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A Typology of Stūpa Images in the Rock Art of the Upper Indus Valley

Laurianne Bruneau*

Associate Professor, History and Philology Department, EPHE-PSL University, Paris, France.

Abstract: This paper was originally published in the journal *Arts Asiatiques* (DOI: https://doi.org/10.3406/arasi.2007.1674). While reading recent publications on related topics, the author came to the realisation that it was unknown because in French and offers here an English translation. The study presented in the paper relies for the most part on the rock art catalogues (volume 1 to 7) of the series *Materialen zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans (MANP)* published by the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Among the petroglyphs known at the time in the Upper Indus valley about 1,300 were representations of stūpas. The stūpa and its image are widespread in space and time, thus the engravings of the Upper Indus valley can be compared to actual buildings (monumental or votive), sculptures (reliquary or reliefs) and paintings. A typology as well as a proposed chronology of the carvings is introduced. The study shows that the stūpa engravings of the Upper Indus valley illustrate the morphology of the stūpa in not only North India (Gandhāra, Kashmir and the Western Himalayas) but also Central Asia from the 1st century BCE to the 13th century CE.

Keywords: Stūpa, Buddhist architecture, Upper Indus valley, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Xinjiang, Western Himalayas.

Introduction

The Upper Indus valley is separated from the adjacent regions by three high mountain ranges: the Hindukush, the Karakoram and the Western Himalayas. However, all the major neighbouring states have left their mark on the political and cultural geography of the Upper Indus over the course of history, as demonstrated by the 5,000 or so inscriptions and 30,000 representations engraved along the course of the river[1].

Although the rock art sites have been known since the end of the 19th century, their scientific study has only been undertaken in the last thirty years. In 1978, Dani (Islamabad) and Jettmar (Heidelberg) began their exploration in the vicinity of the village of Chilas. A research team was set up in 1982 within the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities[2]. From 1989 onwards, the team undertook the systematic documentation of engravings under the leadership of Hauptmann. The record was gradually published in the form of monographs in a series entitled *Materialen zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans* (*MANP*)[3]. At the time of original publication of this paper eight sites were covered: Oshibat (*MANP* 1), Shatial (*MANP* 2), Hodar (*MANP* 3), Gichi Nala and Shing Nala (*MANP* 4), Dadam Das (*MANP* 5), Chilas-Brücke (*MANP* 6) and Thalpan (*MANP* 6 and 7)[4] . Three other sites (Thor North, Helor Das East and West) had been studied by M.N. Khan[5]. Thewalt had published representations of stūpas from the Chilas II site[6] .

Thanks to these publications, our study can be based on 1359 rock representations of stūpas[7]. By carrying out a morphological analysis, we have identified 13 types of stūpas on the basis of which we can lead an architectural comparative study, with stūpas-buildings (monumental or votive), sculptural (stūpas-reliquaries and stūpas-figurations) and also pictorial (stūpas-paintings). We would point out that the parallels established are proposals for possible dating. Indeed, it is impossible to affirm or deny that the engravings are contemporary with the stūpa model of which they are reproductions and which, in the current state of documentation, only provide a *terminus post quem*. The following presentation, based on selected examples, aims to show the diversity

* laurianne.bruneau@ephe.psl.eu

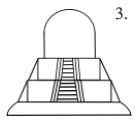
of influences that have marked the Upper Indus valley over the centuries.

In order to comprehend the significance of the present study for the history of Buddhist architecture in the Upper Indus valley, it is important to remind readers that only four stūpa models are documented in the region, based on architectural and sculptural remains, in contrast to thirteen models depicted in engravings. (Table 1 and Table 2).

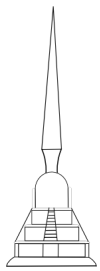
Table 1. Stūpa types in the Upper Indus valley known through architectural remains or objects.

1. Circular-based stūpas.
   → Naupur: buildings A, B and D de Naupur, 7th century CE?
   Fussman, 2004, 115.

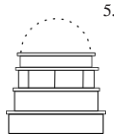
2. Hollow stūpa with two quadrangular bases topped by a hemispherical dome.
   → Naupur: building C, uncertain date.
   Jettmar, 1981, 10-13.



3. 'Descent from heaven' type of stūpa. Stepped base, consisting of a circular platform topped by one or two descending quadrangular bases. A staircase on each of the four main sides. High hemispherical dome.
   → *Tsa tsa* from Naupur, 7th century CE?
   Klimburg-Salter 1992, 398, fig. 47.4.

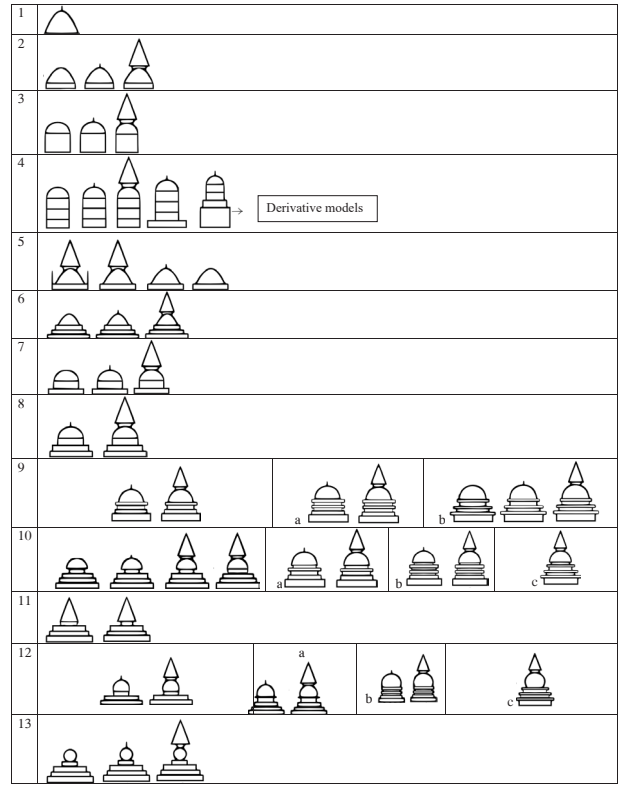


4. 'Descent from heaven' type of stūpa. The base consists of a circular platform surmounted by three descending quadrangular terraces. The elements are separated by a torus. Staircase on each side. Four columns mark the corners of the highest terrace. Hemispherical dome featuring a seated Buddha in a three-lobed niche. Superstructure consists of a harmikā and parasol pole.
   → Bronze stūpas framing a crowned Buddha, 8th century CE.
   Asia Society Museum, New York: Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection, 1979.44:
   https://museum.asiasociety.org/collection/explore/1979-044-crowned-buddha-shakyamuni/search/search:buddha



5. Stūpa with two quadrangular bases topped by a third octagonal one supporting a circular drum. The elements are separated by a cornice. Hemispherical dome ?
   → Buildings in Jutial and Thōl known as Taj Mughal or Moghul Shikar). Unknown dates.
   Neelis, 2006, fig. 7. Stein, 1907, volume 1, photo n° 4.

Table 2. Typology of stūpa images in the rock art of the Upper Indus valley



Typology: stylistic and chronological comparisons

The primitive stūpa, in the form of a hemisphere resting on the ground (type 1), is rare in engravings from the Upper Indus valley. It is equally rare in other media. However, there is a representation of a tumulus surrounded by a balustrade on a panel from Sanchi I[8] (1st century CE). While this image is the subject of debate[9], others such panels from Sanchi I and II panels undoubtedly depict a "simple dome" stūpa surrounded by a balustrade on the ground and topped by a *harmikā*[10] . The only known stūpa building with this morphology is the rock-cut stūpa at Haibak in Afghanistan (4th-5th centuries CE).[11]

The second type of stūpa shown in the engravings, whose dome rests on a drum, is also uncommon and it is difficult to find parallels in the architecture. Mention may, however, be made of certain votive stūpas framing the *pradakṣiṇā-patha* of the Dharmarājika stūpa in Taxila. According to Marshall, some of these stūpas consisted solely of a dome resting on a drum on the ground, the lower part of which was marked with a moulding (1st century BCE)[12]. Gradually, the base developed at the expense of the dome. As a result, the dome is reduced to a summit circular arc on

a high circular base (type 3). Two reliquaries, one in gold from Afghanistan (2nd century CE)[13] and the other in silver from Pakistan (3rd century CE)[14] show an architectural model similar to that of the rock representations (Fig. 1). Their proportions are identical, for example, to graffito no. 52: 10 from Hodar[15] (Fig. 2).

