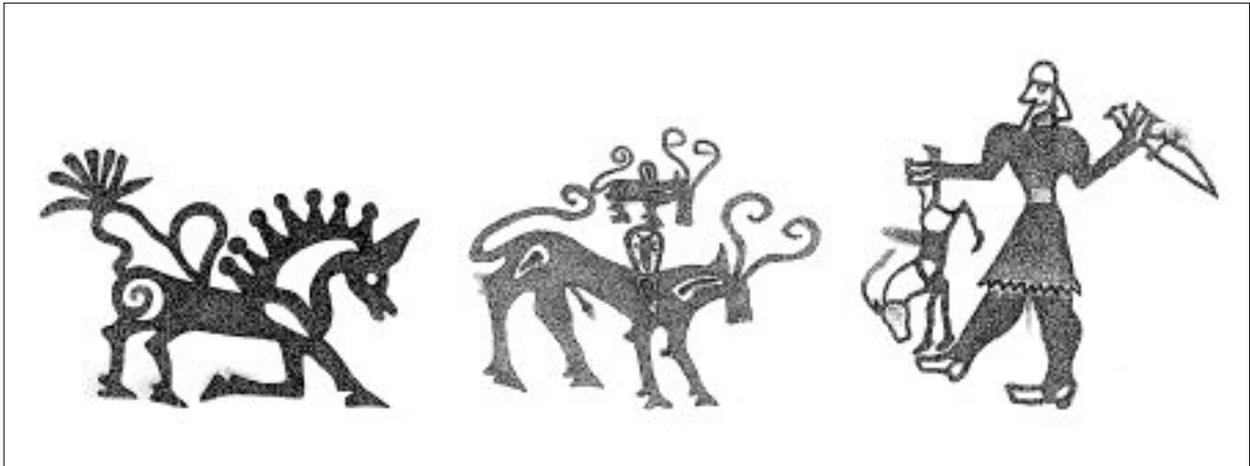


Fig. 20. Iranian influence. Thalpan: horse with bent knee; Kino Kor Das: mythical creature; Thalpan: a man with a sword slaughtering a goat.

speaking Śaka from the Central Asian steppes. As a result of tribal migrations, they were compelled by the nomadic Yüeh-Chih to move to Bactria where they terminated the supremacy of the Greco-Bactrians in 130 BC. Since the beginning of the first century BC, they were forced to recede further westwards into the Indus plains. Maues (Moga), the first powerful king of the Śaka (around 80-70 BC), was able to extend his power over Swat and Taxila into the Punjab. His reign preceded the major Indo-Scythian dynasty of Azes that ruled a territory covering the Punjab and the Indus plains (50 BC-AD 30). The reign of the Śaka kings was succeeded by a short-lived Indo-Parthian kingdom ruled by Gondophares and his successors that reached from Seistan to Sind and Punjab. Until now there is only scanty and controversial evidence concerning the possible existence of local principalities controlled by Śaka rulers in the mountain valleys.

#### THE EARLY BUDDHIST PERIOD IN THE UPPER INDUS REGION

The next stylistic group of rock carvings represents the first climax in the region's history, combined with the rise of Buddhism and the first use of inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> The early Buddhist period, after the turn of the millennium until the third century AD, falls into the period of the formation of the empire of Kuṣāṇa. At its climax it covered a territory from Samarkand and Bactria to the Ganges and Sind. From his new capital Puruṣapura (Peshawar) emperor Kaṇiṣka, the most powerful ruler of this dynasty, was also able to incorporate Kashmir with the Upper Indus under his reign. The precise dates for the era of the Great Kuṣāṇa, from its commencement in AD 78 (the beginning of the Śaka period) or more likely from around AD 134/142 until its collapse in AD 278, are still being disputed. There is also no agreement about the end of the later Kuṣāṇa caused by the Sasanian emperor Shapur II (AD 310-379). Sites like Alam bridge (near Gilgit), Shatial, Chilas and the sacred rocks of Haldeikish in Hunza present inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī.<sup>35</sup> This script (derived from Aramaic, the official script of the Persian state chancelleries) was introduced either by the Persians or during the Maurya dynasty (320-185 BC) under Candragupta or Aśoka and was used for official documents mainly in the middle-Indian language Gāndhārī at the court of the Greco-Indian and Indo-Scythian kings (third-fourth century AD).

The rock carvings from the early Buddhist period, which, in spite of their simplicity are of high artistic quality, were never found in clusters. Carvings from Chilas II contain many representations of *stupas* of an

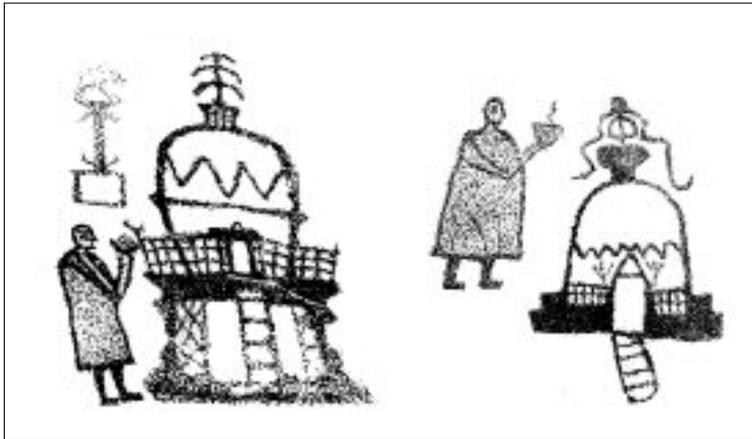


Fig. 21. Early Buddhist period.  
Pilgrims with incense burner worshipping a *stupa*.

early type, resembling the famous three *stupas* from Sanchi or Amaravati of the Satavahanas period. In one of them, the ‘canonic’ characteristics of a *stupa* are clearly articulated:<sup>36</sup> a stairway (*sopāna*) leads to a platform (*medhī*); the dome (*aṇḍa*) for the preservation of the reliquary is surmounted by a *harmikā* (a square platform and a triple parasol) (fig. 21). In front of the *stupa* stands an adoring monk with a raised incense burner, and on top of it is a person with a belted dress, carrying a jug and a flag. A tree symbol and a votive *stupa* complete the scene. The inscription in

Kharoṣṭhī, which has been dated 50 BC to AD 50, says “this carving is made by Buddharaṣita” (a protégé of Buddha).<sup>37</sup> Attaching the picture of a *stupa* on a rock was apparently considered a good deed to substitute for a built votive *stupa*. This pious gesture is the explanation for the great number of carved *stupas* in the Upper Indus valley, sometimes accompanied by the engraved devotional formula beginning with *devadharmo yaṃ* “this is a pious donation of...” or the short dedication *namo buddhāya* “veneration to Buddha”. However, at Chilas II names of Hindu deities such as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma<sup>38</sup> have also been inscribed.

