A photograph exhibition arranged by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan in collaboration with the Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences
Photo 80 – Front-cover
Rock-carvings from the later part of the Buddhist period (7th century A.D.): inscription, stūpa and Buddha, forming the gesture of teaching with his hands (dhammacakra mudrā), a later visitor has inserted bruisings of animals and men. The expressive demonic being with large hands and feet must represent an important concept of the popular religion in this area. Thor, site on the northern bank of the Indus.
CULTURAL HERITAGE OF NORTHERN REGIONS OF PAKISTAN
AN INTRODUCTION

Karl Jettmar

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations

Foreword

Preface

The Rock Carvings of early historic periods.

Wooden Monuments of the Islamic era.

PLATES:

1. Bluestone pillars, known as "mitch," or "carrara," from the plateau of the Chilas region.

2. Capital of the pillar Seo.

3. Details of the pillar Seo in Being, with preserved corn.

4. Capital and part of the pillars of the bronze Seo.

5. Detail of the pillar Seo in Being, with preserved corn.

6. Decoration of the scroll's bottom, Seo, main temple.

7. Slightly curved face of a stone inscription, the inscription of King Sheba of the Southern Kingdom.

8. The inscription of Queen of Sheba in the year 0 B.C., Seo.


10. A work with Chinese characters, as in the period of the Tang Dynasty.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATION

PLATES:

1. Boulder bearing "prehistoric" carvings. (3rd - 2nd millennium B.C. or earlier).

2. Left: dancers with tailed dresses. Right: a mascoid, Okunev type. (Early Metal Age, end of the 3rd millennium B.C.?)

3. "Surrealistic" rendering of demon of deity. (Early Metal Age, end of the 3rd millennium B.C.?).

4. Phantastic animal, horned, with tasselled comb, (Middle of the 1st millennium B.C.).

5. West Iranian warrior with broad belt, fringed gown and puttees, (ca. middle of the 1st millennium B.C.).

6. Ibex and snow-leopard. (After the 5th century B.C., but perhaps considerably later).

7. Bronze plaque (45 x 42 mm). (4th century B.C. or later).


11. A monk with raised incense-burner venerating a stupa. In the background a person with a belted dress, with a jug and a small flag. Kharoshthi-inscription. (1st century A.D.).


18. Heavily patinated rock with a large number of Sogdian inscriptions (names and patronyms) Shatial Bridge. (3rd-7th centuries A.D.).


22. Giant human figure with splayed legs, large feet, extended arms, small head with radiating lines. Chilas VI (Buddhist period?).

23. Fantastic beings derived from mountain symbols. (End of the Buddhist period).


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


27. Rock with numerous inscriptions mostly Brahmi, one Sogdian. Shatial Bridge (6th-7th century A.D.).


29. An object venerated by human and animal figures seems to be a paduka. (middle of the first millennium A.D.).

30. Representations of stupa figures with disc etc. (Approx. 8th-10th century A.D.).

31. Monolith decorated on three sides with Buddhist reliefs.

32. Hunting scene with horsemen. (End of 1st millennium A.D.).

33. Ruins of a stupa erected on the fringe of the plateau over-looking the Shigar Valley in Baltistan.

34. Remains of Buddhist constructions on the plateau near the centre of Shigar.

35. Bruising of a stupa, resting on a lotus flower.

36. The stupa-carving, animals and an archer.

FIGURES

a. Detail of decorative pillar, Kela Jumat Mosque, Seo.
b. Lavishly decorated top of the pillar Seo.
c. Capital of the pillar Seo.
d. Capital with large scrolls, Seo mosque.
e. Pillar with scroll shows as figural decoration, Seo.
f. Decoration of the scroll's bottom. Seo, main mosque.
g. Pillars with a human figure standing on a horse.
h. Pillar with carving of a man on horse back, Seo.
The discovery, interpretation and propagation of the rich cultural traditions of Pakistan owes a great deal to the toil and labour of a number of archaeologists, anthropologists, scholars and specialists who have spent their leisure and life in this task. Among the pioneers, the big names were Alexander Cunningham, Aurel Stein, John Marshall and Mortimer Wheeler who put the name of India (and Pakistan) distinctly on the archaeological map of the world, while archaeologists and scholars like Ahmad Hasan Dani, Fazal Ahmad Khan, Karl Jettmar, Guissep Tucci, George F. Dales, Domenico Faccenna, Muhammad Usman and many others expanded the horizon of the knowledge of the archaeology of Pakistan.

We are at the moment concerned with the archaeological research carried out in the northern regions of Pakistan – Gilgit, Chilas – by a band of specialists working under the leadership of Professor Karl Jettmar. Initiated in 1982 basically by a joint expedition of Professors Dani and Jettmar, it has been followed up by a number of foreign and Pakistani specialists under the joint auspices of the German Archaeological Mission and the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan. The extensive surveys and studies, and more specifically the writings of these two seers and their colleagues have given a new vista to the pre, proto and early historic archaeology of our northern
regions. The petroglyphs and Rock-carvings so collected, collated and interpreted by these experts had yielded many hitherto unknown phases and facets of the socio-economic and religio-cultural pattern of the life of these ancient peoples.

The information built up so far has been available to scholars and specialists through collected materials and specialised publications. In order to disseminate this knowledge and to create interest among the general public, I once suggested to Prof. Jettmar to organize a photographic exhibition of the material. The proposal was accepted by him and now the exhibition is finally arranged in the National Museum of Pakistan. The effort would be able to introduce this aspect of our cultural heritage to the people of Pakistan.

(DR. AHMAD NABI KHAN)
Director General of Archaeology
PREFACE

Some time back the Director General of Archaeology, Pakistan, Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan candidly said in an interview that many people in Pakistan do not take archaeology seriously. I should agree with his statement. All efforts must be made to change the situation.

One reason for the evident lack of interest is certainly because we specialist give very little of our contribution to the common folk in a pleasantable form; they remain concerned with the remarkable discovered which they make from time to time. In this respect the approach of Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan is logical rather timely.