Some representations show the dome, always in the form of summit circular arc, on a high rectangular base divided horizontally (type 4). Very few graffiti of this type have any ornamentation. It is therefore possible to compare them with the "stūpa-towers"[16] , whose undecorated storeys are indicated by flat bands. These distinctive stūpas are found mainly in the Tourfan region, and more particularly in Qotcho. For instance, the temple γ[17] is a tall quadrangular tower with three storeys separated by mouldings[18], topped by a very ruined cylindrical part. According to Maillard, the presence of this type of "stūpa-tower" in the Tourfan Basin, and almost exclusively there, can be explained by the predominant influence of Chinese civilisation from 640 CE, following the victory of the Tang imperial armies[19]. There are representations of "stūpa-towers", quadrangular in shape with blind facades, painted on the left wall of cave no. 27 at Bezeklik (Xinjiang). These towers are crowned with a "strongly corbelled cornice, a storey with arched openings and surmounted by a stretched domed roof"[20]. According to Hackin,[21] the originality of these paintings sets them apart from the vast majority of Bezeklik's work, which dates from the Uighur Kingdom. He links these paintings to the earlier period when the Tourfan region came under the Chinese Tang administration, thus reinforcing the idea that the 'stūpa-tower' without niches is linked to the Chinese tradition.

A great many rock representations derive from the "stūpas-towers". They retain a tall rectangular base divided horizontally but take on an irregular appearance. Dani has called them 'bottle-shaped'[22] (Fig. 3). These engravings often feature a tricuspid element as a crown, which led the same author to consider them as representing temples and not stūpas[23] . However, four stūpas surmounted by this element are known: a bronze votive stūpa from Gandhāra, a stūpa depicted on a balustrade found in the Jagannātha temple in Pauni, a wooden piece in the shape of a stūpa



Figure 1. Silver reliquary, Pakistan (height: 11.2 cm. Diameter: 7.9 cm). British Museum (1887.7-17.20). The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

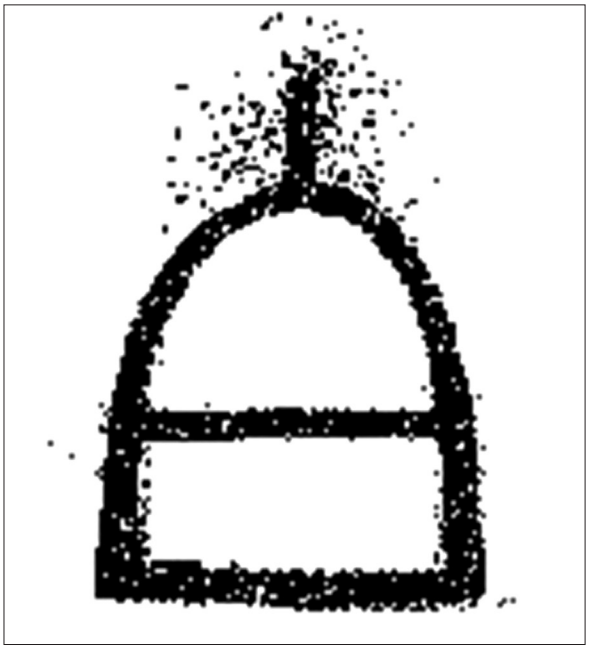


Figure 2. Hodar no. 52: 10. (Bandini-König, 1999, Plate 83).

found near the western monastery of Tumchuq-tagh (Xinjiang), and another bronze stūpa-shaped reliquary preserved in the Peshawar museum[24]. Although the stūpa is difficult to recognise in 'bottle-shaped' representations, the trident crown should not rule out the possibility that it is a Buddhist monument, especially as other engravings that undeniably represent a stūpa have a trident at their top[25] (Fig. 4).

Other rock representations reproduce well-known stūpa-buildings (type 5). This is the case, for example, of engraving no. 182 from Chilas II, which shows a recessed hemispherical dome on a raised platform, bounded by a balustrade whose *toraṇa* is reduced to a pediment (Fig. 5). This image could easily be compared to certain stūpas of ancient India, but the inscription in *Kharoṣthī* (between 50 BCE and 50 CE) to the right of the engraved monument indicates that the people who made it came from north-west India[26]. It is therefore more relevant to relate the engraving to, among others, the great stūpa of Butkara I (Swāt) in its third state (dated by a coinage of Azes I or II, i.e. between 57 and 20 BCE)[27]. Let us mention here a petroglyph belonging to this type (no. 40 from Chilas II) which has already been commented on by Fussman[28]. Figure 6 shows a stupa crowned with a sun inscribed in a crescent moon, it proves the existence of an Indian prototype for this type of coronation (the Chilas engraving is accompanied by a *Kharoṣthī* inscription from the end of the 1st century CE) several centuries before the introduction of Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet, where it is widespread. It was generally accepted by art historians that it had been introduced to Tibet via Nepal, or even that it originated in Nepal, since the earliest known example of this motif was an illuminated Nepalese manuscript dated 1015 CE[29]. It should be noted, however, that *vihāras* depicted on Gandhāran reliefs are surmounted by a crescent moon or a disc[30].

As for the engravings of type 6, they show a stepped base on which a recessed dome rests directly. A painted stūpa from Bamiyan (5th century CE) has an identical structure, but this model has endured over time, as evidenced by certain murals in Sumtsek in Alchi (late 12th or early 13th century CE)[31]. Figure 7 shows a stupa image with parasols in the shape of a striped cone, as well as the banners, are similar to those in representation no. 215: 6 of Shatial (Fig. 8). Very few of the stūpas-buildings have a recessed

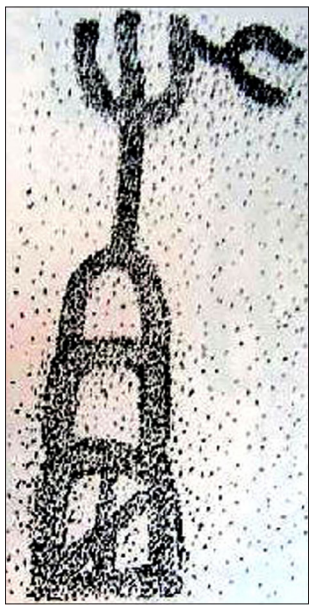


Figure 3. Gichi Nala no. 100: 3. (Bandini-König and Hinüber, 2001, Plate 77).

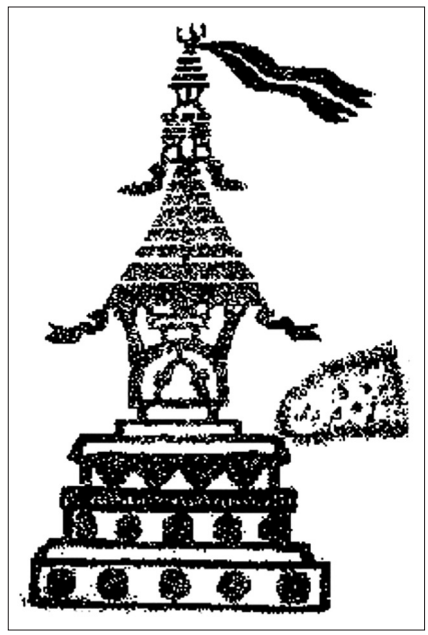


Figure 4. Gichi Nala no. 23: 3 (Bandini-König and Hinüber 2001, Plate 74).