Monks and missionaries from the Punjab, travelling through the Khanga valley, Swat, and across Kashmir via the Astor or Gilgit route, are said to have introduced Buddhism to the northern regions, which later became famous for their numerous sacred places. Images of elephants and Indian humped cattle, carved next to the earlier *stupas*, may be explained by visitors from the south. These Buddhist travellers and merchants visited the bazaars at Gilgit, Chilas and Shatial, as well as the sanctuaries in Naupura, Thalpan and even in Thor, Gichi or Shing Nala. The inscriptions along the routes obviously quote their names but never provide any clue as to the goods of the interregional trade. Salt must have been one of the main products imported from the salt range in central Punjab into the mountain region. In exchange, the inhabitants of the Upper Indus could offer gold washed from the river sands, but also other minerals and precious stones, gems, furs, leather, articles of wood and woollen fabrics.

#### THE CLIMAX OF BUDDHISM IN THE NORTHERN AREAS

During the so-called ‘Golden Age of Buddhism’ from the fifth to the eighth century AD, the region around Chilas with its unique concentrations of carvings clearly represents a political as well as an important sacred centre<sup>39</sup> (figs. 22-24). The clustering of carvings around an old ferry crossing marks the importance of this passage to the northern bank of the Indus. Thalpan, at the meeting point of routes leading from Hodor to Gor and through the Kiner Gah to Gilgit, was the place of a Buddhist sanctuary and perhaps also of a monastery. The above-mentioned Chinese pilgrims’ travelogues marvel at a huge wooden Maitreya statue at Ta-li-lo, which may also be the one referred to by Al-Bīrūnī in his account about the famous ‘idol’ in the Shamil land or Shamilan belonging to the Upper Indus valley.<sup>40</sup>

The history of the Northern Areas between the fifth and the eighth century AD is determined by the existence of two kingdoms:<sup>41</sup> in the east, the powerful state of ‘Great Palūr’ (equivalent to the later Bolōr from

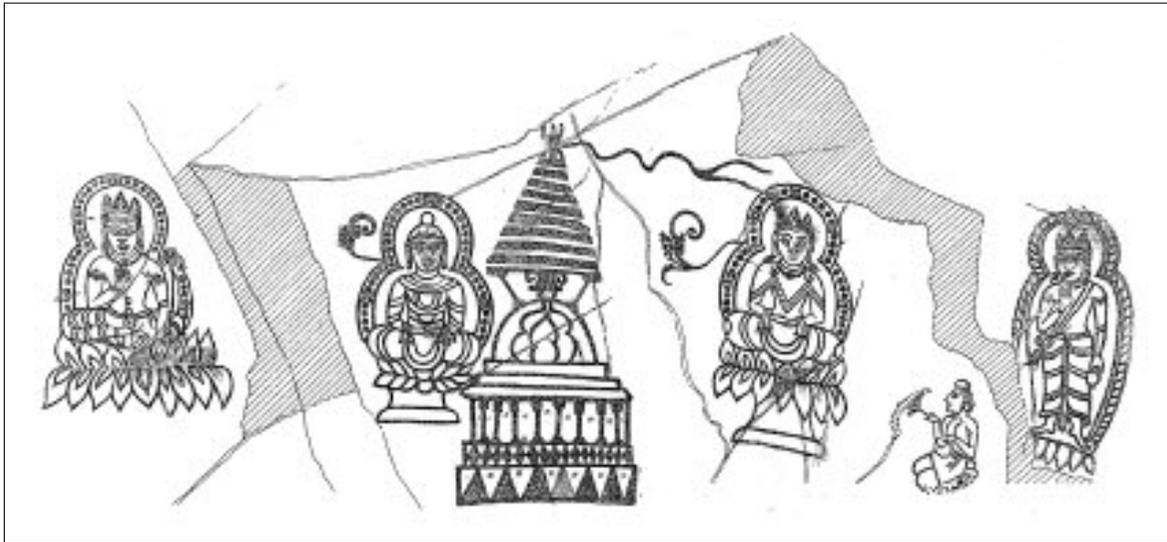


Fig. 22. Climax of Buddhism. Chilas-Jayachand: from left to right, scene with sitting Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Buddha Śakyamuni, votive *stupa*, Buddha Vipāśyin, the adoring donor Siṅhoṭa, and standing Bodhisattva Maitreya.

Tibetan annals) occupied the area of Baltistan including Astor; in the west, the other important principality was ‘Little Palūr’ (according to later Tibetan sources called Bruža), covering the area of Gilgit, including the tributary valley up to Yasin. Because of its strategic position at the gateway to India this region also played a key role in the Chinese-Tibetan power struggle during the seventh and eighth centuries.

Since the end of the fifth century until the beginning of the eighth century the political scenery is dominated by the dynasty of the Palola Śāhis.<sup>42</sup> Out of their centre of power in Great Palūr, they gained control over Little Palūr, and through there became connected to the domain of the Hephthalites who reigned in the region of Chitral. Their history is mainly based on the famous *Gilgit Manuscripts*, and on the epigraphic evidence from a series of so-called Gilgit bronzes with their dedications. Names of kings occur in rock inscriptions from Danyor<sup>43</sup> and Hatun,<sup>44</sup> including mention of a local ruler. Rock inscriptions from the Gilgit and Diamar districts complete these sources. To date, about eight kings and nine queens representing this dynasty are known.