The petroglyphs, mostly in the upper Indus valley, which are shown in colour in this exhibition, reveal hitherto neglected chapter of the artistic history of the country. The material here presented by selected examples is extremely rich and divergent, the inscriptions were not only made by the locals but by visitors from Samarkand, Khotan – even from far off China as well.

It is rather a strange coincidence that the petroglyphs and the Islamic monuments convey identical meaning, indicating the places of Pakistan in
concert of Asiatic Nations. Indeed, Pakistan is not simply a part of South Asia, it belongs to a region between the forests of Siberia and Persian Gulf which has made enormous contribution to the evolution and development of socio-culture pattern of the ancient society.

During my last visit to Dushnbe, I heard that most of the students there had asked to write their theses on Islamic buildings and written texts. The separation for decades was an after-effect of the colonial period. Now the door will be open soon for a fruitful collaboration.

I am thankful to Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan and also other institutions and personalities in Pakistan specially the National Museum of Pakistan who made valuable contribution to this exhibition. Our work was sponsored by the German Research Society, the Volkswagen-stiftung and the Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences. For the implementation we got grants from the German Foreign Office in Bonn and by Siemens Pakistan Engineering, Karachi.

Karl Jettmar
THE ROCK CARVINGS OF EARLY HISTORIC PERIODS

Exploration and systematic fieldwork, undertaken in the years 1985-1987, as well as the results of comparative studies, published or submitted for publication by the members of our team, have not seriously changed or shaken the concept which formed the basis for the chapter “Historical Interpretation” of this catalogue.

But several lacunae are now to be closed - and we must refer to discoveries which were made elsewhere, esp. in the Soviet Union and in the People’s Republic of China. Due to the fact that the Archaeology of Asia slowly emerges as an integrated whole with the “Karakorum crossroads” (in fact the area where the distance between the main ranges of Karakorum and Himalaya is minimal - not more than 200 kms as the crow flies) in a strategic position, elucidation in far off areas may render a new meaning to petroglyphs, discovered on the barren rocks along the Indus and its main tributaries. In the following record I will maintain the chronological order presented so far:

1. In the text of the catalogue - in the chapter: Pre-Buddhist Art, subtitle: Earlier Periods - I had not exposed the extreme variety of styles, observed in the “prehistoric” sites or represented by isolated bruising. So far, this variety indicates only that there must have been more cultural trends, either side by side or in different time levels, than those actually known in related areas which have been aims of systematic excavations (Swat, the Pamirs).

But I accepted the challenge to single out one set of heavily repatinated bruising as definitely related to the so-called Okunev culture in South Siberia, and I emphasized that the most spectacular motifs, namely, human masks or huge figures of men, the heads rendered with grotesque, abstract features, occur in several regions of Inner Asia. Only recently the boldest and most sophisticated realization of this artistic tendency was incidentally discovered: In Guangshan near to Chengdu, the capital of the province of Sichuan, two large sacrificial pits were opened, representing a so far unknown culture, not inferior to that of the Shangstate. Among others, ten “large, highly stylized bronze-masks” (up to 60 cm high and weighing 100 kg) were found there, plus 40 bronze heads with gold masks. A spiritual imagery, maybe the cult of deified ancestors, spread over large parts of Asia like a sort of “prehistoric world-religion” - to use a term coined by R.v. Heine-Geldern - found there its most impressive representation. Far-eastern influence was already suspected when the archaeologists had to explain assemblages excavated in Swat and Kashmir. Maybe the same wave of cultural diffusion has stimulated the fantastic petroglyphs in the Indus valley. I think that the Chinese archaeologist Li Boqian is wrong, considering Sichuan as remote “from the early routes of international commerce”: it was crossed by the West Chinese Meridional, thoroughfare forming together with the “Silk Roads” and the “Karakorum connection” a truly pan-asian system of trade and migration. Southern Siberia was also part of it.

2. In the main text of the catalogue, I ventured to describe one group of carvings, most of them concentrated on the so-called “Altar Rock” at Thalpan - under the caption “West Iranian and Saka Motifs”. The far reaching consequences of this classification should be stressed:

The stylistic principles of the Scytho-Siberian
Animal Style, the fascinating art of the Northern Nomads (mostly Iranians who had developed superior forms of mounted warfare) were evolved in a sort of collaboration and competition, among tribes who had occupied various regions of the belt of the Eurasian steppes. Some lived near to the shores of the Black Sea, others in Central Asia, beyond the Dzungarian Gates. The Arzan Kurgan in Tuwa is representative for such eastern "counterparts". Northern warriors on horseback, fighting in changing alliances in Anatolia and Western Iran, selected adequate motifs from the heritage of their hosts and propagated them in their homelands. There were mutual borrowings over enormous distances - also including technical details of armament and horsegear. In the 10th century B.C. snaffles of European type appear in China!

Such interactions are unthinkable without a net of established routes - which could be used for trade, by mercenaries, on the way to the most potent employers and afterwards returning by conquering hordes and refugees as well.

These routes certainly existed north of the mountain chain, stretching throughout Asia, called Caucasus in antiquity, but there were perhaps other routes from the border-lands of Assyria to Bactria and farther to the East.

The carvings discovered at the Altar Rock, Thalpan, could indicate that the "Karakorum connection" was included into this system which preceeded that of the Silk Roads for almost one millennium. In the 2nd century B.C. such well established trails were used by Saka hordes, when they drifted southwards under the pressure of stronger neighbours.

The locals in the Indus valley were certainly deeply impressed by such transmigrants and their art. Some of the foreigners settled down, this explains the bold and exaggerated rendering of some of the nomadic motifs. Such bruisings may belong to much later periods.