Figure 5. Chilas II no. 182. (Thewalt, 1990).



Figure 6. Chilas II no. 40. (Thewalt, 1990).

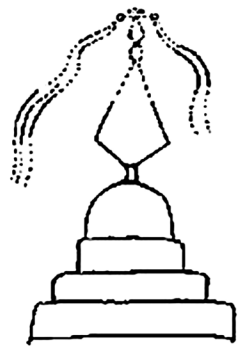


Figure 7. Painted stūpa, Bāmiyān. Group C, painted decoration on the north wall of room 3. (Tarzi 1977, vol.2, plate D60e.)

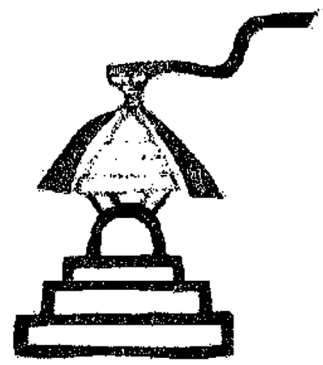


Figure 8. Shatial no. 215: 6. (Fussman and König, 1997, Plate 33).

dome on a stepped base, with the exception of the great stūpa of Qyzyl-debe (now destroyed) in the Kashgar region and that of Topa-tim in the Khan-oi region, where the dome rested directly on a square base with two steps[32] .

In the types of stūpas considered so far (2 to 6), the dome rests directly on the base. However, in the majority of engravings, a drum is inserted between the base and the dome. This is the case with type 7 and all those derived from it.

This one, which consists of a high platform and a dome with a drum in between, has parallels in Northern India. It can be compared, for example, to a miniature schist stūpa preserved in the National Museum in Karachi (Fig. 9). Although the reliquary has a circular platform, it is difficult to distinguish in flat profile images, such as those found in rock representations, between a quadrangular plan and a circular plan. It is therefore likely that some engravings show a quadrangular platform[33] , also known in Northern India. This is illustrated by a bronze reliquary from the monastery of Jauliān (1st century CE[34]). Figure 10 shows bronze reliquary, unique in its kind due to the presence of a balustrade on three sides of the platform. The only known parallel is an engraving by Chilas II (no. 215: 1)[35] which confirms the existence of this Gandhāran architectural model (Fig. 11). The two types of platform, circular and quadrangular, coexisted in Gandhāra[36]. However, in the Kushan period, stūpas with circular platforms gradually disappeared. In a number of cases, an older circular stūpa can be found inside a stūpa with quadrangular platforms: this is the case of the Kunala stūpa in Taxila. This transition from circular to quadrangular plan is essential in the morphological history of the stūpa.

Another major evolution is the development of the base into a stepped plinth (type 8). The terraced stūpas appeared in the north-western territories of India[37]. It is known from numerous Gandharian reliefs and also from certain stūpa-buildings. We can compare, for example, engraving no. 36: 126 of Shatial with the stūpa of Gul Dara (5th-6th centuries CE, Logar valley, Afghanistan)[38] (Fig. 12). In addition to a morphological resemblance, the pilasters decorating the second platform and the first drum of the Gul Dara stūpa are also found on the Shatial engraving. The petroglyphs representing a stūpa of the classical type[39] reflect a Gandhāran model that subsequently spread to the centres of western Central Asia, since it is also found in the ancient oases of the southern route of the Tarim basin: at Miran (stūpas M.IV, M.VI and M.VII) and at Loulan (stūpa LA.XI)[40] . It should be noted that it does not occur east of the Kutcha oasis[41] and that "no trace of a monument of this type has been found since the middle of the 8th century CE"[42]. The engravings are therefore probably no later than this date.

Several types of stūpas found in the engravings of the Upper Indus valley derive from the 'classic' stūpa with its stepped base. These types (9, 9a



Figure 9. Miniature stūpa, schist. National Museum of Karachi, Pakistan. (Bussagli, 1984, 314).



Figure 10. Reliquary from Jauliān (Taxila). British Museum (1887.7-17.23). The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

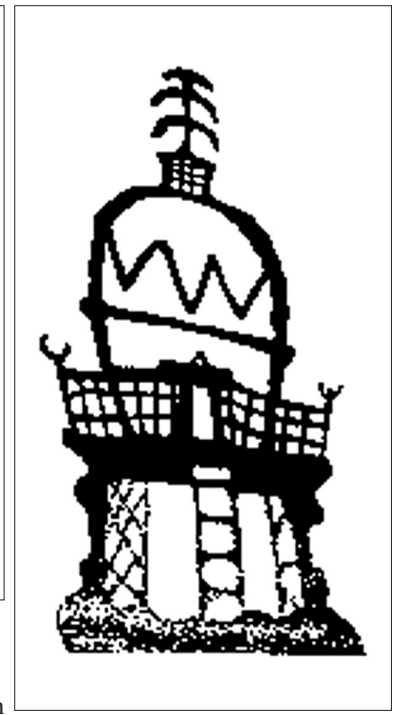


Figure 11. Chilas II no. 215: 1. (Thewalt, 1990).

and 9b) are distinguished by the presence of a moulding (or mouldings) between the various elements that make up the stūpa. Most often the moulding(s) on the base have a straight edge and those on the drum have a rounded edge. This must be understand as a graphic solution: the former indicates the quadrangular plan of the base, while the latter indicates the circular plan of the dome and drum[43] (Fig. 13). The same process is used on some painted stūpas from Central Asia, notably Folādi (Fig. 14). A listel separates the platforms from the base, while a torus separates the drum from the dome. Mouldings are common on reliefs, reliquaries, votives stūpas and Gandhāran buildings[44]. Note that this architectural model is known in the Upper Indus valley from the remains of Jutial and Thōl. (Table 1, type 4)

Other rock images are very similar to the types described above (types 10, 10a, 10b and 10c) but are distinguished by the 'mushroom' appearance[45] of the dome. It is possible that this mode of representation imitates the strong detachment of the dome on some Swāt stūpas, such as at Tōp-Dara[46]. Fussman hypothesises that this projection, well illustrated by representation no. 36: 1 of Shing Nala, played the role of a drip edge, or else that it was "an imitation of the corbelled roofs of the buildings conventionally called *vihāras*"[47] (Fig. 15). This comment refers to a type of structure depicted on certain Gandhāran reliefs, the best-known example of which is that of Mardān[48]. Morphologically, the quadrangular terraced base, reached by a staircase supporting columns at the corners and surrounded by a balustrade, corresponds to many stūpa-buildings and figurations[49]. However, the presence of openings (door and windows) and the double-domed roof allow the monument to be identified as a *vihāra*; a term that refers here to the residence of a deity, and is synonymous with a temple or chapel[50]. When the curved double roof is used in Gandhāran reliefs to cover a Buddhist sanctuary[51], it houses either a stūpa, a reliquary or an image of a deity (Buddha or Bodhisattva)[52]. The only buildings to have survived and retained this kind of roof are a Swāt temple known as Gumbat Balo Kalay (literally the 'dome') and adjoining chapels in the stūpas courtyard of Takht-i-Bāhī[53].



Figure 12. Shatial no. 36: 126. (Fussman and König, 1997, Plate 22).

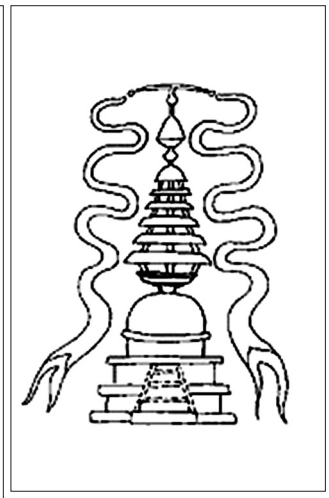


Figure 13. Painted stūpa, Folādi, Grotto F, small domes on the ceiling. (Tarzi, 1977, pl. D61a).