So far, it is impossible to draw the border lines of the area controlled by the kingdom of the Palola Śāhis. Judging from the inscriptions, their dominion reached from Little Palūr as far as the northern bank of the Upper Indus, where they came in direct contact with the third power in the Northern Areas, the Daradas or Dardana. They were the ruling lords of the Indus valley, dominating a stretch from Shatial to Chilas (with the bridgehead Thalpan) and as far as the gorges beyond Nanga Parbat. Chilas served as their most powerful outpost and had the task of controlling the important trading and interregional communication network in the Upper Indus valley.

Narrative records of the T’ang Shu and Tibetan annals refer to the struggle between the Chinese and the Tibetans.<sup>45</sup> Between AD 720 and 745 Tibetan armies invaded Bolōr (Great Palūr), thus terminating the supremacy of the Palola Śāhis in Baltistan. From there they even dared thrust into Bruža (Little Palūr) and went as far as the Oxus region where the Arabs had confronted the Chinese. To regain Chinese suprem-

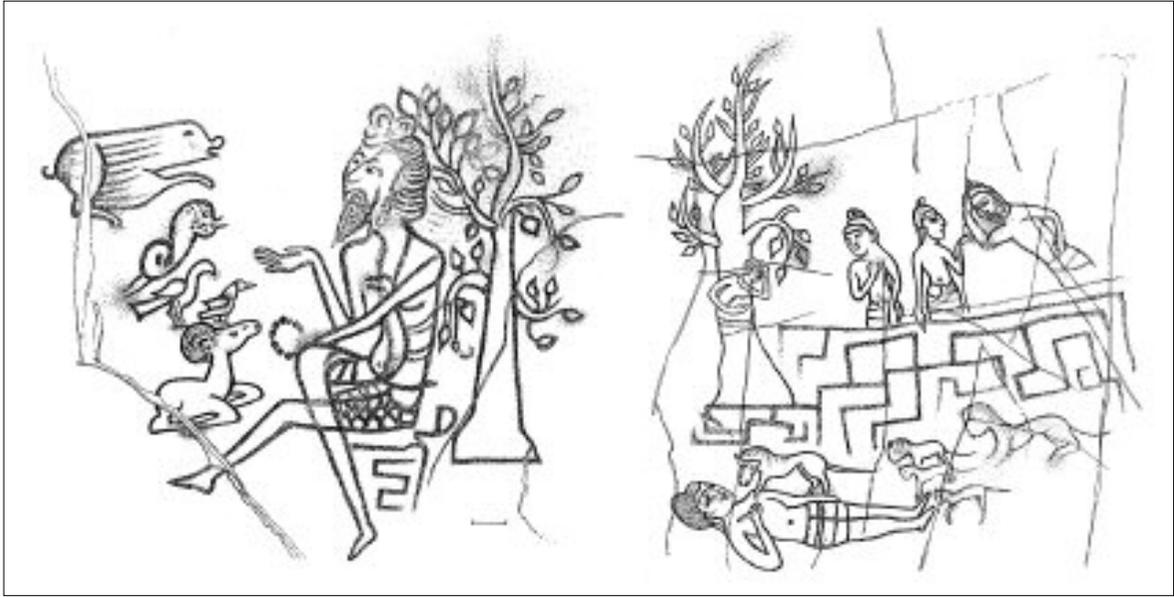


Fig. 23. Climax of Buddhism. Left, Thalpan: central scene of the Rṣipaṅcaka ('worst evil') Jātaka with ascetic sitting on a rock under a tree with five animals: caprine, pigeon, raven, snake, wild boar. Right, Chilas-Jayachand: tiger (*vyāghri*) Jātaka. Lying Bodhisattva offering his blood to a tigress which is too weak to feed her cubs. From above a rocky slope prince Mahāsattva with his brothers Mahādeva and Mahāpranāda and a tree nymph are watching the scene.

acy in Little Palūr, general Kao Hsien-Chi's army traversed the Pamir route and the Karakoram, apparently via the Darkot pass,<sup>46</sup> and invaded the Yasin valley in AD 722 and again in AD 737. After the defeat of the Tibetans, the Little Palūr kingdom seems to have survived in a state of loyalty to the Chinese Tang dynasty. For the subsequent centuries there are no documents from Chinese or Tibetan sources which throw light on the medieval history in the Northern Areas. Al-Bīrūnī, the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam and the Śaka itinerary provide scanty information about this region. Until the intrusion of Islam into Baltistan in the fifteenth century, the mountain region between the Hindukush and the western Himalayas was to remain a dark corner of the Indian subcontinent.

During this period, Kharoṣṭhī (written from right to left) is followed by Brāhmī, the second Indian script (written from left to right). More than eighty per cent of all inscriptions are written in different forms of Brāhmī, ranging from the late Kuṣāṇa to the early Gupta type of the fourth century AD. A few inscriptions, like those at Hatun in the Ishkoman valley are made in the less known Śāradā and Proto-Śāradā developed from Brāhmī.