3. Here we should remember that we know relatively little about the artistic development in Central Asia after the (in some areas retarded) disappearance of the Animal Style. Apart from decorative systems, the burial monuments and the works, made in the frame of foreign world-religions, there must have been graphic traditions rendering narrations. One of them was suddenly revealed when in a site of the Tashtyk culture wooden planks were found, decorated by engravings. They were made with a knife and show the contours only, to be filled with paintings. Fighting and hunting scenes are depicted. When a minstrel was reciting epic texts from memory, they were used as a sort of guidance and for illustration.

Interesting animal carvings, reduced to the outlines with marked ankles and realistic moves, observed in several clusters of bruisings, may belong into such a context, but dating remains difficult.

4. A wave of Buddhist influence, reaching the Indus valley near Chilas is documented by the inscriptions and the figural carvings of the site Chilas II. This site is well represented by the colour-posters and the plates in the catalogue. Fussman is convinced that the artists who left their names on the rocks were private persons - without titles and certainly not in an official mission. Goldwashers are active in this area still today - maybe this precious substance had attracted merchant-venturers who came from the distant lowlands.

Even more important than this small but so well-attested trading post was the transformation
of trails which had been used by the Sakas and other invaders into "regular" caravan routes. One of the routes starting from Pishan, west of Khotan, was used by Chinese emissaries in the time of the Former Han Dynasty and is therefore well described. The most difficult section, the "Suspended Crossings", were situated shortly before reaching Swat. They correspond to the most dangerous path skirting the gorges to the Indus, used only twenty years ago by intrepid pedlars. Two clusters of carvings, one near Alam Bridge discovered in 1955, the other one, Hunza-Haldeikish, almost blasted during the construction of the Karakorum Highway, in the last moment escaping the fate to be transformed into a quarry (because the rock is dispersed with rubies) correspond to campsites along this route.

The earliest bruising of these sites were made approximately in the time when Chilas II was so lavishly decorated, inscriptions are most frequent, almost exclusively Kharoshthi and Brahmi. Decipherings were offered by Fussman (Alam Bridge) and Dani (Haldeikish). The importance of this "shortcut" for the expansion of Buddhism towards Central Asia and the Far East is evident. Missionaries and artists travelled in this direction. Chinese converts appear as pilgrims. But there are also traders represented - and envoys in political missions. In the heyday of the Great Kusans, this route, necessary for effective administration of their provinces in Innermost Asia was certainly under firm control. Dani boldly identified the names of illustrious visitors - Vima Kadphises, Kaniska and Huviska and a whole host of Mahaksatrapas and Ksatrapas. More modest interpretation is now proposed by Fussman.

Beyond doubt is the appearance of delegates representing the Great Wei Dynasty. Whether they were actually on the way to Malmargh, one of the Sogdian towns - as supposed by Ma Yong - must be questioned. The Chinese of the 6th century A.D. knew Central Asian geography too well to choose an itinerary implying crossing and recrossing of the Hindukush-Karakorum watershed.

5. The site Shatial Bridge further downstream was correctly identified as a bridgehead where the goods brought by Sogdian merchants from the north-west were exchanged against the exports from Gandhara, Kashmir and other regions of South Asia.

Maybe this trade route had already been under the control of the so-called Kusano-Sasanians, i.e. the viceroys, established in the western provinces of the former Kusan state after the conquest by the Great King of Iran, Shapur II, in 368 A.D. Later on Chionite tribes, including the Hephthalites, became their successors and maybe the protectors of the emporium situated here, deep in the mountains.

Perhaps the Hephthalites even controlled the path to Swat, leading through the gorges of the Indus. The route, connecting this emporium with Taxila or Kashmir, was leading in the opposite direction - via Thor which apparently was another point for crossing the Indus on the way to Chilas. At Thor there was not such an official stronghold, this may explain the rather private character of carvings observed here.

6. The site Oshibat, situated east of Thor in a totally barren and deserted part of the Indus valley, has in the meantime been completely documented. Here the path, connecting the most important transversal routes - one crossing the Indus at Shatial, the other one near Chilas -, comes down to the riverside. The travellers who had stumbled high up in the rocky slopes could finally quench their thirst. Here they rested and made images or inscriptions. Nowhere else the setting is so "international". One
party evidently came from the fringes of Siberia; an animal is depicted which must be an elk. The brand-mark (tamga), visible on the same rock, is related to signs observed in the Eastern Sayans.

That there was a sort of a political boundary somewhere near Thor - dividing the western part with the Hephthalite stronghold from the eastern one with the centre at Chilas - is still remembered today.

7. Due to astonishingly quick decipherings of Brahmi inscriptions by Prof. O. von Hinüber (120 inscriptions in one day was his maximum!) we know more about the political conditions around Chilas. V. Hinüber joined the team during several campaigns, working in many sites between Shatial and the mouth of the Shing-gah east of Chilas. His publications are meant for the small circle of specialists, therefore complementary interpretation might be welcome to the general public.

V. Hinüber identified a Maharaja Vaisravanasena mentioned in a Brahmi inscription below Chilas written in “ornamental” characters as one of the rulers of the Daradas, a people frequently named in Kalhana’s chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. He observed another inscription of the same Vaisravanasena on the northern bank of the Indus, apparently designed to “mark the border of the territory” (held by him - so v. Hinüber’s comment).

Chilas must have been a frontier district of Vaisravana’s realm. Since in those days (about 400 A.D.) the Gilgit valley was either independent or already in the hands of the Patola Sahis, the seat of the Darada dynasty must have been in the south, somewhere in the Nilum (=Kishanganga) valley. This kingdom was apparently reduced, maybe by the invasions of the White Huns, to a rather unimportant statelet, therefore it is not mentioned by the otherwise well informed Chinese pilgrims, e.g. Xuanzang. Even in the area of Chilas the dominance must have been temporary, if not spurious because no formal, authoritative inscription of another ruler of of this state is known so far.

That means that the local lords and noblemen who ordered Buddhist carvings and inscriptions to be made for their own spiritual salvation or that of their relatives - often by foreign artists - were practically independent. Maybe just this situation allowed them to give shelter to refugees from countries where the Buddhist faith and its believers were harrassed by the inroads of barbarians, many of them of Hunnish descent, close relatives to the Hephthalites. The results were carvings, showing great diversity of style and artistic quality as reflected by the photographs of the exhibition. Maybe late Gandharan art could hibernate for a while - before the last flourishing in the plains.