Figure 14. Shatial no. 144: 1. (Fussman and König, 1997, Plate 25).

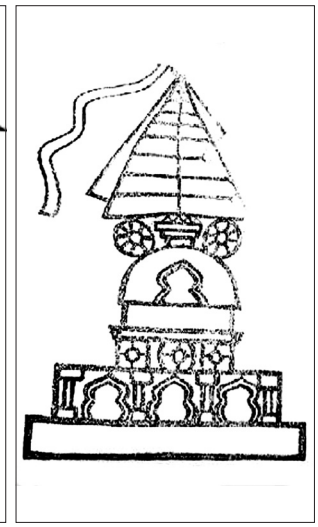


Figure 15. Shing Nala n° 36: 1. (Bandini-König and Hinüber, 2001, Plate 27).

We therefore suggest that certain engraved monuments in the Upper Indus Valley are not stūpas but *vihāras*. Take for example representation no. 39: 2 of Shing Nala on which the lower roof is supported by pillars reminiscent of certain chapels housing an image on Gandhāran reliefs[54] (Figs. 16 and 17). It is not impossible that this type of dome was also used to cover stūpas, since the existence of penetrable stūpas is known from texts and remains[55].

Other engravings show a particular dome in the shape of a triangle (type 11) which gives the impression that the parasols and the dome are merging into one and only element. One might think that the people who made these engravings were unfamiliar with the components of the stūpas[56]. However, a Chilas engraving shows this type of structure associated with a *brāhmī* inscription and a worshipper, proving its sacred nature (Fig. 18). We believe that the triangle-shaped roof of some engraved monuments is a two-dimensional transcription of the 'angular roof' of some *vihāras*[57]. In Gandhara, the only temple to have preserved a sloping four-sided roof is that of Gouniyār (Swāt)[58]. Although it is impossible to confirm that the slopes of this particular building met at a single point, a unique relief photographed in the Karachi market in 1974 shows a *vihāra* covered with a triangular roof[59]. The existence of this type of roofing is confirmed by a few rare Gandhāran reliefs on which figures are inscribed in 'sharp pediments', and which are a transliteration in cross-section[60]. As far as we are concerned, the type 11 engravings illustrate an architectural model of *vihāra* of which, outside the valley, we have very few illustrations.

Let us now consider the rock stūpa topped by an 'overstepped' dome (types 12, 12a, 12b and 12c) that corresponds to the type of dome that Ebert describes as 'globular' and Franz as 'ball-shaped' or 'Kugelkuppel'[61] for the votive stūpas of the Deccan and Central India. As with types 9 and 10, variations of type 12 are distinguished by the number of mouldings.

Representations with an 'overstepped' dome separated from the drum by a moulding (type 12a) often have a three-lobed niche with a simple, rounded arcature on the dome, which Ebert dates from the 6th century CE[62] (Fig. 19). As for the images of type 12b, which include a moulding between the drum and the highest platform of the plinth, they frequently show one (or more) three-lobed niche(s) with double ogival arches. This is the case of representation no. 122:1 from Thalpan (Fig. 20). This type of niche is present at Bāmiyān (6th-7th centuries CE)[63]. In addition, the first



Figure 16. Shing Nala n° 39: 2. (Bandini-König and Hinüber, 2001, Plate 29).



Figure 17. Butkara I. Vihāra housing an image of the Buddha. (Faccenna, 1964b, volume 2 (part 3), PI. DXII, Inv. No. 2269).



Figure 18. Chilas. (Jettmar, 2002, fig.12).

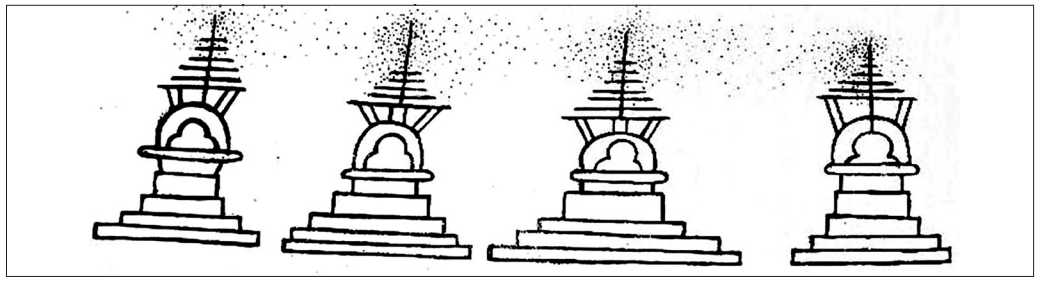


Figure 19. Shatial no. 140: 22. (Fussman and König, 1997, Plate 25).

platform of the engraved stūpa is decorated with a scroll of foliage with crosses that is found, for example, in Cave I. However, "it is the scrolls on the clay arcatures moulded on the facade of niches C and E of the post-689 Buddhist monastery of Fondoukistan and those on one of the walls of chapel 17 of the main stūpa complex of Tapa Sardar near Ghazni dated to the beginning of the viith century [...]" that most closely resemble those on the Thalpan engraving[64]. Finally, type 12c is distinguished by the presence of a moulding between each element of the base, as illustrated in engraving no. 36: 1 by Chilas-Brücke (ixth-xith centuries)[65]. On a platform with lotus petals rests a base with two steps separated by a torus. The highest is marked by a column at each corner (Fig. 21). The image is morphologically very close, despite the absence of steps, to the stūpas framing the Buddha in the Rockefeller collection (first half of the viiith century), which is one of the so-called 'Gilgit bronzes'[66] (Table 1, type 3). This architectural model is said to be 'Kashmiri', although it is difficult to determine whether its design originated in Kashmir, Gandhāra or even Mathurā[67] .

While the dome of the bronze stūpas is decorated with a Buddha seated in a niche, that of Chilas-Brücke is marked by a dot[68] which can be found on the dome of certain type 13 engravings. This last model is distinguished by the circular shape of the dome.

Two representations of Chilas are unique in the iconographic history of stūpa: at the top of descending platforms rests a circle marked at its centre by a dot and surmounted by parasols reduced to lines. These, along with the circle, are enclosed in an ovoid element. When Dani published one of these structures, he described it as a 'kind of temple'[69] (Fig. 22). However, Jettmar, who published the second (engraved at Chilas New Colony), was the first to compare these representations to a painted stūpa from Alchi (Ladakh)[70]. This unique painting of the Dukhang, the oldest temple in the Alchi monastic complex dated to the mid 12th century CE[71], features a very distinctive superstructure that forms an 'opaque veil'.[72] On the highest platform of the base, there is a disc containing a *vajra*, to which a staircase leads. For us, this disc has merged with the dome in the Chilas engravings. Although the painted stūpa in the Dukhang is not identical to the engravings at Chilas, it is the closest representation of them. The petroglyphs, which are accompanied by Śāradā inscriptions dated by L. Sander to the 10th-11th centuries CE[73], are the earliest examples of an architectural model known only from Alchi painting.

It should be noted that the majority of type 13 representations have an empty dome-disc. Once again, the closest parallel can be found in the wall paintings at Alchi (Sumtsek temple, late 12th century or early 13th century CE[74]). These painted stūpas have a stepped base at the top of which rests a disc surmounted by a staff with parasols (Fig. 23). They are close, for example, to engraving no. 215: 3 by Shatial (Fig. 24). It is important to note that the Alchi paintings depict a staircase leading to the sphere, whereas no engraving includes this feature. A painted manuscript from Tabo (Spiti, Himachal Pradesh) also shows stūpas featuring a disc resting on a stepped base, although the latter is raised by a plinth[75]. The manuscript belongs to an 'Indo-Tibetan' school of painting from the 11th century CE[76]. Despite some differences, the Alchi and Tabo paintings have the merit of attesting to the existence of an architectural model characterised by a disc-shaped dome elsewhere than in the Upper Indus valley. The parallels that have been established mean that the engravings can be dated to between the 11th and early 13th centuries CE. They also highlight the Himalayan origin of this architectural model, or at least of its mode of representation.