All the wealth, elegance and expressive quality of Buddhist art becomes visible in the carvings around Chilas-Thalpan, with their elaborate representations of *stupas*, Buddhas and complex *jātakas*, or scenes from Buddha's life (figs. 22-24; pl. 6). These masterly chiselled pictures exhibit different styles or influences from India, east Turkestan or Gandhara. The devotional depiction of the *stupa* now became the predominant motif in rock art. In contrast to earlier pictorial schemes, these *stupa* engravings were now characterised by a different style and significant architectural elements (fig. 22).<sup>47</sup> Above the elevated and stepped platform (*medhī*) and sometimes decorated dome (*aṅḍa*) the row of umbrellas (*chattrāvalī*) is presented in an exaggerated manner, crowned by banners and bells. A striking fact is that most of the large-size depictions

of sacred buildings in Chilas-Thalpan are sponsored by only two people called Kuberavāhana and Sinhota.<sup>48</sup>

From Thalpan I, one of the most elaborate representations of a sitting Buddha is preserved, featuring Buddha's first sermon at Sarnath near Benares.<sup>49</sup> Gautama Buddha, a descendent of a noble family, was born as prince Siddhartha in about 563 BC in the village of Lumbini in the neighbourhood of Kapilavatthu in Nepal. At the age of twenty-nine he left his family to choose a vagrant life as a mendicant ascetic. After acceding to supreme knowledge, which he obtained while meditating under a pipal (or *bodhi*) tree, the tree of enlightenment, he decided to preach wisdom to mankind. Sitting in the famous deer park he enunciated the four noble truths: sorrow, the cause of sorrow, the removal of sorrow, and the way leading to the removal of sorrow. He showed the paths to secure deliverance from this sorrow and suffering to his first followers by bringing the 'wheel of doctrine to turn'.

Some of the most exceptional images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (in incarnations as Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara) seem to be rooted in acts of veneration by Kuberavāhana – a fact not only proved by the inscription but also by the same style of carving. This group also comprises the famous scenes from the earlier life of Buddha, such as the *jātakas* of Ṛṣipañcaka, 'great evil' (fig. 23, left), and king Śibi in Thalpan, the *vyāghri* or tiger *jātaka* in Chilas (fig. 23, right), and the temptation of Buddha through the daughters Tanhā, Aratī and Rāga of the demon king Māra in Thalpan<sup>50</sup> – which enables us to date this significant group of carvings within at least a generation during the sixth century. Small-scale *stupas* of delicate miniature-like execution with deep incised inscriptions are donations on behalf of two other worshippers named Vicitradeva and Varuṇeśvara.<sup>51</sup> Further research may provide more information about the precise dating of these various carvings, and perhaps also about the social background of the sponsors.

A fine carving from Chilas I displays representations of Bodhisattva Maitreya with the three-pointed crown (fig. 24), the future Buddha and protector of the new doctrine, and of Avalokiteśvara, the embodiment of mercy and wisdom, who is called upon by humans in distress. The Bodhisattva is a being on the way to enlightenment who has renounced the attainment of Nirvana, the sole aim of Buddhism. Near the saintly beings a *stupa* and a 'vase of plenty' (*pūrṇaḡhaṭa*) is depicted. The inscrip-

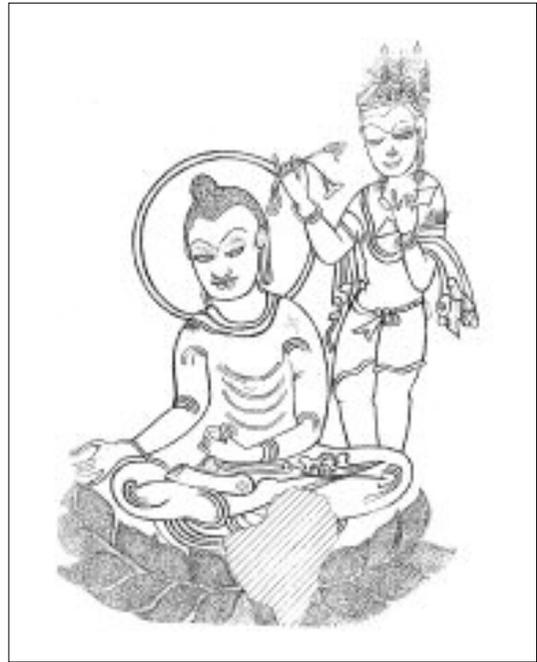


Fig. 24. Climax of Buddhism. Thalpan: sitting Buddha Śākyamuni with standing Bodhisattva Vajrapāni behind.

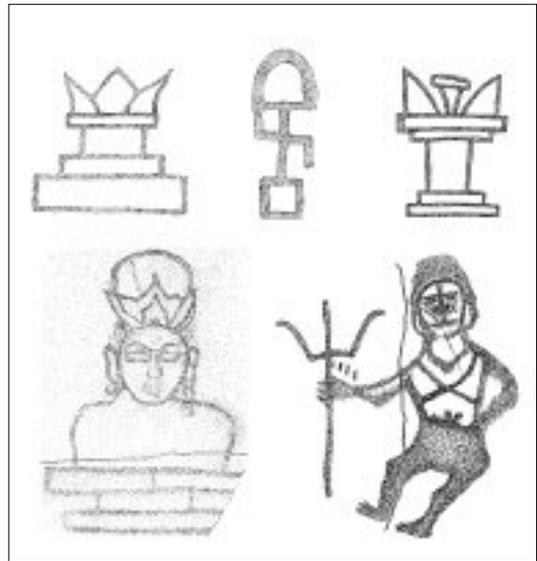


Fig. 25. Sogdian and other influences. Above, fire-altars. Below left, Thalpan: bust of the god Śiva. Below right, Dadam Das: standing Śiva (☺) with trident (triśūla).

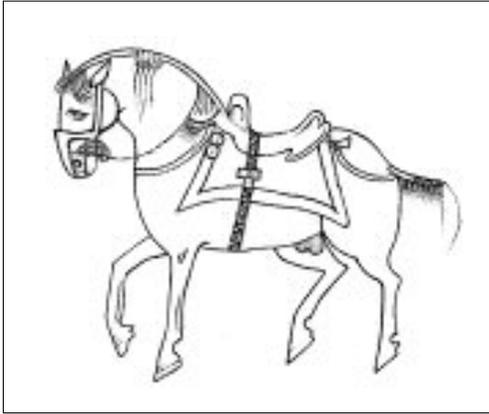


Fig. 26. Thalpan: saddled horse in amble, with headgear, Sassanian-Sogdian style.