A group of large figural carvings with pertinent Buddhist inscriptions was recently discovered east of Chilas at the mouth of the Shing rivulet. The Indus is very raging and narrow here, the right place for a local suspension bridge. We may assume a sanctuary nearby where travellers said their prayers before or after crossing the river, as the background of the pious artistic activities.

Only in the 8th century we find the impressive inscription of a ruler with a royal title (Sahi), Vajrasura by name. Duely reduced in size his dignitaries have added their names and offices. Some of the names are certainly not derived from Sanskrit, they should rather be explained on the basis of a non-indoeuropean language, perhaps a sort of Proto-Burushaski. The ruler was a Buddhist, but the stupa carving over the inscriptions has a “solar rosette” instead of a normal “anda”. Similar stupa carvings with "solar rosettes" are to be seen on the rocks very near to this place,
executed in the same technique. The term in question was used by Göbl when he described "Hunno-Iranian" coins. They were minted in the name of Chionitic or Hephthalitic kings. Looking for a place where the merging of these elements could have taken place, our attention is directed to the upper part of the Gilgit valley or adjacent Northern Chitral. This area which was Buddhistic according to the report of Huei-ch’ao (Fuchs 1938:447) was at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. still under Hephthalite influence - but not under their dominance. It is quite reasonable to assume that Burushaski was spoken here.

According to the date, proposed by Prof. v. Hinüber on the basis of palaeographic comparisons, these inscriptions were written shortly before the Tibetans invaded the Gilgit valley, then called Little Bolor. It is known that they were driven back for a while by a Chinese army under the famous Korean general Gao Xianzhi. His soldiers had to rely on supplies imported from Kashmir. Only two routes are possible: The Gilgit road, reaching the Indus near Bunji or via the Buner valley, ending a few miles off Chilas. Kashmir was then in a close alliance with China in order to push back the dreaded Tibetans. However, such caravans were robbed repeatedly when crossing the area of a state known under the name Chieh-shih. Consequently this state should have incorporated the Indus valley between Bunji and Chilas. On the other hand, it is mentioned in Chinese sources that the same state was able not only to attack Little Bolor but also Tokharistan, i.e. the lands beyond the Hindukush including the headwaters of the Oxus. Accordingly it was concluded, that Chieh-shih was rather situated in Northern Chitral.

Such discrepancies which have baffled many scholars disappear when we submit what the inscriptions of Chilas seem to indicate, namely, the conquest of the Indus valley between Chilas and Bunji by a north-western neighbour. The result was that the two rather distant areas became known to the Chinese under the same name. The invaders from Northern Chitral simply had to use the routes already familiar to Sogdian merchants and their protectors many centuries earlier.

8. In the same Chinese texts it is explicitly told that Chieh-shih was invaded by the audacious Gao Xianzhi. The intriguing king was replaced by his obedient brother. We may assume that such times of war were the background for an astonishing group of rock-carvings, revealing anti-Buddhist tendencies and a martial mood, rarely expressed in earlier monuments.

A fascinating view in the spiritual life of the rebellious population is offered by the carvings from Hodar III. The new political and religious confederation used a special kind of battle-axe and once more the "solar rosette" as insignia. At Hodar the fighters had their meeting place and sanctuary. For most of their symbols local roots are evident, but we must take into consideration that "solar rosettes" and battle-axes formed part of the cultural heritage of Nuristan - distant, but certainly under Hephthalite influence as well. No inscription was found in Hodar III, but carvings speaking clearly of the struggle between the old and the new religion. The shape of a stupa, representing the old succumbing religion, indicates the late date of this upheaval.

9. Shortly afterwards Chilas together with Gilgit and Astor became part of the ancient, but suddenly powerful Kingdom of the Daradas. Maybe the Daradas, reduced to greedy and envious neighbours of the Kashmirian state under the powerful Lalitaditya Muktapida, were collaborators and allies of the Tibetans, but unlike the Patolas and the lords of Chieh-shih they had escaped their punitive expeditions. So after their
collapse, the Tibetan empire (around 840 A.D.) - the Daradas - got a chance to fill the vacuum, their capital was shifted to Gilgit.

I mentioned some of the carvings in the Indus valley which can be attributed to this period. Horsemen, fighting and as hunters, show us the main interests of the nobles, who ruled Chilas on behalf of the Darada-kings. One of the major sources for this period, the Saka itinerary, does not mention Buddhist monasteries at Chilas, and in fact we know not many Buddhistic carvings of this period. Trade was still important, but now inhibited by religious frontiers. That is confirmed by inscriptions observed near to the old route west of Chilas in the so-called “Hebrew quadrangular script”, used by the Jewish communities in Middle Asia, e.g. Bukhara. That is confirmed by the biblical names of the travellers. The explanation is found in Biruni’s India. This great scholar tells us that the Kashmiris, always afraid of Muslim attacks, do not allow unknown foreigners to enter their vale, but in earlier times Jewish merchants were admitted, they were considered as neutrals.

10. Apart from royal inscriptions of the Patola-Sahis, representative for their heyday (Hatun) and decline (Danyor), astonishingly few rock-bruisings are known in the valley of the Gilgit river. Most of them I saw along the upper course and in adjacent Yasin.

Perhaps the most important cluster was shown to me in 1964 near Gakuch in Punyal, namely stupa carvings and pertinent inscriptions. They will be published soon. According to the readings by Prof. Sagaster all of them are in Tibetan script and language. Seemingly they indicate a place of religious worship which was visited by members of the noble clans who had formed the dominant stratum of the Tibetan empire. Maybe they came in a time when the district of Prusava (this name is mentioned in the Saka itinerary) was still a part of this realm - but it is even more reasonable to assume, that such persons were still powerful under the Daradas. Their king was known to Biruni under the title Bhatta-Sah, he considered the Bhatta varyan as Turkish tribes. However, Bhatta or Bhutta means in Kashmir “Tibetan”. So there is no hint to a sharp break, nothing indicates conquest by an outsider. Maybe the Darada rulers made their way as feudatories of the Yarlung dynasty, and were legitimated by marital connections.