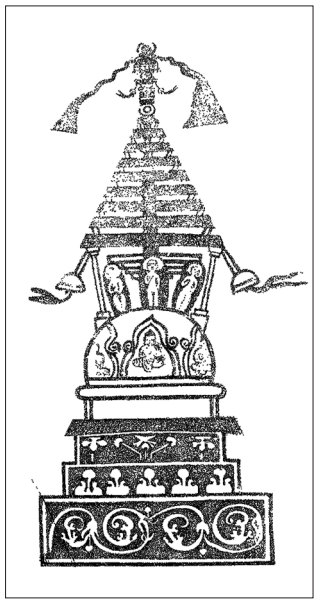


Figure 20. Thalpan n°122.1 (Bandini-König, 2005, Plate 52).

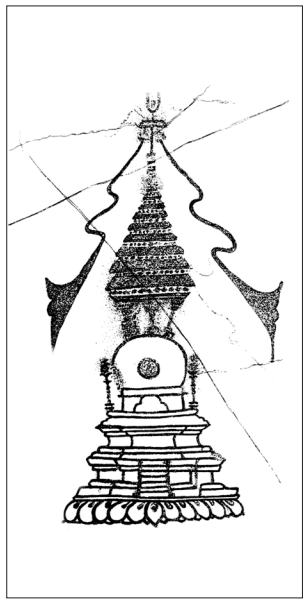


Figure 21. Chilas-Brücke no. 36: 1. (Bandini-König, 2003. Plate 22).



Figure 22. Chilas New Colony (Jettmar, 1984, Plate VI).

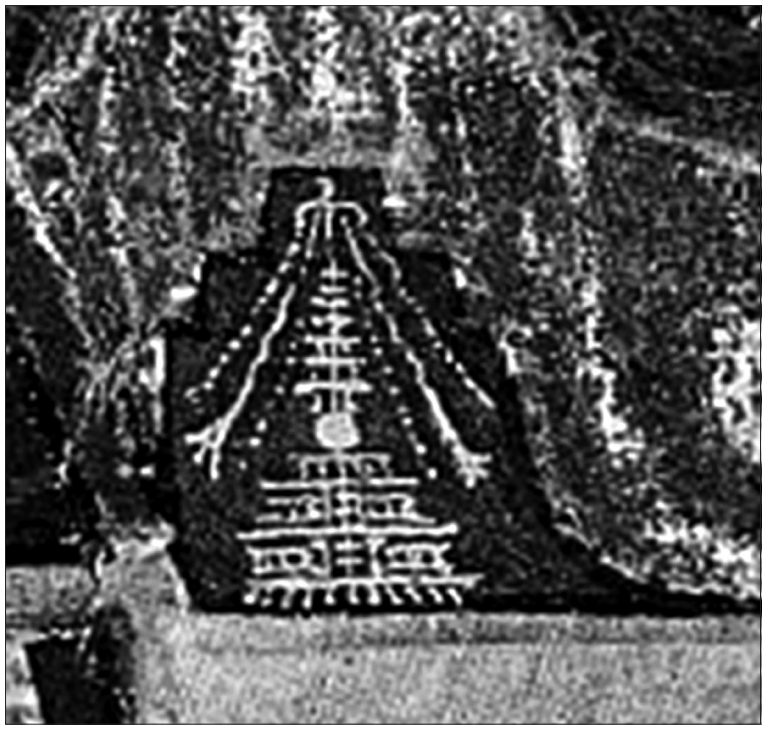


Figure 23. Painted stūpa, Sumtsek temple, first floor, back wall, Alchi, Ladakh. (Goepper, 1996, 173).

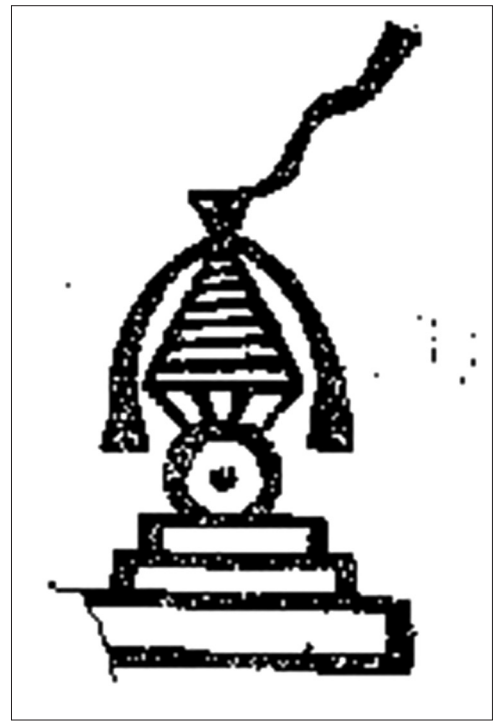


Figure 24. Shatial no. 215: 3 (Fussman and König, 1997, Plate 32).

Iconographic commentary

The stūpa and its image are so widespread in time and space that the rock representations of the Upper Indus valley can be the subject of detailed comparative studies. Comparisons with stūpa-buildings, reliquaries and parietal paintings show that the engravings do not follow a uniform style. They reflect the development of the stūpa morphology in northern India (Gandhāra, Kashmir and the western Himalayas) as well as in Central Asia. It is important to note that in the majority of cases where stūpa rock representations can be compared with architectural models from the Tarim basin, there are also Indian parallels.

The history of the spread of Buddhism and its architecture is problematic, making it impossible to indisputably identify the people who made or commissioned the engravings. Indeed, it is possible that an Indian-style stūpa was engraved by a traveller from Xinjiang, where such monuments existed[77].

The representations can always be compared, in one way or another, with existing stūpas in other regions. The combination of motifs of different origins in certain images bears witness to the role of the Upper Indus valley on the route linking India to Xinjiang, and more widely to Central Asia[78]. However, the rock representations of stūpas from the Upper Indus valley are far from being simply a repertoire of copied ornamental forms. They are, at least in part, original creations. This is the case with type 13, with its disc-shaped dome, which has very few parallels in the art of other regions, in contrast to its importance in the valley[79]. We can therefore assume that this was a local iconographic initiative. Also very important, certain images confirm the existence of motifs (tricuspid coronation and sun inscribed in a moon) and architectural models (type 7 with guard-rail), in particular *vihāras* (types 10 and type 11) of which there are very few examples outside the valley.

While the typology makes it possible to link the forms of stūpas to each other and to propose a relative chronology, it is difficult to know how long they coexisted. Furthermore, it is possible that the architectural models reproduced were not

contemporary with the engravings, meaning that some images were inspired by ancient monuments. Finally, the durability of certain models, such as the stepped stūpa, is an obstacle to accurate dating. For the latter, the shape of the dome and the base are not enough, and additional dating criteria must be sought. Decorative motifs, such as the three-lobed niche, are very important for dating the representations. Morphological analysis therefore has its limits, but we cannot agree with Thewalt, who has studied stūpas representations from three sites in the upper Indus valley and believes that a true chronological classification is only possible by including the inscriptions[80]. Typological and palaeographic studies are complementary, the former not being dependent on the latter and vice versa[81]. By treating the rock images as a whole[82] we have responded to Jettmar's call for a typology of the Buddhist monuments of the Upper Indus valley more than 15 years ago[83]. We hope to have demonstrated its value.