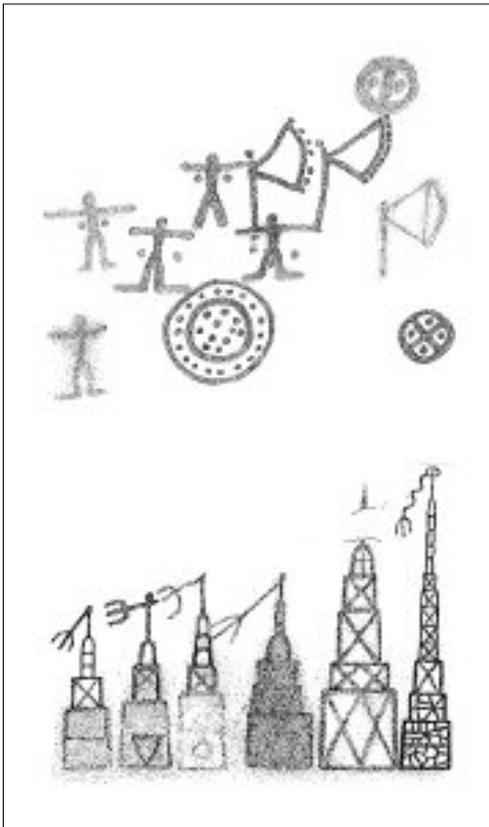


Fig. 27. Battle-Axe people. Hodur: above, scene with humans, axes and disc symbols; below, group of tower-like *stupas*.

tion in Brāhmī are dedications by the pious worshippers *Sinhota* and *Gamanaśūra*.<sup>52</sup> Another famous carving from Thalpan shows Buddha under the tree of enlightenment, sitting on a lotus flower. The inscription in Brāhmī mentions the patron, who has donated this dedication, represented by the adorant and the *stupa*.<sup>53</sup>

#### SOGDIAN MERCHANTS

During the reign of Buddhism, other religious traditions coexisted with it in the Upper Indus valleys, demonstrating the ethnic diversity of this region. Until now, eight engravings of fire-altars show the existence of the Iranian religion of Zoroaster, which was introduced by Sogdian merchants during the Kuṣāṇa period (fig. 25, above).<sup>54</sup> The majority of these symbols was found at Shatial, which served as an emporium where traders from Central Asia are also represented with numerous inscriptions. As early as the third century Sogdian merchants from Samarkand first entered the Upper Indus after organising the trans-Asiatic trade along the Silk Road from China to Syria. Extraordinarily elegant drawings of noble horses at Thalpan with head harness and saddle, apparently ambling, may also indicate their influence in this region (fig. 26).<sup>55</sup> Similar pictures in mural paintings at Pendžikent from the seventh/eighth century (as well as in Ajanta and Achei) seem to represent a status symbol of an aristocratic society in Central Asia and in the Middle East. But the horses could also be interpreted as symbols of local deities. A series of heraldic symbols, the so-called *tamgas* known from different periods in Central Asia and characteristic for the Sogdians, give further evidence of their presence (fig. 25, above, centre).<sup>56</sup> This emblem may testify the membership of the merchant to a certain clan or ethnic group. A portrait of Śiva at Thalpan and another divine image from Dadam Das (fig. 25, below) indicate the worship of Hindu gods, as attested for the Kuṣāṇa period with the cult of Śiva and Parvati.<sup>57</sup>

Besides the rich epigraphic material in Brāhmī, which mostly dates from the fifth to the eighth centuries AD, there are also inscriptions in Sogdian, documenting the presence of this important ethnic group. They comprise more than six hundred inscriptions in Middle Iranian, about a dozen in Bactrian and Middle Persian, but the majority are in Sogdian.<sup>58</sup> These inscriptions

with typical Central Asian names reveal their eminent role in the international relations within the inter-Asian network of the Silk Road. The westernmost site of Shatial at the Upper Indus seems to have functioned as a trade centre for Sogdians coming from the north via the valleys of Tangir or Darel. From here, these foreign merchants were not allowed to enter further into the Indus valley and to reach Kashmir or



Fig. 28. Chaghdo (Baltistan): rock painting showing the veneration of *stupas*. Redbrown and ochre paint on white wash.

the lowlands of Gandhara via Chilas. The occurrence of other foreign names in these inscriptions indicates the presence of Hephthalites, that is, Huns, since many noble families were of this origin.

Far-reaching international connections are indicated by a series of Chinese inscriptions, engraved by merchants, pilgrims and envoys, as documented at Haldeikish in Hunza. A sole inscription in Hebrew at Gichi (Campsite) was also made by a merchant. Tibetan inscriptions were frequent in Ladakh, but some have also been recorded at the Buddhist mountain sanctuary of Shigar in Baltistan, as well as at Gilgit river, indicating Tibetan occupation during the eighth century AD.

#### BATTLE-AXE PEOPLE

The latest important group of petroglyphs reflects a completely new ethnic element along the Indus, which occurred during and after the ninth to the tenth century in sites around Chilas, Hodur and also in Hunza (fig. 27).<sup>59</sup> During this period, carvings representing a primitive form of *stupa* are still common, whereas the canonic representations of the *stupa* with the *anda*, which contains the relics of Buddha, are seldom. The *stupas* display a more tower-like contour, whose sacral character is indicated only by banners or tridents. These mostly abstract depictions of the ancient *stupa*, also called ‘*stupa-derivates*’, are sometimes careless in execution and show no inscriptions of their donors. This radical change in style obviously indicates that Buddhism had lost its prominent position and may also reflect the altered political and ethnic context during this period. Works of continued Buddhist character are supplemented with or even damaged by rougher schematic carvings. Battle scenes with horsemen and warriors carved in simple lines clearly demonstrate



Fig. 29. Buddha relief from Manthal (Satpara) near Skardu (9th century AD).

the troubled situation in the valley. The main images are a variety of battle axes and disc wheels, to be interpreted as sun symbols. Battle axes with an upward curved serrated blade are sometimes carved over representations of *stupas*, thus displaying the destruction of these Buddhist buildings. Since there are also battle scenes showing foreign warriors fighting with Buddhists, the carvings seem to indicate an anti-Buddhist movement of a new population, which at the beginning was illiterate. These non-believers seem to represent local tribes who lived in the upper part of the Indus valley and in the higher mountainous regions. They infiltrated the valleys and basins and transformed the cultural patterns of the whole region.