Such influences from the east, from the centre of the Tibetan state were deciding for the re-establishing of Buddhist monasteries in the Gilgit valley, mentioned in the Saka itinerary. That would be the easiest explanation for the astonishing fact that the Gilgit Manuscripts, the “working library” of a monastery, closely connected with the former rulers, was enshrined in a hollow stupa.

Many Buddhist reliefs are known in Baltistan and Ladakh - the few monuments of this kind known farther west - in the Sai valley, near Gilgit and near Bubur, belong to the same tradition. Near Bubur, Punyal, a monolith was recently discovered with Buddhist figures on three sides. Some stylistic peculiarities of these figures point to Turkish influence, and that is perhaps not by chance. Baltistan, called Bolorian Tibet, was never a part of the Darada state, it was exposed to inroads not only from the east but also from the north. A famous, but for a long time misunderstood text, the “Inquiry of Vimalaprabha” tells that Skar-rdo, former capital of Bolora, was under a collateral line of the rulers of Khotan, whether they had been Tibetan governors before 840 A.D. or actually conquerors is not clear.

But it was impossible to defend such spoils against unruly tribes like the Sumpas and rebellious mountaineers without reliable mercenaries
and there are some hints that Turkish adventurers entered the mountains via Khotan. Maybe the old and meaningful name Kesar had been adopted by such a northern hero. We may presume that the founder of the Trakhane-dynasty which replaced the Darada Shahis in the 12th century was of the same extraction.

That is the right place to tell, that during our last campaigns the main discoveries were made in Baltistan when for a short period our team joined a research unit of Lok Virsa headed by Dr A. Nayyar. Following a piece of advice, given by Mr. Abbas Kasmi, one of the local specialists for Balti history and culture, we went to Shigar, formerly the capital of one of the contending statelets of Baltistan. From a hamlet just opposite the palace, on the other side of the torrent, feeding the main canals of the oasis, we climbed a steep path to a barren plateau, bordered by hillocks consisting of sediments. Behind this terrace there is a steep mountain slope. Many rocks have fallen down, and on some of them we saw inscriptions and Buddhist carvings mixed with graffiti of a rather primitive type. On the bordering chain of the hillocks we recognized no less than four round platforms which turned out to be the ruins of stupas. They may indicate that the remains of walls, found in the depression between the slope and the hillocks, belonged to a former monastery. A staircase built of natural stones leads up the slope. In a higher position one man of the team found more ruins and a footpath leading into the valley from which the torrent is pouring out. A lengthy inscription tells of the interference of a local administrator, maybe he had offered a present to the monastery. The specialist attributes the inscription to the 5th or 6th century A.D. Another lengthy inscription near the Katsura lake was also deciphered: a monk tells about his visit to a “new” monastery.

Buddhist activities in this area are easy to explain: in the basin of Skardu there was the centre - or one of the centres of Bolor, the state of the Patola-Sahis, certainly the dominant Buddhist power in the Western Himalayas.

In the meantime, Buddhist rock-carvings and Brahmi-inscriptions were also found in other valleys of Baltistan, and we may wonder why they were not reported in the time of (indirect) British rule.

Baltistan remained a Buddhist country up to the 15th century A.D. but relevant carvings do not form a coherent sequence. Maybe, the original population, former subjects of the Patola-Sahis, finally retired to hidden valleys and the open areas were temporarily used by nomads - among them the Turkish clans who participated in the raids of the Daradas into Kashmir and later on replaced their lords on the throne of Gilgit.

Then there was a time of consolidation - the land which had been devastated was cultivated again - by “Dardic” settlers from the west and by Buddhist Tibetans from the east who finally got the upper hand. Rock-carvings, but also a relief of excellent artistic perfection plus Tibetan inscriptions, are so far the main evidence for this period. Otherwise we must rely on rather dim local traditions and on linguistic arguments.

However, such questions are to be solved by systematic excavations which must be done by the Department of Archaeology and Museums or another institution entrusted with the task.
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- 1977 On Swat. The Dards and Connected Prob-

WOODEN MONUMENTS OF THE ISLAMIC ERA

For the peoples living in the northern regions of Pakistan between the western most Himalayas and the main ranges of Hindukush and Karakorum the spread of Islam (except a small enclave of Southern Chitral) was decisive even for the political destiny, past and present. The result was unification, now more important than ever - but also diversity because the preachers came from different sides at different times representing different religious communities. They were Sunnis and Shiah, Ismailis and Nurbakhshis. Integration in the world of Islam found its visible expression in architecture. Religious buildings - mosques, tombs of saints, khanqahs - are the most spectacular monuments erected in the last centuries. In rare cases only, castles, private houses and ordinary tombs show a comparable artistic ambition. (The furnishings of the house, weapons and clothings might reveal structural similarity, but they are not well preserved as a rule.

Due to the fact, just mentioned, that the intrusive waves of Islam had not the same cultural background, there is no homogenous concept prevailing in planning and decoration. However a stock of motifs and techniques was common to Islamic heritage. Closeness is also due to the peculiarities of the material preferred everywhere in the mountains, namely wood. It could be treated by “volume carving”, or “surface carving” (Mariani 1985) using the knife or the chisel. In the dry climate prevailing in the lower parts of the valleys, solid timber (never produced by sawing) remains well preserved through centuries. Painting is not necessary for protection, and where it is used according to modern taste, it has aesthetically unpleasant effects. Moreover wooden constructions sometimes erected in the interior of buildings as support of the heavy roof, or as a frame-work filled in with stones and boulders, are resistant to earthquakes - frequent in a zone where there are “Continents in Collision”.