Historical commentary

Representations indicate that as early as the 1st century BCE, Chilas had links with north-west India[84]. However, judging by the number of engravings[85], Buddhists were particularly active in the valley from the 2nd to the 8th centuries CE. While it is possible that the valley was part of the Kushan empire[86], it is however certain that it belonged to the kingdom of Palūr[87], ruled by the Patola Śāhis, whose patronage of Buddhism is attested by the Gilgit manuscripts and bronzes[88]. This local dynasty was perfectly Indianised, so we should not be surprised to find parallels between the engravings and the stūpa-buildings and/or reliquaries of north-west India. On the other hand, the parallels established between the rock images of the Upper Indus valley and the stūpas of eastern Central Asia deserve to be clarified. We recall the type 4 engraved stūpas influenced by the "stūpa-tours" of the Tourfan region, which themselves developed in the 7th and 8th centuries CE under Chinese and more specifically Tang influence. The links between the Upper Indus valley and China are attested to in a large number of Chinese sources (official and unofficial[89]), as well as in Tibetan sources[90] recounting the events of the 8th century CE. During this period, the Chinese and Tibetans fought tirelessly for the Kingdom of Palūr[91]. Finally, rock inscriptions written in Chinese, dating from the Han to Tang periods, are known along the upper Indus valley[92].

Political instability caused by Sino-Tibetan rivalries led to the extinction of the Patola Śāhis dynasty in the mid-8th century CE[93]. From that point onwards, Palūr no longer appears in Chinese sources, and the rarity of depictions after that time attests to the valley's loss of importance on the route that linked India to Central Asia[94]. Engravings dating from between the 9th and early 13th centuries CE (types 12c and 13) have parallels in Kashmir and the Western Himalayas. It is possible that these regions were at the origin of a revival of Buddhism in the Upper Indus valley[95] as documented in the Saka Itinerary[96].

The typological study thus confirms a historical pattern known from texts and the analysis of rock inscriptions[97] .

Conclusion

The rock representations of stūpas can always, as we have said, be linked to the art of other regions by one element or another. However, it is unlikely that such a diversity of built monuments existed in the Upper Indus valley. In fact, only four types are known from architectural and sculptural remains (Table 1). It is therefore more likely that the engravings represent stūpas seen by travellers during their peregrinations in Gandhāra, Kashmir or Xinjiang. Representations that are accompanied by an inscription generally reflect a particular type of building. It is quite possible that the earliest stūpas representations were *ex-voto* offerings commemorating a visit to a famous stūpa[98]. Nevertheless, the unique combination of elements in some engravings seems to indicate that they were made by the local population, from existing engravings, and not from an architectural model. This would explain the misinterpretation of the structural elements of the stūpa in some images and the existence of structures that we sometimes hesitate to describe as stūpas (type 4 derivatives, for example).

Despite these 'deviations', certain types of

representation are original creations by the artists of the Upper Indus valley. This word can be used because there is evidence that some engravings were made by commissioned artists. One example is the inscription accompanying representation no. 182 of Chilas II, which states that the stūpa was donated by Rāhula, meaning that he paid the artist (whose name is Mijupria)[99]. Fussman even adds that Rāhula may have paid for the inauguration ceremony[100], which would imply that the engraving of a stūpa was the subject of the same ritual as the stūpas-buildings or votives. The rock representations would therefore be substitutes[101]. We can put forward the hypothesis that these stūpas were intended to receive offerings and that they were the object of a cult just like the stūpa-buildings[102]. However, we still have no proof of this.

While this idea of substitution is acceptable for certain engravings, it is not sufficient to explain the multiplication of representations of stūpas. We must therefore look not only to the strong and ancient tradition of local rock art, but also to the very foundations of Buddhism for the reasons that may have led to the creation of these images. The notions of gift and retribution are fundamental. The gift of a stūpa, in whatever form, is particularly a meritorious act[103]. Moreover, with the advent of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, emphasis is placed on the altruistic nature of giving[104]. Thus many of the inscriptions accompanying the rock representations of stūpas in the valley express the donor's wish that the merit resulting from the gift would benefit all beings or enable them to attain *bodhi*[105].

Notes

1. For an introduction to rock art research in the valley: Jettmar and Thewalt 1985.
2. The name of the research unit was *Forschungsstelle* für *Felsbilder und Inschriften am Karakorum Highway der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
3. Another series of five volumes *Antiquities of Northern Areas of Pakistan (ANP)* is mainly devoted to the engravings of the Upper Indus Valley in the form of preliminary reports and specialized papers.
4. The monographs provide essential information such as the size of each petroglyph, its angle on the rock surface, the degree of patina and the technique used to produce it.
5. Khan 1992.
6. Thewalt 1990. The site referred to as Chilas I in this publication corresponds to Chilas-Brücke (*MANP 6)*.
7. There are 74 rock representations of stūpas at Gichi Nala, 120 at Hodar, 36 at Oshibat, 130 at Shatial, 148 at Shing Nala, 5 at Dadam Das, 207 at Chilas-Brücke, 595 at Thalpan, 18 at Thor Nord, 4 at Helor Das Ouest, 2 at Helor Das Est and 20 at Chilas II. There is a slight difference between the number of stūpas given by *MANP* and that of the present typology. This can be explained by the fact that I have not included engravings not illustrated in the catalogue, but have included structures classified as 'Bauwerk' (building) in the catalogue, since some of them are identical to others classified as 'stūpa'.
8. Panel from a pillar in the east doorway of Sanchi I. De Marco, 1987, fig. 22.
9. There is some controversy about the monument depicted on this panel. Some authors claim that it is a primitive form of stūpa (Foucher, Bénisti); others that it is the tomb of a *yogin* (De Marco). See De Marco, 1987, 224-25 and notes 67, 68 and 69.
10. Franz, 1965, nos. 41, 47 and 48.
11. Mizuno, 1962, 92.
12. Marshall, 1960, 105. These stūpas date from between 90 and 30 BCE, according to the coins of Mauès and Azès I that they contained. The dates of Mauès and Azès I are those given by Bopearachchi and Landes, 2003, 140-141.
13. Errington and Cribb, 1992, 182: a date

of the 1st–2nd centuries CE is proposed by comparison with an almost identical silver reliquary, now lost, found within the stūpa of Shevaki (near Kabul) by Martin Honigberger (circa 1830) with a gold coin of Wima Kadphises. It is known only from a drawing. The date now proposed for Wima Kadphises is 110-127 CE. Bopearachchi and Landes, 2003, 178-179.

14. Errington and Cribb, *op.cit*, 181: the 3rd century CE is suggested but with a question mark.

15. The numbering given for the examples follows that of *MANP*. On each site, a number has been assigned to each rock bearing petroglyphs. The same applies to each engraving. So, for example, petroglyph number 122: 4 from Gichi Nala is found on rock 122 and corresponds to the engraving 4. The *MANP* volumes provide detailed maps showing the location of the rocks at each site.

16. They correspond to what Franz calls 'Turm-stūpa': Franz, 1978a.

17. Maillard, 1983, plate XCVIII. The other example of this type of stūpa-tower at Qotcho is the building 'Pfeilfertempel Π', so named by Grünwedel. Franz, 1980, Fig. 12, 56.

18. Elsewhere in the Tarim Basin, there is only one building of this type: Pelliot temple A in the western town of Subachi (Kutcha oasis). It too has three storeys bounded by thick flat cornices.

19. Maillard, *op. cit.,* 185.

20. Maillard, *op. cit.,* 183. fig. 78.

21. Maillard, *op. cit.* referring to Hackin, 183.

22. Dani, 1983, 212.

23. Dani, *op. cit.,* 220.

24. Kurita, 1990, no. 808; Bénisti, 1977, fig. 19; Maillard and Jera-Bezard in Fussman et al. 1994, fig. 15: these three parallels were established by Khan, 1992, 292. Rhie, 2002, fig. 4.13c.

25. Fussman in Bandini-König, 1999, 97, had already pointed out that Dani's 'temples' had a Buddhist character if we place them in the series to which they belong and take into account the content of the inscriptions that accompany them.