#### THE RENAISSANCE OF BUDDHISM IN GILGIT AND BALTISTAN

During the ninth and tenth centuries AD, Buddhism seems to have revived in some parts of the Upper Indus valley and around Gilgit, as becomes evident from the latest group of *stupa* carvings. The famous Buddha reliefs from Naupura near Gilgit and Manthal (Satpara) near Skardu (fig. 29) represent the late phase of the 'Golden Era of Buddhism' between the eighth and tenth centuries.<sup>60</sup> The carving of a standing Buddha on the rock of Saling near Khaplu and the fine relief of a Bodhisattva in Parkuta belong to a group of Buddhist monuments including the Buddha images around Kargil (Baltistan).<sup>61</sup> The renaissance of the old religion is strongly indicated by the carved monolith found at Bubur in Punyal and an extraordinary fresco from Baltistan – a newly discovered painting from Chaghdo, near the village of Nor east of Skardu (fig. 28).<sup>62</sup> The fresco demonstrates the veneration in which *stupas* were held: three *stupas* of Tibetan style are shown on terraces, and the colourful scene consists of mostly seated worshipers, arranged in two separate groups of apparently noble persons, and of saddled horses. The motifs depicted refer to the 'seven pre-

cious possessions' of the Cakravartin: queen, minister, general, jewel, wheel, horse and elephant. The elegant pictures are reminiscent in style of the paintings at the monastery of Alchi in Ladakh, dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century.

*Stupas* at Naupura and Henzal near Gilgit, and at Thol, first reported by Aurel Stein in 1907,<sup>63</sup> are architectural remnants of this period. In 1992, it was possible to identify a visible monument high above Jutial at Gilgit, known as 'Minar of Taj Moghal', as a remaining Buddhist building. According to local legend, Taj Moghal was a king of Badakshan, who had defeated Tor Khan, the ruler of Gilgit.

#### EPILOGUE: ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NORTHERN AREAS

One of the main aims of future research is the more detailed investigation of the rich archaeological and historical heritage in the Northern Areas. More than half of about sixty sites with rock carvings between Shatial and the Raikot bridge have already been surveyed. Yet a better understanding of the historical and cultural background of these monuments also needs to become a subject of current scientific projects. Along the ancient routes in the valleys, many ruins of settlements, smaller forts and sanctuaries still have to be identified. The important Buddhist hill-site at Shigar in Baltistan, with a monastery and a large number of *stupas*, is waiting for more intensive research. The dramatic dimension of recent plundering which occurred in many still unexplored cultural and historical monuments in the Northern Areas has become obvious from archaeological objects originating from illegally excavated and destroyed ancient cemeteries. Even most of the monumental stone grave circles at Seleharan (Yasin) or Barandas in Ishkoman, northwest of Gilgit, are threatened by this new development. Thanks to the activities of the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Pakistan (AKCS-P), some of the beautiful mosques and *raja* palaces in Hunza and Baltistan have been carefully restored. Yet, in this region, where different cultures and empires have been meeting over several millennia, there has been no scientific excavation at all since 1938. The documentation and systematic publication of the rock art galleries in the Upper Indus region in northern Pakistan and Ladakh can therefore only be a first, although important, step to illuminate the long history of this mountain region.

The drawings of figures 2-7, 9-14 by E. Ochsenfeld, figures 1 and 8 by M. Bemmman. Photographs from archive "Heidelberg Academy of Humanities and Sciences, Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway".

<sup>1</sup> The first description of the pass routes through the mountain ranges was presented by Hermann and Robert von Schlagintweit in 1856 and 1857. In the Bibliography see: Schlagintweit 1875; Rizvi 1999; Heichel 2003.

<sup>2</sup> In the Bibliography see: Hill 2003. See also Tsuchiya 1999, p. 353; Jettmar 2002, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> In the Bibliography see: Tsuchiya 1999, pp. 353, 354.

<sup>4</sup> In the Bibliography see: Herrmann 1935, map 16.

<sup>5</sup> This identification with Darel as "an exact transcription of the name" T'o-lieh goes back to Cunningham 1871, p. 82. In the Bibliography see also Stein 1921, p. 6; Jettmar 1980, pp. 9-11. According to Dani 1983, pp. 3-4 and 1995, p. 15, Talilo would more easily correspond to "the whole of the Chilas zone".

<sup>6</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar 1980, p. 10; Jettmar 2002, pp. 118-119; Dani 1995, pp. 15-18 and map 3; Dani 2001, pp. 144-145.

<sup>7</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1985. A final publication is in preparation in MANP.

<sup>8</sup> In the Bibliography see: for the Naupura Buddha: Biddulph 1880, pp. 108-112 with fig. on pp. 108-109; for the Satpara Buddha: Vigne 1844, vol. II, p. 261; Duncan 1906, pp. 270-279 with frontispiece, also describes the ancient dam of Satpara lake with its double sluice-gate to regulate the outlet of the 'Sadpor' rivulet. The upper gate was originally decorated with two small Buddha figures.

<sup>9</sup> In the Bibliography see: Ujfalvy 1884, pp. 247, 248, 269, figs. XVIII-XIX.

<sup>10</sup> In the Bibliography see: Francke 1902 and 1903.

<sup>11</sup> In the Bibliography see: Ghulam Muhammad 1907, p. 110 published from Chilas a sketch of a still visible *stupa* on stone 39: MANP 6, p. 58, no. 39:1.