But predilection for wood does hardly permit to speak of a “wooden style” as recently proposed. We see rather the rendering of different stylistic trends in the same medium. It would be equally misleading to speak of a “petroglyphic style” provoked by rocks and boulders available in unlimited quantity and quality in the barren Indus valley.

One group of the wooden mosques will be discussed here - the mosques of Indus-Kohistan which I saw and admired already during my first journeys in 1955 and 1958.

In the forelands, bordering Indus-Kohistan in the south, the expansion of the Pakhtun tribes belonging to the Yusufzai federation was coordinated by religious leaders, most of Tajik origin. They were strictly Sunnitic representing Hanafi orthodoxy against the heretics of the Roshani movement. Prestigious Sayyid families still are their descendants. After the conquest of Swat, these leaders established the “wesh system”, just expanding among the Pakhtun tribes, forcing the fighters and their families into a strictly regulated system of cooperation. The (conquered) land was considered as joint property to be allotted in equal shares. The location of the shares however was not fixed permanently: exchange was prescribed after a number of years, everybody had to shift over to a different parcel of land. The surplus of the fertile ground, e.g., the bottom of the Swat valley, allowed not only to enlist part of the previous land-
owners as dependent labourers, but also to integrate foreigners in subordinate positions as "menial castes". That was essential for providing the community with all necessary products including armament. So the landlords were self-reliant. The earlier trans-Himalayan trade connections were obsolete. Sayyids, who were rewarded for their service by many shares of good land, had the best chance to invite specialists, certainly including carpenters. They constructed the wooden mosques according to the prevalent generally estimated taste.

Finally, the expansion of the Yusufzai federation came to a standstill as the Dardic neighbours living in the upper Panjkora valley in northern Swat and in Indus-Kohistan embraced Islam. They asked saintly families to enter, to change the side, and to teach the former Kafirs to follow the Islamic way of life. So the convenient pretext for raids, declared as "holy war", was withdrawn. Besides the wesh system which evidently was understood as an integral element of Islam was accepted by the Dardic tribes under pressure. My informants were fully aware that conversion and wesh system had been instrumental for the preservation of freedom, landownership and ethnic identity. Even better, the saints brought followers with them who organized the production of shotguns and swords necessary for effective defense.

In the outer and more open valleys, the wesh (=exchange) was performed in a way which reduced the effects normally expected from this system. The rotation of fields took place in the frame of the individual lineages. Each of these units had a communal centre: a tower, a small mosque and a graveyard, sometimes a smithen. The decentralization was necessary because many farmsteads were spread over neighbouring mountain slopes. Irrigation is not necessary there, we are at the fringe of the mountains, rainfall is abundant as snowfall in wintertime. However there is a higher political level, federations encompassing several valleys. They had no capital. But there was a place where the representatives of many lineages held their meetings. The magistrates were elected there, decisions for war or peace were passed. Formerly this point was marked by a mosque with elaborate carvings. In Pales the mosque was destroyed by the heavy earthquake in 1975.

Maybe, this diffuse settlement pattern explains the preservation of the local "dialects" Chiliss and Gawro - already known to Biddulph - but not yet properly studied.

In the valleys farther to the north, where irrigation and a socio-political system for the distribution of water is necessary, the impact of the conversion and the introduction of the wesh system was difficult but had far-reaching consequences. The preachers of Islam were confronted with a system which was already described by the first European visitors of Gilgit. The rural population was divided into four "castes": Shin, Yeshkun, Kamin and Dom. The dominant group, the Shin, had imposed its language and claimed a position of exalted ritual purity demanding the strict avoidance of the cow and its products. Bulls were needed for ploughing, but to keep them was the task and the chance of the lower "castes". That influenced the settlement pattern: the Shins held the "upper position", in fortifications situated on mountain tops or promontories.

Therefore the conversion to Islam was here supported by a movement against the dominant position of the Shins. Finally they had to submit. Then, the saintly reformers included all "castes" in the wesh system - and forced them to settle in fortified villages with the mosque as spiritual and political centre. The stables were kept apart - that was a concession to the former conditions.
The tensions caused by this “bringing into line” had the result that many of the close-knit villages were dissolved in the meantime. In such cases the mosques remain as isolated buildings marking the place of the former villages.

Accordingly the mosques of Indus-Kohistan were not constructed in a lengthy process ordered by communities which had collected funds to engage and to support experienced craftsmen: they were erected immediately after conversion, as symbols of the final success indicating the focal points of the political game.

In this context we must explain the fanciful exuberance, invested in construction and decoration, the imaginative variety of the capitals crowning the huge, mostly quadrangular pillars. They have hardly parallels anywhere in the Islamic world. Even elements which can be traced back to the general heritage of mountain valleys are elaborated in a surprising way. The transformation of the volutes (modestly used in other regions like Caucasia and Tajikistan) into a combination of spirals, concentric circles and stars are a step into creativity.

Sir Aurel Stein had explained the pattern of the wood-carvers in Darel and Swat as derived from late perpetuations of Gandharan art, a derivation even from the Ionian capital was proposed by A.H. Dani. E. Schmitt (1969) opposed the pertinent statement of Sir Aurel Stein explaining that in Gandharan art all interest was directed on figural work, statues and narrative reliefs were executed with utmost care. Ornaments had a restricted importance: they remained simple frame-work without too many variations. In the Islamic period the avoidance of images led to a growing importance and a broad spectrum of ornaments, so there is no need to explain surprising achievements as debased survivals of earlier “classical” cultures. We should rather establish a base for a better understanding by referring to the specific situation:

The rulers in the statelets between Chitral and Baltistan had the possibility to engage foreign masters, some of them refugees. The high artistic quality of the mosques in Baltistan must be seen in context with the conflicts between Islamic sects in Kashmir. Specialists found protection in the mountains. It is well known that the castle of the ruler of Hunza was constructed by craftsmen from Baltistan - rather Kashmiris arriving via Baltistan. Even for the landowners in Swat foreign craftsmanship was available. The same happened in Tangir and Darel. When the usurper Pakistan Wali Wali Khan was murdered, the foreign craftsmen who had built his castles were paid by the local peasants for the construction of “private” towers.