26. Fussman in Jettmar and König 1989, 7 and 32: "Who are these people? The *kharoṣthī* script assures that they originated in north-west India."

27. Faccenna, 1964a, 34. The dates for Azes I and II are those given by Bopearachchi and Landes 2003, 141-142. Other north-west Indian stūpas that have preserved this form are the stūpa of Manikyala near Rawalpindi, the stūpa of Dharmarājika in Taxila, that of Jamālgrahī (Pakistan) and that of Tepe-Rustam near Bactria.

28. Fussman in Jettmar and König, 1989, 19 and Plate 21.

29. Fussman in Fussman et al. 1994, 60. Bénisti, 1960, Plate XVI.

30. Respectively: Faccenna 1964b, volume 2, 2, pl. CCXCIa and volume 2, 3, pl. DXIb and Faccenna, 1964b, volume II, 3, pl. DXII.

31. Goepper, 1996, 19 and 137: ground floor, left wall of the Aksobhya niche, back niche.

32. The first is known only from Stein's description. Maillard, 1983, 160-161 and fig. 71a.

33. This observation applies to all the following types with a stepped base.

34. Errington and Cribb, 1992, 179: "An exact proto-type for the form is the small Saka-Parthian stūpa which Marshall found interred in the core of the later enlarged main stūpa of Kunala at Taxila. This implies a correspondingly early date for the bronze model, of *c.* first century CE."

35. This parallel was drawn by Fussman: Fussman in Jettmar et al., 1989, 20.

The inscription accompanying the representation of Chilas cannot be dated.

36. The coexistence of these two types of platform was recently demonstrated at Kara-tepe (Termez, Uzbekistan). A stūpa with a circular platform and one with a quadrangular platform were found in two adjoining cells in the south-east corner of the monastery. The use of the latter is dated to the 3rd-4th centuries CE. However, the two stūpa bases belong to an earlier monastery. Communication from Sh. Pidaev, 08/06/2006, at the seminar "Données nouvelles sur l'histoire de Termez et le Bouddhisme en Bactriane du Nord (Ouzbekistan)", Collège de France, Paris.

37. There are several examples in the Swāt Valley (Pakistan), including the stūpa of Amluk-Dara and the stūpa of Uttarasena in Shankardār. In Afghanistan, the stūpa I known as Naṇḍara in the Jalalabad region and that of Shevaki in the Kabul region also take this form. However, these buildings are in such an advanced state of ruin that it is sometimes difficult to know how many platforms their foundations were made up of.

38. Fussman and Le Berre, 1976, 51, pl. XV 10. This stūpa is also known as the Mosa-e logar stūpa. Lézine 1964.

39. It was Stein who designated this type of stūpa as classic. Maillard, 1983, 159.

40. Maillard, *op.cit.* fig. 72a.

41. Maillard, *op. cit.,* 162.

42. Maillard and Jera-Bezard in Fussman et al., 1994, 188.

43. Maillard and Jera-Bezard, *op. cit.* 187.

44. For example, the votive stūpas in the courtyard of the Jauliān monastery.

45. This expression was used by Foucher, 1905, 124 and repeated by Ebert, 1994, 294.

46. Franz, 1977, Abb. 14. The other stūpas in Swāt presenting this detachment are: A and C stūpas of Abba Saheb China, that of Shankardar and apparently those of Tōkar-Dara. Fussman in Fussman et al., 1994, 27.

47. Fussman, o*p.cit.*

48. Foucher, 1905, fig. 41. A very similar structure is found on a relief from Gumbatuna: Faccenna, 1995, pl. 285c.

49. For examples, see Faccenna's article on the stūpa with columns, 1986.

50. Foucher, 1905, 99-100. The Mardān relief is also referred to by one of these three words: Faccenna, 1986, 64 and De Marco, 1987, 200) use the word *vihāra*, while Gropp, 1974, 51 uses temple and Franz, 1965, no. 209, uses the term chapel.

51. As Foucher, 1905, 125-127 pointed out, the curved double roof is of Indian origin, which explains why it is not exclusively used in Gandhāran reliefs to cover Buddhist monuments. It is found in a Brahman context for the Temple of Fire (Foucher, 1905, fig. 44 and Lyons and Ingholt, 1957, no. 83), but also for inhabited towers (Franz, 1978b, pl. IX 12 and 13; Kurita, 1988, volume 1, no. 540) and 'pavilions' (Franz, 1978b, pl. X 16) or 'huts' (Lyons and Ingholt, 1957, no. 465). These 'huts' or 'pavilions' are identified as such because of the lay figures depicted. As far as we are concerned, these are worshippers paying homage to the object of worship housed in the *vihāra*, as illustrated by a woman with her hands clasped in a relief from a private Japanese collection (Kurita, 1990, volume 2, no. 608). Lyons notes in relation to relief no. 465 that the two women inside the 'hut' are holding flowers in the same way as they will get back to the Buddha in other reliefs, 172. Taddei has also correctly identified a relief from Butkhara I showing five figures in a double-domed structure as a *vihāra*: Taddei in Faccenna 1964b, vol. II, 3, pl. CDIV and 127.

52. Example of a chapel containing a stūpa: Faccenna, 1964b, volume 2, 2, pl. CXXXIX. Containing a reliquary:

Behrendt, 2003, fig. 3. Containing an image of Buddha: Foucher, 1905, fig. 47; Franz, 1978b, pl. X 14 and 15; Faccenna, 1964b, volume 2, 2, Plate CCXCI, CCXCII and vol. II, 3, pl. DXIb, DXII. Containing an image of a Bodhisattva: Faccenna, 1964b, volume 2, 2, pl. CCCXXVI, CCCXXVII.

53. For Gumbat: Stein, 1929, 31-32, figs. 11 and 12; Franz, 1979, 16-18. For Takht-i-Bahi: Foucher, 1905, 124, fig. 45. Tucci also mentions 'domed chapels' near the stūpa of Abba Saheb China but it is not clear whether they had a simple or double roof: 1958, 318, fig. 33.

54. A description of this image is given by J. Ebert, for whom the pillars suggest a star-shaped stūpa and for whom the mushroom shape of the dome is to be compared with the dome of certain painted stūpas of Kizil: 1994, 294, figs. 5a-b. For us, these parallels are not valid.

55. It may be objected that if these are penetrable stūpas, the engraved images do not show a door. However, this absence might be a conscious choice of the engraver. This process can be seen on a frieze in the Lahore Museum where double-roofed *vihāras* alternate with seated Buddhas and pilasters. Sometimes the building has an opening, sometimes not: Kurita, 1988, volume 1, no. 542. In Gandhara, the remains of five penetrable stūpas are known: Behrendt, 2006, 92. Chapter XI of the sūtra of the Saddharmapundarīka (Kumārajīva's translation dating from 406) mentions a stūpa containing an image of the Buddha Prabhūtaratna whose door was opened by the Buddha Śākyamuni: Kooij, 1993, 524.

56. Fussman in Bandini-König, 1999, 97.

57. The expression '*vihāra* with an angular roof' is from Foucher, 1905, 134.

58. Foucher, *op. cit.,* 134 and figs. 49-50.

59. De Marco, 1987, fig. 6. It was Taddei, in his review of Fussman's article on the Shatial tryptic (Fussman in Fussman et al., 1994), who drew a parallel between this relief and the triangular-roofed edifice in the tryptic and proposed that it be identified as a *vihāra* or *caityagṛīḥa*. Taddei, 1996, 218.

60. Foucher, 1905, 137, fig. 100. We translate as 'sharp pediments' what is named 'fronton aigu complet' in French. Other examples: Faccenna, 1964b, volume 2, 2, pls. CCLXXXIX, CCXCIIa and Kurita, 1990, volume 2, no. 608.