- <sup>12</sup> In the Bibliography see: Shastri 1939; Jettmar 2002, pp. 157-173; Von Hinüber 1979.
- <sup>13</sup> In the Bibliography see: Stein 1944, p. 19, pl. IVa published the carvings of a *stupa*, three Bodhisattvas, and five Brāhmī inscriptions which were destroyed during the highway construction before 1978. See MANP 6, pp. 98-10, no. 84.
- <sup>14</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar 1980b; Jettmar-Thewalt 1987.
- <sup>15</sup> In the Bibliography see: Hauptmann 1996; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997. Final publications in the series H. Hauptmann (ed.), *Materials for the Archaeology of the Northern Regions of Pakistan (Mainz) (MANP)* and *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies (ANP)*. See also Nasim Khan 2000a.
- <sup>16</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 12; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 36, 52-53, nos. 8-10; MANP 5, pp. 25-26.
- <sup>17</sup> In the Bibliography see: Nikolaj-Leont'ev-Kapel'ko 2002; Novočenov 2002, p. 44, figs. 9, 11, 1-11.
- <sup>18</sup> In the Bibliography see: Francfort-Klodzinski-Masclé 1990, p. 8, fig. 5; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 52-53, nos. 1-3.
- <sup>19</sup> In the Bibliography see: Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 48-49, fig. 4.
- <sup>20</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1983, p. 24, pl. 11; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 36-37, fig. 1 and pp. 52-53 no. 6; especially MANP 5 (2005) pp. 14-20, pls. 7-8, nos. 78:1, 81:2; 85:1; 95:1.
- <sup>21</sup> In the Bibliography see: Kubarev 1988, p. 60, fig. 44 and p. 62, fig. 46.
- <sup>22</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1983, p. 24, pl. 11; Jettmar-Thewalt 1985, p. 24, pl. 22.
- <sup>23</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 13.
- <sup>24</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar 1991, p. 5, fig. 4, pl. 4; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 54-55, no. 2.
- <sup>25</sup> In the Bibliography see: Francfort-Klodzinski-Masclé 1990, pp. 13-16.
- <sup>26</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, pp. 13-14, pl. 6; Jettmar 1991, pl. 4; MANP 6, no. 69:1-3.
- <sup>27</sup> In the Bibliography see: Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 54-55, no. 1; MANP 6, no. 30:379.
- <sup>28</sup> In the Bibliography see: Francfort-Klodzinski-Masclé 1990, p. 18, figs. 20-23.
- <sup>29</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 2001, pp. 432-438 pl. 55, 3.4 and pl. 56, 3 (from Tangir valley). See the bronze plaque from Kandia valley: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, pl. 7; Jettmar 1991, p. 6, pl. 3.
- <sup>30</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar 1991, pp. 11-17, figs. 16-22; Jettmar 2002, p. 100, figs. 26, 1-14.
- <sup>31</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, pp. 13-14, pl. 4; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 38-39, fig. 1.2 and pp. 54-55, nos. 7-9; MANP 6, nos. 30:60, 73, 115, 116, 190, especially no. 226.
- <sup>32</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 13, pl. 5; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 38-39, figs. 1, 3 and pp. 54-55, nos. 10, 12.
- <sup>33</sup> In the Bibliography see: Fussman 1993.
- <sup>34</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, pp. 15-17; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 32-33, 40-44.
- <sup>35</sup> In the Bibliography see: Fussman 1993.
- <sup>36</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1983, pp. 106-116, nos. 82, 84, 86, 87, 90; Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, pp. 15-17, pls. 9-11; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 40-41, nos. 1-3, 60-61.
- <sup>37</sup> In the Bibliography see: Fussman 1989, p. 14 nos. 6, 1 and p. 21, no. 12, 1.
- <sup>38</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1983, p. 106, no. 80 and p. 114, no. 89; Fussman 1989, pp. 10-11, nos. 3, 2, 3; Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 16, pl. 12 doubt the occurrence of the names of the goddess Hārītī and of several kings in the inscriptions around Chilas as proposed by Dani. For the reading of the names Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma see Fussman 1989, p. 4-6.
- <sup>39</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, pp. 18-20; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 33, 42-44.
- <sup>40</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar 2002, p. 154.
- <sup>41</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar 2002, pp. 116-156.
- <sup>42</sup> In the Bibliography see: Von Hinüber 2004.
- <sup>43</sup> In the Bibliography see: Von Hinüber 1989, p. 64.
- <sup>44</sup> In the Bibliography see: Von Hinüber 1993, pp. 4-19; 2004, p. 65.
- <sup>45</sup> In the Bibliography see: Beckwith 1987, p. 30; Jettmar 2002, pp. 122-125.
- <sup>46</sup> In the Bibliography see: Beckwith 1987, pp. 30, 132-133; Jettmar 2002, p. 127; Tsuchiya 1998, pp. 54-55.
- <sup>47</sup> In the Bibliography see: Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 60-61, no. 5. MANP 6, pls. 71-73.
- <sup>48</sup> In the Bibliography see: Von Hinüber 1989, pp. 78, 86-87, inscription nos. 70, 71a, 72a, 73, 74, 81-85; MANP 6, nos. 30:4, 5, 27, 28; 37:4; 38:2 (Kuberavāhana); nos. 4:1; 6:5; 20:2, 15 (Siñhoṭa).
- <sup>49</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 20, pl. 14.
- <sup>50</sup> In the Bibliography see: for *Rṣipañcaka jātaka*: MANP 6, pp. 121-122, nos. 30:D, 30:X; for *Sibi jātaka*: Dani 1983, pp. 150-154, no. 115; for *Vyāghrī(tiger) jātaka*: Dani 1983, p. 170, no. 125; Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 19; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, p. 44, no. 3; MANP 6, pp. 43-44, nos. 30.a, 30.b; for Māra's daughters: Dani 1983, p. 142, no. 106; Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 20; MANP 7, p. 211, no. 195:428-430.
- <sup>51</sup> In the Bibliography see: Von Hinüber 1989, p. 87, nos. 50-52; MANP 6, nos. 30:177, 184, 244, 57:2.
- <sup>52</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 20, pl. 16.
- <sup>53</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1983, pp. 146-148, no. 111; Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 20, pl. 13.
- <sup>54</sup> In the Bibliography see: Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 64-65, no. 7; MANP 2, pp. 34-35; MANP 5, p. 37, pl. 25, no. 37:12.
- <sup>55</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1983, p. 223, nos. 194, 195;

Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 24, pl. 21; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 56-57, no. 7; MANP 6, p. 154, no. 30:240.