It is not probable that the population in the Dardic areas between Dir and the Indus had the same possibilities in the time when the mosques were erected. Therefore we may assume the employment of local masters who represented an indigenous tradition, previously used for the decoration of private houses, meeting halls, or even pagan temples, but then it was ready to be adapted to the construction of mosques.

In contrast to the art of the Nuristanis (the former Kafirs) as well as that of the Kalash, there was a tendency to accept spirals, volutes and other curved patterns as essential motifs. Such a variant of the indigenous system of carving was properly described by Wutt (1981) after visiting the Pashai area.

There is at least one figural motif among the wood-carvings of the Kohistani area which can be “deciphered” by comparing it to the latest rock-carvings observed in the area around Chilas. It is the figure of a man with extended arms, not riding
but standing on horseback, with a sword and a round shield in his hands. Maybe the round disc, so frequent among the same group of rock-carvings and explained as solar symbol was used as prototype by the wood-carvers as well. Even renderings of stupas were transformed into ornaments.

We should add that the clay walls often combined with wooden constructions are most interesting in this respect. Their decorations include figural motifs.

The study of such problems is a task for the future. In the moment it is necessary to convince the local opinion leaders that the most interesting mosques are monuments expressing the enthusiasm and ability of the “menial castes”, i.e., that part of the population which was liberated by the egalitarian politics of the saintly social reformers and had - for a while - full membership of the Islamic community.

Not an identical but a similar development took place in Nuristan, formerly called Kafiristan. There the carpenters, who were not allowed to decorate their own houses during the pre-Islamic period, created excellent works of art for themselves when they got the same rights as their former lords.

For the Kohistanis, the mosques have still another meaning. They are also monuments of a time when by fighting the Yusufzai invaders ethnic identity was preserved. In this way they remained Kohistanis - and are no Pakhtuns.

At present the artistic importance is somewhat hidden by wretched photographs even in official and subsidized books.

Propaganda addressed not to tourists but to the ordinary citizens is necessary, otherwise a “style in concrete” will replace the “wooden style” of Northern Pakistan - maybe a macabre parallel to the fate of the forests which provided the population once with the enormous trunks used for the construction of the ancient mosques.

We were in a position to concentrate on certain aspects of the problem because the material was presented in Professor Dani’s book devoted to the “Wooden Style of Northern Pakistan”. He maintains that many “pre-Muslim motifs” are preserved in this branch of “Islamic architecture”.

In the meantime the existence of a pre-Islamic “Wooden Style of Central Asia” influencing even the first Buddhist temples of Central Tibet is confirmed.

In order to incite further studies on the question of origins, a comprehensive Bibliography is added to this short text.
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fig. a Detail of decorative pillar, Kela Jumat Mosque, Seo.

fig. b Lavishly decorated top of the pillar, Seo.
fig. c Capital of the pillar, Seo.

fig. d Capital with large scrolls. Seo mosque.
fig. e  Pillar with scroll shows as figural decoration. Seo.

fig. f  Decoration of the scroll’s bottom. Seo, main mosque.
fig. g  Pillars with a human figure standing on a horse.

fig. h  Pillar with carvings of a man on horse back. Seo.
Photo 3 - Tafel 2

Photo 3 - Plate 2
Left: dancers with tailed dresses. Right: a mascoid, Okunev type. No explanation for the (unfinished?) carvings in the centre. Thalpan Ziyarat. (Early Metal Age, end of the 3rd millennium B.C.?)
Photo 4 - Plate 3
“Surrealistic” rendering of demon or deity. Arms are clearly discerned, feet transformed into a moonsickle(?). The quadrangular face is split by diagonals with four points near the centre (eyes?). Crown of radiating lines on top. Another archaic figure on the differently slanting plane of the rock. Thalpan Ziyarat. (Early Metal Age, end of the 3rd millennium B.C.?)

Photo 5 - Plate 4
Phantastic animal, horned, with tasselled comb, decoration of the body by blanks, apparent wing (?) on the back and a tail with a tuft at the upper bend. Kneeling on one leg. Made by pecking. Altar-rock, near Thalpan Bridge. (Middle of the 1st millennium B.C.?)
Photo 6 - Tafel 5

Photo 6 - Plate 5
West-Iranian warrior with broad belt, fringed gown and puttees, ready to slaughter a goat. Altar-rock, near Thalpan Bridge. (ca. middle of the 1st millennium B.C.)
Photo 8 - Plate 6
Ibex and snow-leopard. Different species indicated by changing a few typical attributes. (The horseshoe-shaped object may be an "enrolled animal"). Since the same constellation is depicted in strongly different stylistic ways, there may be a special meaning behind. Chilas I. (After the 5th century B.C., but perhaps considerably later)
In the Kandia valley (Indus Kohistan), a bronze-plaque (45 x 42 mm), certainly a stray-find, was bought from a local farmer. On the reverse there is a massive button for fixing it. An ibex whose horns are added by the head of a monal pheasant. Besides this detail all essential elements were observed in the Pamirs in graves of the Saka nomads. Now: National Museum Karachi. (4th century B.C. or later)
Photo 11 - Plate 8
Slightly convex face of a cliff, structured by natural cracks. Upper row: 3 animals plus a warden (2 animals influenced by Achaemenid art). Middle: Deity or ruler sitting on a chair, before him dancing persons. Kharoṣṭhī-inscription, other figures uncertain. Lower row: Stūpa surrounded by riders, several male figures. Inscriptions. Chilas II. (ca. 1st century A.D.)
Zeichnungen auf den Felsrippen hinter der Plattform:
2 Stūpas altertümlicher Form, Kultsäule, Kharoṣṭhī-Inschriften, eine (spätere) in Brāhmī. Links: Reiter, abgesessen vor dem Besuch des Heiligtums. Chilas II. (ca. 1. Jh. n. Chr.)
Photo 15 - Tafel 10
Bewaffnete Reiter, abgesessen, nähern sich einem Stūpa. Rest der Zeichnungen unklar. Ein Mann trägt einen Pflug(?). Eingehämmertes Bild in einer Höhlung der Felswände. Chilas II. (1. Jh. n. Chr.)