61. Ebert, 1994, 271 and Franz, 1980, 41.

62. Ebert, 1994, 287 and fig. 9. The representations of stūpas from the Upper Indus valley, which feature one or more niches on the dome, are accompanied by brāhmī inscriptions, "the content of which, where it can be characterised, is Mahayanaic, and which palaeographic study suggests dating from 300 at the earliest, 600 at the latest." Fussman in Fussman/ et al., 1994, 26.

63. Ebert, *op. cit.,* 287.

64. Maillard and Jera-Bezard in Fusssman et al., 1994, 185-186. The link with Central Asia is confirmed by the dress of the donor (whose name is Kuberavāhana) shown kneeling near Thalpan stūpa nos. 30:26 and 122:1. He is wearing a caftan, belt and boots as well as a turban tied in front in the shape of a rosette, 173-174.

65. The dating of the inscription accompanying the engraving is proposed by L. Sander in Ebert, 1994, 272.

66. For a summary of the proposed dates, see Fussman in Jettmar et al., 1993, 43-47, Plate 31.

67. Fisher, 1989, 22. The Harwan plates are the earliest evidence of the type of stūpa that we characterise as 'Kashmiri', 4th century CE.

68. For a discussion of the motifs adorning the dome of stūpas rock representations from the Upper Indus valley: Ebert, 1994, 270-272.

69. Dani, 1983, 88-90.

70. Jettmar, 1984, 216 and Tafel VI, 208.

71. Goepper, 1996, 19.

72. Goepper, 1982, 104, Palte 29. It is important to note that only one stūpa painted at Alchi features this 'veil'. This surrounds the parasol pole supported by three figures. This is a seated Buddha flanked by two great kings (*mahārāja*), guardians of the four cardinal points. Standing and cloaked, they resemble soldiers in long robes holding spears.

73. Ebert, 1994, p. 270.

74. Goepper, 1996, 19. First floor, back wall.

75. Klimburg-Salter, 1994, 451, Plate. 1

76. Klimburg-Salter, *op. cit.,* 441 and 448.

77. A similar problem exists with inscriptions, since it is rarely possible to determine with certainty the ethnic and geographical origin of the travellers who engraved them. The type of writing used rarely makes it possible to identify the traveller. Indeed, *kharoṣṭhī* was used in Gandhāra but also in Xinjiang; *brāhmī* "were in common use not only in Gangetic India but also in Xinjiang and then in Gandhāra [...], there are also testimonies of it in Bactria." In theory, it is possible that a traveller from Xinjiang left a text in *Brāhmī* that would be indistinguishable from an inscription left by a Punjabi or Gandhari traveller. Nevertheless, Fussman believes that there is a very strong probability that most of the Indian-looking drawings and inscriptions are the work of people who did not live in Xinjiang. Fussman in Fussman and König, 1997, 77-79.

78. J. Neelis puts forward the following hypothesis on the mixing of styles: "Since archaeological remains of Buddhist monasteries in the Northern Areas of Pakistan (as in Xinjiang) from this early period are scarce, this region seems to have been a transit zone in the long-distance transmission of Buddhism to the Tarim Basin oases and the Silk routes to China". "Long-distance transmission in which 'contact is incidental and intermittent, communications are difficult, and there is no feed-back' resulted in an 'unsystematic borrowing of elements that are detached from their original context, extreme hybridization [...]'." J. Neelis quotes and transposes a hypothesis put forward by E. Zürcher for Xinjiang: 2000, 920.

79. There are 39 engravings of type 13. By way of comparison, there are 21 of type 9c, which is considered to be a classic architectural model.

80. Thewalt, 1990, 56. Inscriptions are not always contemporary with neighbouring engravings.

81. Taddei, 1990, 353: "Expectations are indeed high; suffice it to recall that correlation between inscriptions and figurative incisions could lead to the reconsideration of various datings in the field of Buddhist art. An initial essay is offered by Thewalt in SAA 1983 [Thewalt 1985], although he has not yet ventured on a chronological scheme". Inscriptions are not always contemporary with neighbouring engravings.

82. A small number of articles deal with the rock representations of stūpas from the Upper Indus valley but they examine: either specific representations (Thewalt 1985; Fussman in Jettmar and König, 1989, 1-39; Fussman in Fussman and al., 1994, 1-72; Maillard and Jera- Bezard in Fussman et al., 1994, 173-200), or stylistic details (Ebert 1994).

83. Jettmar, 1989, 180.

84. Types 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7 account for almost 10% of engravings.

85. Types 4, 8, 9, 10 and 12 account for around 60% of the engravings.

86. Fussman, 1978, 54.

87. Name given to the region by Chinese sources. The kingdom encompassed the Gilgit region and Baltistan.

88. Hinüber and Hauptmann 2004.

89. Chinese sources: the *Tang-shu* and pilgrims' accounts (Zhimeng, Faxian, Song Yun, Xuanzang, Wukong). Let us recall here the links established between Gilgit and Khotan thanks to the spelling features of the manuscripts and the style of the painted covers. This idea is supported by the many Iranian, and possibly Turkish, names found in the colophons of the manuscripts. Sander: "Remarks on the formal brāhmī of Gilgit, Bāmiyān and Khotan" in Jettmar and König 1989, 107-130 and Klimburg-Salter, 1990.

90. Tibetan documents found in Dunhuang, but also a *sūtra*: 'Inquiry of Vimalaprabha'. In Tibetan sources, the equivalent of Palūr is Bru-ža.

91. For a summary of the Tibetan and Chinese incursions which led to the division of the kingdom into 'Great Palūr' and 'Little Palūr', and then to its disappearance: Jettmar in Jettmar and König, 1993, 84-91 and Dani, 1989, 149-157.

92. Höllman in Jettmar and König, 1993, 72.

93. With the exile to China of the last sovereign of Little Palūr (present-day Baltistan).

94. Ma Yong in Jettmar and König 1989, 139: the importance of this route declined in the 8th-9th centuries CE. However, Fussman (in Jettmar and König, 1993, 2) points out that the inscriptions at Alam Bridge confirm that "Gilgit had been an important stopover on a route used from the Ist century BCE to the VIIh century CE to get from the Indian plains to Central Asia (Soviet and Chinese) and vice versa".

95. Jettmar, 1984, 216.

96. This is an itinerary in Khotanese dated c. 972 CE describing a route from Khotan to Kashmir. The itinerary mentions fifteen monasteries in the region, including eight in Gilgit.

97. For example: Fussman, 1978, 52-57. Fussman in Jettmar and König, 1989, 30-31. Hinüber in Jettmar and König, 1989, 99.

98. Fussman in Jettmar and König, 1989, 8.

99. Fussman in Jettmar and König, 1989, 7-8: "Mañjupriya drew the stūpa, Rāhula and Karṇa have (or had) approached it."

100. Fussman, *op. cit.,* 8.

101. Hinüber in Jettmar and König, 1989, 75 points out that this idea of substitution had already been formulated by Stein (1944) and then taken up again by Jettmar (1980). It is undoubtedly even truer for large engravings. We might mention Shatial's stūpa no. 34: 133, which is over 4 m high and 2 m wide.

102. Neelis, 2006, 151.

103. Tucci had put forward this hypothesis concerning the rock representations of stūpas in Ladakh and cites a Tibetan text in which the engraving of stūpa is expressly mentioned: 1988, 32-33.

104. A nuance needs to be added to this statement. While it is undeniable that the notion of 'transfer of merit' is more marked in Mahāyāna texts, it is not exclusive to them. Indeed, this notion can be found in Pali texts as well as in non-Buddhist sources: Schopen, 1979, 7.

105. An example is the inscription dedicating Thalpan's stūpa no. 30:26: "This is the pious gift of Kuberavāhana. May the resulting merit [enable all beings] to obtain supreme knowledge." Fussman in Jettmar and König, 1993, 22. This type of form associating various people with the merit of the gift is recognised as mahayanic: Schopen, 1979, 4-8.

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