<sup>56</sup> In the Bibliography see: Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, p. 23; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 58-59, nos. 4-9. See also the image of a man in a Sogdian cloak, p. 43, no. 1.

<sup>57</sup> In the Bibliography see: Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, p. 62, no. 12; MANP 5, pp. 20-22, no. 1:12.

<sup>58</sup> In the Bibliography see: Sims-Williams 1992; Sogdian inscriptions in Shatial: MANP 2, pp. 57, 62-72.

<sup>59</sup> In the Bibliography see: Dani 1983, pp. 183-204; Jettmar-Thewalt 1987, pp. 25-27, pl. 24; Bandini-Bemmann-Hauptmann 1997, pp. 46-47; Jettmar 2002, pp. 106-109.

<sup>60</sup> See footnote 12. In the Bibliography see: Dani 1995, p. 82;

Dani 2001, pp. 33, 153, pls. 14-15; Klimburg-Salter 1982, p. 21, fig. 4; Jettmar 2002, pp. 131-132.

<sup>61</sup> In the Bibliography see: for Saling: Klimburg-Salter 1982, fig. 2; for Parkuta (Mehdi Abad): the relief was documented by the Pak-German Study Group in 1998.

<sup>62</sup> In the Bibliography see: for Bubur: Dani 2001, p. 168, pl. 17 proposes a date in the eighth century; Jettmar 2002, p. 106, figs. 27, 1-3; for Chaghdo: the painting was discovered by Nazir Ahmad Khan in 1994 (Nazir Khan 1998; see also Nasim Khan 2000b) and copied by the Pak-German Study Group in 1996. Original documentation by S. Hauptmann-Hamza, drawing for publication by E. Ochsenfeld.

<sup>63</sup> In the Bibliography see: Stein 1907, p. 20, fig. 4; Jettmar 2002, p. 132.

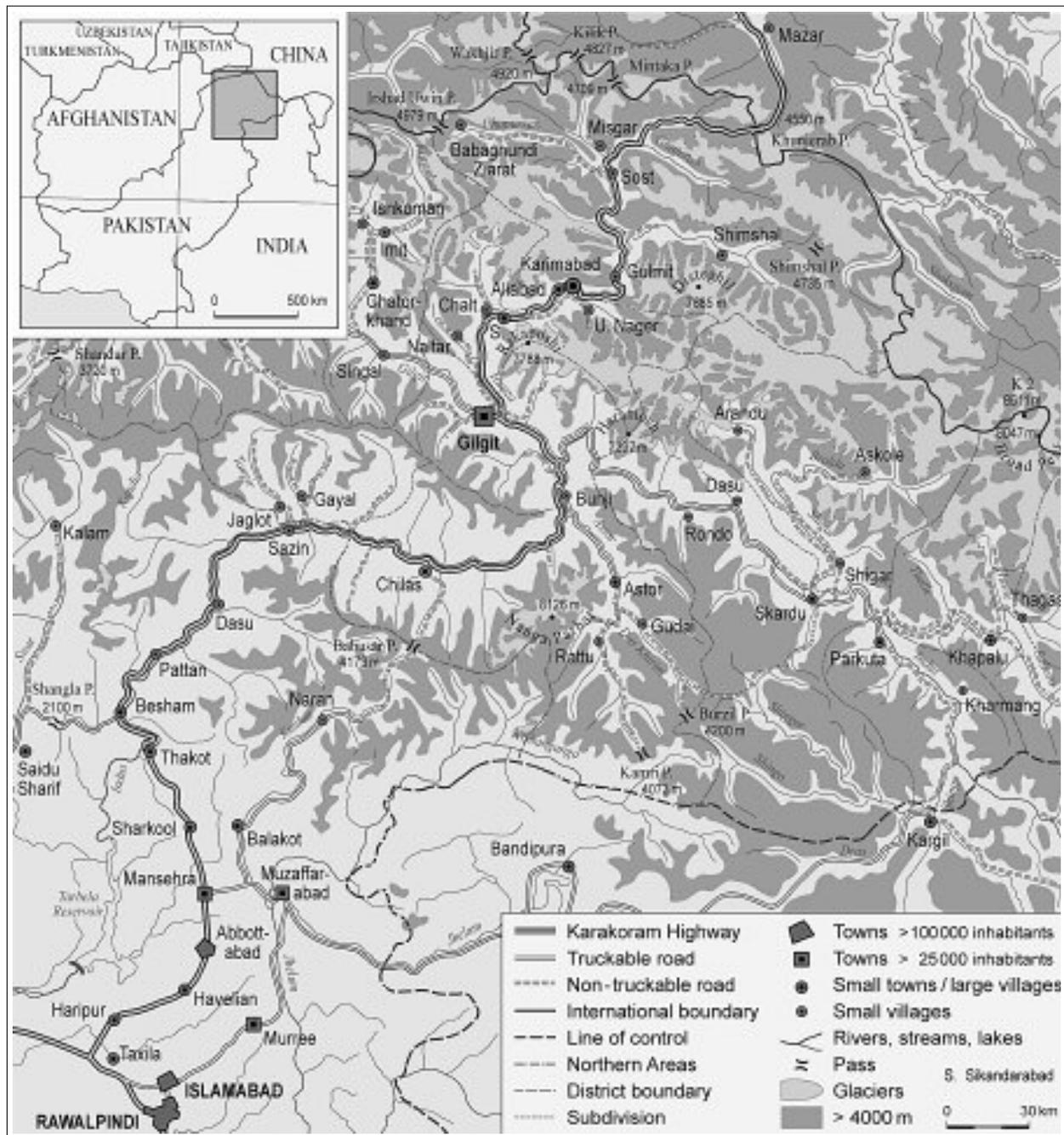


Fig. 30. Overview map of the Northern Areas of Pakistan. The Hunza valley extends south-north from Gilgit to Sost. Baltistan is focused on the higher Indus plain between Skardu and Khapalu (Khaplu), south-east of Gilgit.