Photo 16 - Tafel 11

Photo 15 - Plate 10
Armed horsemen, dismounted before a stūpa. The meaning of other carvings not clear, maybe one man is carrying a plough. Produced by pecking in a recess of the cliffs. Chilas II. (1st century A.D.)

Photo 16 - Plate 11
A monk with raised incense-burner venerating a stūpa. In the background a person with a belted dress, with a jug and a small flag. Kharoṣṭhī-inscription. Additional carvings from different periods. View from the platform over the left bank of the Indus. Chilas II. (1st century A.D.)
Anthropomorphically transformed stūpa. To the left: cult-pillar also endowed with human traits. To the right: a disk formed into a stūpa by adding a base. The name "Hāritī" is clearly readable. Recess in the cliffs of Chilas II. (1st century A.D.?)
Photo 18 - Plate 13
Buddha under the Tree of Enlightenment on a lotus flower. Inscription of the artist in Brāhmī. To the right a Kinnara. On top a carefully made stūpa. Periphery of the sandy plain at the foot of the rocky slopes at Thalpan Bridge. (6th - 7th centuries A.D.)
Photo 22 - Plate 14
Buddha’s first sermon in the deerpark at Benares, with the main disciples. The wheel of doctrine is seen below. Thalpan Bridge. (6th century A.D.)

Photo 23 - Plate 15
Crowned and bejewelled Buddha on lotus-seat and surrounded by an aureole decorated with spiral hooks. Chilas I. (6th century A.D.)
Photo 24 - Tafel 16

Photo 26 - Tafel 17

Photo 24 - Plate 16
Bodhisattvas (Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya) with stūpa and vase of plenty. Inscriptions in Brāhmī indicate the pious intentions of the persons who have ordered the pictures to be made. Chilas I. (6th century A.D.)

Photo 26 - Plate 17
Schematic rendering of a Buddhist sanctuary. A central stūpa surrounded by some other ones (only two visible). Right: Brāhmī. Left: proto-Śāradā inscription. Towering cliff near Shatial Bridge. (ca. 7th century A.D.)
Photo 31 - Plate 18
Heavily patinated rock with a large number of Sogdian inscriptions (names and patronyms). Right corner: name of the caravan-leader (not entirely visible here). Shatial Bridge. (3rd-7th centuries A.D.)
Photo 33 - Plate 19

Left: Scene from the Śibi-Jātaka. Centre: 2 pagoda-shaped stūpas. Below: adorants, in between and to the right side: inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Sogdian. Shatial Bridge. (Starting in the 4th century A.D.)
Right side: designation of the travellers. Site on the mouth of the valley of the Thak-Gah. (T'ang period)
Magnificent horse with headgear of Sasanian-Sogdian type, apparently ambling. Outlines executed with a sharp chisel, plastic quality of the picture increased by additional pecking. Thalpan Bridge. (ca. 6th century A.D.)

Giant human figure with splayed legs, large feet, extended arms, small head with radiating lines. Semi-opened belt. Later additions (including female attributes) clear to discern. Chilas VI. (Buddhist period?)
Photo 47 - Plate 23
Fantastic beings derived from mountain symbols (and finally from stūpa-drawings), surrounded by animal drawings. Earlier carvings of humans may be discerned by the different degree of patination. Hodar. (End of the Buddhist period)
Rock with (earlier) stūpa-carvings. Later covered by decorated wheel-shaped motifs, many animal carvings and two axes. Thalpan Bridge. (Post-Buddhist period)
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 52 – Plate 26
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 33 - Plate 27
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 “Kāsha land”. Shatial Bridge. (6th–7th century A.D.)
Photograph 31 – Plate 28
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.)
The object venerated by humans and animals seems to be a pāduka, but the human footprint was used as a religious symbol by the inhabitants of the Indus Valley long before Buddhist preaching started there. None of the other carvings of this cluster of bruisings are Buddhist. Maybe a local community of hunters or herdsmen had a sanctuary here, between Thor and Harban (middle of the first millennium A.D.). They probably mixed their own traditional beliefs with Buddhism.
Photograph 55 – Plate 30
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 59 – Plate 31
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 56 - Plate 32
Hunting scene with horsemen. Courtly art of late period.
Above Chilas I. (End of 1st millennium A.D.)
Photograph 92 – Plate 33
Ruins of a stūpa erected on the fringe of the plateau overlooking the Shigar Valley in Baltistan. The photograph was made during the exploration in 1984. In the front there are the walls of a shelter erected by shepherds.
Remains of Buddhist constructions on the plateau near the centre of Shigar, seen from above. Photograph by our surveyor R. Kauper who climbed steps leading to a path which crosses the mountain slope at a high level. Two ruins of stupas are clearly visible. Two others are situated at the left end of the chain of hillocks. Between the hillocks and the slope there are the remains of a large building. To the left there is an area destroyed by floods, landslides and falling rocks. Beyond is a precinct without Buddhist bruisings, maybe reserved for the cultic activities of the non-Buddhists. Only animal-representations were found there.

Bruising of a stūpa, resting on a lotus flower. Depicted on one of the rocks forming the mountain-slope. Plateau of Shigar.
Near the fringe of the plateau overlooking Shigar a Tibetan inscription was made by a visiting monk. The shape of the stūpa-carving indicates the transition to the late "cross-shaped" form. The additional rock-carvings, narrow and high stūpas, animals and an archer were made even later.
Mosque of Kalam (Swat-Kohistan) which underwent a series of destructive "improvements". The decoration was concentrated on the pillars and the capitel-like transition to the huge beams supporting the roof.